

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

Early Modern Knowledge about the Sámi

A History of Johannes Schefferus' *Laponia* (1673) and its Adaptations

Andreas Klein

A dissertation for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor – August 2020



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ABSTRACT

Even though Johannes Schefferus' *Lapponia* (1673) is a frequently employed source in historical studies on the Sámi people of Fennoscandia, the book's history and the rich reception it aroused early on has never been studied in detail. Written in Uppsala, it was published in Latin for an international learned readership.

One of the main intentions behind the work was to counter rumours about the presence of Sámi sorcerers in the Swedish military. In spite of this aspect of the commission, the result was a surprisingly factual account. Schefferus' realistic description of the lappmarks, the regions where the Sámi lived, featured sections on topography, natural resources, plants, and animals. The book described the characteristics, customs, objects and commerce of the Sámi people in detail. This way, it should restore Sweden's reputation and demonstrate that the lappmarks were subject to the Kingdom. Schefferus had never been to the lappmarks. Yet this did not hinder the book's success; already during his works on *Lapponia*, news about the project spread. Adaptations in English, German, French and Dutch followed quickly.

This thesis centres on the coming into existence and development of *Lapponia* as a book and a piece of literature of knowledge. Based on the original Latin version, I analyse the structures of knowledge and the communicative network surrounding this early modern description of the Sámi people. With the help of archival sources and mainly unpublished letters, I reconstruct the history of *Lapponia* and its various adaptations.

My comparative analysis shows that the versions originating from *Lapponia* are widely different when it comes to content, structure, layout and literary traditions. Furthermore, I highlight the importance of several spheres of knowledge for the development of Schefferus' monograph and its adaptations. Since he had not visited the area himself, Schefferus had to rely on eyewitness accounts from the northern parts of the Kingdom. Among the authors of these accounts, most of whom were clergymen, there were a few Sámi people. I discuss the role of the letter-writing community known as the Republic of Letters for *Lapponia* and vice versa. The thesis traces the further reception in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and exemplifies how early modern knowledge about the Sámi was disseminated all over Europe.

Key words: Lapponia, Sámi, Johannes Schefferus, early modern literature, Sápmi, history of science, Republic of Letters.

Title page: Detail of Lubin's map, *Histoire de la Laponie*, Paris 1678. Photograph courtesy of the National Library of France.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1956, a group of scholars affiliated with the Nordic Museum (*Nordiska Museet*) in Stockholm finished their work on an annotated edition in Swedish of a 17th century book about the Sámi people. Among the scholars were the museum's foremost ethnologists on the indigenous people of the Fennoscandian peninsula. The book they now had made available for the first time in Swedish was *Lapponia* by Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679), a professor at the University of Uppsala. It was published in Latin in 1673 and subsequently in a number of adaptations and abstracts in other languages.

The main editor of this Swedish-language edition, Ernst Manker (1893-1972), commented on the publication: "It took nearly three hundred years before the present translation made it available in the language of the homeland".¹ In the eyes of Manker and his contemporaries, *Lapponia* was undoubtedly a Swedish book, and it had now finally become accessible to the domestic readership that did not know the language of the first edition, Latin, or of the adaptations published in English, German, French, or Dutch over the course of only ten years. The fact that it had taken such a long time for a translation into Swedish to appear is repeatedly discussed in studies about the *Lapponia* project.²

The present doctoral dissertation centres on the structure and book history of *Lapponia* and the 17th and 18th centuries' writings originating from it. It analyses the structures of knowledge manifested in them and examines how knowledge crucial for the endeavour became part of the book. Local experts and informants were highly significant sources. The knowledge presented in *Lapponia* was dependent on and interconnected with many other scholarly undertakings. One of the most important arenas for information exchange between scholars was the Republic of Letters, a letter-writing community connecting the learned, nobility and others across political and confessional boundaries.³ This study discusses its significance for the *Lapponia* project and vice versa.

¹ See Manker's foreword in Johannes Schefferus, *Lapland*, ed. Nordiska museet, trans. Henrik Sundin, ed. Ernst Manker, Acta Lapponica VIII, (Uppsala: Gebers, 1956), 7-8. "[...] det skulle dröja nära trehundra år innan det med här föreliggande översättning kunde utkomma på hemlandets språk."

² Carl Gustaf Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica; Eller Förteckning Uppå Så väl trykte, som handskrifne Böcker, Tractater och Skrifter; hvilka handla om Svenska Historien, Eller därutinnan kunna gifva Ljus [...] Första Delen, Som innehåller de Böcker och Skrifter; hvilka röra Sveriges Geographie*, 15 vols., vol. 1 (Stockholm: Trykt hos Anders Jac. Nordström, 1782), 257-259; Elena Balzamo, "The Geopolitical Laplander - From Olaus Magnus to Johannes Schefferus," *Journal of Northern Studies* 8, no. 2 (2014): 29-43, at: 41; Mårten Snickare, "Kontroll, begär och kunskap - Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis," *RIG - Kulturhistorisk tidskrift* 2 (2014): 65-77, at: 71.

³ See, for instance: Dirk van Miert, Howard Hotson, and Thomas Wallnig, "What Was the Republic of Letters?," in *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age: Standards, Systems, Scholarship*, ed. Howard Hotson and Thomas

For generations, to satisfy people's interest in the Sámi people, *Lapponia* was necessary reading, and justifiably so as it was the first ever monograph on the Sámi and their land.⁴ From the time of its publication until the present, it has had an enormous effect on the understanding of who the Sámi were historically and who they are today. To a wider audience, they became for the first time visible and relatable through Schefferus' monograph and the literature and illustrations it inspired. Due to its status as the primary purportedly complete description of the Sámi, the idea of *Lapponia* as the starting point of knowledge about them is comprehensible.

However, the knowledge presented in *Lapponia* had to originate somewhere. Schefferus never went to Sápmi and he did not know any of the Sámi languages. For these reasons, processes of translation were crucial for the Lapponia project. Commonly, translation denotes the process and the product of converting text from one language to another. The term 'translation' derives from Latin *translatio* via the supine of the verb *transferre*: *translatum*. *Transferre* is a composite of *trans-* (beyond) and *ferre* (to bear, to carry). In the literal sense, it designates any process and outcome of carrying across something from one state to another. Essentially, it is the carrying beyond of anything. 'Beyond' implies the existence of two or more states, moments, or places.⁵

For *Lapponia*, numerous examples of translation in the linguistic meaning, that is from one language to another, and in the wider sense of 'carrying beyond' are observable. They are an underlying theme throughout this study. Given that Schefferus never went to the region he described, knowledge about it had to come to him. This knowledge reached him in the form of manuscripts, objects, and people. Their movements are translations in terms of the two above-

Wallnig (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2019), 23-40; Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti, "Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern Culture: An Introduction," *JEMS*, no. 3 (2014): 17-35; Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴ Until the second half of the 20th century, the terms "Lapland" and "Lapp" (today considered derogatory by most Sámi) were used in reference to the Sámi traditional settlement area and to them as a people. Nowadays, the terms most often used to refer to land and people are the Northern Sámi "Sápmi" and "Sámi", respectively. As of today, of the ten Sámi languages, Northern Sámi is most widely spoken, with speakers in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. To underscore the transnational perspective necessary for historical discussions about the Sámi, I use these terms when referring to the entirety of Sápmi and to the people. Schefferus knew etymologically related terms, but he decided to make use of the predominant "Lapponia" and "Lappo" as they were regarded as the correct scholarly terminology at the time. In order to stay as close to the source material as possible, I translate them as "Lapland" and "Lapp". Furthermore, I use the historical term "lappmark" which denoted administrative areas in Sápmi.

⁵ Cf. the discussion of the term "translatio" in Michael Wintroub, "Translations: Words, Things, Going Native, and Staying True," *AHR* 120, no. 4 (2015): 1185-1217. The processes of translation of knowledge I describe are to be seen in light of the well-explored theoretical discussions of 'transfer of knowledge'. See for instance: Heike Jöns, Michael Heffernan, and Peter Meusbürger, "Mobilities of Knowledge: An Introduction," in *Mobilities of Knowledge*, ed. Heike Jöns, Peter Meusbürger, and Michael Heffernan, Knowledge and Space (Cham: Springer, 2017), 1-19; Udo Friedrich, "Einleitung: Transfer von Expertenwissen," in *Transfer von Expertenwissen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Gelehrte Diskurse in der volkssprachigen Praxis*, ed. Udo Friedrich and Eva Schumann (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2018), 9-34.

mentioned meanings of ‘translatio’. *Lapponia*, then, was a translation of these sources into the scholarly standards of the early modern era.

Manker, who, together with his team from the Nordic museum, published *Lapponia* in Swedish with comments, and Schefferus, who translated the sources available to him into the framework of early modern European scholarship, are then to be regarded two links in a series of translations of knowledge about the Sámi. Two iconic symbols of Sámi culture exemplify these translations like no others. Until today, the joik and the Sámi drum have always connected the Sámi people to their past. To introduce the manifold processes of translation prevalent in the writings examined in the present study and to exemplify some of the theoretical context of this doctoral dissertation, let us briefly consider the translations of the Sámi drum.

Initially, the Sámi drum was a sacred device. In the relevant belief system, all humans possess two souls, the body soul and the free soul. While the body soul remains with the body even after death, aside from illusions in the form of ghosts, the free soul could under certain circumstances leave the body, and would do so permanently after death. Used properly, that is in a state of trance, the drum could ‘carry’ the free soul of the ritual specialist ‘beyond’ the divide between the two worlds. The symbols on the membranes are a depiction of the complex system of different spheres in this worldview.⁶ Different drums might share similar features in design or build, but each drum is also a unique representation (or translation) of the worldview of one individual. Accordingly, the Sámi drum itself is a highly translational device.

Sweden’s Lutheran clergy considered this usage for the purpose of divination and healing rituals a superstitious practice. This interpretation translates a rite performed by Sámi ritual practitioners and the objects and symbols involved with it. In this case, Sámi worldviews and symbolisms were fitted into ideas of early modern Protestant theology and demonology. By this understanding, the drum was an artefact associated with heresy and devil worship. As result of this perception, Swedish missionaries and other officials systematically bought and confiscated drums. They were collected, destroyed, or placed in museums; these translational attempts brought with them what Håkan Rydving in his study of the Lule Sámi famously called “the end of drum-time”.⁷

One can consider the expropriation, destruction, or musealization of the Sámi drum a transitioning towards and a translation into a new era. The drums appeared in new contexts.

⁶ Lars Ivar Hansen and Bjørnar Olsen, *Samenes historie fram til 1750* (Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Förlag, 2004), 119-121, 228-231.

⁷ Håkan Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*, ed. Peter Schalk, Third ed., AUU Historia Religionum, (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2004).

One of these contexts was *Laponia*, a factual and well-founded description of what Schefferus regarded as everything pertaining to the Sámi people. There, translated into the scholarly world by Schefferus and his informants, it evoked much interest. Collectors all over Europe, and possibly beyond, desired to have an original Sámi drum in their possession. The translation of the drum from a sacred device into an artefact associated with superstition and paganism, an object collected and examined by scholars and others was complete. The drums that had survived complete destruction by the clergy remained with their Sámi owners who hid them, or they were collected in the cabinets of curiosities of the nobility, scholars, and dilettantes.

This translation of the drum into collections in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe formed the basis of later lappological studies on the drum. Lappology is the idea of studying the “Lapps” within a particular distinctive field of research. A centre of these efforts was the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, where Ernst Manker examined numerous drums and published his findings extensively.⁸ Like Schefferus, who kept his collection of drums together with other objects and his library in his *museum* in Uppsala, Manker studied the symbols on the drumskins to write about their meaning.

The translation of the drums has continued until today. Drum builders reclaim and refine the symbols on the drumheads. There are courses in drum building or in rituals often largely based on Michael Harner’s model of core shamanism.⁹ The tourism industry in Sápmi sells souvenir drums or other items inspired by the drum designs.¹⁰

There are numerous other occurrences of such translations in the context of the Sámi heritage. Nils Oskal described the transformations of the *náhppi*, a bowl for milking used in reindeer husbandry, showing how this practical object underwent radical changes in form, design and meaning, essentially leaving its original purpose and being repositioned as a piece of art. It has become a symbol of Sámi identity and a prized collector’s item. In that sense, the *náhppi* symbolizes how Sámi skills and knowledge transitioned into modernity just as much as the drum.¹¹

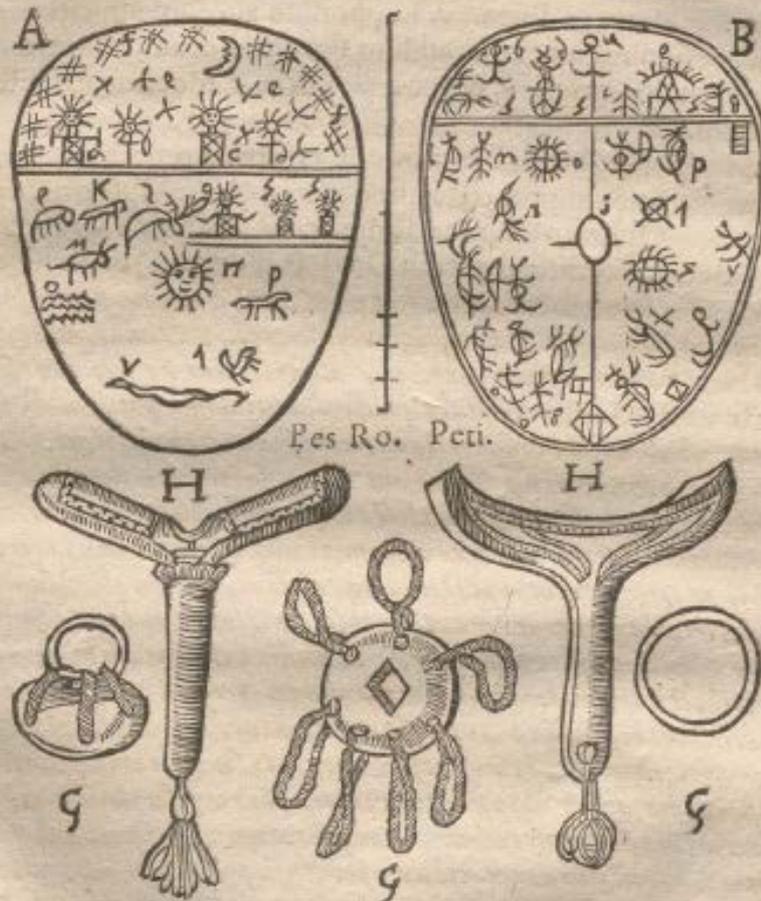
⁸ Ernst Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie I. Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur*, ed. Nordiska Museet, II vols., vol. I, Acta Lapponica, (Stockholm: Thule, 1938); Ernst Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie II. Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistigen Lebens*, ed. Nordiska Museet, II vols., vol. II, Acta Lapponica, (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1950).

⁹ For a discussion with focus on Norway, see: Siv Ellen Kraft, "Sami Neo-shamanism in Norway: Colonial Grounds, Ethnic Revival and Pagan Pathways," in *Contemporary Pagan and Native Faith Movements in Europe: Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses*, ed. Kathryn Rountree, EASA Series (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 25-42.

¹⁰ Francis Joy, *Sámi Shamanism, Cosmology and Art as Systems of Embedded Knowledge*, Acta Universitatis Lapponiensis, (Rovaniemi: Lapin Yliopisto/University of Lapland, 2018), Dissertation, 196-207.

¹¹ Nils Oskal, "The Character of the Milk Bowl as a Separate World, and the World as a Multitudinous Totality of References," in *Sámi Stories - Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, ed. Marit Anne Hauan (Tromsø: Orkana, 2014), 78-89.

DE SACRIS MAGICIS & MAGIA LAPPONUM. 125
 pingunt res terrenas, & animantia varia, ut ursos, lupos, rangiferos, lu-
 tras, vulpes, serpentes, tum paludes, lacus, fluvios & id genus. Et hoc qui-
 dem tympanum, quemadmodum describit Samuel Rheen, cujus
 quoque istam dedit picturam.



Notarum Explicatio.

In Tympano A. a. Thor. b. famulus ejus. c. Stoorjunkare.
 d. famulus ejus. e. aves. f. stellæ. g. Christus. h. Apostoli ejus.
 i. ursus. k. Lupus. l. rangifer. m. bos. n. sol. o. lacus. p. vulpes.
 q. sciurus. r. serpens.

Q 3

in

Figure 1: Schematic depiction of two Sámi drums with accessories and an explanation of the symbols on their drumheads in Lapponia, 1673. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

The translations surrounding the Sámi drum and other aspects of Sámi culture did not begin with *Lapponia*. The book and its adaptations were but a couple of links in a long and ongoing series of translations. This extends from the first-ever drum (which was presumably also a translation) that a Sámi ritual specialist used to be ‘carried beyond’, to the ones destroyed or placed in museums, to the scholarly descriptions and depictions by Schefferus or Manker, and to the new areas of application of the drums today.

In addition to material objects, a number of immaterial intellectual expressions of Sámi identity and creativity that endured for centuries have been ‘carried beyond’ into new contexts. In similar fashion to the drum, it was through *Lapponia* that a larger readership became familiar with the joik. Again, numerous processes of translation turned this multifaceted style of music that evokes e.g. persons, situations, places, or animals into handwritten poems translated into Swedish. In the Sámi original and with a translation into Latin, two joiks were printed in verse form in *Lapponia*. This makes them the first known form of literature originating from one of the Sámi languages, and consequently, the first Sámi poems (and songs) translated and published in print. As Nellejet Zorgdrager showed, the two joiks elicited a rich reception that has continued until the present.¹²

Similar translations took place with regard to the manuscript material made accessible to Schefferus. Manuscript knowledge became book knowledge. The knowledge found in handwritten accounts was translated into formal knowledge suitable for a printed book and acceptable to the Republic of Letters, which ‘carried’ it ‘beyond’ into new contexts. Somewhere along the way and possibly at the request of Schefferus, a bookbinder bound the manuscripts together in two volumes. They are now part of the manuscript collection in Uppsala University Library.¹³ The two tomes and the several copies of some of the accounts, but also the published and annotated editions of them are likewise manifestations of processes of translation, as the individual manuscripts are ‘carried beyond’ into groups with manuscripts by other authors, forming a manuscript collection.

As a collector of objects made by and manuscripts dealing with the Sámi, Schefferus was a collector of their knowledge and of knowledge about them. Given the many presupposed processes of translation necessary to take place prior to its publication, *Lapponia* could not have been the initial point of studies on the Sámi; it should rather be regarded as a ‘systolic’ point in

¹² Nellejet Zorgdrager, *Olof Sirmas joiketekster: Resepsjons- og oversettelseshistorien til to gamle samiske sanger*, ed. Norsk Folkemuseum, Samiske Samlinger, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2018).

¹³ There, they are placed in the thematic category "Sveriges och Finlands Geografi och Topografi" and in the subcategory "Sveriges Geografi, Lappland". UUB S 163; UUB S 164.

a chain of translations.¹⁴ The conversion of several kinds of source material into a compressed form of knowledge, and thereby into formalized knowledge, corresponds metaphorically to this movement.

It was not only the knowledge found in Schefferus' sources that underwent processes of being 'carried beyond'. 'His' *Lapponia*, via several adaptations and abstracts, also reappeared in other languages, contexts and formats. Schefferus himself was involved with the re-writing and augmenting of *Lapponia*. The handwritten annotations to his personal copy again underline that the production of knowledge connected to the writing took place serially and circularly. The annotations supplemented printed knowledge with new manuscript knowledge, which then, in turn, when translated into French, formed new book knowledge through the novel edition *Histoire de la Laponie* in 1678.

*

The present study is an examination of the Lapponia project rooted in book history. As a distinct field of study, the history of books is of a highly interdisciplinary character. Studying the history of books means to study a specific cultural, social and material phenomenon historically. Book historians study the discourses around, in and of books; they take into consideration the technology behind production and materiality of their object of study; they examine the changing economic and legal conditions of the book market; and they discuss the intellectual and social practices surrounding books. Thus, book historians study the book outside, between and by its covers. This connects this field of study to several other disciplines, such as philology, literary theory, art history, economy, sociology, and many others.¹⁵

Among the literary theories employed in this study is Gérard Genette's model of paratextuality. According to Genette, paratext is the entirety of text accompanying a base text and thereby transforming it into a book. Paratext is either materially connected to the book as peritext, or it exists without any material connection outside of the book as epitext.¹⁶ A more detailed introduction into Genette's paratextuality is part of Chapter 1, where I compare the

¹⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) alluded to the terms diastole and systole mainly to describe processes in nature. A systole is, for instance, the contraction of the heart that presses blood out of its chambers. A diastole is the relaxed state of the heart between two heartbeats allowing blood to flow into the chambers. By reference to diastolic and systolic moments, one can also describe phenomena of translation, that is, processes of change from one state to another. See Peter Huber, "Systole/Diastole," in *Goethe Handbuch: in vier Bänden*, ed. Bernd Witte et al. (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 1998), 1034-1035.

¹⁵ See the multifaceted contributions to: David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader*, 2nd ed. (London, New York: Routledge, 2006); furthermore, see: Robert Darnton, "'What is the history of books?' revisited," *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, no. 3 (2007): 495-508; many basic concepts are concisely explained in: Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450-1800: A Practical Guide*, Wiley Blackwell, (Hoboken NJ, Chichester, 2019).

¹⁶ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987).

various manifestations of peritext in the several books deriving from the Lapponia project in the 17th and 18th centuries. My comparative analysis shows the largely differing circumstances of the coming into existence of each one of the versions. This underlines that the project of publishing a monograph on the Sámi continued after the initial publication and led to a number of books that share large parts of their content, but are indeed very distinct pieces of knowledge literature in contexts of their own. There exist a few studies touching upon the transnational and translational quality of the Lapponia project, but this is the first extensive analysis of this aspect.¹⁷

Any study of these books has to take into account that the initial thematic scope of *Lapponia* was to present a scholarly overview of the lappmarks (a historical administrative term for parts of Sápmi under Swedish rule) and the Sámi people. Therefore, my study makes use of perspectives of the sociology of knowledge, history of scholarship and historical network analysis. A theoretical model applicable to connect them to book history is Christian Jacob's *lieux de savoir* (places or realms of knowledge). The idea of *lieux de savoir* refers to discourses connected with the production of knowledge. A more detailed discussion of Jacob's suggestions follows in Chapter 2. However, to give a concise introduction, a *lieu de savoir* can be a specific geographic or conceptual place; it can be an inscription such as a book, a manuscript, an instrument or an artefact; and it can be the practice of dealing with an object or with experts.¹⁸ Given the impact of the various editions deriving from the Lapponia project, one can also regard them as *lieux de savoir*.

Due to the importance of Johannes Schefferus in the endeavour, parts of the present study conform to an intellectual biography by means of defining several *lieux de savoir* in his life that were of significance to the Lapponia project. In this way, it forms a contribution to the overall research on the life and scholarship of Schefferus.¹⁹ Furthermore, it presents a prosopography

¹⁷ A brief discussion can be found in: Bengt Löw, "Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia," in *Lapland*, ed. Ernst Manker, Acta Lapponica VIII (Stockholm: Gebers, 1956), 9-23, at: 19-23; see furthermore on the English-language versions: Linda Andersson Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800," *Scandinavian Studies* 91, no. 1-2 (2019): 134-162; on iconographic transformations, see: Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*," *Acta Borealia* 32, no. 2 (2015): 103-124; Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, "*Lapponia* and the Drum: Instruments of Integration and Othering during the Age of Confessionalisation in Northern Sweden," in *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway Vol. 2: Towards a Protestant North*, ed. Sigrun Høgetveit Berg, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, and Roald E. Kristiansen, TROLL - Tromsøer Studien zur Kulturwissenschaft 14 (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2016), 129-151.

¹⁸ See: Christian Jacob, "*Lieux de savoir*: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge," *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1, no. 1 (2017): 85-102; see furthermore, the introductory chapters of the first two of four projected anthologies dealing with the *lieux de savoir*: Christian Jacob, "Introduction: Faire corps, faire lieu," in *Lieux de savoir: Espaces et communautés*, ed. Christian Jacob, *Lieux de savoir* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2007), 17-40; Christian Jacob, "Introduction," in *Lieux de savoir: Les Mains de l'intellect*, ed. Christian Jacob (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011), 11-28.

¹⁹ See, for instance: Eric Michael Fant, *Minne öfver Joh. Schefferus, Eloq. och Polit. Professor Skyttianus samt Jur. Nat. och Gent. Honorarius, Bibliothecarius, och Assessor Collegii Antiquitatum i Upsala, som vann belöningen uti Uppfostrings-*

of the local experts and contributors helpful for the writing and re-writing of *Lapponia*. Most of them worked at some point as lappmark clergy. Among them were individuals of Swedish, Finnish, Sámi and mixed origin. Ethnicity in early modern Sweden is an ambiguous categorization. This is reflected in the changing multicultural and multilingual situation of the Kingdom or in Gothicism (the idea of viewing Sweden as a possible successor state of the Goths), but also in the individuals contributing to the Lapponia project. Therefore, I rank the category of ethnicity secondary to other factors such as class, education, and religion. What unites the group I define as lappmark clergy is their formal education, their willingness and actions to advance the Lutheran faith in the lappmarks, and their expertise in the Northern landscapes, both cultural and natural. Since there were individuals among them who called themselves “Lappo”, the present study is an exploration of the grey areas of Sweden’s missionary and colonial project in the North. Their voices supplement the oversimplified understanding of the Sámi as a people oppressed by the Swedes with the existence of Sámi individuals who took strategic and informed choices, studied in the south and went back to the northern parts of the Kingdom to make a career in service of the church. They were key to recording the knowledge of their people and carried the Sámi as a people into the literary realm.

Following the prosopographic discussion of the local expert contributors, I explore in Chapter 4 the connections between the Swedish lappmarks, Schefferus, and the Republic of Letters in the 17th century. The correspondence dealing with or referring to the Lapponia project can be defined as part of the epitextual paratext binding together some of the Lapponia editions. One of the challenges in Schefferus’ correspondence is its incompleteness. The vast

Sällskapet Den 1 Nov. År 1781 (Stockholm: Tryckt hos Johan A. Carlbohm, 1782); Eric Michael Fant and Johan Fredric Karp, *Dissertatio de controversia inter Petrum Eliae Gavelium et Johannem Schefferum Argentoratensem, professores Upsalienses an. 1656-1664. Quam consent. ampl. fac. philos. Ups. præsidi mag. Erico M. Fant ... publico examini submittit Johannes Fredericus Karp, Gestricius. In audit. Gust. maj. d. [sic] 20 Dec. 1798. H. a. m. s.* (Upsaliæ: litteris Joh. Fr. Edman, reg. acad. typogr, 1798); Claes Annerstedt, *Schefferus och Verelius: en litterär fejd i sjuttonde seklet.* (Uppsala: N.N., 1891); Henrika Scheffer, *Johannes Schefferus: en storman från 1600-talets Uppsala* (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1918); Anders Grape, "Om Schefferi Sciagraphia Juris Naturæ," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* VIII (1921): 215-224; Allan Ellenius, "Johannes Schefferus and Swedish Antiquity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20, no. 1/2 (1957): 59-74; Per Gustaf Hamberg, "Johannes Schefferus' bibliotekshus: En historisk orientering samt några ord om den byggnadshistoriska undersökningen i samband med restaureringen," *Kungl. Vetenskaps-Societätens Årsbok* (1960): 51-62; Per Gustaf Hamberg, "Johannes Schefferus als Sammler und Zeichner: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Illustration," in *Contributions to the History and Theory of Art*, ed. Rudolf Zeitler, AUU Figura Nova Series 6 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 68-98; Eric Dählen, *En undersökning av Johannes Schefferus' Regnum Romanum Vel in T. Livii Patavini Librum Primum Exercitationes Politicæ VII Editio Secunda*, ed. Klassiska Institutionen - Göteborgs Universitet, 10 vols., vol. 10, *Vetenskapligt Humanistlatin under Stormaktstiden*, (Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 1975); Stig Strömholm, "Johannes Schefferus: un strasbourgeois en Suède," in *L'Europe, l'Alsace et la France: problèmes intérieurs et relations internationales à l'époque moderne: études réunies en l'honneur du doyen Georges Livet pour son 70e anniversaire*, ed. Jean Bérenger et al., Collection "Grandes publications" (Strasbourg: Oberlin, 1986), 302-306; Iiro Kajanto, "Johannes Scheffer on the *imitatio veterum*," *Arctos - Acta Philologica Fennica* 24 (1990): 73-84; Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, "Johannes Schefferus, bibliotekarie och handskriftssamlare," *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 82 (1995): 45-53; Sigmund Méndez, "La representación *secundum naturam* y el *ingenium* como facultad inventiva en la *Graphice* de Johannes Schefferus," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* LXII (2013): 489-521.

majority of the letters identified so far originate from a collection brought together by Schefferus himself that made its way to the manuscript collection of Uppsala University Library in the 18th century. Naturally, the fragmentary nature of collections of correspondence is a problem not particular to the present study.²⁰ Most of the letters I analyse are letters sent to Schefferus. The letters sent by him, if retained, presumably remained in the collections of the recipients. They provide ample opportunity for future research. Given the richness of material already extant in Uppsala, I mainly focused on the correspondence volumes kept there. As a starting point for further studies, I published a revision of the most recent registry of Schefferus' correspondence (published in 1782²¹), listing relevant basic data (date, author, place of origin, recipient, destination, archive or shelf mark, print or mention elsewhere) for all letters I know of.²²

The primary aim of the present dissertation is to employ perspectives of book history to further knowledge about Johannes Schefferus' *Lapponia* and its adaptations as early modern places of knowledge. I analyse processes of how the Sámi and the lappmarks became a people and an area known to other Europeans. *Lapponia* is a well-known and often-cited source of historical information about the Sámi people. There exist several studies dealing with specific aspects of it. However, a book historical discussion taking into account all of the eight versions published in the 17th and 18th centuries is a novelty.

My study provides new insight into the making of knowledge about the Sámi in early modern Europe. It shows how this was manifested in a wide variety of books, some of which have mostly been neglected until now. The present study contextualizes Sámi agency in encounters with the Swedish missionary and colonial project. Furthermore, it is a contribution to the research on a key scholar in early modern Sweden. This is undertaken through an exploration of the versions of *Lapponia* by means of literary theory, sociology of knowledge, historical network analysis, and by situating the Lapponia project in an ongoing stream of processes of translation and transfer of knowledge. Given the richness of each of the versions and of the letters I analyse, I consider my study a first step towards further research of the versions of *Lapponia* and Schefferus' correspondence network.

²⁰ Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, "Networking the Republic of Letters," in *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age: Standards, Systems, Scholarship*, ed. Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2019), 399-416, at: 401-402.

²¹ Fant, *Minne öfver Joh. Schefferus*, 52-64.

²² Andreas Klein, "The Res publica Schefferiana – the correspondence of Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679)", [https://doi.org/10.18710/VDLBWH, DataverseNO, V1, UNF:6:UQIAsxwKYZx2JtcB5VcB7Q== \[fileUNF\]](https://doi.org/10.18710/VDLBWH, DataverseNO, V1, UNF:6:UQIAsxwKYZx2JtcB5VcB7Q== [fileUNF]), 2020.

The present study consists of four chapters and an appendix. In Chapter 1, I present the various editions of the Lapponia project I examine. Through a comparative analysis, I discuss their structures before addressing differences and similarities in their paratextual arrangement. The second chapter presents an overview and discussion of various *lieux de savoir* crucial to Schefferus' career and of the ways in which they influenced the writing of *Lapponia*. This part corresponds to an intellectual biography of Schefferus. Chapter 3 introduces the local experts and their contributions to the Lapponia project, presenting the most important written and oral sources Schefferus had at his disposal. It closes with a prosopographic overview that challenges the traditional dichotomy of Sámi/non-Sámi contributors to the project. The fourth and final chapter retraces the role the Republic of Letters played for *Lapponia*, and vice versa. Using the vast corpus of Schefferus' correspondence, it retells the history leading up to the publication of *Lapponia*, its rich reception within the Republic of Letters, and the developments and works on a revised version of the monograph that was later published in French as *Histoire de la Laponie*. In a brief digression, I discuss further writings inspired by the Lapponia project, before closing with some concluding remarks.

Unless otherwise noted, transcriptions and translations of Latin-language sources are by myself and Dr. Per Pippin Aspaas of UiT. Transcriptions and translations of sources in languages other than Latin are my own, if not stated otherwise. Remaining inaccuracies in transcriptions and translations are my own. In transcriptions, citations, and the bibliography, I standardize f (long s) as s, ũ as ü, ȝ as ö, ǣ as ä, etc. Common ligatures such as œ, æ, or ß remain as in the sources. In the transcriptions, I write out scribal abbreviations in square brackets, wherever univocal. In most cases, I have set English translations in the running text for the sake of readability, and the respective text sections of the original in footnotes. I quote sections in early modern English as they appear in the sources. Unless otherwise noted, I do not correct grammatical or typographical inaccuracies found in print or manuscript sources. In the translations, I have attempted to maintain syntax and 'feel' of the originals wherever feasible.

For basic biographical information, I rely upon the encyclopaedias listed separately in the bibliography. I refer to encyclopaedia entries only when I quote directly from them. When it comes to place names, I mostly use their modern English name (for instance, Cologne instead of Köln, The Hague instead of Den Haag, Gothenburg instead of Göteborg) or their historical name (Straßburg instead of Strasbourg, Königsberg instead of Kaliningrad). For place names in Sápmi, I mostly use their Swedish variants. The thesis has no registers, but it is available as an open access searchable PDF at <https://munin.uit.no/>.

1 THE LAPPONIA PROJECT - A HISTORY (OF THE) BOOK?

In 1673, the press of Johann Andreae (1626-1693) in Frankfurt printed a book in Latin about a land situated on the Fennoscandinavian peninsula and the people living there. Its title page depicts a family of three, father, mother and baby, together with their reindeer on the move. The man leading the group seems to be looking at the observer in an attempt to catch a glimpse of who is looking at him. Above the woodcut scenery, the work's title shines forth in red and black letters:

Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia Id est, Regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio. In qua multa De origine, superstitione, sacris magicis, victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item Animalium, metallorumque indole, quæ in terris eorum proveniunt, hactenus incognita.²³

This book by Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679) became an instant success. Schefferus, a professor at the University of Uppsala, wrote it during the most productive phase of his career. We will learn more about him, his origin and background later in this study.

There are many reasons for the success of this book. One could mention its comprehensible and convincing rhetoric built up through well-founded argumentation, its many detailed illustrations, or the fact that it was the first-ever scholarly work entirely devoted to this specific region and its people. The topic itself presents a valid reason for the book's impact. Other reasons for its popularity might have been the way the contents were structured or the manner in which they were communicated to the readership.

The commission for the writing of a book about the Sámi people, many of whom lived in the Northern regions subject to the Swedish crown, derived from Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622-1686), Sweden's Lord High Chancellor and one of the most influential people in the Kingdom at that time. Swedish historiography refers to the time between 1611 and 1721 as *stormaktstiden* (the Era of Great Power) due to the Kingdom's large sphere of control.²⁴ De la Gardie approached the *Antikvitetskollegium* (College of Antiquities), an institution created in

²³ Joannes Schefferus, *Lapponia Id est, Regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio. In qua multa De origine, superstitione, sacris magicis victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item Animalium, metallorumque indole, quæ in terris eorum proveniunt, hactenus incognita. Produntur, & eiconibus adjectis cum cura illustrantur* (Francofurti: Ex Officina Christiani Wolffii Typis Joannis Andreae, 1673), title page. "Joannes Schefferus of Strasbourg's Lapponia that is a new and truthful description of the Lappish regions and peoples. Therein much of the origin, superstition, magical objects, way of living, worshipping, occupations of the Lapps, furthermore of the nature of the animals and metals, which are found in these thus far unknown lands."

²⁴ Usually, the three following events frame the epoch: it begins with the enthronement of Gustav II Adolf in 1611, and ends with the death of Charles XII (1682-1718), and the subsequent loss of a number of its territories through the Treaties of Stockholm, Frederiksborg, and, finally in 1721, Nystad. See also the discussion in Nils Erik Villstrand, *Sveriges Historia 1600–1721*, ed. Dick Harrison, Norstedts Sveriges Historia, (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2011), 9-11.

1666 to research Sweden's past, in a letter from Stockholm dated 6 February 1671. Schefferus was among the College's academicians. Its postscript is the first indication of an official commission to write an account of the Sámi people and already suggests the topics such an account was to address:

P. S. Should Mister Ahrenius or someone else want to write something on the way of life and customs of the Lapps, in the way that 1) What the ancients knew about them and the land is reported 2) the nature of the sky and the sun at this place 3) the way of life and customs of the people and 4) what service Sweden has of them in war or otherwise, to remove the thought that the Lapps constitute a great part of the Swedish Army, for, after all, a Lapp and an Indian are almost equally rarely viewed in Sweden, this would not seem bad to me.²⁵

I will return to Schefferus, De la Gardie and his commission as well as the College of Antiquities in Section 2.4. The monograph *Laponia* has long been an often-employed source of historic information by those interested in the people that it presented to the world, namely the Sámi people of Fennoscandia.²⁶ There exist numerous studies focusing on individual aspects of the work; however, as of today, an exhaustive examination of the background of production of the writing and the various editions that followed in other languages has not been attempted.²⁷ Any such endeavour has to face one specific challenge, namely the question of

²⁵ Quoted after: Henrik Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia III - Antikvitetskollegiet II* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1933), 12. "P. S. Skulle Mons. Ahrenius eller någon annan willia skrifwa något de vita et moribus lapponum, sålunda at 1) Quid antiquis fuerit cognitum om dem och det landet vthwijstes 2) Natura Coeli et soli på den ohrten 3) Vita et mores gentis och 4) hwadh Swerige för dienst af dem in bello eller elliest hafwer at betaga dem tankan, at Lapparna constituera magnam partem Exercitus Sueticj, der doch een lapp och een Indianer nestan lijka rare äre j Swerige att skåda, tyckes migh det icke wara illa."

²⁶ To outsiders, the Sámi people were for centuries known as Lapps, Laplanders, Lapponians or Finns, terms nowadays obsolete and considered by the majority of the Sámi derogatory. The designation Sámi in the Northern Sámi language - which has the greatest number of speakers among all nine Sámi languages spoken today - came into use in other languages in the 20th century. A similar shift has occurred with regard to the name of the Sámi homeland. Previously, the region was most often referred to as Lapland. Nowadays, the Northern Sámi designation for the land, Sápmi, is commonly used. I employ the term Sámi when referring to the people, but in order to stay as close as possible to the source material, I translate the designations as they appear in the sources to their closest etymological equivalent in English.

²⁷ See, in chronological order, dealing with numerous aspects of the writing and its various editions: Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel I.*; Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*; Gunnar Ahlström, *De Mörka Bergen. En Krönika om de Lappländska Malmfälten* (Stockholm: Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1966), 10-31; Hamberg, "Johannes Schefferus als Sammler und Zeichner: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Illustration," 68-98; Tore Wretö, *Folkvisans upptäckare: Receptionsstudier från Montaigne och Schefferus till Herder*, AUU - Historia litterarum 14, (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1984); Hans Lindkjølen, "Johannes Schefferus og bokverket «Laponia» utgitt 1673," in *Festskrift til Ørnulv Vorren* (Tromsø: Tromsø Museum, Universitetet i Tromsø, 1994), 23-35; Karin Wilson, "Källan till C.J.L. Almqvists samiska dikt," *Sammlaren* 122 (2001): 43-53; Barbara Sjöholm, "Laponia," *Harvard Review* 29 (2005): 6-19; Håkan Rydving, "Gustav II Adolf och samerna," *Saga och sed: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs akademiens årsbok = Annales Academiæ Regiæ Gustavi Adolphi* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006), 15-27; Martin Wåhlberg, "L'anthropologie des lumières et le mythe de l'hospitalité lapone – Regnard, Buffon, Maupertuis, Voltaire, Sade," *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études francaises* 61 (2009): 327-364; Martin Wåhlberg, "Samenes annerledeshet: Et problem i opplysningstidens Europa," in *Kompassrosen: Orientering mot Nord*, ed. Benedicte Gamborg Briså and Bente Lavold (Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2009), 104-111; Francis Joy, "The History of Lapland and the Case of the Sami Noaidi Drum Figures Reversed," *Folklore* 47 (2011): 113-144; Balzamo, "The Geopolitical Laplander - From Olaus Magnus to Johannes Schefferus," 29-43; Alessandra Orlandini Carcreff, *Viaggio in Lapponia e in Finlandia: Voyage en Laponie et en Finlande (1431-1898)*, *Antropologia - Anthropologie*, (Monaco: LiberFaber, 2014); Snickare, "Kontroll, begär och kunskap - Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis," 65-77;

what came out of De la Gardie's commission. Over the course of about forty years, seven editions in five languages appeared in print. An eighth drastically abstracted edition in English appeared in 1751. Following the publication of the Latin first edition of *Lapponia* in 1673, a slightly abstracted version in English was issued in 1674, a mostly verbatim translation into German in 1675, an augmented French version in 1678, and a reorganized adaptation of the French version in Dutch in 1682.²⁸ Of those, only *Lapponia* is a direct consequence of the official commission. In extension, one might consider the German *Lapland* and the French *Histoire de la Laponie* enhancements of De la Gardie's above-mentioned assignment.

These five editions form what I designate 'the first generation of writings' originating from the Lapponia project. Again, this does not imply that they came into existence through one decision or a series of decisions by De la Gardie or Schefferus. Many other stakeholders were involved in each of the editions, as I show in the following chapters. To call the four editions following the Latin *Lapponia* translations, as has traditionally been done, is problematic. As presented in the introduction, translation can mean a number of things. However, given that the various versions were also translated into other languages, the term translation is, in my understanding, too ambiguous to describe both language-to-language operations and other translations. It does not reflect the great variance in form, production, design and content.

Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*," 103-124; Bergesen, "*Lapponia* and the Drum," 129-151; Magdalena Naum, "Between Utopia and Dystopia: Colonial Ambivalence and Early Modern Perception of Sápmi," *Itinerario* 40, 3 (2016): 489-521; Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, "Hybrid Iconoclasm: Three Ways of Viewing the Sámi as the Other," in *Sámi Art and Aesthetics: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Svein Aamold, Elin Haugdal, and Ulla Angkjær Jørgensen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2017), 31-48; Alessandra Orlandini Carcreff, *Au pays des vendeurs de vent: Voyager en Laponie et en Finlande du xv^e au xix^e siècle*, ed. Jean Viviès, Textuelles: Écritures du voyage, (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2017); Nellejet Zorgdrager, "The Role of Place-Names in Olof Sirma's two Yoik Texts and their Translations," *Journal of Northern Studies* 11, no. 1 (2017): 71-93; Jonas M. Nordin and Carl-Gösta Ojala, "Collecting, connecting, constructing: Early modern commodification and globalization of Sámi material culture," *Journal of Material Culture* 23(1) (2018): 58-82; Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*; Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800," 134-162; Alessandra Orlandini Carcreff, *Chamanismes* (Monaco: LiberFaber, 2019); Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, "Images of Sámi Religion in a Protracted Reformation," in *The Protracted Reformation in the North: Volume III from the Project "The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway"*, ed. Sigrun Høgetveit Berg, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, and Roald Ernst Kristiansen, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 286-334.

²⁸ Schefferus, *Lapponia*; John Scheffer, *The History of Lapland wherein Are shewed the Original, Manners, Habits, Marriages, Conjurations, &c. of that People*, trans. Acton Cremer (Oxford: At the Theater in Oxford And are to be sold by George West and Amos Curtein, 1674); Joannes Schefferus, *Lapland/ Das ist: Neue und wahrhaftige Beschreibung von Lapland und dessen Einwohnern/ worin viel bißhero unbekandte Sachen von der Lappen Ankunfft/ Aberglauben/ Zauberkünsten/ Nahrung/ Kleidern/ Geschäften/ wie auch von den Thieren und Metallen so es in ihrem Lande giebet/ erzählt/ und mit unterschiedlichen Figuren fürgestellt worden* (Franckfurt am Mäyn und Leipzig: In Verlegung Martin Hallervorden/ Buchhändlern zu Königsberg in Preussen, 1675); Jean Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie, sa Description, l'Origine, les Moeurs, la Maniere de vivre de ses Habitans, leur Religion, leur Magie, & les choses rares du Païs. Avec plusieurs Additions & Augmentations fort curieuses, qui jusques-icy n'ont pas esté imprimées.*, trans. L. P. A. Lubin (Paris: Chez la Veuve Olivier de Varennes, au Palais, dans la Salle royale, au Vase d'or, 1678); Johannes Scheffer, *Waarachtige en aen-merkens-waardige historie van Lapland: Ofte een beschrijving van desselfs oorspronk, landschappen, geberchten, gewassen, gedierten, metalen, steenen, wateren, en voornaemste geschiedenissen. Benessens der inwoonderen zeden, regeering, godtsdiensten, oorlogen, drachten, koophandel, gebouwen, van tenten, schepen, sleden, &c. Als ook van hare tover-trommelen, en wind-koopery. Met noch een kort bericht van den toestand der Finnen. Nieuwelijk uit het Frans van den heer Scheffer vertaalt. Met kurieuse kopere plaaten.* (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1682).

Except for the German *Lappland*, all versions differ in many more aspects than the language from *Lapponia*. Therefore, I avoid using the term translation when referring to any of the later editions. Instead, I call them adaptations, versions and editions. The four adaptations vary strongly with regard to their closeness to the original Latin. While the German edition is both typographically and in its content and the people involved a close emulation of the Latin version, the Dutch *Historie van Lapland* deviates fundamentally in these and other respects.

The notion of a first generation implies the existence of a second one. Indeed, three other adaptations exist. There are two additional versions in English, published in 1704 and 1751, and another one in Dutch, published in 1716.²⁹ In addition to these early modern editions, relatively recent adaptations exist in Swedish (1956), Finnish (1963, reissued 1979) and Russian (2008).³⁰ Of those, the Swedish edition from 1956 is due to its commentary of specific importance for the present study.

Naturally, the 17th and 18th centuries' books analysed in this monograph on the Lapponia project have common features. They all claim to give a truthful account of the Sámi people and the region in which they live. They are all based on the work of the contributors to the project. Yet their commonalities do not suffice as an argument to describe them as one logical and connected string of books. Instead, they were and are individual expressions of distinct motives and ideas about the Sámi and their home territory. They might have originated in the Lapponia project, but most of them were not part of the endeavour. It is crucial to consider them as individual books.³¹ In order to facilitate such considerations and to provide an entry point to the places and formations of knowledge of the Lapponia project, I present in the following an

²⁹ John Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland: Containing A Geographical Description, and a Natural History of that Country; with an Account of the Inhabitants, their Original, Religion, Customs, Habits, Marriages, Conjurations, Employments, &c.* (London: Tho. Newborough, 1704); John Scheffer, *The History of Lapland: shewing The Original, Manners, Habits, Religion and Trade of that People. with A particular Account of their Gods and Sacrifices, Marriage Ceremonies, Conjurations, Diabolical Rites, &c. &c.* (London: Printed for R. Griffith, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1751); Johannes Schefferus and Dithmarus Blefkenius, *Het Vermaak der Tover-Hekzen van Lap- en Fin-Land, Als mede de generale Historie van Lapland, Hier is by-gevoegt de Beschryving van Ys- en Groen-Land* (Leeuwarden: Jan Klasen, 1716).

³⁰ Schefferus, *Lapland [swe]*; Johannes Schefferus, *Lapponia: eli lapin maan ja kansan uusi ja todenmukainen kuvaus*, trans. Tuomo Itkonen, Kariston klassillinen kirjasto 70, Lapin tutkimusseuran Acta Lapponica 2, (Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 1963); Iogann Šeffe, *Laplandija*, trans. V. S. Zolotilova and A. Ju. Zvereva, ed. T. V. Luk'jančenko, Hugh Beach, and A. Ju. Karpuchin (Moskva: IPO "U Nikitskich vorot", 2008); furthermore, see: Johannes Schefferus, *The History of Lapland*, ed. Gunnar Ahlström, Suecica Rediviva: A Collection of Facsimile Reprints of Swedish Books, (Stockholm: Rediviva, [1674] 1971), Facsimile.

³¹ A similar approach to the numerous adaptations of Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* has been presented by: Erling Sandmo, "Historien om en *Historia*: Olaus Magnus i et bokhistorisk perspektiv," in *Litterære verdensborgere: Transnasjonale perspektiver på norsk bokhistorie 1519–1850*, ed. Aasta M.B. Bjørkøy et al., Nota Bene (Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2019), 56-80.

overview of the way of structuring knowledge in the first- and second-generation editions before analysing the varying paratextual structure of all eight editions.

1.1 STRUCTURING KNOWLEDGE

Unfortunately, the status of preservation of the manuscript of *Lapponia* sent to the press is unknown. An analysis of it would give insight into changes, stylistic decisions and developments, variations and later insertions into the manuscript, and demonstrate whether and how these differences appeared in the respective publications. It could also provide more information regarding the role of printers, illustrators, and other technical staff involved. In short, it could unveil some of the steps of the book's production.

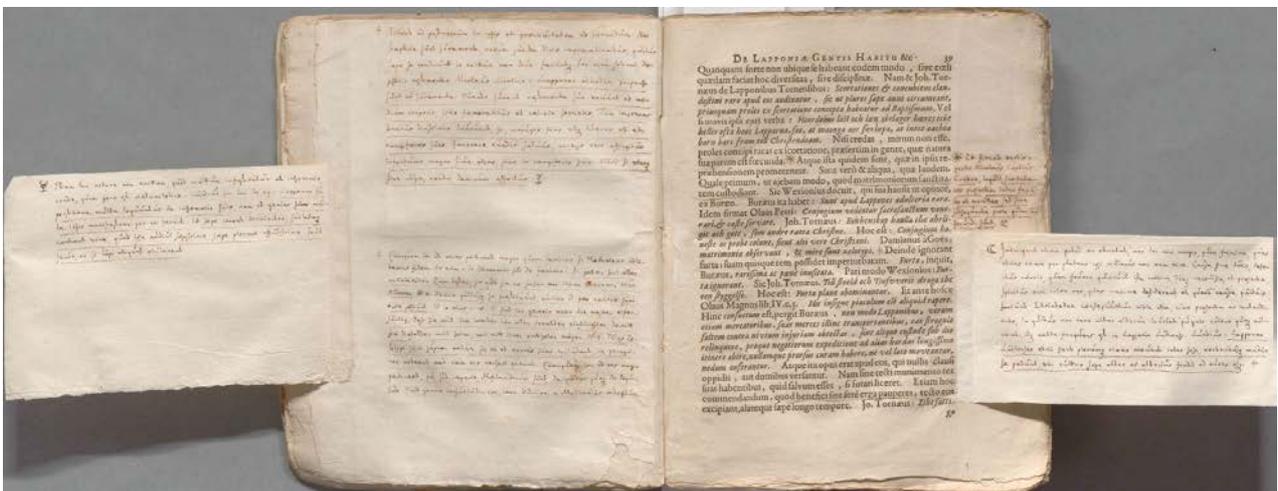


Figure 2: Schefferus' private copy of *Lapponia* with handwritten interfoliations, KB F.e. 7. Photograph courtesy of KB Stockholm.

Fortunately, Schefferus' own exemplar of *Lapponia* survived. Today, it belongs to the manuscript collection of the Royal Library (Kungliga Biblioteket) in Stockholm.³² It holds a large number of marginal and interfoliated annotations subsequently made by the author. From those, the reader can deduce his mode of revising the first version and the preparation of a new edition that later came into existence in French.

³² KB F.e. 7. Special thanks to the staff at the manuscript collection of *Kungliga Biblioteket* in Stockholm for allowing me to work with this sensitive and invaluable exemplar.

Table 1: Chapter headings of the first four editions

	<i>Laponia (1673)</i>	<i>The History of Lapland (1674)</i>	<i>Lappland (1675)</i>	<i>Histoire de la Laponie (1678)</i>
1	De Vocabulo Laponicæ.	Of the Name of Lapland.	Von dem Nahmen Lappland.	Du Nom de la Laponie, & de celuy de ses Peuples.
2	De Situ Laponicæ.	Of the Situation of Lapland.	Von der Gelegenheit Lapplandes.	De la situation de la Laponie.
3	De Laponicæ Cælo reliquæ Natura.	Of the Temperature of the Air, and soil of Lapland.	Von der Luft und übrigen Beschaffenheit Lapplandes.	Du climat, & de la nature du País de la Laponie.
4	De Divisione Laponicæ.	Of the Division of Lapland.	Von der Abtheilung Lapplandes.	Division de la Laponie.
5	De Laponicæ gentis habitu cum corporis, tum animi.	Of the Laplanders in reference to the inclinations, temper and habit, of their minds and bodies.	Von der Beschaffenheit des Leibes und des Gemüthes der Lappen.	De la maniere dont sont faits les Lapons, leur naturel, & du caractere de leur esprit.
6	De Origine gentis Laponicæ.	Of the Original of the Laplanders.	Von dem Ursprung der Lappen.	De l'Origine des Lapons.
7	De Religione prima Laponum.	Of the Religion of the Laplanders.	Von der Religion der alten Lappen.	De la premiere Religion des Lapons.
8	De Religione Laponum secunda, sive Christiana.	Of the second, or Christian Religion of the Laplanders.	Von der Christlichen Religion der Lappen.	De la seconde Religion des Lapons qui est la Chrétienne.
9	De Reliquis nonnullis paganismi apud eos hoc tempore.	Of some remains of Paganism in Lapland at this time.	Von etzlichen Heidmischen Gebräuchen so biß auff diese Zeit unter denen Lappen im schwange gehen.	De quelques restes du Paganisme qui sont encore parmi les Lapons.
10	De Diis Laponum paganisicis eorumque cultu hodierno.	Of the heathenish Gods of the Laplanders, and their manner of worship at this day.	Von den Heidmischen Göttern welche die Lappen anjetzo noch ehren.	Les Dieux Payens des Lapons, & les honneurs qu'ils leur rendent.
11	De Sacris magicis & magia Laponum.	Of the magicall Ceremonies of the Laplanders.	Von den Zauberkünsten der Lappen.	Des secrets magiques, & de la Magie des Lapons.
12	De Republica Laponum.	Of the Government of the Laplanders.	Von der Policey und Regiment der Lappen.	De la Republique des Lapons.
13	De Judiciis apud Laponas & tributis.	Of the Judicatures and Tributes of the Laplanders.	Von den Gerichten und Schatzungen der Lappen.	De la Justice parmi les Lapons & des Tributs.
14	De Nundinis apud Laponas.	Of the Laplanders Fairs, and Customs in Trading.	Von den Jahrmärkten der Lappen.	Des Foires qui se tiennent parmi les Lapons.
15	De Lingua & sermone Laponum.	Of the Language of the Laplanders.	Von der Sprach und Rede der Lappen.	De la Langue, & du discours des Lapons.
16	De Laponum Domiciliis.	Of the Houses of the Laplanders.	Von den Wohnungen der Lappen.	Des Demeures des Lapons.
17	De Vestimentis Laponum.	Of the Garments of the Laplanders.	Von den Kleidern der Lappen.	Des Habits des Lapons.

18	De Victu gentis Laponice.	Of the Diet of the Laplanders.	Von der Speise und Tranck der Lappen.	De la Nourriture des Lapons.
19	De Laponum venationibus.	Of the Hunting of the Laplanders.	Von den Jagden der Lappen.	De la Chasse des Lapons.
20	De Armis atque instrumentis ad venationem fere pertinentibus.	Of the Laplanders Weapons, and other instruments of Hunting.	Von dem Gewehr und Werkzeuge so die Lappen auff der Jagd gebrauchen.	Des Armes & des autres semblables choses dont les Lapons se servent pour la Chalße.
21	De Laponum virorum artibus manuariis.	Of the Laplanders Handy-craft-trades.	Von der Handarbeit und Künste der Lappischen Mannspersohnen.	Des Arts Mechaniques des Lapons.
22	De Negotiis mulierum apud Laponas.	Of the Womens Employments.	Von den Geschäften der Weiber bey den Lappen.	Des occupations des Femmes Laponnes.
23	De Negotiis utriusque sexui communibus.	Of the Employments common to both Sexes.	Von den Geschäften so den Männern und Weibern gemein.	Des occupations communes à l'un & l'autre sexe parmi les Lapons.
24	De Otio & ludis Laponum.	Of their Divertisements.	Von dem Müßiggang und Spielen der Lappen.	Du Loisir & des divertissemens des Lapons.
25	De Sponsaliis & Nuptiis Laponum.	Of their Contracts and Marriages.	Von den Verlöbnißsen und Hochzeiten der Lappen.	Des Fiançailles & des Noces des Lapons.
26	De Puerperio & educatione liberorum.	Of their Child-bearing, and the Education of their Children.	Von dem Kindbette und Aufzuehung der Kinder.	De la Naissance & de l'Education des Enfans.
27	De Morbis Laponum, Obitu & Sepultura.	Of their Diseases, Death and Burial.	Von den Kranckheiten, Todt, und Begräbnißsen der Lappen.	Des Maladies des Lapons, de leur mort, & de leurs funerailles.
28	De Quadrupedibus Laponiæ domesticis.	Of their Cattel.	Von den vierfüßigen zamen Thieren der Lappen.	Des Rennes.
29	De Quadrupedibus Laponiæ feris.	Of the wild Beasts of the Laplanders.	Von den vierfüßigen wilden Thieren der Lappen.	Des Animaux sauvages à quatre pieds qui se trouvent dans la Laponie.
30	De Avibus, piscibus, & aliis.	Of their Birds and Fish.	Von den Vögeln, Fischen und anderen Thieren.	Des Oiseaux, Poissons, & des autres animaux.
31	De Arboribus & Plantis.	Of the Laplanders Trees and Plants.	Von den Bäumen und Pflantzen.	Des Arbres, & des Plantes.
32	De Metallis Laponiæ.	Of their Mettals.	Von den Metallen in Lappland.	Des Metaux de la Laponie.
33	De Lapidibus, Gemmis, & Unionibus.	Of their Stones, Jewels, and Pearls.	Von den Steinen, Edelgesteinen und Perlen.	Des Pierres, des Pierrettes & des Perles.
34	De Aquis & Fluminibus.	Of their Rivers.	Von den Wasser und Flüssen.	Des Eaux & des Fleuves.
35	De Terris montibusque.	Of their Mountains.	Von den Erden und Bergen.	Des Terres & des Montagnes de la Laponie.

Lapponia is a monograph as it treats one subject exclusively. However, given the scope of the subject, an extensive region and its by no means homogenous inhabitants, it deals with numerous associated topics. The first published version from 1673 consists of thirty-five chapters with a number of woodcuts, two copperplate engravings, namely a frontispiece and a map, and several accompanying texts. With one exception, the chapter structures of the first editions in different languages, English (1674), German (1675), French (1678), and Dutch (1682), correspond to that of *Lapponia*. The Dutch-language version *Historie van Lapland* deviates, dividing the text into four books of eleven, seventeen, ten, and sixteen chapters. Its fourth book, titled *Naukeurige beschrijving van Finland en desselfs Inwoonders* (Exact description of Finland and its inhabitants), highlights that the Sámi people and the Finns were sometimes considered to share the same origin. As Table 1 shows, the first four editions hold an identical thematic structure with thirty-five chapters.

The structure itself gives the readers a precise idea of the kind of knowledge disseminated through the monographs. One can define three distinct thematic fields discussed in a varying number of chapters: four chapters deal with the land, twenty-three with the people, and eight with nature. The approach taken by Schefferus suggests an order of things and a hierarchy. Subsection 2.4.2 of the present dissertation elaborates on this in connection with the library theory developed by Schefferus in a manuscript.³³ Providing the monograph with a geographical setting, the land or area described serves as the field discussed first. The main interest in the region derived from the people living there, who therefore receive detailed treatment after that. Within the chapters about them, there appears another way of structuring knowledge, addressed on the following pages. After some elaborations on the people, the part on nature especially deals with natural resources such as cattle, fish, wood, metals, and others. In this connection, nature means mostly nature worthy of economic interest and exploitation. The economic agenda for Sweden's treatment of the home region of the Sámi was mercantilism, the idea of maximizing exports and minimizing imports in order to strengthen the Kingdom's economy. This implied a regime of resource exploitation and the mines established in the 17th century bore witness to this political agenda.³⁴

³³ See Ioannes Scefferus, *Ioannis Scefferi Argentoratensis Musæum seu de Optimo Librorum Genere Commentatio*, n.d., U 258c, UUB.

³⁴ See especially Jonas M. Nordin, "Embodied colonialism: the cultural meaning of silver in a Swedish colonial context in the 17th century," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 46, no. 1 (2012): 143-165; Jonas M. Nordin and Carl-Gösta Ojala, "Copper worlds: a historical archaeology of Abraham and Jakob Momma-Reenstierna and their industrial enterprise in the Torne River Valley, c. 1650-1680," *Acta Borealia* 34, no. 2 (2017): 103-133.

The philological approach taken by Schefferus presents itself in the structure starting out with CH. I “De Vocabulo Lapponiæ” (On the Name of Lapland) before discussing the whereabouts of the land itself in CH. II “De Situ Lapponiæ”.³⁵ Schefferus considers terminology the ideal topic to begin his monograph as it already tells attentive observers something about the nature of the object of interest. Following the questions on what it is named and where it is situated, he asks what it is like and writes more specifically in CH. III “De Lapponiæ Cœlo reliquaque Natura” (About the Climate and Nature of Lapland), before dealing with the division of Lapland in CH. IV “De Divisione Lapponiæ”.³⁶ Possibly, Schefferus encountered the approach of writing about a land as the sum of its parts early on in his studies when reading the famous initial sentence of Caesar’s *De bello Gallico*: “Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres[.]”³⁷ (Gaul is a whole divided into three parts). In short, this approach means to first look at the designation of a thing before looking at the thing itself. Schefferus asks, ‘What is the thing called?’ before asking, ‘What is the nature of it?’ The idea behind this approach is that the name of a thing contains information regarding the nature of the very thing. The actual object of interest is then located (‘Where is Lapland?’), before looking at its quality (‘What is Lapland like?’) and structural composition (‘What does it consist of?’).

For the second thematic complex about the inhabitants of the land, a hierarchy is also apparent. In CH. V, Schefferus asks about their disposition, both physically and mentally (‘What are they like?’), then he switches towards their history asking where they came from in CH. VI.³⁸ The next two thematic fields stretch over seven chapters and correspond to the Protestant doctrine of two governments.³⁹ The text discusses the Sámi religion, hence their spiritual government, before looking at their secular government. The chapters about religion suggest chronology and discuss religious practices in both past and present. According to Schefferus, the Sámi had a “Religione prima” (CH. VII), a first religion, before accepting Christianity, the “Religione Lapponum secunda” (CH. VIII).⁴⁰ The three following chapters elaborate on this by focusing on “some relics of paganism among them at this time” (CH. IX “De Reliquiis nonnullis paganismi apud eos hoc tempore”), “the pagan Gods of the Laplanders and their present custom of worship” (CH. X “De Diis Lapponum paganis eorumque cultu hodierno”), and “the magical

³⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 1-8, 8-15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16-23, 23-28.

³⁷ An edition Schefferus might have known is: Fulvio Orsini, ed., *C. Julii Caesaris Omnia Quæ Extant Ex Bibliotheca olim Fulvii Vrsini Romani* (Argentorati: Sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri, 1613), 10.

³⁸ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 28-41, 42-56.

³⁹ Eilert Herms, “Two Kingdoms Doctrine,” in *Religion Past and Present* (Brill, 2011).

⁴⁰ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 56-63, 63-85.

rites and sorcery of the Laplanders” (CH. XI “De Sacris magicis & magia Lapponum”).⁴¹ When writing about the religious practices of the Sámi, Schefferus connects their beliefs or worldviews to their alleged sorcery. The presentation and framing of some of their beliefs and practices as paganism allows them to appear as still existing, even though only in relics. Here, Schefferus argues from the vantage point of a teleological Christian worldview and suggests that what he perceives as the so-called paganism is something of the past, while Christianity is both the present and, inevitably, the future.

The first two sentences of CH. XII “De Republica Lapponum” point out how Schefferus differentiates between the two governments: “After the sacred and divine things among the Lapps, we look also at the human things. Those are almost all of two kinds, public and private”.⁴² Accordingly, the secular government governs two spheres, namely public and private life, each subject to a corresponding legal system. This is further elaborated in CH. XIII “De Judiciis apud Lapponas & tributis” with a focus on courts, jurisdiction, and taxation.⁴³ As the collection of taxes took place on market days, CH. XIV “De Nundinis apud Lapponas” discusses those in detail.⁴⁴ One of the practical challenges of this was linguistic barriers, and language is therefore discussed in CH. XV “De Lingua & Sermone Lapponum”.⁴⁵ CH. XII-XV refer to public life, as Schefferus sums up at the beginning of CH. XVI: “Post publicam, de qua huc usque actum, progredimur ad vitam privatam”⁴⁶ (After the public life discussed up until now we advance to the private). The elaborations “De Lapponum Domiciliis” in CH. XVI include remarks about the way of life of a semi-nomadic people necessary to examine the different forms of dwellings common among them.⁴⁷ Again, Schefferus logically follows up on the observations regarding their houses by focusing on how they maintain their lives. CH. XVII “De Vestimentis Lapponum” therefore treats the clothes they wear under various circumstances.⁴⁸ In addition to woollen *wadmál*, they use skins of different animals as clothing.⁴⁹ Closely connected to their attire is the question of their diet. There, different kinds of cattle and game play an equally important role. CH. XVIII “De Victu gentis Lapponicæ” describes their foods and

⁴¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 86-94, 94-119, 119-149.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 149-159, at: 149. “Post res sacras & divinas apud Lapponas videamus & humanas. Sunt hæ duplicis plerumque generis, publicæ & privatæ.”

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 160-167.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 168-177.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 177-189.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 189-204.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 204-214.

⁴⁹ On the usage of *vaðmál* as a currency in Northern Europe from medieval times onwards, see I. Hägg, “Tuch.,” in *RGA 31* (2006), 310-312.

drinks.⁵⁰ Hunting is the next topic, treated in CH. XIX “De Lapponum venationibus”, providing food, clothes, and an income.⁵¹ Aside from describing the procedures of hunting, Schefferus is also interested in the tools and weapons used. CH. XX “De Armis atque instrumentis ad venationem fere pertinentibus” tells about them.⁵² Having dedicated two chapters to this essential and exclusively male occupation, Schefferus continues with other designated male occupations in CH. XXI “De Lapponum virorum artibus manuariis”, before elaborating on women’s employments in CH. XXII “De Negotiis mulierum apud Lapponas”.⁵³ A description of occupations that are not specifically male or female follows in CH. XXIII “De Negotiis utriusque sexui communibus”.⁵⁴

Up to this point, the chapters about the people of Lapland have dealt with topics of primary interest to the authorities, either for reasons of mission strategy, government, or economy. With CH. XXIV “De Otio & ludis Lapponum”, Schefferus turns his attention towards the customs and, as part of this, discusses pastimes and games, before recounting betrothal and marriage in CH. XXV “De Sponsaliis & Nuptiis Lapponum”.⁵⁵ The significance of marrying to start a family logically leads to an overview of childbirth and upbringing, presented in CH. XXVI “De Puerperio & educatione liberorum”.⁵⁶ As most matters of importance for life have been treated by now, Schefferus directs his attention towards the dangers to and the end of life as well as the sicknesses common among the Sámi. This includes death and funeral practices. CH. XXVII “De Morbis Lapponum, Obitu & Sepultura” starts out with the following remark: “Lappones tametsi aspere duriterque vivant, tamen commodissima utuntur valetudine”⁵⁷ (Although the Lapps are living in rough and hard conditions, they still enjoy a very comfortable state of health). The chapter closes with a concise overview of inheritance customs as worldly afterlife proceedings.

At the beginning of CH. XXVIII, the monograph switches focus from the people living there to the “remaining things”, that is the natural surroundings they are living in: “Postquam prolixè satis de Lapponiæ incolis, eorumque ingenio, ac moribus disseruimus, addamus aliqua & de rebus cæteris, notatu digna”⁵⁸ (After we have discussed abundantly enough the inhabitants of Lapland and their disposition and customs, we also add something of the remaining things,

⁵⁰ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 215-226.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 226-244.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 244-252.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 252-259, 260-267.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 267-274.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 274-278, 278-294.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 295-307.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 308-320, at: 308.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 321.

denoted appropriately). The final eight chapters treat nature, again in a hierarchical manner, from mammals, other vertebrates and invertebrates, to trees, plants, soil types, resources, and waters. CH. XXVIII “De Quadrupedibus Lapponiæ domesticis” describes the reindeer in detail and remarks in closing that the only other domesticated quadruped common among the Sámi would be the dog.⁵⁹ CH. XXIX “De Quadrupedibus Lapponiæ feris” deals with several wild quadrupeds, among them bear, wolf, wolverine, and a number of rodents.⁶⁰ CH. XXX “De Avibus, piscibus, & aliis” describes birds, fish and insects.⁶¹ In CH. XXXI “De Arboribus & Plantis”, Schefferus continues with elaborations about trees and other plants.⁶² CH. XXXII “De Metallis Lapponiæ” approaches the economically important question of mineral resources by recounting the history of mining in the region.⁶³ Closely connected with this, CH. XXXIII “De Lapidibus, Gemmis atque Vnionibus” examines the minerals, precious stones and pearls of Lapland.⁶⁴ CH. XXXIV “De Aquis & Fluminibus” follows up thematically, as it treats the habitat of pearl-producing mussels and oysters, namely waters.⁶⁵ With rivers and lakes discussed in the penultimate chapter, CH. XXXV “De Terris Montibusque” rounds up Schefferus’ monograph through descriptions of the soil and mountains of the region.⁶⁶

As presented in Table 1, the structures of the English, German and French adaptations followed suit. Regarding the contents, *Histoire de la Laponie* includes an augmentation in the form of the fifty-page text “Additions”. It contains all handwritten annotations and drawings Schefferus added to his exemplar of *Lapponia*.⁶⁷ The Dutch *Historie van Lapland*, integrating the “Additions” in the running text, offers a structure of four books and fifty-four chapters. The naming practice deviates significantly, in that the chapter headings consist of keywords to help the reader to gain insight into the main topics of the relevant chapter. Furthermore, both the French and the Dutch version feature marginalia. For *Histoire de la Laponie*, they provide references, and in rare occurrences, explanatory information. *Historie van Lapland*, however, employs side notes to summarize what the paragraph, section, or sentence next to them deals with. This was especially helpful for readers who wanted to consult the monograph as a reference work and quickly look up a certain topic.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 321-335.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 336-347.

⁶¹ Ibid., 347-357.

⁶² Ibid., 357-362.

⁶³ Ibid., 362-368.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 368-372.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 372-375.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 375-378.

⁶⁷ See also the proceedings of how *Histoire de la Laponie* came into existence in Section 4.3

Book I of the *Historie van Lapland* begins with CH. I “De naam van Lapland en desselfs Volkeren. Kleeden. Samojeden” (The name of Lapland and its peoples. Cloths. Samoyeds).⁶⁸ The ethnonym “Samojeden” underlines that the anonymous editor did more than translate and, at times, added his own interpretations to the text, which cannot be found in the four previous versions. In this way, out of all adaptations published in the 17th century, *Historie van Lapland* differs the most from *Lapponia*. New illustrations by Jan Luyken (1649-1712) add to this difference.⁶⁹ The chapter headings serve to highlight the contents of the individual chapters. For the titles of the four books, one can observe a similar function (see Table 2).

Table 2: The titles of the four books of *Historie van Lapland* with a translation into English

I. Waaragtige en Aanmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland. Behelsende Desselfs Oorspronk, Landen, Godsdiensten, Tovery, 't Gebruik des Tover-Trommels, en Wind koopen, by haar in swang gaande.	Truthful and remarkable history of Lapland. Comprising its origin, lands, forms of worship, sorcery, the usage of sorcerer's drums, and selling of wind, a common practice among them.
II. Waaragtige en Aenmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland. Tweede boek.	Truthful and remarkable history of Lapland. Second book.
III. Zeldzame en Aanmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland. Derde boek. Handelende van de Gedierten, Gewassen, Gebergten, Steenen, Metalen en Wateren.	Strange and remarkable history of Lapland. Third book. Treating the animals, plants, mountains, stones, metals and waters.
IV. Naukeurige beschrijving van Finland, en desselfs inwoonders. Vierde boek.	Accurate description of Finland, and its inhabitants. Fourth book.

The author of the preface explains the reasoning for this structure as such:

To avoid any confusion, and to give an orderly form to this body, we have divided the same into three particular parts, of which the first one treats the lands, their division, peoples, sorceries, and more such things: the second one their government, worshipping, trading, legal matter etc. and the last or third one the beasts, greens, and metals. [...] Now, since the Finns (peoples that have a great similarity with the Lapps) are little-known, we have hereafter added a short description, from which one can easily see, that those two peoples differ little in most things.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, 1.

⁶⁹ Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*," 103-124.

⁷⁰ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, unpaginated. “Om alle wanorder te vermijden, en een behoorlijke gestalte aan dit Lighaam te geven, hebben wy het selve in drie byzondere deelen afgedeeld, in welker eerste gehandeld word van de Landen, der zelve verdeiling, Volkeren, Toveryen, en meer diergelyke zaken: in het tweede van de Regering, Gods-diensten, Koopmanschappen, Regtsaken &c. en in 't laatste of 't derde van de Beesten, Kruyden, en Metalen. [...] Wyl nu de Finnen (volkeren die een groote gemeenschap met de Lappen hebben) weinig bekend sijn, hebben wy hier agter aen een korte beschryving gevoegd, uyt dewelke men gemakkelijk kan beschouwen, dat dese twee volkeren in de meeste zaken weinig van elkanderen verschillen.”

Accordingly, the anonymous editor-translator of the Dutch version retained the overall thematic structure of three parts dealing with land, people, and nature, although with changes. In addition to the name of the land, its situation, inhabitants, and so on, Book I also covers all topics pertaining to religion. Book II however, mostly speaks of the worldly and societal order established in the region. Book III, returning to the main structure suggested above, examines all other things of nature. The shorter Book IV generally replicates the overall structure of books I-III and presents examples of the Finns in a concise manner. The argument thus presented suggests that the Finns and Lapps are sister nations.

For the adaptations of the second generation, *The History of Lapland* in the 1704 and 1751 versions and *Historie van Lapland* in the 1716 version, the reader also finds some differences in structure. *The History of Lapland* 1704 closely follows the chapter structure of *The History of Lapland* 1674. Regarding the wording of the chapter headings, there are some deviations, however, presented in Table 3.

The History of Lapland 1751 follows this thematic order, but does not feature any division into chapters.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the fact that it upholds the treatment of topics in the exact same order demonstrates that this abridged version remained close to its predecessors from 1673 in Latin and 1674 in English.

Historie van Lapland from 1716, however, differs structurally. It contains twenty-nine chapters and highlights some topics to a greater and others to a lesser degree than *Lapponia*. It places even more emphasis on the Sámi people in general, and their purported sorcery, in particular grouping the first eight chapters under the title “’t vermaak der Tover-Hekzen van Lap- en Fin-land”⁷² (the entertainment of the spell-witches of Lap- and Finland) and the remaining twenty-one chapters under the title “Historie van Lapland, en desselfs Inwoonderen”⁷³ (History of Lapland and its inhabitants), although these intertitles are not listed in the table of chapters (see Table 4).

⁷¹ A possible division into chapters would give the following starting pages for each of the chapters: I: 1, II: 2, III: 5, IV: 7, V: 8, VI: 11, VII: 12, VIII: 13, IX: 19, X: 20, XI: 27, XII: 38, XIII: 42, XIV: 44, XV: 46, XVI: 48, XVII: 52, XVIII: 56, XIX: 60, XX: 63, XXI: 64, XXII: 65, XXIII: 66, XXIV: 68, XXV: 71, XXVI: 76, XXVII: 79, XXVIII: 82, XXIX: 84, XXX: 86, XXXI: 87, XXXII: 88, XXXIII: 89, XXXIV: 89, XXXV: 89. See Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*.

⁷² Schefferus and Blefkenius, *Historie van Lapland 1716*, 1-43.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 44-168.

Table 3: A comparison of the chapter headings of *The History of Lapland 1674* and *1704*

	<i>The History of Lapland (1674)</i>	<i>The History of Lapland (1704)</i>
1	Of the Name of Lapland.	=
2	Of the Situation of Lapland.	=
3	Of the Temperature of the Air, and soil of Lapland.	Of the Temperature of the Air, and Nature of the Soil of Lapland.
4	Of the Division of Lapland.	=
5	Of the Laplanders in reference to the inclinations, temper and habit, of their minds and bodies.	Of the Temper of the Laplanders, and some other Qualifications relating both to their Minds and Bodies.
6	Of the Original of the Laplanders.	Of the Origine of the Laplanders.
7	Of the Religion of the Laplanders.	Of the first Religion of the Laplanders.
8	Of the second, or Christian Religion of the Laplanders.	= (Of the Second, or the Christian Religion of the Laplanders.)
9	Of some remains of Paganism in Lapland at this time.	Of some remainders of Paganism in Lapland at this Time.
10	Of the heathenish Gods of the Laplanders, and their manner of worship at this day.	Of the Pagan Gods of the Laplanders, and their manner of Worshipping them at this Time.
11	Of the magicall Ceremonies of the Laplanders.	Of the Magical Ceremonies, and Arts of the Laplanders.
12	Of the Government of the Laplanders.	=
13	Of the Judicatures and Tributes of the Laplanders.	Of the Courts of Justice, and Tributes of the Laplanders.
14	Of the Laplanders Fairs, and Customs in Trading.	Of the Fairs of the Laplanders.
15	Of the Language of the Laplanders.	=
16	Of the Houses of the Laplanders.	=
17	Of the Garments of the Laplanders.	=
18	Of the Diet of the Laplanders.	Of the Diet of the Lapland Nation.
19	Of the Hunting of the Laplanders.	=
20	Of the Laplanders Weapons, and other instruments of Hunting.	Of the Arms and Hunting Instruments of the Laplanders.
21	Of the Laplanders Handy-craft-trades.	Of the Handicraft Trades belonging to the Men in Lapland.
22	Of the Womens Emploiments.	Of the Emploiments of the Lapland Women.
23	Of the Emploiments common to both Sexes.	= (Of the Emploiments common to both Sexes.)
24	Of their Divertisements.	Of the Sports and Pastimes of the Laplanders.
25	Of their Contracts and Marriages.	The manner of Courtship and Marriages of the Laplanders.
26	Of their Child-bearing, and the Education of their Children.	=
27	Of their Diseases, Death and Burial.	Of the Diseases, Death and Burials of the Laplanders.
28	Of their Cattel.	Of the Four-footed Domestick Creatures of the Laplanders.
29	Of the wild Beasts of the Laplanders.	=
30	Of their Birds and Fish.	Of the Birds and Fishes.
31	Of the Laplanders Trees and Plants.	Of the Trees and Plants in Lapland.
32	Of their Mettals.	Of the Metals of Lapland.
33	Of their Stones, Jewels, and Pearls.	=
34	Of their Rivers.	Of their Rivers and standing Waters.
35	Of their Mountains.	Of their Grounds and Mountains.

Table 4: The chapter headings of *Historie van Lapland 1716* with a translation into English

1	Van de Verborgene Tover-konst.	Of the hidden sorcery.
2	't Gesprek der Laplanders, met de Duivel en de Kabouter-mannetjes.	Conversation of the Laplanders with the devil and the kobolds.
3	Van de Tover-Trommelen der Laplanders en andere Instrumenten daar toe dienende.	Of the sorcerer-drums of the Laplanders and other instruments serving for this.
4	Geen Vrouwen nog huwbare Dogters mogen de Trommel aanraken.	Neither women nor marriageable daughters may touch the drum.
5	Op wat wijze zy dingen weten, die in verre gelegene landen gebeuren.	Through which manner they know things that happen in distant lands.
6	Om op de Trommel te zien, wat order zy moeten houden in 't Jagen.	On seeing on the drum what order they have to hold during the hunt.
7	De Laplanders gebruiken nog andere Instrumenten tot de Toverijen.	The Laplanders use yet other instrument for the sorceries.
8	Stellen hare Toverij de een tegen d'andere in 't werk, en Verhaal daar van.	[They] put their sorcery at work one against the other, and account thereof.
9	Van't Klimaat en den Aart van Lapland.	Of the climate and the nature of Lapland.
10	Van de manieren der Lappen, haar Natuur en Aart. Zijn kleine Menschen. Oorzaak. Leelijkheid der Mannen. De Vrouwen zijn moijer, enz:	Of the manners of the Lapps, their nature and kind. [They] are small people. Reason. Ugliness of the men. The women are more beautiful, etc.
11	d'Eerste Religie der Lappen. Heidendom. De God Jumala, Thor en Turrisas. Koning Torrus. Verscheide Goden. Eere die men Jumala aan doet; gelijkt na Thoron. Opper-God. is van Hout gemaakt; Offering van Goud. Goude Tas. Hoe de Tempel is. Wat het woord Hof is.	The first religion of the Lapps. Heathendom. The god Jumala, Thor and Turrisas. King Torrus. Different gods. Honor one bestows upon Jumala, alike behind Thoron. Chief-god. Made of wood; offering of gold. Golden cup. What the temple is like. What the word Hof is.
12	Van de Markten welke onder de Lappen gehouden werden, enz:	Of the markets which are being held among the Lapps, etc.
13	Wat waren de Laplanders tegens hare goederen, die op prijs gestelt zijn, ruilen.	What [kind of] wares the Laplanders exchange for their goods on which they set value.
14	Van het Voedsel, Spijs en Drank der Lappen, en hoe de Kinderen de Rheën zuigen.	Of the diet, food and drink of the Lapps, and how the children suckle the reindeers.
15	Van de Lappen haar Zaucen en Toe-spijzen.	Of the sauces and side dishes of the Lapps.
16	Van de Lappen haar Confituren. Hoeze de Moerbesien bewaren. Bereiden die met Vis, enz:	Of the jams of the Lapps. How they conserve the mulberries. They prepare them with fish, etc.
17	De Lappen houden veel van Tabak. Snuiftabak. Ogtent en Avond-maal. Eet-plaats. Hebben geen order in 't zitten. Geen Tafel. Borden om op te eten. Houde vaten. Zijn Gulsigaarts. Twe plegtelijkheden na de Maaltijd.	The Lapps like tobacco a lot. Snuff. Breakfast and supper. Dining corner. [They] have no seating order. No table. Boards to eat on. Wooden vats. [They] are voracious. Two ceremonies after the meal.
18	Van de Jagt der Laplanders. Superstite op de Jagt. Bere Jagt met een Bijl. Eten weinig voor het uitgaan op de Jagt.	Of the hunt of the Laplanders. Superstition during the hunt. Bear hunt with an axe. [They] eat little before leaving for the hunt.
19	Hoe de Lappen de Herminnen vangen. De Jagt van Eekhorentjes. Vangst van Marteldieren. Vosse-vangst. Haze-vangst. Bever-vangst. Hoe men de Wolven vangt. Hoe men de Linxen en Jærfs vangt. De vangst der Rheën.	How the Lapps catch stoats. The hunting of squirrels. Catch of martens. Fox catch. Hare catch. Beaver catch. How one catches wolves. How one catches lynxes and wolverines. The catching of reindeer.
20	Beere-jagt. Uitkiesing van een Trommel-slager. Gaan met order na het Bos. Zy nemen elk een stok. Gezangen op de Jagt. Slaan de Beeren dood. Rust der Rhee die de Beeren trekt. Bouwen een Hutte daarze de Beeren doden, enz:	Bear hunt. Choosing of a drummer. [They] go with order into the forest. They take each a stick. Songs on the hunt. [They] strike the bears dead. Break of the reindeer that treks the bears. [They] build a hut where they kill the bears, etc.

21	Uitdeling van Vlees aan de Vrienden. Begraven de Beenen. Schieten na de Beerenhuid. Vogel-vangst. Superstitie in de selve Vogel-vangst, enz:	Distribution of meat to the friends. [They] bury the bones. [They] shoot for the bear hide. Bird-catch. Superstition in the same bird-catch, etc.
22	Van 't vermaak en divertissementen der Lappen. Haar luyigheid. Houden veel van malkander te bezoeken. Verscheide Spelen: Springen om verst. Springen om hoogst. Boog-schieten. Priemie. Bal-slaan of Kolven. Kogels-spel. Beproeven malkanders kragten.	Of the entertainment and diversion of the Lapps. Their laziness. [They] like a lot to visit each other. Different games: Long jump. High jump. Archery. Prize. Ball-strike or Kolven. Ballgame. [They] test each other's strength.
23	Van het Trouwen der Lappen. Waar na de vryer ziet, als hy Trouwen wil. Houwelijks goed. Versoeken van't Houwelijk. De vryer wert binnen geroepen. Gaat zijn vryster begroeten. Geeft haar geschenken. Hoe het ja woort gegeven werd, enz:	Of the marriages of the Lapps. What the wooer looks for when he wants of marry. Proposing marriage. The wooer is called in. [He] goes to greet his beloved. [He] gives her gifts. How the wedding vow is given, etc.
24	Van de Lappen haar Gezang. Minne-zang. Houden geen toon nog maat in 't Zingen. Geschenken. Regt der vryers. Regt der Ouders. Bruiloft. Bruilofs-kleden. Hoeze Trouwen. Verborgentheden des Houwlijks by de vuur-steen vergeleken.	Of the singing of the Lapps. Love-song. [They] hold neither tone nor time while singing. Gifts. Rights of the lovers. Wedding. Wedding dress. How they marry. Secrecies of the wedding at the firestone compared.
25	De Speel-noods werden geleid. Oorder in't gaan. Geleid des Bruids. Droefheid des Bruids. Ontfangen de zegen in de Kerk. Gaan na Huis toe, enz:	The bridesmaids are being led. Order of going. Escort of the bride. Sadness of the bride. [They] receive the blessing in the church. [They] go home, etc.
26	Van de geboorte der Kinderen. Verlangen zeer na Kinderen. Oud gebruik van't byslapen, enz:	Of childbirth. [They] desire children much. Old custom of intercourse, etc.
27	Op wat maniere de Laplandze Vrouwen hare Kinderen laten Dopen. Hoe het Kind ten Doop over gebragt wert. Namen diese de Kinderen geven, enz:	In what manner Laplandish women have their children baptized. How the child is brought to baptism. Names they give to children, etc.
28	Opvoedinge der Kinderen. Zuigen. Wiegen. Hoe zy Wiegen. Speel-goed voor de Kinderen, enz:	Upbringing of the children. Nursing. Swaying. How they sway. Toys for the children, etc.
29	Van de Minnen die in Lapland gevonden werden. Ontdekking van Silver-minen; Loot-aders; enz:	Of the mines found in Lapland. Discovery of silver mines; lead-lodes; etc.

Table 4 represents the chapter headings exactly as they are listed in the table of contents of *Historie van Lapland 1716* and not as they appear in the respective chapters themselves. The headings of chapters XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, and XXIX are actually more detailed.⁷⁴ The reason for this abridgment was merely of technical nature, since the printer could thus fit all headings of the five final chapters on one sheet of paper.

For the majority of the various adaptations, the structures are in accordance with the first edition. Only the Dutch editions employ a quite different ordering of topics and deviate

⁷⁴ Ibid. For c. xxv, see 139: "Order aan de Tafel. Hebben geen Muzijk Instrumenten. Weten van geen Danssen. Houwlijks goed, enz:" (Order at the table, Have no music instruments. Know of no dances. Marriage portion, etc.); for c. xxvi, see 148: "Oorsaak der Onvrugtbareheid. Hoeze weten datze een Jongetjen of Meisjen zullen Baren. De Vrouw wert by de Maan vergeleken. Kraam-leggen, enz:" (Reason for infertility. How they know that they will birth a boy or a girl. The woman is compared to the moon. Labour pains, etc.); for c. xxviii, see 156: "De Vaders leren de Zoons, en de Moeders de Dogters. De Vaders leren de Kinders met de Boog schieten. Zorg der Vaders. Vaardige Schieters, enz:" (The fathers teach the sons, and the mothers the daughters. The fathers teach the children to shoot with the bow. Care of the fathers. Worthy shooters, etc.); for c. xxix, see 162: "Loot-minen. Silver-minen. Marcasita. Werk-huis. De luiheid der Lappen is d' oorsaak dat de Minen niet ontdekt werden. Koper-minen, enz:" (Lead mines. Silver mines. Marcasite. Workshop. The lazyness of the Lapps is the reason that the mines are not being discovered. Copper mines, etc.).

significantly in the presentation of the chapters' contents. It is fair to say that they amount to more than chapter headings in the classical sense, given that they not only summarize the entirety of a chapter's contents, but even more minute details. The extreme example, the first Dutch edition *Historie van Lapland*, has chapter headings at times the size of extensive paragraphs. For a complete list of them in the Dutch original and English translation, see Appendix 1.

1.2 COMMUNICATING KNOWLEDGE TO THE READER – THE PARATEXT

In Gérard Genette's words, chapter headings form part of what he defined as paratext. Paratext is any text that accompanies a base text and transforms it into a book. It is one of the five types of Genette's typology of text-text relation, which he calls *transtextuality*.⁷⁵ He famously elaborated on paratext in *Seuils* (thresholds).⁷⁶ In Genette's definition, "the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public".⁷⁷ This encompasses title, preface, footnotes, annotations, table of contents, illustrations, et cetera. Genette also distinguishes between peritexts and epitexts. Peritext is paratext materially connected with the base text, such as the front matter and chapter titles. Epitext is paratext existing without a material connection to the base text. This includes for instance interviews, letters, or texts created for advertising. Some of the statements from Schefferus' correspondence, which I explore in Subsections 3.5.6 and 3.5.7, and especially Chapter 4, can and should be read as epitext. Together, peritext and epitext form the paratext of a base text. Further, Genette distinguishes between paratext as autographic, written by the author of the base text, and allographic, written by someone else.⁷⁸

Recent years have seen an increase in the use of paratext as an analytical category both for older texts and for non-fiction literature.⁷⁹ Until now, the paratext of the corpus examined here

⁷⁵ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: literature in the second degree*, (Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1.

⁷⁶ Genette, *Seuils*; see also Gérard Genette, *Paratexte. Das Buch vom Beiwerk des Buches*, *Seuils*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 1992); and Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation*, *Seuils*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁷⁷ Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

⁷⁸ Thomas Wegmann, Torsten Voß, and Nadja Reinhard, "Auktoriale Paratexte um 1800. Einleitung," in "*Drumherum geschrieben?*": *Zur Funktion auktorialer Paratexte für die Inszenierung von Autorschaft um 1800*, ed. Torsten Voß (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2019), 7-33, at: 7-26.

⁷⁹ See for instance Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, eds., *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)*, *Early Modern Literature in History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Laura Jansen, ed., *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Terence Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia in early modern Europe: paratexts and contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

has only been analysed sporadically.⁸⁰ There is, as of today, no detailed comparative analysis of some or all of it. The different and, at times, contradictory character of the adaptations of *Lapponia* becomes obvious when examining the contextual information provided within the frame of paratext. A close comparison of the paratexts of the five first editions in Latin, English, German, French, and Dutch, and of the consecutive adaptations in English (1704, 1751) and Dutch (1716) reveals crucial information on the circumstances of their production and publication. The preface (and all other paratext and text) of the German version, for instance, is based entirely on the Latin version, and attempts to emulate it word for word.⁸¹

The following selective analysis treats nine different categories of paratextual variation, namely (1) frontispiece, (2) title page, (3) foreword, (4) preface, (5) list of sources or authorities, (6) privilege and imprimatur, (7) the map, (8) side notes and footnotes, and (9) indices of the content. In addition to these additional texts and elements, there are also the many detailed illustrations that played a significant role for the success of the editions. Apart from the abstracted *History of Lapland* from 1751, all editions feature a number of illustrations. While they have often been employed to furnish the title pages of popular science publications on the Sámi or to illustrate scholarly studies, to my knowledge they have so far only been studied in depth by Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen.⁸² However, an analysis of the thirty-nine illustrations and their variants goes beyond the scope of the present study. For an overview of the paratextual structure of all discussed versions, see Table 5. There, I have also included the category of additions, some of which I discuss briefly in Section 4.3. In the table, capital letters designate variants, while numbers indicate variations of these.

⁸⁰ An example focussing on the English-language versions is Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800."

⁸¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated; Schefferus, *Lapland*, unpaginated.

⁸² Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*."; Bergesen, "*Lapponia* and the Drum."; Bergesen, "Hybrid Iconoclasm: Three Ways of Viewing the Sámi as the Other."; Bergesen, "Images of Sámi Religion in a Protracted Reformation."; furthermore, a short comparative analysis has been presented by Eli Høyðalsnes, *Møte mellom tid og sted: Bilder av Nord-Norge* (Oslo: Bonytt, 2003), 106-112.

Table 5: Overview of the paratextual structure of all versions analysed

	1673 (Latin)	1674 (English)	1675 (German)	1678 (French)	1682 (Dutch)	1704 (English)	1716 (Dutch)	1751 (English)
Frontispiece	A	A1	A	A2	B	A3	B1	-
Title page	A	A1	A2	B	C	D	E	F
Dedication address	A (whole-page)	-	A1 (half-page)	B (half-page)	-	-	-	-
Foreword	A	-	A1	B	-	-	-	-
Preface	A	B	A1	C	D	E	-	-
Source list	A	-	A1	-	-	-	-	-
Privilege / Imprimatur	A (frontispiece)	B (Imprimatur)	A (frontispiece)	C (privilege)	-	-	-	-
Map	A	A1	A	B	C	B	-	-
Side notes / Footnotes	-	-	-	A	B	C	-	D
Table of Contents	A	A1	A2	A3	-	A4	B	-
Additions	-	-	-	A (Schefferus' annotations)	B (description of Finland)	A1, C, D (several ones)	E (Blekenius)	-
Subject Index	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-
Illustrations	A (25)	A1 (25)	A (25)	A2 (25), B (3)	C+B1 (14+1)	A2+B (25+2)	C1 (2)	-

1.2.1 THE FRONTISPIECE

In terms of the printed pages bound in a book cover, and the paratextual structure from cover to cover, the first element encountered by the reader upon opening a volume is the frontispiece. This is the case for all of the editions except for the English version from 1751. Regarding the design of the frontispiece, there are two variants, here named A and B. A and its variations depict two spaces: a museum-like room, and an outdoor scene. The upper museum-like room depicts several artefacts and two male figures placed on a shelf-like structure.⁸³ The arrangement of items taken from the animal world, the religious sphere and Sámi everyday life resembles that of a cabinet of curiosities.⁸⁴ The lower section depicts a figure sitting on a grassy and earthy patch of land busy sewing a boat in the open air, as indicated by the representation of the sky in the background of this section. In the centre of the copper plate engraving, the inside of a reindeer fur hung up for drying bears a text:

JOHANNES SCHEFFERUS
of Straßburg
LAPPONIA
With royal privilege of the Majesty of Sweden
Frankfurt and Leipzig⁸⁵

For *Lapponia* and some exemplars of *Lappland*, there is also a reference to the bookseller Christian Wolff (fl.1672-1674) and 1674, the year of production.⁸⁶ Other copies of *Lappland* instead refer to bookseller Martin Hallervord (fl.1643-1693) and the year 1675. The reason for this is that the producer of both versions was the printer Andreae.

Two ropes nailed to the wall keep the fur in position. The reindeer's skull, antlers, shanks, and hooves are still joined to the skin. The hooves extend downwards into the sky above the boat-builder in the lower section. To the left of the antlers a *sieidi* (sacred natural item), and to the right a Sámi drum (*goavddis*) are placed on wooden shelves. The markings on the drum can be classified as heliocentric and hint at an origin in the southern parts of Sápmi.⁸⁷ The figure

⁸³ Bergesen, "Lapponia and the Drum," 129-151, at: 141-143.

⁸⁴ Jan C. Westerhoff, "A World of Signs: Baroque Pansemioticism, the Polyhistor and the Early Modern Wunderkammer," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62, no. 4 (2001): 633-650, at: 643.

⁸⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*. "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia Cum Privileg: Reg: Majest: Sveciæ Francofurti et Lipsiæ".

⁸⁶ As the catalogues for the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs in autumn 1673 indicate, the book was for sale by that time. This means that the year of production was 1673 and the notion of 1674 was probably only inserted to let it appear more novel. N.N., *Catalogus Universalis pro Nundinis Francofurtensibus Autumnalibus De Anno M. DC. LXXIII* (Francofurti: Impensis Hæredum Sigismundi Latomi, 1673), unpaginated; N.N., *Catalogus Universalis. Hoc est: Designatio omnium Librorum, qui hisce Nundinis Autumnalibus Francofurtensibus & Lipsiensibus Anni 1673. vel novi, vel emendatiores & auctiores prodierunt.* (Leipzig: In Verlegung Johann Grossens und Consort., 1673), unpaginated.

⁸⁷ Risto Pulkkinen, "Drum markings.," in *Saami* (2005), 72-73.

on the left holds a wooden sleigh, the one on the right a trident-like fishing spear with seven barbed prongs in his right hand and a pair of skis in his left. The skis are not equally long, since they had different purposes. The long ski was used to slide and the short one for pushing.⁸⁸ As Roland Huntford pointed out, a comparable binding was illustrated in a new edition of Benedictus Balduinus' (d.1632) work on ancient footwear *De calceo antiqua* in 1667.⁸⁹ The figure holding skis and a fishing spear is wearing a bird skin with intact head and feathers as a hat. Almost one hundred years later, Knud Leem (1697-1774), professor of the "Lappish language" at the *Seminarium lapponicum Fridericianum* in Trondheim mentioned in his *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper* (Description of the Lapps of Finnmark) that the Sámi occasionally wore hats made of the skin of a diver.⁹⁰

Next to the boat in the bottom section, an axe and a rope lie on the ground. All three figures wear boots that resemble one type used by the Sámi and the traditional *gákti* as outerwear.⁹¹ Attached to their belts are rings on the end of chains. While the two figures standing wear mittens, the boat-builder is barehanded, and wears a pointed cap like the figure on the left. The two standing figures have differently styled beards. Standing next to the reindeer skin, they appear to look at the text or at each other. They hold the sleigh and the skis up as if they were to present them. This notional presentation or 'offer' has several potential recipients: Schefferus, the work itself, De la Gardie, the general readership, or a visitor to the collection depicted. The compilation of items shown in the frontispiece serves as a summary of *Lapponia*. Schefferus also describes them in the text. For instance, he writes about the *sieidi* in CH. X "Of the pagan Gods of the Laplanders and their present custom of worship" and about the Sámi drum in CH. XI "Of the magical rites and sorcery of the Laplanders".⁹² For *Lapponia* and *Lappland*, both printed by Andreæ, the use of the same frontispiece copper plates meant that the result did not differ significantly apart from the usual deviations occurring during production.

⁸⁸ As depicted in Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 248; See also Anna Idström, "Skis.," in *Saami* (2005), 395.

⁸⁹ Roland Huntford, *To planker og en lidenskap: Skiløpingens historie*, trans. Jan Christensen (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2006), 44.

⁹⁰ Knud Leem, *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, deres Tungemaal, Levemaade og forrige Afgudsdyrkelse, oplyst ved mange Kaabberstykker ... De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ, eorumque Lingva, Vita et Religione Pristina Commentatio, multis tabulis æneis illustrata* (Kjøbenhavn: Trykt udi det Kongel. Wäysenhuses Bogtrykkerie af G.G. Salikath, 1767), 70-71.

⁹¹ "Seahkohat are boots with side-pieces all the way to the curved tip." Gunvor Guttorm, "Skin clothes.," in *Saami* (2005), 393-395; Kirsti Aapala, "gákti," in *Saami* (2005), 129.

⁹² Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 94-119. "De Diis Lapponum paganis, eorumque cultu hodierno.," Ibid., 119-149. "De Sacris magicis & magia Lapponum."



Figure 3: Frontispiece of *Lapponia*, 1673. Photograph courtesy of Kansalliskirjasto Helsinki.

The frontispiece of *The History of Lapland* (1674) imitates that of *Lapponia*, proportioning the illustration to the larger folio format. Therefore, an anonymous engraver had to make a new copper plate. Details vary slightly, such as more prominent clouds in the sky and a greater number of planks in the boat in the lower section. The facial expressions of the two standing figures have also been changed, and there are some alterations to the symbols on the drumhead. Other than that, mainly the textual elements differ significantly. Apart from a new text on the reindeer skin, information on press and year of publication, “At the Theater in Oxon 1674”, was included below the sitting boat-builder. The text on the reindeer skin reads:

THE HISTORY OF
LAPLAND
Wherein are shewed the
Original, Manners, Habits,
Marriages, Conjurations, &c
of that People.
Written
by
Iohn Shefferus
Professor of Law & Rhetor
rick at Upsal in Sweden.⁹³

Anglicization renders Schefferus’ name here as “Iohn Shefferus”, his professorship is termed one of Law and Rhetoric, instead of Eloquence and Politics. There is no notion of him being from Straßburg, but of his institutional affiliation with the University of Uppsala.

The French *Histoire de la Laponie* introduces yet another variant of motif A. Again, while the symbolism remains close to the original, the actual design shows some variance. In addition to the *sieidi* and Sámi drum there are antlers on the shelf, the fishing spear has five instead of seven barbed prongs, and the bottom scene with the boat-builder is decorated with a frame. Furthermore, the patch of land looks harsher and less grassy with a few pebbles on the ground, and in the background of the lower section a stretch of water is visible. Below the copper plate engraving, more prominently framed in comparison to the others, there is some information on the whereabouts of the press: “Ches la veue de Varennes dans la Salle Royale au Vase d’or”. The text on the reindeer skin frames the work as “History of Lapland Translated from the Latin of Jean Scheffer”:

⁹³ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, frontispiece.

HISTOIRE
DE LA
LAPONIE
Traduite du Latin
de Jean Scheffer.⁹⁴

The second English adaptation from 1704 employs an almost exact copy of the frontispiece of *Histoire de la Laponie*. As the minute deviations mostly appear in areas close to the new text, namely on the reindeer skin and skull, it is likely that the same copperplate was recycled and adjusted. The new text presents the work as:

The HISTORY of
LAPLAND
Written in Latin by
JOHN SCHEFFER newly
done into English from
ye last Edition with
large Additions.⁹⁵

Unlike the examples discussed so far, the frontispiece of the *Historie van Lapland* from 1682 has an entirely new design. Bergesen pointed out that Jan Luyken's illustrations convey fundamentally different images to the reader.⁹⁶ All of the people and items depicted are set in a multiscenic landscape, displaying five distinct scenes. The foreground shows a man to the left fixing his ski binding next to a slain bear. Behind him, a devilish creature is presenting the symbols on a drum to a man and a woman. To the very right, a woman holds a baby in a cradle. Three persons and a reindeer carrying another cradle with a baby pass by behind them. One of the persons carries a bow and arrows. Further into the distance and in the centre of the illustration, a group of four is trying to hold two bears at bay. Two dogs accompany the hunters who hold spears, bows and arrows. A third dog is lying on the ground. To the left a person is walking up a hill on which five crouched worshippers surround a *sieidi*. To the right of the hill and further in the distance, there is a body of water and some tents. Fishing parties aboard two boats hold fishing rods, while another party ashore hauls a seine. According to Bergesen, "the composition of the illustration seems to be borrowed from the Christian tradition", connecting it iconographically to the passion of Christ and to Calvary, but also to the demonological idea of the witch Sabbath as depicted through the frontispiece of Johannes Prætorius' (1630-1680)

⁹⁴ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, frontispiece.

⁹⁵ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, frontispiece.

⁹⁶ Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*," 103-124.

Blockes-Berges Verrichtung.⁹⁷ A banner at the top of the detailed scenery gives the work's title as "Truthful and Remarkable History of Lapland and Finland":

Waragtige en Aanmerkenswaardige
HISTORIE
van
LAPLAND en FINLAND.⁹⁸

Below the illustration, the inscription "Amsterdam. By Jan ten Hoorn. 1682." indicates the place of publication, press and year of publication. The frontispiece of the second Dutch adaptation from 1716 is a close copy of Luyken's engraving. While it mostly emulates the original, a few details such as facial expressions, symbols on the drum skin and attire of some of the depicted persons stand out as changed. The banner is different in design and position and holds the even shorter title "Historie van Lapland". The information on place of publication, printed by Jan Klasen (fl.1716-1718) in Leeuwarden, below the illustration does not indicate the year of publication.

The frontispieces can be classified in two groups. Group A consists of *Lapponia* (1673), *The History of Lapland* (1674, 1704), *Lapland* (1675), and *Histoire de la Laponie* (1678), group B of the Dutch versions *Historie van Lapland* (1682, 1716). Only the third version in English from 1751 in the smaller octavo format has no frontispiece.

With the title on the inside of a reindeer skin, A and its variants were following a style mastered by frontispieces such as the one of *Anatomia reformata* (1651), the magnum opus by Schefferus' good friend Thomas Bartholin (1616-1680), showing a flayed human skin, as Bergesen suggested.⁹⁹ Further examples are the frontispiece of Johannes Jonston's *Historia Naturalis de Quadrupedibus* from 1652 where two centaurs hold a lion skin in an archway, and an even closer model, namely that of Nicolaes van Ravesteyn's Dutch translation of Olaus Magnus' *Historia*, titled *Toonneel der Noordsche Landen* and published the same year, depicting two men holding a bearskin with the title on it.¹⁰⁰ The museum-like arrangement with two figures standing on shelves next to the reindeer skin resembles the frontispieces of other

⁹⁷ Ibid. 112-114; see also Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, "Diabolisme i *Lapponias* bokillustrasjoner," *Ottar* 317, no. 4 (2017): 34-41.

⁹⁸ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, frontispiece.

⁹⁹ Bergesen, "Lapponia and the Drum," 141-142; Thomas Bartholin, *Anatomia, ex Caspari Bartholini parentis Institutionibus, omniumque recentiorum & propriis observationibus tertium ad sanguinis circulationem reformata. Cum iconibus novis accuratissimis*. (Lugd. Batavorum: Ex Officina Francisci Hackii, 1651).

¹⁰⁰ Olaus de Groot, *Toonneel Der Noordsche Landen, Daer op in 't kort en karelijck al de wonderen en vreemdigheden, die men in die Landen vindt, vertoont worden* (t' Amsterdam: By Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, Op S. Anthonis Marckt, 1652); Johannes Jonston, *Historiae Naturalis De Quadrupedibus Libri IV*. (Francofurti ad Moenum: Merianus, 1652).

geographical treatises such as Johannes Isacius Pontanus' (1571-1639) *Rerum Danicarum historia* from 1631, Stephanus Johannis Stephanius' (1599-1650) new edition of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* published in 1645, or Andreas Bureus' (1571-1646) *Svecia* from 1631, all of which Schefferus probably knew.¹⁰¹

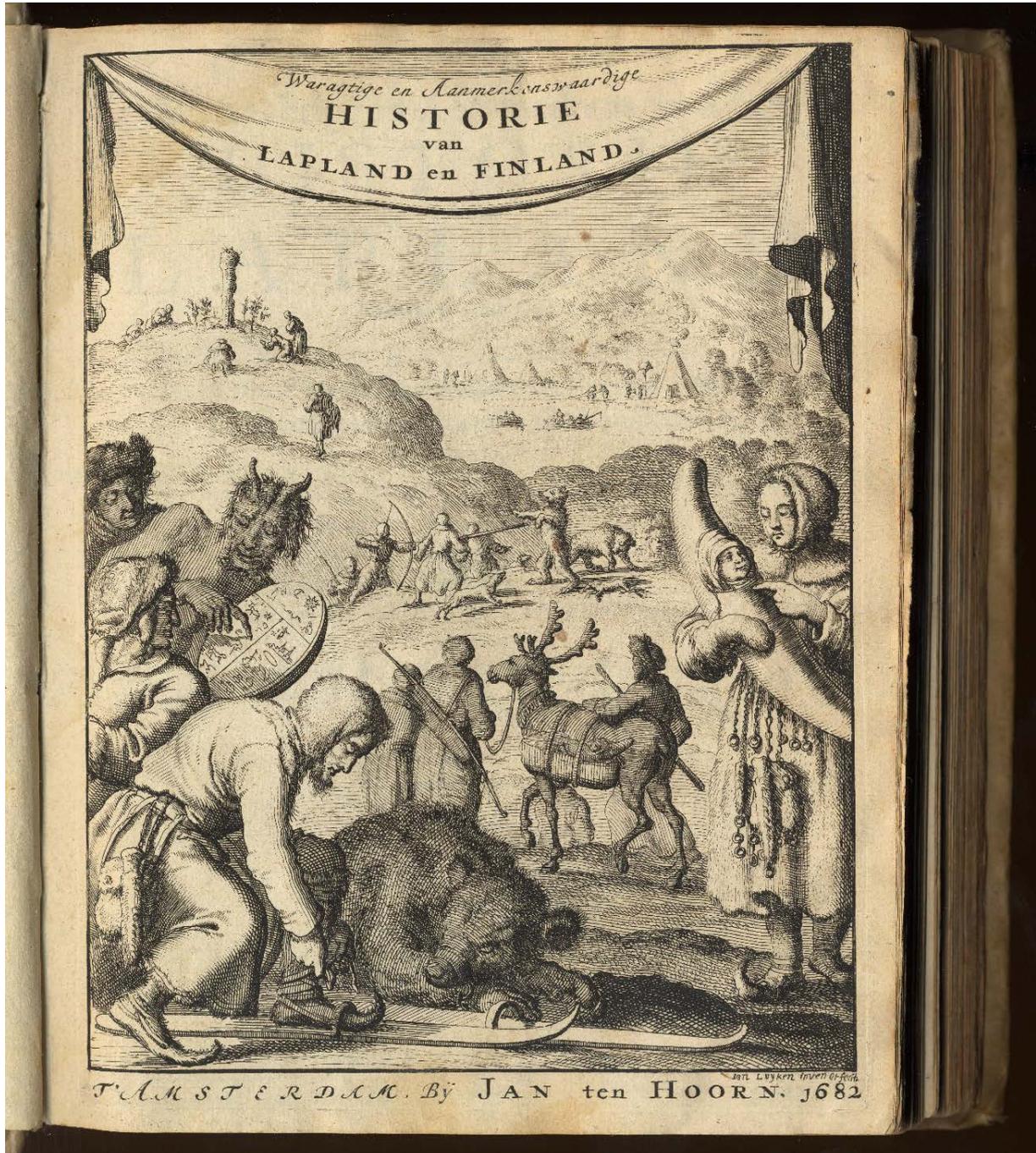


Figure 4: Frontispiece of *Historie van Lapland*, 1682. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

¹⁰¹ Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum historia. Accedit Chorographica Regni Daniae tractusque eius universi borealis Urbiumque Descriptio* (Amstelodami: Ioannis Ianſonii, 1631); Stephanus Johannes Stephanius, "Notæ Vberiores In Historiam Danicam Saxonis Grammatici. Una Cum Prolegomenis ad easdem notas.," in *Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danicæ Libri XVI.*, ed. Stephanus Johannes Stephanius (Soræ: Joachimi Moltkenii, 1645); Andreas Bureus, *Svecia, sive de Suecorum Regis Dominiis et opibus Commentarius politicus*, Soterus, Henricus ed. (Lugdunum Batavorum: Elzevir, 1631).

Since the Latin and German versions were printed at the same press, reusing the copper plates was a cost-efficient choice. Regarding *The History of Lapland* (1674), there was no connection to the Frankfurt press, and, in any case, the new format dictated the need for a new copper plate employing the same motif. As discussed in Section 4.3, Schefferus participated in preparing the enhanced French edition *Histoire de la Laponie*, which included reworks of all of the illustrations, including the frontispiece. The changes to the frontispiece were minute, but, when in 1704 the new adaptation in English appeared, it included the frontispiece of the French version with a text in English, as mentioned in the preface: “The Copper-Cuts we here make use of were done in France by Monsieur Boss”.¹⁰² This implies that the engravings somehow reached England.

This edition and most others made use of variations of frontispiece A, yet the Dutch editions featured a different visual design. As a hub of early modern scholarship, printing, cartography and book trade, there were many reasons for the Netherlands to set trends in the design of books. Other books on geographical topics printed in the Netherlands present similar intricate frontispieces. The new edition of Philippus Cluverius’ (1580-1623) *Introductio in Vniversam Geographiam* from 1661 or Olfert Dapper’s (1636-1689) descriptions *Africa* (1670) and *America* (1673) were elegantly designed works depicting stereotypical scenes with motifs of exploration and far away regions.¹⁰³ Often displaying altar-like scenes, they were also commentaries on religious otherness.

Illustrations of that kind were fashionable on the Dutch book market, as these and many other examples suggest. Presumably, the prevailing Calvinist thought in the Netherlands with its past iconoclastic tendencies played as much a role in the manner of illustration of religious scenes as the splendour of the Baroque era. Bergesen’s analysis of two of Luyken’s illustrations highlight the function of the background and the complexity of the compositions in general.

¹⁰² Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, unpaginated.

¹⁰³ See the frontispieces of Philippus Cluverius and Petrus Bertius, *Introductio in universam geographiam, tam veterem quam novam, libri VI. Accessit P. Bertii Breviarium Orbis Terrarum* (Amstelodami: Elzevir, 1661); Olfert Dapper, *Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa, Und denen darzu gehörigen Königreichen und Landschaften, als Egypten, Barbarien, Libyen, Biledulgerid, dem Lande der Negros, Guinea, Ethiopien, Abyßina, und den Africanischen Insulen: zusamt deren Verscheidenen Nahmen, Grentzen, Städten, Flüssen, Gewächsen, Thieren, Sitten, Trachten, Sprachen, Reichthum, Gottesdienst, und Regierung. Wobey Die Land-Carten, und Abrisse der Städte, Trachten, &c. in Kupfer. Auß unterschiedlichen neuen Land- und Reise-Beschreibungen mit fleiß zusammen gebracht* (Amsterdam: Bey Jacob von Meurs, auf der Kaisers-Graff, in der Stadt Meurs, 1670); Olfert Dapper, *Die Unbekante Neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Welt-teils Amerika, und des Sud-Landes: Darinnen vom Ursprunge der Ameriker und Sudländer, und von den gedenckwürdigen Reysen der Europier darnach zu. Wie auch Von derselben Festen Ländern, Inseln, Städten, Festungen, Dörfern, vornähmsten Gebeuen, Bergen, Brunnen, Flüssen, und Ahrten der Tiere, Beume, Stauden, und anderer fremden Gewächse; Als auch von Gottes- und Götzen-diensten, Sitten, Sprachen, Kleider-trachten, wunderlichen Begäbnissen, und so wohl alten als neuen Kriegen, ausführlich gehandelt wird; Durch und durch mit vielen nach dem Leben in Ameriken selbst entworfenen Abbildungen gezieret.* (Amsterdam: Bey Jacob von Meurs, auf der Keyzersgraft, in der Stadt Meurs, 1673).

Compared to A, the Dutch frontispiece of type B follows the theological, aesthetical and technological developments of the time in the Netherlands to a much higher degree. Bergesen's comparison with contemporary depictions of *Blocksberg* and Calvary arguably also applies in this case.¹⁰⁴



Figure 5: Frontispiece of Nicolaes van Ravesteyn's Dutch translation of Olaus Magnus' *Historia*, 1652. Photograph courtesy of KB Stockholm.

¹⁰⁴ Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*," 112-114.



Figure 6: Frontispiece of Johannes Jonston's *Historia Naturalis de Quadrupedibus*, 1652. Photograph courtesy of HU Berlin.



Figure 7: Frontispiece of Olfert Dapper's America, 1673. Photograph courtesy of HAB Wolfenbüttel.

An only slightly changed variant of B decorates *Historie van Lapland* (1716). This volume focused even more on topics of sorcery and postulated the exact opposite of the initial intention De la Gardie had with the project. Its long title announces that the work deals with “Het vermaak der Tover-Hekzen van Lap- en Fin-land, met haar Tover-Trommelen, Wind-verkopen, enz.” (The entertainment of the spell-witches of Lap- and Finland, with their spell-drums, wind selling, etc.), and then mentions:

As well as the general history of Lapland, or, a description of the climate and nature of the land, the worship, food and drink, the hunting, the marrying, the upbringing of their children, silver-mines, etc: Here is added the description of Ice- and Greenland: By M. Dithmarus Blefkenius.¹⁰⁵

Just like *The History of Lapland* 1704, the second Dutch adaptation resituated Schefferus' text in a new para- and contextual landscape. Here, the interest did not lie in the peripheries of the Swedish Empire, but in Northern peripheries in general. Therefore, Dithmar Blefken's (fl. 1594-1614) controversial descriptions of Iceland and Greenland, first published in 1607 in Leiden, were included. Despite the efforts of Icelandic scholar Arngrímur Jónsson (1568-1648), who led a lengthy dispute against the pejorative description of Iceland by publishing extensive replies, Blefken's accounts had remained highly popular.¹⁰⁶

While those two examples re-contextualized Schefferus' account through the addition of other texts to the main text, an adaptation of *Lapponia*, the account itself also found usage in new contexts as an accompanying text added to other texts. The earliest example of this is Erasmus Francisci's (1627-1694) adaptation of CH. XI in German, which resulted in a text published in print as an appendix to Johann Nicolaus Pfitzer's (1634-1674) revised edition of a *Faust* narration from 1674. Francisci worked as a writer and editor at the Nuremberg press run by the heirs of Johann Andreas Endter (1625-1670). Using the chapter on “the magical rites and sorcery of the Laplanders” as a point of departure, Francisci went through several other works on practices of witchcraft and magic all around the known world and thereby highlighted the Sámi as the European representatives in the early modern pandemonium.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Schefferus and Blefkenius, *Historie van Lapland 1716*, title page. “Als mede de generale Historie van Lapland, Ofte, een Beschrijving van 't Klimaat en Aard des Lands, de Godsdienst, Spijs en Drank, de Jagt, 't Trouwen, 't Op-voeden harer Kinderen, Silver-mijnen, enz: Hier is by-gevoegt de Beschryving van Ys- en Groen-land: Door Do. Dithmarus Blefkenius.”

¹⁰⁶ See Helge Bei der Wieden, “Dietmar Blefken, Island und Philipp Melanchthon,” in *Melanchthon und Europa: 1. Teilband: Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa*, ed. Günter Frank and Martin Treu, Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001).

¹⁰⁷ Erasmus Francisci, “Anhang Oder Kurtzer Bericht/ von der Lappländer Zauber=Kunst/ Hexerey/ und Wahrsagerey,” in *Das ärgerliche Leben und schreckliche Ende deß viel=berüchtigten Ertz=Schwartzkünstlers D. Johannis Fausti*, ed. Johann Nicolaus Pfitzer and Georg Rudolph Widmann (Nürnberg: Endter, 1674); See Andreas Klein, “Faustus and the Arctic: Erasmus Francisci's Account of Sámi Sorcery (1674),” in *Writing the Arctic: German representations of the Far North in the*

This adaptation of a section of *Lapponia* connected the Sámi to the narration on Faust, the notorious scholar and alchemist, who agrees upon a deal with the Devil to trade his soul for a limited period of enjoyment and experience, and ends up tormented in hell. To the readership in the Holy Roman Empire, the inclusion of a text about the Sámi people in a book with this popular narrative reaffirmed the very idea De la Gardie had tried to refute. The fact that this happened in the year following the publication of *Lapponia* reveals both the way the book market worked and the way the curious reader approached literature.

1.2.2 THE TITLE PAGE

Both the first English and the German edition apply a similar layout as the Latin title page. Again, *Lapland* follows *Lapponia* closely and makes use of the same, worn-out woodcut to decorate the literal interpretation. The use of blackletter typeface for the text in German in *Lapland* shows that the printers adhered to the conventions of the book market. In the running text, names and quotes in other languages were printed using Roman typeface, structuring the text typographically. From the viewpoint of missionaries, the travelling family with a newborn child was on the way to church for baptism. Schefferus explains the depicted attire and tools in later sections of his monograph.

The History of Lapland has a shorter full title and sets the author's name below the title of the work. Apart from that, the woodcut underwent remodelling with a suggestion of a background in form of a landscape line and different shades. In all three versions, *Lapponia*, *The History of Lapland* and *Lapland*, the woodcut reappears in CH. XXVI, dealing with childbearing and the upbringing of children.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, newly made versions found their way into the respective chapters of *Histoire de la Laponie* and *The History of Lapland 1704* but not onto their title pages.¹⁰⁹

All but these three earliest versions have title pages without the woodcut of a Sámi family. The title pages of *Histoire de la Laponie*, *Historie van Lapland*, and *The History of Lapland 1751* instead feature generic ornamental title woodcuts of floral character. The full titles of *Histoire de la Laponie* and *Historie van Lapland* bear some resemblance in that they refer to prior versions of Schefferus' text.

18th and 19th century, ed. Jan Borm and Joanna Kodzik (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁸ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 300; Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, 122; Schefferus, *Lapland*, 340.

¹⁰⁹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, interfoliated before 281; Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, interfoliated following 304.

JOANNIS SCHEFFERI
ARGENTORATENSIS
LAPPONIA

Id est,

**REGIONIS LAPPONUM
ET GENTIS NOVA ET
VERISSIMA DESCRIPTIO.**

In qua multa

**De origine, superstitione, sacris magicis,
victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item Animalium, me-
tallorumque indole, quæ in terris eorum proveniunt,
hactenus incognita**

Produntur, & eiconibus adjectis cum cura illustrantur.



FRANCOFURTI

Ex Officina **CHRISTIANI WOLFFII**

Typis **JOANNIS ANDREÆ.**

ANNO M. DC. LXXIII.

Figure 8: Title page of *Lapponia*, 1673. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

The French version had been “[t]raduites du Latin de Monsieur Scheffer”, while the Dutch one underlines its topicality by claiming that Schefferus had also translated it into French: “Nieuwelijks uit het Frans van den Heer Scheffer vertaalt.” (Recently translated from the French of Mister Scheffer). The title page of the Dutch *Historie van Lapland* insinuates that the French version included “Een kort bericht van den Toestand der Finnen” (a short account of the condition of the Finns). No such text by Schefferus is known. Both highlight the fact that they include curious enhancements, which in the case of the French version is mainly a reference to “plusieurs Additions & Augmentations fort curieuses, qui jusques-icy n’ont pas esté imprimées” (several very curious additions and augmentations, that so far have not been printed), and in the case of the Dutch version “kurieuse kopere Platen” (curious copper plates).

The title pages of *The History of Lapland* 1704 and *Historie van Lapland* 1716, despite differing significantly in design, both list the texts added to them. *Historie van Lapland* 1716 is, furthermore, the only version apart from *Lapponia* and *Lapland* with text elements rubricated on the title page. Curiously, the name Schefferus is found neither on its title page nor in the frontispiece, while the author of the well-known addition *Beschryving van Ys- en Groen-land* (Description of Ice- and Greenland), Dithmar Blefken, is named. In fact, only a comparative reading, the similar short title *Historie van Lapland*, and the frontispiece indicate the claims of Schefferus’ authorship.

1.2.3 FOREWORD

Only three of the eight versions include a foreword. The German version *Lapland* contains a close translation of the Latin dedication. Directed at sponsor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, the Latin and the German texts differ mostly in font and layout. *Lapponia* contains a one-page dedication with ornamental elements, while *Lapland* condenses the dedication to a few lines and sets it below another floral ornament also printed in *Lapponia*. The text itself retells the commissioning of the work, and acknowledges and praises De la Gardie’s role in the undertaking. Furthermore, it describes Schefferus’ *modus operandi*. In this way, it introduces the readers to the scholarly and authoritative quality of the very work they are holding in their hands. Schefferus’ name below the text states that the work was completed in Uppsala on 1 May 1673.¹¹⁰ The dedication to a member of Sweden’s highest political ranks also elevates the rank of the writing. In the foreword, the reader encounters for the first time the auctorial voice

¹¹⁰ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated; Schefferus, *Lapland*, unpaginated.

behind the book. In addition to explaining why it had taken him two years to complete the writing, Schefferus mentions the novel quality of the project:

Certainly, the least part of Lapland, although subject to taxation by the crown of Sweden, is quite known to the Swedes themselves: therefore, the selfsame in its obscurity, exiled to enormous lakes and forests, remains undiscovered even to its nearest neighbours, so that they cannot relate, who or what kind of people they are, these by their name widely known Lapps.¹¹¹

With these words, Schefferus perpetuates the claim of the Swedish crown for the entire region inhabited by the Sámi. He gives natural obstacles as one of the reasons why there is so little knowledge about them and calls upon their famous name to show that despite often being mentioned, the Sámi were little known. In the following, he praises De la Gardie's involvement and support and describes the different kinds of sources, thereby hinting at his methodological approach towards the work:

My efforts in this matter would therefore have been fully in vain, had His Excellency not assisted me by smoothing out all obstacles through His high standing and coming to aid. Among those, first and foremost, that through the reminder and command of His Excellency I obtained from some trustworthy men, namely clerics, officials, inspectors of the Lapps, certain and differently composed accounts and descriptions of this people and land, of which will be spoken later. Hereafter, I have also received from His Excellency's cabinet of curiosities, out of the same benignity, all kinds of Lappish things and equipment, which I held together with my own, so that I could through the inspection and touching of each one compose something certain of each and all.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Here, translated from the German version Schefferus, *Lapland*, unpaginated. "Gewiß ist es/ daß wol das geringste Theil von Lappland/ ob es gleich der Kron Schweden zinsbar/ den Schweden selbst recht bekandt: Fals selbes in seiner Finsterniß und zu den ungeheuren Seen und Wäldern verbannet/ auch seinen nächsten Nachbahren ohntdeckt bleibet/ so daß diese nicht berichten können/ wer oder was es für Leute sind/ die sonst den Namen nach weit beruffene Lappen." Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. "Ecquid enim gentis est Lapponicæ, Suecis licet tributariæ, quod sit Suecis ipsis satis vulgo notum? Jacet involuta tenebris, ad paludes sylvasque relegata suas, ut ne quidem, qui vicini ejus sunt, sciant satis, dicere valeant, qui qualesve sint, licet nomine decantatissimi illi Lappi Lapponesve."

¹¹² Schefferus, *Lapland*, unpaginated. "Wäre also auch meine Bemühung in dieser Sache gantz vergeblich gewesen/ wann Seine Excell. mir hierin nicht beygesprungen/ durch ihr hohes Ansehen alle Hinderniß auß dem Wege geräümet/ und mit Hülffe an die Hand gegangen wäre. Worunter das erste und fürnemste/ daß ich auf Anmahnen und Befehl Seiner Excell. von einigen glaubwürdigen Leuten/ als nemlich Priestern/ Ambtleuten/ und Aufsehern der Lappen/ gewisse und unterschiedliche aufgesetzte Berichte und Beschreibungen dieses Volckes und Landes/ wovon hernach sol gesaget werden/ erhalten. Hernach habe ich auch S. Excell. Kunstkammer/ auß derselben Mildigkeit/ vielerley Lapp. Sachen und Geräht/ die ich mit den meinigen zusammen gehalten/ empfangen/ damit ich durch eines jeglichen Beschauung und Berührung etwas gewisses von allen und jeden auffsetzen könnte." Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. "Itaque hic mea quidem omnis, quantacunque etiam, frustranea fuisset industria, nisi TV auctoritate TVA succurrisses atq; submovisses obstacula, & subsidia suppeditasses necessaria. Quorum primum, ac præcipuum, quod TE auctore hortatoreque impetravi à nonnullis viris, fide dignissimis, Lapponum quippe sacerdotibus, præfectis, inspectoribus, descriptiones gentis ejus, cura singulari diligentiaque compositas, de quibus post dicetur. Deinde ex Musæo TVO liberalitate TVA consecutus sum non pauca supellectilis Lapponicæ, quæ conferrem cum meis, ut ex præsentis omnium conspectu contrectationeque certius quid tradere de singulis valerem."

Furthermore, Schefferus states that De la Gardie had commanded anyone else with knowledge about the Sámi or things pertaining to them to communicate it to him. The dedicatory foreword is not only an important source for the background of the Lapponia project, it is also a testimony to the long-standing respectful and loyal contact of Schefferus and De la Gardie. The entire project has to be regarded as part of De la Gardie's patronage for scholarly endeavours in Uppsala and Sweden. I elaborate more on this in Section 2.4.

The only other version with a foreword is the French *Histoire de la Laponie*. In this case, the text contains details of utmost significance for the coming into existence of the book. Dedicated to “the Baron Charles Bonde, Counselor of the Chancellory and extraordinary envoy of His Swedish Majesty in France”,¹¹³ it demonstrates the involvement of high-ranking Swedish officials with the project. Carl Bonde (1648-1699), envoy in France from 1674 to 1678, had been involved with organizing the French adaptation at the latest from 1675 onwards.¹¹⁴ Jeanne Cailloüé de Varennes (fl.1666-1687), the widow of publisher Olivier III de Varennes¹¹⁵ (c.1632-1677), in whose name she printed and distributed, signed the “Épître”, although some believe that César-Pierre Richelet (1626-1698) was the author of the dedicatory text.¹¹⁶ I give a more detailed account of the numerous people involved in Section 4.3.

The foreword takes specific note of the fact that a woman is addressing Bonde. It relates the text to the other adaptations, mentions its augmentations, and especially praises the intellect and reputation of its sponsor. Just like the foreword of Schefferus, this one is also structured like a letter:

To Baron Charles Bonde, Counselor of the Chancellory and extraordinary envoy of His Swedish Majesty in France. Sir, I take the liberty to offer to you the History of Lapland, which is one of the largest provinces belonging to Sweden. This history that has firstly been written in Latin, and subsequently translated to German and English, appears today in French under your name with considerable augmentations. I believe, Sir, I could not choose any other protector than you, because you sustained in France for several years with so much honour and approval the interests of the Crown of Sweden, and because you are from a house that has possessed the principal responsibilities of that Kingdom. If you accept the present that I give to you, I trust the reputation of this book to be

¹¹³ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Le Baron Charles Bonde, Conseiller de la Chancellerie & Envoyé Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Suedoise en France”.

¹¹⁴ See Section 4.3.

¹¹⁵ Roméo Arbour, “VARENNES, Olivier III de,” in *Dictionnaire des Femmes Libraires en France (1470-1870)*, ed. Roméo Arbour, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Sciences historiques et philologiques VI: Histoire et Civilisation du Livre 26 (Genève: Droz, 2003), 512.

¹¹⁶ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. An exemplar at the National Library of France, signum 4o-H.5037, holds a handwritten note next to Jeanne Cailloüé de Varennes' signature: “Richelet auteur de cette Lettre”. Richelet's involvement with the French version makes this somewhat plausible.

increased. Your approval alone, Sir, can attract the esteem of all honest people, since everyone is persuaded by the perfect knowledge that you have of the belles-lettres, by the judgment that you know to make of the good deeds, and since nothing is able to escape the great and admirable knowledge of your mind. But, Sir, the modesty of my sex does not allow me to extend further on the praises that are due to you, and incidentally, your merit is known to everyone: I will be content to implore you very humbly to take this History under your protection and to believe that I am with a profound respect, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant, Jeanne Cailloüé de Varennes.¹¹⁷

The lack of dedication addresses and forewords in the other versions suggests that they were not authorized by the Swedish Kingdom. The original first edition *Lapponia* had been commissioned by a sponsor, while the German version as a literal translation, printed at the same press, contained translations of the entirety of the work, and, even using the same woodcut and copper plate illustrations, included a literal translation of the foreword. It spoke with the same voice as *Lapponia*, merely translated into German. The English version has no foreword, as it came into existence with other preconditions. *Histoire de la Laponie* then was an augmented and amplified adaptation, making use of new material and Schefferus' own annotations. It was also a commissioned work, and the sponsor of the endeavour, the Swedish envoy Carl Bonde, needed acknowledgement. Therefore, it had a new dedicatory foreword.

All versions must also be understood as commercial projects. Naturally, if they served the curiosity of the learned and wealthy they would sell well. Printing was costly and the inclusion of complicated features increased the cost of production. The 1751 adaptation in English reads "Price One Shilling and Six-Pence" on its title page and shows that in this version the account about the Sámi people had transformed from an intricately produced scholarly account into a curious and affordable commodity for an increasing number of readers.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. "A Monseigneur Le Baron Charles Bonde, Conseiller de la chancellerie & Envoyé Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Suedoise en France. MONSEIGNEUR, Je prens la liberté de vous offrir l'Histoire de la Laponie, qui est une des plus grandes Provinces qui dependent de la Suede. Cette Histoire qui a esté premierement écrite en Latin, & ensuite traduite en Aleman, & en Anglois, paroît aujourd'huy en François sous vôtre Nom avec des augmentations considerable. J'ay crû, MONSEIGNEVR, que je ne pouvois choisir un autre Protecteur que Vous, puis que Vous soûtenez en France depuis plusieurs années, avec tant d'honneur & d'aprobation les Interests de la Couronne de Suede, & que vous estes d'une Maison qui a poûedé les principals Charges de ce Royaume-là. Si vous agrées le present que je vous fais, j'espere que la reputation de ce Livre en sera augmentée. Vôtre aprobation seule, MONSEIGNEVR, pouroit luy attirer l'estime de tous les honnestes gens, puisque chacun est persuadé de la connoissance parfait que vous avez des belles lettres, du discernement que vous sçavez faire des bonnes choses, & que rien ne sçauroit échaper aux grandes & admirables lumieres de vôtre esprit. Mais, MONSEIGNEVR, la bien-séance de mon sexe ne me permet pas de m'étendre davantage sur les loüanges qui vous sont deuës, & d'ailleurs vôtre merite est connu de tout le monde: je me contenteray de vous supplier tres-humblement de prendre cette Histoire en vôtre protection, & de croire que je suis avec un profound respect, MONSEIGNEVR, Vostre tres-humble & tres-obeissante servant, Jeanne Cailloüé de Varennes."

¹¹⁸ This corresponded to approximately £ 8.75 in 2017. "Currency converter: 1270–2017," The National Archives, 2020, accessed 24.06.2020, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>.

1.2.4 THE PREFACE

Genette defines one of the main functions of the preface as “to get the book read and to get the book read properly”.¹¹⁹ The preface addressed the reader directly or indirectly, such as in *Lapponia* “Lectori benevolo s.d.” (To the kind reader [the author] sends greetings), *The History of Lapland* “The Reader may please to take notice [...]”, *Lappland* “Geneigter Leser” (Inclined reader), *Historie van Lapland* “Voorreden aen den leser” (Preface to the reader), *The History of Lapland 1704* “The preface to the reader”.¹²⁰ This rhetorical motif, *captatio benevolentiae* (seizing of kindness) should convince the reader of the novelty, usefulness, and curiosity of the writing presented to the readership.¹²¹

Except for the second Dutch and the third English adaptations, all versions include a preface. Schefferus explains the commission given to him by De la Gardie in the autographic preface of *Lapponia*, and writes about his own role in the endeavour:

What has driven me to undertake this work, I have already mentioned. Namely, when the most illustrious and excellent Chancellor of this Kingdom and the University etc., Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie saw that much circulated in other countries about the Lapps that in parts was closer to the fables of old women than to the truth, even fabrications intended to incite hatred towards the Swedish people and diminution of the glory that the same has procured through victorious arms over so many years; he has considered it best for the fatherland to no longer let dwell in darkness that which can pertain to more proper knowledge of this people’s customs and character, and of the nature of the land. However, he wanted me to do the very thing by quill, not because I am the most suitable – for why should I deny that others could do this more properly and better? – but because I was the least obstinate and hesitating.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 197.

¹²⁰ Schefferus, *Lapponia*; Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*; Schefferus, *Lappland*; Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*; Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, all unpaginated.

¹²¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 198. Jane E. Lewin translates *captatio benevolentiae* as “a currying of favor”.

¹²² Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. “Quid impulerit me ad suscipiendum hunc laborem, alibi jam dixi. Nempe Illustrissimus Excellentissimusq[ue] Regni hujus Academiæque Cancellarius, Comes MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE &c. cum videret circumferri pluscula de Lapponibus apud exteros, quædam fabulis anilibus, quam veritati propiora; quædam etiam in odium gentis Sueticæ, & diminutionem gloriæ, quam armis victricibus per tot annos sibi peperit, labemque conficta; interesse Patriæ putavit, ne sineret diutius in tenebris latere, quæ ad mores hujus gentis, indolemque, ad ingenium regionis, in qua degit rectius noscenda possunt pertinere. Voluit autem meo istoc fieri calamo, non quod essem maxime idoneus, potuisse namque alios rectius & melius hoc facere, cur abnuam? sed quod minime difficilis ac cunctabundus.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lapland*, unpaginated. “Was mich zu dieser Arbeit veranlasset, solches habe allbereit anderswo angezeigt, nemlich, als der Hochgebohrne Graffe Herr Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, dieses Reichs und der Academi Cantzler &c. gesehen, daß bey außländischen Völkern vielerley von denen Lappen erzählet werde, davon das meiste einem Märlein als der Warheit ähnlicher! Theils auch die Schwedische Nation verhasst zu machen, und derselben den Ruhm, den sie so viel Jahr hero durch ihre sieghafte Waffen erlanget, abzuschneiden, erdacht worden! Hat er dem Vatterlande zum Besten für gut befunden, daß die Sitten, Natur, und Eigenschafften dieses Volckes und deß Landes so es bewohnet, durch die Feder der gantzen Welt kund gethan würden. Welches er dann mir anbefohlen, nicht zwar, als wann ich der Geschickteste hiezu wäre, dann warum sollte ich läugnen, daß andere solches fürzunehmen viel tüchtiger sind? sondern weil ich mich willig und gerne dazu erkläret.”

With these lines, Schefferus relates to the initial commission for the work. The four main tasks named by De la Gardie, namely to write about the ancients' knowledge of the Sámi (1), the climate (2), the Sámi customs and way of life (3), and their role in the Swedish army (4), are reformulated and set into a broader context. The preface continues by expressing the zeal of the author to satisfy the commission of De la Gardie. In this connection, Schefferus' own origin invites him to reflect upon his aptitude to study the Sámi. He writes:

For I must not even hope that this would be done fully, since I am a foreigner in these lands, in which the Lapps are foreigners, it has become so difficult for me to investigate the customs and nature they have.¹²³

It is noteworthy that Schefferus considers himself, a native of Straßburg, and the Sámi, natives of lands claimed by the Swedish crown, both foreign to Sweden. Aside from reflecting the realities of their distinctive traits with regard to customs, livelihood, and other features, this notion should not necessarily be understood as a general indication of the exclusion of the Sámi people in early modern Sweden. The Swedish kingdom was a multiethnic realm, where Swedes, Finns, Germans, Estonians, Livonians, Ingrians, Sámi and others – all from different regions with potentially different customs – lived in as much conflict and harmony as in comparable territories. In my understanding, a more significant factor than ethnic or regional origin was that of social rank. However, this often correlated with a certain ancestry. Members of the various ethnicities could be found in most groups. Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, holder of some of the most important offices in the realm, was born in Estonia the grandson of a French mercenary who had fought for the Danish and later for the Swedish crown. In this case, nobility was of greater significance than ethnicity. There was even one case of Sámi nobility and several Sámi individuals stood in service of the church.

When Schefferus speaks of his own foreignness to the land as a hindrance to describe a group he frames as equally foreign, this should be understood as a rhetorical figure of speech, underlining both his humility with regard to the task and his devotion to the Swedish cause. In the following, he presents to the reader a number of recent authors who have dealt with the topic. I present them, all belonging to the lappmark clergy, in detail in Section 3.5. Furthermore and most noteworthy, Schefferus discloses that he had sought the accounts of Sámi and other

¹²³ Schefferus, *Laponia*, unpaginated. “Nam ut in omnibus, ne sperare quidem debeo, qui peregrinus sum in terris hisce, in quibus ipsi Lappones sunt peregrini, ad eo difficilis mihi fuit indagatio morum geniique, quo utuntur.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. “Dann daß es in allem erfolget kan ich nicht einmahl hoffen/ als der ich an diesen Oertern/ alwo die Lappen selbst frembde sind/ frembde bin. So gar schwer ist mir alles von ihren Sitten und Natur zu erforschen/ geworden.”

eyewitnesses: “Finally, I have consulted the Lapps repeatedly, and those who on whatever occasion have travelled to those regions.”¹²⁴ This material was then treated comparatively as Schefferus details:

And, in this way all of this same I have compared with each other, with eagerness and diligence, wherever I was able to, I attempted to bring the opposite ideas into accordance with each other.¹²⁵

Through this approach, Schefferus reports having rectified many faulty claims by previous scholars and authors. This leads him to the statement that it was through him that “the Lapps and Lapland became truly known to the world”.¹²⁶ To uphold the high standard of his writing, which aimed at authoritative uniqueness, it needed a firm positioning within already existing scholarship. Therefore, Schefferus writes, he included citations that he also marked as such. For the Swedish citations, he followed a rigid regime of giving both the quotation in the original language and a translation of it in Latin. This added to the work’s legitimacy and made it traceable as well as verifiable. In addition, Schefferus could thereby emphasize full transparency regarding his own contributions and those of others.¹²⁷ The claimed premier truthful presentation of the Sámi to the world brought challenges with respect to the presentation of findings, as he tells the reader, namely:

¹²⁴ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. “Consului postremo ipsos Lapponas non semel, eosque, qui quacunq̄ue occasione istis quondam versati sunt in regionibus.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. “Endlich habe ich mich bey den Lappen selbst/ wie auch bey anderen/ so in diesen Oertern gewesen Rahts erholet.”

¹²⁵ Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. “Atque ita istæc omnia inter sese contuli, studio diligentiaque, quanta potui, inque sententiis diversis, quæ videretur vero maxime vicina, ostendere conatus sum.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. “Und solcher gestalt habe ich alles mit grossem Fleiß gegeneinander gehalten/ und die widrige Meinungen/ so viel möglich gewesen/ mit einander zu einigen getrachtet.”

¹²⁶ Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. “Errores non paucos aliorum aperui, veritatem, & certissimum hominum fidem bonam studiosissime sum secutus, ut jure videar gloriari posse, per me demum orbi Lappones Lapponiamque vere innotescere.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. “Hieselbst sind nit wenige Irrthümer der Scribenten entdeckt worden/ in dem ich der Warheit und glaubwürdigen Leuten eiferrigst gefolget/ daß ich wol mit Warheit sagen mag/ daß allererst durch mich die Lappen und ihr Land der Welt kündig worden.”

¹²⁷ Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. “Verba quoque attuli ubique fere illorum, unde quæque hausi, primum ut intelligi posset, qua à me dicantur fide, quæ adfero; deinde ut ne laudi alienæ quid à me deciperetur. Atque licet sermo Sueticus, quo illa plæraque sunt consignata, peregrinis vulgo non sit notus, dandam tamen mihi operam putavi, ne cuiquam fingere aliqua pro arbitrato meo possem videri, quod fieri necesse est, si vel per alios intelligent, quam recte singula sim assecutus, verbisque reddiderim Latinis.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. “Weiter habe ich auch die eigene Worte der meisten Scribenten so ich gebraucht/ angezogen. Zu erst zwar/ damit einem jeglichen kund möge seyn weme ich gefolget/ hernach damit ich niemand seines verdienten Lobes beraube. Und obwol die Schwed. Sprache/ in welcher solches aufgezeichnet/ den Fremdben ins gemein unbekandt/ habe ich mich beflissen/ damit niemand/ als wann ich etwas nach eigenen Belieben erdacht/ argwohnen möge/ daß ein jeder wo nicht von sich selbst/ doch durch andere Sprachkündige vernehme/ wie getreulich ich alles in das Lateinische übersetzt.”

To this end, I have also produced illustrations of those things which could not be explicated sufficiently through words, which I delineated myself from the things according to the originals.¹²⁸

The remainder of the foreword positions the monograph firmly in a world where Christianity, demonological thought, amazement about the unexplicable and scholarly striving coexisted and interacted. It reveals Schefferus as a believer in the resurrection of Christ and the authority of the Scriptures and as a sceptic towards the sceptic. The following lines connect the thorough methodology of the Lapponia project to the predominant religious sentiment of the time and are therefore worthy of note:

Though I know that some will accuse me of credulousness, especially in the things that generally are being told about the sorcery of those people. There are many in this day and age, who, in order to be deemed more knowledgeable than others, believe all such things sheer fantasy, nonsense of gullible little old women and fiction. Evidently, the devil will be subjugating to the most despised of man, they say, so that he at his will would make various and marvellous things. Therefore, they dare to provoke them to perform evidence of this, they long to see the devil, to summon his works. If they believed in the [existence of the] devil and his so many and so great skills, which no human intelligence is able to comprehend and no thoughts [are able] to grasp and that with his incredible pursuit he seeks to betray mankind and to lead also some perhaps regarded of others contemptible, but still made by God, by the blood and death of Christ most preciousely redeemed souls into his snares, I believe they would abstain from those words of little faith. Certainly, I will not deny that much is feigned, much largely exaggerated. Nevertheless, that through devilish skills nothing could be accomplished [that is] superior to human capacities, what else is this than to say that to oppose the experiences of all times and the accounts of the Scriptures itself. And why are they denying it at length? Either for the devil could not work out such things, who is gifted with most perspicacious intelligence, who is equipped with so many centuries of experience, who has recognised nature fully. Or that he would be unwilling? Who day and night ambushes the well-being of mankind, who devotes all works to impair damage on it. Yet, this does not make those enquire. Without doubt, those who he has already caught through impiety he does not want to lead to the recognition of his skills; they would begin to believe in the devil, to fear him, to seek how they could free themselves from that bond. So that they ought more to cease those small objections of his to mock devilish arts, and to despise such foolish inventions and stupid beliefs. Those should not be despised, but pleaded by godly grace and compassion, that he would not let us be seized and induced to

¹²⁸ Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. “Quo fine etiam, quæ non satis explicari poterant sermone, imaginibus prodidi, quas ipse ad rerum ipsarum viva exemplaria delineavi.” Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. “Zu dem Ende auch dasjenige so ich durch Worte nicht recht fürstellen können/ mit Figuren/ die ich nach dem Leben gezeichnet/ abgebildet.”

any damage of health, life, and, what is more important, of one's soul. Who would believe the minds and eyes of all to be deceived continuously?¹²⁹

Schefferus anticipates criticism of his credulousness and counters this criticism with a written defence. In displaying his opinion and belief about the existence and effect of the devil, he sets the stage for an exemplary narration about the Sámi and their entanglement with the forces of evil. It presents to the reader two additional kinds of source material, namely the Scriptures and anecdotes. While the Scriptures were by definition inerrant, the way in which Schefferus argues for the truthfulness of the short narration he gives is based on the idea that an individual could easily be deceived, but not a sizeable group of people:

Thus many have seen a few years ago the wagon of a farmer loaded with hay in the center of the marketplace of Stockholm together with the horses seized by a whirlwind and elevated high, afterwards put back on the ground just as a Lapp

¹²⁹ Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. "Scio fore, qui me nimiam nonnullis tribuisse fidem dicent, iis maximè, quæ de magicis hujus gentis circumferuntur. Sunt enim non pauci nostri ævi, qui ut sapere cordatius, quam vulgo alii, videantur, istæc omnia pro meris habent somniis, & anicularum credularum nugis ac commentis. Scilicet, diabolum se ita mancipaturum ajunt homini contemptissimo, ut ad nutum ejus, tam varia & prodigiosa efficiat. Audent ergo provocare hos, experimenta ab ipsis exigere, diabolum cupere videre, ipsorum opera evocatum. Qui si crederent diabolum, & ejus artes tot tantasque, quas nullum assequi potest ingenium humanum, nulla cogitatio comprehendere, & studium ejus incredibile decipiendi homines, quo quid vis facit, ut unius, contemptibilis fortasse aliquibus, à DEO tamen creati, à Christo sanguine morteque acerbissima redempti animam in laqueos inducat suos, à sermonibus istis parum piis credo abstinerent. Equidem non negaverim, multa fingi, multa in majus attolli. Nihil tamen viribus humanis altius superiusve arte diabolica posse effici, hoc dicere quid est aliud, quam omnium temporum experientiæ, ipsisque sacrarum Litterarum historiis se opponere. Et cur negant tandem? An quod diabolus non possit talia efficere, qui præditus est ingenio perspicacissimo, qui tot sæculorum instructus est experientia, qui naturam totam habet cognitissimam. An quod nolit? qui noctes diesque salutem hominum insidiatur, qui ut damno quem afficiat, omnem operam impendit. Sed non facit tamen istis exigentibus. Nimirum quos jam ante habet captos per impietatem, non vult eò inducere, ut visis hisce ejus artibus, incipiant credere diabolum, eum metuere, ac quærere quo pacto sese liberent à vinculis ipsius. Quo magis desinere debebant suis illis objectiunculis irridere artes diabolicas, & tanquam stolidè confictas, stolidiusque creditas contemnere. Non sunt contemnendæ illæ, sed oranda gratia & misericordia Divina, ne nos illis sinat corripri, & in damnum aliquod valetudinis, vitæ, quodque longe majus est, ipsius animæ induci. Alias quis credat, omnium falli mentes oculosque omni tempore?" Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. "Ich weiß zwar daß unterschiedliche meine Leichtgläubigkeit/ sonderlich in den Sachen so man von den Zauberkünsten dieser Leute insgemein erzählet/ anklagen werden. Fals heutiges Tages sich nicht wenig finden/ so da/ damit man sie für verständiger als wie andere achten möge/ alle solche Dinge für lautere Träume/ und alter Weiber Märlein schätzen. Es sey nemblich ungereimt daß der Teuffel sich einen so verachteten und geringen Menschen dermassen unterwerffen solte/ daß er auff dessen Wincken und Gefallen so viel wunderliche Händel verrichte. Deßwegen sie auch gedachte Lappen außfodern/ von ihnen Probstücke begehren/ den Teuffel zu sehen wünschen. Wann diese Leute aber den Teuffel zu seyn glaubeten/ und daß derselbe so viel und grosse Künste ins Werck zu setzen vermöchte/ so keines Menschen Verstand begreifen/ keine Gedancken fassen können/ und daß er mit ungläublicher Begierde die Menschen zu betriegen suche und sich bemühe/ auch einige bey anderen verachtete/ doch mit Christi Blut und Todt theur erkauffte Seelen in seine Fallstricke zu verleiten trachte/ würden sie sich von solchen unchristlichen Reden mässigen. Zwar kan ich nicht in Abrede seyn/ daß viel erdichtet und gelogen werde. Daß aber durch Teuffelskünste gar nichts mehr als was menschlichen Kräfte gemäß zu wege könne gebracht werden. Was ist solches anders geredet als der langen Erfahrung/ und der heiligen Schrift selbst ihr Ansehen benehmen? Und warumb läugnen sie es dann endlich? Entweder daß es der Teuffel nicht thun könne/ der einen solchen klugen Verstand/ der so vieler tausend Jahre Erfahrungheit/ der die gantze Natur durchgegründet hat? oder daß er es nicht wolle/ so doch Tag und Nacht der Menschen Wohlfahrt nachstellet/ und ihme zu schaden sich äusserst bemühet? Allein sie lassen sich hiemit nicht vergnügen. Die er nemblich schon zuvor durch Boßheit bestricket/ begehret er durch Zeigung seiner Künste nicht dazukommen zu lassen/ daß sie den Teuffel anheben zu glauben/ zu fürchten/ und wie sie von ihme abkommen mögen/ zu suchen. Daß sie also desto mehr verlangen solten/ diese Gegenwürffe aufzuheben/ und also närrische/ erdichtete und einfältige Meynungen zu verachten. Man darff selbige Schliche nicht verlachen/ sondern ein jeder sol billig die Göttliche Gnade und Barmhertzigkeit anrufen/ daß er dafür bewahrt werde/ und nicht dadurch in Schaden der Gesundheit/ deß Lebens/ ja auch wol der Seeligkeit gerahte. Und wer wolte wännen daß alle miteinander zu jeglicher Zeit/ dermassen solten an Sinn und Augen geblendet werden?"

had promised to someone wanting to see a test of his skills, while everything else around remained unmoved and unshaken. The eyes of so many spectators could not be deceived so that they would believe that which stood on the ground elevated high, even if the Lapp deceived the one who wanted to see this. Therefore, I cannot agree with those, who reject all of this as foolish fabrications, and I prefer instead to be regarded too credulous in anything, than to call into doubt the devout experience of so many years and people.¹³⁰

It is worthy of note that Schefferus in the preface presents a hierarchy of sources and materials that extend from the reports of the lappmark clergy, the accounts of Sámi individuals and the writings of scholars to illustrations true to the original, and finally to narrations such as the one he recounts in the preface. Anecdotes serve as an auxiliary device in Schefferus' argumentation, making his description of the Sámi way of life relatable to the readership. The presence of the anecdote quoted above and the extensively discussed topics of religion and sorcery among the Sámi were probably reasons for the perpetuation of the rumours about the Sámi inclination for sorcery.

Already prior to *Lappland*, a full adaptation appeared in English. In this connection, full adaptation denotes the version aiming to be not just a translated or otherwise-edited extract of *Lapponia*, but one that claims completeness and follows the original chapter structure. The *Imprimatur* of *The History of Lapland* is dated 8 July 1674. The press, namely the "Theater in Oxford", the *Imprimatur* by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford Ralph Bathurst (1620-1674), and for some exemplars the names of the booksellers George West (fl.1668-1705) and Amos Curtein (fl.1652-1674), all indicate the intellectual, institutional, and manufacturing context. Bathurst, a Fellow of the Royal Society, knew about *Lapponia* in early 1674 from the Society's journal, in which a review of it by Oldenburg appeared.¹³¹ However, Oldenburg had probably informed Bathurst about the news of Schefferus' project already in December 1672,

¹³⁰ Cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. "Sic viderunt ante annos non ita multos plastrum rusticum onustum fæno in medio fore Holmensi una cum equis correptum turbine, ac eductum in sublime, mox suo repositum loco, sicut Lappo futurum promiserat nonnemini experimentum artis ejus visere desideranti, cum alia omnia manerent immota inconcussa, quæ circa erant. Non poterant tot hominum spectatorum oculi sic falli ut crederent eductum in sublime, quod stabat in terra, si vel maxime illum unum istæcernere desiderantem Lappo fefellisset. Non possum igitur cum iis facere, qui hæc omnia, tanquam stolidè conficta, rejiciunt, maloque nimis credulus in aliquibus videri, quam tot annorum hominumque experientiam in haud ita pium dubium vocare." Cf. Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. "Fals für etzliche wenig Jahren viel Leute zu Stockholm mitten auff dem Marckte angesehen/ wie ein Bauerwagen mit Heu beladen nebst den Pferden durch einen Wirbelwind auffgehoben/ in die Luft geführet/ und wieder niedergesetzt worden/ wie solches alles ein Lappe einer gewissen Person/ so von ihme eine Probe seiner Kunst gefodert/ versprochen/ da alles übrige was umb und neben dem Wagen gewesen/ ungerühret verblieben. Da gewiß so vieler Menschen Augen dergestalt nicht haben können betrogen werden/ daß sie geglaubet/ der Wagen so auff der Erden stillgestanden/ wäre in die Luft geführet worden/ obgleich der Lappe denjenigen so es von ihme begehret/ getäuschet. Und kan ich also denen/ so dieses alles für nârrische und erdichtete Dinge halten/ nicht Beyfall geben/ und wil viel lieber in einigen Sachen gar zu leichtglaublich seyn/ als so vieler Menschen und Jahre Erfahrungheit in einen Zweifel ziehen."

¹³¹ Henry Oldenburg, "An Accompt of some Books. I. Johannis Schefferi LAPPONIA, &c. Francofurti 1673 in 4^o," *Philosophical Transactions* 9, no. 102 (1674): 31-38.

when he himself heard it from Thomas Henshaw (1618-1700), another fellow of the Royal Society.¹³² The preface of *The History of Lapland* is significantly shorter than the Latin one. It explains some of the stylistic changes and introduces the motif of 'the new world'.¹³³

The Reader may please to take notice, that the diligent and learned Author of this History, (to the writing of which he was commanded, and therein assisted by the Chancellor of Sweden) hath in the whole work taken care to justify what he relates, from the faith of authentic records, the testimony of Historians, and the Discourses of Laplanders themselves, with whom he had ready opportunities of converse. And this he hath don so precisely, that having in the contexture of his work, given a full account of what he thought observable in the writings, or narratives to which he refers; he afterwards constantly puts down at length the very words of his Authors, a great part of which are in the Swedish Tongue. Now in this Edition we have spared our selves the labor of such repetition; which we hope will not be regretted by the Reader, who we suppose would not have bin much edified by them. As to the subject here discours'd of, twill not be needfull to give a character of it. Military Action, and those public murders in which other Histories triumph, have no share here. Hunger, cold and solitude are enemies that engage all the fortitude of this People: and where so much passive valor is necessary, we may dispense with the want of Active. Amidst the barbarity and darkness which reign in Lapland, there appear structures of light, which will entertain the eie of the most knowing observer; as the Stars are no less remarkable then is the Sun it self. However the Reader will not fail to meet here with what may gratify his curiosity. Warmer Climates having all the comforts and necessaries of life plentifully bestowed upon them, are but a more distant home; where we have little else talk'd of, then what we daily see among our selves: but here it is indeed, where, rather then in America, we have a new World discovered: and those extravagant falsehoods, which have commonly past in the Narratives of these Northern Countries, are not so inexcusable for their being lies, as that they were told without temptation; the real truth being equally entertaining, and incredible.¹³⁴

The author of these lines is unknown. Magdalena Naum names Bathurst, and Gunnar Ahlström in his foreword to the facsimile of the English edition ascribes the preface to the translator Acton Cremer (1651-?), but since there are no indications about the preface's authorship, it could have been either of the two, one of the publishers or someone else.¹³⁵ Cremer was a student who, on account of courting a mistress, namely his cousin Elizabeth Penell, while only holding a Bachelor of Arts, was punished by Bishop John Fell (1625-1686) with this task. This

¹³² See Section 4.1.

¹³³ See also the insightful discussion in Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800," 144-146.

¹³⁴ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, unpaginated.

¹³⁵ Naum, "Between Utopia and Dystopia: Colonial Ambivalence and Early Modern Perception of Sápmi," 518; cf. Ahlström's foreword in: Schefferus, *The History of Lapland [Facsimile]*, unpaginated.

resulted, as Falconer Madan put it, in “the first anthropological book” ever printed at the Oxford press.¹³⁶ In size and format, the *History of Lapland* stands out when compared to the other first editions. Printed not in quarto, but in folio, the running text only extends over one hundred and forty-seven pages. The waiving of rubricated letters on the title page and the avoidance of more complex folding operations may speak of lower production cost. Due to the larger format, the volume still appears presentable.

The French edition *Histoire de la Laponie* did not feature any rubrications either, but the readers held a costly revised edition in their hands. The preface refers and compares to the earlier editions:

It has not been long ago that this History appeared in Latin and in order to recognize its quality, it should suffice to say that as soon as it was published, it was translated into German and English: but we can assure that this French translation is much more ample than those that have been made until now, having been augmented with a great number of considerable and curious additions, which one can see at the end of the book.¹³⁷

Emphasizing novelties and the unique characteristics of a version of a book was of course a common practice to increase its sales. To mention the previous versions in passing highlighted the overall importance of the work and the need for a French adaptation. Not only did *Histoire de la Laponie* include additions, it also underwent significant corrections pointed out in the preface: “It has also been corrected very diligently, both the map and the illustrations and all the other places where there were notable faults”.¹³⁸ The author of the preface refers to the parties involved and emphasizes Schefferus’ aptitude to write a curious work such as the one readers held in their hands. Furthermore, the preface mentions De la Gardie’s role as sponsor and facilitator:

And, we have given the task to a person whose merit is not lesser known to foreigners as it is admired by those who have the luck to approach him. Mister Scheffer, who is a man of great erudition and considerable for the quantity of works he has published, is the author of this history. After he has received a specific instruction to work on that subject, Count De la Gardie, Lord High

¹³⁶ Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books: A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University and City of Oxford or Printed or Published There with Annals and Appendixes Vol. 3 Oxford Literature 1651-1680* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1931), 300, item 3023.

¹³⁷ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Il n’y a pas long-temps que cette Histoire paroît en Latin, & pour en faire connoître la bonté, il suffiroit de dire qu’aussi-tost qu’elle a esté mise au jour on l’a traduite en Allemand, & en Anglois: mais on peut assurer que cette Traduction Françoisé est beaucoup plus ample que celles qui ont esté faites jusques à cette heure, ayant esté augmentée d’un grand nombre d’Additions, considerable & curieuses, que l’on pourra voir à la fin du Livre.”

¹³⁸ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Elle a même esté corrigée fort soigneusement, tant pour la carte, & les figures, que pour tous les autres endroits où il y avoit des fautes notables.”

Chancellor of Sweden, promised to give him everything that would be necessary to complete a work as curious as this one.¹³⁹

Describing the way in which Schefferus had gone about writing *Lapponia*, and the written and oral sources he used, this anonymous text outlines a well-organized scholarly methodology. It suggests various rigorous features, such as the completeness of sources and their assessment through an expert, the reliance on proven facts as well as the faithful reproduction of the sources. Furthermore, this meant a reliance on sources in different languages, the consultation of political and eyewitness documents through archival work, and conversations with Sámi people and their spiritual and worldly leaders. The tendency to speak with the leaders of a group is comprehensible. However, by encompassing the political and spiritual elite set over the Sámi by the Kingdom, Schefferus shows that his main interest was in the advancement of the Swedish missionary and colonial project in the North. Yet it was a novel approach to make use of spokespeople of the Sámi as trustworthy sources. From a present-day perspective, this appears tendentious and driven by a missionary agenda, but in its time, this comprehensive approach was noteworthy, modern and innovative:

It seems that having had an aid so powerful, he has made use of all the means he believed proper in order to discover the truth, which he has done with much care and exactness, having brought forth nothing without good proofs. He has very faithfully reported that which good authors, both Latin and Swedish ones, have written of the Lapps: they have communicated excellent memories to him. He has searched in the Archives of the Kingdom of Sweden, and has drawn public and authentic acts, all that which can be useful to his subject. He has had many conferences with Lapps: He has not only had discussions with their priests, who are their spiritual leaders, but also with their prefects and administrators who were assigned to govern them.¹⁴⁰

In addition to writings, experts and natives, Schefferus also considered objects of Sámi origin worthy of inclusion as sources. In order to find them, he visited several collections and augmented his own collection with “tout ce qu’il a pû trouver de rare” (everything rare that he

¹³⁹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Et nous en avons l’obligation à une personne dont le merite n’est pas moins connu des Etrangers qu’admiré de ceux qui ont le bon-heur de l’approcher. Monsieur Scheffer qui est un homme de grande erudition, & considerable par quantité d’ouvrages qu’il a donnez au Public, est l’Auteur de cette Histoire. Apres qu’il eut recue un commandement expres de travailler sur ce sujet, le Comte De la Gardie grand Chancelier de Suede, luy promit de luy faire avoir tout ce qui seroit necessaire pour achever un ouvrage aussi curieux que celui-là.”

¹⁴⁰ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Il y a bien de l’apparence qu’ayant eu un secours aussi puissant, il s’est servi de tous les moyens qu’il a crû estre propres pour découvrir la verité, ce qu’il a fait avec beaucoup de soin & d’exactitude, n’ayant rien avancé sans de bonnes preuves. Il a rapporté tres-fidelement ce que les bons Auteurs tant Latins que Suedois ont écrit des Lapons: On lui a communiqué d’excellens memoires. Il a foüillé dans les Archives du Royaume de Suede, & a tiré des actes publics & authentiques tout ce qui pouvoit servir à son sujet. Il a eu plusieurs conferences avec des Lapons: Il s’est entretenu non seulement avec leurs Prestres qui sont leurs Directeurs spirituels, mais aussi avec leurs Prefets et Intendants qui estoient preposez pour les gouverner.”

could find). The preface mentions that in addition to describing objects he also drew them. All efforts combined demonstrate, according to the preface, the novelty of the monograph, for in contrast to previous accounts, Schefferus “a parlé des Lapons” (has dealt with Lapps).

Finally, he has taken the trouble to visit cabinets of curiosities, to draw himself drawings, and to amass everything rare that he could find, finally to represent all things exactly and to describe them with much certitude. Through the trouble he has taken, one can see that he has dealt with Lapps, entirely differently than those who have given us accounts that are much closer to fiction than to history, because they have had false memories, or because they have believed the account of some bad-informed or too credulous travellers.¹⁴¹

The last few sentences of the preface resemble that of *The History of Lapland* evoking the idea of a peaceful people in constant struggle against nature. Depicting the Sámi in line with the idea of the ‘noble savage’, the author makes the exotic qualities of Schefferus’ description again appear as “une description d’un nouveau monde” (a description of a new world), while in reality was “une relation d’une partie de nostre Continent” (an account of a part of our continent).

In this History, one will not at all see armed forces ordered to battle, sieges of towns, nor these fine politics which all the others are filled with, hunger, cold, loneliness, and the struggle against savage animals are the enemies that exercise force and direct it at these peoples: Nevertheless, amidst the barbary of this nation, and in the middle of the darkness that reigns in Lapland, one cannot avoid to make out some admirable traits of humanity and several bright rays of light, one will learn strange things, finally one will see in this History such extraordinary singularities, that it will be difficult to imagine that Mister Scheffer earlier has not given us a description of a new world, but an account of a part of our continent.¹⁴²

The title page names the translator as L.P.A.L., referring to the Royal Geographer at the French court Augustin Lubin OESA (1624-1695), who also reworked the map.¹⁴³ The translator of the first five chapters was Richelet, who had previously translated descriptions of Florida and

¹⁴¹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Enfin il a pris la peine de visiter les cabinets de Curieux, de dessiner lui-même les figures, & de faire un amas de tout ce qu’il a pû trouver de rare, afin de représenter toutes choses exactement, & d’en écrire avec plus de certitude. Par la peine qu’il a prise on peut voir qu’il a parlé des Lapons, tout autrement que ceux qui nous en ont donné des Relations qui approchent plus de la Fable que de l’Histoire, parce qu’ils ont eu de faux memoires, ou qu’ils ont ajoûté foy au rapport de quelques Voyageurs mal informez ou trop credules.”

¹⁴² Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “On ne verra point dans cette Histoire des Armées rangées en bataille, des sieges de Villes, ni cette fine politique dont toutes les autres sont remplies, la faim, le froid, la solitude, & la guerre contre les bestes sauvages sont les ennemis qui exercent la force & l’adresse de ces peuples: Neanmoins parmi la barbarie de cette Nation, & au milieu des tenebres qui regnent dans la Laponie, on ne laisse pas d’entrevoir quelques traits admirables d’humanité, & plusieurs rayons brillants de lumiere, on apprendra des choses rares, enfin on verra dans cette Histoire des singularitez si extraordinaires, qu’il sera difficile de ne pas s’imaginer que Monsieur Scheffer ne nous ait plutôt donné une description d’un nouveau monde, qu’une relation d’une partie de nostre Continent.”

¹⁴³ L.P.A.L. stands for Le Père Augustin Lubin.

Africa.¹⁴⁴ The preface evokes both literary trends and the new status quo of European politics with colonies and possessions over a large part of the globe. Especially the traits of the Sámi people that seemed exotic to a European, in this case French, audience are emphasized to underline the curiosity of Schefferus' writing. The idea of the 'noble savage', transferring an antique model to the perception of encounters with the colonized or the 'other', was in fashion, as also John Dryden's (1631-1700) play *The Conquest of Granada* from 1672 exemplified.¹⁴⁵

Except for the English version, the Dutch *Historie van Lapland* is the only adaptation of the first generation editions of the Lapponia project that came into existence independent of Swedish efforts. It is also the first one published after Schefferus' death. Its preface bears variations of the themes of the French version, yet with different connotations. Its anonymous voice mentions plans of publishing something about the "Laplanders", and having been advised about Schefferus' monograph. The text also refers to the already existing versions. Naturally, it is directed at and appropriate for the readership in the Netherlands:

All too long I have tried to present to the world something concerning the policies, landscapes, commerce, sorceries and way of life of the Laplanders. While my mind was pregnant with these thoughts, I found a work which some of my literate fellow men who can give a very accurate judgement of such descriptions advised to translate; and surely, I do not doubt if my zeal therein shall be praised, since the same work for its particular orderliness, and very unusual remarks had been printed already in High German, English, Latin, and French. Therefore, I judged it advisable to also show the Netherlanders what takes place in the regions of which we up until now did not have a good description; for what concerns the one the enthusiasts have helped themselves with for so long, they will herefrom deem that it is rather filled with childish fairytales than with truths, and that even the truths are treated in such a strange manner, that they can hardly be accepted.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Laurent Bray, *César-Pierre Richelet (1626–1698): Biographie et œuvre lexicographique*, ed. Sture Allén et al., Lexicographica Series Maior, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986), 171-181.

¹⁴⁵ John Dryden, *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards: In Two Parts. Acted at the Theater-Royall* (In the Savoy, London: Printed by T.N. for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at the Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1672), 7. "I am as free as Nature first made man | 'Ere the base Laws of Servitude began | When wild in woods the noble Savage ran."

¹⁴⁶ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, unpaginated. "Al over lang heb ik getragt de wereld iets te doen sien, behelsende Policyen, Lanschappen, Koopmanschappen, Tooveryen en maniere van leven der Laplanders. Terwijl mijn geest met deze gedachten beswangerd was, heb ik een Werk gevonden, 't geen my eenige geletterde Luiden, die van dusdanige beschryvingen eenzeer naaukeurig oordeel weeten te geven, aengeraden hebben te doen vertalen; en zeker 'k twijffel niet of mijn iever zal hier in gepreezen worden, dewijl dit zelve Werk om sijn byzondere netheid, en zeer ongemeene aanmerkingen, already in't Hoogduits, Engels, Latyn, en Frans, gedrukt is geweest. 'k Oordeelde het derhalven raadsaam den Nederlanders ook te doen zien, wat er in die Gewesten omgaat, daar wy tot noch toe geen goede beschryving af hebben gehad; want wat het geen belangt, daet de Liefhebbers zich zo lang mee behulpen hebben, zy zullen hier uit bevinden, dat het meer met Kinderachtige sprookjes, als met waarheden, vervuld is, en dat zelfs de Waarheden op zulk een vremde wijs verhandeld zyn, datze daar naauwelijks voor aangenomen kunnen warden."

The mention of “childish fairytales” probably refers to one of the Dutch translations of Olaus Magnus’ *Historia*. Willem Silvius (c.1520-1580) presented the first one in 1562, and, as I have argued before, publisher ten Hoorn knew and drew inspiration from the version published by Nicolaus von Ravesteyn in 1652.¹⁴⁷ The next sentence employs a well-known rhetorical symbol from Greek antiquity, the horn of plenty (cornucopia) representing abundance, wealth, and nourishment:¹⁴⁸ “All the time something new uses to appear out of Africa; but no lesser horn of plenty gives the North Pole to us”.¹⁴⁹

Here, the preface puts the book in competition with the steady influx of accounts describing the African continent, where the Netherlands had a network of trade missions along the coast line in Cap-Vert (nowadays Dakar in Senegal), along the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin, in Loango (today in the Republic of Congo), on the island of Annobón (today: Equatorial Guinea), at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Mauritius.¹⁵⁰ Organized through the competing *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC, Dutch East India Company) and *Geoctrooieerde Westindische Compagnie* (GWC, Dutch West India Company), the network of colonies and bases mainly served trade and commerce. Ships sailing back to the Netherlands brought with them both exotic goods and curious stories.¹⁵¹

The text continues to praise the methodology of the so far nameless original author (Schefferus is named on the title page, suggesting that he also authored the French version that formed the basis for the Dutch adaptation) and highlights that the refutations are founded on the author’s own examinations. By comparing the trustworthiness of accounts of eyewitnesses to those of earwitnesses, the text implies that Schefferus had seen for himself everything he describes. The three previous adaptations are also used as quality markers, making it reasonable for the reader to believe the presented account:

That which has earlier been written fabulously or only through assumptions by other authors, is here refuted in several places; and these refutations are here the trustworthier, since our author has examined these things himself. Now, it has,

¹⁴⁷ Olaus de Groot, *De wonderlijcke historie van de Noordersche landen*, trans. Willem Silvius, ed. Cornelius Grapheus (Antwerpen: Willem Silvius, 1562); de Groot, *Toonneel Der Noordsche Landen, Daer op in 't kort en klarelijck al de wonderen en vreemdigheden, die men in die Landen vindt, vertoont worden*.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew Delahunty and Sheila Digen, "Cornucopia," (Oxford University Press, 2010).
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199567454.001.0001/acref-9780199567454-e-476>.

¹⁴⁹ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, unpaginated. “Altijds pleeg uit Africa iets nieuws voort te komen; maar geen minder hoorn van overvloed geeft ons de Noorder Pool.”

¹⁵⁰ "Dutch empire," (HistoryWorld, 2012).

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191737565.timeline.0001>.

¹⁵¹ For a concise overview, see: Arthur Weststeijn, "Empire of Riches: Visions of Dutch Commercial Imperialism, c. 1600–1750," in *The Dutch Empire between Ideas and Practice, 1600–2000*, ed. René Koekkoek, Anne-Isabelle Richard, and Arthur Weststeijn, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 37-65.

as everyone knows, always been considered an unchanging law, that one eyewitness deserves more belief than ten earwitnesses, since the sight is nowhere nearly as often deceived than the ear. Therefore, I do not doubt either, that if so many nations have deemed this work worthy to translate it into their language, that my fellow countrymen should set all suspicion aside, and not deny the belief in things, that are so strongly supported, in any case so that they still may remain impartial, and not neglect it out of simple prejudice.¹⁵²

Presenting the structure of the part about the Sámi people, the text outlines a three-fold division into thematic fields of the land and its particularities, followed by all things pertaining to the public and government, and finally all things nature, namely animals, plants, and the inanimate:

To avoid any confusion, and to give an orderly form to this body, we have divided the same into three particular parts, of which the first one treats of the lands, their division, peoples, sorceries, and more such things: the second one of their government, worshipping, trading, legal matter etc. and the last or third one of the beasts, greens, and metals.¹⁵³

In the following section, Schefferus is for the first time in this text identified as the author. His meticulous mode of working and some of the choices of source material are presented. Finally, there is a direct reference to Olaus Magnus, discrediting the latter's account and emphasizing the trustworthiness of the monograph at hand:

Mister Scheffer has undertaken outstandingly many efforts to correspond with the most distinguished ones in the Kingdom of Sweden, in order to be able to use all public and authentic documents [*or*: loans]. Also personally, he has had much communion with the Lapps, not only with the priests, but also with their authorities and governors; through this he was able to see different cabinets and drawings, of which he displays several ones in this work, that are much trustworthier than those of Olaus Magnus.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, unpaginated. “'t Geen wel eertijds van andere Schryvers fabelachtig en enkelijk door gissingen geschreven is, werd alhier op verscheide plaatsen wederlegt; en deze wederleggingen zijn hierom te geloofwaardiger, dewijl onsen Autheur dese dingen zelfs ondersogt heeft. Nu is het, gelijk een ieder weet, altijd voor een staale wet gehouden, dat een Oog-getuyge meer geloofs verdiend, als tien Oorgetuygen, vermits het gesicht op ver na zo dickwils niet bedroogen word, als het gehoor. 'k Twijfel derhalven ook niet, te meer dewijl zo veele Natien dit werk waardig gekend hebben om het in hun taal over te brengen, of mijn Landtsgenoten sullen alle argwaan aan een kant zetten, en aan dingen, die zo krachtig ondersteund zyn, geen geloof ontzeggen, immers zo 't hen maar belieft onzydig te gaan, en niet uit een enkele vooringenomenheid te verwerpen.”

¹⁵³ Ibid., unpaginated. “Om alle wanorder te vermijden, en een behoorlijke gestalte aan dit Lighaam te geven, hebben wy het selve in drie byzondere deelen afgedeeld, in welker erste gehandelt word van de Landen, der zelve verdeiling, Volkeren, Toveryen, en meer diergelyke zaken: in het tweede van de Regering, Gods-diensten, Koopmanschappen, Regtsaken &c. en in 't laatste of 't derde van de Beesten, Kruiden, en Metalen.”

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., unpaginated. “Den Heer Scheffer heeft uitstekend veel moeyten angewend om met de voornaamsten van 't Koninkrijk Sweeden correspondentie te houden, ten einde sig te kunnen dienen van alle publike en autentike stukken. Ook heeft hy persoonlijk veel gemeenschap met de Lappen gehad, niet alleen met de Priesters, maar ook met der zelve Overigheden en Gouverneurs; waar door hy verworven heeft verscheidene Kabinetten en Afteikeningen te mogen sien, van de welken hy ettelyken in dit Werk heeft doen verbeelden, die veel geloofwaardiger sijn als die van Olaus Magnus.”

In addition to the three parts presenting the Sámi, there was a fourth part about the Finns. The text introduces this added description and justifies this move with their “great similarity with the Lapps”:

Now, since the Finns (peoples that have a great similarity with the Lapps) are little-known, we have hereafter added a short description, from which one can easily see, that those two peoples differ little in most things.¹⁵⁵

The final section addresses the reader directly and introduces a variation of the “new Northern World” motif, previously “as if buried in a deep night, [...] unknown, just as America used to be”. Again, readers in the Netherlands could connect this comparison to overseas colonies. Some years prior, the Netherlands had lost their colonies of Dutch Brazil to Portugal and of *Nieuw Nederland* (New Netherland) to England, but they still held numerous possessions overseas, such as the Antilles and Dutch Guiana.¹⁵⁶ The ‘new world’ motif promised pure, relatable, yet curious novelty, as many readers knew of other accounts of distant, newly discovered places. The preface ends with a wish for beneficial reading:

Will you therefore, valued Reader, take this for something strange, for it bears comparison to a new Northern World, which had previously, as if buried in a deep night, once been unknown, just as America used to be; but time and the zeal of man bring many things to daylight, of whose existence one did not know, and they illuminate those, of which one already had some, but no precise or even fabulous knowledge. Those who have read the other descriptions of this land, will quickly notice this truth. When you now witness some insight into our trouble, so shall this excite us to quickly go back to use the printing press. In the meantime, farewell, and benefit of the things, which you will find written on the following pages.¹⁵⁷

The second version in English contains a new preface, explaining the changes, additions, and the way in which the work came into existence. As Linda Andersson Burnett has pointed out, the character of this preface changed profoundly. In addition to ascribing to Schefferus a journey into Sámi lands, which he had never undertaken, the Sámi are described in a more

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., unpaginated. “Wyl nu de Finnen (volkeren die een groote gemeenschap met de Lappen hebben) weinig bekend sijn, hebben wy hier agter aen een korte beschryving gevoegd, uyt dewelke men gemakkelijk kan beschouwen, dat dese twee volkeren in de meeste zaken weinig van elkanderen verschillen.”

¹⁵⁶ “Dutch empire.”

¹⁵⁷ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, unpaginated. “Wilt dit derhalven, waarde Leser, voor yts raars aannemen, vermits het komt gelijk van een nieuwe Noordse Wereld, die te vooren als in een diepen nagt begraven is geweest, sijnde t’eenemaal onbekend, even als America placht te sijn; doch de tijd en de naastigheid der Menschen brengen veele dingen aan den dag, die men niet en wist dat in weesen waren, of ze verlichten de genen, daar men alreeds eenige, doch geen naauwkeurige en zelfs een fabelachtige kennis af had. De geene, die d’andere beschrijvingen van dit Land geleezen heb heb [sic!], zullen dese waarheid wel haast bemerken. Indien gy nu eenige erkentenis voor onze moeite betuigt, zal ons zulcks opwekken tot de Druck pars wel haast weer aan’t gaan te helpen. Vaart ondertusschen wel, en doet uw voordeel met de dingen, welke gy in de volgende bladeren geschreven sult vinden.”

favourable fashion. Burnett suggested that this was based on one of the more recent appendices, namely Olof Rudbeck the younger's (1660-1740) *Nora Samolad*.¹⁵⁸ Since Burnett presented a sufficient contextual reading of this preface, I include it here only for the sake of completeness:

Mr. Scheffer the Author of this History, was employed by the Chancellor of Sweden, to Travel into Lapland, and write a particular History of that part of his Master's Dominions; which he did with all the Fidelity and Exactness that belongs to a just Historian. The Translation we now present to the World, is done from the last Edition in the Original Latin, and collated with a French Translation Printed at Paris, which contains several Addenda, that the Translator had from the Author, all which are here taken in. The Copper-Cutts we here make use of were done in France by Monsieur Boss. To make this History the most perfect of any of this kind yet Publish'd, we have here added to Mr. Scheffer, the Travels of the King of Sweden's Mathematicians in those Countries, performed in the Year 1695. Also Dr. Rudbeck Junior, his Journey into those Parts in 1701. And in the last place, considering the Vicinity and near Alliance of Livonia, we thought it not improper to conclude this Work with a true History of that Country, presuming that the light it gives into the occasion and progress of the present War between Muscovy and Sweden, will recommend it as an useful and seasonable Undertaking. Upon the whole, we have omitted nothing that can render a Work of this Nature at once Instructive and Diverting. The Subject of the Performance is so uncommon and surprizing, that it can't but fix the Attention and gratifie the Curiosity of the Reader. Here we meet with a People oppress'd with Want, and punish'd with Cold and other Inconveniencies of a frozen Climate. Their Industry is the effect of Necessity, and their Arts are only calculated to guard off the Injuries they are otherwise expos'd to. Their Customs are suitable to their Climate, and untainted with the Luxury of softer Regions. And the occasional Reflexions made by our Authors, are made with that Judgment and Sincerity that their Character requires. Their Observations are just and important, and answerable to the true design of a Traveller. Being singled out by the Court of Sweden, supply'd from the Royal Treasury, and endow'd with Learning, and a suitable Knowledge of the World; they were better qualify'd for a just Discovery, and judicious Remarks upon Men and Things than the occasional Adventurers that visit the other Parts of the World. Not to mention that the regular Description of Animals, Plants and Minerals, which is here met with, is what could only be expected from Persons of such a distinguishing Character.¹⁵⁹

The second Dutch adaptation, also amplified with other texts, has no preface.¹⁶⁰ Neither has the much shorter third version in English, turning from a chapter structure to a single running text.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800," 148-149; Olaus Rudbeckius, *Nora Samolad Sive Lapponia Illustrata* (Upsalæ: På egen bekostnad uplagd, 1701).

¹⁵⁹ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, unpaginated.

¹⁶⁰ Schefferus and Blefkenius, *Historie van Lapland 1716*.

¹⁶¹ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*.

A comparative reading of the five first-generation prefaces shows significant variations among the versions in the different languages. The German version follows the Latin original most closely. Its deviations are mostly for grammatical and aesthetical reasons. Apart from some stylistic changes, such as the use of a blackletter typeface, the German variant attempts to stay as true to the original as possible. The first edition in English introduces the motif of a Northern ‘new world’ to underscore its novelty and evoke curiosity. The use of this motif also served to position the writing as a genuinely novel contribution among the many chorographic descriptions found at the time.

1.2.5 LIST OF SOURCES OR AUTHORITIES

Only *Lapponia* and *Lappland* index their sources on a separate list. Both lists register the same forty-four entries, ranging from classical to contemporary authors, from well-known ones to those in need of explanation to the readership. In this regard, they connect to a tradition upheld from classical and medieval to early modern scholars.¹⁶² Heading the list, the reader finds the following statement: “The names of those whose reliance we followed in the composition of this work.”¹⁶³ The layout of the Latin and the German source list differ in that the Latin one fills a whole page and is decorated with ornamental elements similar to that of the preface, while the German one is inserted on the last page of the preface and covers only slightly more than a third of the page.

In a few cases, ethnical markers help to avoid confusion with a namesake (“Magnus Olai Islandus”, “Magnus Olai ein Ißländer”), to specify the origin of an anonymous manuscript (“Anonymus Sueticus. Ms”, “Ein Schwed. ungenanter geschriebener Autor”), or to increase the weight of the respective accounts (“Ol. Matthiæ Sirma Lappo”, “Olaus Matthiæ Sirma ein Lappe” and “Spirzi Nils Lappo”, “Spirzi Nils ein Lappe”). Other entries refer to the materiality of the source and designate manuscripts as “Ms” or “geschrieben” or mention the “Tabula Peutingeriana” or “Die Peutingerische Tafel” (the Peutinger map). The unknown authors of two sagas lead to the naming of “Auctor Herrods sagæ” or “Der Auctor von Herrodssagæ” and “Auctor S. Olaffs sagæ” or “Der Auctor von Olaffssagæ”. However, most entries do not specify the exact writings to which Schefferus refers. It follows that the reader has to look through the entirety of Tacitus’ writings, for instance, or to rely on references to exact sections of the text

¹⁶² See for instance Ann Blair, “Tables et index dans le livre de savoir en Europe moderne,” in *Lieux de Savoir: Les Mains de l'intellect*, ed. Christian Jacob, Lieux de Savoir (Paris: Albin Michel, 2011), 536-554, at: 545-550.

¹⁶³ „Nomina eorum, quorum fidem secuti sumus in concinnatione hujus operis.” Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated; see also Schefferus, *Lappland*, unpaginated. „Namen der Scribenten denen wir in Verfertigung dieses Wercks gefolget.”

later on in the work. In this way, the list has functional similarities to a modern reference table or a bibliography nowadays traditionally placed at the end of a scholarly text.

Apart from those names and their respective works, Schefferus also made use of the writings of many other authors. In excluding them from the list, he ranks primary source material as that featured in the list, while secondary sources are not mentioned in the list. When referring to Ptolemy (c.100-after 160), Gaius Julius Solinus (early third century), Antoninus Augustus (86-161), and Rutilius (fifth century), Schefferus states that the term “Lappi” does not occur in their writings.¹⁶⁴ He continues with other authors:

Nothing about Lapland (of Jornandes, Paulus Warnefridus and others of that kind I want to keep silent) have employed the writers in the ancient Icelandic, Norwegian, Gothic language, of that kind which the Saga of Bósi and Herraud, or Gautreks saga and Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar, or the Saga of St. Olaf, or similar ones hand down.¹⁶⁵

Examples such as this show that the list of authorities is not identical to a modern bibliography or reference list. It functions more in the sense of a place of knowledge, connecting a work to authorities within a field.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, names of authors were more important than titles of their works. For the works in the Swedish edition, the editorial team extended the list to include the additions made by Schefferus to his private copy of *Lapponia* (see Table 7).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 6.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. “Nihil de Lapponia (ut Jornandem, Paulum Warnefridi, & id genus alios nunc taceam) habent scriptores prisca lingua Islandica, Norvagica, Gothica utentes, quales qui Res Heraudi & Bosæ, vel Goetrici & Rolfi, vel Olafi Regis, vel his similes tradidere.”

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter 2 for a theoretical discussion of the term.

¹⁶⁷ See Schefferus, *Lapland [swe]*, 35, 408.

Table 6: An explanation of the entries in Schefferus' list of sources

Adam of Bremen (d.1081/85)	Nicolaus Aronis (?)
Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280)	Olaus Petri Niurenius (1580-1645), manuscript.
An anonymous Swede, manuscript.	Caspar Peucer (1525-1602)
Arngrímur Jónsson (1568-1648)	Ericus Plantinus (1620-1688), manuscript.
Author of Herraúðs saga	Zacharias Plantinus (c.1625-1688), manuscript.
Author of Óláfs saga Helga	Caius Plinius Secundus (23-79)
Bartolomeo Cocles (1467-1504)	Procopius (c.500-c.554)
Johannes Baazius (1581-1649)	Samuel Rheen (1615-1680), manuscript.
Andreas Bureus (1571-1646)	Saxo Grammaticus (c.1150-c.1220)
Johannes Bureus (1568-1652), manuscript.	Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558)
Philippus Cluverius (1580-1622)	Servius (fourth-fifth century)
Damianus de Goes (1502-1574)	Sigfridus Aronis (1560-1624)
Andr. Frisius (d.1675)	Olaus Sirma (1655-1719), a Sámi.
Hugo Grotius (1583-1645)	Spir[r]i Nils (17th century), a Sámi.
Sigismund von Herberstein (1486-1566)	Matthias Steuchius (1644-1730), manuscript.
Joannes Jonston (1603-1675)	Peutinger table (Konrad Peutinger [1465-1547])
Paulus Jovius (1483-1552)	Tacitus (c.58-c.120)
Lomenius Briennae (1635-1698), Count.	Johannes Tornaerus (d.1681), manuscript.
Magnús Ólafsson (c.1573-1636), Icelander.	Isaac Vossius (1618-1689)
Johannes Magnus (1488-1544)	Michael Wexionius Gyldenstolpe (1609-1670)
Olaus Magnus (1490-1557)	Ole Worm (1588-1654)
Sebastian Münster (1488-1552)	Jakob Ziegler (1470-1549)

Table 7: An explanation of Schefferus' additions to the list of authorities in KB F.e.7.

Philippus Brietius SJ (1601-1668)
Hieronymus Cardanus (1501-1576)
Hermann Conring (1606-1681)
Ericus Emporagrius (1606-1674)
Olaus Graan (d.1690), a Sámi
Grape (one of Arendt Grape's [1612-1687] sons, either Jakob [c.1660-1720] or Johan [1647-1715]) ¹⁶⁸
Nicolaus Lundius (1656-1726), a Sámi
Pierre Martin de La Martinière (1634-1676/90)
Marco Polo (1254-1324)

1.2.6 PRIVILEGE AND IMPRIMATUR

Due to the differing geographical and legal situations of the printers, not all of the versions contain a privilege or an imprimatur, a licence to print the work. For some of them, a licence was mandatory, while for others printing did not require any approval. In the case of the Latin and German versions, the privilege was given by the Swedish Majesty and printed as such as part of the title text on the frontispiece “Cum Privileg: Reg: Majest: Sveciæ”.¹⁶⁹ *The History of Lapland* holds an Imprimatur page between the title page and preface issued by “R.A. Bathurst, Vice-Canc. July 8. 1674”.¹⁷⁰ Finally, *Histoire de la Laponie* features a two-page “Privilege du Roy” that explains legal repercussions in detail.¹⁷¹ These documents situate the respective writings within an institutional and juridical setting. The French privilege issued in the name of Louis XIV (1638-1715) warns that a punishment awaited not only those who reprinted the book

¹⁶⁸ Schefferus refers twice to Grape, once in *Lapponia* and once in the annotations to his private copy later published in the additions of the *Histoire de la Laponie*. John Bernström suggests Johan Grape as the person in question based on the presence of Johan in Uppsala before 1673. However, no such presence was necessary for the first reference in *Lapponia*, since it explicitly speaks of a letter. I assume this Grape to be Arendt Grape who operated the Kengis mine together with Abraham (1623-1690) and Jakob Momma-Reenstierna (1625-1678), especially since Grape and the Momma-Reenstiernas were involved with the gathering of material for the Lapponia project. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 368; see Schefferus, *Lapland [swe]*, 396, 490; furthermore, see Ernst Manker, "Ett "Lapparnas Tillitelse Register",," *RIG - Kulturhistorisk tidskrift*, no. 4 (1934): 178-179, footnote 12a; on the Momma-Reenstiernas, see Nordin and Ojala, "Copper worlds: a historical archaeology of Abraham and Jakob Momma-Reenstierna and their industrial enterprise in the Torne River Valley, c. 1650–1680."; Ahlström, *De Mörka Bergen. En Krönika om de Lappländska Malmfälten*, 62-72. In case of the second reference found in the “Additions”, Schefferus’ emphasis of the young age makes the younger Jakob Grape also a probable candidate. See Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 368; see furthermore Siv Rasmussen, "Navn i det nordlige Sápmi på 1500–1600-tallet – eller historien om navnene som forsvant," in *Navne og skel – Skellet mellem navne: Rapport fra Den femtende nordiske navneforskerkongres på Askov Højskole 6.–9. juni 2012*, ed. Birgit Eggert, Rikke S. Olesen, and Bent Jørgensen, NORNA-Rapporter (Uppsala: NORNA, 2015), 98-118, at: 100.

¹⁶⁹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, frontispiece; Schefferus, *Lapland*, frontispiece.

¹⁷⁰ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, unpaginated.

¹⁷¹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated.

or any kind of adaptation of it but also the sanctioned press if it did not deliver two presentation copies to the public library. This refers to the branch libraries in the Louvre and in one of the properties of Grand Chancellor Étienne II d'Aligre (1592-1677), who, however, did not live to see the book published:

During which time we forbid anyone very deliberately, of whatever capacity and rank they might be, to print, let print, sell and distribute the said book under any given circumstances without the consent of the issuer, or of those who have the right to do so, nor to make excerpts or abstracts of it, on pain of a threethousand pound fine and confiscation of the counterfeit exemplars [as] cost of compensation on condition that two exemplars of the said book will be in our public library, one in that of our Louvre castle, and one in that of our very dear and faithful Sir Daligre, Knight Chancellor of France, before introducing it to sale, on pain of invalidity of the present [writing].¹⁷²

Both the presence and absence of a licensing declaration are helpful in understanding the background of a work. The editions in Latin and German were sanctioned by the Swedish monarch, and the French edition by the French monarch. The English edition was, as Ethel Seaton put it, an “apparently extreme instance” with “an unexpected explanation”, namely the aforementioned commission of Cremer as punishment for improper behaviour.¹⁷³ In this case, the Swedish stance about its existence is unknown. Due to the tolerant climate in the Low Countries, the Dutch edition did not need any official sanction. All second-generation editions followed suit. In this way, the various editions of the Lapponia project bear witness to the differing practices connected to the printing of books. In the case of the English-language versions, the omission of an imprimatur in the second edition was a direct consequence of the liberalization of printing legislation.

¹⁷² Ibid., unpaginated. “Pendant lequel temps faisons tres-expresses deffenses à toutes personnes de quelque qualité & condition qu’elles soient, d’imprimer, faire imprimer, vendre & distribuer ledit Livre sous quelque pretexte que ce soit sans le consentement de l’Exposant, ou de ceux qui auront droit de luy, ny d’en faire des Extraits ou Abregez sous peine de trois mil livres d’amande & confiscation des Exemplaires contrefaits dépens, dommages & interests, à condition qu’il sera mis deux Exemplaires dudit Livre dans nôtre Bibliotheque publique, vn en celle de nôtre Chasteau du Louvre, & vn en celle de nôtre tres cher & feal le sieur Daligre Chevalier Chancelier de France, avant de l’exposer en vente, à peine de nullité des presentes.”

¹⁷³ Ethel Seaton, *Literary relations of England and Scandinavia in the seventeenth century*, ed. H. G. Fiedler, Oxford studies in modern languages and literature, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1935), 269.

1.2.7 THE MAP

One of the conventions of a chorography, a description of a part of the world, was a map. The few people wealthy enough to afford the spectacular *Atlas Maior*, published by the Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu (1596-1673) between 1662 and 1672 in eleven volumes for the Latin version, had the advantage of access to state-of-the-art maps of the entire known world.¹⁷⁴ This atlas featured a map titled “Lapponia” by the Swede Andreas Bureus, who had drafted a first version as early as 1611.¹⁷⁵ A short explanatory text by Johannes Messenius (1579/80-1636) accompanied the map.



Figure 9: Andreas Bureus' map "Lapponia", in Blaeu's *Grooten Atlas*, volume 2, 1664, 12. Photograph courtesy of Utrecht University Library.

¹⁷⁴ Joan Blaeu, *Atlas Maior Sive Cosmographia Blaviana, Qua Solvm, Salvm, Coelvm, Accvratissime Describvtvr.*, 11 vols. (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1662-1672); In addition to this edition in Latin, there were also editions in Dutch, German, French and Spanish. For a complete overview of all known editions of the *Atlas Maior* see: Peter van der Krogt, *The Folio Atlases Published by Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Joan Blaeu*, ed. Peter van der Krogt, II vols., vol. II, Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici. New Edition, (t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2000), 316-464.

¹⁷⁵ Carl-Gösta Ojala and Jonas Monié Nordin, "Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge," *Scandinavian Studies* 91, no. 1-2 (2019): 98-133, at: 108-112.

Naturally, this exquisite, expensive, and optionally beautifully coloured, work of cartography was out of reach for most readers. To keep the cost of production acceptable, the map for *Lapponia* was much less elaborate. The copper engraving mostly followed Bureus' map, but simplified details and omitted virtually all islands along the Norwegian coastline. After all, the book commissioned by De la Gardie was intended to present a precise description of the Northern parts of the Kingdom of Sweden. While the map in *Lapponia* included a few topographical details, such as mountains, rivers, and lakes, and trees to represent some of the forested areas, there were no depictions of people, animals, ships, sea monsters or settlements such as the ones found in Bureus' map *Orbis Arctoi Nova Et Accurata Delineatio* (A new and accurate depiction of the Arctic World) from 1626.

What Schefferus presented was a much more schematic and sober delineation. Aside from giving scholarly gravity to the entire monograph, it could also serve as a tool to help the reader navigate the numerous place names. As expected, the German edition contains the same map. For *The History of Lapland*, a close copy suitable for the new and larger folio format and its English readership was created. Therefore, place names and the short explanatory texts on the map were now in English.

When the French version appeared in 1678, it included a fully revised version of the map. Royal Geographer Augustin Lubin OESA (1624-1695), who also was in charge of most of the translation of the monograph into French, had reworked the map according to his most recent calculations. This new version, engraved by the map specialist René Michault (fl.1666-1679), not only showed the Arctic Circle just as the earlier versions had, but also a grid pattern of lines representing latitude and longitude. Other differences were that Lapland was placed with greater geographical accuracy, and that the map's inscription was in French. It was included unchanged in *The History of Lapland* 1704.

This map was also the model for the map in *Historie van Lapland*. The text was mostly translated into Dutch and the grid pattern omitted. Apart from the numerous figures, animals, ships and hunting scenes on sea and land depicted on the map, it had a curious detail in its bottom right corner. There, two Sámi hold up a bearskin with the text "New Laplandish Map" on the inside. The inspiration for this motif was the frontispiece of Ravesteyn's edition of Olaus Magnus' *Historia*, while the figures in the map were also inspired by Olaus Magnus.



Figure 10: The Northern part of Andreas Bureus' map *Orbis Arctoi Nova Et Accurata Delineatio*, 1626. Photograph courtesy of UUB.



Figure 11: Map of Lapponia, 1673, interfoliated. Photograph courtesy of UUB.



Figure 12: Lubin's map in Histoire de la Laponie, 1678. Photograph courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

1.2.8 SIDE NOTES AND FOOTNOTES

Neither the Latin nor the German version include side or foot notes. However, the practice of adding explanatory information to the text in this way occurs in other versions. The first English adaptation is a special case in this respect as it features footnotes only on three pages (2-4) for reasons unknown. This is not explained in the text, but it gives the impression that the idea of footnotes initially had been intended for the whole work and then given up early on, possibly to keep down printing costs. The few footnotes that remained in the work give basic literary references.

In *Histoire de la Laponie*, the numerous side notes mostly name references, and sometimes information about chapters or pages. In a few instances, the side notes serve other purposes, however, and give additional information, such as terminological or explanatory remarks and contextual supplementation.¹⁷⁶ This mode of notation continues in the “Additions”.¹⁷⁷

Historie van Lapland also features side notes. Here, they mainly serve as abstracted headings of adjacent paragraphs. These headings take the form of one or several terms or concise statements to summarize the contents of the respective paragraphs. Featured regularly throughout the four books, the majority of paragraphs have such headings in the margin in order to enable the reader to use the volume as a reference book.

The most sophisticated notation system is that used in *The History of Lapland* 1704 where footnotes and side notes serve several purposes, namely referring, quoting, providing additional information, and commenting.¹⁷⁸ As such, side notes enable the editor or translator’s voice to be clearly presented. In some cases, when the marginalia contain whole sentences too lengthy for the margins, they appear as recesses indented into the running text.¹⁷⁹ While side notes occur more rarely throughout this work than in *Histoire de la Laponie* or *Historie van Lapland*, there are also a couple of footnotes employed for even lengthier remarks.¹⁸⁰ Side notes are also prevalent in one of the added texts, namely the translation of Olof Rudbeck the Younger’s *Nora Samolad sive Laponia illustrata*. There, they serve as a vehicle for comments, references and additional information.

¹⁷⁶ See Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 2, 16, 43, 44, 47, 175, 199, 229, 234, 326, 335, 339.

¹⁷⁷ See for instance *ibid.*, 375.

¹⁷⁸ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*. References are the most-common content of the side notes. For quotations, see 7, 24-26, for commentaries, see amongst other 13, 16 and 26, for additional information see 11, 16, 23, 26.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 90, 193, 202, 219, 223 (twice), 230, 249.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 151-152, 200, 271-272, 278, 285, 299, 308, 315, 323, 332.

In the third abridged version in English, the reader encounters only one footnote in the entire volume. It refers to relevant content in another work and hence recommends the readers to read on for themselves. This sole footnote states: “These Songs are inserted in the Spectator, see No. 366 and 406”.¹⁸¹ The translator-editor is referring to the two joiks communicated to Schefferus by Olaus Sirma, which were soon widely received in many parts of Europe.¹⁸² The editor-translator of this abstracted version could be certain that the readers already knew the two joiks or would easily become familiar with them.

1.2.9 INDICES OF THE CONTENT

Similar to lists of relevant sources or authorities, indices of the content were part of a long-standing tradition of ordering scholarly or other texts.¹⁸³ They appeared in different designs. The corpus I have presented in this first chapter exemplifies this, since most adaptations of Schefferus’ work include some kind of index of its contents. The positioning of these indices within the work also differs. *Lapponia*’s “Index Caputum, quæ in hoc Opere continentur” and *The History of Lapland*’s “The Contents” form the last part of the book. This finds formal acknowledgement in the complimentary close “Finis”, which also functions as typographical information directed at the printer. Other versions place their indices in the front matter following the list of sources, such as *Lapland*’s “Anzeiger Der Capitel so in diesem Wercke enthalten”, or following the preface, like *Histoire de la Laponie*’s “Table Des Chapitres contenus en ce Livre” and *The History of Lapland 1704*’s “The Contents” (which also indexes the additional texts in the volume), or directly on the title page, such as *Historie van Lapland 1716*’s “Bladwyzer van de Hoofstukken” (which does not index the additional text).

These indices are often termed tables of contents despite the fact that they do not give an overview of the content, but of the chapter headings. Therefore, a much more suitable term would be table of chapters.¹⁸⁴ Neither the first Dutch adaptation nor *The History of Lapland 1751* contains a table of chapters. While the latter does not include chapter headings, making such a table pointless, the structuring of *Historie van Lapland* into four books, the detailed chapter headings, and the extensive use of marginalia provide many reference points to navigate the text. This is amplified by the elaborate subject index at the end of the work that closes with

¹⁸¹ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*, 73.

¹⁸² On the songs’ reception history, see: Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*.

¹⁸³ See Blair, “Tables et index dans le livre de savoir en Europe moderne,” 536-554.

¹⁸⁴ See Genette, *Paratexts*, 317, footnote 20: “[T]he classical custom was [...] to put a table of chapters at the beginning of a work and, at the end, an actual table of contents, a sort of detailed index. Our modern table of contents is in reality a table of chapters[.]”.

“EINDE” (End). It extends over seven pages and contains three registers of the “most prominent things included”, one for each of the first and second books and a third combined register for the third and fourth books.¹⁸⁵

There are several distinctions between these two types of indices. Tables of chapters usually list the chapter headings chronologically in the way they appear in the work, while subject indices order the subject terms alphabetically. For both registers, terming practices are of utmost importance. In a table of chapters, the smallest section worthy of listing is the chapter, and, although the heading of a chapter does not necessarily represent its contents, in the case at hand chapter titles normally give good indications of the topics each chapter will cover. The subject index operates on another level, however, listing a selection of subjects treated in the work as a whole.

The different positioning of the tables of chapters address and evoke varying reading habits. While there is always the possibility to read erratically and ignore or counteract the given order in a literary work, the existing structure means something to all readers. It shows how the agents involved in the production of a book approached the content, how they organized it and how they intended it to be read. In the case of the Lapponia project, this starts out with the commission given by De la Gardie that in itself suggested a structure, a conclusion to be aimed at, and an audience. In handing the task over to the College of Antiquities, De la Gardie indicated that he wanted the Kingdom’s best antiquarians, archaeologists, historians, and philologists on the task. This embeds the work institutionally and ideologically, but also methodologically. The instruction to the lappmark clergy to send reports on their parishes and on the region as a whole to Uppsala influenced the content significantly. As soon as the accounts reached Schefferus, it was his task to interpret and evaluate them, and to deliberate on them in comparison with established knowledge about the Sámi. This established knowledge originated with the classics, writings from the medieval period or of Renaissance thinkers and contemporary authorities. The finished manuscript, furnished with schematic and elaborate illustrations, then reached the press, where it was up to the typographer and printer to convert the handwritten pages into printed text.

*

The ordering of knowledge and the paratextual elements I presented in this first chapter demonstrate a number of predominant literary conventions. They form the skeleton of the

¹⁸⁵ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, unpaginated.

different editions. While it has often been held that the versions published under the umbrella of the Lapponia project are mere translations, their paratextual structure and their contents suggest that their relation to *Lapponia* varies considerably, making them individual books that require separate treatment. Since some of the versions contain additional texts or omit parts contained in the Latin version, readers of the different editions will inevitably come to widely differing conclusions about the Sámi. The coming into existence of some of the various editions forms part of my examination of the background and development of the entire project in the following chapters. However, an exhaustive analysis of each of the presented versions would exceed the scope of this dissertation. It is my hope that the following discussions will be useful to further studies of each of the editions.

2 THE PLACES OF KNOWLEDGE OF *LAPPONIA*: A SPATIAL GENEALOGY

Even before Schefferus sent the finalized manuscript of his monograph *Lapponia* to the press, the undertaking evoked excitement in the Republic of Letters, the community of the learned who communicated and exchanged knowledge via letters. It is unknown to what extent he discussed the contents of his manuscript with colleagues or students in Uppsala, but the project aroused immediate attention and curiosity both among his own correspondents and among other citizens of the Republic of Letters. Schefferus himself sparked the interest by telling his respondents about the new project. In a letter to philologist Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611-1671) in Leiden, dated 28 March 1671¹⁸⁶, he writes before closing:

Besides, I have been assigned the task of composing something about the Lappish people, which I now undertake with great care, since nothing that has been published about this people so far is trustworthy.¹⁸⁷

Thus nourished by Schefferus, the novelty of the project was a key element from the very beginning and a prior condition for its later success. Sometimes, hints or ideas on what to read or whom to consult reached him in this way. Possibly the very day¹⁸⁸ he sent the letter to Gronovius, Schefferus received a letter from Stockholm written by Nicolaus Heinsius (1620-1681), with whom he corresponded extensively:

I rejoice that you are occupying yourself with describing Lapland. It is now five or six years ago that a certain Italian presbyter from Ravenna travelled through large parts of Lapland by foot, his evidence written in a historical letter to the archbishop of Ravenna.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Apart from employing modern notation, calendar dates are given as is in the sources. Conforming to many other European territories, Sweden introduced the Gregorian calendar in 1753, replacing the Julian calendar which lagged ten days behind. See also: Heiko Droste, ed., *Connecting the Baltic Area: The Swedish Postal System in the Seventeenth Century*, Södertörn Studies in History (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2011), 11.

¹⁸⁷ Schefferus to Johann Friedrich Gronovius, 28 March 1671. MUB 2° Cod.ms. 621, fol. 306v. "Inpositum quoq[ue] mihi negocium conscribendi aliqua de gente Lapponum, quod nunc aggressus sum eo majori cura, quia nihil certi hactenus de gente illa legitur publicatum."

¹⁸⁸ The distance between Stockholm and Uppsala is around seventy kilometres. The Swedish Post Office, founded in 1636, employed peasant farmers who transported the mail via a system of relays around twenty to thirty kilometres apart. For an overview, see Magnus Linnarsson, "The Development of the Swedish Post Office, c. 1600–1721," in *Connecting the Baltic Area: The Swedish Postal System in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Heiko Droste, Södertörn Studies in History 9 (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2011), 25-47.

¹⁸⁹ Nicolaus Heinsius to Schefferus, 27 March 1671. UUB G 260b, fol. 81. "In Lapponia describenda occupari te gaudeo. Quinquennium sexenniumve nunc agitur, quod presbyter nonnemo Italus, domo Ravennas, pedibus magnam Lapponiæ partem peragravit, scripta eius argumenti epistola historica ad Archi: Episcopum Ravennatem."

It is likely that Schefferus knew of the Italian priest from Ravenna Francesco Negri (1623-1698) before starting to work on the project. Negri had travelled to the North and, upon returning to Italy in 1666, worked on publishing his travelogue.¹⁹⁰ Two of the letters Negri sent to Schefferus are preserved, but both lack date and location.¹⁹¹ Presumably, Negri sent them to Schefferus during his time in Sweden, thus before 1666. When Negri's account *Viaggio Settentrionale* (Northern Journey) finally appeared posthumously in print in 1700, many of its illustrations were based on the woodcuts printed in *Lapponia* and some of its adaptations. At the end of the 17th century, Schefferus' work had reached as far as Italy.¹⁹²

For the nobility, scholars, and clergy, corresponding and engaging in learned dialogue with members of other confessions was nothing out of the ordinary. Naturally, a Franciscan friar like Negri could correspond with Schefferus, a Protestant philologist. The same is true for communication with scholars working under the rule of other, even enemy regents. The Peace of Westphalia had fixed the reordering of Europe's territories in 1648 to some degree, but the Republic of Letters continued to cross confessions and borders. For those who had travelled through different territories, acquaintances and friendships would not necessarily suffer from political change, although there could be practical difficulties in maintaining them during the many conflicts of the second half of the 17th century. The common interest of searching for the truth, and advancing knowledge, sciences and the arts enabled the letter-writing community to endure, thereby justifying its designation as 'res publica litteraria' (Republic of Letters).

The interest the Lapponia project attracted is hardly surprising. The endeavour satisfied the desire of scholars and collectors all over Europe to learn more about the far away and strange place that the region around the Arctic Circle was to virtually all of them. The letters addressing the project did not cease when the work appeared in print in 1673. On the contrary, it became a topic discussed throughout the rest of Schefferus' life. After his death, others continued the discussion.

Moreover, the Republic of Letters itself played a significant role in the writing of *Lapponia*. Some of the most relevant sources and objects reached Schefferus by means of the correspondence network around him. Providing vessels for the transport of ideas, questions, criticism, and the communication of new finds and findings back and forth between far away places, letters became increasingly vital to scholarly enterprises.

¹⁹⁰ See especially chapter four of Nathalie Hester, *Literature and Identity in Italian Baroque Travel Writing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 127-154.

¹⁹¹ Francesco Negri to Schefferus, undated. UUB G 260b: fol. 1-2.

¹⁹² Francesco Negri, *Viaggio Settentrionale* (Padova: Nella Stamperia del Seminario, 1700).

Lapponia is a monograph. It deals with one topic, namely the region inhabited by the Sámi, in a comprehensive fashion. The context of its coming into existence is multi-layered. On the institutional level, the *Antikvitetskollegium* (College of Antiquities), an agency researching Swedish antiquity founded in 1667, the University of Uppsala, and the Church played significant roles for the writing process. On the authorial level, Schefferus' education, background and contacts were of importance, and on the spatial plane, the region of "Lapponia" itself was significant. Naturally, for a scholarly work such as *Lapponia*, many other writings and scholars were influential, in terms of method, language, rhetoric and other conventions. Depictions of objects of Sámi origin decorate the book's frontispiece and are represented in the many intricate woodcut illustrations.

Yet where did this knowledge originate? In order to answer this question, this chapter analyses these layers of context by employing spatial categories. A useful starting point is Christian Jacob's proposed "lieux de savoir" (places *or* realms of knowledge), which will be elaborated further throughout the analysis. In brief, Jacob defines four types of 'lieu de savoir':¹⁹³

1. Places where the finding, teaching, and disseminating of knowledge takes place, and where it is acted upon.
2. Working spaces consisting of desks, bookshelves, tools and so on.
3. Inscriptions of knowledge, referring to all kinds of writings, visual representations, and other "artifacts" and "devices" that "are often organized in a system of hierarchic and articulated places."¹⁹⁴
4. The positioning of the practitioners of knowledge towards their objects of interest and other authorities or agents within the field.

It is possible to reconstruct the *modus operandi* of the writing of *Lapponia* to some extent through the source material attainable, for instance correspondence (see Chapter 4) or the foreword and preface (Subsections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4). Both the correspondence material and the front matter of the printed book qualify as *lieux de savoir* by Jacob's definition, more specifically as inscriptions of knowledge. Through these two cases of inscription, Schefferus and his respondents positioned themselves towards objects and authorities, which corresponds to the fourth type defined by Jacob.

¹⁹³ Jacob, "*Lieux de savoir: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge*," 85-102.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.

Naturally, Jacob's definition also allows for the inclusion of specific localities, and there are many of those connected to the writing of *Lapponia*. Schefferus wrote the manuscript in the town of Uppsala, where, in the 1660s, he had erected an additional building on his town property adjacent to Oxtorget, today St. Erik's Square.¹⁹⁵ This three-room lodge was the first structure in Sweden specifically designated a museum. Most likely, the *Museum Schefferianum* housed its owner's collections in the biggest room, as well as a library and a workspace in the two smaller rooms, as Per Gustaf Hamberg and Mårten Snickare have suggested.¹⁹⁶ Mattias Ekman argued that despite some differences in function and accessibility, museums such as the one established by Schefferus were true forerunners of today's museums as publicly accessible spaces that serve as thematic exhibitions.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, they were places of scholarly discourse and had representative functions. Most importantly, structures such as these provided an infrastructure and venue for the positioning of objects in formations through taxonomic principles, essential to create manageable spatial manifestations of knowledge. The grouping of things underscored their common and distinct characteristics in the way the collector arranged them in order, by placing them together or separately. Space defined how to organize knowledge meaningfully. Schefferus' museum building survived many of the changes the town of Uppsala underwent, most notably the fire of 1702 that destroyed about three quarters of the town. It was *bergmästare* (an official overseeing mining operations) Johan Abraham Gyllenhaal (1750-1788) who bequeathed the museum to the current owner, *Kungliga Vetenskaps-Societeten i Uppsala* (the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala). Arguably, the small building was one of the main sites of the writing of *Lapponia*.

To further our understanding of how *Lapponia* came into existence, an exploration of the roles different spaces and places played in creating this piece of knowledge literature is a meaningful starting point. Naturally, any writing about a region deals with places and employs some kind of coordinates. However, for this analysis the notion of place is not restricted to geographical locations or spatial categories. The places and coordinates referred to are envisioned locations and existing venues; they are specific topoi and manifestations of the imagination and, at times, all of these at once. Thus, by drawing on Christian Jacob's typology

¹⁹⁵ He also owned the farmstead Ekeby gård (Skarp-Ekeby) about forty kilometres north of Uppsala. See Johan Peringskiöld, *Then första boken af Swea och Götha minnings-merken vthi Uplandz första del Thiundaland* (Stockholm: Olof Enæus, 1710), 228.

¹⁹⁶ Hamberg, "Johannes Schefferus' bibliotekshus: En historisk orientering samt några ord om den byggnadshistoriska undersökningen i samband med restaureringen," 51-62; Snickare, "Kontroll, begär och kunskap - Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis," 65-77, at: 66-69.

¹⁹⁷ Mattias Ekman, "The birth of the museum in the Nordic countries: *Kunstkammer*, museology and museography," *Nordic Museology* 1 (2018): 5-26.

of *lieux de savoir* presented above, I wish to provide a new and deeper understanding of the importance of place for the kinds of knowledge manufactured and transmitted through *Lapponia* and other writings of its kind.



Figure 14: The Museum Schefferianum. Photograph: Olle Norling, *Johannes Schefferus bibliotekshus från 1670-talet, kvarteret Disa, Uppsala 2008*, <https://digitaltmuseum.se/011013975990/johannes-schefferus-bibliotekshus-fran-1670-talet-kvarteret-disa- uppsala> (licence: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/deed.en>).

Before starting to explore the *Museum Schefferianum* and the many valuable items it held, and from there, one of the most influential works its owner produced, let us for a moment consider the other fundamental concept of this exploration, namely knowledge. As is the case with other essential terms, the idea of what knowledge consists of is under constant negotiation and sometimes changes. One of the most influential scholars working on the concept of knowledge in the 20th century was Michel Foucault, who especially analysed the interrelations of knowledge (*savoir*) and power (*pouvoir*).

According to Foucault, knowledge comes into existence through power, and induces power itself. Two terms are central for this idea of knowledge: *savoir* on the one hand, and *connaissance* on the other. While *savoir* (knowledge) consists of all elements of a discursive practice, *connaissance* (cognition) is reducible to the relationship between a subject and an

object of cognition.¹⁹⁸ The relationship between the two is then describable in the formula: knowledge = organized cognition. In itself, the organization of cognition refers to a certain spatial quality, as organizing by definition creates hierarchical or directional dependencies.

By discursive practice, I refer to any practice of expression, such as writing or speaking, and practices of thinking or contemplating, and of acting on objects, and in doing so bringing those precise objects systematically into existence as conceptual entities. They already existed, but as things unnamed, undefined and unknown, potentially invisible to the observer.¹⁹⁹

To exemplify, Schefferus observing and taking notes on one of the objects in his possession, for instance a Sámi sledge, is as much of a discursive practice as is the refinement or visualization of those notes in a manuscript sent to the printer's workshop. As such, it is the entirety of collecting, observing, taking notes, refining the notes and all other related acts, such as delivering a manuscript to the press, the preparation and correction of the galley proof, printing, and binding the printed book, that brings knowledge about the object into existence. One might consider the acts of selling or buying the finished product as essential parts of the formation of knowledge. Hence, observations and notes regarding an object create systematic knowledge about it. Condensed in writing, this systematic knowledge then appears at a later stage in print. In the process of working on *Lapponia*, there were numerous instances of *connaissance*, moments of understanding certain aspects of an object or issue. However, the final product offers more than a string of many moments of *connaissance*: it offers a systematic depiction of this cognition, and thereby *savoir* (knowledge).²⁰⁰

Having established that all kinds of discursive practices bring forward knowledge, let us imagine how Schefferus went about working on the project that would later turn out to be his magnum opus and undoubtedly reached the highest number of readers. In the preface to *Lapponia*, the author addresses the project's initiator and financier, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. Schefferus describes the ways in which De la Gardie, at that time both Lord High Chancellor of Sweden and Chancellor of Uppsala University, made the endeavour possible. Referring to the various kinds of assistance necessary to undertake the project, Schefferus writes:

¹⁹⁸ Clemens Kammler, "Archäologie des Wissens," in *Foucault-Handbuch: Leben - Werk - Wirkung*, ed. Clemens Kammler, Rolf Parr, and Ulrich Johannes Schneider (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2008), 51.

¹⁹⁹ Rolf Parr, "Diskurs," in *Foucault-Handbuch: Leben - Werk - Wirkung*, ed. Clemens Kammler, Rolf Parr, and Ulrich Johannes Schneider (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2008), 233-234.

²⁰⁰ See also: Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 11. Burke considers "'information' [to refer] to what is relatively 'raw', specific and practical" and ascribes "knowledge" to "what has been 'cooked', processed or systematized by thought".

The most important of all was that through YOUR encouragement and exhortation I obtained from numerous trustworthy men—clerics, officials, inspectors of the Lapps—descriptions of this people, arranged with unique care and diligence, of which will be spoken later.²⁰¹

It was on De la Gardie's orders that Schefferus received the main sources for his accounts. Among them are the reports of clergymen serving in the lappmarks, which was the official designation for the northernmost parts of the Kingdom, as it was there the "Lappones" lived. The university library in Uppsala holds some of Schefferus' copies of the accounts and other source material bound in two volumes.²⁰² Those documents and fragments were the closest thing to having one's own notes from practical observations in the lappmarks. Schefferus' handling of these main sources poses questions regarding the authorship of *Lapponia*. Given the role of this handful of accounts in the entire project, any classical concept of authorship might seem out of place here. Calling it "a unique collection of quotes", Hans Lindkjølen emphasizes, "apart from four pages, on which Schefferus names his own observations, his entire extensive account builds upon the works of others".²⁰³ Lindkjølen made use of the Swedish critical edition from 1956 to arrive at this conclusion without mentioning that this edition includes sections that were not part of *Lapponia* as published in 1673 and only printed later in the augmented French edition *Histoire de la Laponie* from 1678. Despite presenting some tendencies, this somewhat anachronistic counting of quotes is therefore of little interest to this study.²⁰⁴ However, Lindkjølen points out the importance of a couple of accounts. Describing Schefferus' significance for the project itself requires a closer examination of what he did, and how. To this end, it is necessary to define and analyse the various contexts of the *Lapponia* project. These became manifest in different *lieux*, presented in this second chapter of the present dissertation.

One of the contexts is the person of Schefferus himself, and, more specifically, the fact that he authored the first ever monograph on the Sámi people and their settlement area. This begs the question of who Schefferus was as a scholar, which is best examined biographically, that is

²⁰¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. "Quorum primum, ac præcipuum, quod TE auctore hortatoreque impetravi à nonnullis viris, fide dignissimis, Laponum quippe sacerdotibus, præfectis, inspectoribus, descriptiones gentis ejus, cura singulari diligentiaque compositas, de quibus post dicetur."

²⁰² UUB S 163; UUB S 164.

²⁰³ Lindkjølen, "Johannes Schefferus og bokverket «Lapponia» utgitt 1673," 23-35, at: 28-29. See in the section titled "Lapponia - En enestående sitatsamling": "Bortsett fra fire sider hvor Schefferus viser til sine egne iakttagelser, bygger hele hans omfattende framstilling på andres verker."

²⁰⁴ Lindkjølen contradicts himself by listing Nicolaus Lundius as the second most-often quoted author in *Lapponia*. Lundius was not quoted once in *Lapponia*. He was, however, crucial to most annotations Schefferus made to his own exemplar. See *ibid.*, 28-29. Cf. 34, note 1, where the annotations and Lundius' significant role for them are mentioned.

by taking into account the circumstances equipping him to write *Lapponia*. This leads to a discussion of the institutional and personal connections accumulated in his life and the role they played for the Lapponia project. Following a presentation of the scholarly imprint of his biography in Section 2.1, with a discussion of his origin in Straßburg, Section 2.2, with a description of his time in Leiden and Section 2.3, with a retracing of his journey to Uppsala, Section 2.4 discusses the context of the College of Antiquities and the *Museum Schefferianum* through which *Lapponia* came into existence in Uppsala.

From the list of writers Schefferus identifies as trustworthy sources in *Lapponia*, we can retrace the volumes and writings he had access to from his own library located in the small building on St. Erik's Square or from other libraries. It is unknown whether he had an additional library in his mansion on the same estate, but the notion of him keeping no books at all in the family home seems out of the question. What this means with respect to the literature necessary for the work on the Lapponia project remains subject to speculation.

While the composition of the library at the time of the work on *Lapponia* is unknown, several documents give some insight and allow for an educated guess. Eight indices kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm list the books his children inherited.²⁰⁵ One may assume that his wife Regina inherited a fair share of the library as well. She died around thirty years later. A hitherto unexplored folder with several hundred notes and letters kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm is material evidence of the extensive legal proceedings following her death in 1708.²⁰⁶ This underlines that Schefferus had amassed some wealth after arriving in Sweden. Looking at the budget of the College of Antiquities, one finds that in his service for the institution he earned a significant annual salary of up to three hundred daler on top of his doubled professorial wage of seven hundred daler. He also received five to seven hundred daler annually from 1665 onwards as *professor honorarius juris naturæ et gentium* (honorary professor of natural law and the law of nations).²⁰⁷ Additionally, Queen Christina had (1626-1689) granted him an annual pension of one thousand daler to thank him for the farewell address he composed for her in 1654.²⁰⁸

Other fragmentary information regarding the library is retrievable from a manuscript listing the acquisitions of sixty-six manuscripts by the university library in Uppsala in 1719. One of

²⁰⁵ KB U. 373.i.

²⁰⁶ KB I.s. 7.

²⁰⁷ Henrik Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia II - Antikvitetskollegiet I* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1933), 32, 106ff.

²⁰⁸ Scheffer, *Johannes Schefferus: en storman från 1600-talets Uppsala*, 38.

Schefferus' daughters, Maria Regina Scheffer (1662-1729), signed the receipt. Amongst the manuscripts, we find two volumes with writings about the Sámi: one with the *Berättelse, huru Sodankylä Sombio &c. Lappar äro til Gudsdyrkan omvände, skrifit af Gabr. Tudero år 1669* (Account of how the Lapps of Sodankylä, Sombio, etc. have turned to worship, written by Gabriel Tuderus in the year 1669) and one with the accounts by Olaus Petri Niurenus (1580-1645) and Samuel Rheen (1615-1680).²⁰⁹

The eight inheritance lists contain few details of the specific editions and do not provide any information about the provenance of the different volumes. Given Schefferus' death some years after the publication of *Lapponia*, the documents draw a different picture of the library and can only assist in approximating the library's composition during the time of the *Lapponia* project. No accurate list of the books he owned while working on *Lapponia* exists. However, there exists a hitherto neglected manuscript by Schefferus presenting a theoretical discussion on the best way to organize a library. It is unfortunately undated, but it still gives insight into how he, at some point, structured his library. As it is closely linked to the *Museum Schefferianum*, I give further details of it in Subsection 2.4.2.

Although the writings explicitly referred to in *Lapponia* are of primary interest to this study, the works in the inheritance lists deserve further discussion. They number 817 entries, including works on theology and church history, classics and history, philology and language, jurisprudence and politics, geography and geology, medicine and anatomy, and warfare and mathematics. There are also a couple of catalogues of other libraries. The majority of the writings indexed are in Latin, but there is a good deal of literature in other languages, mainly German, French and Swedish. The inheritance lists represent only a part of Schefferus' library.²¹⁰ Some of the authors of the works indexed were acquaintances or even friends, as is the case with Thomas Bartholin, of whose works eight are confirmed (one of them in two exemplars), or the controversial Frenchman Claudius Salmasius (1588-1653), at least five of whose books are listed. Even more influential was Johannes Boeclerus (1611-1672), who wrote ten or more of the works in Schefferus' library. Their names will appear again in this study.

²⁰⁹ UUB Bibl. arkiv E 5, 147-155; see also UUB Bibl. arkiv M 5, unpaginated. I warmly thank Dr. Anna Fredriksson from Uppsala University Library for directing my attention towards these documents. On the role of Tuderus' writing, see Chapter 4.3.

²¹⁰ Although the number of books owned by Schefferus is unknown, it is to be assumed that it was overshadowed by the enormous collections of noblemen such as De la Gardie, who is reported to have willed at least 25 000 volumes. Cf. Johan Eenberg, *Kort Berättelse Af de Märkwärdigste Saker Som För de Främmande Äre at Bese och Förnimma Uti Upsala Stad* (Upsala: Tryckt hoos Johan H. Werner, 1704), 58.

Many of the key sources for *Lapponia* were part of the library when Schefferus died. However, it is unknown exactly when he had obtained them and if he owned them when working on the project. Further, he might have given away or sold other relevant works during his lifetime. In any case, the sole fact that Schefferus had an additional building erected that housed his collection and library testifies to an attitude towards literature (and objects) shaped by diligence, care, and appreciation. Yet why should the ownership of writings relevant to *Lapponia* be of any importance for the present study?

This question touches the core of our quest for knowledge about the Sámi people in the early modern Era. In attempting to reconstruct the library owned by the author of the first compendious monograph on the Sámi people, both his education and fields of interest are revealed. The library tells us how Schefferus generally structured knowledge and what he considered worthy of knowing.

Apart from providing a general idea of the various thematic areas of the writings inherited, such knowledge should also enable clarification of the position of *Lapponia* in relation to the author's areas of expertise, and thus an understanding of his approach to the project. One may interpret the inheritance indices and the acquisition receipts as suggesting that Schefferus did not own all of the written sources referred to as trustworthy in *Lapponia*.²¹¹ However, given the unclear situation regarding archival material in the library, such an interpretation is premature and unlikely, especially since Snickare mentions that Schefferus had already brought around 900 volumes with him when he arrived in Sweden.²¹² This was in 1648, when he was an up-and-coming philologist. More than twenty years later, his library must have grown significantly.

However, even if the indices were to accurately reflect the composition of Schefferus' library when he worked on the *Lapponia* project, he could have accessed the necessary writings by other means. Libraries did exist, although they differed significantly from the public or institutional libraries we know of today. For the most part, they were not yet institutionally established and only accessible to privileged members of society: the nobility, clergy, and scholars. At the time, Uppsala University Library still had problems with mould in the lower storey and a leaking roof in the upper storey of the building.²¹³ This also serves as an additional explanation for why Schefferus went to such great lengths to have his *Museum* built.

²¹¹ See Appendix 2 for a comparison of *Lapponia*'s list of authorities with the relevant entries in the inheritance indices KB U.373.i.

²¹² Snickare, "Kontroll, begär och kunskap - Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis," 68.

²¹³ Peter Sjökvist, "On the Order of the Books in the First Uppsala University Library Building," *JJS* 6 (2019): 315-326.

Furthermore, he could make use of his established professional and personal network to obtain relevant excerpts of writings inaccessible to him.

In addition to giving initial insights into the kinds of literature Schefferus owned, the inheritance indices also reveal other details of knowledge about the Sámi people in the early modern era. A focus on the geographical distribution of places where knowledge about the Sámi appeared in writing and places where it was printed pinpoints specific *lieux*: the places of production of knowledge about the Sámi. Most of the works listed by Schefferus deal only peripherally with the people of Fennoscandia, if they are mentioned at all. Yet the places of publication of the various writings reveal where the collecting and condensing in writing of knowledge relevant to the overall topic of *Lapponia* took place. Helmstedt, Hamburg, Uppsala, Stockholm, Straßburg, Linköping, Leiden, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Basel, Frankfurt am Main, Paris, Copenhagen, Rome, Venice, Wittenberg, Sorø, Hannover, and Åbo: to varying degrees, all of those towns were significant hubs of knowledge, due to the printing presses, episcopal seats, and universities located there. None of them lay in the region Schefferus wrote about, but the manuscripts he could access originated in the lappmarks, written by clergymen who had grown up or spent several years in church service there.

Furthermore, this provides us with an opportunity to take an educated guess on the stages and locations of work on the project. Regarding the wide variety of authors marked as trustworthy, the inheritance indices emphasize some of them as Schefferus' go-to references. These include Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Pliny (61-c.113), Julius Cæsar Scaliger (1484-1558), Tacitus (c.56-c.120), and Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), all of whom were represented in at least three distinct works or commentaries on their works in Schefferus' library.

Having studied these authors intensively, and acquired books by or on them, he would know whether they wrote anything of relevance to the main topics of *Lapponia*. In that sense, Schefferus himself is a *lieu de savoir* in Jacob's definition.²¹⁴ In positioning himself as a practitioner of knowledge towards his object of interest and towards other authorities or agents within the field, he became a place of knowledge about the Sámi, at the latest when word about the work on *Lapponia* reached the Republic of Letters.

Positioning is an umbrella term for Schefferus' discursive practices in relation to the project's theme and known authorities. These include deeming some sources as trustworthy, while rejecting others, selecting the topics to expand on and those to dismiss, and deciding for and

²¹⁴ Jacob, "*Lieux de savoir: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge*," 98-100.

against certain ways of structuring information. Such decisions were based as much on Schefferus' educational background as on the availability of useful material. This hints at the complex nature of his role in an endeavour integrating many contributors and correspondents. He was an author, compiler, collector and examiner. This is especially important with regard to the contributions of local experts, clergymen who wrote accounts of their lappmark parishes, or Sámi students who conversed with him about their home region. Chapter 3 introduces them in detail, presenting a prosopography of this significant group. For most of them, the predominant way to contribute to the project was to send reports or accounts to Schefferus directly or to other involved agents. Some of these written communications correspond to conventions upheld in the Republic of Letters. The overall relevance of the Republic of Letters for the Lapponia project has never been studied in detail. Chapter 4 raises this issue, presenting its role through several strands of correspondence.

However, before continuing our exploration of the *lieux de savoir* of *Lapponia*, let us take a closer look at the prehistory of the work, and at the man who was crucial for its transformation from a commission into an account read, circulated, adapted, edited, and published in new contexts.

In a short article about “un strasbourgeois en Suède” (a Straßburger in Sweden), Stig Strömholm sketches an intellectual biography of Schefferus. The article suggests the existence of an intellectual bridge between Straßburg and Uppsala exemplified by the professor's life.²¹⁵ The Alsatian town and the Kingdom of Sweden had close political ties during the Thirty Years' War. From 1632 until 1634, the town was an ally of Sweden.²¹⁶

Thomas Mohnike expanded on Strömholm's suggestion in an essay positioning Schefferus as a connecting figure of the so-called *Realphilologie*, philology of the real “entre Rhin et Laponie” (between Rhine and Lapland).²¹⁷ In summing up the genesis of *Lapponia* through the life of its author, this is undoubtedly a valid metaphor for the learned exchanges between two intellectual centres, Straßburg and Uppsala, in the 17th century. In his account of the history of the University of Uppsala, Sten Lindroth took notice of the importance of Straßburg for

²¹⁵ Strömholm, "Johannes Schefferus: un strasbourgeois en Suède," 302-306, at: 302-303.

²¹⁶ Sweden was a factor all along the Upper Rhine. For a concise summary of the political developments of Sweden's presence there, see Ralph Tuchtenhagen, "Die schwedische Vorherrschaft am Oberrhein 1631–1634," *ZGO* 162 (2014): 231-259.

²¹⁷ Thomas Mohnike, "Les mots et les choses: Johannes Schefferus et la philologie du réel entre Rhin et Laponie," *La Revue de la BNU* 8 (2013): 9-17; on Schefferus and the philology of the real, see also: Ellenius, "Johannes Schefferus and Swedish Antiquity," 59-74.

Uppsala, but without elaborating further.²¹⁸ Similarly, Nils Runeby had hinted at the connection, as had Allan Ellenius in his work on art literature in Sweden during this era.²¹⁹ This idea has so far only been outlined, however, and consequently not analysed in detail in connection with *Lapponia*.

Schefferus, a native of Straßburg, relocated to Uppsala at the age of twenty-seven. The route he followed from Straßburg to Uppsala followed the Rhine, and then continued along the branched-out canals in the Netherlands. For several reasons, including trade and war, the history of Sweden and the Netherlands intertwined during the entire 17th century. Along with economic relations and diplomatic exchange, the learning of the Low Countries also left a lasting impact on the Kingdom of Sweden.²²⁰

Schefferus arrived in Uppsala in 1648. Queen Christina had offered him the Skyttean professorship (*skytteanska professuren*) in eloquence and politics, founded by Johan Skytte (1577-1645) in 1622.²²¹ Throughout his academic career, Schefferus added the affix “Argentoratensis” to his name in order to emphasize his hometown *Argentoratum*, Straßburg, a common practice at that time. The town of his childhood, youth, and academic beginnings would stay with him for the rest of his life and become a fixed part of his identity not only for himself but also for those around him. He was and remained a *Strossburger*, conscious of his origins in one of the great towns of the Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, in 1648 he left his hometown for good and stayed in his adopted home of Uppsala until his death in 1679. Clearly, those two towns were the two most defining places of his life. Yet there were several other places and networks that had a deep impact on his life, career, and writings. The main source of this is Schefferus himself, who in the early 1670s wrote down his *vita*, an autobiographical

²¹⁸ Sten Lindroth, *Uppsala Universitet 1477–1977* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1976), 50-52.

²¹⁹ Nils Runeby, *Monarchia Mixta: Maktfördelningsdebatt i Sverige under den tidigare stormaktstiden*, ed. Sven A. Nilsson and Sten Carlsson, *Studia Historica Upsaliensia*, (Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget, 1962), 24-25; Allan Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi: Latin art literature in seventeenth-century Sweden and its international background*, Lychnos-Bibliotek 19, (Uppsala, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 99-101; none of the following standard works mention the connection: Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria: 2: Reformationsstiden och stormaktstiden*, 3. fullständigt omarb. uppl. utgiven av Henrik Schück. ed., vol. 2 (Stockholm: Raben & Sjögren, 1927); Sten Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria - Stormaktstiden*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, [1975] 1997); Conrad Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart.*, ed. Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland. Neuere Zeit* 19, (München, Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg, 1883).

²²⁰ A detailed and still central description of the erudite relations is E. Wrangel, "Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland: Särdeles under 1600-talet," in *Festskrift med anledning af Hans Majestät Konung Oscar II:s Regerings Jubileum 1872-1897.*, ed. Lunds Universitet, *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*. — Lunds Universitets Års-Skrift (Lund: Gleerups förlagsbokhandel, 1897); a more general overview describing the linked fates of both countries in a perspective spanning from the Early Modern Era to today provides Kristian Gerner, ed., *The Swedes & the Dutch were made for each other* (Lund: Historiska Media, 2014).

²²¹ Jenny Ingemarsdotter, *Ramism, Rhetoric and Reform. An Intellectual Biography of Johan Skytte (1577-1645)*, AUU - Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 42, (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2011), Dissertation.

description of his family background, childhood, education, travels, works, and networks. Unsigned and undated, but written by Schefferus as the characteristic handwriting demonstrates, the fifty-three page autobiographical text written in Latin is one of the most indicative sources on his life.

The *kammarsskrivare* (secretary) in the *Krigskollegium* (central agency for military administration) Sigfrid Lorentz Persson Gahm (1725-1794), a collector of historical manuscripts and diplomas, had the original text (together with other handwritten and printed material on Schefferus) bound into one of his seventeen handwritten volumes with biographies of learned Swedes. A note added to the text suggests it was written by Schefferus' amanuensis Johan Heysig (1653/54-1695), who was ennobled as Ridderstjerna in 1689. However, the handwriting is probably that of Schefferus, as shown by a comparison with autographs written while Heysig was still a child. The volume is kept in the university library of Uppsala.²²²

Literary historian Henrik Schück first transcribed and published the manuscript in print in 1915.²²³ The text itself is undated, but its content gives an idea of the probable period. The latest date found in the text is 1671. In this connection, "sequenti", the following year, appears in a sentence with the perfect tense. Accordingly, Schefferus most probably wrote the *vita* in 1672 or 1673. There is no mention of *Laponia*, but since the text does not list many of his other writings either, it is unclear whether he had already sent the manuscript to the press or was still working on it. The specific motivation for this learned autobiography remains unknown.

Based on the *vita* and further archival work, historian Eric Michael Fant (1754-1817) published the biographical work *Minne Öfver Joh. Schefferus* (In Memory of Joh. Schefferus) in 1782. In addition to a text narrating the life of Schefferus, it lists his published and unpublished works and includes an index of parts of his correspondence.²²⁴ Persson Gahm added the *Minne Öfver Joh. Schefferus* to the relevant section in his compilation. Fant's interest in Schefferus exceeded this distinguished writing, since he also presided over a dissertation on the controversy between Petrus Eliæ Gavelius (1625-1697) and Schefferus, by the otherwise obscure Johannes Fredericus Karp in 1798.²²⁵

²²² UUB X 212, 335r-510v. For the *vita*, see 483r-509r.

²²³ Johannes Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," in *Äldre Svenska Biografier*, ed. Henrik Schück, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, [1673?] 1915).

²²⁴ Fant, *Minne öfver Joh. Schefferus*.

²²⁵ Fant and Karp, *Dissertatio de controversia inter Petrum Eliæ Gavelium et Johannem Schefferum Argentoratensem, professores Upsalienses an. 1656-1664. Quam consent. ampl. fac. philos. Ups. præsidi mag. Erico M. Fant ... publico examini submittit Johannes Fredericus Karp, Gestricius. In audit. Gust. maj. d. [sic] 20 Dec. 1798. H. a. m. s.*

Finally, Henrika Scheffer (1864-1928), a descendant of Schefferus, wrote a popular biography of her famous ancestor, published in 1918.²²⁶ Emphasizing the importance of origin, its first chapter bears the title “Från Rhen till Mälärstrand” (From the Rhine to the shores of Lake Mälaren).²²⁷ This title demonstrates the importance of Straßburg and Uppsala, but it also alludes to most of the places he visited in a concise fashion, as he stayed in the relative vicinity of the Rhine on journeys to the Netherlands and Switzerland, and moved along the river as far as possible on his journey to Sweden. After his arrival in Sweden, two places remained of utmost relevance to him, Uppsala, where he lived, and the capital Stockholm, where the power elite and many of his correspondents resided. It is unknown how often he went to the Swedish capital. Stockholm adjoins Lake Mälaren, and Uppsala is only a few kilometres away from Ekoln, a bay in Lake Mälaren.

The *vita* names a few places and a multitude of names of people in connection with travel, education and work. Schefferus mentions several place names where members of his family originated or had lived, such as Wetterau (Wetterauia), Mainz (Moguntiacum), Gießen, Nieder-Erlenbach (Nidererlebacum), and Frankfurt am Main (Francofurthum ad Moenum). Concerning places and regions he had visited himself, Schefferus makes mention of “[p]eregrinationes ter [...] longiores”, three long journeys. It was common among learned men in 17th-century Europe to undertake long journeys or take up positions in far away places.²²⁸

A closer examination of the travels of Schefferus will also help us to understand how *Lapponia* came into existence, as he became acquainted in person with many of his contacts on his journeys. Table 8 lists the places and regions visited by Schefferus that are mentioned in the *vita*.²²⁹ Although incomplete in the sense that it does not list all the stops on the journeys, it is in principle an itinerary. Whenever available, information on date or duration of stay is given.

These are the places and regions specifically named in the autobiographical work. Henrika Scheffer writes about these three long journeys, but her ancestor probably visited many other places, which he deemed less noteworthy. Some of the members of the *Zehnstädtebund*, an alliance of ten imperial towns, lay in the proximity of Straßburg, such as Rosheim, Oberehnheim (Obernai), Hagenau, and Schlettstadt (Sélestat). It is likely that Schefferus visited at least some of them or a few of the villages surrounding his hometown.

²²⁶ Scheffer, *Johannes Schefferus: en storman från 1600-talets Uppsala*.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

²²⁸ With a focus on peregrinations of Swedish noblemen, see: Ola Winberg, *Den statskloka resan: Adels peregrinationer 1610–1680*, ed. Margaret Hunt and Maria Ågren, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis - Studia Historica Upsaliensia, (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2018), Dissertation, 53-108.

²²⁹ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 15-18.

Table 8: The long journeys of Johannes Schefferus according to his vita

1	Straßburg	1638
	Nieder-Erlenbach	
	Frankfurt am Main	Four months
	Cologne	
	Aachen (Aquisgranum)	
	's Hertogenbosch (Sylva Ducis)	October 1638, for one month
	Dordrecht	
	The Hague (Haga Comitis)	
	Leiden (Lugdunum Batauorum)	Arrival no later than 15 April 1639
	Straßburg	Autumn 1640
2	Straßburg	around Pentecost 1643, i.e. 27 May
	Basel	
	Solothurn (Solodurum)	
	Switzerland (Heluetia reliqua)	
	Lausanne	
	Geneva	Autumn 1643, letter to Gronovius on 18 April 1644
	Schaffhausen (Scaphusa)	Summer 1644
	Straßburg	1644
3	Straßburg	Spring 1648
	Frankfurt am Main	joined by Otto Friedrich of Herberstein
	Utrecht (Ultrajectum)	reached after a few days
	Amsterdam	letter to Straßburg on 16 May
	The Hague	
	Leiden	
	Amsterdam	
	Frisia	
	County of Oldenburg (Oldenburgensis territorium)	
	Westphalia	
	Duchy of Bremen (Ducatus Bremensis)	
	Hamburg	stay for almost seven days
	Holstein (Holsatia)	
	Kingdom of Denmark (Daniae Regnum)	
	Sorø	
	Copenhagen (Hafnia)	letter to Straßburg on 17 June
	The Sound/Øresund	
	Helsingborg	
	Skåne (Scania)	
	Halland	
	Småland	
	Östergötland (Ostrogothia)	
	Södermanland (Sudermannia)	
	Stockholm (Holmia Suecorum)	2 July 1648, welcomed by Queen Christina on the same day
	Uppsala	7 July 1648

Some of the places on the list had an indirect impact on *Lapponia* by acquainting Schefferus with certain cultures of knowledge, specific institutions or influential individuals. Defining these towns as distinct places of knowledge is only possible by considering their intellectual, economic, and political history. Many of them were university towns, and with urban agglomerations gaining new roles in the 17th century, they form a fundamental part of this analysis. With the Rhine serving as a lifeline to many other centres of learning, the town of Straßburg is our point of departure as we follow the Rhine up- and downstream to trace Schefferus' journeys to the Netherlands and Switzerland, and finally through the Netherlands on the journey to Sweden.

2.1 STRASSBURG

Johannes Schefferus was born in Straßburg on 2 February 1621. An omen to the successful career he would have as a scholar, his baptism in St Thomas' Church took place three days later on the day Emperor Ferdinand II (1578-1637) granted a university privilege to the city: 5 February 1621.²³⁰ On 5 April 1625, four-year-old Johannes started attending the *Schola Thomana*. Only seven years of age, he matriculated at the *Gymnasium Argentoratense*, the Latin school, on 21 April 1628.²³¹

Georges Bischoff and Anton Schindling have reconstructed the prehistory and genesis of the University of Straßburg in detail.²³² The town's situation along the shores of the Upper Rhine between the Vosges Mountains and the peaks of the Black Forest connected it with centres of political power, commerce, and education.²³³ Since 1262, it had had the status of a Free Imperial City (*Frei- und Reichstätt*) in the Holy Roman Empire, which brought certain privileges. The city participated in the *Reichstag* (Imperial Diet) and could decide on who to let into its

²³⁰ Georges Bischoff, "Histoire de l'université de Strasbourg," in *L'Université de Strasbourg: Cinq siècles d'enseignement et de recherche*, ed. Georges Bischoff and Richard Kleinschmager (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2010), 13-139, at: 127; Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 12-13.

²³¹ Un Groupe de Professeurs de l'École, ed., *Matricula Scholae Argentoratensis 1621-1721* (Strasbourg, Paris: Fides/E. Droz, 1938), 27.

²³² Georges Bischoff, *Le siècle de Gutenberg: Strasbourg et la révolution du livre* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2018); Bischoff, "Histoire de l'université de Strasbourg."; Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Straßburg 1538-1621*, ed. Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977); Anton Schindling, "L'école latine et l'Académie de 1538 à 1621," in *Histoire du Gymnase Jean Sturm: Berceau de l'Université de Strasbourg 1538-1988*, ed. Pierre Schang and Georges Livet, Société Savante d'Alsace et des Régions de l'Est Collection "Grandes Publications" (Strasbourg: Oberlin, 1988), 19-154.

²³³ William J. Courtenay, "Education and Learning in the Upper Rhine Region in the Fourteenth Century," in *University, Council, City: Intellectual Culture on the Rhine (1300-1550)*, ed. Laurent Cesalli, Nadja Germann, and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen, Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 47-62.

perimeters.²³⁴ The councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1448) took place in towns within easy reach via the Rhine. By 1439, the spectacular Straßburg Cathedral had reached completion, its 142 metres making it the highest building in the world for more than two hundred years.

In retrospect, the long stay of Johannes Gutenberg (c.1400-1468) in Straßburg from 1434 onward was often considered a defining moment for the transformation of the city into a centre of the media revolution of printing. Bischoff observes a “silence des archives” regarding Gutenberg’s whereabouts from 1444 until 1448. It is unknown whether he was in Straßburg or somewhere else.²³⁵ The first press in Straßburg was probably operated by Johannes Mentelin (1410-1478), starting in 1458.²³⁶ The Council of Basel had a lasting effect on the city of Straßburg. Bischoff describes the relationship between the two towns as follows:

In fact, Straßburg is a bit the big sister of Basel: it counts at that time seven to eight thousand souls more, dominates the navigation on the Rhine up- and downstream, to Mainz, that means to the fairs of Frankfurt, and latches the last bridge over the Rhine before the North Sea.²³⁷

According to Bischoff, Straßburg functioned as the base camp for the fathers of the Council of Basel.²³⁸ The Council contributed to the foundation of several new universities in the wider region surrounding the Upper Rhine: Freiburg im Breisgau in 1457, Basel in 1460, Trier in 1473, Tübingen and Mainz in 1477. By 1500, when Straßburg had around 20 000 inhabitants and was one of the most populous towns and the economic centre of this part of the Holy Roman Empire, it still had no university.²³⁹ The intellectual climate in this town of commerce and artisanship slowly started to change and develop. Although eight convent schools enabled pupils to learn the basics of Latin, the nearby universities of Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Heidelberg and Tübingen had a better educational infrastructure and greater influence. The political will to establish a higher educational institution found advocates in “the trumpet of the Straßburg Cathedral” Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445-1510), preacher in the Cathedral from 1478 onwards, Sebastian Brant (1458-1521), town syndic and author of the famous

²³⁴ Debra Kaplan, “Our City Is Seen as Greatly Superior”: Strasbourg and Its Reformation,” in *Beyond Expulsion: Jews, Christians, and Reformation Strasbourg*, ed. Debra Kaplan, Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 12-25, at: 16-17.

²³⁵ Bischoff, *Le siècle de Gutenberg: Strasbourg et la révolution du livre*, 80, 92-94.

²³⁶ Peter Amelung, “Mentelin, Johannes (Hans),” in *NDB 17* (1994).

²³⁷ Bischoff, *Le siècle de Gutenberg: Strasbourg et la révolution du livre*, 41. “De fait, Strasbourg est un peu la grande sœur de Bâle: elle compte alors sept à huit mille âmes de plus, domine la navigation rhénane en amont et en aval, jusqu’à Mayence, c’est-à-dire jusqu’aux foires de Francfort, et verrouille le dernier pont du Rhin avant la mer du Nord.”

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 41; Bischoff, “Histoire de l’université de Strasbourg,” 19.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 20; Schindling, “L’école latine et l’Académie de 1538 à 1621,” 19.

*Narrenschiff*²⁴⁰ (Ship of fools), and Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528), pedagogue and theologian.²⁴¹ Schefferus later acquired Wimpfeling's manuscript volume and brought it to Uppsala.²⁴²

Early plans for a higher educational institution failed, but *Stettmeister* (mayor) Jakob Sturm von Sturmeck (1489-1553) and Reformer Martin Bucer (1491-1551) revisited them in the 1520s. The Reformation, introduced in Straßburg by Bucer, Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541), Matthäus Zell (1477-1548), and Caspar Hedio (1494-1552) was the turning point for these educational efforts.²⁴³ The new dogma established a novel educational system, financed through the now obsolete monasteries. Lectures in biblical theology were key to educating the newly converted clerics. By the time of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, two institutions offered courses in Latin and Greek as well as lectures in a number of academic disciplines. To further the preaching of the Gospel, Bucer suggested increasing the curriculum up to university standards. This led to the foundation of the *Schola Argentoratensis* in 1538 through *Stettmeister* Johannes Sturm (1507-1589).²⁴⁴

At the eve of the Thirty Years' War, Straßburg was part of a network of international book trade. Following the Rhine downstream to the town of Mainz, the tributary Main connected it to Frankfurt, where the famous book fair took place. The Rhine also served as a connection to Cologne, Amsterdam, and Leiden. From there, Antwerp was within reach. Upstream from Straßburg, another hub of book trade was situated, the neighbouring "little sister" Basel.²⁴⁵

The sister cities were the only university towns in the Upper Rhine area not to witness occupation during the course of the war. Other learned centres, such as Heidelberg, Tübingen (about one hundred kilometres from the Rhine), Freiburg im Breisgau, Molsheim (where, twenty kilometres from Straßburg, a Jesuit academy had been installed in 1617 in efforts to

²⁴⁰ Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff* (Basell: Johann Bergmann von Olpe, 1494).

²⁴¹ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Straßburg 1538-1621*, 18-25.

²⁴² UUB C 687.

²⁴³ For an overview of the surrounding conditions of the Reformation see Francis Rapp, "Strasbourg à la veille de la Réformation: contexte intellectuel et religieux," in *Johannes Sturm (1507-1589): Rhetor, Pädagoge und Diplomat*, ed. Matthieu Arnold, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation: Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 11-19; Francis Rapp, *Réformes et Réformation à Strasbourg: Église et Société dans le Diocèse de Strasbourg (1450-1525)*, ed. Association des Publications près les Universités de Strasbourg, Collection de l'Institut des Hautes Études Alsaciennes, (Paris: Ophrys, 1974).

²⁴⁴ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Straßburg 1538-1621*, 26-33; Schindling, "L'école latine et l'Académie de 1538 à 1621," 24-32; Bischoff, "Histoire de l'université de Strasbourg," 22; For life and impact of Sturm see also the articles in Matthieu Arnold, ed., *Johannes Sturm (1507-1589): Rhetor, Pädagoge und Diplomat, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation: Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

²⁴⁵ Isabelle Pantin, "The role of translations in European scientific exchanges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 163-179, at: 164.

recatholicize the region) had to endure hostilities, occupation forces and abrupt changes in their regime. The unstable situation in the greater region benefitted Straßburg academically, as other universities could not operate normally.²⁴⁶ Hence, the town became a safe haven for (mostly Protestant) professors and students from Tübingen, Heidelberg and other affected towns. This changed the social dynamics of the Alsatian town and its university significantly. Between 1621 and 1650, only about ten percent of its students were from Straßburg and the Alsace. With new people came an influx of ideas, and during the war the town managed to uphold its intellectual climate.²⁴⁷ It became an important focal point of the Upper German intellectual elite. At that time, Straßburg had around 30 000 inhabitants and served as a refuge for the rulers of the Margraviate of Baden-Durlach and the Duchy of Württemberg.²⁴⁸

In his *vita*, Schefferus describes his childhood and youth mostly with a focus on his family background and education. He specifically mentions tutors and teachers at the *schola Thomana*, at the *Gymnasium*, and finally, at the *Academia* (University). Hence, the text provides a snapshot of the learned circles of Straßburg during large parts of the Thirty Years' War, a fragmentary prosopography encapsulating the intellectual climate and composition of one of the metropolises of Upper Germany.

Surrounded by men of learning, young Johannes' studies started early. Taught by the otherwise unknown Augustus Reith, he began learning to read and write at the age of four. He received private tuition in Latin from a Silesian student of jurisprudence by the name of Martinus Zobelius. Other Silesian tutors were the student of theology David Kesslerus, who wrote a disputation on marriage law in 1631, the student of jurisprudence Matthias Heinsius, and the student of philosophy Christianus Heuslerus. He also mentions the philosophy students Georgius Kirchofius from Lauba in Lusatia, and Georg Ritschel (1616-1683) from Deutsch-Kahn in Bohemia. The latter eventually migrated to England and became professor of philosophy in Oxford and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

²⁴⁶ For a detailed overview of the university as an institution in light of the Thirty Years' War, see Howard Hotson, "Catchment Areas and Killing Fields: Towards an Intellectual Geography of the Thirty Years' War," in *Geographies of the University*, ed. Peter Meusbürger, Michael Heffernan, and Laura Suarsana, Knowledge and Space (Cham: Springer Open, 2018), 135-192.

²⁴⁷ Matthias Asche, Susanne Häcker, and Patrick Schiele, "Studieren im Krieg. Die Universitäten entlang des Rheins im (Wind-)Schatten des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," in *Krieg und Kriegserfahrung im Westen des Reiches 1568–1714*, ed. Andreas Rutz, Herrschaft und soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit (Göttingen: V&R, 2015), 205-236, at: 209-221.

²⁴⁸ Anton Schindling, "'Auf der Schanz'. Starkes Bildungszentrum zwischen Soldaten und Kanonen: Die Straßburger Universitäten vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zum Revolutionskrieg 1621 bis 1792," in *Die Universität Straßburg zwischen Späthumanismus und Französischer Revolution*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Robert Seidel (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), 13-30, at: 16.

This was only the beginning of Schefferus' schooling, which was mainly influenced by Lutheran doctrine. The teachers he lists for the *Gymnasium* continued in this fashion. Their names were Würmelius, Walliserus, Edelius, Glonerus, Bausius, Boschius, Gnilius, Schneuberus, Boeclerus, and Bachius.

All of them were classical philologists and many of them appeared as contributors to collections of occasional poetry. With Samuel Gloner (1598-1642) and Johannes Matthias Schneuberus (1614-1665), there were two poets laureate among them. The institution of *poeta laureatus* was based on the classical model of honouring poets with laurel wreaths. Poets laureate received the right to lecture on poetry and rhetoric at all universities of the Holy Roman Empire. In the mid-17th century, an inflation of this accolade led to its demise towards insignificance. Gloner later received some fame for his extensive work on prosody, *Prosodia cum auctoritatum syllabo* (Prosody with a syllabus of authorities), published in 1639, and his edition of Ovid (43 BC-17/18 AD). Schneuberus became a professor of poetry and mathematics in 1642. Combining his two fields of expertise, he described the comet visible around Christmas 1664 in verse in his *Umständliche Beschreibung Desz grossen Cometen* (Detailed description of the great comet).²⁴⁹

The name Walliserus rose to fame in the town of Straßburg mainly due to philosopher and specialist on Aristotle (384-322 BC) Laurentius Thomas Walliserus (1569-1631), and composer and *præceptor classicus* Christoph Thomas Walliserus (1568-1648). Both of them taught at the Gymnasium. Laurentius also served as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy.²⁵⁰ The *vita* does not clarify whether Schefferus had one of the two or Laurentius' son Johannes Petrus Thomas Walliserus (fl.1617-1664) as a teacher.

One of Schefferus' teachers has a special position in the list, namely the renowned professor Johann Heinrich Boeclerus, to whom he was forever indebted.²⁵¹ In this connection, he also mentions Matthias Bernegger (1582-1640), Boeclerus' teacher and a key figure in the learned circles of that time. Michael Philipp wrote a detailed description of the work of those two and of Jakob Schaller (1604-1676).²⁵² "Apart from him", Schefferus writes, there were also "the

²⁴⁹ Johann Matthias Schneuber, *Umständliche Beschreibung Desz grossen Cometen* (Straßburg: Johann Pastorius, 1665).

²⁵⁰ John L. Flood, "The Laureation of Poets in the Holy Roman Empire: An Introduction," in *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, ed. John L. Flood (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), xlvii-cclv, at: cxlviii.

²⁵¹ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 14.

²⁵² Michael Philipp, "Bernegger – Schaller – Boeckler. Die Straßburger historische Schule der Politikwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die Universität Straßburg zwischen Späthumanismus und Französischer Revolution*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Robert Seidel (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), 133-337.

professors of jurisprudence, [Gregor] Biccium [from Bautzen, d.1657], of practical philosophy, Schaller, and of oriental languages, [Benedict] Gros [d.1647]”.²⁵³

In addition to the impact of Bernegger and Boeclerus, the overall intellectual atmosphere of Straßburg influenced Schefferus deeply. The coexistence of Protestantism and Catholicism in the surrounding Alsace, and the presence of and interaction with the Jewish community, provided contact with other cultures.²⁵⁴ Visitors from far away such as the later Greek Patriarch of Alexandria Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639), who stayed for a couple of weeks in Straßburg during his journey home from his studies in Oxford in 1627, indicate the importance of the town as a stopover, its international renown and its position in the Republic of Letters.²⁵⁵

Matthias Bernegger was one of the main protagonists in the early years of the University of Straßburg. Born in the Protestant town of Hallstatt in Austria in 1582, he came to Straßburg in 1598/99 to study. He travelled through parts of the Habsburg Empire, until he followed his parents who had fled the Counter-Reformation and settled in Regensburg. In 1603, he returned to Straßburg and continued his studies of jurisprudence, mathematics, and astronomy. In 1608, he became a teacher at the gymnasium, and in 1613 professor of history, a position he held until his death in 1640.

Bernegger's prominent position derives from his works, from the impact he had on a number of students who would later themselves become scholars and from his active participation in the Republic of Letters. He corresponded with Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), Hugo Grotius, Martin Opitz (1597-1639), Georg Michael Lingelsheim (1556-1636), Wilhelm Schickard (1592-1635), and Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), and translated a number of works of the latter.²⁵⁶ Political figures of the highest rank were among his addressees, notably Gustav II Adolf and *rikskansler* Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654).

In addition to his interest in mathematics, Bernegger cooperated with Schaller and Boeclerus to develop an influential school of political thought focusing on policy makers rather than the 'state'. Of importance were classical authorities such as Tacitus or Livy (59-17 BC), but also more recent thinkers such as Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) or Justus Lipsius (1547-1606),

²⁵³ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 14. "Præter ipsum [...] Biccium iurisconsultum, Schellerum Practicæ Philosophiæ, Grossium, Linguarum Orientalium Professorem."

²⁵⁴ For an overview of the Early Modern Jewish history of Strasbourg, see Debra Kaplan, *Beyond Expulsion: Jews, Christians, and Reformation Strasbourg*, ed. Aron Rodrigue and Steven J. Zipperstein, Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

²⁵⁵ Michael Hanstein, "Das carmen saeculare von Samuel Gloner (1598–1642) zum Jubiläum des Straßburger Gymnasiums 1638," in *Die Universität Straßburg zwischen Späthumanismus und Französischer Revolution*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Robert Seidel (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), 69-109, at: 84.

²⁵⁶ Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Bernegger, Matthias," in *Killy Literaturlexikon*, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann (2nd ed., Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 478-479.

and contemporaries like Grotius, whose father Janus de Grotius (1554-1640) had studied with Lipsius. Philipp analysed the immense corpus of circa two hundred dissertations that this “Denkfabrik” (think tank) produced through its teachers and students.²⁵⁷ This productive and innovative environment set the stage for Schefferus’ academic beginnings.

In the winter term of 1637/38, Johannes Schefferus matriculated at the University.²⁵⁸ In Schefferus’ correspondence, Boeclerus appears as an early mentor and a long lasting friend. According to Fant, between 1639 and 1662 Boeclerus wrote at least forty letters to Schefferus when the latter was in Leiden, Lozarnum (Lausanne²⁵⁹), Geneva, Amsterdam, and Uppsala. In other words, Boeclerus’ letters reached Schefferus on all of his journeys and in Uppsala, in itself a testimony of their relationship as mentor and mentee. Six of Schefferus’ letters to Boeclerus, sent from Geneva, Copenhagen, and Amsterdam, appeared in print in a compilation of letters by Christopher August Heumann (1681-1764).²⁶⁰

Like many other scholars rising to fame in Straßburg, Boeclerus did not originally hail from the Alsatian town. Born in Cronheim in Franconia in 1611, he went to school in Heilbronn and studied in Altdorf, Tübingen, and finally Straßburg. There, he quickly made a name for himself due to his excellent Latin and became a teacher at the *gymnasium*. As a writer, Boeclerus first appears in 1634 with a *laudatio* on the otherwise obscure Petrus Thiedericus. Two years later, a volume with two *orationes* on Tacitus’ *Historiae* and the reign of Tiberius (42 BC-37 AD) was published. Rhetoric and eloquence were lifelong interests to him. In 1637, Boeclerus became *professor eloquentiae* at the university. Shortly after, in 1638, he married the daughter of the Lutheran priest Samuel Schallesius, Susanna (c. 1621-1687). In 1640, when his teacher Bernegger died, he succeeded him as professor in history and *canonicus*.

That very year Schefferus returned from the Netherlands. The reason for his journey home was the death of his father Johan Scheffer (c.1586-1640), caused by the “unutterable calamities of that time”, but, according to Schefferus, also by sorrows about the dishonourable behaviour of his father’s second wife Maria Rotler, who is described as a drunkard.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Philipp, “Bernegger – Schaller – Boeckler. Die Straßburger historische Schule der Politikwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert,” 133-136, 180-336.

²⁵⁸ Gustav C. Knod, *Die alten Matrikel der Universität Strassburg 1621 bis 1793*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1897-1902), 469.

²⁵⁹ Schefferus stayed for some weeks in Lausanne. He did not mention a stay in the Catholic town of Lucerne or the southern Swiss town of Locarno.

²⁶⁰ Christophorus Augustus Heumannus, *Poecile Sive Epistolae Miscellaneae ad Literatissimos Aevi Nostrī Viros*, vol. II. liber III (Halae: Officina Rengeriana, 1727), 418-420.

²⁶¹ Schefferus, “Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita,” 12; cf. Scheffer, *Johannes Schefferus: en storman från 1600-talets Uppsala*, 29.

Schefferus emphasizes the positive influence Boeclerus had on him as a teacher in the gymnasium, later as professor, promoter, host, proponent, and colleague.²⁶² Boeclerus was directly involved with Schefferus' call to Uppsala. Following a recommendation by Johannes Freinsheim (1608-1660), *Professor Skytteanus* in Uppsala from 1642 until 1647, Queen Christina offered the vacant professorship to Boeclerus in 1648.

Freinsheim, born in Ulm, had studied in Marburg, Gießen, and Straßburg, and married Bernegger's daughter Elisabeth in 1637. The Queen had made him Royal Librarian and Imperial Historiographer in Stockholm, and his position as Skyttean professor in rhetoric and politics became vacant. Boeclerus declined Queen Christina's offer, recommending Schefferus for the position.

Only a few months after Schefferus' arrival in Uppsala, Boeclerus would nevertheless follow his former student to Sweden to become professor of eloquence in 1649. He left the position already in the following year due to difficulties with colleagues and students alike. Queen Christina made him Imperial Historiographer in 1651 in an attempt to keep him in Sweden, but never having accommodated himself to the country fully, his stay only lasted until 1652. Boeclerus returned to Straßburg and became a history professor, remaining an advocate of the Swedish Empire after his return to the Alsace.

Despite being somewhat brief, Boeclerus' time in Sweden left its mark on him. Boeclerus-biographer Ernst Jirgal wrote of a "new era" in this respect, and Philipp describes the period as broadening Boeclerus' horizon.²⁶³ Probably influenced by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, he started to focus on *ius gentium*, the law of nations. However, he did not live to see the publication of his magnum opus on politics, the *Institutiones Politicæ*, which appeared posthumously in 1674.

Correspondence between Schefferus and Boeclerus has been substantiated until 1662. However, the previously unpublished *Dissertatio de Comparanda Latinæ Linguae Facultate* by Boeclerus was included in a new compilation of Schefferus' *De Stylo* and *Gymnasium Styli* as late as in 1670.²⁶⁴ This volume is dedicated to Gustav Adolf De la Gardie (1647-1695), one of Magnus Gabriel's sons. Further editions appeared in 1678 and 1714.

²⁶² Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 27-28.

²⁶³ Ernst Jirgal, "Johann Heinrich Böckler," *MÖIG* 45 (1931): 322-384, at: 326; Philipp, "Bernegger – Schaller – Boeckler. Die Straßburger historische Schule der Politikwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert," 152.

²⁶⁴ Johannes Schefferus, *De Stylo Exercitiisque Ejus Ad Consuetudinem Veterum Liber Singularis. Ejusdem Gymnasium Styli, Seu De Vario Scribendi Exercitio Liber Singularis: Nunc primum in Germania prodeunt, Indice rerum aucti. Accessit Joannis Henrici Boecleri, V.C. Dissertatio De Comparanda Latinæ Linguae Facultate nunquam antehac edita.* (Jenæ: Joannis Biellkii, 1670).

Boeclerus' impact on the ten years younger Schefferus would also show in guidance in difficult situations, such as Schefferus' *inimicitia* (enmity) with Lutheran theologian Conrad Dannhauer (1603-1666).²⁶⁵ Boeclerus advised Schefferus that it would be unbecoming to follow hatred.²⁶⁶ Some of Boeclerus' scholarly interests found a continuation in Schefferus' works. In the *vita*, he mentions Boeclerus' teachings on Livy, Tacitus, and Lipsius' politics, as well as Justin (c. second century), the panegyrics of Pliny the Younger, Suetonius (c.69-a.122), and Quintilian (c.35-c.100).²⁶⁷ An examination of the public lectures Schefferus lists in the *vita* reveals similarities to and advancements of this classical curriculum:²⁶⁸

Table 9: Schefferus' public lectures in Uppsala (1648-1672) according to the *vita*

1648-1649	Pliny the Younger's <i>Epistulae</i>
1650	Livy's <i>Ab Urbe Condita</i> , book one and two
1651	Pacatus' (fourth century) panegyrics
1652	Cicero's (106-43 BC) <i>De Officiis</i>
1653	Seneca the Younger's (c.4 BC-65 AD) <i>Apocolocyntosis</i>
1654	Seneca's last <i>libellus</i> and Terence's (c.195-c.159 BC) <i>Phormio</i>
1655-1656	Suetonius
1657-1658	Tacitus' <i>Agricola</i>
1659-1660	Cornelius Nepos (c.110-c.25 BC)
1661	Quintus Curtius Rufus (first century)
1662	Phaedrus (first century)
1663-1664	Cicero's <i>De Legibus</i>
1665	Petronius' (c.14-66 AD) fragment <i>Tragutianum</i>
1666-1667	Sallust (86-c.35 BC)
1668-1669	Caesar (100-44 BC)
1670	Valerius Maximus (c. first century)
1671-1672	Velleius Paterculus (c.19 BC-c.31 AD), Schefferus' <i>Sciagraphia Juris Naturae</i> ²⁶⁹ and Grotius' <i>De Jure Belli ac Pacis</i>

²⁶⁵ Michael Hanstein, *Caspar Brüllov (1585-1627) und das Straßburger Akademietheater: Lutherische Konfessionalisierung und zeitgenössische Dramatik im akademischen und reichsstädtischen Umfeld*, ed. Achim Aurnhammer et al., Frühe Neuzeit: Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), Dissertation, 765. Dannhauer married Salome, the widow of dramatist Caspar Brüllovius in 1629.

²⁶⁶ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 27-28. "[...] indigno odio persecutus est".

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

²⁶⁹ See Grape, "Om Schefferi Sciagraphia Juris Naturæ," 215-224.

In 1675, adaptations of some of these lectures appeared in print in the anthology *Lectionum Academicarum liber*.²⁷⁰ The volume also includes an “Opusculorum diversis temporibus locisque publicatorum index” (overview of little works published at different times and in different places) listing sixty-two works in total. Of those, forty-six were already published, eleven were ready for print, while the remaining five still required finalization: “Manum ultimum desiderant” (They lack the final touch).²⁷¹ The index also lists *Lapponia*, naming four versions: the Latin one, the English one, “edita cum præfatione” (published with a preface) from 1674, Erasmus Francisci’s excerpt in German from 1674, and a version “Germanice edita integra” (wholly published in German), from 1674.²⁷² This shows that Schefferus knew about all existant editions by 1675. Since he himself was involved with the preparation and publication of the French version *Histoire de la Laponie* in 1678, we know that he was well aware of the reach of his monograph.

In Uppsala, he managed to make use of and to further what he had learned from Boeclerus and from Jakob Schaller. Schaller was born in Heiligenstein near Schlettstadt in 1604. Following the footsteps of his father, a priest, Schaller studied theology in Straßburg, Tübingen, Marburg and Jena. In 1633, he became professor of practical philosophy, and in 1634 doctor of theology. He held high offices both in the church and at the university, serving as provost and rector at the University of Straßburg. Like Boeclerus, Schaller shared the interests of Bernegger. In addition to Tacitus and Livy, he focused on Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch (c.46-120 AD). However, this did not prevent him from engaging in current political debates, as Philipp emphasizes.²⁷³ Schaller died in 1676.

Another one of Schefferus’ noteworthy teachers was Gregor Biccus (1603-1657) from Bautzen in Lusatia, who first appeared as an orator at the *Gymnasium Elisabethanum* in Wrocław (Breslau) in 1618. Having relocated to Straßburg, he defended his disputation *De Conviviis* (Concerning feasts) in December 1622, presided over by Bernegger. On this occasion, the dramatist Caspar Brüllovius (1585-1627) considered Biccus of equal status to the influential Reformer and fellow Lusatian Caspar Peucer (1525-1602). In 1637, Biccus became professor of law, and served as rector of the University in 1646. He presided over a dozen disputations.

²⁷⁰ Johannes Schefferus, *Lectionum Academicarum Liber* (Hamburgi: Ex Officina Gothofredi Schultzen, 1675).

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

²⁷³ Philipp, “Bernegger – Schaller – Boeckler. Die Straßburger historische Schule der Politikwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert,” 146-147.

Schefferus mentions Biccus as one of the teachers he had besides Boeclerus, but without going into further detail about him.

Schefferus also provides few details about Benedict Gros, whom he calls “Grossiu[s], Linguarum Orientalium Professor”. Gros, who was born in Straßburg, had his disputation *De Triumpho Jesu* presided over by Isaac Fröreisen (1589-1632) in 1622. In 1635, Gros appears as “Rector Almae Universitatis Argentoratensis”, and “Hebraeae Lingu[ae] Professor et Ecclesiastes” on the title page of the eulogy for Swedish General Otto Louis of Salm-Kyrburg-Mörchingen (1597-1634). John Flood lists him as the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1646/47.²⁷⁴

The extent of the direct influence of Bernegger, who died in 1640, on Schefferus, can only partially be reconstructed. Taking into consideration the impact of Bernegger’s teachings on his pupils Boeclerus and Schaller, however, one might consider him one of the most important academic influences on Schefferus. This also shows in Schefferus’ curriculum mentioned above. The fact that he as a philologist had also broadened his horizon through excursions into the fields of jurisprudence delivered by Biccus and early linguistics as presented by Gros later showed in *Lapponia*, as well as in other works. Before following the Rhine downstream to the Low Countries, another important connector of Uppsala and Straßburg deserves introduction.

The promising career of Johann Freinsheim, Bernegger’s son-in-law and collaborator had started early on. Coming from a wealthy family where both of his parents were burghers from Ulm, he was educated at the Gymnasium in Worms, and started studying jurisprudence and politics in Marburg at the age of fifteen. He continued his studies in Gießen, before coming to Straßburg where he studied under Brüllovius and Bernegger, and began to work with the latter. He even lived in Bernegger’s house, and the two became colleagues, close friends, and then relatives, when Freinsheim married Bernegger’s daughter. Michael Hanstein has shown that Freinsheim must have arrived in Straßburg before Brüllovius’ death in July 1627. The earliest indication of Freinsheim’s presence in Straßburg not considered until now is the *Dissertatio politica, de Vniversali Monarchia* on Tacitus’ *Historia*, presented under Freinsheim’s pseudonym Marcus à Rechlingen on 9 July 1625, and published again in an *Editio iterata* in 1631.²⁷⁵ Accordingly, he must have arrived in Straßburg no later than July 1625. In 1632, Freinsheim edited Lucius Annaeus Florus’ (second century) *Epitome rerum Romanarum* in

²⁷⁴ Flood, “The Laureation of Poets in the Holy Roman Empire: An Introduction,” cxlviii.

²⁷⁵ Hanstein, *Caspar Brüllov (1585-1627) und das Straßburger Akademietheater*, 119; cf. Christian Friedrich Rassmann, *Fr. Rassmann's kurzgefaßtes Lexicon deutscher pseudonymer Schriftsteller von der ältern bis auf die jüngste Zeit aus allen Fächern der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig: bei Wilhelm Nauck, 1830), 148.

dedication to Sweden's *rikskansler* Oxenstierna. A reprint in 1636 and the new editions in 1655 and 1669 testify to the work's success. Freinsheim's admiration of the Swedish empire also showed in the twenty-five pages of his eulogy to Gustav II Adolf, *Panegyricvs Serenissimo Potentissimoqve Principi*. Together with one of Schefferus' earliest teachers, Schneuber, Johann Michael Moscherosch (1601-1669), Jesaias Rompler von Löwenhalt (1605-1674), and others, Freinsheim founded the *Aufrichtige Tannengesellschaft* (lit. sincere society of firs), a select literary society aiming towards purity and uniformity of the German language.²⁷⁶ From 1633 until 1636, Freinsheim served as episcopal archivist in Metz. After returning to Straßburg, he married Bernegger's daughter Elisabeth in 1637. Freinsheim contributed extensively to Bernegger's works, such as the editions of Justin in 1631 and Tacitus in 1638. In 1639, he published the *Teutscher Tugentspiegel* (lit. mirror of German virtue) in honour of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar (1604-1639), a poem praising Bernard, who fought for the Swedes, the French, and the Heilbronn League, as the new German Hercules and placing him on a par with Arminius (18/17 BC-21 AD) and Widukind (d.785). An edition of Curtius' *Historiae Alexandri Magni* in two volumes followed the year after. Following Bernegger's death in 1640, Freinsheim's future became uncertain. This changed when Bengt Skytte (1614-1683), the son of Johan Skytte, communicated Oxenstierna's call for the Skyttean professorship to Freinsheim in 1642.

The chair had become vacant, as Johannes Loccenius (1598-1677) from Itzehoe in Holstein, who had held this position for almost fifteen years, had become university librarian. A few years later, shortly after his arrival in Uppsala, Schefferus would marry Loccenius' daughter Regina (1623-1708).

Freinsheim accepted the offer after some consideration and came to Uppsala in 1642. During Queen Christina's visit in Uppsala in the late summer of 1647, she held daily philosophical discussions with him. She asked him to study the *Principia philosophiæ* by René Descartes (1596-1650), and advanced Freinsheim to Royal librarian and *rikshistoriograf* in September 1647. This implied leaving Uppsala and moving to the Royal Court in Stockholm. Thus, the Skyttean professorship once again became vacant. As mentioned above, Boeclerus declined and recommended Schefferus who accepted the offer in 1648. Freinsheim returned to Worms in 1651, mainly due to his deteriorating health. In 1656, he became a professor at the University of Heidelberg, where he died in 1660.

²⁷⁶ An extensive study of this society has been brought forward by Monika Bopp, *Die 'Tannengesellschaft': Studien zu einer Straßburger Sprachgesellschaft von 1633 bis um 1670*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Wien: Peter Lang, 1998), Dissertation.

Correspondence between Schefferus and Freinsheim began at the latest in 1644. Fant lists twenty letters addressed to Schefferus, the last one sent from Worms in 1651.²⁷⁷ The bulk of these letters made their way from Stockholm to Uppsala in the years 1648 to 1650.

In many ways, Straßburg, Schefferus' birthplace and home town, defined him throughout his life. Also in later years, he continued to build upon the foundations laid in *Argentoratum*. This is visible in his works and relationships. He strengthened the connection between Straßburg and Uppsala that began with Freinsheim; his successor to the Skyttean professorship, Elias Obrecht (1653-1698), was also born in Straßburg. The Straßburg school of philology had an impact on the scholarly culture of Uppsala that extended beyond the 17th century. Many erudite men that followed Freinsheim, Schefferus, Boeclerus, and Obrecht were ultimately scholarly grandchildren of Bernegger.

However, another station in Schefferus' life was just as important as Straßburg for the development of the academic sphere in the Swedish Empire: Leiden with its renowned university. Shortly after Schefferus' mother, Elisabeth (née Kraschel, 1590-1636), had died, his father decided to send the young student on the first of three long journeys. Schefferus wrote about them: "Peregrinationes ter omnino suscepit longiores."²⁷⁸ (Altogether, he undertook three long journeys). This first journey led him to the former family estate in Nieder-Erlenbach close to Frankfurt am Main, which due to the chaotic situation during the Thirty Years' War had new owners by that time. In Frankfurt, he stayed with councillor and pastor Bernhard Waldschmidt (1608-1665), who had studied in Straßburg, and with a certain Hartmut Grævius for four months. Together with his uncle Isaac Kraschel, he embarked on a journey to Leiden. Via Cologne and Aachen and through Belgian territory they arrived at their destination. The Netherlands played a significant role in the learned circles of the 17th century. Connected with the world through the North Sea, the Low Countries were among the richest and most powerful territories in the early modern era. From the late 16th century, the Netherlands, and especially Leiden, became a centre of learning. Without doubt, the famous "Academia Leidensis" was the scholarly highlight of Schefferus' first long journey.²⁷⁹ On the second journey, Schefferus accompanied a young nobleman through Switzerland and visited the universities of Lausanne and Geneva. His third and furthest journey took him once again to the Netherlands, and from there, to Denmark and his newly adopted home, Sweden.

²⁷⁷ Fant, *Minne öfver Joh. Schefferus*, 52-53.

²⁷⁸ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 15.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

2.2 LEIDEN

In the 1630s, the University of Leiden had become an attraction for foreign students. A significant number of them came from the war-torn German lands to study at Leiden University, which housed an impressive infrastructure and offered a safe haven for liberal thought. Providing a stimulating environment for students from near and far, the University of Leiden, the first university of the Netherlands, founded in 1575, took on a special role. Its progressive policy towards aspiring young scholars gave them the opportunity to prove their capabilities as lecturers.²⁸⁰ The city itself was in the epicentre of commerce, learning and arts of the Dutch Golden Age. Towns like The Hague, Delft, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Haarlem, were nearby, while Amsterdam, Dordrecht and Utrecht were within reach. Together with Franeker (1585) and Groningen (1614), the universities of Amsterdam (1632) and Utrecht (1636) turned the Low Countries into a stronghold of academia north of the Alps.²⁸¹ The County of Holland was at the forefront. Apart from the universities in Leiden and Amsterdam, Holland's cities housed Latin schools, with the one in Dordrecht dating back to the year 1253. As the centre of humanism north of the Alps, there was a strong demand for printing. The regional topography favoured this development through an excellent road and waterway network.²⁸² Otto Lankhorst points out the *Catalogus Librorum* from 1674 of the Amsterdam branch of the Elzevier family press and bookstore that lists the staggering number of twenty thousand titles in Latin, French, Italian, English, German, and Spanish. The catalogue features fifteen titles by Schefferus under the category *Miscellaneorum*, but for reasons explored in Section 4.2, *Lapponia* was not yet among them.²⁸³

Publishing extensively and distributing writings all over Europe, the *Officina Elseviriana* was a key player in the intellectual sphere of 17th century Holland. It was founded by Lodewijk Elzevier (c.1540-1617) in Leiden in the early 1580s, and his descendants continued and expanded the business to Amsterdam shortly after the establishment of its university, The Hague, and Utrecht. The well-documented activities of the company ceased with the death of

²⁸⁰ Willem Otterspeer, *The Bastion of Liberty: Leiden University Today and Yesterday*, trans. Beverly Jackson (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008), 22-27, 44-55.

²⁸¹ J. L. Price, "Humanism and the Republic of Letters," in *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, ed. J. L. Price (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 154-165.

²⁸² Paul Hoftijzer, "The History of the Book in the Low Countries," in *OCB 1* (2010), 212-221, at: 215.

²⁸³ Otto S. Lankhorst, "Elzevier family," in *OCB 2* (2010), 695; Danielus Elsevirius, *Catalogus Librorum qui in Bibliopolio Danielis Elsevirii venales extant*. (Amstelodami: Ex Officina Elseviriana, 1674). See 161-162 of the respective section for the titles by Schefferus.

Abraham Elzevier II (1653-1712).²⁸⁴ In addition to Johannes de Laet's (1581-1649) edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, a few other works printed or published by Elzevier were influential to *Lapponia*. Philippus Cluverius penned two of them. A native of Danzig, he arrived in Leiden in 1600 to study law, but turned his interest towards classical geography. Drawing on Pliny, Ptolemy, Tacitus and other ancient thinkers, he composed the three-volume *Germania antiqua* that featured several addenda, maps and woodcuts on its more than 850 pages.²⁸⁵ Cluverius is also the author of the *Introductio in Vniversam Geographiam Libri* (Introductory books to a complete geography), a six-volume description of the earth, its continents and lands. The Hondius press, another dynasty of Dutch printers and booksellers, published it posthumously in Amsterdam in 1624.²⁸⁶ Schefferus possibly used an edition by Elzevier enhanced with Petrus Bertius' (1565-1629) *Breviarium Totius Orbis Terrarum* (Short writing of the entire world).²⁸⁷ By marriage, Bertius was a relative of mapmaker Jodocus Hondius (1563-1612), who established his business in Amsterdam in 1593.²⁸⁸ Hondius' daughter married Johannes Janssonius (1588-1664) in 1612. Janssonius, born to a bookseller in Arnhem, moved to Amsterdam and later expanded the business to Stockholm, Uppsala, and other towns in Northern Europe.

In 1656, Janssonius published Schefferus' short treatise *De Antiquorum Torqvibus* (Concerning the necklaces of the ancients), which appeared in two reprints.²⁸⁹ A map and globe specialist, Janssonius competed with the famous Blaeu family²⁹⁰, also active in Amsterdam. Their famous *Atlas Maior*, published by Joan Blaeu, demonstrates the groundbreaking accuracy of Dutch cartography in this era.²⁹¹

Of its nearly six hundred maps, four delineate "Lapponia" with varying detail, with one bearing exactly that title.²⁹² The cartographer of this map is the Swede Andreas Bureus, who

²⁸⁴ Lankhorst, "Elzevier family," 695; The present-day Dutch publishing house has operated under the name Elsevier since 1880, but is otherwise not connected to Lodewijk Elzevier's enterprise, s. Paul Hoftijzer, "Elsevier," in *OCB 2* (2010), 695.

²⁸⁵ Philippus Cluverius, Johann Joachim Schwabe, and Pedro Sainz de Baranda, *Germania antiqua libri tres* (Lugduni Batavorum: Elzevir, 1616).

²⁸⁶ Paul Hoftijzer, "Hondius family," in *OCB 2* (2010), 799; Philippus Cluverius, *Philippi Cluverii Introductio in Vniversam Geographiam, tam Veterem quàm Novam, Libri VI* (Amstelodami: Apud Hondium, 1624). Hondius published a second edition enhanced with maps in 1629.

²⁸⁷ Cluverius and Bertius, *Introductio in universam geographiam, tam veterem quam novam, libri VI. Accessit P. Bertii Breviarium Orbis Terrarum*.

²⁸⁸ Hoftijzer, "Hondius family."; See also H. A. M. van der Heijden, "Philippus Cluverius and Dutch cartography: An introduction," *Quaerendo* 32, no. 3-4 (2002): 222-244, at: 229.

²⁸⁹ Johannes Schefferus, *De Antiquorum Torqvibus Syntagma* (Holmiæ: Janssonius, 1656); See N.N., "Johannes Schefferus och fyra andra utländska lärda i stormaktstidens Sverige," in *Centralantikvariatet: Katalog*, ed. Centralantikvariatet (Stockholm: Centralantikvariatet, 2008), 19.

²⁹⁰ Frans A. Janssen, "Blaeu family," in *OCB 1* (2010), 533-534.

²⁹¹ See van der Krogt, *The Folio Atlases Published by Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Joan Blaeu*, II, 316-464.

²⁹² Andreas Bureus, "Lapponia," in *Atlas Maior Sive Cosmographia Blaviana, Qua Solvm, Salvm, Coelvm, Accvratissime Describuntvr.*, ed. Joan Blaeu (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1664).

had drafted an early version already in 1611.²⁹³ Engraved by German-Swedish illustrator Valentin Staffansson Trauthman (c.1580-1629), Bureus' map of Northern Europe *Orbis arctoi nova et accurata delineatio* from 1626 claims to show the northern world in a new and accurate depiction. Accompanied by an explanatory text, several reprints followed.²⁹⁴ The theologian Henricus Soterus (1600-1645) reproduced this text in the compilation *Suecia* together with seven other treatises, published at Elzevier's main workshop in Leiden in 1631.²⁹⁵ Andreas Bureus belonged to the famous Bure kinship from which numerous influential clerics, scholars, and politicians descended. His cousin Johannes Bureus (1568-1652), Sweden's first *riksantikvarie* and *riksbibliotekarie* (Imperial Antiquarian and Librarian) gained fame for his knowledge of runes and languages, amongst them Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Finnish. He also made himself known by propagating a mystical and apocalyptic worldview.²⁹⁶ Through his notebook *Sumlen*, which Schefferus knew, Bureus would play a role in *Lapponia* as well.²⁹⁷

Schefferus matriculated in Leiden on 15 April 1639. He began to follow lectures by the renowned librarian and philologist Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) and by Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (1612-1653).²⁹⁸ Daniel Heinsius was the father of Nicolaus Heinsius (1620-1681), with whom Schefferus would later correspond extensively for at least twenty-seven years. The regular correspondence between the two benefitted from Nicolaus' call to a position at the court in Stockholm by Queen Christina in 1649. Letters between Stockholm and Uppsala usually took only about a day to reach their destination. One hundred and fifty-seven of their letters,

²⁹³ Ojala and Nordin, "Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge," 98-133, at: 108-112.

²⁹⁴ Andreas Bureus and Valentin Staffansson Trauthman, "Orbis Arctoi Nova Et Accvrata Delineatio," (Stockholm: Reusneriano, 1626); on Swedish cartography see Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria - Stormaktstiden*, 481-492; for a recent contribution see Charlotta Forss, *The Old, the New and the Unknown: The continents and the making of geographical knowledge in seventeenth-century Sweden*, ed. Charlotta Forss and Otso Kortekangas, *Libelli iucundi historicorum Holmiensium*, (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2018), Dissertation.

²⁹⁵ Bureus, *Suecia*.

²⁹⁶ Inken Schmidt-Voges, *De antiqua claritate et clara antiquitate Gothorum - Gotizismus als Identitätsmodell im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden*, ed. Olaf Mörke, *Imaginatio Borealis - Bilder des Nordens*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 133-143; Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria - Stormaktstiden*, 152-161.

²⁹⁷ Johannes Bureus, *Sumlen*, 1648, *Handskrifter*, F. a. 12, Kungl. Biblioteket, Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm; Published in selection: Johannes Thomæ Bureus and Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Sumlen där vthi ähro Åtskillighe Collectaneer, som vthi een och annan mätta tiäna till Antiquiteternes excolerande*, ed. Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Nyare Bidrag Till Kännedom Om De Svenska Landsmälen Ock Svenskt Folkklif. Bihang. I. 2.*, (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, [1648] 1886); on Bureus' esoteric theories, see Thomas Karlsson, *Götisk kabbala och runisk alkemi: Johannes Bureus och den götiska esoterismen* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet: Religionshistoriska avdelningen, 2009), Dissertation; See also Håkan Håkansson, "Alchemy of the Ancient Goths: Johannes Bureus' Search for the Lost Wisdom of Scandinavia," *Early Science and Medicine* 17, no. 5 (2012): 500-522.

²⁹⁸ Guilielmus Du Rieu, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae: MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV* (Hagae Comitum: Apud Martinum Nijhoff, 1875), col. 303; Strömholm, "Johannes Schefferus: un strasbourgeois en Suède."

which were probably most of their correspondence, appeared in print in Petrus Burmannus' *Sylloges Epistolarum* (Collection of Letters) in 1727.²⁹⁹

While Daniel Heinsius edited a number of classical writers and wrote poetry in Latin and Dutch, Boxhornius primarily made his mark with theories of a Scythian proto-language.³⁰⁰ Schefferus wrote of him with regard to several *orationes*, which he had held under Boxhornius' supervision. Furthermore, he also taught Tacitus' *Annales*, Cicero's *De legibus*, and Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*.³⁰¹

In the *vita*, Schefferus adds: "at times, he also listened to Thysius".³⁰² Around that time, two people named Thysius had made a name for themselves in Leiden, the theologian Antonius Thysius (1565-1640) and his son, a philologist and *juridicus* by the same name (c.1603/1613-1665). Judging from the formulation Schefferus employs here, "also listened to Thysius at times", it is assumable that he is referring to the father, a well-known scholar who had travelled to several universities in Switzerland, the Holy Roman Empire, England, and France.

On his journey to Leiden, Schefferus encountered the physician and scholar Johan van Beverwijck/Beverovicus (1594-1647) in Dordrecht. Van Beverwijck had undertaken a long peregrination through France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Belgium, before settling as a physician in his birth town of Dordrecht. Since he had travelled from Basel to Belgium, it is likely that he had passed through Straßburg, possibly taking the same route as Schefferus later. He recommended Schefferus to contact the Silesian physician and orientalist Johann Elichmann (c.1600-1639) in Leiden. Just like van Beverwijck, Elichmann was both philologically and medically educated. A true polyglot, he is said to have understood sixteen languages, spoken Arabic and Persian, and studied Gothic with Ole Worm (1588-1654) in 1635. Toon Van Hal reconstructed Elichmann's contribution to the Scythian theory, usually ascribed to Boxhornius and Salmasius.³⁰³ However, as Elichmann died shortly after Schefferus' arrival, any exchange of ideas came to an abrupt end.

Leiden was also the town where Schefferus met the Dane Thomas Bartholin, who became a life-long friend and correspondent. The son of theologian and physician Caspar Bartholin

²⁹⁹ Petrus Burmannus, ed., *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomi Quinque* (Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans, 1727), 1-163.

³⁰⁰ Toon Van Hal, 'Moedertalen en taalmoeders'. *Het vroegmoderne taalvergelijkende onderzoek in de Lage Landen*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten: Nieuwe Reeks, (Bruxelles: Academie voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2010), 365-401.

³⁰¹ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 15.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 14. "[...] aliquando et Thysium audiuit."

³⁰³ Toon Van Hal, "On 'the Scythian Theory': Reconstructing the Outlines of Johannes Elichmann's (1601/02-1639) Planned *Archaeologia Harmonica*," *Language & History* 53, 2 (2010): 70-80.

(1585-1629), he continued the legacy of his father and, under the supervision of his uncle Ole Worm, became a physician himself. One of his greatest achievements, the discovery of the lymphatic system in humans in 1653, led to a dispute with Olaus Rudbeck (1630-1702), who had demonstrated its existence in humans a year earlier. For animals, the French anatomist Jean Pecquet (1622-1674) had already discovered it in 1648. However, Bartholin was the first to publish these findings in a book titled *Vasa Lymphatica* and continued to explore and exploit the discovery. The frontispiece of his magnum opus *Anatomia reformata* (1651), the continuation of his father's work, showed a flayed human skin, and might have inspired the frontispiece of *Lapponia* depicting a reindeer skin in a more museum-like arrangement.³⁰⁴

Bartholin wrote a report about the dissection of a reindeer performed by his pupil, the renowned Danish anatomist and Catholic convert Nicolas Steno (1638-1686), published the same year as *Lapponia*.³⁰⁵ In addition to his fundamental work in anatomy, Bartholin shared Schefferus' interest in philology. However, when his house and library fell victim to a fire in 1670, he became convinced that what he perceived of as an act of God had freed him from the burden of the library. This is seen in the account of the burning, *De Bibliothecæ Incendio*, written for his sons Caspar (1655-1738), Christopher (1657-1714), and Thomas (1659-1690), through which he attempted to ascribe some meaning to the terrible loss.³⁰⁶ Like his friend Schefferus, he was a skilled draughtsman not only of anatomic details, but also of architecture, as exemplified by his description of the anatomical theatre in Copenhagen.³⁰⁷ Through his uncle, he had access to the *Museum Wormianum*, of which several inventories and descriptions appeared in print, the most famous one in 1655.³⁰⁸ An example highlighting the possibilities this access granted him is his achievement of fulfilling one of Worm's projects: the demystification of narwhal tusks that had previously often been taken for remnants of unicorns.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁴ Bergesen, "Lapponia and the Drum," 129-151, at: 141-143.

³⁰⁵ Troels Kardel and Paul Maquet, "Anatomy of a reindeer dissected in Copenhagen in 1672 by Niels Stensen as reported by Thomas Bartholin. I. Introduction by Troels Kardel. II. Translation by Paul Maquet.," *Rangifer* 32, 1 (2012): 49-55. Before coming to Copenhagen, Steno (Stensen) had worked as the physician of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando II de' Medici (1610-1670).

³⁰⁶ Thomas Bartholin, *De Bibliothecæ Incendio Dissertatio Ad Filios*. (Hafniæ: Petri Haubold, 1670); Avner Shamir, *Incombustible Lutheran Books in Early Modern Germany*, Routledge Research in Early Modern History, (New York, London: Routledge, 2019), 14-15.

³⁰⁷ Thomas Bartholin, *The Anatomy house in Copenhagen briefly described*, trans. Peter Fisher, ed. Niels W. Bruun (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2015).

³⁰⁸ Ole Worm, *Museum Wormianum, seu Historia rerum rariorum: Tam Naturalium, quam Artificialium, tam Domesticarum, quam Exoticarum, quae Hafniae Danorum in aedibus Authoris servantur* (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Johannem Elsevirium, 1655).

³⁰⁹ Bernd Røling, "Der Wal als Schauobjekt: Thomas Bartholin (1616-1680), die dänische Nation und das Ende der Einhörner," in *Zoology in Early Modern Culture: Intersections of Science, Technology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, ed. Karl A. E. Enekel and Paul J. Smith (Brill, 2014), 172-196.

Via the Rhine, the Netherlands were easily accessible from Straßburg, and from the Netherlands, Sweden was within reach. The two kingdoms enjoyed close relations and took on complex roles for each other. Not only economically, but also culturally, they became increasingly intertwined, despite repeatedly joining enemy camps in the wars of the second half of the 17th century.

Between these two journeys to and through the Netherlands, Schefferus accompanied the nobleman Johannes Stockarus (1615-1681) from Schaffhausen, despite his own younger age, as a tutor on a peregrination that lasted from spring 1643 until summer 1644. From Basel, the two went on a journey to Solothurn and through “Heluetiam reliquam” (the rest of Switzerland) to reach Lausanne, where they stayed as guests of the Professor of Greek Jean Reinhard (fl.1628-1646), who had left Heidelberg due to the Spanish occupation. In autumn 1643, they arrived in Geneva and met the Professor of Roman Law Jacobus Gothofredus (1587-1652). Gothofredus’ most important project was an edition of the Late Roman compilation *Codex Theodosianus*, which appeared posthumously in four volumes in 1665. He introduced Schefferus to other learned men in Geneva, such as the theologian and professor of Greek, Alexander Morus (1616-1670).

Judging from Schefferus’ presently known correspondence, the journey through Switzerland did not seem to have had a great impact on his later life. Apparently, he made no contacts that would endure until his move to Sweden. One possible exception might be Carolus Spon (1609-1684).³¹⁰ The mayor of Schaffhausen, Johann Jakob Ziegler (1587-1656), himself a well-travelled and educated man, addressed Schefferus in 1645 and 1647, as did Schefferus’ travel companion Stockarus in 1647.

2.3 ON THE JOURNEY TO SWEDEN

In 1648, the young professor-to-be paid another visit to the Netherlands. This time, he was on his way to Uppsala and only passing through. On the journey, Schefferus took time to visit a number of acquaintances. Travelling together with Baron Otto Friderich von Herberstein (1619-?) from Frankfurt onwards, he arrived in Leiden. There, with Boxhornius, he paid his respects to the “virum incomparabilem” (incomparable) Salmasius, who had participated in many controversies and disputes, many of which he provoked himself through his reportedly difficult

³¹⁰ See Section 4.2.

personality. In 1650, Salmasius followed Christina's call to the court in Stockholm, where he stayed for slightly more than a year.

The year 1648 finally brought the peace the war-ridden lands in Europe had longed for. In the Peace of Münster, the Netherlands and Spain agreed to end the Eighty Years War. All over the young independent republic, the occasion was marked with festivities, and Schefferus witnessed the celebrations in The Hague and Amsterdam.

Amsterdam was also the place where he introduced himself to the elderly Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649). Vossius had the reputation of being an extraordinary polymath, erudite in philosophy, theology, mathematics, languages, physics, and many other fields. Throughout the 18th century, long after his death, new editions and reprints of his works appeared. The son of Gerardus Vossius, Isaac, would eventually arrive in Sweden the same year as Schefferus, and leave again in 1654.³¹¹ He kept a vast private library considered the best of its time and was well connected in Europe.³¹² In 1658, Vossius published an annotated version of Pomponius Mela's (first century AD) geographic treatise *De situ orbis*.³¹³ This writing, also known as *De chorographia* and *Cosmographia*, is considered "the earliest surviving geographical work in Latin".³¹⁴ In *Lapponia*, Schefferus refers to Mela twice, without citing him directly, but discussing Vossius' *observationes* on *De situ orbis*. The first occurrence gives an exact reference to "Pomponii lib.III.c.8 observationibus"³¹⁵ with an actual quote, while the second one just points to "Notis ad Pomponium Melam".³¹⁶ Except for some misprints, changes of punctuation marks, and stylistic omissions, Schefferus remains true to Vossius' edition.³¹⁷ Referring to Mela, Schefferus discusses the reception history of *De situ orbis*, and not the work itself. To him, Vossius' reading and annotations are of importance, and they are naturally based on Mela. However, citations of that kind refer to one specific reading of the classics and not implicitly to the classics themselves. Trying to fit these kinds of intertextual relations within

³¹¹ Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert, "Introduction. The Challenger: Isaac Vossius and the European World of Learning," in *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship*, ed. Dirk van Miert, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1-13.

³¹² Astrid C. Balsem, "Collecting the Ultimate Scholar's Library: The *Bibliotheca Vossiana*," in *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship*, ed. Dirk van Miert, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 281-309; Eric Jorink, "In the Twilight Zone: Isaac Vossius and the Scientific Communities in France, England and the Dutch Republic," in *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship*, ed. Dirk van Miert, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119-156.

³¹³ Isaac Vossius, *Observationes ad Pomponivm Melam de Sitv Orbis* (Hagæ-Comitis: Adriaan Vlacq, 1658).

³¹⁴ Hans Armin Gärtner, "P. Mela," in *BNP 11* (2007), col. 582-584.

³¹⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 29.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 344.

³¹⁷ Cf. Vossius, *Observationes ad Pomponivm Melam de Sitv Orbis*, 52, 294.

frames of genre or epoch is a lengthy undertaking that does not necessarily promise meaningful results.

From Amsterdam, Schefferus continued through Frisian territory, entered the County of Oldenburg, then Westphalia, and the Duchy of Bremen, before stopping in Hamburg for a week.³¹⁸ Via the Duchy of Holstein, he entered the Kingdom of Denmark, and went to Sorø with its famous academy, one of Denmark's oldest schools.

There, he met the philologist and jurist Heinrich Ernst (1603-1665). Ernst, born in Helmstedt, had on a three-year journey through the Netherlands, France, England, Italy, Sicily, and Malta received his doctoral degree in law, before becoming professor of law and morals in Sorø. Among his works, one finds editions of Epictetus (55-135), Boethius (c.477-524), Marcus Valerius Probus (c.20/30-105), Seneca, and Cornelius Nepos. In 1641, he had engaged in a learned dispute with Ole Worm regarding the Golden Horn of Gallehus found in a field in Southern Jutland in 1639.

From Sorø, Schefferus continued to Copenhagen, where he met his "amicos veteres" (old friends) Bartholin and physician Henrik Fuiren (1614-1659), as well as many others.³¹⁹ It is unclear whether Schefferus knew Bartholin's uncle Ole Worm personally, but it seems very unlikely that he would not mention the meeting with a man of that renown in the *vita*. Schefferus would later refer to Worm's writings in *Lapponia*. In addition to Bartholin, he corresponded with others in Copenhagen from the 1660s onwards. Especially Johan Moth, who addressed at least twelve letters to him, is worthy of mention in this connection.

The crossing of the Sound towards Helsingborg, although interrupted by the traumatic experience of a heavy storm, was successful, and Schefferus continued his journey, solely accompanied by one servant. Passing through the provinces of Scania, Halland, Småland, Östergötland, and Södermannland, he arrived in Stockholm on 2 July 1648 after a journey lasting three months, where he met his compatriot and predecessor Freinsheim, who arranged an audience with Christina the same day.

The official installation in his new position in Uppsala took place on 12 July in the presence of the Queen and numerous members of the nobility and learned elite. Bengt Skytte held the inauguration speech. This festivity marked the beginning of the career of the young Straßburger at the University of Uppsala, with new learned circles, colleagues, and students.

³¹⁸ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 17.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

When Schefferus arrived in Sweden, the Kingdom was approaching its greatest expansion throughout history. The Thirty Years War had ended, and with the Peace of Westphalia, Europe had reached a new milestone of political order. Schefferus lived to witness four of the regents of the Era of Great Power: Christina, who abdicated her throne in 1654 and went into exile in Italy, where she converted to Catholicism, her cousin Charles X Gustav (1622-1660), who died aged thirty-seven from sepsis caused by mistreated pneumonia after five years of regency, the latter's son, Charles XI (1655-1697), and Hedvig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp (1636-1715), the mother of Charles XI, who served as the Queen Regent until his coming of age in 1672. Over the course of Schefferus' thirty years in Sweden, three men held the office of Chancellor of the Realm: Axel Oxenstierna until 1654, Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna (1624-1656) from 1654 til 1656, and from then onwards Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, who supported Schefferus as a patron.

Received by Queen Christina, Schefferus quickly became acquainted with the inner circles of power. The *vita* mentions members of many of the prominent noble families as his students. Names like Brahe, De la Gardie, Oxenstierna, Sparre, Rosenhane and others demonstrate his close contact with the Swedish elite. To Schefferus, the heads of the political structure of the Realm were familiar faces. Men and women belonging to Sweden's most powerful families corresponded with him. This is also clearly seen in the index of his correspondence.³²⁰

2.4 UPPSALA

The University of Uppsala took on a pivotal role as the intellectual centre of the realm. Founded in 1477, it is the oldest university in Sweden and Scandinavia.³²¹ As the university was the reason for Schefferus to come to Sweden, it was one of the most important places of knowledge for him and *Lapponia*. He would spend the rest of his life in service of the university and it was there and then that his name rose to significance in the learned world.

The transformation of the town of Uppsala into an academic hub of European renown started in the 1620s, with the financial preconditions fulfilled through Gustav II Adolf's donations to the University in 1624. In 1622, Johan Skytte had become Chancellor of the University and installed the Skyttean professorship. Together with Axel Oxenstierna, Skytte finalized new

³²⁰ Klein, "The Res publica Schefferiana – the correspondence of Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679)", <https://doi.org/10.18710/VDLBWH>, DataverseNO, V1, UNF:6:UQ1AsxwKYZx2JtcB5VcB7Q== [fileUNF], 2020.

³²¹ During the times of Swedish Pomerania (1648-1815), the University of Greifswald, founded in 1456, held the honour of being the oldest university of the Swedish territory.

statutes for the university in 1626, with the approval of the King.³²² The *Academia Upsaliensis* was to become an institution of education for future clergymen and officials loyal to the regent and the realm. With respect to the clergymen who were educated to serve in the lappmarks, this strategic aim was a key aspect. Like all other students in the 17th century, the increasing numbers of Sámi who came to Uppsala to study were part of this strategy. The university aimed to strengthen and advance the Empire's position as a great power. Its newly constitutionalized organizational structure was headed by a Chancellor, appointed by the King. Next in line was the *prokansler* (Vice-Chancellor) in the person of the archbishop. Two consistories were in charge of overseeing the university's day-to-day administration. Twice a year, the larger one, consisting of the assembly of professors, elected the Rector, whose instalment was a grandiose festivity. Like other professors, Schefferus tried to avoid this time-consuming office and only held it for two terms, in autumn 1658, and in spring 1664.³²³ There were four deans, one for each faculty: Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Philosophy. With the new statutes approved, nineteen professorships were planned, four in theology, two in jurisprudence, two in medicine, and eleven in philosophy, which also included mathematics, Hebrew and Greek, history, rhetoric, logic, and other disciplines. Increased investment in the university's infrastructure led to a rising number of students. Soon, the town of three thousand grew significantly, and by the mid-1630s, students formed a considerable part of the population.³²⁴

The university also had a great and transformational impact on the town of Uppsala itself. Close to the 16th century castle overseeing the town, just across from the Cathedral constructed from the 13th century onwards, there was a new sight: the university's main building, later known as *Gustavianum*. Court architect Kasper Panten (c.1585-1630), a Dutchman, was in charge of the construction of the latter in 1622 and 1623; he was also involved in the reconstruction of the castle. The Netherlands were an important source of practical and technological knowledge for the Swedish Realm. One of the most famous examples is Louis De Geer (1587-1652), who from 1617 maintained close commercial and entrepreneurial relationships with the Crown. He supported the Swedes in the Torstenson War against Denmark-Norway from 1643 to 1645, and was coined the "father of Swedish industry" due to his manifold efforts and entanglements in developing trade missions and exploiting the natural resources of the land.³²⁵

³²² Ingemarsdotter, *Ramism, Rhetoric and Reform. An Intellectual Biography of Johan Skytte (1577-1645)*, 226.

³²³ Schefferus, "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita," 23.

³²⁴ Lindroth, *Uppsala Universitet 1477-1977*, 44-48.

³²⁵ K. W. Dahlgren, "Louis De Geer," in *SBL 10* (1931), urn:sbl:17354.

After the death of Gustav II Adolf in the battle of Lützen in 1632, Christina became Queen of Sweden. Until her coming-of-age in 1644, the Privy Council (Riksrådet) under the Chancellorship of Axel Oxenstierna ruled over the Kingdom. During her regency, Christina amassed enormous amounts of books, artwork and curiosities. The looting of Prague in 1648 made a significant contribution, bringing many a treasure to Swedish ownership, such as the sixth-century Gothic Bible *Codex Argenteus* and the enormous 13th-century *Codex Gigas*, today kept in the university library of Uppsala.³²⁶ With her interest in literature, philosophy and arts that stemmed from an upbringing preparing her to rule an empire, Christina studied extensively and engaged in intellectual discourse with some of the greatest thinkers of her time.³²⁷ Amongst those she invited to Sweden were Grotius (who died on the journey), Vossius, Descartes, and Salmasius.

Gunnar Eriksson considers that Gustav II Adolf invested in the university because he put the welfare of the Realm before his own, and argues that Christina followed her own interest when enlarging the holdings of the university library and inviting renowned scholars from all over Europe.³²⁸ The closeness to Stockholm implied a steady exchange with the capital, and Uppsala increasingly became a centre of academic activity, attracting scholars and students from all corners of the realm and beyond. Innovative additions to the university, such as the anatomic theatre from 1663, were a logical consequence. The brain behind this newest *lieu de savoir* was Olaus Rudbeck, whose construction projects were both ambitious and costly.

Rudbeck, who studied medicine and other subjects in Leiden, had also planned Uppsala's first botanical garden in 1655. A polymath, he was interested and well versed in many fields of study. Early on, he pondered philological questions, often related to the idea of Sweden as the successor state of the glorious ancient empire of the Goths, and even as the cradle of civilization. Many contemporaries of Schefferus and Rudbeck favoured this school of thought, Gothicism. This was not an exclusively Swedish phenomenon and should be viewed in light of similar Danish and Spanish efforts to claim Gothic ancestry. Further, there were comparable movements to connect one's prehistory to an ancient Great Power in other territories.³²⁹

³²⁶ For a detailed history of the loot acquired in the 17th century, see: Emma Hagström Molin, *Krigsbyttets biografi: Byten i Riksarkivet, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek och Skokloster slott under 1600-talet* (Stockholm: Makadam, 2015), Dissertation.

³²⁷ On Christina's intellectual upbringing, see: Leif Åslund, *Att fostra en kung: Om drottning Kristinas utbildning* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2005).

³²⁸ Gunnar Eriksson, "Den lärda kulturen," in *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: Stormaktstiden*, ed. Jakob Christensson (Lund: Signum, 2005), 103-141, at: 105-107.

³²⁹ For a contextualization, see Ralph Tuchtenhagen, "Antikerezeption und Herrschaftslegitimation in der Frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der Theorien über den Ursprung der Völker Europas," in *Innovation durch Wissenstransfer in der Frühen Neuzeit: Kultur- und geistesgeschichtliche Studien zu Austauschprozessen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Johann Anselm Steiger, Sandra Richter, and Marc Föcking, Chloé (Amsterdam: Brill, 2010), 125-160.

Gothicism led to an increased interest in runes and Norse antiquity among scholars in Scandinavia. This is also seen in the sources of *Lapponia*.

Schefferus assisted his colleague and later nemesis Olaus Verelius (1618-1682) in publishing *Gautreks saga* in a Swedish annotated translation in 1664.³³⁰ Two years later, Verelius continued to work on an edition of *Bósa saga ok Herraud̄s* in Swedish.³³¹ In the source list of *Lapponia*, Schefferus also referred to “Herrods saga”.³³² The same year, 1666, Schefferus unwittingly laid the foundation for a lengthy scholarly debate with Verelius regarding the site of the town’s pagan temple with the publication of a monograph titled *Upsalia*.³³³ On more than 400 pages, he treats the early history of Uppsala. In line with Johannes Messenius (1579-1636), Schefferus opposed the idea that the old church in Gamla Uppsala stood on the site of a pagan temple.³³⁴ Verelius, however, argued that the church building stood on top of the remains of such an ancient temple. This question and the ensuing discussion touched the core of Swedish identity. The chronicler of the University of Uppsala, Claes Annerstedt (1839-1927), published a succinct monograph on the feud in 1891 and concluded about the two parties:

Verelius’ Norse studies did not seldom give him the upper hand when the decision was based on the interpretation of the expression in the memorial of that literature, and, had his view not been obscured by Rudbeckian fantasies, his healthy judgment would not have let itself misled to the daring and untenable hypotheses about our ancient past which gave Schefferus an unwanted opportunity to swing a weapon of ironic criticism. The latter’s scholarly distance of sight was doubtlessly more comprehensive, in the same way as his critical view stronger, and above all, he was his opponent’s superior in the art of presentation.³³⁵

Rudbeck crowned this school of thought with his magnum opus *Atland eller Manheim*.³³⁶ With this enormous work, he tried to prove that Sweden was identical to the mythical insular kingdom of Atlantis, a view that gained popularity among the intellectual and political elite of

³³⁰ Johannes Schefferus, "Ad Anonymi de Götrico & Rolfone Historiam, Notæ," in *Gothrici & Rolfi Westrogothiæ Regum Historia Lingua antiqua Gothica conscripta*, ed. Olaus Verelius (Upsaliæ: Henricus Curio, 1664).

³³¹ Olaus Verelius, ed., *Herrauds och Bosa Saga* (Upsala: Henrich Curio, 1666).

³³² Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated.

³³³ Johannes Schefferus, *Upsalia Cujus Occasione Plurima In Religione, Sacris, Festis ... illustrantur* (Upsaliæ: Henricus Curio, 1666).

³³⁴ Schmidt-Voges, *De antiqua claritate et clara antiquitate Gothorum - Gotizismus als Identitätsmodell im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden*, 166-169.

³³⁵ Annerstedt, *Schefferus och Verelius: en litterär fejd i sjuttonde seklet.*, 30. "Verelii fornordiska studier gåfvo honom ej sällan öfvertag, där afgörandet berodde på tolkningen af uttrycken i denna literaturs minnesmärken, och hade icke hans blick skymts af Rudbeckianska fantasier, skulle väl hans sunnda omdöme icke låtit sig förledas till de djärfva och ohållbara hypoteser om vår forntid, som gåfvo Schefferus ett osökt tillfälle att svänga en ironisk kritiks vapen. Den senares vetenskapliga synvidd var tvifvelsutän mera omfattande, liksom hans kritiska blick starkare, och framför alt var han sin motståndare öfverlägsen i framställningens konst."

³³⁶ Olaus Rudbeckius, *Atlantica sive Manheim*, 4 vols. (Uppsala: Henricus Curio, 1679-1702).

the Kingdom and with scholars abroad.³³⁷ Schefferus, reading the first volume on his deathbed, reacted with admiration to Rudbeck's diligence, but disagreed with the conclusions of the work, as Eriksson sums up in his monograph on Rudbeck.³³⁸

2.4.1 THE ANTIKVITETSKOLLEGIUM

Old Norse and Old Icelandic literature became increasingly available in new editions and attracted Danish and Swedish scholars alike who laid claim to the concept of a heroic past. In addition to the city of Copenhagen, where prominent scholars were Arngrímur Jónsson, an Icelander promoting the medieval literature of his homeland, and Ole Worm, Uppsala emerged as a centre for Norse philology. Following the dissolution of the Kalmar Union in 1523, the two kingdoms of Denmark-Norway and Sweden were striving for primacy in the Baltic Sea region, Fennoscandia and the Northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire.³³⁹ It was desirable to demonstrate continuities leading from older Northern literature to the present. In an article on the post-medieval reception of Norse literature, Andrew Wawn presents some of the most influential editions.³⁴⁰ Copenhagen and Uppsala stood out as centres of this type of philological scholarship. Verelius' impressive contributions in the field are also due to the Icelander Jón Rúgmann (1636-1679), who had been heading to Copenhagen in 1658 when his ship fell into Swedish hands and he ended up in Gothenburg. There, he found a sponsor in *riksdrotts* (Justiciar of the Realm) Per Brahe (1602-1680), who sent him to school in Visingsö and later to the University of Uppsala. He became the assistant of Verelius and went back to Iceland to collect manuscripts. The famous *Antikvitetskollegium* (College of Antiquities) became Rúgmann's domain. Established by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, its director was a former pupil of Johannes Bureus, the "father of Swedish poetry" Georg Stiernhielm (1598-1672).³⁴¹ He approached the idea of Gothicism linguistically by claiming that Gothic, and hence its successor language Swedish, was the world's protolanguage, in his treatise *Gambla Swea- och Götha-Måles fatebur* (Treasury of Old Sveamål and Götamål/Old Swedish and Gothic) from 1643.³⁴²

³³⁷ David King, *Finding Atlantis. A True Story of Genius, Madness, and an Extraordinary Quest for a Lost World* (New York: Harmony Books, 2005), 204-207.

³³⁸ Gunnar Eriksson, *Rudbeck 1630–1702: Liv, lärdom, dröm i barockens Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2002), 341.

³³⁹ Steinar Imsen, "The Union of Calmar–Nordic Great Power or Northern German Outpost?," in *Politics and Reformations - Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires: Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, ed. Michael Printy et al., Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 471-489, at: 481.

³⁴⁰ Andrew Wawn, "The Post-Medieval Reception of Old Norse and Old Icelandic Literature," in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 320-337, at: 320-324.

³⁴¹ Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria - Stormaktstiden*, 320-322.

³⁴² Georgius Stiernhielm, *Gambla Swea- och Götha-Måles fatebur* (Stockholm: Peter von Selaw, 1643).

Stiernhielm never relocated from Stockholm to Uppsala, and thus the remaining members of the College of Antiquities were practically on their own. Apart from Stiernhielm, there were Schefferus, Verelius, Loccenius, Johan Hadorph (1630-1693), Magnus Celsius (1621-1679), and the already half-blind Johan Henriksson Axehiälm (1608-1692).³⁴³ This institution soon became a significant player in debates on the Ancient North and the dominating *lieu de savoir* of Swedish prehistory.

Lapponia has to be regarded part of the overall activities of the College, as Henrik Schück concluded from his detailed study of its history.³⁴⁴ The archival material Schück included in his two-volume elaboration on the history of the institution supports this argument. De la Gardie approached the College of Antiquities in a letter from Stockholm dated 6 February 1671, which mentioned for the first time in its postscript an official commission for an account of the Sámi people:

P. S. Should Mister Ahrenius or someone else want to write something on the way of life and customs of the Lapps, in the way that 1) What the ancients knew about them and the land is reported 2) the nature of the sky and the sun at this place 3) the way of life and customs of the people and 4) what service Sweden has of them in war or otherwise, to remove the thought that the Lapps constitute a great part of the Swedish Army, for, after all, a Lapp and an Indian are almost equally rarely viewed in Sweden, this would not seem bad to me.³⁴⁵

It is noteworthy that De la Gardie remarks that it is almost equally rare in Sweden to see a Sámi as an Indian. The concept of the Sámi as the ‘European Indians’ reappeared later, but we can read De la Gardie’s comparison as a comment on the scope of Swedish expansionism. The character of the fourth point of De la Gardie’s request is polemic. It is unclear whether this reflected De la Gardie’s personal perception, but the well-attested regular presence of Sámi merchants and students in Stockholm and Uppsala contradicts De la Gardie’s statement.³⁴⁶

Although having lost their colony of New Sweden on the shores of the Delaware River to the Netherlands in the Second Northern War in 1655, the wish to possess a part of the New World

³⁴³ Lindroth, *Svensk Lärdomshistoria - Stormaktstiden*, 322.

³⁴⁴ Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia III - Antikvitetskollegiet II*, 284-286.

³⁴⁵ Quoted after *ibid.*, 12. “P. S. Skulle Mons. Ahrenius eller någon annan willia skrifwa något de vita et moribus lapponum, sålunda at 1) Quid antiquis fuerit cognitum om dem och det landet vthwijstes 2) Natura Coeli et soli på den ohrten 3) Vita et mores gentis och 4) hwadh Sverige för tienst af dhem in bello eller elliest hafwer at betaga dhem tankan, at Lapparna constituera magnam partem Exercitus Sueticj, der doch een lapp och een Indianer nestan lijka rare äre j Sverige att skåda, tyckes migh det icke wara illa.”

³⁴⁶ Jonas M. Nordin, “Samer i imperiets mitt: Samiskt liv i det tidigmoderna Stockholm – en glömd historia,” in *Tillfälliga Stockholmare: Människor och Möten under 600 år*, ed. Anna Götling and Marko Lamberg (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2017), 45-71, at: 48-51.

was still present and continued through the 18th century.³⁴⁷ The *Svenska Afrikanska Kompaniet* (Swedish Africa Company), founded by Louis De Geer in 1649, resulted in increased trading activities along the Swedish Gold Coast, which is nowadays part of Ghana, until the *Vestindisk Kompagni* (Westindian Company) operating under the Danish flag conquered the region in 1663 and made it part of the Danish Gold Coast.³⁴⁸ The importance and more successful execution of expansionist ideas in other parts of Europe was also apparent in the prefaces of the English adaptation *The History of Lapland* and the Dutch *Historie van Lapland* with comparisons to America and Africa (see Subsection 1.2.4).

To Schefferus, the idea of colonial expansion was not primarily a moral question, but one of philological and historical interest. In 1668, he presided over the dissertation *Deductionis coloniarum rationes et causae* (On the reasons and rationale behind the establishment of colonies) by his student Johan Hoffman (d.1679). In the introduction to her Swedish translation of the dissertation, Anna Fredriksson argues that Schefferus was responsible for the topic and most of its content, and provided Hoffman with all necessary literature.³⁴⁹

As an institution founded through the efforts of Lord High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, the College of Antiquities served the political agenda of Sweden's regent, who at the time of its foundation was Queen Regent Hedvig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp on behalf of her son Charles XI. The motivation to establish such an institution was to study the origin of Sweden and its people. This was by no means a project that attempted objectivity. As mentioned before, studying early Swedish history at that time meant studying it in light of Gothicist ideas. However, the staff of the *kollegium* were expert scholars with, at times, contradictory opinions and varying backgrounds.

Some of the members of the College had also travelled extensively and managed to establish connections throughout the realm and abroad, while others never left the considerable expanse of the Empire. The *kollegium*'s first director Georg Stiernhielm had been a student of theologian Johannes Rudbeckius (1581-1646) in Uppsala before going to Wittenberg, Greifswald and Helmstedt for further studies and working in Västerås, Stockholm and Sweden's Baltic

³⁴⁷ Eric Schnakenbourg, "Sweden and the Atlantic: The Dynamism of Sweden's Colonial Projects in the Eighteenth Century," in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, ed. Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin, Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology (New York: Springer, 2013), 229-242.

³⁴⁸ The role of Dutch and other foreign agents in the Scandinavian Companies has been analyzed in: Fredrik Hyrum Svensli, "'Evil Disposed Netherlanders': The Dutch West India Company's Opposition to Danish Activity on the Gold Coast, 1657-1662," *Itinerario* 42, 3 (2018): 326-350.

³⁴⁹ Anna Fredriksson, "Om *Deductionis coloniarum rationes & causae* och dess tillkomst," in *Om anledningar till att anlägga kolonier. En dissertation framlagd 1668 av Johannes Schefferus och Johan Hoffman*, ed. Anna Fredriksson, Bibliotheca Neolatina Upsaliensis (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2019), 37-62, at: 55-58.

province of Livonia. Further travels may have led him to Leiden and Padua. Stiernhielm became a member of the Royal Society of London in 1669. Johan Axehiälm, who married Catharina Burea (1601-1678), the daughter of Johannes Bureus, was well acquainted with parts of Finland, having served in different offices there before taking over his father-in-law's position of *riksantikvarie* (Imperial Antiquarian) in 1652. He became the director of the College upon Stiernhielm's death in 1672. Schefferus' father-in-law Loccenius had been born in Itzehoe in Holstein, and studied at the universities of Helmstedt, Rostock and Leiden, before becoming a professor in Uppsala. Verelius, who later disputed strongly with Schefferus regarding the site of the old heathen temple at Uppsala,³⁵⁰ matriculated at the universities of Dorpat and Uppsala, and later visited the Netherlands and France. Only mathematician Magnus Celsius, born in Alfta, some 200 kilometres north of Uppsala, apparently never left the wider region. Johan Hadorph, the last of the College's seven initial members, had not undertaken any long journeys either before starting his work for the College, but began regular excursions through Sweden in the early 1670s and visited Copenhagen in 1673.

Schefferus fitted the profile of the College of Antiquities. By the time of its foundation, he was an accomplished philologist. An active correspondent in the Republic of Letters, he showed a strong interest in literary and material sources of the past. A logical and well-known manifestation of this interest was the *Museum Schefferianum*.

The projects of the College drew inspiration from Gothicism and engaged in the search for Sweden's glorious past. De la Gardie's above-cited initial proposal for historian Claudius Arrhenius (Claes Örnhielm, 1627-1695), who had become a member of the *kollegium* in 1669, or someone else to write something about the Sámi supports this assumption. Another good reason was a genuine interest in the people of the Far North, from whom many rare objects had made their way to Stockholm and Uppsala. De la Gardie's extensive collections of curious and valuable books speak of a widespread curiosity.

The list of publications by the *Antikvitetskollegium* is long and has been thoroughly analysed and put into context by Henrik Schück.³⁵¹ Many titles in Schefferus' oeuvre revolve around questions the College set out to answer. As this was also true of some of his publications before the foundation of the *kollegium*, he stands out as an ideal member of the group. For example, his works dealt with the military vessels used by the ancients, as was the case with *De militia*

³⁵⁰ Annerstedt, *Schefferus och Verelius: en litterär fejd i sjuttonde seklet*.

³⁵¹ Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia II - Antikvitetskollegiet I*; Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia III - Antikvitetskollegiet II*.

navali veterum, an intriguing topic for a seafaring nation in search of past grandeur such as Sweden.³⁵² Other examples are *Upsalia*, on the early history of Uppsala, or comments on a newly discovered medieval church chronicle in *Incerti scriptoris Sveci* (An unknown Swede's account).³⁵³ They also included philological commentary on Norse texts as his contribution to Verelius' edition of *Gautreks saga* and *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*.³⁵⁴ Notably, they successfully substituted the exemplary anecdotes from ancient Rome used to teach morality with narratives based on the history of Sweden, as with his *Memorabilium Sueticæ Gentis Exemplorum Liber Singularis* (A Book about the Memorable Examples of the Swedish People).³⁵⁵ There are many more aspects of the works of Schefferus that complement and comply with the mandate of the College of Antiquities, but these few suffice to exemplify how well his interests matched those of the College.

Lapponia combined many of Schefferus' strengths, such as his capabilities as a draughtsman, his erudition in the classics, and his interest in realia and geography with Sweden's lappmark policy. Together with the College's many endeavours that dealt with the classification and analysis of newly found objects, the *Lapponia* project has to be regarded a crucial step towards the development of proto-ethnographic methodology and the field of archaeology in Scandinavia.³⁵⁶

2.4.2 THE MUSEUM SCHEFFERIANUM

If the *Museum Schefferianum* was one of Schefferus' main workspaces, he probably wrote and read some of his correspondence there. In fact, except for one letter naming his estate of Ekeby north of Uppsala as its origin, all of Schefferus' letters I found that he sent after he arrived in Sweden state *Upsaliæ* as their place of origin. The *Museum* not only served as a location for collecting and connecting different knowledge from various parts of Europe, but also as the

³⁵² Johannes Schefferus, *De militia navali veterum libri quatuor. Ad historiam græcam latinamque vtiles*. (Upsaliæ: Johannes Janssonius, 1654).

³⁵³ Schefferus, *Upsalia*; Johannes Schefferus, ed., *Incerti scriptoris Sveci qui vixit circa ann. Christi MCCCXLIV. Breve chronicon de archiepiscopis et sacerdotib. cæteris ecclesiæ Upsaliensis nunquam antea publicatum*. (Upsaliæ: Henricus Curio, 1673).

³⁵⁴ Schefferus, "Ad Anonymi de Götrico & Rolfone Historiam, Notæ," 105-128 (plus one unpaginated page).

³⁵⁵ Johannes Schefferus, *Memorabilium Sueticæ Gentis Exemplorum Liber Singularis* (Amsterdam & Hamburgi: Apud Johannem Janssonium a Waesberge, Apud Gothofredum Schultzen, 1671); see also Birger Bergh's translation into Swedish: Johannes Schefferus, *En bok om det svenska folkets minnesvärda exempel*, trans. Birger Bergh (Stockholm: Atlantis, [1671] 2005); see also: Anne Eriksen, "Time and Exemplarity," *JEMS*, no. 6 (2017): 183-204.

³⁵⁶ A clear presentation and discussion of this connection is: Evert Baudou, *Den nordiska arkeologin - historia och tolkningar* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2004), 55-90; Carl-Gösta Ojala, *Sámi Prehistories: The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in Northernmost Europe*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology, (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2009), Dissertation; on early forms of ethnography, see Han Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment*, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

point of origin of the knowledge Schefferus communicated to his correspondents in the Republic of Letters.

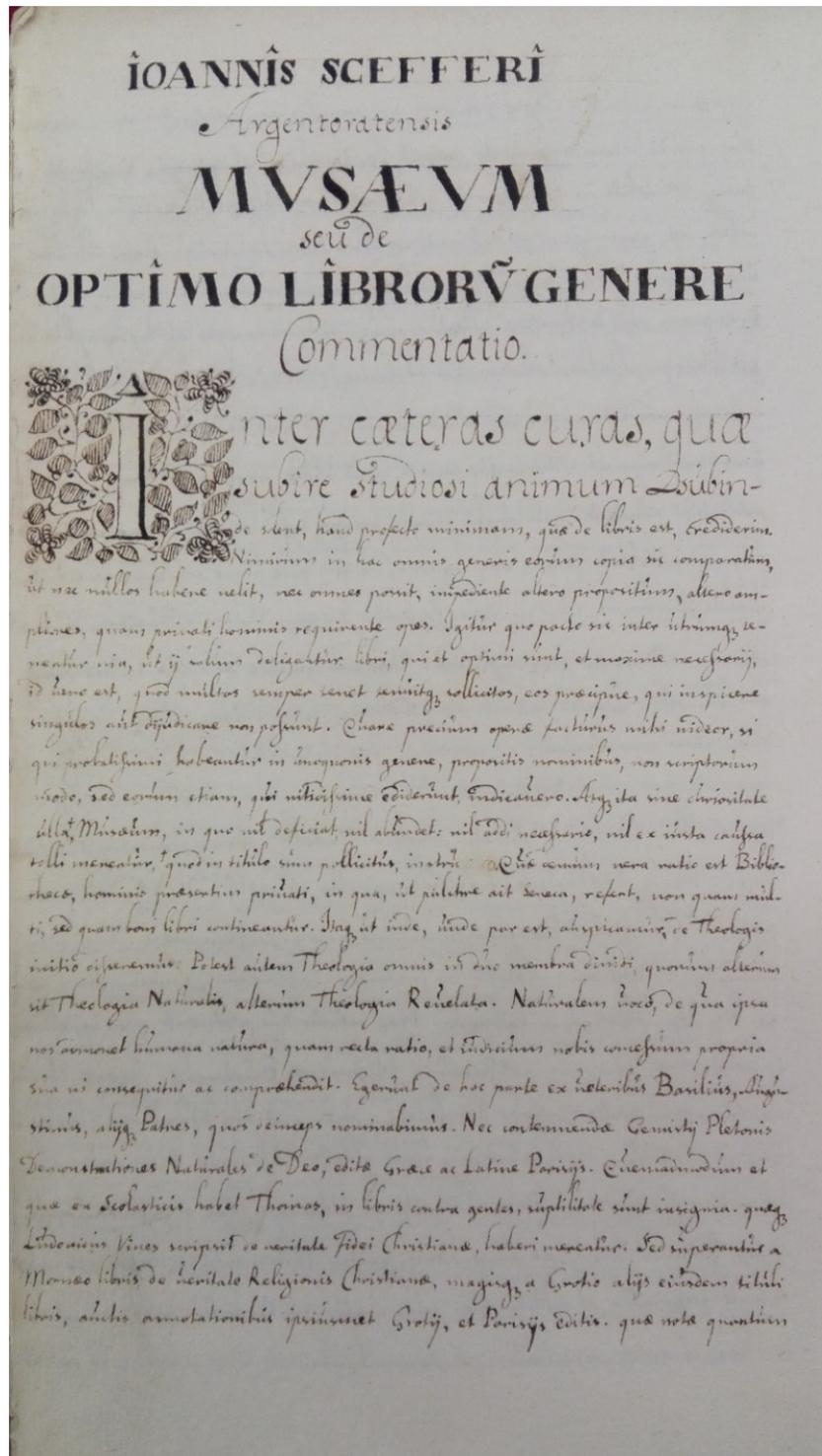


Figure 15: First page of "Museum seu de optimo librorum genere Commentatio", UUB U258c. Photograph by the author.

Let us consider the actual place where it all came together. Many of the works Schefferus owned would have been organized in some order in the library room, as suggested by the hitherto neglected manuscript *Mvsævm seu de optimo librory[m] genere commentatio* (Museum, or, A Commentary on the best type of books), which is part of the manuscript collection of Uppsala University Library.³⁵⁷ The twenty-folio booklet outlines Schefferus' understanding of the ideal library and of relevant literature and scholars. The choice of title for the manuscript strengthens Ekman's argument for considering cabinets of curiosities and libraries as a closely related, even uniform phenomenon.³⁵⁸ The work offers ways of ordering and suggests the most suitable volumes by experts in the respective fields. The order in which the different thematic groups and subgroups appear corresponds to their hierarchy in Schefferus' understanding.

First, there is *theologia*, classified as either natural or revealed theology. While natural theology argues for the existence of God through observations and reasoning of principles found in nature, revealed theology refers to the study of the revelations given by God to humanity. For a Protestant, this meant the Bible ('sola scriptura') and the theological scholarship inspired by it, as long as it supported the right denomination. *Jus*, the second discipline, is also split into two branches: *jus publicum* and *jus privatum*. Public law deals with the relationship between governmental authorities and individuals, while private law governs relationships between individuals. Third in rank is *medicina*. With this ranking, Schefferus follows the medieval organization of the university in the three higher faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine, which would, complemented by a fourth, lower, faculty of Arts, continue to be used at many universities until the late 19th century. This also corresponds to the above-mentioned division of the University of Uppsala at Schefferus' time, with faculties of Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Philosophy.

Continuing with *mathematica*, he begins addressing thematic fields connected to the seven liberal arts, but also others. To him, *mathematica* was both theoretical and applied. This is seen when he lists his idea of the mathematical subdisciplines: Together with *arithmetica* and *geometria*, there are *musica*, *optica*, *geodesia*, *astronomia*, *chronologia*, *geographia*, *loca maritima*, *topographia*, and *mechanica*. The next subject represented in his library is *philosophia*, in which field he is familiar with a number of schools and individual philosophers, such as Pythagoras (c.570-c.495 BC) and Socrates (c.470-399 BC), and *philosophia recentior*, newer philosophy.

³⁵⁷ UUB U 258c.

³⁵⁸ Ekman, "The birth of the museum in the Nordic countries: *Kunstskammer*, museology and museography."

Regarding politics, Schefferus' taxonomy is similar. There is *politica*, with famous theoreticians such as Plato, Machiavelli or Aristotle, and *politica recentior*. This classification also corresponds to the way of teaching the political sciences in Straßburg. The five following disciplines are undivided: *ethica, oeconomica, physica, metaphysica, and logica*.

Historia, as he calls the next branch, is either true (*vera*) or fictitious (*fabulosa*). The *vera* is divided into *ecclesiastica historia, historia civilis*, with its subbranches of universal and particular history, such as *historia Byzantina*, and finally *historia naturalis*, as the final example of *vera historia*. He then lists *falsa seu fabulosa historia*, with collections of ancient Greek myths and similar, before he returns to *vera* with chroniclers, biographers, the historians of libraries, and genealogists. The next group of writings is *oratores*, orators, followed by *epistolae*. The category *poesis* branches into *poetæ græcæ, poetæ latinæ, and epigrammatorii*. Following the poets, Schefferus mentions *philologi*, the philologists, *antiquitatis studia*, and *artes instrumentales*, textbooks on rhetoric and grammar, before closing with *lexica*.

As to the point in time of compilation of this ideal library, the text gives no direct indication. Since there are many references to scholars and writings in the text, there are some temporal leads allowing for an approximation of the date of its writing, but these have yet to be analysed.

The degree to which Schefferus followed this systematic arrangement in his own library is unknown, but, naturally, he considered all of the categories helpful to sort and navigate his own and any other library. As his children inherited parts of the library and other parts came up for auction, it is difficult if not impossible to give an exact reconstruction of the composition of the library. Libraries only become fully fixed arrangements once the number and condition of documents they hold remains unchanged. Usually, this happens at the point of time when a library ceases to exist and becomes a *nachlass*.

Let us return to our imaginary visit to the *Museum Schefferianum* during the work on *Lapponia*. Books and manuscripts might have been lying readily available on the desk in the small working chamber. As mentioned before, Schefferus also worked on other major projects, prepared lectures, wrote and read letters, and received visitors. There might have been a good deal of scribbled notes, recent letters and outlines for correspondence, pen and paper, maybe some drawing pencils and recent drafts, as well as instruments such as a magnifying glass on his desk.

The magnifying glass, if Schefferus indeed owned one, could of course also lie somewhere on a shelf in his collection room, his *kunstkammer* or *Naturalienkammer*, or cabinet of curiosities, the biggest room of his museum. In 1677, Schefferus finalized a list of the museum's

“rerum naturalium” (natural objects).³⁵⁹ This index, preserved in manuscript at the university library in Uppsala, categorizes them as “æs” (bronze, brass), “cuprum” (copper), “sulphur”, “pix” (pitch, tar), “succinum” (amber), “lapides” (stones, including precious stones), and “marmora” (marble). The collection held pieces of copper from the mine in Falun in Dalarna County, exemplars of ore, flint, pyrite, mineral coal, limestone, and many other stones, metals, minerals, and ores. Further, there were pieces of amber from the island of Björkö in Lake Mälaren, around fifteen kilometres west of Stockholm, from Scania and from Prussia, some pulverized yellow amber, and spermaceti, the wax-like substance found in the heads of sperm whales, all under the category of amber. For a few of the samples, Schefferus or his amanuensis Heysig wrote notes regarding their origin and year of acquisition.³⁶⁰

Unfortunately, the index does not include any information about Sámi objects. It demonstrates, however, that the systematization of at least parts of Schefferus’ collection resembled that of the famous museum of Ole Worm.³⁶¹ The Danish traveller Corfitz Braem (1639-1688), who during his journey through Sweden visited Uppsala around Christmas 1671, described further details of Schefferus’ museum and collection, and mentioned some of the Sámi objects it contained:

Then, we went back to Schefferus, and visited his *kunstkammer*, which is small and nice. The most pleasant thing I saw was one of the balls the Lapps use to send off to people, which they call *Thüre*, and the Norwegians a *Gang* [read: *gand*]; it was of ochre and lichen-like colour, as big as a juniper cone. In addition, I saw natural sulphur, natural ore, natural vitriol, gold from a gold mine recently founded in Lapland. Lapp drums with toad and hammer. Iron dust, caught with a valve; different metals. Lapp sled. A four-angled stone salvaged from copper; a kind of lead, which always comes out as cubes [*pyrite*]. Crystal found in Sweden. In addition, amber found near Björkö in Mälaren. Here, he also has his library, and different manuscripts. And since they are exposed to great dangers of fire, he had a small house built which stands by itself in the courtyard, with a copper door and windows.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ UUB N 1190, 135r-138v; on Heysig-Ridderstjerna, see Eugène Lewenhaupt, "Johan Heysig-Ridderstjerna. I.," *Samlaren* 10 (1889): 59-105; and Eugène Lewenhaupt, "Johan Heysig-Ridderstjerna. II.," *Samlaren* 14 (1893): 43-96.

³⁶⁰ UUB N 1190: 136r-137r.

³⁶¹ See for instance Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*, 106-109; See also Worm, *Museum Wormianum*.

³⁶² Corfitz Braem, *Dagbok under en resa i Sverige åren 1671 och 1672*, ed. Bert Möller (Stockholm: Norstedt, [1671-1672] 1916), 45-46. "Ginge saa til Schefferum igien, oc bessaa hans konst kammer, som er liden oc nætt. Ded Rareste jeg saa war een aff dee kuler som Lapperne bruger til ad skicke vdj folck, huilken dee kalder Thüre, oc dee Norske een Gang; hun war aff farffwe leergull, oc lauen, stoer som een seffwe boll. Item saa jeg Sulphur nativum, Æs nativum, Vitriolum nativum, Aurum ex Aurifodina in Lapponia nuper inventa. Laptrummer med Padden oc Hammeren. Jern stöff, fanged med spiel; adschillige metalla. Lapslede. Een 4. kantig steen som finnes vdj kaaber bierged; Eet slags Bly som springer altid vdj terninger. Christal som finnes vdj Sverrig. Item Been steen som finnis wed Biorckö vdj Mehleren. Hand haffwer oc her hos sitt Bibliotec, oc adschillige MSS. Oc efftersom dee erre stoer fare undergiffwen aff Ildebrand, da haftwer laded opmure eet lided huus, som

In erecting a building of that kind, Schefferus gives a hint at the high material and non-material value the collection must have held for him. This required planning and was probably costly. The mere fact that Braem mentions the safety precautions Schefferus took to protect the items kept inside the building shows that this was something out of the ordinary. To plan the building as a stand-alone structure, safe from any fire in the surrounding buildings, and to have a copper door and windows installed, speaks of long-term planning and a strong sense of care of one's possessions and intellectual production. Fires such as the one destroying Bartholin's library a couple of years later, in 1670, demonstrated the merits of such precautions. When the great fire of 1702 devoured large parts of Uppsala, Schefferus' museum was among the few buildings in the town centre that survived.³⁶³

Braem also mentions the library and manuscripts Schefferus had in the building, indicating that it served as a workplace. From the descriptions of the visitor, one might assume Schefferus' main interest to be in natural objects such as minerals or metals and in objects of Sámi origin. De la Gardie commissioned *Lapponia* in February 1671, and by the time of Braem's visit Schefferus had already worked for several months on the project.³⁶⁴ Means of transportation were a life-long interest of Schefferus, as revealed in the drawings of ships and carriages in his sketchbook *Fragmentum Antiquitatum Romanarum* (Fragment of Roman antiquities), his *Dissertatio De Varietate Navium* (Dissertation about the variety of ships) and his book on ancient Roman vehicles *De Re Vehiculari Veterum* (About the matter of ancient vehicles), published in 1671.³⁶⁵ One can imagine that the Sámi sled Braem took note of had been in Schefferus' possession prior to the project. Arguably, the collection held numerous other objects Braem did not find noteworthy, for he had already seen comparable ones in other similar collections or because he did not find them unusual.

A year prior to Braem's visit, in 1670, Duke Albrecht of Saxe-Gotha (1648-1699) went on a grand tour that led him to Holstein, Denmark and Sweden. His teacher Hieronymus Brückner (1639-1693) accompanied him and recorded the journey in a travelogue. Arriving in Uppsala,

staar for sig selff i gaaren, med kaaber dör oc winduer forre." Braem's journal is already cited in Bengt Löw's introduction to the Swedish edition of *Lapponia*. See Löw, "Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia," 16.

³⁶³ On the history of the building, see Hamberg, "Johannes Schefferus' bibliotekshus: En historisk orientering samt några ord om den byggnadshistoriska undersökningen i samband med restaureringen," 51-62.

³⁶⁴ Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia III - Antikvitetskollegiet II*, 12.

³⁶⁵ See for instance Johannes Schefferus, *Fragmentum Antiquitatum Romanarum*, *Continens Icones Statuarum, Navium, Utensilium, Instrumentorum tam Musicorum quam Artificium, Vasorum, Ornamentorum etc.*, "sketch book," n.d., Davidsson 4689, Handt. sv. skissalbum, 19, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek: Carolina Rediviva, fol. 42, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Carolina Rediviva; Johannes Schefferus, *Dissertatio De Varietate Navium* (N.N.: N.N., c. 1650), Dissertation; in comparison with Johannes Schefferus, *De re vehiculari veterum libri duo accedit Pyrrhi Ligorii. V. C. De vehiculis fragmentum nunquam ante publicatum ex bibliotheca Sereniss. Reg. Christianæ cum ejusdem I. Schefferi Arg. annotationibus*, *De re vehiculari veterum libri duo*, (Francofurti: Ex officina Zunneriana, 1671), lib. II, 270.

Albrecht visited the castle, the cathedral and Schefferus' museum. Brückner condenses the visit as follows:

On Thursday, 15 September, the Prince visited the Naturalienkammer of the Vice-Rector, Prof. Johann Scheffer. Amongst other things, it held all kinds of Lapp clothings and things etc. furthermore all kinds of minerals.³⁶⁶

This short description underlines that Schefferus' collection placed special emphasis on Sámi objects and on minerals. In a more detailed anonymous travelogue by one of Albrecht's travel companions, found by Mårten Snickare, there is an extensive description of the Sámi drums, their usage and political explosiveness:

Three Lapp drums, they were made somewhat elongated out of wood, and about two spans long, one-and-a-half wide, and one hand high, [they] had below at the bottom two holes, so that one can grip it with the hand and hold it. On top, they were covered with parchment, which was written full of characters. These drums the Lapps use for fortunetelling, for this they have a brass ring, and small hammers of bone. The ring they put on top of the drum they hold in one hand and hit the drum with the hammer they have in their other hand so that the ring lying on top moves. Now, after the selfsame falls on one of the characters, they prophesy something good or bad. The King lets these drums confiscate from them through the bailiffs in the lappmark, and those, who employ them, are punished for that.³⁶⁷

It is likely that Brückner and the anonymous companion, like Braem, mainly mentioned whatever was noteworthy about the collection. Nevertheless, the two descriptions indicate Schefferus' interest in the Sámi people prior to the official commission to write an account of them. This interest manifested itself in the museum, making it a *lieu de savoir* concerning the Sámi prior to *Laponia*.

It is unknown how widespread the interest in the Sámi people was at that time among the members of the *Antikvitetskollegium*, but it touched upon the core mission of the institution: to

³⁶⁶ Hieronymus Brückner, "Reisenachrichten, oder Beschreibung dessen, was bei der im J. 1670. von Herzog Albrecht zu Sachsen Gotha Fürstl. Durchlaucht, nach Holstein, Dännemark und Schweden, gethanen Reise vorgefallen.," in *Neues Geographisches Magazin*, ed. Johann Ernst Faber (Halle: im Verlage des Waisenhauses, 1786), 496-572, at: 547.

"Donnerstag den 15ten Septemb. besahe der Prinz die Naturalienkammer des Vice-Rectors, Prof. Johann Scheffers. Unter andern waren darin allerhand Lappenkleidungen und Zeug etc. ferner allerhand Mineralien."

³⁶⁷ Cited after: Snickare, "Kontroll, begär och kunskap - Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis," 76. "Dreÿ Laptrommeln, die waren von Holtz etwas ablänglichlich gemacht, und etwa zweÿ gute Spannen lang, 1 ½ breit, und einer Handbreit hoch, hatten unten am Boden zweÿ Löcher, daß mann mit der Hand hinein greiffen und sie halten konnte, waren oben mit Pergamen überzogen, welches gantz voll characteren geschrieben war. Diese Trommeln brauchen die Lappen zum Warsagen, haben darbey einen Meßingenes Ring, und klein Hämmerlein von Bein, den Ring legen sie oben auf die Trommel, welche sie in einer Hand halten, und schlagen mit dem Hämmerlein so sie in der andern Hand führen, auf die Trommel, daß sich der darauf liegende Ring bewege – Nachdem nun derselbe auf einen characterem fälle prophecÿen sie etwas gutes oder böses. Diese Trommeln läÿet ihro der König durch die Amtleute in dem Lapmark wegnehmen, und die, sie sich derselben bedienen, deswegen bestraffen."

research Sweden's antiquity. With no clear indication of when their presence in the Northern parts of the Kingdom had begun, the question of the history of the Sámi people became relevant to the history of Sweden. With his merits earned through other writings, his talent for truthfully depicting and describing, and his collection of Sámi objects, Schefferus presented himself as an excellent choice for the endeavour. Accordingly, *Lapponia* became as much a commentary on Schefferus' library and collection as on the eyewitness accounts sent to Uppsala by clergymen and other inhabitants of the North.

*

There were a great many *lieux de savoir* central to the writing of *Lapponia*. Given the wide scope of Jacob's typology, the discussion in this chapter cannot exhaust its possibilities fully. Since this chapter centres on Schefferus' life, places he did not know himself were not included. The following chapter discusses some of them.

Jacob's four subtypes include both physical and conceptual places and realms. Certain universities brought forth specific styles of scholarship, as for instance Straßburg with its philology of the real or the school of political thought of Bernegger, Schaller and Boeclerus. Leiden, like other Dutch towns, was an important hub of the production of geographical knowledge, through both mapmaking and writing. Schefferus' studies at the universities of Straßburg and Leiden may be termed his formative years. These two towns, as well as Uppsala and Stockholm, were the most important urban centres of his life.

They were also significant places for the finding and disseminating of knowledge (type 1 of Jacob's typology). This happened in various arenas and spaces where teaching, discussing, planning, writing, and printing took place. These included lecture halls, libraries, the homes and studies of professors, student hostels and printing workshops (type 2). In Uppsala, Schefferus had his very own *museum*, a small building combining library, collection room, and study. This was an essential *lieu* (type 2), housing different kinds of inscriptions of knowledge, such as books, manuscripts, objects and artefacts, which Schefferus had put into a systematic order (type 3), as the library theory and the collection index presented in this chapter indicate. Furthermore, he had access to the collections of De la Gardie and the Royal Archives, though the technicalities of this access are unknown.

Another *lieu* was the College of Antiquities, which made him part of a group of expert scholars. The exchange with other scholars itself, but also the examination of writings, maps and objects, corresponds to another *lieu de savoir* (type 4). The positioning of practitioners of knowledge in relation to objects of interest or each other was one of the main functions of the

Republic of Letters (types 1, 3 and 4).³⁶⁸ The Republic of Letters was an arena, a practice, and the sum of inscriptions, namely letters.

Some of the letters that reached Schefferus were extensive reports of clergymen serving in the lappmarks. Their contributions, discussed in the following chapter, are in my understanding the most crucial element in enabling the Lapponia project (types 3 and 4). These reports, and the detailed examination and generally matter-of-fact descriptions of Sámi objects and customs, made most of the Lapponia editions stand out as solid scholarly works that presented new knowledge about the Sámi people and the region where most of them lived.

³⁶⁸ See Chapter 4.

3 SÁMI CONTRIBUTORS AND THE LAPPMARK CLERGY

Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie gave the commission to write an account about the lappmarks in February 1671, making the assessment that “een lapp och een Indianer nestan lijka rare äre j Swerige att skåda”³⁶⁹ (a Lapp and an Indian are almost equally rarely to be seen in Sweden). If taken literally, this statement suggests that Sámi people were an uncommon sight in Sweden at that time. Then, Sweden comprised most of the country’s current territory as well as all of present-day Finland and parts of Karelia. We can assume that De la Gardie is referring to this vast area when mentioning Sweden.

There have been a couple of studies in recent years presenting individual Sámi as members of the authorities in the early modern era.³⁷⁰ Through her comparative study of the protracted Reformation in Swedish-Finnish Torne lappmark and Danish-Norwegian Finnmark (from 1576 *Vardøhus len*, from 1661 *Vardøhus amt*, from 1787 *Finmarkens amt*), Siv Rasmussen highlighted how differently the Sámi of the respective regions related to Christianity.³⁷¹ The differences in culture, customs, lifestyle and language between and, at times, within the several Sámi groups makes it difficult to define what Carl-Gösta Ojala and Jonas Monié Nordin in opposition to “Swedishness” call “Sáminess”.³⁷²

There are arguments countering De la Gardie’s assessment of Sámi people as a rare sight in Sweden, as for instance Nordin’s emphasis of their presence in early modern Stockholm.³⁷³ The regular visits of Sámi merchants to the markets of Uppsala and Stockholm indicate that De la Gardie’s marginalizing comment about the Sámi did not reflect the reality of early modern Sweden. With Sámi merchants visiting seats of royal power such as Uppsala and Stockholm, and students of Sámi birth attending the University of Uppsala, De la Gardie must have easily noticed their presence, that is, if they stood out in some way, such as in their clothing, accessories, language, behaviour or appearance. Thus, his assessment of the rarity of Sámi

³⁶⁹ Transcribed in Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien - Dess Förhistoria och Historia III - Antikvitetskollegiet II*, 11-12.

³⁷⁰ See for instance: Håkan Rydving, "Samiska överhetspersoner i Sverige-Finland på 1600-talet," in *Samer som "de andra", samer om "de andra": Identitet och etnicitet i nordiska kulturmöten*, ed. Else Mundal and Håkan Rydving, Sámi dutkan - Samiska studier - Sámi Studies (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2010), 259-265; Siv Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirke i tidlig nytid," in *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: en vetenskaplig antologi*, ed. Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma, 2016), 283-314.

³⁷¹ Siv Rasmussen, "The Protracted Sámi Reformation - or the Protracted Christianizing Process," in *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway: Introductory Studies*, ed. Lars Ivar Hansen, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, and Ingebjørg Hage (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk, 2014), 165-183.

³⁷² Ojala and Nordin, "Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge," 98-133, at: 116.

³⁷³ Nordin, "Samer i imperiets mitt: Samiskt liv i det tidigmoderna Stockholm – en glömd historia," 45-71.

people in Sweden is not an observation of the de facto population of the Kingdom at large, but rather a rhetorical figure of speech, polemically underlining a great curiosity and the necessity to gather more knowledge about them.

One of the groundbreaking novelties of the Lapponia project was the direct and indirect involvement of local experts. They enabled the author to write about an area he had never seen for himself. In an analogy to current collaborative research, one could term the contributors to the Lapponia project members of a research group or cluster. Modern project management often splits larger research endeavours into several work packages, each of which becomes the responsibility of an individual or a small group. Arguably, the Lapponia project followed a similar approach. Among the contributors were a few Sámi men, two of them specifically marked as “Lappo” in the list of authorities: Olaus Matthiæ Sirma (his North Sámi name might have been Čearbmá-Ovllá³⁷⁴) and Spirri Nils. Of special significance to Schefferus’ annotations to his private copy, and to the “Additions” to the French *Histoire de la Laponie*, is Nicolaus Lundius, likewise identified as “Lappo”. A further Sámi subsequently added by Schefferus to the list was Olaus Graan.³⁷⁵

While the sources mention those four to be of Sámi birth, there were also many non-Sámi contributors with first-hand knowledge of the local conditions. In a letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, dated 2 March 1672, the governor of Väster- and Österbotten Johan Graan (1610/11-1679), himself born to a Sámi father, mentioned that the lappmark clergy in Västerbotten promised to send reports to the College of Antiquities.³⁷⁶ Some of these had already reached Schefferus, while others were still in preparation. These handwritten accounts sent to De la Gardie and Schefferus were later termed *prästrelationer* (accounts of clergymen). They were the most up-to-date written sources Schefferus had at his disposal. Starting in 1897, Wiklund began to publish annotated editions of them.³⁷⁷ Their authors were clergymen serving in the lappmarks, who gained local knowledge through their service or who had been born and raised in the Northern tracts of the Realm.

Given the significance of their accounts for *Lapponia*, the authors require further introduction. The aim of this chapter is a prosopography of the local experts who contributed

³⁷⁴ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 301.

³⁷⁵ See Subsection 1.2.5 and Section 3.4.

³⁷⁶ See Gustaf Göthe, *Om Umeå Lappmarks Svenska Kolonisation. Från mitten av 1500-talet till omkr. 1750* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1929), Dissertation, 190.

³⁷⁷ K. B. Wiklund, *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, vol. 27, Kungl. Skytteanska samfundets handlingar, (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [1897-1909] 1983).

to the endeavour. To show how they contributed, the following biographies also take into account the manuscript material sent to Schefferus. With regard to genre terminology, the writings were just as much letters as they were structured historical accounts. Therefore, I add tabulations of their chapter structures (in cases where the text is structured in that way), providing information on the different fields of expertise of each of the contributors, while the actual references to the texts made by Schefferus show his perception of their expertise. In effect, this hints at the authoritative role Schefferus had within the overall project. Some texts he specifically appraised, while others he did not use during his work on *Lapponia*, or during later preparations for the revised second edition that eventually appeared in French only.

Instead of starting out as a specialist on the topic he wrote about, Schefferus can be regarded an expert of evaluating specialist knowledge and its relevance. He acted as the authority, earning the lasting reputation of a go-to source for anything related to the Sámi people. The accounts came from different parts of Sápmi and presented the inhabitants as heterogenous groups such as Lule Sámi, Ume Sámi, or Pite Sámi. Schefferus treats their distinctiveness by referring to the various accounts of the clergy. However, this was not reflected in the structure of *Lapponia* and its adaptations. The title, chapter structure, and illustrations suggest that the Sámi were one heterogeneous group. To some degree, this corresponds to today's understanding of one people with distinct languages and traditions, but a common identity. A provocative, but meaningful question in this connection is whether today's self-conception of the Sámi is an autostereotype based on heterostereotypical depictions of them as one people.³⁷⁸

The extensive and differing information reaching Schefferus presented a significant challenge to him. Given the vast (and changing) extent of Sápmi, the traditional settlement area of the Sámi, and the different livelihoods, cultural traits, and languages of its inhabitants, the very idea of a monograph covering the land and the people in their entirety seems bound to lead to simplifications and misrepresentations. Schefferus' principal method of tackling this challenge was a systematic approach in three steps. First, he selected prime pieces of information from the available sources. Second, he compressed them to a coherent string of information. Finally, he compiled them into a running text presenting knowledge. This triad of selecting, compressing, and compiling defines his function in the project more precisely than the often employed notions of authorship. In essence, this means that he reduced information that appeared too complex into manageable knowledge. Thus, Schefferus functioned as the

³⁷⁸ Heterostereotypes are stereotypical ideas about others. Autostereotypes are self-ascribed stereotypes.

selector, compressor, and compiler of accounts and objects into an authoritative work that conformed to the standards and the language of the common European framework of the learned. Thereby, Schefferus affirmed the idea of the Sámi as one people, but broadened it to one people with regional differences, for a wider European audience. In doing so, he became the foothold of the multi-ethnic Northern Swedish learned elite in the Republic of Letters.

In this chapter, I present reconstructions of a number of biographies of local experts who contributed to *Lapponia*, including the four above-mentioned Sámi, but also the lappmark clergy whose position towards or within a postulated “Sáminess” was ambivalent, to say the least. The resulting prosopography in Section 3.6 demonstrates the interconnectedness of local experts in the vast stretches of the lappmarks. It also shows that the elite with its different origins influenced the description of their homeland significantly. The following pages present the Sámi contributors to the Lapponia project.

3.1 OLAUS MATTHIÆ SIRMA (ČEARBMÁ-OVLLÁ)

Olaus Matthiæ Sirma (c.1650-1719) was the Sámi student who provided Schefferus with valuable details about customs, beliefs, and most importantly with two joiks, the winter and the summer song. Sirma wrote down the original and a Swedish translation of the joiks. Published in print in *Lapponia*, both in Sámi and Latin, they sparked a rich and enduring reception adequately analysed by Nellejet Zorgdrager.³⁷⁹ Sirma belongs to the exclusive group of Sámi people in the 17th and early 18th century whose lives left larger written traces than the parish registers. According to Isak Grape, the biographer of the clergy of the diocese of Härnösand, Sirma was born to “Lappska föräldrar i Torne Lappmark” (Lappish parents in Torne lappmark).³⁸⁰ This is in line with Schefferus’ information denoting Sirma as “in Lapponia Tornensi nato” (born in Torne lappmark), while Leonard Bygdén determines Sirma’s place of birth to be somewhere in Kemi lappmark.³⁸¹ Neither Grape nor Bygdén state Sirma’s year of birth. Following Erkki Itkonen’s linguistic analysis of the two joiks, Harald Gaski names the area of Sodankylä as Sirma’s birthplace and narrows down the year of birth to “sometime after 1650”.³⁸² In the accompanying text to a Norwegian adaptation of the joiks, Gaski gives it as

³⁷⁹ Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*.

³⁸⁰ Isak Grape, *Lappmarkens Herdaminne: Minne af Presterskapet i Lappmarksförsamlingarne inom Hernösands Stift*, Suecica Rediviva, (Stockholm: Rediviva, [1853] 1982), 84.

³⁸¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 96. Bygdén II:52.

³⁸² Harald Gaski, *Med ord skal tyvene fordrives: om samenes episk poetiske diktning* (Karasjok: Davvi media, 1987), 19. "Det er usikkert når Sirma ble født, men en regner med at det var noe etter 1650."

circa 1650.³⁸³ Siv Rasmussen discusses his name in detail, explaining the origins of the North Sámi variant Čearbmá-Ovllá sometimes used today. The meaning of his last name Sirma, which Rasmussen finds “somewhat unclear”, stands out as clear when reading the Tatar-Sámi word list featured in *Lapponia*.³⁸⁴ This list builds upon a *Glossarium Suetico Tartaricum* (Swedish-Tatar glossary) found in one of the aforementioned manuscript volumes.³⁸⁵ Someone with reasonable knowledge of Swedish and Sámi provided translations into Sámi of the terms. In Schefferus’ citation of the list, one line gives “Lupus illis *Sirma*, his *Kurt*.” (A wolf is to the former [i.e., the Tatars] a *Sirma*, to the latter [the Sámi] a *Kurt*). Schefferus accidentally inverted the order, which shows that his knowledge of the Tatar or the Sámi language was not profound enough for him to rectify this obvious mistake. Neither Schefferus nor the translators of the monograph were knowledgeable enough in Sámi or Tatar to spot it, and thereby, all following versions that include the word list repeat the mistake.³⁸⁶

Sirma matriculated at Uppsala University on 1 February 1672, and soon met Schefferus, as stated by Michael Schmidt, who also designated Sirma as “one of the first Sámi academics ever”.³⁸⁷ At the time, being of Sámi birth and entering academic studies generally led to a career in the Swedish Lutheran church, as Rasmussen has shown.³⁸⁸ This was in line with Sweden’s educational strategy, as discussed in Section 2.4. Olaus Sirma, who was ordained in 1675 and became *kaplan* (chaplain) in Enontekis and Rounala in 1676 also followed this path.³⁸⁹ Tore Wretö has analysed the numerous legal processes involving Sirma. There were many accusations against him, including libel, assault, and defamation of a Sámi woman as a witch.³⁹⁰ The latter was not an isolated incident in what Per-Anders Östling has termed “the Great Northern Swedish Witch Craze” of the late 1660s and 1670s.³⁹¹ Sirma’s general reputation

³⁸³ Harald Gaski, ed., *Våja Våja Nana Nana: Samiske tekster ved Harald Gaski* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1991), 28.

³⁸⁴ Rasmussen, “Samiske prester i den svenske kirke i tidlig nytid,” 283-314, at: 301-302. “Betydelsen av etternavnet Sirma er noe uklart, men det blir antatt å ha sammenheng med det skoltlesamiske ordet *čõrmm*, som betyr ‘ulv’.”

³⁸⁵ UUB S 164: fol. 89r.

³⁸⁶ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 181-182; Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, 75; Schefferus, *Lapland*, 203-204; Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 155-156; Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, II: 30; Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, 190-191; the following two adaptations do not include the wordlist: Schefferus and Blefkenius, *Historie van Lapland 1716*; Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*; in the Swedish edition, this mistake was tacitly corrected: Schefferus, *Lapland [swe]*, 212-213.

³⁸⁷ Michael Schmidt, “Sirma oder Ein roter Faden der Empfindsamkeit: Kulturtransfer zwischen Marginalisierung und Hybridität,” in *Gellert und die empfindsame Aufklärung: Vermittlungs-, Austausch- und Rezeptionsprozesse in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Kultur*, ed. Sibylle Schönborn, *Philologische Studien und Quellen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2009), 257-271, at: 265-266. “In Uppsala muss Sirma, einer der ersten samischen Akademiker überhaupt, sehr bald dem Professor Scheffer begegnet sein, der eben an seiner Lapponia arbeitete.”

³⁸⁸ Rasmussen, “Samiske prester i den svenske kirke i tidlig nytid,” 287-290.

³⁸⁹ *Bygdén* II:52.

³⁹⁰ Tore Wretö, “Olof Sirma: Lappmarkspräst och Samelyriker,” *Tre kulturer: Medlemsbok för Johan Nordlander-sällskapet 1* (1983): 49-74, at: 49-52.

³⁹¹ Per-Anders Östling, “Witchcraft Trials in 17th-century Sweden and the Great Northern Swedish Witch Craze of 1668–1678,” *Studia Neophilologica* 84 (2012): 97-105.

seems to have been that of a quarrelsome drunkard. Yet he was also concerned with the advancement of the Protestant faith in Torne lappmark, demanding a school for the Sámi there. In 1688 and 1716, he tried to get funding for the printing of his translation of Johannes Gezelius the elder's (1615-1690) catechism *Yxi paras lasten tawara* (A children's treasure store) from 1666 from Finnish into Sámi, but this did not take place in his lifetime. Sirma died in 1719, having served the church for more than forty years.³⁹²

Sirma's life before coming to Uppsala mostly remains obscure. The protocols of the academic consistory (*Akademiska konsistoriet*), the University's central organ of self-administration, of which Schefferus was also a member, mention Sirma for the first time on 26 October 1671, in reference to the earliest mention of him found so far in the archives, De la Gardie's letter of 5 October of the same year:³⁹³

It is read aloud His Highborn Excellency the Chancellor of the Realm's letter from Stockholm dated 5th of this month for a Lapp boy named Olaus Matthias, that the professors should see to how he can stay here and be held in the schola in order to be educated, after he is noticed in school to have the capability to study, and could, in time, become suitable for ministry at home in the countryside in his mother tongue.

Regarding this, it is deliberated, how one would best proceed with him, if one could get a good student to educate him. To the Communitet [a facility offering cheap or free board and lodging to students] he could surely not yet go before he first gets clothes and becomes somewhat more noticeable. It is furthermore opined that the faculty of Theology could take care of his education and such, since he and his Most Reverend Archbishop were recommended.

³⁹² *Bygdén* II:52. Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 289; Tuuli Forsgren, "...först att inhämta språket, och sedan deruppå lära sin Christendom...": *Om finska böcker och sameundervisning i Torne och Kemi lappmarker före 1850*, ed. Egil Johansson, vol. 26, *Scriptum*, (Umeå: Forskningsarkivet ved Umeå Universitet, 1990), 12.

³⁹³ See Erik Nordberg's transcription of De la Gardie's letter. ENA 25:2:k. Kapellänen Olof Sirma i Enontekis, 956: "Ehrewyrdige och Höglärdhe godhe herrar Magnifice Rector och samptlige Professores. Migh hafwer i dessa dagar en fattig lappgässe Olaus Mathiae benembd upwijst paedagogi i Torneå testimonium om sin huug och flijjt till Studier, Supplicerandes om hielp och underhåld där till; effter han förhåppas medh tijdhen kunna blifwa tienlig till PredikoEmbetet och Gudztienstens förrättande hemma i landet på sitt Modersmåhl. Och emedan denne hans åstundan mig inthet mishagar, man och billigt måste draga försorg huru Gudz ordh mehr och mehr hoos det enfaldiga folcket må utspridas och lähras; ty recommenderas Edher dheth J wille hielpa honom till hans åstundan, tillseendes på hwadh sätt han må kunna fåå sitt uppehälle, blifwa hållen i Scholan och informeras. Jagh befaller Eder här medh under Gudz beskydd. Edher Godhe Herrars Af Stochholm d. 5 Octob. 1671 Beredwillge Mz Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie." (Venerable and erudite good Sirs, Magnificent Rector and all Professors. These days, a poor Lapp boy called Olaus Mathiæ has presented to me a testimony of the governor in Torneå about his inclination and diligence for studies, begging for help and a stipend for that, as to with time he can hopefully become fit for a preacher's office and to minister at home in the countryside in his mother tongue. And while this desire of his does not displease me, one also has to take reasonable care how the word of God may be spread and taught among the simple people; therefore, it is recommended to you that you may help him with his desire, caring for in which way he may get his subsistence, remain in the school and be taught. I entrust you hereby under God's protection. Your good Sirs from Stockholm, 5 October 1671, the willing [Mz] Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie.).

Decision. It is permitted ten dalers silvermynt to him for now from the student bursary for board and lodging, which the one shall be in charge of, who has inspection over him.³⁹⁴

De la Gardie personally ordered the consistory to facilitate Sirma's stay and studies in Uppsala. This shows that both the interest in the Northern parts of the Realm and the advancement of the mission to the Sámi had become a central political agenda in the Kingdom. Planning Sirma's career early on, De la Gardie seems to have viewed him an appropriate candidate for the furthering of Christianity in the lappmarks. The fact that the highest ranks of Sweden's power circles were involved with Sirma's career clearly shows the importance given to the missions in the North. Accordingly, Sirma received a stipend. The protocols mention him again on 12 June 1672:

It is referred to the studying Lapp, that he now in summer has no board and lodging, after the Communitet is suspended. Prof. Benzelius said that he complains loudly as he has no money to buy books.³⁹⁵

The decision of the consistory in this case demonstrates that the leadership at the university enforced royal policy and considered Sirma's presence and studies in Uppsala useful and worthy of support:

He is accommodated at the Communitet in the meantime, and money from the student treasury is given to him to purchase a Swedish Bible if, after previous request, he can get one at a cheap price.³⁹⁶

The following proceedings that involved Sirma demonstrate that he as a student approached the university authorities on several occasions to get financial support. On 4 July 1672, he requested forty dalers to purchase new and comfortable clothes. The consistory considered this too

³⁹⁴ *UUAKP* 9, 169. "Uplästes hans HögGrefl. Excell. Rijkz Cantzlerens bref de dato Stockholm den 5 hujus för en lappgosse Olaus Matthias benämd, att Professores wille draga försorg, huru han kan få sitt uppehälle här, och blifwa hållen i scholan att informeras, effter han förnimmes skola hafwa hugh till studier, och kunde med tiden blifwa tienlig till predikoembetet hemma i landet på sitt modasmål.

Här om delibererades, huru man bäst skulle bära sig åth med honom, om man kunde få en god student som honom informerade. På Communitetet kunde han fuller icke än gå förän han först finge kläder på sig, och blefwe något synligare. Förmehtes eljest att fac. theolog. kunde draga bekymber om hans information, och sådant, effter han och hans Högw:tt Erkebiskopen wore recommenderat.

Resolutio. Bewiljades honom 10 dr smt. så länge af cassa studiosorum till uppehälle, hwilke den skal ha omhänder, som har inspection öf:r honom."

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 287. "Taltes om den studerande lappen, att han nu öf:r sommaren intet hafwer till uppehålla sig med, effter Communitetet är upphäfwet.

Prof. Benzelius sade, att han klagar högt, der han har intet till bokköp."

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.* "Han accommoderas på Communitetet ibland, och gifwes honom peningar af fisco studd. till att köpa en swensk bibel när han kan effter föregången ansökning få någon för billigt prajs."

expensive and supplied him with cheaper clothes instead.³⁹⁷ In September the same year, he received thirty dalers to purchase books.³⁹⁸ In January 1673, another instance of Sirma's discontent reached the consistory:

The rector set forth, that the Lapp complains a lot about having no money to buy firewood or other necessities.

It was reported that it goes very badly with his education, money is given time and time again, but it is of no use, as long as he does not receive the necessary teaching. It was therefore considered necessary to find him a good tutor for a reasonable payment.

Decision. Magister Johan Örn is offered ten dalers silvermynt, if he wants to take the difficulties upon himself, and teach him in the articles of the faith, and in that which is necessary, in particular from Hunnius' *Epitome credendorum* and Laurelius' *Synopsis*, so that he can pass an exam therefrom. It is also granted three dalers silvermynt to him for firewood. The inspectors of the nations and stipendiaries have inspection over what is to be done.³⁹⁹

In spite of his talent and due to a lack of previous education, Sirma seems to have fallen short of the academic requirements necessary to study at Uppsala University. The solution was private tuition, for which the university itself paid. The consistory specifically mentions Nicolaus Hunnius' (1585-1643) *Epitome credendorum* (Epitome of the faith), translated into Swedish by Ericus Benedicti Schroderus (c.1575-1647), and Olaus Laurentii Laurelius' (1585-1670) *Articulorum fidei synopsis* (Synopsis of the articles of faith).⁴⁰⁰

As in later life, during his time in Uppsala Sirma was often in trouble. In one instance, the drunken journeyman bricklayer Bengt Erson insulted and beat him up severely at Sirma's accommodation. Found guilty on 8 February, Erson and the consequences of his punishment and inability to pay his fine were recurring topics in the consistory for more than two years.⁴⁰¹

Sirma's first semester with his tutor Johan Örn, possibly the *vice pastor* (substitute pastor) in Uppsala Johan Samuelis Örn (1644-1687), went according to plan, and on 11 June, Örn

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 295.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 314.

³⁹⁹ *UUA KP 10*, 21. "Proponerade Rector, att lappen klagar mycket sig intet hafwa till wedköp, eller annor nödtorfft. Taltes om att med hans information går mycket illa, penningar gifwes uth den ena gången effter den andra, men nytta der af är ingen till wänta, så länge han går uthan nödtorfftig underwijsning. Syntes derföre nödigt, att sökia honom en god informatorem för skälig betalning.

Resolutio. Tillbiudes M:r Johan Örn 10 dr smt., om han will taga den mödan på sig, och informera honom in articulis fidei, och i det som nödigt är, i synnerheet uthi *Epitome credendorum* Hunnii och Laurelii *Synopsi*, så att han der uthi kan stå examen. Bewiljades honom och till wedh 3 dr smt. Inssp. nationis och stipendiariorum hafwa här öfwer inspection, hwad som uthrättes."

⁴⁰⁰ The first editions of those two are: Nicolaus Hunnius, *Epitome credendorum, eller Then christlige lärones korta extract*, trans. Ericus Benedicti Schroderus (Nyköping: Amnund N. Grefwe, 1647); Olaus Laurelius, *Articulorum fidei synopsis biblica. Troones artiklar kortelighen utaff then helgha bibel författade* (Wästeråås: N.N., 1649).

⁴⁰¹ *UUA KP 10*, 37-38; *UUA KP 11*, 244.

requested to continue tutoring through the autumn term.⁴⁰² On 27 August, the consistory discussed a conflict between the two. Sirma complained about having no teacher, as Örn would not take the time to teach him, while Örn complained about Sirma's sloppiness, not having seen him for two weeks. To resolve the conflict, Sirma was to appear before Örn on time from that point onwards.⁴⁰³

Sirma's time in Uppsala ended on 1 July 1674, when he requested a recommendation for De la Gardie to send him into church service in "Lappmarken". The decision on this request indicates how Sirma's favour with the consistory had suffered:

A testimony of vita and studies as he has meritted can be given to him. Furthermore, he is promised eight dalers silvermynt in Karoliner for travel expenses, but on condition that he does not enter any more liabilities with the University.⁴⁰⁴

As mentioned above, Sirma did enter church service in the North of the Realm, where he eventually died in 1719. He was married to Catharina Ersdotter (d.1730) from Uleåborg (Oulu). Their daughter, Brita Sirma, married the *komminister* (assistant vicar) of Nedertorneå Henrik Tornberg (1680-1743) from Kautokeino.

The next item on the consistory's agenda hints at the curiosity a Sámi student apparently still evoked at the time. Just after the decision to send Sirma to the North, another Sámi, Nicolaus Lundius, came to take his place.⁴⁰⁵ This also indicates that the strategy to prepare and educate young Sámi men for service in the church had become somewhat institutionalized, with specific scholarships directed at them.

The archival sources clearly depict Olaus Matthiæ Sirma as a colourful character. Others have already characterized him adequately.⁴⁰⁶ Arvi Heikki Järventaus, a Finnish clergyman and writer, even dedicated a historical novel to Sirma's life story. Published in 1916 and translated into Swedish in 1980, its title *Risti ja noitarumpu*, in Swedish *Korset och trolltrumman* (The cross and the sorcerer-drum), can be read as a comment on the cultural hybridity that Sirma and

⁴⁰² *UUAKP 10*, 119; on Johan Samuelis Örn, see Joh. Er. Fant and Aug. Th. Låstbom, *Upsala Ärkestifts Herdaminne. Tredje Häftet* (Upsala: Wahlström & Låstbom, 1843), 370.

⁴⁰³ *UUAKP 10*, 158.

⁴⁰⁴ *UUAKP 11*, 74. "Kan gifwas honom testimonium vitæ et studiorum som han det meriterar haf:r. Item lofwades honom 8 dr smt. i caroliner till resepenningar, doch med betingande, att han sig intet wijdare här inställer Acad:n till gravation."

⁴⁰⁵ See Section 3.3.

⁴⁰⁶ Further archival material has been collected and transcribed in: Erik Nordberg, Kapellänen Olof Sirma i Enontekis., [1973] 2011, Handskrift 25, Kyrkoherde Erik Nordbergs arkiv, Volym 25:2:k, Umeå UB, 955-991, Forskningsarkivet, Umeå UB, Umeå, <https://www.foark.umu.se/sites/default/files/arkiv/25/sefoark2502k.pdf>; see also: Schmidt, "Sirma oder Ein roter Faden der Empfindsamkeit," 268-270; Zörgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*, 32-33; Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 300-305.

many of his Sámi contemporaries exemplified as much as the other inhabitants of the Northern tracts of the Realm.⁴⁰⁷

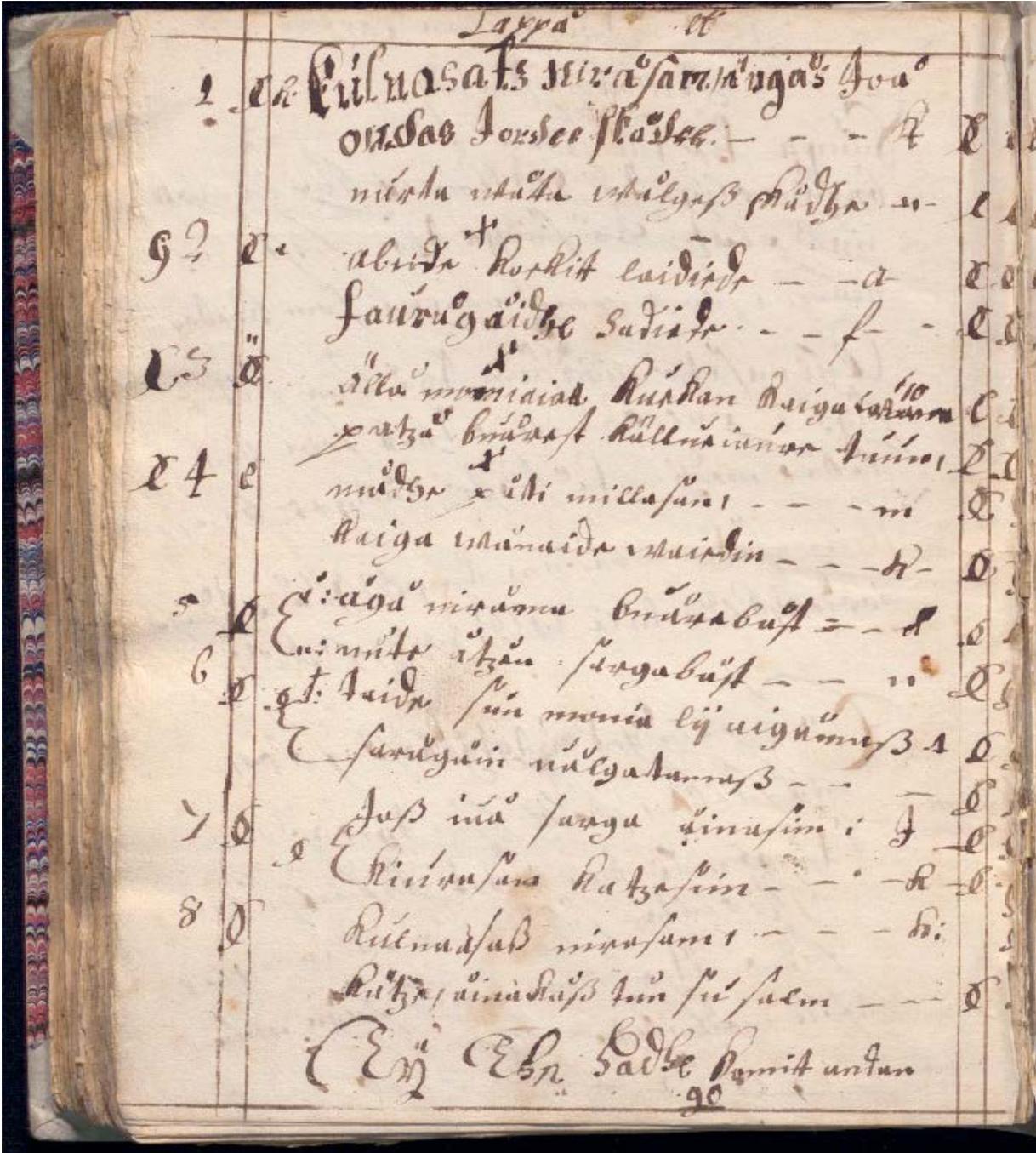


Figure 16: First page of Sirma’s manuscript of the winter joik *Kulnasatz nirásam aengås*, UUB S 163, fol. 163v. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

⁴⁰⁷ Arvi Järventaus, *Risti ja Noitarumpu* (Helsinki: Kirja, 1916); Arvi Järventaus, *Korset och trolltrumman*, trans. Georg Gripenstad (Luleå: Tornedalica, 1980).

The archival entries allude to the significance Sirma had and has for the history of Sámi literature. His two joiks are the first Sámi poems ever printed and translated. Sirma included translations into Swedish, which Schefferus translated further into Latin. Uppsala University Library today holds Sirma's handwritten originals.⁴⁰⁸ Translations into English, German, French, Dutch, and from the early 19th century onwards into Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Finnish, and even back (as translations of translations) into modern standardized Sámi orthography followed, as traced by Zorgdrager.⁴⁰⁹

To date, Sirma's other contributions to *Lapponia* have often only been mentioned briefly, if at all.⁴¹⁰ They took the form of learned conversations and proto-ethnographic interviews Schefferus conducted with him. Unfortunately, no sources other than the relevant sections of *Lapponia* have surfaced until now. In the main text, Schefferus mentions Sirma for the first time in CH. X "De Diis Lapponum paganis, eorumque cultu hodierno" (On the pagan gods of the Lapps and on their idolatry today) as the informant about some additional details regarding the nature of one of the Sámi gods:

Furthermore, they imagine that he has a hammer that they call Aijeke vvetschera, which he keeps in order to slam the necks of demons and break their heads to pieces, as Olaus Matthiæ, a native of Torne Lappmark has explained to me.⁴¹¹

Cremer's English translation gives the same information, but omits Sirma as the source of this explanation: "[A]lso they give him a mallet, which they call Aijeke Wetschera, to dash out the brains of the said evil spirits".⁴¹²

The German translation once again follows the Latin original closely, but "Olaio Matthiæ in Lapponia Tornensi nato" becomes here, without any reference to Torne lappmark, "Olaio Mathiæ, so ein Lappe von Geburt".⁴¹³ This foreshadows already the coming processes of oversimplification of Sámi identity by outsiders. The French and Dutch translations follow the practice of the English one in this respect, not giving credit to Sirma:

Ils se sont imaginez que ce Dieu avoit aussi un marteau, qu'ils nomment Aijekevetschera, dont il frape sur le cou des Demons, & leur en écrase la tête.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁸ UUB S 163: fol. 159r-v, 160v, 161v, 163r-164v.

⁴⁰⁹ Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*.

⁴¹⁰ See for instance Schmidt, "Sirma oder Ein roter Faden der Empfindsamkeit," 266-268.

⁴¹¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 96. "Quin imo & malleum habere fingunt, quem appellant Aijeke vvetschera, ut eo colla feriat dæmoniorum capitaque comminuat, quod ab Olaus Matthiæ in Lapponia Tornensi nato mihi indicatum est."

⁴¹² Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, 37.

⁴¹³ Schefferus, *Lapland*, 107.

⁴¹⁴ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 68.

Ook beeldense sig in dat dese God een Hamer heeft, diese Aijekewetschera hieten, met welke hy aan den hals der Duivels of Geesten slaat, en die den kop vermorseld.⁴¹⁵

The second English adaptation, *The History of Lapland* from 1704, explicitly credits Sirma as the source of this information, also highlighting where he came from. It even elaborates the way in which Schefferus came across it, namely through a personal conversation with a native of Torne Lapmark by the name of “Olaus Matthew”:

Wherefore they also give him a Mallet, which they call Aijeke Wetschera, to dash out the Brains of those Demons; this I speak upon the Credit of Olaus Matthew, a Native of the Lapmark of Torna, who told me this with his own Mouth.⁴¹⁶

In *Historie van Lapland* 1716, a section with this exact information is not included, while *The History of Lapland* 1751 hints at the practice without referring to Sirma: “[...] for which end they give him [...] a Mallet to dash out their Brains [...]”⁴¹⁷

Sirma is also mentioned as the oral source of information on the hunting practices of the Sámi. In CH. XIX “De Lapponum Venationibus” (On the hunting of the Lapps), Schefferus explicitly names him again as his informant regarding the consequences of the conviction of Sámi men that women would evoke bad luck during the hunt:

Tertium, ne exeant ea janua tentoria, qua exire vulgo solent, aut intrare; sed adversa, quam appellant *Posse*. Propter fœminas opinor, quaru[m] occursum creditur venantibus infaustus. Estq[ue] hæc inter alias caussa, ob quam fœminis ad tergum tugurii, ubi ea est janua, interdictum venire, ut me docuit Ol. Matthiæ. Gentis Lapponicæ apud nos, dum ista scribo, Studiosus.⁴¹⁸

All of the first generation versions include this reference to Sirma, although evaluating his expertise differently. *The History of Lapland* emphasizes that he “was very well acquainted with this Country”, and does not mention his affiliation with Uppsala University. *Lapland, Histoire de la Laponie*, and *Historie van Lapland* treat this more accurately, referring to him as a student of Sámi birth:

The third observation is that they will not go out at the usual door, but at one in the backside of the house called *Posse*, I suppose it is to avoid women, the meeting of whom is an ill omen to huntsmen, and therefore they are forbidden

⁴¹⁵ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, I: 54.

⁴¹⁶ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, 94.

⁴¹⁷ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*, 22.

⁴¹⁸ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 227.

to come on that side of the house where this door is, as Ol. Matthias assured me while I was writing this, who was very well acquainted with this Country.⁴¹⁹

Drittens, daß sie nicht auß der Thür herauß treten, da sie sonst gewöhnlich durch gehen, sondern auß der Hinterthür die posse nennen. Vielleicht der Weiber halben, welche denen so auff die Jagt ziehen wollen, ihrer Meynung nach, kein Glück bringen. Und dieses ist unter andern eine Ursache, warum den Weibern zu der Hinterthür zu treten, verboten, wie ich von Olao Matthiæ einen gebohrnen Lappen, so anitzo bey uns studiret, berichtet worden.⁴²⁰

La troisième chose, c'est de ne pas sortir allant à la chasse, par la porte ordinaire, par laquelle ils entrent & sortent pour les autres affaires, mais par la porte qui lui est opposée, & qu'ils appellent Posse. Je crois que les femmes en sont la cause: car ils croient que la rencontre d'une femme est de tres-mauvaise augure pour celui qui va à la chasse, & qu'il lui sera impossible d'arrêter aucune bête, si sortant par derriere la cabane à ce dessein, il rencontre une femme en ce lieu-là. Et c'est-là une des principales raisons pour lesquelles il est deffendu aux femmes d'aller derriere la cabane comme je l'ai appris d'Olaus Matthiæ Lapon de naissance, qui étudie parmi nous en même tems que j'écris ces choses.⁴²¹

De derde zaak diese waarnemen, is, datse noit door de gemeene poort gaan, wanneerse op de jagt trekken, door welke men gemeenlijk uit en in gaat, om alle andere zaaken te verrigten; maar zy gaan altijd door het kleine poortjen dat daar tegen over is, van haar Posse genoemt. Ik mein dat de Vrouwen daar d'oorzaak af sijn: want zy sijn van gevoelen dat het een quaad teiken is, wanneer haar een Vrouw tegen komt, als zy op de jagt zullen gaan, en het haar onmogelijk is eenig beest te vangen. Dit is een van de voornaamste redenen, waarom de Vrouwen verboden werd agter de tente te gaan, gelijk ik van zekeren Olaus Matthyssen geboren Laplander verstaan heb, welke onder ons studeerde, op de zelfde tijd, als ik dese dingen schreef.⁴²²

While *The History of Lapland 1751* does not include this section, both *The History of Lapland 1704*⁴²³ and *Historie van Lapland 1716*⁴²⁴ refer to Sirma.

⁴¹⁹ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, 94.

⁴²⁰ Schefferus, *Lapland*, 258.

⁴²¹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 204-205.

⁴²² Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*, II:71.

⁴²³ See Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, 233-234. "A Third Superstition is, That they don't go abroad a Hunting, nor return thro' the same Door, which is commonly used, but thro' the Door on the back-side of the Tent or Hut, called Posse. This, I suppose, is done for fear of meeting with any Women, the Sight of whom is look'd upon as Unprosperous, by those who are going a Hunting. Which is the true Reason that the Women are not allowed to appear on the back-side of the Hut, where this Door is, as I have been credibly informed by Olaus Matthew, a Laplander, and young student living now among us; for they promise themselves nothing but ill Success in Hunting, if they happen to meet with a Woman."

⁴²⁴ Schefferus and Blefkenius, *Historie van Lapland 1716*, 94-95. This version deviates only orthographically from that of 1682.

Another example of Sirma's involvement is his extensive oral accounts of games. While all versions include variations of this topic, only three of them refer to Sirma's crucial contribution as an informant, the Latin original, the German version and the second English one:

Hi sunt modi receptissimi apud Lappones, quibus fallunt tempus, otiumque suum oblectant, sicut ex relatione Olai Matthiæ Lapponis Tornensis accepi.⁴²⁵

Dieses sind die gewöhnlichsten Arten bey den Lappen, womit sie die Zeit vertreiben, und in ihrer Müsse sich belustigen, wie mir solches Olaus Matthiæ ein Tornischer Lappe erzählet.⁴²⁶

These are the usual Diversions whereby the Laplanders spend their leisure time, as the same has been related to me by Olaus Matthias, a Native of the Lapmark of Torna.⁴²⁷

Apart from those oral accounts of which material records are unknown, Sirma contributed the above-mentioned joiks. Considered inscriptions of cultural curiosities, it is understandable that all versions except *The History of Lapland 1751* - which refers to Ambrose Philips' (1674-1749) and Richard Steele's (1672-1729) translations in "the Spectator, No. 366 and 406", where they had been printed in 1712 - include the songs at least in translation.⁴²⁸ All versions except for *The History of Lapland 1751* credit Olaus Sirma as the source, making him a familiar name in some scholarly circles, thereby paving the way for and contributing to the rich reception Zorgdrager described.⁴²⁹

3.2 SPIRRI NILS

For lack of source material, the life of Spirri Nils remains almost entirely obscure. There is no record of when and where he lived, his occupation and his relationship to the church as an institution, to the university or to Schefferus and De la Gardie. There is no evidence that he was a student, making it unlikely that he had completed any academic curriculum or belonged to the lappmark clergy. The manuscript collection of Uppsala University Library keeps the one written source ascribed to him, *Spirri Nills relation om ofrandhe* (Spirri Nils' account on sacrificing) bound together with other relevant material in a volume.⁴³⁰ Parts of Spirri Nils'

⁴²⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 278.

⁴²⁶ Schefferus, *Lapland*, 314.

⁴²⁷ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, 282.

⁴²⁸ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*, 73; the Spectator appeared in numerous reprints and editions throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, "N^o 366 Wednesday, April 30," *The Spectator*, no. 366 (1712); Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, "N^o 406 Monday, June 16," *The Spectator*, no. 406 (1712).

⁴²⁹ Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*.

⁴³⁰ UUB S 164.

account are found in *Lapponia*.⁴³¹ The text deals with practices in connection with bear sacrifices and courting customs in Lule lappmark, rendering it likely that Spirri Nils came from that part of Sápmi. The short account consists of four paragraphs, each addressing one specific question. Rydving points out the second paragraph “~~Om Stoor Junkare weet han intet.~~” (About Stoor Junkare he knows nothing), concluding “it is certified by the Lule Saami Spirri Nils’ original (but later crossed out) answer that he knew nothing about Stoor Junkaren”.⁴³² This explanation presupposes that the person who wrote the list could not have been Spirri Nils, and that the writer manipulated the answers. The crossed out sentence denying any knowledge about “Stoor Junkaren” could also stem from a misunderstanding the questioner later rectified. The different hand of the fourth paragraph, and the adjusted numbering (2 is crossed out, 3 becomes 2, 4 becomes 3, and a new 4 is introduced) indicate later work on the manuscript. This and the different hands that wrote the manuscript pose questions about the authorship of the short account. The fourth paragraph indicates, unlike the crossed out sentence, that Spirri Nils had knowledge of the matter, thus making the background to this manuscript a riddle impossible to solve without the help of further source material.

Schefferus cites the subsequently interpolated fourth paragraph in CH. X “De Diis Lapponum paganis”. Spirri Nils is included on the lists of authorities as “Spirzi Nils Lappo” in Latin and “Spirzi Nils ein Lappe” in German.⁴³³ In the running text, the misprints of the name do not occur again.

Solent nils sacrificia offerre vulgo ex rangiferis, interdum tamen & ex aliis animalibus, testaturque Spirri Nils, qui & ipse gentis est Lapponicæ, adhiberi aliquando feles etiam, & canes, & agnos, & gallinas. I Lulæo Lappmarck, inquit, dyrkas Stoorjunkaren medh aotskylliche offerar, saosom kattor, hundar, lamb, och hoens. Hoc est: In Lappmarkia Lulensi Stoorjunkaren victimas offerunt diversas, ut feles, canes, agnos, gallinas. Neque obstat, quod ex istis animalibus pleraque in Lapponia non alantur, petunt enim ea ex Norvagia, quod prædictus Spirri Nils testator, quando post superiora de victimis illis: som the kioepa i Norrie, hoc est, quas sibi emunt in Norvagia.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 110-111.

⁴³² UUB S 164; Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*, 99, fn. 22.

⁴³³ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated; Schefferus, *Lapland*, unpaginated.

⁴³⁴ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 110; cf. Schefferus, *Lapland*, 123. “Die Opffer bestehen aber insgemein auß Reenthieren, zu Zeiten auch auß anderen, und bezeuget Spiri Nils, so ein gebohner Lappe ist, daß bißweile[n] auch Katzen, Hunde, Schaafe und Hüner gebrauchet werden. I Luleao Lappmark saget er, dyrkas Storjunkaren medh aot skylliche offerar, saosom kattor, hundar, lamb och hoens, das ist: in der Lulelappmarck bringen sie dem Storjunkare unterschiedliche Opffer, als Katzen, Hunde, Schaafe, Hüner. Diesem ist auch nicht entgegen, daß die meisten dieser Art Thiere in Lappland nicht erzogen werden, fals sie dieselbe auß Norwegen holen, so eben derselbe Spirri Nils zu verstehen giebet, wann er hinzu thut: som the kioepa i Norrie. Das ist: die sie in Norwegen einkauffen.”

The History of Lapland abstracts this section to one sentence without referring to Spirri Nils as a source: “Their usuall sacrifices are Rain-dears, tho sometimes they use other creatures, as Dogs, Cats, Lambs and Hens, which they fetch out of Norway”.⁴³⁵ *Histoire de la Laponie* also includes this section, setting “Spirri Nil. Lapon de naissance” in the marginalia next to the paragraph and omitting the quotation and its translation:

Pour ce qui regarde les Victimes de leurs sacrifices, ce sont ordinairement des Rennes, quelque-fois aussi d’autres animaux, comme des Chats, ou des Chiens, ou des Poules, ou des agneaux, & particulièrement dans la Lapmarke de Luhla. Il ne faut pas objecter qu’on ne nourrit point de ces animaux dans toute la Laponie, car ils les acheptent, & les font venir de Norvege.⁴³⁶

While the Dutch adaptations and *The History of Lapland* 1751 do not hold any reference to this section or to Spirri Nils, the second English version includes both the translated quotation and a reference to its purported author:

Their most usual Sacrifices are Raindeer, tho’ sometimes they also make use of other Creatures; Sperri Nils, a Native of Lapland, observes that they Sacrifice sometimes Cats, Dogs, Lambs and Hens. In the Lapmark of Luhlah, says he, they offer several Sorts of Sacrifices to Storjunkare, such as Cats, Dogs, Lambs and Hens. Some object that no such Beasts are found in Lapland, but Spirri Nils, speaking of these Sacrifices, says; Which they fetch out of Norway.⁴³⁷

Schefferus also quotes Spirri Nils’ first paragraph on the specific points in time for the finding and carving of a new ‘wooden god’ and the corresponding rituals surrounding the event:

Nam post ista, quæ jam memoravi, speciatim hoc observant in sacrificiis, quæ Toroni offerunt, ut quotannis primum ejus novum fabricent simulacrum, id quod fit diebus quatuordecim ante festum Michaelis. Spirri Nils: Foirton daghar foer Michaelis mæsse uthugge the sigh een ny trægudh. Hoc est: diebus quatuordecim ante festum Michaelis novum sibi sculpunt idolum ex ligno. Deinde, ut id simulacrum certo dedicent consecrentque ritu, mactata nempe victima, cujus cruore idolum, ut & adipe pingunt. Idem: Bredhe vvydh træguden slachtathe reenen, sedan thaga the alla beenen uthur Reen, och smoeria alt æfvver sin afgud, baode blood och Reenflaolt, den de sedan tillyka medh beenen i Iorden nedergrafvva. Hoc est: Prope idolum ligneum mactant rangiferum, è quo exempta omnia legunt ossa, tum sanguine adipeque: simul ejus, totum inungunt idolum. Postremo rangiferum una cum ossibus defodiunt in terra.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁵ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, 43.

⁴³⁶ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 82.

⁴³⁷ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland* 1704, 111.

⁴³⁸ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 111; cf. Schefferus, *Lapland*, 124. “Dan[n] über das, so schon erwähnt, nehmen sie absonderlich bey ihren Opffern so sie dem Thoroni bringen in acht, daß sie jährlich ihme ein neues Bild, und zwar 14. Tage für Michaelis auffrichten. Spiri Nils Foirton daghar foer Michaelis mæsse uthugge the sigh een ny trægudh. Das ist: 14. Tage für Michaelis machen sie ein neues Bild auß Holtz. Hernach, daß sie solches Bild auff gewisse Art einweihen und heilige[n], nemlich mit

Again, *Histoire de la Laponie* contains this section without any citation, but with reference to “Spirri Nils” in the marginalia:

Ils renouvellent aussi tous les ans en la même saison l’image de Toron, aux sacrifices qu’ils lui offrent, ils lui font une nouvelle Statuë, quatoize jours avant la saint Michel; Et ils égorgent auprès de cette Idole de bois un Renne; ils en separent les os, la chair, & les assemblent; ils frottent en suite l’image du Dieu avec la graisse & le sang du Renne, ce qui tient lieu de couleur; & ils enterrent au même lieu tout le Renne avec ses os.⁴³⁹

The History of Lapland 1704 follows the Latin and German versions and ascribes the quotation (translated into English) to Spirri Nils:

For after those Preparations beforementioned, one Thing they strictly observe in those Sacrifices, is, That they make every Year a new Image of Thor, which is done fourteen Days before Michaelmass. Fourteen Days before Michaelmass, says Spirri Nils, they make a new Idol of Wood. The next thing they do is, that they Consecrate the said Image with certain Ceremonies, viz. by killing a Sacrifice, with the Blood and Fat of which they anoint the Idol. Near the Idol, says the same Author, they kill a Raindeer, then taking out the Bones, they anoint the whole Ideol with the Blood and Fat. Last of all they bury the Raindeer’s Flesh and Bones under Ground.⁴⁴⁰

The remaining parts of Spirri Nils’ account, i.e. those that Schefferus did not refer to, appeared in print for the first time in 1912, when Wiklund included transcriptions of them in an article on Sámi bear rituals.⁴⁴¹ Together with an anonymous manuscript written by a Swede, Spirri Nils is the most obscure source of the Lapponia project. For lack of archival sources, he remains a mystery.

3.3 NICOLAUS LUNDIUS

Histoire de la Laponie contains, as already mentioned, an extensive addendum listing (in French translation) all handwritten annotations Schefferus had made to his own exemplar of *Lapponia*. The “Additions” adhere to the layout of the main text with its many side notes. Lundius’ name appears repeatedly in the marginalia. The addendum features one hundred and

dem geschlachteten Opffer, mit dessen Blut und Fett sie dasselbe mahlen, wie eben derselbe weiter andeutet. Bredhe vvydh træguden slachtathe reenen, sedantagha the alla beenen uthur Reen, och smœria alt oefvver sin afgud, bao de blood och Reenflaolt, den de sedan tillijka medh beenen i jorden ned ergrafvva. Das ist: Bey dem höltzernen Bilde schlachten sie ein Reenthier, dessen Gebeine sie alle zusammen lesen, mit dem Blut aber und Schmeer das Bild beschmieren. Endlich vergraben sie das Thier nebst den Gebeinen in die Erde.”

⁴³⁹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 82-83.

⁴⁴⁰ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, 111.

⁴⁴¹ K. B. Wiklund, "En nyfunnen skildring af lapparnas björnfest," *Le Monde Oriental* 4 (1912): 27-46, at: 43-44.

twenty-one marginal notes on fifty pages. Of those side notes, one hundred and six refer to “Lundius”, while another one mentions “Nic. Lundius”. Accordingly, Schefferus considered Nicolaus Lundius one of the most reliable and noteworthy informants on any topic pertaining to the Sámi and their homeland.

Nicolaus Lundius was the son of one of the first attested Sámi clergymen, Andreas Petri Lundius (d.1665). Andreas Petri was probably born in Pite lappmark, where he also went to school.⁴⁴² He started studying in Uppsala in August 1633 and received a stipend. For 1637, the protocols of the academic consistory mention an incarceration for two days for his involvement in a brawl “uthi fyllerij” (in drunkenness), incited by a certain Jacobus Jonæ, whom the consistory named an “Umensis” (from Umeå or Ume lappmark), but not a “Lappo”.⁴⁴³

After his studies, Andreas Petri Lundius first served as priest in Arvidsjaur starting in 1640. In the following year, he was suspended on charge of fornication. His removal from office in Arvidsjaur did not take place until 1649. The two following years, he served at the silver mine at Nasafjäll (Pite Sámi: Násavárre, while the Lule Sámi name, Silbbanássja [silbba = silver], hints at the existence of the mine), and thereafter, from 1652 onwards, as “Lapp preacher” in Jokkmokk, where he died in 1665.⁴⁴⁴ Jokkmokk was the place where, in 1656, Nicolaus was born to Andreas Petri Lundius and Margareta Evardsdotter, daughter of Piteå’s first mayor Evert Eriksson and granddaughter of Nicolaus Andreae Rhen, who published the first books ever printed in a Sámi language and was head of a school for Sámi boys.⁴⁴⁵

The path of Nicolaus Lundius to Uppsala bears parallels with that of Sirma. The son of a priest, he probably received home schooling at an early stage, and later “studerat i trivial scholar” (studied at trivial⁴⁴⁶ schools). As was the case with Sirma, it was De la Gardie who

⁴⁴² Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 288.

⁴⁴³ *UUAKP* 2, 16. 18 February 1637: “II. Haffuer Rector berättat, huruledes Andreas Petri Lappo och Jacobus Jonæ Umensis haffua uthi fyllerij slages och kinpustas och fult rijffuit hwar andra i ansicht, frågar så præsentet Collegas, hwadh straff dem skal här före påläggias? Respondebatur: Emädan the äre fattige och icke haffua thet the kunne böta medh efter lagh, sluto the, att Lappo skulle sättias in carcerem 2 dagar. Men Jacobus efter han begynte på slå den andra, skal sittia ther uthi 3 dygn.” For Andreas Petri Lundius’ stipend, see *ibid.*, 55. 25 June 1637: “III. Taladhe Rector om lappen Andrea hwarest han skal få något till kläder och födho? Swarades, såsom tilförende, att han bliffuer på Communitetet, och der till bekommer stipendium.”

His financial difficulties also become apparent in his next mention in the protocols. *Ibid.*, 204. 6 February 1639: “6. Berättadhe Rector Magn. att h. Jon pestilenzie presten här i stadhen haffwer sikh hoos honom beswärat, att han haffwer i händer antwardat sin wärth itt sängebolster, när han een gångh uthur stadhen reste, och honom högligen förbudit, att han sin contubernali Andreae Lapp thet intet skule leffrera, om han thet fordrar. Likwäl haffwer Andreas thet bekommit, och sådan hoos en annan borgare uthsat för 7 dlr penningar, hwilken inthet will denna panten ifrå sikh låta, för ähn han sin betalningh bekommer. Men h. Jon will genast taga sitt bolster igen, effter thet så ähr uthkommit. Ven. Consist. befand detta inthet hijt spectera, uthan rådstuffwun, effter actor moste seqvi forum rei.”

⁴⁴⁴ *Bygdén* I: 98-99; *Bygdén* II: 172, 237.

⁴⁴⁵ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 294-296.

⁴⁴⁶ Here, trivial refers to the trivium, the basis of all scholarly pursuits at that time. The trivium of grammar, logic and rhetoric, and the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy combined were the ‘septem artes liberales’, the seven liberal arts.

enabled Lundius to pursue studies at Uppsala University, as the consistory protocol from 8 April 1674 shows:

The letter of the Illustrious Chancellor for the son of a Lapp priest, Nic. Lundius, who has studied at trivial schools and wants to continue the studies at the University, [for which] he must be accommodated with a stipend, was read aloud. Decision. He is considered and remembered when there is space.⁴⁴⁷

In connection with Sirma's departure from Uppsala discussed during the meeting on 1 July, De la Gardie addressed the consistory urging them to take action in order to enable Lundius to come to Uppsala. From the way the protocols refer to Lundius and Sirma - "en annan lapp" (another Lapp), "den andra lappen" (the other/second Lapp) - it seems unlikely that from 1671 until 1676 more than one Sámi stipendiary (first Sirma, then Lundius) studied at Uppsala University at the same time. In November 1676, the consistory read De la Gardie's recommendation of the Sámi Nicolaus Spolander (1649-1703).⁴⁴⁸ One year later, Petrus Noræus Lappo (1657-1706) joined him.⁴⁴⁹

The first Sámi students mentioned by name in the protocols were the aforementioned father of Nicolaus Lundius, Andreas Petri, and the obscure Carolus Lap.⁴⁵⁰ There were at least three Sámi students as early as 1637, as the protocols indicate when speaking of "dhe lapparna här widh Universitetet studera" (the Lapps that study here at the University), and more specifically, "dhe tree lapparne skole warda räknade ibland stipendiaterne" (the three Lapps shall be counted

⁴⁴⁷ *UUA KP II*, 41. "Uplästes Ill. Cancell. bref för en lappeprästs son Nic. Lundio, som har studerat i trivial scholar och will continuera studierne wid Acad:n, att han må accommoderas med stipendio. Resol. Han ansees och hafwes i minnet när rum faller."

⁴⁴⁸ *UUA KP II*, 192. 15 November 1676: "Uplästes H:s Excell. grefwe Gustaf De la Gardies recommendation för lappen Nicolao Spolandro att få Communitetet och dess uthan någon wijdare hiälp. Decanus M:r Liung berättade sig icke funnit någon lapp wara så wijda kommen uthi studierne som denne, honom hafwa giort wackre proof uthi examine. M:r Steuchius sade Kongl:t bref för gått till superintendenten i Härnösand, att giöra den disposition att lappen blefwe underhållen att fortsätta sine studier till dess han blefwe tämlig att reesa till Acad:n, då Kongl. M:t wille låta gå bref till Ill. Cancell. att honom wijdare der accommodera. (Nu upkom M:r Grubb.)

Resol. Han får för denne gången Ajalini rum i facultate philosophica på Communitetet."

Ibid., 196. 18 November 1676: "Lappen Spolander, hwilkom i sidste Consistorio bewiljades ett rum in facult. philosop. recommenderades nu facultati theologicæ att få der det andra.

DD. Rudbeck lofwade sig willig tahla med dhe flere af faculteten, och laga att han blijr hulpen så snart skiee kan." See also *ibid.*, 222.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 365. 21 November 1677: "Sedan inskrefs Laurentius Erici Uplandus uthi Petri Höökz ställe, hwilken hade nutit missommars terminen till refusion för någon rest. Petrus Noræus Lappo uthi Staffandri ställe."

UUA KP III, 131. 9 August 1678: "VI. Doct. Brunnerus berättade sig halfannat åhr hållit lappen Petro Noræo disk, begiärandes att Proff. wille nu recommendera honom till någon pædagogic, och honom således understödia, effter han ellies intet kan subsistera. Professores allesammans lofwade willja hafwa honom i minne, när någon pædagogic blifwer ledig."

Ibid., 135. 22 August 1678: "Supplicerade lappen Petrus Noræus om någon wijdare hielp, effter han icke kan subsistera af stipendio simplici som han hafwer. H:s HögGr. Ex. skattade icke allenast billigt uthan och högnödigt att hielpa honom, på det han framdeles må kunna upbygga församlingen der på orten, willjandes att han måtte ännu få ett simplex stipendium till det förra."

⁴⁵⁰ *UUA KP II*, 23.

among the stipendiaries).⁴⁵¹ By December 1639, several Sámi clergymen had been ordained, indicating the steady presence of a few Sámi students in Uppsala.⁴⁵² In 1647, another two anonymous Sámi students were amongst the stipendiaries (“*två lappar skole här inter stipendiarios regios oppehållas*”), and for 1650, an unspecified plural of Sámi students (“*lapparna*”) was mentioned.⁴⁵³ The Sámi pupils (“*lappedieknar*”) who came to Uppsala in 1657 were sent back as they “*intett ähre bequäma att höra lectiones publicas*” (are not adapted to hear public lectures), while the stay of Nicolaus Haquini Lapponus starting in 1660 appears to have satisfied the University authorities to a much greater degree, as he was granted a stipend and stayed until 1661.⁴⁵⁴ In 1662, the protocols name the stipendiaries Henricus Lappo and Nicolaus Olai Lapp, but by autumn 1663, only one of the two lived in the *Communitet*.⁴⁵⁵ The mention of Henricus Lappo “*som hafwer belägrat Petri Salani barns amma och sedan bortrest*” (who has slept with the wet nurse of Petrus Salanus’ child and then left) in 1664 suggests that he had stayed on for some time. In consequence of this adultery, it was decided on 28 September 1664 that he was to return to Uppsala, and therefore “*itt bref till superintendenten Steukium fattas skall medh begieran at denne Lappo hindres promotion till dess han satisfaction giort hafwer*”⁴⁵⁶ (a letter to superintendent Steuchius shall be written with the request that this Lapp would be hindered from promotion until he has made restitution). Two months later, when Steuchius’ reply from Härnösand had reached Uppsala, the consistory followed Steuchius’ advice upon hearing about Henricus’ travels into the lappmarks and decided to fine him in absence since it would take too long for him to travel back. Like other legal matters, the consistory had to discuss this case repeatedly over the course of the following two years.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 72. 5 December 1637.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 268.

⁴⁵³ *UUAKP* 3, 216; *UUAKP* 4, 10.

⁴⁵⁴ *UUAKP* 5, 5, 100, 232, 280; *UUAKP* 6, 29, 60.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 123, 137-138, 230.

⁴⁵⁶ *UUAKP* 7, 92.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 122. 30 November 1664: “Uplästes superintendentens i Hernösand bref om Henric Lapp, till hwilken Consistorii citation är öfvergången, men efter han är till Lappmarken rest, gifwer H:s Ehrew:tt sitt råd, att efter wägen är för lång för honom till Upsala resa, skulle han absens multeras, tå superintendenten will redebogen wara uppå honom exequera.” *Ibid.*, 140-141. 15 February 1665: “Sammaledes skall Henricus Lappo böta 20 mk och itt åhr relegeras för det han Salani barns amma kränkt hafwer. Om hans straff skall superintendenten i Hernösand tillskrifwas och af honom begieras execution på böten.”

Ibid., 158. 5 April 1665: “Angaf Rector om Petri Salani ammas postulato, att Henricus Lapp som henne belägrat hafwer, måtte tillhållas att betala henne hwad han [hon] på barnetz begrafning kostat hafwer, efter han dess föruthan obligerat wore till barnetz uptuktelse efter lagh contribuera om det hade lefwat, item på kyrkiegångz penningar och hwad mera hon fodrar, der om Dn. Olaus Rudbeck hade Salani breff. Resol. Consistorium will dher om till superintendenten skrifwa låta.”

Ibid., 181. 28 May 1665: “Relegationerne Erici Hesselii, Henrici Lappz, Törners et Ruvii skola på itt papper fattas och upslåås.”

Ibid., 197. July 1665: “Uplästes superintendentens Steukii bref om Henrici Lapponis lägersmål och dess anhörige böter, att han intet hafwer att böta medh. Resol. Om han kan betala, är godt, kan han icke tå plickte medh kroppen, doch hwad målsägande rätten angåår måste han den betala i penningar efter konan intet annat kan wara betient medh efter hon och annor omkostnat wid barnsens iordafärd, kyrkiogång etc. hafwer uthstådt. Och efter hr. superintendenten i sitt före bref lofwat

In 1674, Sirma went into service and Lundius took his place, receiving a similar stipend. The consistory discussed Lundius in the agenda item following the decision on Sirma:⁴⁵⁸

The letter of the Illustrious Chancellor for another Lapp Nic. Lundius, who in spring had also received a recommendation of His Highborn Excellency immediately to be helped to a stipend, is read. Decision. [He is] to be accommodated in the first vacant room at the community, and additionally some help can be given to him. And it was regarded best to accommodate him in the same room, which the other Lapp leaves.⁴⁵⁹

Just as with Sirma, the consistory considered it necessary for Lundius to receive additional tuition and subsistence.⁴⁶⁰ Another parallel to Sirma was Lundius' inclination to cause or end up in trouble, as an entry on 20 March 1676 demonstrates:

Nic. Lundius Lappo was called in, accused by Carolus Wandaliyn of having broken open the chest of a certain student Dryzenius, which stood in the same chamber, left as a pledge, and taken out fifteen books, which he then disposed of and sold.

hafwer böterne af honom uthfodra willia, ty håller Consistorium sig dher widh, medh wenlig begieran thet må efterkommas i höst."

Ibid., 198. 12 July 1665: "Uplästes thet bref som till superintendenten Steukium stelt war om Henrici Lapponis böten, tå M. Liung berättade, att superintendenten i sin förra skrifwelse hafwer begiert att Henricus Lappo måtte dömas absens tå han laga wille att böterne skulle åhrläggias, när fördensull thet förrige superintendentens breff medh thet senare iempnföres, befans att thet något på skrufwar stelt war, och ty att icke Consistorio skulle något förnär skiee, wore godt att superintendenten swarar för böterne. Men i betractande att Henricus Lappo ey stort äger och lå[n]gdt up i Lapmarken är, ther till konan ey stoor præntion äger ty resolv. att han för altsammans 10 dr kopparm:tt gifwer till dem som efter lagh böre dem hemfalla."

Ibid., 303. 12 May 1666: "Förfragas och dher ifrån, om Henrici Lapponis böten kunna blifwa wid then mitigation som förra Rector M. Petrus Rudbeckius till Hernösand hafwer i förledne år öfwerskrifwit, och swarades jaa."

⁴⁵⁸ See Section 2.3.

⁴⁵⁹ *UUAKP II*, 74. "Uplästes Ill. Cancell. bref för en annan lapp Nic. Lundio, som i våras hade och af hans HGr. Exc. recommendation, att ofördröyeligen hielpas till stipendium. Resol. Accommoderas med förste öpne rum wid Communitetet, och om eljest honom någon hielp kan bewijsas. Och fans bäst att han accommoderas med samma rum, som den andra lappen afträder."

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 107. 30 September 1674: "Lappen anhåller om någon hielp och förskott till sine studier och andra nödigheter. Resol. Fins nödigt, att han instrueras med en tienlig præceptore, och den består en wiss pening. Den som har inspectionem stipendiatorum är bekymrad om en sådan persons upletande, hwilken består 15 dr om terminen pro informatione; gör han märkelig flijt, kan man öka sedan mehr på. Till wedh, lius och skoköp får han 6 dr smt."

Ibid., 125. 18 November 1674: "Bewiljades lappen Nic. Lundio till wedh- bok- och skoköp, sampt sitt herbergz betalning 10 dr smt. ex cass studiosorum."

Ibid., 164-165. 22 December 1674: "Berättade Pr. Brunnerus att Anander har informeradt den andre lappen här nu ähr, begärte dherföre honom kunde det bewilljas som förr år bestådt in actis d. 30 sept. §. 16. 1674 nembl. 15 dr kmt på hwar termin.

Resol. Han får det aff cassa studiosorum."

Ibid., 274. 21 April 1675: "Uplästes Nicolai Lundii Lapponis supplique till V. Consist. att få någon hiälp till skiorta skoor och huushyra.

Consist. tychte fuller wäl wara, att denne blifwer hulpen, men önskade det han något gått lärde, så att han meriterade sådan omkåstnad.

Resol. Rector låter underrätta sigh om denne Lundius något gått utträttar här, med sin information, så kan hån om sedan något wist tillslås."

Ibid., 294. 19 May 1675: "Lappo Lundius begiärer hiälp till sine nödwändigheeter, sågz effter förra slutet om honom d. 24 April.

Resol. Honom unnes 6 dr smt. i caroliner af fisco stud., hwilka hans inspector emottager, och till nödige usus använda låter."

Ibid., 306. 9 June 1675: "Recommenderade h. Brunnerus lappen Nicol. Lundium att få någon tillökning på dhe 6 dr smt., honom bewiljades förr, effter han intet har till lefwa af.

Resol. Propter exemplum blir nu wid förra sluth, men fremdeles kan han bli ihugkåmmen med mera."

Lundius confessed to have taken out thirteen books, traded with some other students, who were Olaus Rabenius, And. Ollenqwist, Granberg, also Radwiis received a book. The cook's son received two books, Laur. Törling Gothoburg had also received something.⁴⁶¹

This was a serious matter. Books were not just some kind of commodity, but necessary valuables highly esteemed in learned circles. On top of stealing, Lundius had engaged in the handling of stolen goods, which left the consistory with little choice:

The consistory concluded that the books which are found again be taken back, and if those who bought them do not want to give them back on amicable terms, the court will confiscate them. It was talked about what punishment the Lapp should [be charged with]. Everyone agreed that he should be sent away, but silently so that the University would not be dishonoured by it.⁴⁶²

The consistory came up with the decision to relegate the culprit and to take precautions against future incidents of that kind:

Decision. Since Nicol. Lundius has undertaken the coarse act that thievery is, the consistory does per this hold him unworthy to enjoy the benefit of the King any longer, it is therefore approved just, that he is relegated from the University's association, following the holidays he shall the latest be out of town. It is concluded that a letter about his act goes to the Illustrious Chancellor, and desired that if any such Lapps apply to His Highborn Excellency for help and promotion, that they must be pointed at schools and gymnasiums, to first lay necessary fundamentals for academic practice, where they can also enjoy the normal schoolhelp of the parishes.⁴⁶³

This serious matter meant the end of Lundius' time in Uppsala, leading the university rector at the time, Claudius Arrhenius, to voice his discontent during the consistorial meeting on 10 April 1676:

The Magnif. Rector talked about the relegated Lapp and said to starve him to death if he is not somehow taken care of. The consistory considered him to be

⁴⁶¹ *UUAKP 12*, 64. "Inkallades Nic. Lundius Lappo, anklagad af Carolo Wandalijn, för det han har brutet up en studentz Dryzenii kista, som stog i samma cammar qwar i pant, och uttagit 15 stycken böcker, dem sedan ytradt och såldt. Lundius tillstog sig 13 stycken taget uth, handlat med någre andre studenter, som wore Olaus Rabenius, And. Ollenqwist, Granberg, item Radwiis fått en book. Spijstmästarens sohn fått 2 böcker, Laur. Törling Gothoburg. hade och fått något der af."

⁴⁶² *Ibid.* "Consist:m slöth att dhe böcker som finnas igen, skole tagas tillbaka, wilja icke dhe som dhem kiöpt haa, gifwa dhem med goda från sikh, skall rätten der utsökia. Taltes om hwad straff lappen bör öfwergå. Alle kämme öfwer eens att han bör relegeras, doch tacitum, att icke Acad:n tager någon waanheder dher af."

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.* "Resol. Effer Nicol. Lundius med ett så grofft facto som är tiufwerij sig har försedt, håller Consist:m honom här effer owärdig, att längre niuta beneficium regium, pröfwandes der hoos skiähligt, att han förwijsas i från Acad:ns societet, effer hälgedagarne skall han sidst wara uhr staden. Slötz att ett bref går om hans facto till Ill. Cancell., och begiäres att der någre sådane lappar ansökia H:s HögGrefwl. Excell:z om help och befördran, att dhe må wijsas till scholar och gymnasier, först att der läggia nödige fundamentet till exercitia academica, hwaräst dhe och kunna niuta den wanlige skolhiälpen af soknar."

not worthy of any help, since he has made himself infamous, but in order to get rid of him one has to give him three or four daler silvermynt for travels.⁴⁶⁴

A couple of weeks later, when Lundius had left town, a student from Hälsingland moved into his room at the *Communitet*.⁴⁶⁵

Lundius arrived in Uppsala well after the publication of *Lapponia*. Since Schefferus had found many faults in his own exemplar of the book, he immediately started working on a new edition. After the untimely departure of Olaus Sirma, the young student Nicolaus Lundius became Schefferus' new Sámi protégé. As indicated in the "Additions" to the French edition, Schefferus used Lundius' explanations extensively. I discuss the way this enhanced edition came into existence in detail in Section 4.3. Lundius' new information reached Schefferus in form of a detailed description titled *Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiae* (Description of Lapland by Nicolaus Lundius the Lapp).

Wiklund assumed the writing of the manuscript to have taken place some time "före Schefferi död den 26 mars 1679 ock väl efter år 1674, då dess författare kom till universitetet" (before Schefferus' death on 26 March 1679 and presumably after 1674, when its author came to the university).⁴⁶⁶ Given that Schefferus made use of the written account in the French version *Histoire de la Laponie* published in 1678, for which he had the manuscripts sent to Stockholm and on to France on 24 October 1676, Lundius in all likelihood wrote his account some time after July 1674 and before October 1676.⁴⁶⁷ According to Wiklund, the Royal Library in Stockholm holds only one copy of Lundius' account by a certain P. Hök, dated 28 October 1715, as is revealed in its foreword:

Description of Lapland by Nicolaus Lundius the Lapp, copied in Uppsala 28 October 1715 from the autograph of the late author. This manuscript was given to me by Mr. P. Hök, who possessed it in original. It had in its title: written by the hand of Nicolaus Lundius the Lapp. The same pen was of the rest.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 76. "Om den relegerade lappen talte Magnif. Rector, och sade honom swälta ihiäl, så frampt han icke på något sätt föresees. Consist:m tyckte honom intet wara wärd någon hielp, effter han sielf har gjort sig infamen, doch uppå det man måtte blifwa af med honom, måtte man gifwa honom 3 eller 4 dr sijlf:rmt. till resepeninger."

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 92. 10 May 1676: "Här wed inföll tahl om den lappen, som relegerades för sin odygd, att den går än här qwar, och slötz att om han icke begifwer sig hädan, skall han gifwas under staden."

Ibid., 100. 24 May 1676: "Till Communitetet. [...] Laurent. Halenius Hels. i Nic. Lundii lappens ställe."

⁴⁶⁶ See Wiklund's foreword to Nicolaus Lundius, "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiae," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, Kungl Skytteanska Samfundets Handlingar (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [c.1675/1715] 1983), 3-4.

⁴⁶⁷ De la Piquetiere to Schefferus, 12 November 1676. UUB G 260c, fol. 116r. See also Section 2.6.

⁴⁶⁸ Lundius, "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiae," 5. "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiae descripta Upsaliae MDCCXV. 28 Oct. ex αὐτογράφῳ b. Autoris. hoc manuscpt. communicavit mihi D. P. Hök qui illud in originali habebat extabat n. in titulo. Nicolai Lundii Lappi manus propria. isdem stylus hicce erat e reliquo."

Petrus Höök (1689-1756) was a grandson of Schefferus.⁴⁶⁹ Bengt Löw noted that this gives clear indications that Schefferus had owned the manuscript and that it had remained in the ownership of the family.⁴⁷⁰ Furthermore, since parts of Schefferus' *nachlass* were put up for auction by Schefferus' daughter and Höök's mother Maria Regina Scheffer in 1719, Höök probably had access to the original.⁴⁷¹

Wiklund called Lundius' style of writing "så oredig ock oodlad, att det ofta visar sig svårt att sammanföra hans satser till ordnade meningar ock utsätta punkter" (so unclear and immature, that it oftentimes proves difficult to connect his sentences to order his flow of words into structured sentences and to insert full stops). He concluded that "en fullt översiktlig indelning av detsamma i kapitel eller avdelningar är omöjlig" (a fully clear arrangement of it into chapters or parts is impossible).⁴⁷² Phebe Fjellström's evaluation some eighty years later reads more in favour of Lundius' accomplishment. She regards the manuscript as unique, although she seconds Wiklund in calling it "ostrukturerad utan kapitelrubriker och svårläst" (unstructured without chapter headings and difficult to read), and emphasizes that it holds "utomordentligt väsentliga upplysningar och många etnologiskt unika uppgifter" (extraordinarily essential information and many ethnologically unique details). This leads her to consider it "en av de värdefullare relationerna" (one of the more valuable accounts).⁴⁷³

The text covers a multitude of topics. In the short introduction, Lundius hints that he had read another description of the Sámi people:

Since the Lapps' language is greatly different, so are also their lives they have each for themselves different. Samuel Rhen has sufficiently delineated about the Lule Lapps and their lives: I want to write about the Ume Lapps, concerning the Pite Lapps I know nothing, since I have not been with them, and do not know their lives: Now, there is a great difference between the Lule Lapps' and the Ume Lapps' language: First, I want to write about their divination spirit, which I truly know is used amongst them.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁹ His parents were Svante Larsson Höök (1652-1700) and Maria Regina Scheffer, married in 1684.

⁴⁷⁰ Löw, "Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia," 9-23, at: 19-20.

⁴⁷¹ UUB Bibl. Arkiv E 5, 155. I thank Anna Fredriksson from the manuscript collection at Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek for crucial hints and essential assistance in accessing and navigating the complexity of literary auctions.

⁴⁷² Foreword to Lundius, "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiæ," 4.

⁴⁷³ Phebe Fjellström, "Företal," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundets Handlingar (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, 1983), V-XII, at: X.

⁴⁷⁴ Lundius, "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiæ," 5. "Effter såsom uti lapparnas tal är stor åtskillnad, så är och åtskillnad uti deras lefwerne som dhe hwar för sig hafwa. Samuel Rhen har noggsamt beskrifwit om Lule lappar, och deras lefwarne: Will jag något beskrifwa om Uhmå lappar, Pitho lappars anbelangande wet jag ej, effter jag ej hos dem varit, och ej wet deras lefwerne: Nu är en stor åtskillnad emillan Lule lappars tal och Umå lappars: Först will jag beskrifwa om deras spådoms anda, som jag wet sanfärdeligen hos dem brukeligen wara."

Here, Lundius is referring to Samuel Rheen's *kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher* (short account on the lives and customs of the Lapps), which Schefferus also owned. Rheen was the brother of Lundius' mother, Margareta Evardsdotter.⁴⁷⁵ Wiklund found deviating versions of the manuscript and gave an overview of them in the foreword to his edition of Rheen's account.⁴⁷⁶ Several times, Lundius objects to the statements of his uncle Samuel Rheen. Rheen, whose text is analysed in more detail in Subsection 3.5.1, is not the only person referred to in Lundius' account. Lundius mentions Johan Skytte as a founder of the Sámi schools and continues with remarks about education and academics among the Sámi:

It does not often happen that many of the Lapps' nation become priests, but my father was the very first priest of their nation: I do not know more than ten or twelve Lapp priests who are of their nation of whom now two are alive, both of which those in Ume lappmark, Hendricus and Olaus Graan.⁴⁷⁷

Lundius refers to his own father, Andreas Petri, calling him the first among the Sámi clergy. Rasmussen names Gerhardus Jonæ from Sorsele in Ume lappmark as the earliest Sámi pastor. Raised by a clergyman in Piteå, Jonæ went on to study in Uppsala and served as parish priest in Skellefteå from 1584 until 1616.⁴⁷⁸ In all likelihood, Hendricus alludes to the aforementioned obscure Hendricus Lappo. Lundius' knowledge of the well-documented and productive Olaus Graan^A, introduced in Section 3.4, demonstrates the close personal networks spanning over the vast landscapes of the lappmarks. The learned Sámi were united by their common alma mater Uppsala, but also by the regular migratory patterns and the significant marketplaces in the North. Despite the sparse population, news could travel fast from one place to another.

In two sections of the text, Lundius mentions Schefferus, whom he calls "H. Professoren" (Herrn Professoren, i.e. Mister Professor).⁴⁷⁹ In both cases, he shows that the process of writing the account took place according to a prior agreement between the two. Lundius addresses this when writing:

According to Mister Professor's demand, I have done the best that I could, since I understand that I have mentioned much of that which is written in the book,

⁴⁷⁵ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 296-297.

⁴⁷⁶ Wiklund's foreword to Samuel Rheen, "En kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher, wijd-Skiepellsser, sampt i många Stycken Grofwe wildfarellsser," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [1671] 1983), 3-6.

⁴⁷⁷ Lundius, "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiæ," 16. "Det skier icke offta att af lapparnas nation blifwa många Präster, utan min Fader war den aldra Första Präst som war af deras nation: Jag wet ej flera lappPräster som af deras nation äro wid 10 eller 12 som nu ochså 2 äro i lifwet, som de i Uhmå lappmarcken äro både 2 Hendricus & Olaus Gran."

⁴⁷⁸ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 288.

⁴⁷⁹ Lundius, "Nicolai Lundii Lappi descriptio Lapponiæ," 17, 36.

but, still, Mister Professor can extract that which he deems best. If it is to Mister Professor's content to let more be written I will not work against his demand: Since I know that I have not mentioned anything that is untrue, to which I will take an oath, I will gladly put forth the things that I have seen with my own eyes.⁴⁸⁰

Lundius' text, despite not being structured systematically, contains a multitude of detailed observations regarding all kinds of topics. It treats divination rituals, boat building and boating, the physical appearance of the Sámi, their behaviour towards each other, their servants and the clergy, the differences between mountain and forest Sámi, nature, skiing, animals, and other topics. One feature of the text specifically demonstrates Lundius' insider knowledge, namely the usage and explanations of Sámi vocabulary. Due to this and the rich information in the text, it is not surprising that Schefferus made extensive use of Lundius' knowledge when working on the revised edition later published in French. Schefferus planned references to Lundius in all but a few chapter revisions, and thereby in nearly all of the topics covered in *Laponia*. This shows in the "Additions" of *Histoire de la Laponie* in the individual cases where he wanted to add references from Lundius' manuscript.⁴⁸¹

Following his time in Uppsala, Lundius became *lapp-predikant* (Lapp preacher) and *klockare* (bell-ringer: an office with similar functions to those of a cantor) in Jokkmokk, where he died in September 1726. Lundius was married to Barbro Andersdotter Grubb (1645-1713), the daughter of *lapp-predikant* in Jokkmokk Anders Marci Grubb (c.1610-1695). They had one son, Johan Nilsson Lundius (1678-1772), whose occupation is unknown.

3.4 OLAUS STEPHANI GRAAN^A (D.1690)

Unlike Sirma, Spirri Nils or Lundius, the Sámi Olaus Stephani Graan did not directly contribute a written account or conversations to Schefferus' monograph. However, since Schefferus names him and given his role in Sámi book history, it is mandatory to mention him here. While his birth year is unknown, he was probably born in Lycksele. There, he went to the Skyttean

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 36. "Effter H. Professorns begiäran hafwer jag giordt min flit det högsta som jag kunde, effter jag förstår mig mycket hafwa infördt det som i boken skrifwit står, men dåck kan H. Professorn uthämta dät som tyckes wara det bästa, Om H. Professorn behagar mehra låta skrifwa will jag eij sträfwa emot hans begiäran: Effter jag wet mig eij något hafwa infördt det som osandt wara skall, fast jag skall afläggia min ed der uppå, skall jag giärna giörat uti de stucken som jag med mine ögon sedt hafwer."

⁴⁸¹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*. Additions citing or referring to Lundius were planned for CH. II: 7-10, CH. IV: 14, CH. V: 14-17, CH. VIII: 41, 57, CH. IX: 62-65, CH. X: 90, CH. XI: 93, 99, 108-109, 112-113, 117-118, CH. XII: 131, CH. XIV: 145, CH. XV: 159, CH. XVI: 170, 172, CH. XVII: 181, 184, 189-190, CH. XVIII: 193-194, 196, 198, 200-201, CH. XIX: 204-205, 208-209, 217, 219, CH. XX: 230, CH. XXI: 232, CH. XXIII: 253, CH. XXIV: 255, CH. XXV: 271, 273, 275, CH. XXVI: 276, 278, 281-282, CH. XXVII: 287-288, 293-295, CH. XXVIII: 304, 306-309, CH. XXIX: 312, 322, CH. XXX: 323, 328-329, 331-332, CH. XXXI: 334, 336, 338, CH. XXXIV: 350-351, 353-354, CH. XXXV: 357.

school for Sámi boys and later to Uppsala University. Bygdén objected to the idea that Graan had studied in Åbo (Turku), noting that he was the recipient of a royal stipend in Uppsala, although there is no mention of his name in the university's *matrikel*.⁴⁸² In autumn 1650, Graan matriculated at the newly opened Härnösands gymnasium. From 1655, he served for two years as *komminister* in Åsele. Starting in 1657, he worked as preacher and rector at the Skyttean school in Lycksele. Graan was, as Bygdén notes, *kyrkoherde* (vicar) in Lycksele from 1673 until he died in 1690.⁴⁸³ He was married to Anna Mört and had at least three children with her. His firstborn son Nils (1660-1714) became pastor in Lycksele, Christoffer (1662-1695) was *komminister* in Umeå, while a daughter married his successor Magnus Bång (d.1699).

Schefferus mentions Olaus Stephani Graan for the first time in the addendum to *Histoire de la Laponie* in reference to the book history of the Sámi, highlighting Graan's catechism in the language of the Ume and Pite Sámi. According to Florian Siegl, Graan's *Manuale Lapponicum* more specifically "was published in a variety of Ume Saami" leading him to conclude: "Graan was probably a native speaker of Ume Saami".⁴⁸⁴ Graan's *Manuale Lapponicum* was the second book known by that title, after Johannes Tornæus (before 1610-1681) had published a church manual in Torne Sámi in 1648, containing numerous inaccuracies and mistakes in the language.⁴⁸⁵ In *Lapponia*, Schefferus sketched in a few lines the first ever history of Sámi literature:

For the *Laplanders* before this were wholly ignorant of letters, and had not a book writ in their language: the first, which I suppose they had, was the *Primer*, such as children use to learn containing the chief heads of Christian Religion, viz. the ten Commandments, Apostles Creed, Lords Praier, and the like compiled by the aforesaid *Nicolaus*, as himself witnesses: he likewise was the first that published the Ritual in the Laplandish tongue, the book is now extant printed at *Stockholm* by *Ignatius Meurer*, with this title, *Liber Cantionum quomodo celebranda Missa Sermone Lappico*. These were the elements wherein they were first to be instructed, afterwards there were other books printed, amongst which was a *Manual* translated out of Swedish by *Joannes Tornæus*, Minister and School-master of *Tornen*, containing the Psalms of David, Song of *Solomon*, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, *Luthers* Catechise, sacred Hymns, Gospels and

⁴⁸² S. Otto Brenner and Gösta Thimon, eds., *Uppsala universitets matrikel 1595–1817: Register* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971).

⁴⁸³ Bygdén I: 64, II: 128.

⁴⁸⁴ Florian Siegl, "Ume Saami - The Forgotten Language," *Études finno-ougriennes* 48 (2017): 1-25, at: 24.

⁴⁸⁵ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 299; Hanna Lidberg, *Johannes Tornæus & Manuale Lapponicum*, ed. Mária Dugántsy Becker, Lars-Gunnar Larsson, and Raimo Raag, *Opuscula Uralica*, (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2002), 28-33.

Epistles, with solemn Praiers. The history of *Christs* Passion, and destruction of *Jerusalem*, the *Ritual*, and Praiers of all sorts.⁴⁸⁶

In the “Additions” to *Histoire de la Laponie*, Schefferus adds more detail to this, naming the exact specifics of the individual editions and mentioning Graan’s literary contributions:

This book was printed in octav in Stockholm by Henrich Keyser in 1648 and dedicated to Queen Christina. Olaus Stephani Graan a Lapp, schoolmaster and pastor among the Lapps of Lycksele published a similar one under the same title, printed in 1669 in Stockholm by Niclas Wankijff. This book contains the gospels and the Sunday epistles together with the collects and the little church ordinance, which is the Rituale, the history of the Passion and some prayers. [...] It is different from the first one, in that it is much closer to the dialect of the Lapps of Ume and Pite Lappmark. The same Olaus did two years prior, in 1667, let print in Stockholm by Georg Ha[n]tsch the Catechism with questions and responses in Swedish, the language of the Lapps vis-à-vis; and in the same kind in 1668 at the press of the same printer the questions and responses, taken from the Thesaurus catecheticus of Paulinus.⁴⁸⁷

Contrary to Schefferus’ claim, the Olaus Stephani Graan^B who, in 1667, published Luther’s catechism in Swedish and Sámi as well as a question book directed at Sámi youth in Pite and Lule lappmark was actually another person.⁴⁸⁸ The person dealt with in the present section, Olaus Stephani Graan^A of Lycksele, did, however, publish both the aforementioned catechism in 1668 and the Manuale in 1669.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, 27; cf. Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 72-73. “Et hi primi libri, editi sermone Lapponico, ut ex eis elementa religionis Christianæ disceret gens Lapponum. Primo dico, quoniam deinde secuti alii, publicati ab aliis, quos inter Manuale est, ut vocant, ex Suetico translatum in Lapponicum à Johanne Tornæo, Pastore ac Præposito Tornensi, continetque Psalmos Davidis, Proverbia Salomonis, Ecclesiasten, Syraciden, Catechesin Lutheri, Cantiones Sacras, Evangelia & Epistolas cum precibus solennibus, historiam Passionis Christi, vastationem urbis Hierosolymorum, rituale, preces omnis generis, sicut ipse hujus rei auctor est in Lapponiæ descriptione.”

⁴⁸⁷ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, A: 365. “Ce livre fut imprimé in octavo à Stokolm par Henri Keiser l’an 1648 & dédié à la Reine Christine. Olaus Stephani Graan Lapon de nation, maître des Echoles & Pasteurs chez les Lapons de Lykzala en donna au public un semblable & sous le même titre, imprimé l’an 1669 à Stokolm par Nicolas Vvankiif. Ce livre contient les Evangiles & les Epîtres des Dimanches avec les Collectes & la petite Ordonnance Ecclesiastique, qui est le Rituel, l’histoire de la Passion & quelques prieres. [...] Il est different du premier, en ce qu’il approche plus de la dialecte des Lapons des Lappmarck d’Uma & de Pitha. Ce même Olaus avoit deux ans auparavant en 1667. fait imprimer à Stokolm par George Ha[n]tsch le Catéchisme avec les demandes & les reponses en Suedois, la langue des Lapons estant vis avis; & de la même maniere en l’an 1668. chez la veuve du même Imprimeur les demandes & les reponses, tirées du tresor Catechistique de Paulin.”

⁴⁸⁸ See Subsection 3.5.2.

⁴⁸⁹ Olaus Stephani Graan, *Enfaldige och korte Frågor sampt Swar, aff Thesauro Catechetico Paulini, sammanhemtade för Lapparnas Ungdom til nyttigh och Gudeligh Information, vthi theras Christendoms Stycker i Lychzela Uhmeå Lappmarck* (Stockholm: Tryckt hoosz Sahl. Georg Hantschs Efterlefwerska, 1668); Olaus Stephani Graan, *Manuale Lapponicum, Som innehåller Evangelia och Epistler medh Collecter och Böner, sampt the brukeligeste Psalmer, som i Swerige på alla Söndagar, Högtijder och Helgedagar, sedhwanligen läses och siunges öfwer hela åhret. Tillijka med Lille Kyrckieordningen, Christi Pijnos Historia, och någre allmannelige Böner.* (Stockholm: Med Kongl. May:tz Bekostnad. Tryckt aff Niclas Wankijff, 1669).

3.5 JOHAN GRAAN & THE LAPPMARK CLERGY

The initiative for an elaborate account of the regions where the Sámi lived was taken by the Chancellor of the Realm Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. It was part of a greater lappmark strategy aiming to integrate those areas in the Realm and to make use of their resources. An important agent for these endeavours was the *landshövding* (governor) of Västerbotten and Österbotten counties Johan Graan, himself of Sámi heritage. He was born in Skellefteå in 1610/11 to the vicar Gerhardus Jonæ (d.1623) and Brita Andersdotter (Grubb). Graan's father Jonæ, born to Sámi parents in Granby, had grown up under the care of a pastor in Piteå. Jonæ was *hovpredikant* (domestic chaplain) to King Johan III (1537-1592) before becoming vicar in Skellefteå in 1584, where he died in 1623.⁴⁹⁰

Among Jonæ's sons, Johan and Anders did particularly well. Anders (Gertsson) was mayor and postmaster of Umeå from 1666 to 1700, an influential position in Northern Sweden.⁴⁹¹ Johan's career went even further. In 1626, he started studying at the University of Uppsala, after, as Nordlander noted, attending a trivial school in Gävle.⁴⁹² Following his magister in philosophy in 1635, he went to Leiden where he gained a doctorate of both laws. In 1641, he married Kristina Jakobina Robertsson von Struan (d.1643), the daughter of royal archiater Jakob Robertsson (1566-1652). She died shortly after the birth of their second son. Johan married again within the higher ranks of the Kingdom. His second wife, Elisabet, was the daughter of imperial archivist Jonas Bure (1575-1655) of the renowned Bure kinship. In 1645, Johan was ennobled, as the first and only Sámi ever, and took on the name Graan.⁴⁹³

In 1653, he became governor of Västerbotten, a position he held, despite being officially removed from office in 1678, until his death in 1679. For several years, he was also the governor of Österbotten. Graan had a significant influence on lappmark politics. In a letter to Karl XI from Torneå dated 18 March 1667, Graan emphasized the importance of keeping the Sámi within the lappmarks. There, they were to fulfill the crucial role of supplying and working the silver and copper mines with their reindeer as working animals ideally adapted to the environment. Furthermore, the Sámi should not defect to Norway and, instead, serve as

⁴⁹⁰ Johan Nordlander, *Johan Graan: Landshövding i Västerbotten 1653–1679*, ed. Johan Nordlander, Herman Geijer, and Wilhelm Carlgren, *Norrländska Samlingar* 15, (Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1938), 13.

⁴⁹¹ Rydving, "Samiska överhetspersoner i Sverige-Finland på 1600-talet," 262.

⁴⁹² Nordlander, *Johan Graan: Landshövding i Västerbotten 1653–1679*, 14.

⁴⁹³ Rydving, "Samiska överhetspersoner i Sverige-Finland på 1600-talet," 262.

effective frontier guards against the threat of a Danish-Norwegian invasion by land.⁴⁹⁴ Graan was convinced that the livelihoods of reindeer-herding Sámi, whom he describes as “not used to work” and “set to remain with their old ways of hunting and fishing”⁴⁹⁵, and farming settlers were not based on the same natural resources. This he called the ‘parallel theory’. It claimed that both groups could co-exist on the same land and complement each other.⁴⁹⁶ After some investigations on how to run the mines properly, Queen Regent Hedvig Eleonora and the Privy Council agreed to Graan’s suggestion on 22 June 1670. Graan was to

[...] persuade the Lapps to settle in Västerbotten and to accustom themselves to some steadiness, and in this way, by transportation and shifts, to assist whoever might be employed at the mines, thereby serving the Empire’s advancement as well as their own best interests and improvement [...]⁴⁹⁷

Graan’s reply a few months later indicates the significance of the lappmarks in his understanding. On 20 October 1670, he addressed the King with respect to his own role as governor of Västerbotten and Österbotten: “This time, I want to omit the other provinces, and now only write about the things concerning the lappmarks”.⁴⁹⁸ Graan reported more specifically on the situation, suggesting an extensive survey of the lappmarks resulting in a “Jordebooch” (lit. ground book, i.e. cadastre). His reasoning was once again based on the ‘parallel theory’ and its claim of productive co-existence.⁴⁹⁹

For as long as this does not happen, and the land of any and every Lapp is not measured, one cannot know either, which places could be useful to occupy with Swedish people, where there is grass and broadleaved forest, which the Lapps do not require for their reindeers.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁴ Johan Graan to Karl XI, 18 March 1667. Transcribed in: Erik Nordberg, Landshövding Johan Graan. Lappmarksplakatet 1673., [1973] 2011, Handskrift 25, Kyrkoherde Erik Nordbergs arkiv, Volym 25:2:d, Umeå UB, 612-614, Forskningsarkivet, Umeå UB, Umeå, <https://www.foark.umu.se/sites/default/files/arkiv/25/sefoark2502d.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁵ See *ibid.*, 613. “[...] dhæt är ett sådant Fälck som icke ähre wanne at arbetha, uthan söckia at blifua widh theres gamble sätt att lefua med Diurefång och Fiskerijn.”

⁴⁹⁶ Ojala and Nordin, "Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge," 111-114.

⁴⁹⁷ Hedvig Eleonora & Privy Council to Graan, 22 June 1670. Transcribed in: Nordberg, Landshövding Johan Graan. Lappmarksplakatet 1673.: 615. “[...] persvadera Lapparne till att nedersättia sigh i Westerbottn och till någhon stadigheet att wänia, och således med kiörtzlor och dagzwercken secundera dem, som bergzwercken nu der kunde hafwa, Rijket till upkomst, och sigh sielfwa till nytta gagn och förbättringh [...].”

⁴⁹⁸ Graan to Karl XI, 20 October 1670. Transcribed in: Isak Fellman, ed., *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne I*, Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne (Helsingfors: Finska litteratursällskapet tryckeri, 1910), No. 3: 160-166, at: 160-161. “Jagh will för denne gången gå de andra Provincierne förbij, och allenast nu fatta pennan om hwad som Lappemarkerne angår [...].”

⁴⁹⁹ Ojala and Nordin, "Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge," 111-114.

⁵⁰⁰ Graan to Karl XI, 20 October 1670. Transcribed in: Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne I*, 162. “Så lengie nu detta ickie skeer, och hwar och eens Lappz ägor afmätas, så kan man eij heller wetta, hwilka orter som kunna wara tiänlige att besättia medh Swänskt folch, ther som gräas och lööfskoggh finnes, hwilket Lapparne till deres reanar inet behöfwa.”

In the same letter, Graan explains his idea of mapping the lappmarks.⁵⁰¹ Since some of the Sámi were too poor to acquire the necessary tools and materials to maintain their livelihood once they migrated back into the lappmarks, Graan suggests supplying them with hemp for fishing nets as well as black powder and lead for hunting. Furthermore, he elaborates on the advantages of a considerable Sámi population close to the borders in wartime, where they could be useful “in order to gather information from Norway and Russia, as well as to ward off enemy incursions, through ammunition and provisions traffic with reindeers to some places in the lappmarks”.⁵⁰²

In their answer dated 28 February 1671, Hedvig Eleonora and the Privy Council agreed to most of Graan’s suggestions. The Privy Council had argued against the idea to supply the Sámi with shot and powder in order to prevent them becoming accustomed to rifles, instead of the bows that were in use amongst them.⁵⁰³ The policy Graan had wished for was endorsed with the “Kongl. Maj:tz Placat, angående Lapparnes flyttiande ifrån theras hemwister” (Order of the Royal Majesty regarding the moving of the Lapps from their residence), issued in Stockholm on 9 May 1671.⁵⁰⁴ Thus backed by the Crown, Graan sent a survey expedition to Ume lappmark.⁵⁰⁵ *Notarie* (secretary) Anders Olofsson Holm and surveyor Jonas Gedda (d.1697) led the party, which consisted also of a prospector, a *länsman* (sheriff) and a Sámi.⁵⁰⁶ This resulted in an extensive report and a map Graan sent to the King. It not only gave an account of the land and its mining prospects, but also details of churches and clergy in the lappmarks, as well as explanations of the above-mentioned suggestions.⁵⁰⁷ The report mentions a number of clergymen: Olaus Stephani Graan (d.1690) “född af Lappe föräldrar” (born to Lapp parents), Herr Daniel, Johan Laestadius (1615-1697), Ericus Niurenus (1592-1667), Anders Marci Grubb (1610s-1695), Samuel Samuelis Rehn (1644-1690), Samuel Edvardi Rheen, and the born “Lapp” Herr Hindrich (possibly Henricus Lapp).⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰¹ For a detailed and contextual analysis of Graan's role in this, see: Ojala and Nordin, "Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge," 98-133.

⁵⁰² Graan to Karl XI, 20 October 1670. Transcribed in: Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne I*, 166. " [...] så till att hämpta kunskaper ifrån Närige och Rysslandh, såssom och att afwäria fiändtlige infallen, igienom Ammunitions och profwiantz fördzlor medh reenaar till någre ortter i Lappmarkerne [...]"

⁵⁰³ Hedvig Eleonora & the Privy Council to Graan, 28 February 1671. Transcribed in: Nordberg, *Landshövding Johan Graan. Lappmarksplakatet 1673.*: 623-624.

⁵⁰⁴ Transcribed in *ibid.*, 625.

⁵⁰⁵ See Graan's "Memorial", dated 9 May 1671, transcribed in *ibid.*, 626.

⁵⁰⁶ Nordberg, *Landshövding Johan Graan. Lappmarksplakatet 1673.*: 610; Göthe, *Om Umeå Lappmarks Svenska Kolonisation. Från mitten av 1500-talet till omkr. 1750*, 189, note 1.

⁵⁰⁷ Gudrun Norstedt, *Lapps kattelanden på Geddass Karta: Umeå lappmark från 1671 till 1900-talets början* (Umeå: Thalassa, 2011).

⁵⁰⁸ Transcribed in: Nordberg, *Landshövding Johan Graan. Lappmarksplakatet 1673.*: 629-647, at: 636-638, 644, 646.

Johan Graan's mention of a promise of clergy accounts for the College of Antiquities in a letter to De la Gardie in March 1672 showed that he was among the parties involved with the project.⁵⁰⁹ In the preface of *Lapponia*, Schefferus names a couple of the clergymen:

I have also added to these many from our time, some therefore only now compiled, which served me especially. Of that kind come before others and here quoted separately those, which M. Johannes Tornæus, pastor and provost from Torneå, and Sir Samuel Rheen, formerly Lapp pastor in Pite lappmark, but now staying in Bothnia, sent hither. And to this is added the work of Olaus Petri Niurenius composed long ago, and now communicated to me through his sons Zacharias and Ericus Plantinus.⁵¹⁰

Wiklund included the above-mentioned Nicolaus Lundius in his editions of source material connected to *Lapponia*. Who were the clergymen besides Lundius, whose contribution strongly inspired Schefferus' annotations for the planned augmented edition, who were serving in the lappmarks and writing about the Sámi in their parishes? What did they write about in their letters?

3.5.1 SAMUEL EDVARDI RHEEN

Arguably, for the first instalment of Schefferus' monograph, the most influential of the lappmark clergymen was Samuel Edvardi Rheen (c.1615-1680). Through his parents Evert Eriksson, *lappfogd* (Lapp bailiff) and first mayor of Piteå, and Brita, member of the Bure kinship, Rheen was born into two influential families. His father belonged to the birkarls, a group of merchants holding royal trade monopolies in the lappmarks they lived in.⁵¹¹ Having settled along the coast of the Northern Bothnian Bay in the 13th and 14th centuries, the birkarls bought monopolies from the King to conduct trade with the Sámi in their respective lappmarks.⁵¹² In 1554, King Gustav Vasa (1496-1560) withdrew them this privilege to institutionalize it in the person of so-called *lappfogds*, who were often of birkarl descent.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁹ See Göthe, *Om Umeå Lappmarks Svenska Kolonisation. Från mitten av 1500-talet till omkr. 1750*, 190.

⁵¹⁰ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated. "Adjunxi quoque his non pauca nostri ævi, quædam hoc fine nunc demum composita, quæ imprimis mihi profuere. Qualia ante cætera & seorsum hic laudanda veniunt, quæ M. Johannes Tornæus, Pastor & Præpositus Tornensis, & Dn. Samuel Rheen, Pastor quondam Lapponicus in Lapponia Pithensi, nunc vero in Bothnia degens, huc transmisere. Accessit & Olai Petri Niureonii labor pridem conscriptus, & nunc communicatus mihi per filios ipsius, Zachariam & Ericum Plantinos."

⁵¹¹ An introductory overview of the birkarls can be found in Thomas Wallerström, *Norrbotnen, Sverige och medeltiden: Problem kring makt och bosättning i en europeisk periferi*, 2 vols., vol. 1, Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), Dissertation, 239-266.

⁵¹² For a concise overview, see: Torbjörn Kalberg, "Svenskehandelen som tok slutt," *Heimen* 54, 1 (2017): 43-61.

⁵¹³ Gunlög Fur, "Kolonisation och kulturmöten under 1600- och 1700-talen," in *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: en vetenskaplig antologi*, ed. Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma, 2016), 241-281, at: 247-250; furthermore, see Ingela Bergman and Lars-Erik Edlund, "Birkarlar and Sámi – inter-cultural contacts

According to Birger Steckzén, in writing *Laponia*, Schefferus made an early and fundamental effort to research the history of the *birkarls*.⁵¹⁴ Through his family ties, Rheen had connections to the intellectual elite of the Empire and to the commercial elite in the North. He matriculated in Uppsala in August 1633. Fjellström reasons from this that he was born around 1615.⁵¹⁵ For a few years, he abandoned his studies to work in the lappmark trade in Piteå. Rheen returned to Uppsala to study theology. From 1641 until 1664, he served as *kapellan* (chaplain) in Piteå. In 1643, he married the daughter of Piteå *rådman* (judge) Mårten Olofsson, Catharina Mårtensdotter Ruuth (1624-1663). He took on the position of *predikant* (preacher) in Jokkmokk in 1666, which also meant regular journeys of more than one hundred kilometres to the Kedkevare silver mine in Kvikkjokk. Rheen's son Samuel Samuelis Rehn took over the office of *brukspredikant* (mine preacher) of Kedkevare in 1673, but left in the following year. In 1671, Rheen became *kyrkoherde* (vicar) in Råneå. He died in 1680.

Rheen's account consists of two parts. The first part is titled *En kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher* (A short account of the lives and customs of the Lapps) and dated 24 February 1671, when he was in Jokkmokk. The undated second part is an appendix to the *kortt Relation* and titled *Appendix. Innehållandes en kortt Declaration öfr Effterfölliande tolf förnemblige Momenter* (Appendix. Containing a short declaration over the following twelve principal issues). Fjellström emphasizes Rheen's acquaintance with Lule lappmark, mining and commercial aspects, acclaiming his matter-of-fact and structured style.⁵¹⁶ Like the other clergy reports, Rheen's account first appeared in print through the efforts of Wiklund, who identified several manuscripts in Uppsala and Stockholm with versions of it.⁵¹⁷

Furthermore, a couple of drawings enclosed with some manuscript versions of the account depict aspects of religious life.⁵¹⁸ Both the main part and the appendix deal with a variety of topics, with the former focusing more on cultural traits, and the latter somewhat more on economically and politically significant issues. This suggests that, after receiving the *kortt Relation*, the commissioner posed further questions to Rheen, thus initiating the writing of the appendix. Table 10 gives the chapters of both parts in English. Wiklund pointed out that the

beyond state control: reconsidering the standing of external tradesmen (*birkarlar*) in medieval Sámi societies," *Acta Borealia* 33, 1 (2016): 52-80.

⁵¹⁴ Birger Steckzén, *Birkarlar och Lappar: En studie i birkarleväsandets, lappbefolkningens och skimmhandels historia*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar: Historiska Serien, (Stockholm/Göteborg/Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964), 16-18.

⁵¹⁵ Fjellström, "Företal," VI.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VII.

⁵¹⁷ See Wiklund's "Företal" to Rheen, "En kortt *Relation* om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher, wijd-Skiepellsser, sampt i många Stycken Grofwe wildfarellsser," 3-6.

⁵¹⁸ See KB D 65; UUB S 163.

thirteenth chapter of the appendix had been added subsequently, as the title of the appendix only mentions twelve chapters.⁵¹⁹

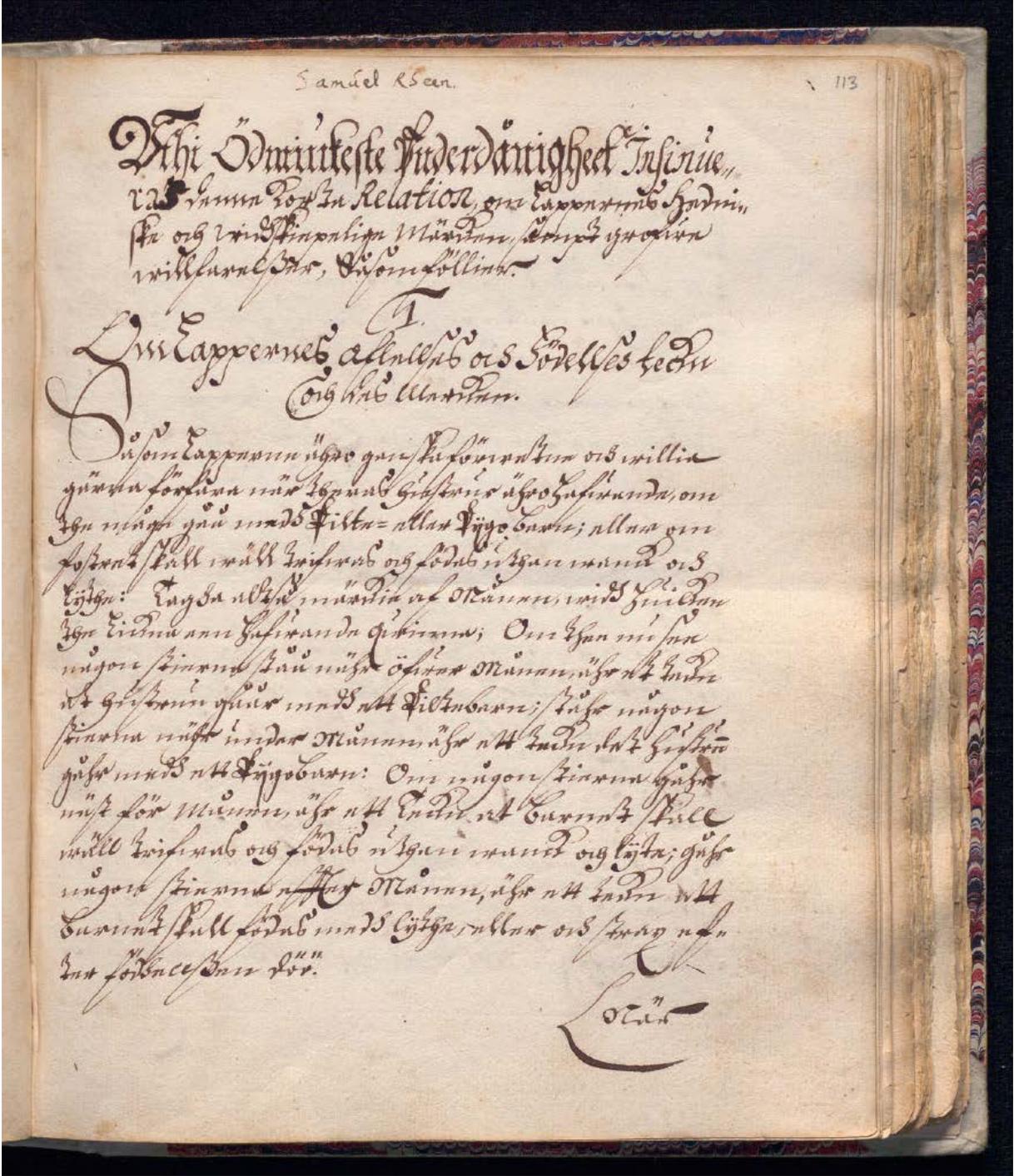


Figure 18: the first page of Samuel Rhen's Relation, UUB S 163, fol. 113r. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

⁵¹⁹ See Wiklund's "Företal" to Rhen, "En kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher, wijd-Skiepellsser, sampt i många Stycken Grofwe wildfarellsser," 4.

Table 10: The chapter titles of Rheen's account translated into English

1. About the indications of the Lapps' procreation and birth and its marks.
2. About the childrens' fostering and upbringing.
3. About their courting and its cost on both sides.
4. Wedding, church and celebration ceremonies.
5. About the parents' dowry to the children, when they separate them from themselves.
6. How they mutually inherit of each other property, children of the parents and vice versa.
7. About their houses and homes.
8. How they move from one place to another.
9. About their diet and supply of food, in winter, summer and other seasons.
10. About the fruit found in the lappmark, and how it is prepared and consumed.
11. About the reindeer's character and nature.
12. How the Lapps conduct themselves in their worship, belief and lives.
13. About the Lapps' drums, their delineation, as well as how and why they use them.
14. About the Lapps' most prominent idols which they worship, such as on their sacrifice, as well as how and where they sacrifice.
15. About the superstition the Lapps use when they catch bears.
16. About the burial of dead and sacrifices they make to the dead furthermore.

Appendix. Containing a short declaration over the following twelve principal issues.

1. About the metals and mines found in the lappmarks, as well as where they are situated and their condition.
2. About the Lapps' language and tongue and also the affinity they have with other languages, and how they vary in dialect.
3. About the animals found in the lappmark, and also their nature.
4. About the Lapps' fertility and infertility, as well as their age.
5. About the Lapps' work, to which manufactory they incline the most.
6. About their commerce and markets, as well as trade towards Norway.
7. About the Lapps' annual taxation, and tribute, what it consists of, and how it is handled when they pay it.
8. About the Lapps' natural inclination and physical constitution.
9. About the Lapps' clothes, which they use during different seasons.
10. What land in the lappmark is, and also about rivers, marshes and lakes.
11. About the division of lappmark.
12. About the Lapps who belong to the Danish crown and border the Swedish Lapps.
13. About the execution of the right worship in all lappmarks, as well as their churches, schools and priests.⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Rheen, "En kortt *Relation* om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher, wijd-Skiepellsser, samt i många Stycken Grofwe wildfarellsser," 7-68. "1. Om lapparnas Aflelses och Födellsses tekn och des Märcken. [...] 2. Om Barnssens Upfostrande och Uptuchtellsse. [...] 3. Om theras frijerij och des kostnat å bägge Sijdor. [...] 4. Bröllopsz, kyrckio- och Giestebodz Ceremonier. [...] 5. Om Förädrarnes Heemgift medh Barnen, när the skillia them ifrån sigh. [...] 6. Huru the inbördes ärfwa hwar Andra i löst och fast, Barnen Föräldrarna Et vice versa. [...] 7. Om theras huus och boningar. [...] 8. Huruledes the Booflyttia ifrån thet Ena Rummet till det andra. [...] 9. Om theras Diet och Maatwarornes Försorgh, winter, Sommar, och andre åhrssens tijder. [...] 10. Om den frucht som i Lappmarcken Finnes, och huru den tillredt och förtärt warder. [...] 11. Om Reenernas artt och Natuur. [...] 12. Huru Lapparna sigh förehålla i sin Gudztienst, troo och Lefwarne. [...] 13. Om

The significance of Rheen's account for *Lapponia* is demonstrated by Schefferus' extensive use of the manuscript. He introduces the account with the first reference to it in the running text as follows: "Samuel Rheen in superius laudata descriptione"⁵²¹ (Samuel Rheen in the previously quoted Description). In the chapter on Christianity among the Sámi, Schefferus comments: "Sicut isthæc omnia testatur Samuel Rheen, in Lapponiæ descriptione calamo exarata, quam nunc aliquoties laudavi"⁵²² (Just as Samuel Rheen attests all of this, in the handwritten Description of Lapland, which I have now quoted several times).

The majority of *Lapponia*'s chapters hold citations from Rheen. Schefferus quotes Rheen on climate and general topography,⁵²³ the divisions of Lapland,⁵²⁴ characteristics of the Sámi people,⁵²⁵ aspects of religion,⁵²⁶ taxes and markets,⁵²⁷ language,⁵²⁸ their types of homes and attire,⁵²⁹ food and hunting,⁵³⁰ handicraft and other occupations,⁵³¹ courting, wedding and children,⁵³² sickness and death,⁵³³ animals and plants,⁵³⁴ metals and stones,⁵³⁵ waters and other distinct topographical features.⁵³⁶

This extensive practice of quoting required a great deal of translation, however, since Rheen's account was in Swedish and *Lapponia* was to appeal to an international audience. To add to the reliability of the monograph, citations from Rheen often included the original Swedish,

Lapparnas Trumbor, deras Delineation, samt huru och Hwarföre the them bruka. [...] 14. Om lapparnas förnemste afgudar som the dyrckia, såsom och om theas Offer, samt huru och på hwadh Rum the offra. [...] 15. Om Wijdhskiepelsse lapparna bruka När the fånga Biörn. [...] 16. Om the dödas begrafningh och offer the giöra them framledna döda. [...] Appendix. Innehållandes en kortt Declaration öfr Effterfölliande tolf förnemblige Momenter. 1. Om dee Metaller ock bergzbruuk som i lappmarkerne fines, samt på hwadh Rum the äro belägne och deras beskaffenheet. [...] 2. Om Lapparnas språåk och tungomåhl Såsom och den Affiniteet the hafwer medh Andras Språåk, och huru the i Dialecten variera. [...] 3. Om the diur som finnes I Lappmarcken, Såsom och deras Natur. [...] 4. Om Lapparnas fruchtsamheet och Ofruchtsamheet, samt deras Ålder. [...] 5. Om Lapparnas arbete, till huad Manufactur the mäst inclinera. [...] 6. Om theas kiöphandel ock Marcknader, samt handell åth Norige. [...] 7. Om Lapparnas åhrlighe Skatt, och tribute, Hwar uthinnan den består, och huru där medh omgås, när the den uthgifwa. [...] 8. Om Lapparnas Naturel inclination et Corporis Constitutione. [...] 9. Om Lapparnas klädebonat, den the bruka åthskillige Åhrssens tijder. [...] 10. Hwadh land i Lappmarcken åhr, Såsom och om Älffwer träsk och Siöar. [...] 11. Om Lappmarckens fördelelsse. [...] 12. Om the Lappar som höra till danske Cronan och grenssa till the Swenske Lappar. [...] 13. Om den Rätta Gudztienstens förrättelsse i alla lappmarcker, samt deras Kyrckior, Scholer och Präster."

⁵²¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 19.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, CH. III: 19-22.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, CH. IV: 24, 26-27.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, CH. V: 32, 35-36, 38, 40-41.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, CH. VIII: 70, 73-74, 80-84, CH. IX: 86, 88-91, 93-94, CH. X: 95-97, 99-104, 106-107, 109-114, 116, CH. XI: 123-125, 130, 132-133, 136, 139, 141-144, 146.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, CH. XIII: 164, 167, CH. XIV: 170, 172-174, 176-177.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, CH. XV: 177-178, 184, 189.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, CH. XVI: 190-194, 196-200, 202, CH. XVII: 204-205, 207-209, 211-212.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, CH. XVIII: 215-225, CH. XIX: 227, 229-234, 236-240, 242-243, CH. XX: 247, 251.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, CH. XXI: 252, 255-258, CH. XXII: 260-261, 263-265, CH. XXIII: 268, 273, CH. XIV: 275.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, CH. XXV: 278, 280-282, 285-289, 291-293, CH. XXVI: 295-307.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, CH. XXVII: 308-310, 312-313, 316-320.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, CH. XXVIII: 328-335, CH. XXIX: 336-346, CH. XXX: 347-356, CH. XXXI: 358-361.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, CH. XXXII: 362-367, CH. XXXIII: 370.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, CH. XXXIV, 372-373, CH. XXXV: 376-378.

followed by Schefferus' translations into Latin. To an international audience, this showed that he did not fabricate his sources and that he was willing to let his reading and translation of previously unknown source material undergo thorough crosschecks by the Republic of Letters. Occasionally, especially with lengthy quotations, Schefferus only included the translations.⁵³⁷ As most readers in other parts of Europe were unlikely to know any Swedish, the inclusion of texts in the vernacular can also be regarded as an early attempt to strengthen the position of Swedish as a scholarly language in learned circles.

3.5.2 OLAUS STEPHANI GRAAN^B (1618-1689)

Unlike his Sámi namesake, Olaus Stephani Graan^B had a clerical background through his family. His father, Stephanus Stephani was vicar (*kyrkoherde*) of Över- and Yttergran along the Western shores of Lake Ekoln in Uppland in the early 17th century. He was a delegate to the *riksdag* (Imperial Diet) in Nyköping in 1640. Olaus Graan was born in 1618 and matriculated at Uppsala University in 1637. Bygdén and Mohnike mention hints that Graan worked in his younger years as court musician of the young Queen Christina.⁵³⁸ For each of the years 1647, 1648, and 1649, Graan published an almanac. He became lector in mathematics at the newly founded gymnasium of Härnösand in 1650, later also in theology. In 1653, he married Anna Steuchia (1636-1662), the daughter of the superintendent of the diocese of Härnösand, Petrus Eriki Steuchius (1605-1683). The liaison proved to be of considerable help to Graan's career. During the years 1653 and 1654, he was rector of the gymnasium, and in 1656, he became provost, vicar, and school inspector in Piteå.

Graan's demeanour towards the poorer peasants led to complaints, as he insisted on full payment of their tithes despite their hardships. This led to lengthy proceedings, with an episcopal visitation in 1659, and investigations by the royal commissioners Erik Sparre (1618-1673) and Lorentz Creutz (1615-1676) in 1668. Despite many serious accusations and later attempts to remove him from office, Graan continued to work as provost of Piteå. Following the death of his second wife Elisabeth Larsdotter in 1663, he married Brita Tornæa (c.1643-1730), the daughter of Johannes Jonæ Tornæus. In his marriages, Graan fathered nine children. Of those who reached adulthood, his sons entered church service, and his daughters married clergymen. In addition to the three almanacs, he published two volumes of catechist literature

⁵³⁷ See, for instance *ibid.*, 282. "Verba Samuelis Rheen de hacte, quia longiora sunt, Latine solum adferam."

⁵³⁸ "Olaus Stephani Graan," in *Bygdén 3* (1925), 71-74, at: 71; Mohnike, "Les mots et les choses: Johannes Schefferus et la philologie du réel entre Rhin et Laponie," 9.

in Sámi as well as an alphabet book, all three in 1667 and at the press of the Royal printer Georg Hantsch (1623-1668).⁵³⁹ Graan died in 1689.

Graan sent his manuscript *Relation, Eller En Fulkomblig Beskrifning om Lapparnas Ursprung, så wähl som om heela dheras Lefwernes Förehållande* (An account, or a complete description of the Lapps' origin, as well as of their entire lives' affairs) to De la Gardie from Piteå on 8 May 1672.⁵⁴⁰ This was too late for Schefferus to make use of it in his work on *Lapponia*, as Wiklund suggested who found that Graan based his account of Pite lappmark on Rheen's account of Lule lappmark.⁵⁴¹

Even in the augmented *Histoire de la Laponie*, Schefferus does not refer to Graan's *Relation*, only mentioning him in connection with the catechisms published in 1667. As noted above, Schefferus was not aware that there were two clergymen by the name of Olaus Stephani Graan. Schefferus' complete neglect of the manuscript is puzzling. It is improbable that he did not know of the existence of the manuscript by the time he started working on a second edition. This meant either that Schefferus regarded it as untrustworthy or that it did not present any new information to him. Considering the comparison made by Wiklund, the latter seems more plausible. Except for changes in chapter order and several additions to some of the thematic

⁵³⁹ Martin Luther, *Catechesis Eller Summa af then helga Skrift, innehollandes then Christeliga Lärones Hufwudstycker, både huru wij här som Gudz Folck Christelige skole lefwa, och sedan hoos honom ewinnerliga salige warda. Catechesis Jala Summa datte aillis Kialagist, sis annet tabm Christakasai Läratus Oiwemus päcke, käbbak kuchte mije tasne käh Jubmellen vllmgia Christalaka kalge wäsod, jah mangell ludne su igeen saligen ärrode*, trans. Olaus Graan (Stockholm: tryckt aff Georg Hantsch, 1667); Olaus Graan, *Korta och Enfaldiga Spörsmåhl, öfwer Catechismum, Lämpade til Ungdomens förkofring i Christendomen, enkannerligen sammanfattade för Pitheå och Lulleå Lapmarker, sampt medh flijth deras egit Språk bifogat* (Stockholm: Georg Hantsch, 1667); Olaus Graan, ed., *Aabcd ...* (Stockholm: Georg Hantsch, 1667).

⁵⁴⁰ Olaus Graan, "Relation, Eller En Fulkomblig Beskrifning om Lapparnas Vrsprung, så wähl som om heela dheras Lefwernes Förehållande," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [1672] 1983), 12-78. "1. CAP. Om Lapparnas Ursprung. [...] 2. The wijdskepelige Mercken Lapparna hafwa om aflelsen och Födelsen Sampt huru the omgåå medh Barnen, strax the ähro födde. [...] 3. Huru the omgå Medh barnen i theras Barndoms år. [...] 4. Om Lapparnas Barns Uptuchtelse i theras Ungdoms år. [...] 5. CAP. Om Lapparnas Frijerij och dess Kostnadt å bägge Sijdor. [...] 6. Om Lapparnas bröllopz, Kyrckie och Giestebodz Ceremonier. [...] 7. Föräldrarnes heemgift Medh Barnen på bägge Sijdor, när the skillia dem ifrån sigh. [...] 8. Om arfskiftande, huru the ärfwa hwar annan i Löst och Fast. [...] 9. Om Lapparnas Diet Samt Maathwarornes Försorgh winter och andra tijder Om året. [...] 10. Om Lapparnas huus och Wisten, huru dhe Flyttia dem ifrån thet eena Rummet till det Andra. [...] 11. Lapparnas sätt medh booflyttande, och huru the Upryckia Sina tiäll. [...] 12. Om Lapparnas åhrlige arbete och Slögheet, och till hwad Män och quinnor ähro mest inclinerade. [...] 13. Om Renarnes artt och Natur. [...] 14. Om den Frucht som i Lapmarcken Wäxer och huru den brukat warder. [...] 15. Om Lapparnas Fruchtsamheet och ofruchtsamheet, sampt ålder. [...] 16. Om Lapparnas Trumbor och deras Delineation, sampt huru och hwarföre the them bruka. [...] 17. Cap. Om Lapparnas Förnemste Afgudar, såsom och om theras offer, huru och på hwadh Rum the them offra. [...] 18. Om den wijdskiepelse Lapparna bruka, när the Fånga Biörn. [...] 19. Om Lapparnas Gudztienst Sampt troo och lefwarne. [...] 20. Om the Metaller och Bergzbruuk som i lappmarkerne finnes, sampt på hwadh Rum the ähro belagne och deras beSkaffnheet. [...] 21. Om the diur som Finnes i Lappmarkerne, såsom och om deras Natuhr. [...] 22. CAP. Om deres kiöphandel och Marcknader. [...] 23. Om Lapparnas åhrlige skatt och tributh, hwar uthi den består, och huru der medh omgåå, när then uthgifwes. [...] 24. Om Lapparnas Klädebonat Som the åthskillige Åhrssens tijder bruka. [...] 25. Hwad Land i Lappmarcken Åhr, såsom och om Elfwer, träsk och Siöar. [...] 26. Om Lapparnas kyrckior, Sampt lappmarckernes fördeelelsse. [...] 27. Om the dödas Begrafningh och thet offer the giöra them Framlednom. [...] 28. Om Lapparnas Tijderächningh om året, eller och om deras Runstaff." See Table 12 for a translation into English.

⁵⁴¹ See Wiklund's "Företal" to Graan, "Relation, Eller En Fulkomblig Beskrifning om Lapparnas Vrsprung, så wähl som om heela dheras Lefwernes Förehållande," 3-7.

sections, only the first and last chapters of Graan's account present themselves as completely new and original contributions. Especially chapter 28 with depictions and explanations of rune staves in use among the Sámi stands out as unique, yet neglected until now.⁵⁴²

Table 11: The chapter titles of Graan's Relation translated into English

1. About the Lapps' origin.
2. The superstitious marks the Lapps have about begetting and birth as well as how they deal with children as soon as they are born.
3. How they deal with children in the years of their childhood.
4. About the Lapps' children's upbringing in the years of their youth.
5. About the Lapps' courting and its cost on both sides.
6. About the Lapps' wedding, church and celebration ceremonies.
7. The parents' dowry to the children on both sides, when they separate them from themselves.
8. About inheritance, how they inherit of each other property.
9. About the Lapps' diet and supply of food in winter and other seasons.
10. About the Lapps' houses and dwelling places, how they move with them from one place to another.
11. The Lapps' method of moving, and how they erect their tents.
12. About the Lapps' yearly work and deftness, and to what men and women are inclined the most.
13. About the reindeers' character and nature.
14. About the fruit growing in the lappmark and how it is used.
15. About the Lapps' fertility and infertility, as well as their age.
16. About the Lapps' drums, their delineation, as well as how and why they use them.
17. About the Lapps' most prominent idols, such as about their sacrifice, how and where they sacrifice to them.
18. About the superstition the Lapps use when they catch bears.
19. About the Lapps' worship as well as belief and lives.
20. About the metals and mines found in the lappmarks, as well as where they are situated and their state.
21. About the animals found in the lappmarks, as well as about their nature.
22. About their commerce and markets.
23. About the Lapps' annual taxation and tribute, what it consists of, and how it is handled when they pay it.
24. About the Lapps' clothes, which they use during different seasons.
25. What land in the lappmarks is, and also about rivers, marshes and lakes.
26. About the Lapps' churches, as well as division of the lappmarks.
27. About the deads' burial and the sacrifice they make to them furthermore.
28. About the Lapps' calculation of times about the year, or also about their rune staff.

⁵⁴² Graan, "Relation, Eller En Fulkomblig Beskrifning om Lapparnas Vrsprung, så wähl som om heela dheras Lefwernes Förehållande," 73-78.

3.5.3 JOHANNES JONÆ TORNÆUS

Johannes Jonæ Tornæus, Olaus Graan^B's father-in-law, was, as his last name suggests, probably born in Torne lappmark. His matriculation at Uppsala University on 16 February 1625 suggests that he was born before 1610. Bygdén notes that Tornæus for some time might have worked as a tutor for a certain Joachim Opsopæus in Degarö and vicar Olaus Andreas Roslagius in Rimbo. In 1632, he gained his degree of philosophiæ magister. By that time, he had become acquainted with Petrus Steuchius, who later took on a crucial role in school and church politics concerning the Sámi. There are conflicting indications regarding the next few years of Tornæus' life. While Bygdén states that Tornæus accompanied Count Bengt Oxenstierna^A (1591-1643) on a journey through the Middle East, Fjellström notes that he might have travelled with the Count through Livonia and Finland, as Oxenstierna became General-Governor of Ingria and Livonia in 1634.⁵⁴³ Given that Oxenstierna had already returned from the Middle East in 1620, Wiklund suggested that Tornæus accompanied another Oxenstierna, namely Gabriel Gabrielson Oxenstierna (1618-1647).⁵⁴⁴ The well-founded discussion of Tornæus' journey by Hanna Lidberg does not clarify either with whom and precisely where he travelled.⁵⁴⁵ In any case, this journey with a member of the Oxenstierna family seems to have been the reason for Tornæus' knowledge of 'oriental' languages. By the beginning of June 1638, Tornæus was back in Uppsala, as his entry in the *album amicorum* of Swedish diplomat Gottfried von Schröer (1611-1672) indicates.⁵⁴⁶

In 1639, Tornæus was ordained *kyrkoherde* of Nedertorneå, where he served from 1640 onwards. In 1643, he received the royal order to translate the church manual *Manuale Sueticum* into Sámi, which was published in Stockholm in 1648. This is also mentioned in *Laponia* in CH. VIII, which deals with Christian belief among the Sámi.⁵⁴⁷ In 1644 and 1647, he was a delegate to the Diet of Stockholm. In 1649, Tornæus was made provost, and in 1654 *kontraktsprost*. Tornæus died in 1681. With his first wife Margareta Königsdotter and his second wife Margareta Burman, he had at least seven children. Margareta Burman belonged to the Bure kinship and was the daughter of the clergyman and delegate to the Diet of 1643

⁵⁴³ "Johannes Jonæ Tornæus," in *Bygdén 2* (1923), 246-247; Fjellström, "Företal," VIII-IX.

⁵⁴⁴ See Wiklund's "Förord" to Johannes Tornæus, "Berättelse om Lapmarckerna och Deras Tillstånd," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [1672] 1983), 3-7, at: 6-7.

⁵⁴⁵ Lidberg, *Johannes Tornæus & Manuale Lapponicum*, 12-16.

⁵⁴⁶ UUB Y 131, fol. 322r.

⁵⁴⁷ Schefferus, *Laponia*, 73.

Andreas Nicolai Bothniensis (1590-1653). Tornæus' eldest son Abraham was the secretary of the member of the Privy Council Count Bengt Oxenstierna^B (1623-1702), while his two other sons were engaged in seafaring and the military. His eldest daughter Brita married Olaus Stephani Graan^B of Piteå, as noted above. Of their other daughters, Margareta married a certain Major Girsström, Anna married the tollkeeper of Piteå, Erik Burman, while another daughter married Tornæus' successor Henricus Tornström (d.1682). The French traveller Jean-François Regnard (1655-1709) witnessed Tornæus' burial and described it in *Voyage de Lapponie*, which formed part of the travelogue of his journeys to Flanders, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland and Germany, published posthumously in 1731.⁵⁴⁸

One of Schefferus' previously mentioned manuscript volumes contains two texts by Tornæus, of which the older, significantly shorter, one dated 15 January 1653 and written in Latin is titled *Narratiuncula de Lapponibus* (Short narrative about the Lapps).⁵⁴⁹ It already addresses many of the topics later discussed in Tornæus' more extensive Swedish text, despite being more concise and ordered differently.⁵⁵⁰ The second text, titled *Berättelse om Lapmarckerna och Deras Tillstånd* (Account about the lappmarks and their condition), has twenty chapters in the version Schefferus owned. Wiklund also mentions several other manuscript versions.⁵⁵¹

Like other lappmark clergy, Tornæus addressed the question of the language of the Sámi. Naturally, this was a practical matter for pastors ministering to the Sámi. In his manuscript from 1653, he states: "Constat quo[cumque] tot Dialectis, quot accolatus Ecclesias[cumque] habet"⁵⁵² (It is well known that it [Lapland] has as many dialects as it has neighbourhoods and congregations). In this way, Tornæus put the diversity of the linguistic landscape of the Sámi into writing, introducing the idea of several dialects among them. Schefferus would eventually make similar statements in reference to Rheen.⁵⁵³

In the later *Berättelse*, Tornæus continued his linguistic exploration and wrote about the Sámi people's name for themselves and their land. Here, Tornæus shows that despite having knowledge of the endonymic designations of the Sámi for the land they lived in and for

⁵⁴⁸ Jean François Regnard, "Voyage de Lapponie," in *Les Œuvres de M^r. Regnard. Nouvelle édition. Revuë, corrigée & augmentée.*, ed. N.N. (Paris: la Veuve de Pierre Ribot, 1731), 89-292, at: 262-266.

⁵⁴⁹ Its full title is *Narratiuncula de Lapponibus ad petitum Illustrissimi cuiusdam R. S. Senatoris A:o 1653 simplicissimè scripta.*

⁵⁵⁰ See UUB S 163: fol. 126r-140v. The text deals with a number of topics in the following order: Situation of the land, characteristics of the land, mountains and mines, origin of the "gens Lapponicæ", the people's stature, clothes, the people's character, religious aspects, idolatry and Christianity, language, food, way of life and travels, the reindeer and commerce.

⁵⁵¹ See Wiklund's "Förord" to Tornæus, "Berättelse om Lapmarckerna och Deras Tillstånd," 3-7.

⁵⁵² UUB S 163: fol. 135v.

⁵⁵³ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 184.

themselves, the Swedish crown did not consider calling the Sámi the way they did themselves. However, this is no isolated occurrence, as the treatment of other peoples was similar.

But the Lapps themselves name themselves in their language not so, but Same-olmuitz. Same is a Laplander. Same-Ednam, Lapland. Same-olmuitz, Lappish people. Same-olma, a Lappish man. Same-nissun, a Lappish woman.⁵⁵⁴

Table 12: The chapter headings of Tornæus' Berättelse translated into English

1. About the Lapps' origin.
2. Their name's uncertain origin.
3. Wherefrom the Lapps should have come.
4. About Lapland's situation.
5. Lapland's characteristics.
6. About Lapland's division and jurisdiction.
7. About the Lapps' ancient idolatry.
8. About the Lapp drum and its use: Also how sorcery is taught.
9. About the Lapps' Christianity and its fruit.
10. About the Lapps' worship.
11. About the Lapps' courting.
12. About their marriage.
13. About the Lapps' growth, character and talent.
14. About clothing.
15. About reindeer, their character and usefulness.
16. About the Lapps' travels.
17. About the Lapps' reindeer hunt.
18. About fishing and bird hunting.
19. About the Lapps' food.
20. About the Lapps' commerce.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ See UUB S 163: fol. 15v; Tornæus, "Berättelse om Lapmarckerna och Deras Tillstånd," 16. "Men Lapparna sielfwa kalla sigh på sitt måhl inte så, utan Same-olmuitz. Same är en Lappeländare. Same-Ednam, Lappland. Same-olmuitz, Lappiskt Folk. Same-olma, Lappisk man. Same-nissun, en Lappisk qwinna."

⁵⁵⁵ Tornæus, "Berättelse om Lapmarckerna och Deras Tillstånd," 11-64. "1. Om Lapparnas Uhrsprung. [...] 2. Deras Nampns owissa uttågh. [...] 3. Hwadan som Lapparna skola wara kommna. [...] 4. Om Laplands Belägenheet. [...] 5. Laplands Egenskap. [...] 6. Om Laplands Fördelning och Lagsagu. [...] 7. Om Lapparnas Forna Afguderij. [...] 8. Om Lapp-Trumman och des Bruck; Så och huru Trällkonsten läres. [...] 9. Om Lapparnas Christendom och des Frucht. [...] 10. Om Lapparnas Gudztjänst. [...] 11. Om Lapparnas Frijerij. [...] 12. Om deras Echtenskap. [...] 13. Om Lapparnas wäxt, Sinnelag och Gåfwor. [...] 14. Om Klädebonan. [...] 15. Om Renarna, deras art och nyttigheter. [...] 16. Om Lapparnas Reesor. [...] 17. Om Lapparnas Reen-Jacht. [...] 18. Om Fisk- och Fogelfängerij. [...] 19. Om Lapparnas Spijs. [...] 20. Om Lapparnas Köpenskap."

Similar to the treatment of Rheen's later manuscript, quotations by Tornæus were included in many of the chapters of *Lapponia*. Schefferus cites him on the land's name,⁵⁵⁶ its climate,⁵⁵⁷ the people's characteristics and origin,⁵⁵⁸ their Christian belief, their non-Christian practices, drums,⁵⁵⁹ their government and taxation, markets,⁵⁶⁰ language,⁵⁶¹ homes, clothing, way of life,⁵⁶² hunting, craftsmanship and occupations,⁵⁶³ marriage, child rearing,⁵⁶⁴ illnesses and burial,⁵⁶⁵ reindeer,⁵⁶⁶ trees,⁵⁶⁷ finds of metals,⁵⁶⁸ bodies of water, and mountains.⁵⁶⁹ Schefferus generally commends Tornæus together with Rheen, Niurenus and the Plantinus brothers in the preface. The treatment of longer citations is similar to that of those from Rheen.⁵⁷⁰

3.5.4 OLAUS PETRI NIURENIUS, ZACHARIAS AND ERICUS PLANTINUS

The earliest clergy account of the lappmarks is that of Olaus Petri Niurenus (1580-1645). Similar to Tornæus' earlier text, Niurenus' account is in Latin and precedes De la Gardie's request for descriptions of the region. Its title *Laplandia seu Descriptio orbis illius Arctoi quem in remotissima Scandiæ seu Sveciæ parte Lappi inhabitant Authore Olao Petri Niurenio Plantino* (Lapland, or a description of the Arctic world in the most remote parts of Scandia or Sweden where the Lapps dwell, written by Olaus Petri Niurenus Plantinus) underlines the understanding of Lapland as a part of Sweden inhabited by "Lapps".⁵⁷¹ The manuscript is undated, meaning that Niurenus wrote it at the latest in 1645, the year of his death. Wiklund, who presented translations into Swedish of parts of the manuscript, outlined the existence of various versions, and pointed out that Schefferus used the version found in one of his manuscript volumes.⁵⁷² Schefferus completed this unfinished version himself as the change from another hand to his own in chapter XXI of the manuscript indicates. Accordingly, he had

⁵⁵⁶ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, CH. I: 4-5.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, CH. III: 19-20, 22.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, CH. V: 29-32, 35-41, CH. VI: 42-43.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, CH. VIII: 70, 82-84, CH. IX: 91-93, CH. X: 97-98, 100, 106-107, 113-114, CH. XI: 120-124, 126, 130-131, 134-135, 143.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, CH. XIII: 161-162, 165-167, CH. XIV: 174.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, CH. XV: 177-178, 185.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, CH. XVI: 193, CH. XVII: 205, 208, 210-212, CH. XVIII: 216, 218.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, CH. XIX: 228-231, CH. XXI: 253-258, CH. XXII: 260, CH. XXIII: 267-268, 271.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, CH. XXV: 279-281, 285, 287, 290-291, 293-294, CH. XXVI: 295-297, 300-302, 306-307.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, CH. XXVII: 314, 316.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, CH. XXVIII: 325-328, 330, 335.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, CH. XXXI: 358.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, CH. XXXII: 367.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, CH. XXXIV: 373-375, CH. XXXV: 376-378.

⁵⁷⁰ See, for instance *ibid.*, 35. "Verba longiora sunt, quam ut Suetice possint apponi. Latine sic se habent: [...]"

⁵⁷¹ UUB S 164: fol. 1r.

⁵⁷² See Wiklund's "Förord" to Olaus Petri Niurenus, "Lapland eller beskrivning öfver den nordiska trakt, som lapparne bebo i de avlägsnaste delarne av Skandien eller Sverge," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [b. 1645] 1983), 3-5.

access to another copy.⁵⁷³ This became a topic of the correspondence with Matthias Steuchius (1644-1730) in late 1671.⁵⁷⁴

Niurenius was born in 1580 in Njurunda in Medelpad (Västernorrland) to the local vicar Petrus Olai Gestricius (d.1607), who became provost of Umeå in 1594, and wife Malin Nilsson, daughter of the mayor of Gävle town. He matriculated at Uppsala University in 1599 or 1604, and went on to study in Helmstedt, Greifswald, Jena and Wittenberg, where he received his magister degree in 1610. From 1611, he worked at the school of Gävle, from 1615 to 1619 as its rector. In June 1616, he visited Torneå with his father-in-law, the archbishop of Uppsala Petrus Keniccius (1555-1636). Niurenius became vicar in Umeå in 1619 and provost in 1623. He published a catechism in Swedish directed at the youth in the lappmarks in 1632. A dubious translation into South Sámi appeared in the following year. Fjellström ascribes Niurenius a key role in the development of a school system for the Sámi.⁵⁷⁵ Niurenius married twice. His first wife, Barbara Kenicia, died in 1622. With her and his second wife Magdalena Zachrisdotter, a member of the Bure kinship, Niurenius had at least twelve children who took the family name Plantinus. He died in 1645.

Olaus Niurenius and his children exemplify marriage strategies and occupational choices and opportunities of Swedish elites in the North. His eldest son Petrus (1613-1657) worked as a lector in Härnösand before becoming vicar in Bollnäs, Hälsingland. His second son Johan became mayor of Viborg. Margareta (1627-?) was married twice, to the vicars of Skellefteå Petrus Jonæ Linnerius and of Anundsjö Olaf Anzenius. Nicolaus (1629-1685) became provost and vicar in Nederluleå, Andreas (1631-1708) entered a judicial career as *auditör* (military inspector), then *häradshövding* (provincial judge) of Jämtland and Härjedalen, and finally of Southern Västerbotten. Magdalena married the vicar of Skellefteå Nicolaus Martini, Olof (c.1640-?) was first rector in Umeå town and later vicar in Nordmaling. Daniel (d.1711) worked in financial administration as tollkeeper in Umeå before becoming *räntmästare* (head of the fiscal authority) in Viborg. Finally, Barbara married the *fältskär* (military surgeon) Axel Olofsson Orm in Klabböle near Umeå.

⁵⁷³ UUB S 164: fol. 24v.

⁵⁷⁴ See Subsection 3.5.6.

⁵⁷⁵ Phebe Fjellström, "Olaus Petri Niurenius," in *SBL* 27 (1990-1991), 81-83.

Table 13: The chapter headings of Niurenius' *Laplandia* translated into English

1. On the designation.
2. On the location.
3. On the region's longitude and latitude.
4. On the ancient times.
5. On the origin.
6. On changes of the language.
7. On the provinces.
8. On the fictitious scitfinns and bjarmians.
9. On the periscians or subpolarians [hyperboreans].
10. On the climate.
11. On the four seasons.
12. On its [the land's] specific composition.
13. On rivers and fisheries.
14. On trees and herbs.
15. On the nature of the people.
16. On clothing.
17. On nourishment.
18. On domestic animals.
19. On game.
20. On birds.
21. On heathen idolatry.
22. On the religion of the former age.
23. On the modern religion.⁵⁷⁶

Two of Niurenius' sons, Zacharias Olai Plantinus (c.1625-1688) and Ericus Olai Plantinus (c.1633-1688) communicated his account to Schefferus. Both followed their father in studying in Uppsala and at German universities. Zacharias matriculated in Uppsala on 17 December 1642, Ericus in October 1649. Zacharias worked at Härnösands gymnasium from 1650 onwards, becoming lector of Greek in 1652. In January 1656, he matriculated in Heidelberg. In April of the same year, Ericus gained his magister degree from the University of Wittenberg. Following in the footsteps of their father, both brothers went into service for the church in the North. In 1680 and 1686, Zacharias was a delegate to the Imperial Diet. They both died in 1688.

⁵⁷⁶ UUB S 164. "Caput. I. De notatione II. De Situ III. De Loci long: et lat: IV. De antiquitate V. De Origine VI. De mutatione lingvæ VII. De provincijs VIII. De fictis Skrickfinnis et Biarmis IX. De Periscijs Seu Suppolaribus X. De Elementorum temperie XI. De IV anni temporibus XII. De Specialj eius constitutione XIII. De Fluvijs et piscatura XIV. De arboribus et herbis XV. De Gentis natura XVI. De amictu XVII. De victu XVIII. De Animalibus domesticis XIX. De feris XX. De avibus XXI. De Ethnica Idololatria XXII. De Religione Seculj priorj XXIII. De Religione moderna"

Both Zacharias and Ericus married twice. Zacharias married Anna Maria Piehler, daughter of a German-born regiment surgeon serving in Härnösand, and later Margareta Flodalin, daughter of the vicar Olaus Bartholdini. With Piehler, he fathered one son and three daughters. Olof Julius became rector in Landskrona before entering church service as vicar in Skåne, while the daughters married clergymen and a lieutenant. Ericus fathered nine children with his wives Anna Larsdotter Burman and Margareta Theet. Those of his sons who reached adulthood became clergymen, lawyers or military officials, and the daughters married clergymen, officials, military men, or seafarers. Ericus' son Olof (1670-1721) was ennobled as Plantenstedt and went into the records as the sole member of the most shortlived noble house - one year and nine days - in Swedish history after dying in a road accident in which he lost both legs.

Schefferus replied to Niurenus' manuscript with a long list of thirty-two questions to the two sons. The whereabouts of the questions is unfortunately unknown, but Ericus' answers are part of one of Schefferus' manuscript volumes.⁵⁷⁷ Wiklund transcribed them in connection with his partial translation of Niurenus' *Laplandia*.⁵⁷⁸

Zacharias also wrote a Latin-Sámi word list, later transcribed and published by Eemil Nestor Setälä.⁵⁷⁹ When sending the word list to Schefferus, Zacharias added a preface to it.⁵⁸⁰ The word list itself is in the collection of the Royal Library, Stockholm.⁵⁸¹ In addition to the more than 800 words in Latin and Sámi, it also holds two versions of the "Pater noster Lapponice" (Lord's Prayer in Sámi) by Niurenus and Tornæus, respectively.⁵⁸²

Of the three, Schefferus quotes Niurenus most often, in the majority of *Lapponia*'s chapters.⁵⁸³ The quotations taken from Zacharias Plantinus' accompanying text to the word list occur in the four chapters on the name of "Lapponia", the origin of the Sámi, Christianity among

⁵⁷⁷ UUB S 163: fol. 153r-157v.

⁵⁷⁸ Ericus Plantinus, "Responsum Dni Erici Plantini ad quæstiones, quæ sequuntur in fine.," in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [?] 1983).

⁵⁷⁹ E. N. Setälä, "Ein lappisches [W]örterverzeichnis von Zacharias Plantinus. Mit [E]inleitung nach der [O]riginalhandschrift herausgegeben von E. N. Setälä," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* VIII (1889): 1-20.

⁵⁸⁰ UUB S 163: 143r-145v.

⁵⁸¹ KB F.a. 9.

⁵⁸² See the transcriptions in Setälä, "Ein lappisches Wörterverzeichnis," 20.

⁵⁸³ Schefferus, *Lapponia*. Quotations of Niurenus' text can be found in CH. I: 4-5, CH. II: 13, 15, CH. III: 18, 20-22, CH. V: 28-30, 37, 39, CH. VI: 46, 48, 55, CH. VIII: 73, 75, 82-83, CH. IX: 93, CH. X: 106, CH. XI: 121-123, 130, 140-141, CH. XVI: 197, 200, 202, 204, CH. XVII: 204, 206, 209-210, CH. XVIII: 217, 225, CH. XIX: 243, CH. XX: 251-252, CH. XXII: 260, 262, CH. XXIII: 272-273, CH. XXVII: 308-310, 315, CH. XXVIII: 323, 329-330, 332, 334-335, CH. XXIX: 338, 341-342, 344-345, CH. XXX: 348, 350, 355-357, CH. XXXI: 357-361, CH. XXXV: 376-377.

them and their language.⁵⁸⁴ Citations of Ericus' replies to the questions Schefferus posed are only found in CH. XXVII *De Morbis Lapponum, Obitu & Sepultura*.⁵⁸⁵

3.5.5 GABRIEL TUDERUS

Wiklund included Gabriel Tuderus (1638-1705) in his editions of Swedish descriptions of the Sámi written in the 17th century. Schefferus owned a version of Tuderus' account of Kemi lappmark at some point, but did not make use of it in the early stages of the writing of *Lapponia*. Nevertheless, Tuderus deserves mentioning in this prosopographic exploration, as his background and account are from a different part of Sápmi than those of the other contributors. His contribution forms the most contemporary source on the Eastern Kemi Sámi potentially available to Swedish scholars in the late 17th century. A hitherto neglected indication of the role of Tuderus' text in relation to the Lapponia project is an entry found in Schefferus' posthumously published *Svecia literata*. There, in his list of writings prepared for print, but in need of a printer - "Sequuntur prælo parata, cum se offeret idoneus typographus" (There follows the ones that have been prepared for print, when a suitable printer will offer his services) - the sixty-seventh entry sketches the outline of an augmented edition:

Lapponia much enlarged. With the addition of Tuderus' memoir on the conversion of certain Lappish villages to the true Christian piety, and his short description of the Lappish people, translated from Swedish into Latin. Handed over to the bookseller in Naumburg Carolus Wolff for publication.⁵⁸⁶

This projected second edition never came into existence.⁵⁸⁷

Tuderus was born in 1638 to the provost of Kemi Johannes Tuderus (1600-1672) and Christina von Bülow. He began studying in Åbo in 1656, where he caused much trouble and even a student uprising in 1658. Expelled from the University of Åbo for three years, he went to Uppsala to continue his studies. There, he again ended up in quarrels and difficulties with the authorities, as the protocols of the academic consistory show.⁵⁸⁸ After three years, he went back to Åbo to finish his studies. He began serving as a chaplain in Enare parish in 1669. There, he wrote a first description of Kemi lappmark. In a version, possibly a copy, kept by the library

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., CH. I: 5-6, CH. VI: 46-48, 54, CH. VIII: 64, CH. XV: 178.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 309-311, 313-315, 318.

⁵⁸⁶ Joannes Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciæ. Opus postumum*. (Holmiæ: Typis & impensis Henrici Keyser/ S. R. M.tis Typographi, 1680), 300. "Lapponia multo auctior. Accedit Tuderii commemoratio conversionis quorundam pagorum Lapponicorum ad veram pietatem Christianam, & Descriptio brevis Lapponicæ gentis, è Suetico versa in Latinum. Tradita est bibliopolæ Naumburgensi Carolo VVolf, ut emittat in lucem."

⁵⁸⁷ See Section 4.3.

⁵⁸⁸ *UUAKP* 5, 224-225. 29 February & 3 March 1660.

of the University of Lund, the manuscript is about one hundred pages long. The original was probably completed no later than 1673, as Tuderus signed it “af Gabriele Tuderus Sacell: Enari” (by Gabriel Tuderus, chaplain of Enare). In 1673, he became *kyrkoherde* of Kuusamo, about two hundred kilometres east of Kemi.

The text consists of two parts, the *underrättelse* (information) and the *berättelse* (account), corresponding to the above-cited entry in *Svecia Literata*.⁵⁸⁹ The first sixty-four pages recount Tuderus’ efforts as a missionary, mentioning the years 1669-1672, while the remaining twenty-seven pages hold an account of the Sámi of Kemi lappmark. Table 14 shows that this account differs structurally and probably precedes the one Schefferus owned.

Table 14: The chapter headings of Tuderus’ kort underrättelse according to LUB 1: Geogr [Tuderus] and Wiklund’s transcription of UUB N 1006 and S 167 translated into English

LUB 1: Geogr [Tuderus]	UUB N 1006/S 167
1. About the Lapps’ origin and descent.	1. About the Lapps’ origin and descent.
2. Wherefrom and why are they called Lapps?	2. About their religion and worship.
3. About the Lapps’ clothing.	3. About their baptism and Christianity.
4. About their customs and conduct.	4. About their burial.
5. About their mind, how they are composed and inclined.	5. About their courting and marriage.
6. About their nourishment and livelihood.	6. About their clothing.
7. About their courting and marriage. ⁵⁹⁰	7. About their nourishment and livelihood.
	8. About their shape and nature how they are composed and inclined.
	9. About their customs and conduct.
	10. Wherefrom and why they are called Lapps. ⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ The full title of the latter is: *En Kort Berättelse Genom hwad tilfälle Sodankyle, Sombio, Kuolajerfvi, Kittka och Mansälkä Lappars, i Kiemi Lappmark, Afgudadyrkan, Widskeppelse och skrymtaktige Gudstjenst, och hwaruti den består, är worden uppenbar, och huru de äro sedermera til Gud omvändne wordne.*

⁵⁹⁰ LUB 1:Geogr [Tuderus], unpaginated. “Om Lapparnes ursprångh och härkomst. [...] Hwarutaf och hwarföre the kallas Lappar? [...] Om Lapparnes Klädedrächt. [...] Om theras seder och Åthäfwor [...] Om theras gemöte, huru the äro artade och inclinerade. [...] Om theras Näring och Uppehälle [...] Om theras Frijerij och Gifftermåhl.”

⁵⁹¹ Gabriel Tuderus, “En kort underrättelse om The Österbothniske Lappar, som under Kiemi Gebiet lyda.,” in *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige: faksimileutgåva av de s.k. prästrelationerna m.m., först publicerade av K. B. Wiklund 1897-1909*, ed. K. B. Wiklund and Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (Umeå: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, [1672-1679] 1983), 7-24. “Caput I. Om lapparnas ursprung och härkomst. [...] Caput II. Om theras Religion och Gudstjenst. [...] Caput III. Om theras dop och Christendom. [...] Cap. IV. Om theras begrafning. [...] Cap. V. Om theras frijeri och Gifftermåhl. [...] Cap. VI. Om theras klädedrächt. [...] Cap. VII. Om theras näring och uppehälle. [...] Cap. VIII. Om theras skapnad och natur huru the äro fatta och Inclinerade. [...] Cap. IX. Om theras seder och åthäfwor. [...] Cap. X. Hwar utaf och hwarföre de kallas lappar.”

Upon the death of his father in 1672, Tuderus sent a plea to De la Gardie for his father's position as provost of Kemi. He made his case by emphasizing the difficulties he encountered with the Sámi and implying a great necessity to continue his work:

I, a poor and unimportant priest, have now let myself be used for more than nine years as the regular pastor for the barbarian and idolatrous people not only in Enare and Kemi lappmark [...]⁵⁹²

Following his promotion to vicar of Kemi lappmark in 1673, complaints about his refusal to administer the Lord's Supper to those Sámi who would not repent from the old ways reached the King, who commanded governor Johan Graan and bishop Laurentius Stigzelius (1598-1676) to start an investigation. The proceedings had no immediate negative outcome for Tuderus, who became vicar of Nedertorneå in 1682. Also in this position, Tuderus encountered resistance, as his parishioners tried to get him out of office. Isak Fellman transcribed parts of the related correspondence of the parish inhabitants and King Karl XI.⁵⁹³ Despite this, Tuderus remained in office.

During King Karl's journey to the North to witness the Northern Lights in 1694, he visited Torneå, where Tuderus was to preach before the King, a task he failed so miserably that he later apologized in an address.⁵⁹⁴ Tuderus died in 1705. He was married to Brita Olofsdotter Forselia (1662-1747) with no known children.

About one hundred years after Tuderus wrote the *kortt Berättelse*, the historian Samuel Loenbom (1725-1776) published it in a volume titled *Twå Berättelser Om Lapparnes Omvändelse Ifrån Deras fordna Widskeppelser, och Afguderi* (Two accounts about the conversion of the Lapps from their ancient superstitions and idolatry).⁵⁹⁵ The second account was a letter by the Dano-Norwegian missionary to the Sámi people Thomas von Westen (1682-1727), which prompted the Swedish clergy in Jämtland to send defecting Norwegian Sámi back to Norway and to warn them about two Sámi who would spread lies about him. Furthermore, von Westen asked to purchase an exemplar of the New Testament "idiomate Lapponico per Rangium, cura Rectoris Hernösandensis" ([translated into] the Lapponic language through

⁵⁹² Gabriel Tuderus to De la Gardie, 1672. Transcribed in: Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne II*, 411-413 (No. 174). "[...] iagh fattige och ringa Prestman [...] haffver nu meera uti 9 åhrs tijdh hoos thet barbariske och afgudiske folcket icke allenast uti Enariby och Kemi lappmarcken, för deras ordinarie siälesöriare migh bruka låtit [...]"

⁵⁹³ See Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne II*, 427-430 (No. 183-184).

⁵⁹⁴ Tuderus to Karl XI, 1694. Transcribed in: Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne II*, 433-434 (No. 186).

⁵⁹⁵ Samuel Loenbom, ed., *Twå Berättelser Om Lapparnes Omvändelse Ifrån Deras fordna Widskeppelser, och Afguderi* (Stockholm: Tryckt i Kongl. Finska Boktryckeriet, på Joh. Arv. Carlbohms bekostnad, 1773).

Rangius, supervised by the Rector of Härnösand) from his fellow clergymen.⁵⁹⁶ He is referring to the first translation of the New Testament by Sámi vicar Lars Rangius (c.1667-1717), which, however, did not appear in print. In his letter, von Westen also mentions the impact of Tuderus' missionary activities:

I know a place in Torne lappmark, namely in Enare, where the Swedish Lapps are so God-fearing, idol-haters, accurately enlightened, decent, that I deem them to be among the best Christians I know; because I have spoken to many of them in Finnmark, and all the good is done with the diligence of only one clergyman Herr Gabriel; but, after this, I have not found such Swedish Lapps.⁵⁹⁷

Wiklund hinted at a connection between Tuderus and Schefferus in the foreword to his edition of the *underrättelse*, referring to Schefferus' own copy of Tuderus' account.⁵⁹⁸ As discussed in Subsection 2.4.2, two auction lists of manuscripts owned by Schefferus' daughter support the assumption that he owned Tuderus' accounts.⁵⁹⁹ Section 4.3 discusses how these accounts are related to *Lapponia*.

3.5.6 MATTHIAS STEUCHIUS

To date, the role of Matthias Steuchius in the early stages of the Lapponia project has not been analysed in detail. In his introduction to Olaus Graan's account, Wiklund mentions that Steuchius had been about to rework Graan's text. Graan was Steuchius' uncle. However, the results of this were not seen until 1693, and thus Steuchius' annotations to the manuscript of his uncle could not have influenced the writing of *Lapponia*.⁶⁰⁰ Yet there are other documents suggesting that Steuchius played a role in the process, which I discuss following some biographical notes.

Steuchius was born in Fogdö in Södermanland in 1644 to Queen Christina's *hovpredikant* (domestic chaplain) Petrus Erici Steuchius and Brita Ilsbodina (c.1615-1650), a member of the Bure kinship. In 1647, his father became superintendent of the newly installed diocese of

⁵⁹⁶ Thomas von Westen, "Danske Missionariens til Lappmarken, Thomas von Westens Berättelse om Norrska Lapparnes widskepelse, uti Bref til Swenska Presterskapet i Jämteland, Skrifwit år 1723," in *Twå Berättelser Om Lapparnes Omvändelse Ifrån Deras forna Widskepelse, och Afguderer*, ed. Samuel Loenbom (Stockholm: Tryckt i Kongl. Finska Boktryckeriet, på Joh. Arv. Carlbohms bekostnad, [1723] 1773), 70-72.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 68. "Jag wet et ställe i Torneå Lappmark nemligen i Indiager, hwarest de Swenske Lappar äro så gudfruktige, afguda-hatare, wäl uplyste, skickelige, at jag håller dem före, at wara ibland de bästa Christna jag känner; Ty jag har i Finnmarken talt med manga af dem, och alt det goda är med en endaste Prästs Herr Gabriels flit uträttadt; men sedan har jag icke funnit sådana Swenska Lappar."

⁵⁹⁸ See Wiklund's "Förord" to Tuderus, "En kort underrättelse om The Österbothnische Lappar, som under Kiemi Gebiet lyda.," 3-5, at: 4; UUB S 166.

⁵⁹⁹ UUB Bibl. arkiv E 5: 147-155; see also UUB Bibl. arkiv M 5: unpaginated.

⁶⁰⁰ See Wiklund's "Företal" to Graan, "Relation, Eller En Fulkomblig Beskrifning om Lapparnas Vrsprung, så wähl som om heela dheras Lefwernes Förehållande," 3-7.

Härnösand, responsible for all of Northern Sweden. To better his understanding of and communication with the local populace, Petrus Steuchius learned some Finnish and Sámi. In Härnösand, Matthias became a pupil at the *trivialskola* in 1650 and at the *gymnasium* in 1654, paving the way for his impressive career. In 1658, he went to Uppsala to study, where he soon became acquainted with Schefferus. Having received his magister degree in 1668, he visited several German, Dutch and English universities over the course of the following years. His journeys brought him to Helmstedt, Wittenberg, Jena, Tübingen, Basel and Heidelberg, before he travelled to England.

From Oxford, where he heard the news that he had been granted the position of lector of logic at Härnösands gymnasium, he travelled back to Sweden. Following his return, his father ordained him in 1672. That same year and in 1675, Matthias participated in the *ståndsriksdag* (the Diet of the Estates). During his second participation and probably in reaction to witchcraft processes in Northern Sweden, which had also occurred in Härnösand, he opposed the idea of letting children witness in them.⁶⁰¹ In 1676, he became professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Uppsala. When his father called for Steuchius to help him with the work in Härnösand, he went back in 1683, and succeeded him as superintendent.

In connection with his journey to Northern Sweden in 1694, Karl XI visited Steuchius' episcopal home at Säbrå twice and appointed him bishop of Lund, thereby making him *prokansler* (vice-chancellor) of the University of Lund. At the age of seventy, in 1714, Steuchius became archbishop of Uppsala, and thereby *prokansler* of Uppsala University, serving in this position until he died in 1730.

With his wife Anna Tersera (1653-1723), daughter of the bishop of Linköping Johannes Terserus (1605-1678), Steuchius had ten children, some of whom were ennobled in 1719. Of those reaching adulthood, three sons took on high political and clerical offices in the Empire and five daughters married into influential families. Jöns (1676-1742) succeeded his father as archbishop. Elisabeth (1677-?) became the wife of the following superintendent of Härnösand, Petrus Asp (1667-1726). Birgitta (1679-1710) married the professor and later *domprost* (dean of the cathedral) in Linköping Thomas Ihre (1659-1720). Matthias (1681-1704) served as secretary of the Royal Senate. Anna (1684-1737) married twice: The librarian and theologian in Lund Bonde Humerus (1659-1727) and the governor and chamber councillor Jonas Wulfwenstierna (1681-1762). Elof (1687-1772) was professor of mathematics at the

⁶⁰¹ Östling, "Witchcraft Trials in 17th-century Sweden and the Great Northern Swedish Witch Craze of 1668–1678," 101-104.

universities of Lund and Uppsala and became *kommerseråd* (councillor of commerce, a supervisor in the *Kommerskollegium*, an agency overseeing Sweden's foreign trade) in 1728. Maria (1689-1719) married the bishop of Västerås Nils Barchius (1676-1733). Margareta (1696-1770) became the wife of Johan Hermansson (1679-1737), a professor in Lund and successor of Schefferus in the Skyttean professorship.

One of the aforementioned manuscript volumes contains two letters Steuchius sent to Schefferus.⁶⁰² Sections of both letters were included in *Lapponia*. Schefferus quotes from them in the chapters on pre-Christian gods and worship among the Sámi and on diseases, death and burial.⁶⁰³ Steuchius is a prime example of the role the local elite played in advancing knowledge about the lappmarks and their inhabitants. Based in Härnösand, he was an intermediary between Schefferus and the clergymen. This is revealed in the letters, which I present here for the first time in detail. In his letter dated 21 November 1671, Steuchius writes about his endeavours with a turn of phrase that indicates zeal and understatement: “Multum in negotio mihi a Te commisso movi, sed parum promovi”⁶⁰⁴ (I have attempted much in the assignment I got from you, but accomplished little). In what follows, he includes a number of narrations and describes the approach he had taken to provide Schefferus with new accounts, insights and objects:

It is certainly not sufficient to have wakened our all-too-sleepy historians: they remain silent even under threat. I have often humbly asked Zacharias Plantinus that, if the book by his late father on this topic should happen to be in his possession, it would not be displeasing either to his late father or to himself and that he even, by taking this opportunity, could acquire fame among future generations thanks to your work, most honoured gentleman. However, he solemnly told that the book no longer was in his possession.⁶⁰⁵

Steuchius first outlines the difficulty of finding adequate literature about the Sámi. Repeatedly, he approached Zacharias Plantinus to ask for the book of his father Olaus Petri Niurenus. Finally, Steuchius learns that the book was no longer in Zacharias' possession. Fortunately, a copy had survived, as Steuchius reports:

⁶⁰² Matthias Steuchius to Schefferus, 21 November 1671 and 6 February 1672. UUB S 163: fol. 150r-152v.

⁶⁰³ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, c. x: 104, c. xxvii: 311, 313-315.

⁶⁰⁴ Steuchius to Schefferus, 21 November 1671. UUB S 163: fol. 150r.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid. “Non sufficit profecto sæpius excitasse somnolentos nimium historicos nostros: tacent etiam ad minas. Multis precibus Zachariam Plantinum oravi, ut si liber Beati Parentis ejus super hoc argumento esset illi ad munus non invideret B[eat]i Parenti suo et sibi ipsi etiam famam quam hac occasione per labores Tuus vir amplissime, parare poterit ad posteros duraturam. Sed ille sancte contestatus e, sibi librum istum de manibus perusse.”

He did, however, say that some manuscripts that his late father had compiled were at Erik Plantin's, the pastor of Umeå. These could remedy the loss of the book in question.⁶⁰⁶

With this hint, Steuchius conveys that Niurenus' work could be salvageable. Indeed, the university library in Uppsala holds a fragmented copy of Niurenus' account. As mentioned above, it was written by two hands, with that of Schefferus completing several sections of the original written by Niurenus and adding annotations to its margins.⁶⁰⁷ Again, the importance of family connections in the history of the lappmark accounts presents itself, even including another Plantinus:

After the end of this month, I intend to go to the regions close to this parish to visit my relative, a third brother of the Plantins. If I manage to make some progress in this matter with this action of mine, I shall make sure that everything takes place most carefully. I do hope that the matter shall be settled without much effort, for one of these days there arrived to my father a letter from the illustrious Chancellor in which he ordered the two Plantins and master Johannes Tornæus to proceed with this case vis-à-vis Graan, promising them both payment and punishment.⁶⁰⁸

This third Plantinus was Steuchius' brother-in-law Nicolaus Olai, the pastor in Själevad married to Steuchius' sister Christina (1642-1718), again exemplifying the prevalent family connections among Northern elites. Steuchius serves also as an example of the close cooperation between De la Gardie, Schefferus, the regional leadership and the local pastors. The way Steuchius presents this underscores the necessity to consider the contributors as a team of researchers coordinated from a distance. This team has to be regarded as the most crucial requirement for any chance of success of the Lapponia project. In consequence, this calls into question the role of Schefferus as the author and supports any argumentation in favour of Schefferus serving as the selector, compressor, and compiler who processed all incoming information and re-arranged it according to the scholarly standards of the learned European elite. This was a necessary step, as the next lines of Steuchius' letter suggest:

As to the passage in Saxo, Mister Zacharias Plantin has nothing certain to say. For one thing, he did not have the author to hand when he wrote those words to

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid. "Superesse [ame]n dicebat schedas aliquas quas B[eatus] Parens ejus collegit apud Magistrum Ericum Plantinum pastorem in Umeå: illas posse libri istius jacturam supplere."

⁶⁰⁷ UUB S 164: fol. 1r-28v.

⁶⁰⁸ Steuchius to Schefferus, 21 November 1671. UUB S 163: fol. 150r. "Meditor post mensem hunc ire in vicinas hujc parocicæ partes ad affinem meum Plantinor[um] fratrem tertium, si aliquid potero in negotio hoc efficere opera hæc mea, curabo ut omnia fiant diligentissime. Et spero rem sine magno labore posse confieri: quia hisce diebus perlatae sunt ad Parentem meum Ill[ustrissimi] Cancellarii literæ quibus sub spe et præmiorum et pænarum jubentur Plantinorum uterque et M[agister] Johannes Tornæus cum Granio institutum hoc promovere."

you, and moreover, he did not rely on any other authority than that of his own father. I sincerely doubt that he had a Saxo to hand, either. Nevertheless, Plantin hopes to be able to show that passage in case he would get the book in his hands. As far as I am aware, it is unavailable around here. Regarding the origin of the Lapps, there is absolutely no person here that doubts that they derive from the Finns.⁶⁰⁹

This scrutiny of Plantinus' thoughts indicates that the origin of the Sámi people had become a topic in the Republic of Letters. There, the ideas of authorities such as Saxo and lappmark clergymen such as Plantinus or Niurenus were reviewed carefully. Steuchius takes up the topic of the relation between the Finns and the Sámi people, referring to a certain provincial judge Karl Karlsson Burman (1610-1671), a member of the Bure kinship, who maintained that the Sámi were living more closely together in their settlements near Finland.⁶¹⁰ Alluding to a story about the general governor of Finland and later *riksdrots* (Lord High Justiciar) Per Brahe, which he had heard from his father, Steuchius recounts the historical entanglements of Finns and Sámi, as he understands them:

Based on the account of Nobleman Brahe, my father told me that once upon a time, when he [i.e., the former] travelled through these lands, the Lapps owed their origin from Finns, having been exiled from their homes because of wrongdoings. They possessed scorched lands at first, wherever opportunity offered itself, in rather high densities, but later, as their numbers grew, they dispersed themselves and wandered around in the woods.⁶¹¹

He adds another piece of information he had heard from a clergyman in Undersåker in Jämtland by the name of Petrus Berghemius (d.1677), who, living close to Norway, knew that “Lappones Norvegis adhuc dici Fennones” (among the Norwegians the Lapps are still called Finns).⁶¹² Steuchius carefully builds up his argument and augments it with observations and narrations by

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., fol. 150r-v. “De loco Saxonis D[omi]n[us] Zacharias Plantinus nihil certi habet quod dicat. Nam nec autorem ipsum habuit, cum ista scriberet, nec nititur fide allegantis alia quam Parentis sui, de quo valde dubito, utrum ille etiam Saxonem ad manus habuerit. Sperat t[ame]n Plantinus se posse, si liber esset ad manus, locum istum monstrare. Hic, quod sciam, haberi ille nequit. De origine v[er]o Lapponum, quin à Fennonibus orti sint, a n[os]tror[um] hominum nemine in dubium vocatur.”

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., fol. 150v. “Est hic iudex provincialis Carolus Caroli Burman vir et senio et autoritate gravis, qui quondam Lapponibus ad orientem solem præfuit; hic fide certa mihi retulit, esse eam communem o[ra]rum traditionem addidet etiam ea parte Lapponiæ quæ Fennonia est proxima Lappones non ista sparsim habitare ut apud nos, sed numero coisse plurimos in justis pagi modum” (There is a provincial judge here named Carolus Caroli Burman [Karl Karlsson B.], an elderly man with considerable authority, who once commanded Lapps in the east. He told me with firm conviction that the traditions of origins were common [i.e., to both peoples], adding that in the part of Lapland that is closest to Finland they do not live as scattered as here. Instead, many gathered together in numbers in the same manner as a real village).

⁶¹¹ Ibid. “Et retulit Parens meus ex Ill[ustrissimi] Comitis Brahe narratione, cum has terras aliquando transiret, Lappones ortum suum debere Fennonibus ob scelera domo pulsus, qui extorres sedes suas initio posuerunt, ubi sic occasio tulit, frequentiores, postea aucta multitudine, hinc inde dispersi in sylvibus oberrarunt.”

⁶¹² Ibid. “Accepi etiam à Pastore in Undersåker in Iemtlandia Petro Berghemio, Lappones Norvegis adhuc dici Fennones” (I also learned from a pastor in Undersåker in Jämtland, Petrus Berghemius, that among the Norwegians the Lapps are still called Finns).

others. Several times, these observations originate from the daily routine of a lappmark clergyman: “Even here in the parish of my father there are some Finns living in the woodlands that both in regard to their way of life and their habits are very similar to Lapps”.⁶¹³ This leads him to ponder the meaning of the word “Lappo”: “If the very word Lapp signifies a sort of vagabond, is unclear so far”.⁶¹⁴ Steuchius adds that the Sámi he was acquainted with would not know it either.⁶¹⁵ However, there was possibly a reliable Sámi informant in Umeå:

Mister Zacharias Plantin, however, told me that this meaning was crystal clear to those that master the language. As authority for this opinion he mentioned mister Samuel Rheen. I will seek further information from a Lapp who is the most learned of his people and a colleague at the school in Umeå, if only circumstances allow me to linger for a while.⁶¹⁶

Steuchius’ network in the lappmarks appears as crucial to the Lapponia project. He also had insight into which members of the lappmark clergy knew each other. Plantinus was acquainted with Samuel Rheen’s account. Steuchius was also aware that Schefferus was working under pressure of time. From the language and origin of the Sámi as a people, the letter moves on to the topic of deities and their origin:

The more learned men from this place have nothing to say about the difference between the gods, *Storguden* and *Ehoros*. It is believed that the former kind of gods is known to Lapps that live close to the gold mine in Luleå.⁶¹⁷

Mining had put the region on the map, and with the mines contributing to the wealth of the Kingdom, they became useful landmarks for orientation in the region. It is likely that Schefferus knew the position of this mine on the map. The transformation of the landscapes of Sápmi that is still happening today had been well under way and had already re-defined the region by that time. From the perspective of an observer in the Swedish centres of power, the lappmarks had turned into areas full of natural resources. Steuchius proceeds with his report about his activities on behalf of the Lapponia project, continuing with the topic of deities:

⁶¹³ Ibid. “Quin in hac parentis mei parocia sunt Fenni aliqui in nemorosis saltibus habitantes qui et vitæ genere et moribus parum à Lapponib[us] differunt.”

⁶¹⁴ Ibid. “An v[ero] Lappo vi vocis denotet erronem aliquem, non dum satis liquet.”

⁶¹⁵ Ibid. “Sane Lappones ipsi id ignorant, quibuscum mihi loqui contigit” (At least the Lapps that I have had the chance to talk to were themselves unaware of this).

⁶¹⁶ Ibid. “Dixit t[ame]n D[omi]nus Zach[arias] Pl[antinus] peritis linguæ id extra dubium e[ss]e. Allegavit autore[m] istius sententiæ D[omi]num Sam[uelem] Rhen. Sed perquiram ulterius apud Lapponem suæ gentis eruditissimum et scholæ Umensis collegam, modo res pati possit aliquam moram.”

⁶¹⁷ Ibid. “De differentia Deorum *Storguden* et [E?]horos nihil norunt hujus loci eruditiores. creditur illud Deorum genus usitatum esse Lapponibus qui prope auream fodinam in *Luleå* habitant.”

Furthermore, because Mister Samuel Rheen knows about this matter, I sent him one of these days a letter, asking him to not only describe the difference of these gods, but also to send the gods themselves hither: if possible, an object of the kind that the Lapps themselves worship, or, in case that is not possible, a copy only.⁶¹⁸

Since he himself had no further knowledge about the deities worshipped traditionally by the Sámi, he sent a letter to Rheen requesting a detailed and clear explanation of the matter, supplemented by one of their objects of worship or a copy thereof. This indicates the high value ascribed to original artefacts, but also the willingness to accept copies through which one could study the form, design and function of the originals.

Along with the detailed explanations about Sámi customs, religious practice, language and history, full descriptions of Sámi objects were key factors for the later success of *Lapponia* and its adaptations. To this end, the lappmark clergy network fulfilled the purpose of gathering all kinds of curious objects and information about them. This also appears clearly in Steuchius' letter. He writes: "For my father has told me that there are huge trunks of trees upon which a rustic figure is applied, expressing a human face".⁶¹⁹ These tree trunks were *sieidis*. He ends his letter with an anecdote:

I shall add to these pieces of information, since the [space on the] paper allows, the story of the tomb of a rather wealthy Lapp who was held in great esteem among his own, according to the pastor of Undersåker. (This pastor is a neighbour of the Lapps that live on the borders of Jämtland and Norway.)⁶²⁰

This narration became part of CH. XXVII *De Morbis Lapponum, Obitu & Sepultura* (Of the Lapps' Diseases, Death and Burial) of *Lapponia*, with Schefferus citing from the letter.⁶²¹ The complete narration is as follows:

This wealthy Lapp was called Thomas. When he caught a serious disease, and got so ill that his relatives and friends gave no hope of his recovery, he called his relatives and friends to him. When they saw him draw his breath in faint hope, they went to an inn that used to serve as convenient lodging to travelers in Norway and Jämtland. From the innkeeper they bought beer and ardust [?] wine, with the intention of making a funerary sacrifice whilst the other man, still alive,

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., fol. 150v-151r. "Et quia hujus rei notitiam habet D[omi]nus Samuel *Rhen* dedi hisce diebus ad illum literas, et rogavi ut non t[antu]m scripto exponeret horum Deorum differentiam, sed et Deos ipsos huc transmitteret; si fieri posset ipsum exemplum quod colunt Lappones; sin minus exemplar tantum aliquod"

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., fol. 151r. "Parens n[empe] meus mihi retulit esse ingentes trabes q[ui]b[us] addita e[st] rudis aliqua figura humanum vultum referens."

⁶²⁰ Ibid. "Addam hisce, quia pagina admittit, narrationem de sepultura cujusdam Lapponis pecuniosi satis et inter suos honorati, ex fide Pastoris *Undersåkerensis*. (Est hic pastor Lapponum vicinus qui Jemtlandiæ et Norwegiæ finib[us] accolunt.)"

⁶²¹ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 311, 313-315; Steuchius to Schefferus, 21 November 1671. UUB S 163: fol. 151r.

was lying down. Having spent the entire day amongst the glasses, they went to the house of the patient and found that he had already passed away. They dressed the diseased in the clothes that he when still alive deemed his best, and placed him in a coffin. They added an axe and the steel and flint used to ignite a fire. They then finally had a funeral and placed his body in a cave they later filled with stones.⁶²²

The narration left Steuchius pondering about the meaning of the burial objects, as he writes. He includes the results of his proto-ethnographic queries and closes the letter with a blessing for Schefferus and his family:

I asked about the meaning of the axe and steel. He answered that they were guided by the superstition that on the final day, when this man rises again, he will need some sort of light in order to find his way to the abode of the blessed, and in case there are any trees in his way, he will need to use the axe to remove them. In this way, by means of iron and fire it is decided that they proceed to the heavens. However, I am too lengthy than I ought to be in my description, honoured gentleman. I shall send you a summary of my prayers: May God save you, decoration of our Fatherland and eternal benefit of our university and your family. Farewell.⁶²³

Only three months after this first letter, on 6 February 1672, Steuchius sent another letter to Schefferus. Its first lines hint at an intensive period of working on *Lapponia* for Schefferus, having sent another two letters to Steuchius in the months before.⁶²⁴ Steuchius reports some of the difficulties he had encountered that hindered him from pressing on with the project, and excuses this turn of events. Letting Schefferus know which clergymen contributed and to what extent, he again begins with a project report that shows the involvement and entanglement of the lappmark clergy.

I simply cannot express my frustration over the negligence of my fellow people in this matter. My efforts make me feel ashamed. You will see from the letter of magister Tornæus that the matter in as far as he is concerned, has settled only within hope. Zacharias Plantinus one of these days handed the book by his father

⁶²² Ibid. “Lappo iste pecuniosus vocabatur Thomas, qui cum gravi detineretur morbo, adeo quidem ut cognatis et amicis sui generis nullam recuperandæ salutis spem de se daret, convocat ad se cognatos et amicos suos. Illi ubi exigua in spe hunc animum ducere vident, adeunt ad cauponarium qui euntibus in Norvegiam ex Jemtlandia commodum præbere solet hospitium, et ab eo emunt cerevisiam ac vinum arduum inferias acturi vivo adhuc altero illo decumbente. Ubi sic diem integrum inter pocula consumserunt adeunt casam ægrotantis et inveniunt ipsum jam mortuum. Corpus demortui vestibus optimis quas vivus habuit, tegunt, inque loculoque includunt. Addunt securim, chalybem quo eliditur ignis et silicem. ita demum ducunt exequias et corpus in speluncam deferunt quam lapidibus postea onerant.”

⁶²³ Ibid. “Interrogavi quid sibi vellent securis ac silex: respondit eos ea regi superstitione, ultimo die quando hic resurget, opus illi fore lumine aliquo ut viam sibi ad beatorum sedes paret, et si quæ obstant arbores securi illa fesse exscindenda. Ita his per ferrum et ignem ad cælos grassari constitutum e[st]. sed diutius quam par est Te delineo vir Amplissime. Mittam votorum summam in compendium. Servet Te Deus in patriæ decus et Academiæ n[ost]ræ, familiæque Tuæ usus perpetuos. Vale.”

⁶²⁴ Steuchius to Schefferus, 6 February 1672. UUB S 163: fol. 152r-v, at: fol. 152r. “Binas tuas accepti vir amplissime, quibus paucissimis nunc respondeo” (I have received your two letters, to which I now answer very briefly).

over to a young person for it to be copied. Samuel Rheen has not found it worthy to offer either me or my father a single word. Please forgive my unsuccessful efforts. I will not cease to urge repeatedly every single one of them.⁶²⁵

Steuchius' letters give insight into the realities of the involvement of the lappmark clergy with the Lapponia project, which, despite being known for a long time, has so far not been studied thoroughly. Steuchius mentions his own role as an intermediary redirecting questions sent to him by a certain Mister Bohlin to some of the clergymen. Haquin Bohlin (1644-1704), who would later become lector and rector at the gymnasium in Härnösand, assisted Schefferus in conveying a list of questions to the lappmark clergy. Shortly thereafter, Bohlin also sent a letter to Schefferus, discussed in Subsection 3.5.7. Steuchius explains the handling of the questions and the results that ensued:

I forwarded with the postman the questions that I received from Mister Bohlin, to Magister Ericus Plant[inus], Tornæus and Mister Rheen. Zacharias Plantinus also promised to communicate his opinion on each and every question. There are few things that I can add to this, nor do they rest on a trustworthy base, but only the naked accounts of others.⁶²⁶

Following this evaluation of the quality of the replies given to him, Steuchius explains some areas of usage of the Sámi drum, such as divination, hunting and preparations for these.⁶²⁷ Again, he discloses information he had personally heard, this time about using the drum to gain knowledge of when and how one would die. Steuchius even attempted to buy a drum from a Sámi, but without success:

I personally remember that I once heard from a Lapp that they were able to know the hour and the type of death by means of their divinatory drums. I tried to buy from him such a drum. He refused at first, but with the hope of gain he promised to sell me his own. Its powers he told, amongst others that it aided hunting, to be

⁶²⁵ Ibid. "Non possum digne satis conqueri de negligentia nostrorum in isthoc negotio. Pænitet me profecto operæ meæ. Vides ex literis M[agistri] Tornæi rem, quantum ad illum attinet, intra spem tantum consistere. Zacharias Plantinus hisce diebus librum Parentis sui exscribendum juveni ~~nunc nuper~~ alicui tradidit. Samuel Rhen ne verbo quidem v[el] me v[el] Parentem meum dignatus est. Ignosce quæso infelicissimæ huic operæ meæ. Non desinam de cætero etiam atque etiam apud singulos instare."

⁶²⁶ Ibid. "Misi per tabellarium ad M[agistrum] Ericum Plant[inum] Tornæum et D[omi]num Rhen quæstiones quas ad me pertulit D[omi]nus Bohlin. Zacharias Plantinus promisit etia[m] se suam communicaturum sententiam de præcipuis. Pauca sunt quæ huc conferre possum, neque certa admodum fide nituntur, sed nuda tantum aliorum relatione."

⁶²⁷ Ibid. "De tympanis varie figuratis hæc est nonnullorum sententia. Tympana sunt varii generis. 1. divinationi inserviunt. 2. venationi; quibus etiam accedit tertium genus ~~et~~ ex his duobus conflatum, ubi utrique usui accommodantur. Pro hac diversitate usus diversas etiam gerunt figuras. Quæ simplici venationi inserviunt, habent figuras animalium tantum; quæ divinationi, habent imagines alias. Sed quæ illæ sint, non satis licuit exquirere" (On the drums with various figures, this is the opinion of numerous persons. The drums are of various kinds. 1) are used for divination. 2) for hunting; in addition to these two there is also 3) a kind that consists of a mixture of the previous ones, where they accommodate them to both purposes. In accordance with this variety of uses, they also make figures. Drums that serve hunting only, have nothing but figures of animals on them; drums that serve divination, have other images. However, what these figures are, has not been possible to investigate sufficiently).

those that I have just said, namely, the certain prediction of the hour and type of death. This fine fellow did not stick to his word, however and he never showed up again.⁶²⁸

Further information conveyed by Steuchius in the letter includes explanations of other practices perceived by him as magic, as well as further explorations into linguistic topics.⁶²⁹

Given the unknown whereabouts of many communications from the lappmark clergy to Schefferus and De la Gardie and especially vice versa, the close reading of two letters attempted above provides us with many additional details on the reach of the Lapponia project into the lappmarks. The correspondence between Steuchius and Schefferus hints at the great degree of involvement of the largely interrelated local elite. It also demonstrates that the project made use of the established church hierarchy, repurposing it into a team of local researchers led by a regional coordinator, Steuchius.

3.5.7 HAQUIN BOHLIN

Haquin Bohlin was born on the island of Åbord in Högsjö parish, Ångermanland in 1644. As *häradsskrifvare*, his father, Måns Håkansson (d.1669), originally from Småland in southern Sweden, was responsible for registering the residents and for cadastral surveys in the *härad* (court district). Bohlin matriculated in Uppsala in 1664 and returned to the North no later than March 1672, where he eventually worked at the school in Härnösand, only a few kilometres

⁶²⁸ Ibid. “Ipse memini me à Lappone quondam audivisse, posse eos horam genusque mortis hisce tympanis suis divinatoriis scire. Volebam ab ipso emere tympanum aliquod. tergiversabatur initio quidem; spe lucri t[ame]n promisit se mihi suum proprium venditurum; ej[us] virtutes narravit inter alias quæ ad venationem faciunt, esse quas nunc dixi, de certæ mortis horæ generis prædictione. Fefellit t[ame]n hic bonus vir fidem, et postea nusq[ue] apparuit.”

⁶²⁹ Ibid., fol. 152r-v. “De Tyrre Fennonibus res est notior: n[ost]ri n[empe] Lappones ignorant hos nodos magicos. Certum t[ame]n est vendi inter Fenno illos. Judicia forensia exercentur saltem semel quolibet anno post ingressum novi anni mense Januario, quo tempore etiam suas habent Lappones nundinas. Habentur v[er]o illa hic in Angermannia ad sacras ædes Ecclesiæ Lapponicæ quæ d[icitu]r *Örhelv*: apud Umenses v[er]o in *Långsela* itidem prope templum. Non crediderim t[ame]n sub dio haberi, sed in ædibus certis, sacerdotis aut alterius alic[ui]us. Cum parens meus illas regiones transiret habebantur in ædib[us]. An v[er]o statum hoc aut solenne sit, non probe novit. Fortassis alias certioras hac de re habebis. Utrum suum *fogd* Lappones proprio vocabulo nomen, nesciunt n[ost]ri: *husbonde* eum appellant; sed hæc vox est Svecica: *Konungsman* etiam. Principem inter suos quem n[ost]ri dicunt *Ländsman* nominant *Stoorhufvud*. Hæc sunt quæ ex Parentis relatione et nonnullorum aliorum habeo. Non desinam urgere apud alios ut qua[m] citissime faciant, quantum possunt, voluntati Tuæ satis. Hisce paucis finio Deoque Opt[imo] M[aximo] Te vir Amplissime cum omni familia Tua ex animo commendo” (As for *tyr*, the case is more well known to the Finns: for our Lapps are unaware of these magic knots. These are at least sold among the Finns. They hold courts at least once every year after the beginning of the new year in the month of January. At the same time, the Lapps also have their markets. The courts are here in Angermannland held by the sacred house of the Lappian church called *Örhelv*; among those from Umeå, in *Långsela*, even there very close to the church. I would not think that they are kept outdoors, but rather in special houses, belonging to the priest or somebody else. When my father passed through those regions, they were kept indoors. Whether this was fixed or solemn, he did not quite know. Perhaps you will get more information on these matters at a later date. My fellows here do not know if the Lapps call their *fogd* by a name of their own: They do name him *husbonde*, but this is a Swedish word, even *Konungsman*. The leader amongst themselves, whom our fellows call *Ländsman* they call *Stoorhufvud*. These are the records that I now have from the account by my father and numerous others. I shall not cease to urge others to satisfy your wishes as soon as they can. With these few words I finish and commend you, most honoured man, and all your family, to the Almighty God).

south of Åbord. He took on several offices at the school and became its rector in 1677. The following year he participated in the Imperial Diet in Halmstad on behalf of the clergy. In 1681, he took over the parish of Själevad from Steuchius' brother-in-law Nicolaus Plantinus and became provost of Northern Ångermanland. In 1689, he again participated in the Diet, this time in Stockholm. Just like Tuderus and Steuchius, Bohlin hosted Karl XI twice during the latter's famous journey to the North in 1694. In 1701, the parish church boat used to ferry parishioners to the Sunday service capsized killing thirty people. Bohlin died in 1704.

In 1672, Bohlin married Elisabeth Bozæa (1648-1720), daughter of the provost of Nordingrå Nils Bozæus (1591-1674). Of their ten children, four daughters and two sons died as infants. Their four daughters who reached adulthood mostly married clergymen. Catharina (1675-?) married the vicar of Brunflo in Jämtland, Claes Halling (1669-1713), Christina (1679-?) married Bohlin's successor Jonas Matthiæ Lochnæus (1671-1754). Brita Bohlin (1683-1742) married twice. Her first husband was the vicar of Torsåker in Gästrikland, Martin Solander (1666-1723). In her second marriage, she was the wife of provincial judge Christian Johansson Wallensten (1690-1756). Finally, Maria Elisabeth (1684-1767) was married to Jöns Huss (1671-1720), the vicar of Gudmundrå, about forty kilometres north of Härnösand. After the death of Jöns, she married the *komminister* of Gudmundrå Jonas Ingevald Ljungberg (1691-1733).

We can deduce Haquin Bohlin's participation in the Lapponia project from Steuchius' mention of him and from his letter from Härnösand to Schefferus on 24 March 1672. The letter is bound into one of the manuscript volumes following Spirri Nils' account. It reveals that Bohlin had been involved with the project for some time. Following a formal address in Latin – “Consultissime atq[ue] amplissime Domine Professor, fautor et promotor magne”⁶³⁰ (Most considerate and greatest Sir Professor, protector and great patron) – Bohlin switches to Swedish and explains why he had not written earlier:

My duty reprehends that I long ago should have reported to the most considerate Sir Professor through written communications, but could do that to a lesser extent for several hindrances which in past times have burdened me. To this adds also that I have expected any day a precise answer of some, whom I contacted about a certain information, in the things I heard discussed when I last was at the most considerate Sir Professor's [home]; but I have not yet taken possession of it: Yet, I cannot neglect to come however with one or two words and thank the most considerate Sir Professor in service and humility for honouring me with

⁶³⁰ Haquin Bohlin to Schefferus, 24 March 1672. UUB S 164: fol. 87r-v, at: fol. 87r.

great affection and strong favour, which I will always humbly remember and affirm as best as I might.⁶³¹

Bohlin addresses Schefferus respectfully in the third person. He writes about waiting for some information regarding the professor's work. This information presumably relates to the Lapponia project. Unfortunately, Bohlin does not indicate who the source of this information was. Neither does he go into any detail regarding the nature of what he was waiting for. Therefore, we do not know if he was referring to one of the clergy accounts or to some other kind of writing. Bohlin writes about a possible connection of the old Sámi religion to Greco-Roman mythology:

The account I gave about the god Hercules, whom the Lapps in former times have worshipped with great respect at Herculis Kiörme – that lake is in Jämtland – I could relate from others in the same manner, and I have not yet been able to observe anything strange, that happens there. What the name Hercules means, the Lapps do not know themselves, but for most parts, they think to give with that an acknowledgement to his greatness and power. Therefore, they also call him commonly the great god Hercules. Yet, on this and more, I will strive to get to know something certain, in which case I will announce it to the most considerate Sir Professor soon.⁶³²

Connections of the Sámi to the ancient Greeks or Romans would provide a welcome explanation of their origin, possibly beneficial to the cause of the College of Antiquities. Classical antiquity was highly regarded and if the Sámi worshipped the gods of that era and its most prominent cultures, this could also strengthen the case of the Swedes as descendants of the ancient Goths. However, if there were such a continuity from deeply admired ancient civilizations to the people of the far North, this would also justify the need to Christianize them. Bohlin adds that he had not yet witnessed any of the mysterious things happening at such places as the lake in Jämtland named after Hercules. He assures Schefferus that he would continue to

⁶³¹ Ibid. "Min skyldigheet tillsäger, att iag länge sådan skulle mig hoos Consulttiss^m. Dn: Profes:^m förmedels skrifwelßer insinuerat: men har det mindre kunnat giöre af åthskillige förhinder som i förflutne tijder mig hafwa öfverhengt. Der till och kommer, att iag hwar dag har wäntat nöyachtigt swar af några, dem iag tillskref om wiß Underrättelße, i dee saker iag sist hoos Consultis. Dn. Prof. warande, hörde omrörat; men icke ännu det blifwit möchtig: Kan lijkwäl iag icke unlåta med mindre iag med ord eller tu i medler tijd mig infinner, och i dienst ödmiukheet betacker Consultis. Dn. Profes: för mig ehrtedd hög affection och synnerlig ynnest, den iag i alla tijden ödmiukeligen skall ihugkomma och effter förmågan, affirma."

⁶³² Ibid. "Den relation som iag givat om Guden Hercule, hwilken Lapperne med stor wördme i förrige tijder dyrkat hafwer vid Herculis Kiörme /: hwilken Siöö ligger i Jempteland:/ kunna iag af andra på lijka sätt refereras / och har iag ej ännu något merkeligigt kunnat observera, det der till hender. Hwad nampnet Hercules har innebära, wette icke Lapperne sielfwa, doch tyckist the merendels der med tillkänna gifwa hans Storhet och macht. Derföre the och gemenligast nämpna honom den Stoor Guden Hercules. Men om detta och mera skall iag giöra min flijt något wist få wetta, då iag strax det hoos Consultis. Dn. skall tillkienna gifwa."

investigate the matter and send any new information to him. Regarding the nature of this unchristian worship, he adds another anecdote:

The worship of such gods is claimed – God forbid – to be not yet eradicated completely in the northern lands. For, a short time ago, there was a noble clergyman who travelled to a visitation, since some peasants accused two Finns who have their gods in the forest and when they want to harm someone, they strike their tallow knives in the god's breast through which the one they want to harm, suffers damage. The Finns were faraway and could not come to any interrogation.⁶³³

In this way, Bohlin connects Finns and Sámi (categories often employed interchangeably), religious practices and sorcery. The letter does not give any further information as to who the clergyman was, but the anecdote hints at ethnic tensions in parts of the Kingdom. The linking of non-Christian worship to malignant magical practices provided further reasons to intensify missionary efforts. Following this, Bohlin writes about how he left Uppsala. Having heard of Schefferus' interest in them, he provided him with a pair of ptarmigans:

When I left Uppsala the last time, after I heard the most considerate Sir Professor longed to see the birds that among us are called rype [i.e., a ptarmigan]: therefore, I sent a pair of them to the most considerate Professor after I incidentally got to buy them on the way. If they have arrived, I hope the most considerate Sir Professor interprets this minor delivery favourably.⁶³⁴

Bohlin's "ringa senning" (minor delivery) in the form of two ptarmigans demonstrates another crucial function of correspondence in general, and of Schefferus' lappmark contacts in particular, namely to provide scholars with objects, and, in this case, birds of their interest. One of the illustrations in CH. XXX of *Lapponia* "De Avibus, & Piscibus, & aliis." depicts a ptarmigan.⁶³⁵ Schefferus does not reveal whether the woodcut was based on a drawing he made of one of the birds Bohlin had sent to him, but this could naturally be the case. There are no indications that the birds ended up as zoological specimens in Schefferus' cabinet of curiosities. For further details on the species, Schefferus relies mostly on Rheen's account and on Olaus Magnus. His notion of the German name of the bird and especially of the name used in

⁶³³ Ibid. "Sådana Gudars dyrkan spöries /: Gud bättre /: icke ännu aldeles wara för i Nordländerne Utrotat. Ty för en kort tid war en förnehm pastor som reste på en visitation, då några bönder anlagade två Finnar, som hafwa sine Gudar i Skogen och när the wilia göra någon skade, slå the sin talgknif i Gudens bröst, dher af den dee skade wilia, lider sitt meen. Finnerne wore fierran och kunne icke komma till något förhör."

⁶³⁴ Ibid. "När iag sist reste ifrå Upsala, effter iag hörde Consultis. Dn. Profes. åstunda ser dee foglar som hoos oß kallas Ryper: ty skickade iag ett par af dem till Consultis. Profes. efter iag af en hendelße fick dem köpa under wegen. Om dee ere framkomne hoppas iag Consultis. Dn. Prof. till gode Uttyder denna ringa senning."

⁶³⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 352.

Switzerland indicate that he had heard about ptarmigans before and possibly even observed them during his travels through Switzerland as a young man.⁶³⁶

Despite not being referred to in *Lapponia*, Bohlin's efforts to provide Schefferus with further material and written evidence on the lappmarks strongly suggest that he was part of the research team indicated above. Just like Steuchius, he might have taken on the role of an intermediary, conveying new accounts to Schefferus. Bohlin and Schefferus also knew each other from other contexts. In 1680, Bohlin is mentioned in Schefferus' *Svecia literata* as "Haquinus Bohlin, Angermannus, Lector in Gymnasio Hernosandensi. Ejus est Τέχνη κατὰ βίον, sive ars recte degendæ vitæ. Upsaliæ An. 1671. in 8."⁶³⁷ (Haquinus Bohlin, from Ångermanland, lecturer at the gymnasium of Härnösand. His is Τέχνη κατὰ βίον [Art of life], that is the art of living life rightly. Uppsala 1671, in octav.).



Figure 19: woodcut of a ptarmigan, p. 352 of *Lapponia*. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 351.

⁶³⁷ Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciæ. Opus postumum.*, 258.

3.6 SÁMI EXPERTS AND LAPPMARK CLERGY – COMMON THREADS

Almost all of the agents presented above have a number of things in common: a strong personal tie to the lappmarks, membership of some kind of elite (clerical, intellectual, economic or noble), an academic education, authorship of writings about or directed at the Sámi, as well as a personal dedication to the church and to the advancement of education. Most of them studied in Uppsala, many of them were born in the North, and some came from families that had lived in the northernmost parts of the Realm for a long time. Among them were students and clergymen of Sámi birth such as Olaus Sirma, Nicolaus Lundius, and Olaus Stephani Graan^A and even the first and only ennobled Sámi ever, Johan Graan. The greatest mystery among the Sámi contributors to *Lapponia* is, however, the obscure Lule Sámi Spirri Nils.

The division of contributors into Sámi and non-Sámi is in itself problematic, as it derives from an unclear categorization. The grounds on which someone was designated “Lappo” is not clearly revealed in the sources. Rasmussen’s detailed discussion of this question categorizes those with an uncertain ethnic affiliation as a distinct group to avoid misrepresentation.⁶³⁸ As the relatedness of the above-mentioned individuals suggests, defining them only with regard to their ethnic affiliation may lead to an artificial grouping. Instead, I suggest considering them as a local elite. This still raises the question of a supposedly Sámi elite taking on positions within the colonial apparatus. Individuals such as the ones presented here undoubtedly qualify as part of an elite through marriages befitting their rank and careers in the church or as royal officials. The fact alone that some of them published writings in print meant that they belonged to a highly privileged part of the populace of the Kingdom of Sweden. The role of the colonial efforts of the Kingdom in furthering the lappmark elite is hitherto unexplored, insofar as there is no knowledge of the extent to which it was based on previously existing hierarchies. In this respect, it is pertinent to address the question of whether it is feasible to compare the Sámi contributors to Tisquantum (c.1585-1622), diminutively called “Squanto”, a member of the Patuxet tribe in New England, who had been to Europe, spoke English and functioned as a broker between settlers and Native Americans.⁶³⁹ Cultural contact between (and among) the Sámi people, birkarls, Swedes, Finns, Norwegians, Muscovites, and others had been ongoing

⁶³⁸ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 283-287.

⁶³⁹ Cf. the discussion on the North Sámi Johan Nuorgam who founded the first ever Sámi museum in Inari, Finland, between 1959 and 1963, in: Veli-Pekka Lehtola, "Johan Nuorgam: Sámi Squanto and cultural broker," *Nordic Museology*, no. 3 (2019): 77-95; on the "Squanto effect", see: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 18-19.

for centuries and should not be disregarded. Many generations had already engaged in trade and the Sámi were far from isolated on the multiethnic Fennoscandian peninsula. Naturally, this by no means implies that they could not be subject to marginalization or exploitation by the Kingdom of Sweden or other stakeholders.

The adaptive and legal difficulties that some of the above-mentioned individuals faced during their studies and offices might hint at a certain tendency towards troublesome personalities within the group, but for lack of comparison to other groups of clergymen, Sámi, or students, the validity of this finding is unclear. Especially with regard to the students, injustice and marginalization for reasons of ethnicity or origin might also have explained their troublemaking. Rude and violent behaviour towards newcomers was a rather common aspect of life in early modern university towns.⁶⁴⁰ Unlike many other students, the Sámi students received a stipend for their studies and were in this regard even profiting from their origins in the North. The portrayed Sámi elite increased rapidly. Starting with forerunner Gerhardus Jonæ, it took only about fifty years until the establishment of a systematic approach to produce clergymen of Sámi birth.

The Bure kinship played an important role for and within the lappmarks, which is also evident in the above-mentioned group. For his second marriage, Johan Graan, who belonged to the Bure kinship through his mother Brita Grubb, married within the kinship. Johannes Tornæus, Petrus Steuchius and Olaus Petri Niurenius also married into this kinship. These kinds of relations defined the lappmark elite, regardless of whether they were as broad as belonging to the Bure kinship, or as specific as the connection of Samuel Rheen, whose sister was the mother of Nicolaus Lundius, or Olaus Stephani Graan^B, whose brother-in-law was Matthias Steuchius and whose father-in-law was Johannes Tornæus. As exemplified by the cases of Johan Graan's father Gerhardus Jonæ and Andreas Petri Lundius, Sámi people could marry into influential families that were apparently not of Sámi birth, to employ a categorization used at the time.

The biographical data presented above indicates that marriage strategies were as important in the lappmarks as elsewhere. It was mandatory to marry within one's own social class and considered ideal to marry upwards. Indeed, to help in distinguishing between nobility like Johan Graan, bishops like Matthias Steuchius, the parish clergy, and teachers at the lappmark schools, the category of class can prove helpful. However, one individual stands out particularly: Spirri

⁶⁴⁰ See for instance: B. Ann Tlusty, "In and Out of the Commune: The Social Boundaries of Citizenship," in *The Martial Ethic in Early Modern Germany: Civic Duty and the Right of Arms*, ed. B. Ann Tlusty, Early Modern History: Society and Culture (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 166-188.

Nils. Unfortunately, no additional source material concerning him has surfaced to date. Given that no records indicate that he was a student at one of the universities in question, Uppsala, Åbo, or Lund, and that Schefferus provides no information on him other than that he is a “Lappo”, it is highly unlikely that Spirri Nils belonged to the lappmark clergy.

The erection of church buildings in the lappmarks by royal decree from the early 17th century led to the arrival of Sámi students and clergymen who could then become part of what I call the lappmark elite. Rasmussen showed that Gerhardus Jonæ can be regarded as a unique case predating this development.⁶⁴¹ The recently built churches were a crucial requirement for the realization of a project such as *Lapponia*.

It is likely that most of the Sámi in the lappmarks were to some extent bilingual, or even trilingual, speaking Swedish, and in some cases Finnish, in addition to Sámi. Some of the clergy not considered as Sámi found it helpful to learn one of the Sámi languages or Finnish. Despite the poor linguistic quality of some of the writings in Sámi, especially by authors whose mother tongue was not Sámi, these contributions helped to establish a distinct Sámi literature. This emphasizes that in the group described in this prosopography the various ethnic categories were secondary, but still of a certain significance.

Given the means of communication the agents used, one could speak of a Lappmark Republic of Letters. Connecting figures such as the superintendent at the diocese of Härnösand Petrus Eriki Steuchius and his son Matthias, and possibly Haquin Bohlin, helped to convey and coordinate the writings of the lappmark clergy to De la Gardie and Schefferus. Thus, Northern Swedish clergymen were participators and contributors within a wider intellectual arena, the European Republic of Letters. Since a scholarly endeavour such as *Lapponia* evoked much general interest in this arena, the following chapter describes the role of the Republic of Letters for *Lapponia* and vice versa.

⁶⁴¹ Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid," 292-295.

4 LAPPONIA IN THE EUROPEAN REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

In addition to the correspondence with Gronovius and Heinsius mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 2 and the exchange with the lappmark clergy discussed in Chapter 3, Schefferus exchanged letters with many others. This allowed him to consult experts all over Europe. Naturally, in this era a scholar of his renown participated extensively in discussions and exchange via letters. As of today, there exists no survey or edition of the correspondence of Johannes Schefferus. In fact, as was fashionable among scholars at the time, he had himself intended to publish some of his correspondence in a projected compilation *Doctorum virorum ad Jo. Schefferum Epistolæ cum Responsis & nonnullis aliis addendis* (Letters by learned men to Johannes Schefferus with responses and some other additions).⁶⁴²

The University Library of Uppsala holds a number of letters addressed to Schefferus and a few written by him in six volumes preserved in its manuscript collection containing a total of 755 letters, forming a comprehensive collection of source material on his life and academic connections.⁶⁴³ According to Ewert Wrangel, the library had bought the correspondence in 1749, but a handwritten entry on the endpaper of one of the volumes names 1719 as the year of acquisition.⁶⁴⁴ It seems that Wrangel misread this entry, as other manuscript material also supports a purchase in 1719.⁶⁴⁵ Apart from the correspondence volumes, a few letters are scattered in other volumes in Uppsala, amongst them some sent to a number of Swedish correspondents.⁶⁴⁶ Furthermore, some originals exist preserved elsewhere, and there are both handwritten and printed copies of a few letters.⁶⁴⁷ To mention another example, a volume at Uppsala University Library contains handwritten copies of some letters by Schefferus addressed to his former student Petrus Erici Broms (1641-1693), to “Baro Achatius Achatii” - Åke Åkesson Natt och Dag (1653/4-1676) - and to a German merchant in Stockholm, Andreas Olderman (d.1697).⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴² This planned project appeared under the category "Sequuntur prælo parata, cum se offeret idoneus typographus." (The ones prepared for print follow, when a suitable printer will offer his services.). Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciæ. Opus postumum.*, 299.

⁶⁴³ UUB G 260; UUB G 260a; UUB G 260b; UUB G 260c; UUB G 260d; UUB G 260e.

⁶⁴⁴ Wrangel, "Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland: Särdeles under 1600-talet," 170. See note 2; UUB G 260: end paper.

⁶⁴⁵ A register of Schefferus' manuscripts put up for sale on 24 December 1719 can be found in: UUB Bibl. arkiv E 5: 155; see a similar register additionally including four correspondence volumes "in quarto", in: UUB Bibl. arkiv M 5: unpaginated.

⁶⁴⁶ Five letters Schefferus sent to Laurentius Normannus (1651-1703) can be found in UUB G 191, fol. 28r-31v; further letters are preserved in UUB E 527a; UUB G 359; UUB G 360; UUB W 850; UUB Waller Ms se-02829.

⁶⁴⁷ See Johann Friedrich Fischerus, ed., *Epistolæ Virorum Quorundam Doctorum ad Ioh. Andreæ Bosium e Bibliotheca Collegii Paullini Lipsiensis* (Lipsiæ: Ex Officina Langenhemia, 1760), IX-XX; originals have also been found in FB Gotha, Chart. A 411; GWLB Ms IV, 574b; see copies in KB C-IV, 1, 37; UUB G 29a; UUB N 279; UUB N 479.

⁶⁴⁸ UUB G 322a, 31-47, 85-88.

In 1727, the Dutch classicist Petrus Burmannus (1668-1741) published a great deal of the correspondence between Schefferus and Nicolaus Heinsius as part of his five-tome collection of letters *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum* (Compilation of letters written by illustrious men).⁶⁴⁹ Other fragments of the correspondence printed include Elver Strömberg's transcriptions of the sixteen letters Schefferus received from Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611-1671) and of the two letters from Johann Friedrich's son Jacob Gronovius (1645-1716).⁶⁵⁰ The University Library of Munich holds a collection of letters sent to members of the Gronovius family.⁶⁵¹ Among them are forty-three letters by Schefferus addressed to Johann Friedrich Gronovius between 1644 and 1671, the year of Gronovius' death. The material I include in this analysis also testifies to nineteen letters from Gronovius to Schefferus, and two more from Jacob Gronovius following Johann Friedrich's death. This demonstrates not only how persistent an exchange of letters sometimes became, spanning decades, but also how it could continue with family members or colleagues after the death of a respondent, bridging generations. The letters of that time are material evidence of scholarly discussions that had been going on for decades, in some cases centuries, and that would continue for decades and centuries in other forms.

A different approach than that focusing on correspondence originating with a learned individual or family as presented by Strömberg was undertaken by Johannes Lindbæk, who published transcriptions of twenty-three of the letters addressed to Schefferus by Danish scholars and officials.⁶⁵² Apart from that valuable work of collecting, unlocking, transcribing and editing, the majority of the known letters remain rarely referred to, scarcely cited, and mostly untouched, including in relation to studies on Schefferus or *Lapponia*.⁶⁵³

Among the nearly nine hundred and sixty letters identified so far,⁶⁵⁴ the first ones were sent when Schefferus was on his peregrination in Leiden in 1639. In this corpus, the last letter Schefferus received came from Henning Witte (1634-1696) in Riga, sent in July 1678, while the last one he sent himself went to Heinsius in The Hague at the end of November 1678.

⁶⁴⁹ Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V*, 1-163.

⁶⁵⁰ Elver Strömberg, "Johannis Frederici Gronovii ad Johannem Schefferum Epistolae," *Eranos* IV (1900-1902): 148-176.

⁶⁵¹ MUB 2° Cod.ms. 621.

⁶⁵² Johannes Lindbæk, "Breve fra danske Lærde o. fl. til Professor Johannes Schefferus," *Danske Magazin* VI, 2, no. 1 (1914): 27-60.

⁶⁵³ There are, however, exceptions such as, for instance, the thorough introduction to the Swedish critical edition by Löw, "Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia," 9-23; or the inclusion of a letter sent to Schefferus by Lorenzo Magalotti (1637-1712) in: Juha Pentikäinen, "The Saami Shamanic Drum in Rome," *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 12 (1987): 124-149, at: 134-135.

⁶⁵⁴ See Andreas Klein, "The Res publica Schefferiana – the correspondence of Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679)", <https://doi.org/10.18710/VDLBWH, DataverseNO, V1, UNF:6:UQIAsxwKYZx2JtcB5VcB7Q==> [fileUNF], 2020.

Schefferus died four months later. The majority of the letters sent to him were in Latin, the scholarly lingua franca of the time, but he also received letters in the language of his adopted country of Sweden, as well as some in his mother tongue German and in French, the language of diplomacy and nobility. Many of the letters discuss philological questions, and some of those contain sections, phrases and words in other languages such as Greek, but also Finnish and Sámi. The roughly one hundred and eighty letters written by Schefferus identified in this analysis are all written in Latin, but he may also have replied in other languages, depending on whom he addressed.

Schefferus started corresponding before coming to Uppsala. A small proportion of the letters he received and wrote when in Uppsala are of importance to *Lapponia*. Naturally, a productive scholar like Schefferus worked on several projects simultaneously and *Lapponia* was one of many, which also shows in his correspondence. More often than not, letters dealt with a number of topics relating to other projects, scholars or letters. Among the letters analysed, some mostly deal with the *Lapponia* project and I therefore examine them in similar detail to those by Matthias Steuchius and Haquin Bohlin, analysed in Subsections 3.5.6 and 3.5.7. However, I also introduce a number of relevant excerpts of letters without their individual contexts since this would go beyond the reasonable scope of this dissertation. Accordingly, those excerpts are only a fraction of Schefferus' correspondence. Nevertheless, they represent attested ideas of a number of citizens of the Republic of Letters, and are highly informative for the history surrounding the publication of Schefferus' monographs on the Sámi people.

All of the letters I analyse in the present study are in some way connected to the Lapponia project. They are both *lieux de savoir* that connect the monograph to a wider arena, and paratextual manifestations of the project. Since they are materially separate from the publication of *Lapponia*, the letters are part of the private epitext. According to Genette, the notion of privacy does not mean that the correspondents were writing as if no one would ever read their letters. On the contrary, especially in the Republic of Letters, correspondence tended to be read by others, copied, printed and distributed.⁶⁵⁵ As mentioned before, Schefferus had, like many of his contemporaries, plans of publishing some of his correspondence.

The earliest mention of the Lapponia project (except for De la Gardie's query to the College of Antiquities) found so far is in the letter by Nicolaus Heinsius, dated 27 March 1671, cited at the beginning of Chapter 2, where Heinsius expresses delight about Schefferus' new project. It

⁶⁵⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, 371-384.

is unknown how and when Heinsius heard about the endeavour. Schefferus' previous letter to him, dated 25 March 1671, does not mention the project.⁶⁵⁶ Since Heinsius lived in Stockholm at the time, the news could have reached him in various ways, for instance through fellow acquaintances, from the project's initiator De la Gardie, or from staff of the College of Antiquities.

As Schefferus was involved with the work on the expanded French version *Histoire de la Laponie*, published in 1678, his account of the Sámi people remained a topic in the final years of his life. Therefore, all letters between 1671 and 1679 are potentially of note for the project, its development and its early reception. This leaves at least around two hundred and forty letters to consider, more than forty of them sent by Schefferus, and the remainder sent to him. Again, this is not a final number, but the preliminary result of a search for letters preserved in Uppsala and Stockholm. Future overall research into Schefferus' correspondence network will certainly provide additional findings, especially among the many letters written by him to respondents spread all over the continent.

Through Schefferus' correspondence, many of the places he had visited himself are revealed as seats of other scholars. To him, they functioned as places of information on certain topics, as his participation in the Republic of Letters demonstrates. At the same time, his many respondents discussed specific topics with him or asked for his opinion on particular matters. Furthermore, the practice of corresponding with scholars, informants, the nobility or other contacts provided him with an arena where he could position his project as an innovative and desirable undertaking. This is seen in the few examples at the beginning of Chapter 2; however, considering the magnitude of Schefferus' correspondence and its impact on the project, an in-depth discussion of the function of letterwriting for *Laponia*, and later *Histoire de la Laponie*, may provide useful information on various general and specific aspects of 17th century learned Sweden. These include a better understanding of the interrelatedness of academia, the court and the church, as well as new findings regarding the importance of Sweden, Uppsala, the lappmarks and Schefferus himself in the Republic of Letters.

I define three basic functions of corresponding as **positioning**, **preparing**, and **consulting**. These all took place during three phases: the first one leading to the publication of *Laponia*, the second one following its publication, when the work was being received to an ever greater extent, and a third one surrounding the publication of *Histoire de la Laponie*.

⁶⁵⁶ Schefferus to Heinsius, 25 March 1671. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Syloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 130 (Epistola CXXV).

Positioning refers to a twofold practice where the parts are interconnected. Upon entering the Republic of Letters as a correspondent, Schefferus began consolidating his personal network and adding a new function to some of his acquaintances. Among the letters recorded in this analysis, the first few came from people he personally knew, such as Boeclerus, Boxhornius, and Freinshemius. Throughout his career and travels, he met more and more scholars with interests relevant to him and began to correspond with them. This process implies positioning in Jacob's understanding.⁶⁵⁷ Schefferus' growing network was partly based on people, such as established experts, that he approached himself, partly on other scholars who contacted him and partly on chance acquaintances he made. His choices resulted in his positioning himself as a scholar, author and citizen in the Republic of Letters. Thus, the circle of correspondents connecting him to the Republic represents a portion of its entirety, an evolving network within an evolving network, namely the *res publica litteraria Schefferiana*.

Corresponding was an integral part of what it meant to be an early modern scholar. The Republic acted as an arena of discourse and as support for many practical challenges, such as finding information, accessing material and testing novel ideas. The letters of Steuchius and Bohlin, but also the clergy accounts attest to this. It could function as a forum to advance one's own works and findings. Here, I refer to practices of communicating that a project is underway and of marketing it when it is finished. This is the second kind of positioning. Naturally, this positioning of works correlated with that of scholars, authors and other agents within the network.

Preparing denotes all discussions and instigations of practical issues necessary to make a project feasible, have it appear in print and deliver it to booksellers and readers. If the printing press was in another town, the manuscripts reached it by courier, and this action therefore also forms part of 'preparing'. Finally, **consulting** describes all specialist exchanges with regard to content, regardless of whether the information was requested or not.

It is certainly possible to define additional phases and further functions, but those mentioned above will suffice to outline the importance of letters for the genesis and early reception of the first ever monograph about the Sámi people. Since the correspondence discovered so far mostly provides information about *Laponia* and *Histoire de la Laponie*, I mainly focus on those two versions. Before I retrace the reception of *Laponia* and the path to *Histoire de la Laponie*, the

⁶⁵⁷ Jacob, "*Lieux de savoir: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge*," 85-102.

following pages discuss how respondents in the Republic of Letters wrote about Schefferus' project before its initial publication in 1673.

4.1 LEADING TO *LAPPONIA*

As outlined above, the Republic of Letters followed the development of Schefferus' undertaking with great interest. Through his own efforts, it soon became known among his respondents near and far. This is evident in the above-cited letter to Johann Friedrich Gronovius, dated 28 March 1671. The secretary of the *Tyske Kancelli* (German Chancellery), an agency administering most foreign affairs of the Danish crown and the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, Johan Moth (1639-1705) addressed Schefferus in October 1671 from Gottorf:

The description of the way of life and customs of the Lappish people, which you have under your hands, is all the more welcome to the learned, the more the knowledge of this people is scanty.⁶⁵⁸

Schefferus' correspondents were keenly looking forward to the completion of the work. He provided ample reason for their expectations, writing on 15 December 1671 to Heinsius: "In the meantime, I am occupied with my Lappish studies, which I will bring to completion this winter, if God grants me life".⁶⁵⁹ The polyhistor and former personal physician of Queen Christina, Hermann Conring (1606-1681) wrote from Helmstedt at the end of 1671:

If only your Lapponia had arrived by now as well! It would certainly have had me as a most diligent reader. For I have no doubt that you will provide far more and far better instruction than others.⁶⁶⁰

Those three correspondents already demonstrate the close interconnectedness of many of Schefferus' contacts in the Republic. They also knew each other, as Moth had studied law in Helmstedt under Conring. Through his studies in Leiden, Conring presumably knew Heinsius' father, the librarian of the university library Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655).

⁶⁵⁸ Johan Moth to Schefferus, October 1671. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 106, transcribed in: Lindbæk, "Breve fra danske Lærde o. fl. til Professor Johannes Schefferus," 27-60, at: 56-57. "Descriptio vitæ morum[ue] gentis Lapponicæ, quam sub manibus habes, eo [gr]atior doctis, quo rarior hactenus ejus gentis notitia."

⁶⁵⁹ Schefferus to Heinsius, 15 December 1671. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 135-136, at: 136. "Interea in Lapponicis meis occupatus sum, quae hac hyeme absolvere studebo, si vitam Deus dederit."

⁶⁶⁰ Hermann Conring to Schefferus, 30 December 1671. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 118. "Utinam vero Lapponia quoq[ue] Tua jam adesset! Haberet certe me lectorem diligentissimum. Nec enim dubito longe plura et meliora alijs te docturum."

Another polyhistor, Daniel Georg Morhof (1639-1691), addressed Schefferus on 24 January 1672 from Kiel:

The antiquities of the Lappish people, which you are working on, I await with impatient longing, and so do the learned persons to whom I have told about your undertaking. The North will certainly owe you huge gratitude for the way in which you bring light to such utterly profound obscurities.⁶⁶¹

Later on, Morhof would play a crucial role in the reception of *Lapponia* in the Holy Roman Empire, when he published a reworked translation of Sirma's joiks in German in his *Unterricht von Der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie, deren Ursprung, Fortgang und Lehrsätzen* (Instruction of the German language and poetry, their origin, development and laws) in 1682.⁶⁶²

By 1672, excitement and curiosity about Schefferus' description of the Sámi people had taken hold of the intellectual elite outside of Sweden, especially in Denmark and many parts of the Holy Roman Empire. From Copenhagen, Schefferus' close friend Thomas Bartholin formulated on 25 March 1672 what many of his contemporaries were probably thinking. Jokingly and with an air of impatience, he wrote: "Give us Lapponia [or: Lapland], but on paper, give us Hyginus, whom you made us hope for".⁶⁶³ Potentially, Schefferus understood the ambiguous imperative "Give us Lapponia/Lapland" ("Da nobis Lapponiam") as an ironic comment between friends on the political tension and struggle between Denmark-Norway and Sweden for control of the northern parts of Fennoscandia.

The manifold interests of most citizens of the Republic of Letters are revealed in many of their letters to Schefferus. Bartholin, who published a number of works on anatomy and medicine, asked specifically about *Lapponia* and Schefferus' planned edition of Gaius Julius Hyginus' (c.64 BC-17 AD) mythological writings. Only three months later, on 20 June 1672, he repeats his demand with increased intensity in light of Schefferus' deteriorated state of health:

⁶⁶¹ Daniel Georg Morhof to Schefferus, 24 January 1672. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 121. "Lapponicæ gentis antiquitates, quas moliris impatienti desiderio exspecto, ac mecum eruditi, quib[us] institutum tuum narravi. Multum profecto tibi debebit Septentrio, quod tenebras adeo profundas illustres."

⁶⁶² Daniel Georg Morhof, *Unterricht Von Der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie, deren Ursprung, Fortgang und Lehrsätzen. Wobey auch von der reimenden Poeterey der Außländer mit mehren gehandelt wird* (Kiel: Gedruckt und verlegt durch Joachim Reumann, Acad. Buchdr. Zu finden bey Johann Sebastian Riecheln, 1682), 413-417; Zorgdrager mentions also Christian Hofmann von Hoffmannswaldau (1616-1679), who referred to the joiks in the foreword to *Deutsche Übersetzungen und Getichte* (German translations and poems) in 1679. See Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*, 52-53.

⁶⁶³ Thomas Bartholin to Schefferus, 25 March 1672. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 127, transcribed in: Lindbæk, "Breve fra danske Lærde o. fl. til Professor Johannes Schefferus," 58. "Da nobis Lapponiam, sed in charta, da Hyginum, cujus spem fecisti."

I really hope your health is restored to you in its prior state, so that you finally are strong enough to accomplish that which you have made the world hope for. I am eagerly awaiting your Lapponia as well as your Hyginus.⁶⁶⁴

In the preface of *Lapponia*, Schefferus mentions his bad state of health at which Bartholin hints and refers to it as the main reason why it had taken him two years to finish the project.⁶⁶⁵ Bartholin's letters illustrate the personal dimensions learned correspondence entailed, with the exchange between the two not only testifying to their life-long friendship, but also being the only way they could maintain it in later years.

In a similar way to Bartholin, Morhof closely followed Schefferus' progress in the project, mentioning it in passing again in letters dated 26 April 1672 and 3 March 1673, rhetorically asking in the latter: "also, what joys will I not reach, when I finally get to see your Lapponia, the longing for which has taken such an unbelievable grip on me!"⁶⁶⁶ Another letter from Conring, sent on 12 July 1672, indicates that Schefferus kept some of his correspondents up to date about the progress of the work, with Conring writing: "I have no doubt that you are not idle either, and that you have put the finishing touches to Lapponia accordingly".⁶⁶⁷

The letters of other respondents show that Bartholin, Heinsius, Morhof and Conring were not alone in waiting impatiently for the finalization of *Lapponia*. The professor of law and reformer of the University of Heidelberg Reinhold Blumius (1617-1690), who had been in Swedish service since 1667, wrote on 4 June 1672:

I most eagerly await your commentaries on the Lappish people and region; in them I believe you are about to exhibit to us an example, where people live in a State of Nature, though not in war, in contradiction to the assumptions of the renowned English writer.⁶⁶⁸

Blumius refers to Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679) theoretical discussion of the so-called "state of nature", first drafted in *De Cive* (1642) and later elaborated more famously in *Leviathan* in 1651.⁶⁶⁹ In expressing his own expectations for *Lapponia* nurtured from reading Hobbes,

⁶⁶⁴ Bartholin to Schefferus, 20 June 1672. UUB G 260b: fol. 141, transcribed in: Lindbæk, "Breve fra danske Lærde o. fl. til Professor Johannes Schefferus," 58-59. "Ubinam diuturna tibi sit valetudo postliminio reducta, ut porro perficere valeas ea, quorum spem orbi fecisti, Lapponiam tuam avide expecto, ut & Hyginum."

⁶⁶⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, unpaginated.

⁶⁶⁶ Morhof to Schefferus, 3 March 1673. UUB G 260b: fol. 163. "[...] et quam [voluptatem] ego non capiam, ubi Lapponiam tuam aliquando videro, cuius incredibili desiderio teneor?"

⁶⁶⁷ Conring to Schefferus, 12 July 1672. UUB G 260b: fol. 146. "Non dubito etiam Te, ut soles, non feriari: ac proinde saltim Lapponiæ ultimam manum appositam."

⁶⁶⁸ Reinhold Blumius to Schefferus, 4 June 1672. UUB G 260b: fol. 140. "De Lapponum gente et regione commentarios tuos avidissime exspecto, te[que] in ijs exemplum nobis ostenturum puto, ubi in Statu Naturae, neq[ue] tamen in bello vivatur; secus quam celebri scriptori Anglo visum est."

⁶⁶⁹ Thomas Hobbes, *Elementorum Philosophiæ Sectio Tertia De Cive* (Parisiis: N.N., 1642); Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan Or The Matter, Forme and Power of A Common-Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (London: Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1651);

Blumius gives a vivid example of how the positioning of a work could take place prior to its publication and almost independently of its author. The quote above indicates the regular practice in the Republic of Letters to apply (and in this case dissent from) new theory and to suggest ideas. This reveals another essential function of the *respublica* as a think tank *avant la lettre*. This part of Blumius' address encourages and expects Schefferus to include the presented reading of Hobbes.

Further notes of joyful expectation followed. On 29 August 1672, the philologist and poet Johannes Petrus Titius (1619-1689) expressed in a letter from Danzig: "We await Lapponia eagerly".⁶⁷⁰ Similarly, the philologist and historian Johann Andreas Bosius (1626-1674) wrote on 1 September 1672 from Jena: "We await, however, your work on the Lappish people".⁶⁷¹ In addition to expressions of excitement and expectation such as the ones cited above, there were also thematic contributions discussing specific details in relation to the overall topic of Schefferus' work in progress. In what follows, a detailed analysis of a few of them will exemplify what was discussed and how.

Among those who wrote to Schefferus was Martin Fogelius (1634-1675) of Hamburg, a polyhistor and active correspondent in the Republic of Letters. Maria Marten and Carola Piepenbring-Thomas presented an exhaustive study of the innovative way in which he ordered and catalogued his collections of numerous notes, books, letters and objects.⁶⁷² He was a qualified physician, but he also discovered the relationship between Finnish and Hungarian, which counts as the starting point of Finno-Ugrian studies.⁶⁷³ He studied in Gießen, Straßburg and Padua. During his stay in Straßburg from 1654 to 1656, he befriended Schefferus' early mentor Boeclerus. In his study of Fogelius as a citizen of the Republic of Letters, Hans Kangro names Lorenzo Magalotti SJ (1637-1712), Secretary of the shortlived *Accademia del Cimento*⁶⁷⁴

translations into Dutch and Latin (as part of an *Opera omnia*) followed quickly: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: Of van de Stoffe, Gedaente, ende Magt van de Kerckelycke ende Wereltlycke Regeeringe*, trans. A. T. A. B. (Amsterdam: Jacobus Wagenaar, 1667); Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, Sive De Materia, Forma, & Potestate Civitatis Ecclesiasticae Et Civilis* (Amstelodami: Joan Blaeu, 1668).

⁶⁷⁰ Johannes Petrus Titius to Schefferus, 29 August 1672. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 148. "Lapponiam cupide exspectamus."

⁶⁷¹ Johann Andreas Bosius to Schefferus, 1 September 1672. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 151. "Exspectamus autem tua de gente Lapponum [...]"

⁶⁷² Maria Marten and Carola Piepenbring-Thomas, *Fogels Ordnungen. Aus der Werkstatt des Hamburger Mediziners Martin Fogel (1634–1675)*, ed. Georg Ruppelt, *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie. Sonderbände*, (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2015).

⁶⁷³ György Lakó, "Martin Fogelius' Verdienste bei der Entdeckung der finnougriischen Sprachverwandtschaft," *UAJb* 41 (1969): 3-13, at: 10-11; Günter Johannes Stipa, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachforschung: Von der Renaissance bis zum Neupositivismus*, vol. 206, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1990), 140-141.

⁶⁷⁴ On the *Accademia*, see: Luciano Boschiero, *Experiment and Natural Philosophy in Seventeenth-Century Tuscany: The History of the Accademia del Cimento*, ed. S. Gaukroger, *Australasian Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007); furthermore, see the contributions in: Marco Beretta, Antonio Clericuzio, and Lawrence M. Principe, eds., *The Accademia del Cimento and its European Context* (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2009).

(Academy of Experiment) in Florence, astronomer Johannes Hevelius (1611-1687), philologist Johann Georg Graevius (1632-1703), orientalist Edward Pococke (1604-1691), and Henry Oldenburg (c.1619-1677), Secretary of the Royal Society, among his correspondents.⁶⁷⁵ Marten and Piepenbring-Thomas describe Fogelius' network more thoroughly and identify him as a mediator of Schefferus' projects to Henry Oldenburg. Fogelius also corresponded with Bartholin.⁶⁷⁶ On 23 November 1672, Fogelius addressed Schefferus from Hamburg, writing about the origin of his interest in the Finnic⁶⁷⁷ language:

It is none other than the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who already long ago asked me if I could produce a Nomenclator [i.e., a word list] and a Grammatica [grammar] of the Finnic language. Indeed, he received the former some time ago, but to give him the latter has so far been impossible. When, however, I sent him the Nomenclator, the Grand Duke's desire to know the Finnic language was amazing, and I too wished to study it in a philosophical manner.⁶⁷⁸

Fogelius had been asked by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723), whom he had met in 1664, to send him a word list and a grammar of the Finnic language. In connection with this, he had come across notions of the Sámi people, as he explains:

I thus became the father of a dissertation of the properties and origin of this language, and of how it compares to other languages, which I submitted to the aforementioned prince. In this piece, the Lappish [tongue] ought to be mentioned. However, I had a hard time making any judgement about it, other than that found on the geographic map of Joannes Caesius. Later, however, I found out that the majority of the words that I had taken for Lappish ones, were Swedish.⁶⁷⁹

Fogelius notes that it was his interest in the Finnic language that led him to seek knowledge about the Sámi people. During his research, he had come across the maps of Joan Blaeu (Caesius, lit. blueish-gray), and specifically one that included a notion of Lapland. Of the nearly six hundred maps in Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*, three depict the region in detail: one showing the Kingdoms of Denmark-Norway and Sweden, one showing the political divisions of the Swedish Empire, and one focusing entirely on "Lapponia". As all of these maps, plus one of

⁶⁷⁵ Hans Kangro, "Martin Fogel aus Hamburg als Gelehrter des 17. Jahrhunderts," *UAJb* 41 (1969): 14-32.

⁶⁷⁶ On Fogelius as a correspondent, see: Marten and Piepenbring-Thomas, *Fogels Ordnungen*, 203-230.

⁶⁷⁷ Fogelius' understanding of "lingua Finnica" does not exclusively refer to the Finnish language.

⁶⁷⁸ Martinus Fogelius to Schefferus, 23 November 1672. UUB, G 260 b, fol. 156. "Est nimiru[m] ille Magnus Dux Etruriæ, qui jam pridem a me petiit, ut Linguæ Finnicæ nomenclatorem & Grammaticam ipsi compararem. Illum q[ui]dem dudum receperit, hanc hactenus mittere ipsi non licuit. [C]um vero Nomenclatorem mitterem, miratur Magni Ducis desiderium, linguam Finnica[m] cognoscendi, ipse etiam volui philosophica quadam ratione eam contemplari."

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid. "Unde nata mihi e[st] dissertatio de huj[us] linguæ proprietatib[us] & origine, & cum aliis comparatione, eidem Principi quoq[ue] submissa. Lapponicæ ibidem mentio aliqua fieri debuit, sed vix de ea judicare potui, nisi ex Mappa Geographica Joan. Cæsii. inveni vero postea, nomina pleraq[ue] q[ua]e pro Lappicis habebam, esse Suecica."

Europe designating the region in lesser detail, too, mostly have Swedish place names, we do not know to which one Fogelius is referring. Furthermore, there could be many more maps in question, since Blaeu, who was also the cartographer of the Dutch East India Company, counts among the most productive mapmakers of the era.

The following lines show that news of Schefferus' project had travelled fast in the world of the learned, as Fogelius reveals the motive of his address:

Now since I have heard that you, highly distinguished man, are preoccupied with describing Lapland, I hope that its language can hardly have escaped you, and in the name of His Serenity the Grand Duke my humble plea to you is that you, at the earliest convenience, send some samples of this language, either the Psalter by Tornæus, or the Catechism by the same author, or his Gospels and Epistles, or his Sirach, or something similar.⁶⁸⁰

By asking Schefferus to send him samples of written Sámi by Tornæus, Fogelius confirms that parts of the learned elite had taken note of the early literary production in Sámi languages. He specifically refers to biblical and catechist texts translated by Tornæus, naming a psalter, a catechism, the gospels and epistles as well as the apocryphal Wisdom of Sirach. This indicates that he knew about the *Manuale Lapponicum* from 1648, which contains some of these texts.⁶⁸¹

Fogelius suggests:

Whatever expenses you incur due to this assignment will be reimbursed to you, along with many thanks, by Schulzius. However, in case these publications are hard to get hold of that swiftly, then – for the sake of the merits of the Medici family in learning and letters – please send us in distinct handwriting their most frequent words, particularly for things that they are unlikely to have borrowed from other peoples. Perhaps I can also excerpt something from my dissertation for you, which will produce concordance of the Lappish language with others.⁶⁸²

Along with the reimbursement of expenses for the desired works by an intermediary named Schulzius, Fogelius promises Schefferus to send him relevant excerpts of his dissertation.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid. “Jam cum audiam, te, Vir Clarissime, in Lapponia describenda occupari, & ejus Linguæ cognitionem te haud fugere sperem, nomine Serenissimi huj[us] Principis etiam atq[ue] etiam te oro, ut prima quavis occasione specimen aliquod ej[us] linguæ communicare velis, sive Tornei sit Psalterium, sive ejusdem Catechism[us], sive ej[us] Euangelia & Epistolæ, sive ej[us] Siracides, sive aliud simile.”

⁶⁸¹ Johannes Tornæus, ed., *Manuale Lapponicum. Tat lie: Praude-Kiete-Kirie, Joite mij adnestop, Nabmatom: I. Konuk Dawidin Psaltar. II. Salomoni Pakowaijase. III. Salomoni Sarnotee. IV. Jesus Syrachin Kirie. V. Cathechesis D.M. L. Tain Räte-Pakatusin. VI. Ahte vtza Kircko-Ordnik. VII. Ewangelia ia Epistoleg, Collectæ ia Rockolwasa färte Sodnopäiwin ia Passe päiwin, pirra Jäge. VIII. Christusen Pijdnen Historia. IX. Jerusalemi Häwatemen pirra. X. Ahte vtza Psalm-Kirie. XI. Ahte vtza Räckolwas-Kirie.* (Stockholm: Henrich Keyser Ludni, 1648).

⁶⁸² Martinus Fogelius to Schefferus, 23 November 1672. UUB G 260b: fol. 156. “Quicq[ui]d eo nomine expenderis argenti, cum maximis gratis tibi reddetur a Schulzio. Quod si hi libelli non ita promte parari poterunt, ut vocabula vulgatissima earu[m] p[ræ]cipue reru[m], quaru[m] usum ab aliis gentib[us] minime acceperunt, distinctis caracterib[us] signata nobis mittas, propter Mediceæ familiæ in bonas literas merita te rogo. Forsan etiam aliq[ui]d ex mea dissertatione tibi excerptere possum, quod ad Lappicæ Linguæ cum aliis Harmonia[m] faciet.”

Offering future favours or information was a commonly used bartering strategy, and indeed a cultural practice within the context of collecting,⁶⁸³ corresponding to an important secondary currency (the primary one being money) in exchanges in the Republic of Letters. Fogelius' next letter, dated 14 May 1673, shows that Schefferus had replied with two letters:

To your two most cultured letters I give only one response, since you in your first letter asked me to wait for the next one. I also received the *Enchiridion Lapponicum*, which made me the more grateful, the more ardently I have thus far desired to know the nature of the Lappish language.⁶⁸⁴

Schefferus' response to the enquiry was to comply with Fogelius' wish and to ensure that he would receive a copy of *Manuale Lapponicum*. The spreading knowledge about *Laponia* alone had made him a valuable contact for correspondents with interest in any topic related to the Sámi people, even prior to its publication. Fogelius' exuberant gratefulness underscores the importance and value of exchange of that kind:

I praise your utterly unwarranted benevolence, and I promise to make every possible effort to return the favour. When my dissertation on the Finnic language sees the light of day, I will surely not forget to acknowledge publicly through whom I advanced in my study. Meanwhile, in case there is anything that you think I might be able to do for you, do send your orders, and you will not find me lazy in the execution of them.⁶⁸⁵

Here, Fogelius speaks of plans of publishing his dissertation on the Finnic language, which means that he wanted to re-work his *De linguæ finnicæ indole observationes* (Observations on the innate qualities of the Finnic language) written in 1669. For this new version, he asked for advice and help, promising to acknowledge eventual benefactors. Before addressing the Sámi language, he comments on Schefferus' edition of Phædrus:

Furthermore, I express all the gratitude that I owe you for the copy of your Phædrus presented to me through Schulzius. If only I would be able to pay like with like! However, I am prevented by excessive duties as a medical doctor to

⁶⁸³ Irene Baldriga, "The role of correspondence in the transmission of collecting patterns in seventeenth-century Europe: models, media and main characters," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe III: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 187–216, at: 187–193.

⁶⁸⁴ Fogelius to Schefferus, 14 May 1673. UUB G 260b: fol. 171r-v, at: 171r. "Binis tuis humanissimis unum hoc responsum reddo, quod in priorib[us] me alias tuas exspectare volebas. Accepi etiam Enchiridion Lapponicum, quod tanto gratius mihi fuit, quanto vehementius hactenus Lapponicæ linguæ indolem cognoscere desideravi."

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid. "Exosculator tuam benevolentiam plane immeritam, me[que] omnem daturu[m] op[er]a[m] promitto, ut, quocunq[ue] modo potero, gratiam referam. Ubi etiam mea Dissertatio de Finnica lingua lucem publica[m] videbit, publice per quem profecerim profiteri minime obliviscar. Interea, si qua in re me tibi usui esse posse putas, impera in vicem, nec me segnem reperies."

publish my works, however modest and unimportant they are. Nevertheless, I hope my commentary on the Nepenthe of the Turks will soon be finished.⁶⁸⁶

Through Schulzius, Schefferus had sent a copy of his edition of Phædrus to Fogelius. Indicating that he was too preoccupied in his work as a physician, Fogelius excuses himself from being able to repay Schefferus' favour in kind, but still promotes his current project. This was the planned four-volume *De Turcarum Nepenthe*, a combination of his medical and philological interests dealing with the mythical drug Nepenthe (in this case probably referring to cannabis), which could make one forget all diseases or fears. To this was added a “commentatio de affinitate linguae Turcicae et Hungaricae” (treatise of the affinity of the Turkish and the Hungarian language), which, however, never appeared in print.⁶⁸⁷ In the following, Fogelius moves on to discuss the language samples sent to him by Schefferus:

In the word list placed below I single out some less distinct characters, which you will not be burdened to repeat in your next letter, in case I should happen to have read them incorrectly. For instance, I do not know whether I read correctly [...]⁶⁸⁸

In what follows, Fogelius wants to know whether he has read the lists correctly. Fogelius comments on the orthography of a number of words included in the list sent by Schefferus to receive confirmation as to whether he had read them correctly.⁶⁸⁹ A comparison of Fogelius' list with word lists in CH. XV of *Lapponia* reveals that Schefferus had sent him samples from both the Finnish-Sámi-Latin and the Tatar-Sámi lists.⁶⁹⁰ Fogelius continues by referring to his observations on what would later be termed the Finno-Ugric language family:

I find that the Lappish language differs from Finnish as a dialect, and that both are offspring of Hungarian – this, lest I am mistaken, I was the first to discover. For Finnish, I have shown this already in 1669 in my dissertation sent to the Grand Duke of Tuscany not only from words, but also through other arguments. Also the vocabulary of Lappish, which I owe to your kindness, has affinity with

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid. “Gratias et[iam] quas debeo ago maximas pro Phædri tui exemplari p[er] Schulzium mihi oblato. Utinam par pari referre possem! Sed nimiis occupationib[us] Medicis a meoru[m] qualiu[m]cunq[ue] opusculoru[m] Editione prohibeor. Spero tamen me mox commentariu[m] meu[m] de Turcarum Nepenthe absoluturum.”

⁶⁸⁷ For an overview of Fogelius' oeuvre, see Johann Otto Thiessen, *Versuch einer Gelehrten-geschichte von Hamburg nach alphabetischer Ordnung mit kritischen und pragmatischen Bemerkungen* (Hamburg: in der Heroldschen Buchhandlung, 1783), 200-204.

⁶⁸⁸ Fogelius to Schefferus, 14 May 1673. UUB G 260b: fol. 171r. “In Vocabulorum submißo Catalogo q[ua]dam minus distincte scripta reperio, quæ non gravaberis repetere proximis tuis literis, si forsàn ea non recte legi. nescio verbi gratia, an recte legam [...].”

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid. “Albme Cælu[m], ut 2da litera sit l. | Virse Fluvius, ut penult[r]a l[ite]ra sit s. | Ωlmøgd Homo cum ø Græcoru[m]. | Olbma Vir dual[is] Syllabis. | Vlph Capillus | Pælie auris, ultima l[ite]ra E. | Kielt manus | Kab [illegible; possibly: feta] | Jubki, Falk Per | Ænn Mater cu[m] gemino n. | Nissu Uxor cu[m] duplici s | Pardei Filius | Kiree Liberi penultima syllaba e. | Piednak Canis | Orrinak Sciurus, cu[m] gemino r. | Astem Cochlear”

⁶⁹⁰ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 180-182.

Hungarian, for instance *kæte*, Hungarian *kútya*: house; *atkia*, Hungarian *atya*: father; *jenga*, Hungarian *jég*: ice; *pælie*: ear, Hungarian *fül*, etc.⁶⁹¹

The exchange between Fogelius and Schefferus highlights that even before the new book on the Sámi people had reached its readers, the project led to contributions to innovative concurrent research. It enabled Schefferus to engage in discussions with experts in a new field. Fogelius continues:

I would have wished to have a vocabulary of the Estonian language as well, with words corresponding to the Lappish ones that you sent me, and to get to see the Lord's Prayer translated into both languages. This I cannot find in the *Enchiridion* [i.e., the *Manuale*] other than interpreted as a song.⁶⁹²

Fogelius proceeds to present his comparative approach towards languages today known to be part of the Balto-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric and greater Uralic language family. To advance his idea, he asks Schefferus about relevant literature and its availability in Uppsala:

I also desire to know whether the Finnish Grammar of the bishop of Åbo *Æschillus Petraeus* is for sale at your bookstores; whether a Grammar of the Estonian language has been printed; whether *Gyldenstolpe* discusses the Finnish language in his description of Sweden; and finally, whether the ancient Livonian language, which has survived in some villages only, is different from Estonian, although *Bureus* did say it differs totally from Finnish.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹¹ Fogelius to Schefferus, 14 May 1673. UUB G 260b: fol. 171v. "Lapponicam linguam a Finnica differre dialecto deprehendo, utramq[ue] vero Hungaricæ e[ss]e sobolem primus ni fallor observavi. de Finnica jam 1669 in dissert[tati]o[n]e mea Magno Etruriæ Duci missa id ostendi non tantu[m] ex vocabulis, sed et aliis argumentis. Lapponicæ et[iam] vocabula q[uæ] tuæ humanitati debeo cum Hungarica cognationem habent, v.g. *Kæte*, Hungaris *Kútya Casa*, *Atkia*, Hung. *Atya Pater*, *Jenga*, Hung. *Jég*, *Glacies*, *Pælie Aures Hungaris Fül*. &c."

⁶⁹² Ibid. "Optarem Estonica lingua et[iam] expressa vocabula, q[uæ] Lapponicis transmissis respondent, cognoscere, & utraq[ue] Orationem Dominicam versam videre, quam in *Enchiridio* non nisi carmine interpretatam rep[er]io."

⁶⁹³ Ibid. "Scire e[st] aveo, utrum *Æschyli Petræi*, Episcopi Aboensis, Grammatica Finnica in vestris bibliopoliis prostet: an Grammatica q[uæ]dam linguæ Estonicæ impressa sit, an *Guldenstolpius* in Sveciæ suæ descri[pti]o[n]e d[e] lingua Finnica agat; deniq[ue] an antiqua Livonum lingua in q[ui]busdam tantum pagis reliqua ab Estonica diversa sit, cum eam a Finnica omnimodo di[ver]sam *Bureus* dixerit."

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Nobilissime, doctissimeq, Vir,

binis tuis humanissimis unum hoc responsum reddo, quod in priorib. me alias tuas expectare volebar. Accepi etiam Enchiridion Lapponicum, quod tanto gratius mihi fuit, quanto vehementius hactenus Laponicae linguae innotescere desideravi. Exosculor tuam benevolentiam plane immeritam, meq, omnem daturū opā promittē, ut quocumq, modo potero, gratiam referam. Ubi etiam mea Dissertatio de Finnica lingua lucem publicā videbit, publici per quem profectum profecti minime obtuscar. Interea, si qua in re me tibi usui esse posse putar, impera in vicem, nec me sequelem reperies.

Gratias et quae debentur ago maximas pro Phadri tui exemplari p Schulzium mihi oblato. Utinam pari pari referre possem! Sed nimir occupationib. Medicar a meū quatuorq, opusculorū Editione prohibeor. Spero tamen me mox commentariū meū de Turcarum Nepenthe absoluturum.

In Vocabulorum submisso Catalogo qdam minus distincto scripta reperio, quae non gaudeo repetere proximis tuis literis, si forsitan ea non recte legi.

nosco tibi gratia, an tibi legam

Albme Casu, ut 2da littera sit l.
 Virse ~~Albme~~, ut penultima tra sit s.
 Olmago Homo cum a Grecorū.
 Olbma Vir duab. syllabis.
 U&pb Capillur
 Palie auris, ultima tra E.
 Kielt manus
 Kab fera
 Subki, Falk Per.
 Ænn Mater cū gemino n.
 Nisse Uxor cū duplici s
 Pardei Filius
 Kiree Liberi penultima syllaba e.
 Piednax Canis
 Orrinak Scurur, cū gemino r.
 Asem Cochlear

Figure 20: Letter sent by Fogelius to Schefferus, 14 May 1673, G 260 b, fol. 171r. Photograph courtesy of UUB.

Fogelius refers to writings by the former bishop of Åbo, Æschillus Petræus (1593-1657), who in 1649 published a textbook on Finnish, and Michael Gyldenstolpe (1609-1670), who had written a description of the Swedish Realm in 1650, and the previously mentioned Andreas Bureus, who in 1631 presented his *Svecia, a Commentarius Politicus* on the Kingdom of

Sweden.⁶⁹⁴ Those were not new, yet unavailable in Hamburg, as the request indicates. This quotation again underlines the function of the Republic of Letters as a network to order books. Fogelius knows the limitations of this network and concludes: “But I abuse, most learned man, your kindness”.⁶⁹⁵ In order to end on a different note than to ask for further favours, Fogelius briefly mentions some new scholarly endeavours and other interesting news:

As far as learned literature is concerned, a commentary on the antiquities of Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes by Meursius is now on its way, whereas Grævius’ Suetonius and the Tacitus and Seneca of Gronovius have finally seen the light of day. Very elegant annotations by Joannes Scultingius to the Declamations of the Elder embellish [the] Seneca [edition]. Grævius is now totally devoted to the task of producing an edition of Cicero. The royal French astronomer Cassini detected two new planets encircling Saturn, which he describes in an exceptional little book.⁶⁹⁶

It is noteworthy that Fogelius keeps Schefferus up to date on current projects such as the posthumous printing and publication of Johannes Meursius’ (1579-1639) *Creta, Rhodus, Cyprus*, which would be completed about two years later, or Johann Georg Grævius’ (1632-1703) *Suetonius*, published only in the previous year.⁶⁹⁷ Furthermore, he mentions Johann Friedrich Gronovius’ new edition of Seneca, which had appeared in Amsterdam in 1672 in three volumes.⁶⁹⁸ Fogelius’ comment on the *Seneca* edition emphasizes the quality of Johannes Schultingius’ (1630-1666) remarks instead of the contributions by editor Gronovius. Given Gronovius’ status as an outstanding philologist, Fogelius saw it probably unnecessary to comment on his work. Fogelius knew also that Grævius was working intensely on editing Cicero. This would result in an array of editions with many reprints and translations throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition to his pervasive interest in classical philology, Fogelius informs Schefferus about the spectacular discovery of two moons of Saturn, Iapetus and Rhea

⁶⁹⁴ Æschillus Peträus, *Linguae Finnicæ Brevis Institutio* (Aboæ: Imprimebas Petrus Wald, 1649); Michael Olai Wexionius, *Epitome descriptionis Sueciæ, Gothiæ, Fenningiæ, et subjectarum provinciarum* (Aboæ: Apud Petrum Wald, 1650); Bureus, *Suecia*.

⁶⁹⁵ Fogelius to Schefferus, 14 May 1673. UUB G 260b: fol. 171v. “Sed abutor, Vir doctissime, tua facilitate.”

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid. “Quod ab bonaru[m] literaru[m] studia attinet, describuntur nunc typis Meursii de Cretæ, Cypri, Rhodi Antiquitatibus Commentarii, Grævii Svetonius, Tacitus & Seneca vero Gronovii lucem tandem viderunt. Senecam exornant notæ perelegantibus Joannis Scultingii in Declamationes Patris. Grævius totus est in Ciceronis editione adornanda. Regis Galliæ Astronomus Cassinus duos novos Planetas circa Saturnum detexit, quos peculiari libello descripsit.”

⁶⁹⁷ Johannes Meursius, *Creta, Rhodus, Cyprus sive De Nobilissimarum harum insularum rebus & antiquitatibus* (Amstelodami: Apud Abrahamum Wolfgangum, 1675); Johannes Georgius Grævius, ed., *C. Svetonius Tranquillus Ex recensione Joannis Georgii Grævii, Cum ejusdem animadversionibus, Ut & Commentario integro Lævini Torrentii, et Isaaci Casauboni. His accedunt Notæ Theodori Marcilii et Francisci Gyveti, Nec non index Matthiæ Bernecceri* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Typis & ex Officinâ Gisberti a Zyll, Bibliopolæ, 1672).

⁶⁹⁸ Johann Friedrich Gronovius, ed., *L. Annæi Senecæ Opera Quæ Exstant*, 3 vols. (Amstelodami: Apud Danielem Elsevirium, 1672).

in 1671 and 1672 by the Royal French astronomer Giovanni Cassini (1625-1712).⁶⁹⁹ Together with other scholars, Cassini and Fogelius had collaborated in researching sunspots.⁷⁰⁰

Presumably, the exchange between Fogelius and Schefferus arose through Fogelius' interest in Finnic and related languages. It is likely that Fogelius' friendship with Boeclerus also played a part. To date, no further correspondence between Schefferus and Fogelius has been identified. However, the close reading of the two letters allows for a couple of observations. Already during his works on *Lapponia*, Schefferus had reached the status of an authority on things pertaining to the Sámi. This underlines how innovative the project was and how well known Schefferus had become in some parts of learned Europe. The way in which Fogelius approached Schefferus suggests that the two took on the function of nodes for one another. Fogelius considered Schefferus as potentially helpful in accessing literature published in Åbo and providing language samples of Sámi. To respond in like, Fogelius sent some of the news he collected systematically, in this case regarding recent publications and future projects in Amsterdam or Paris that could be of interest to Schefferus.⁷⁰¹ Both of them were thus making the scholarly advancements of their specific fields accessible to the other. For Schefferus, situated in Uppsala, these were contemporary research on the Sámi, and literature on some of the languages of the Swedish Realm, while for Fogelius, situated in Hamburg, they were books on classical philology from the printing presses in the Netherlands, as well as significant scientific news from Paris. Furthermore, both advanced their own projects by writing about them and sharing preliminary or published results.

A certain Schulzius seems to have fulfilled the role of intermediary between the two, mainly with regard to reimbursing outstanding payments and procuring literature. This suggests that Schulzius was an insider in the book market. The bookseller Gottfried Schultze (1643-1686) of Hamburg fits that description, having already published Schefferus' *Memorabilium Sueticae Gentis Exemplorum Liber Singularis* in 1671 as well as the third edition of Phædrus in 1673, and continuing to publish his works, as the *Lectioenum Academicarum Liber* in 1675 demonstrates.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁹ Giovanni Cassini, "A Discovery of Two New Planets about Saturn, Made in the Royal Parisian Observatory by Signor Cassini, Fellow of Both the Royal Societys, of England and France; English't Out of French," *Philosophical Transactions* 8, no. 92 (1673).

⁷⁰⁰ Marten and Piepenbring-Thomas, *Fogels Ordnungen*, 219.

⁷⁰¹ On Fogelius as a collector of news, see *ibid.*, 167-181.

⁷⁰² Schefferus, *Memorabilium Sueticae Gentis Exemplorum Liber Singularis*; Johannes Schefferus, ed., *Phædri Fabularum Æsopiarum Libri Quinque Cum annotationibus Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis et Francisci Guyeti Notis. Nunquam antea publicatis. Editio Tertia* (Hamburgi & Amsterodami: Gothofredi Schultzen, Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge, 1673); Johannes Schefferus, *Lectioenum Academicarum Liber Quo continentur Animadversiones In Miltiadem Nepotis, Epistolas Plinii, Curtium, Ciceronem de Legibus, Apocolocyntosin Senecæ, Anonymi Græci Rhetorica, cum versione Latina*,

Due to Schefferus' excellent connections to many scholars in the Holy Roman Empire, it comes as no surprise that the news of his work had travelled fast in Central Europe. However, it had also reached England early on, without any indication of Schefferus actively working towards this. On 12 December 1672, Thomas Henshaw (1618-1700), fellow of the Royal Society, wrote from Copenhagen to the Society's secretary, Henry Oldenburg (c.1619-1677), a well-connected correspondent:

I have written to our Masters Envoyé in Sweden to send me a Swedish Dictionary if there bee any, as also for two Copies of Shefferus relation of Lapland, and that other relation of Moscovy if they bee yet publick as also of Loccenius his Swedish laws, that I might send yu one of each.⁷⁰³

Three months later, on 4 February 1673, Henshaw again writes about the project to bring Oldenburg up to date on its development:

From Sweden they write me that Shefferus hath now finished his Relation of Lapland, according to ye Emendations of ye priest of that country I writ yu of, but by reason there are many cuts to bee inserted in ye book it cannot bee printed at Stockholme, but will be sent to Franckford or some other place in Germany.⁷⁰⁴

It is worthy of note that Henshaw was well informed on the status of the project and knew some particularities about the sources employed by Schefferus, mentioning the writing to be "according to ye Emendations of ye priest of that country" about whom he had written to Oldenburg before. Henshaw also mentions the location of the press and the technical reasons why printing it in Stockholm was unfeasible. The relative accuracy of Henshaw's second-hand information speaks of the ways in which the Republic of Letters functioned. It seems that the challenge was not primarily to protect one's own research, but rather to further its reach. Information was shared at liberty, ideas were developed, interpretations and opinions exchanged. Oldenburg would review *Lapponia* in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1674.⁷⁰⁵

Fragmentum Petronii & alia; Accedit Omnium a dicto Joanne Scheffero editorum, & quae brevi ab eodem sperari possunt, Index (Hamburgi: Ex Officina Gothofredi Schultzen, 1675).

⁷⁰³ Thomas Henshaw to Henry Oldenburg, 12 December 1672. Letter 2105 in: A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, eds., *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg: Volume IX: 1672-1673*, The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, [1672-1673] 1973), 354.

⁷⁰⁴ Henshaw to Oldenburg, 4 February 1673. Letter 2141 in: Hall and Hall, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg: Volume IX: 1672-1673*, 451.

⁷⁰⁵ See Section 4.3.

4.2 THE RECEPTION OF *LAPPONIA*

Interest in the Lapponia project peaked once its results became available as a book for the readership. Book fairs were among the most important and reliable means of spreading news on upcoming publications. The catalogues printed twice a year ahead of the two big book fairs around Easter and Michaelmas (29 September) in Frankfurt and Leipzig served as specialist journals for the learned world. By Easter 1673, at the beginning of April, word of Schefferus' forthcoming *Lapponia* had reached all those who had read a copy of the latest *Catalogus universalis*, published in connection with the Frankfurt fair. Indeed, Schefferus' foreword to *Lapponia* addressed to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, which in effect took the form and rhetoric of a letter, was dated shortly after that, on 1 May 1673. Those few pages were probably the last ones to reach the press and the final detail necessary to complete the printing and binding of the book. Schefferus addresses this issue in a letter to Heinsius dated 13 May 1673:

My Lapponia was sent to Frankfurt at the beginning of this year, though I do not know to this day, whether it actually reached that place, since I have seen no letter from the bookseller so far. An oration that I made in the name of the people in front of the King, occasioned by his succession to the full responsibilities of government, I handed to the printer to be transcribed, because they demanded this. I would have sent a copy of it, if only I knew of a way to do so safely.⁷⁰⁶

This also offers an explanation as to why, in the list of “*Libri Futuris Nundinis Prodituri*” (books about to be published for the fair) indicating books for sale at the fair, the full title of *Lapponia* is given prior to the fair in early April.⁷⁰⁷ The press already had access to large parts of the work, but not the foreword. Thus, the many readers of the catalogue already had a specific idea of the scope of the book prior to its publication. The short mention Schefferus made in his letter to Heinsius on 14 July 1673 was accurate: “*Lapponia* approaches the end and will see the light of day at the next Frankfurt fair”.⁷⁰⁸ At this fair in autumn 1673, Schefferus' *Lapponia* was for sale, as indicated by the respective catalogues printed there and in Leipzig.⁷⁰⁹ They only give a

⁷⁰⁶ Schefferus to Heinsius, 13 May 1673. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 147-148. “*Lapponia* mea Francofurtum est missa initio hujus anni, quanquam ad hunc diem ignorem, utrum eo perlata sit, cum a bibliopola nullas adhuc viderim litteras. Orationem, quam publico nomine habui coram Rege, cum primum ad imperium propriis curis tractandum accessisset, quia sic volebant, typographo describendam dedi. Mitterem exemplum ejus, si scirem, qua ratione tuto possem.”

⁷⁰⁷ N.N., *Catalogus Universalis pro Nundinis Francofurtensibus Vernalibus De Anno M. DC. LXXXIII* (Frankfurti: Impensis Hæredum Sigismundi Latomi, 1673), unpaginated.

⁷⁰⁸ Schefferus to Heinsius, 14 July 1673. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 148-149. “*Lapponia* spectat finem, videbitque lucem proximis Nundinis Francofurtensibus.”

⁷⁰⁹ N.N., *Catalogus Universalis pro Nundinis Francofurtensibus Autumnalibus De Anno M. DC. LXXXIII*, unpaginated; N.N., *Catalogus Universalis. Hoc est: Designatio omnium Librorum, qui hisce Nundinis Autumnalibus Francofurtensibus & Lipsiensibus Anni 1673. vel novi, vel emendatiores & auctiores prodierunt.*, unpaginated.

shorter form of its title, indicating that additional information was no longer a great necessity once the book appeared in print. Potential buyers could then see for themselves. One might consider the reactions before the monograph appeared in print as part of its reception. In this section, though, reception refers mostly to the reactions of individuals hearing about the completion of the project, holding the final product in their hands, or otherwise gaining access to its contents.

During the second half of 1673, many of Schefferus' correspondents mentioned *Lapponia* in their letters to him. They kept him up to date on their individual plans and means of purchasing a copy. It is possible to deduce the reach and speed of dissemination from this information, which also provides insight into the mechanics of the book market. The French physician and pioneering figure of the study of epigraphs Jacobus Spon (1647-1685) wrote to Schefferus from Lyon on 8 August 1673: "I will arrange to have the description of Lapland sent to me from Frankfurt through the assistance of Genevan merchants".⁷¹⁰ In addition to once again emphasizing the importance of Frankfurt as a centre of book trade, his letter also indicates that his father Carolus Spon (1609-1684) and Schefferus knew each other, as Carolus sends his regards.⁷¹¹ Given that Schefferus had spent several months in Geneva during his studies, only about one hundred and fifty kilometres from Lyon, he may well have become acquainted with Carolus Spon there.

In a letter sent from The Hague, Schefferus' close colleague and friend Nicolaus Heinsius notes a few months later, on 10 November 1673, the recent state of the project. "Furthermore, the catalogue of the book fair in Frankfurt shows me that your *Lapponia* printed at a German press is already for sale to the public".⁷¹²

However, not everyone was equally up to date, as seen in a letter by philologist Grævius to Heinsius dated 12 December 1673. From Utrecht, Grævius queries Heinsius about Schefferus' projects: "I have not yet seen Schefferus' Upsalian Archbishops. I ask you to greet him very fondly in my name, whenever you write him a letter. When will his *Lapponia* appear?"⁷¹³ Grævius refers to another one of Schefferus' new books, an edition of the newly discovered medieval *breve chronicon* (short chronicle) of Uppsala's archbishops. By 1671, Schefferus had

⁷¹⁰ Jacobus Spon to Schefferus, 8 August 1673. UUB G 260c: fol. 13r-14r, at: fol. 14r. "Lapponiæ descriptionem ope mercatorum Geneuensium ad me Francofurtum deferri curabo."

⁷¹¹ Ibid., fol. 14r. "Plurimum te Salutat parens meus Carolus Sponoris." (My father Carolus Sponoris greets you many times.)

⁷¹² Heinsius to Schefferus, 10 November 1673. UUB G 260c: fol. 22r-23v, at: fol. 22r. "Docuit præterea me Catalogus nundinarum Francofurtensium, Lapponiam tuam typis Germanicis descriptam in publico iam prostare."

⁷¹³ Grævius to Heinsius, 12 December 1673. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus IV.*, 209-211, at: 210. "Schefferi Archiepiscopus Upsaliensis nondum vidi. Eum quæso ut meo nomine peramanter salutes, si quando litteras ad eum exaraveris. Quando ejus Lapponia comparebit?"

already finished his work on this edition, but the press of Henricus Curio (1630-1691) in Uppsala did not print it until 1673.⁷¹⁴ This edition was not just a significant philological accomplishment in terms of Sweden's church history, but also a contribution to the heated argument with Verelius on the site of the old pagan temple in Uppsala. Grævius notes that he has not yet seen the new publication. He pleads with Heinsius to send his best regards in the next letter to Schefferus. Moreover, he asks when *Lapponia* would appear. Obviously, the news of its availability had not yet reached Grævius.

Schefferus' own reaction to the publication of *Lapponia* was mainly dissatisfaction with its numerous misprints. On 6 January 1674, he wrote about this to Heinsius, including a couple of corrections:

Meanwhile you should also have received my *Lapponia*, if the bookseller from Frankfurt did maintain honesty and promises. Yet, I have to say that the production of the book is so faulty that it causes both shame and repent. I send here numerous errata, in case they, by chance, have not been added to your copy. I say numerous, for I have not been able to list them all. And I know, hastily going through it again, that there are some that escaped my notice, such as the one on page 200, line 14, which should read *pendens semper supra*, and page 223, line 3, which should read *de Ahenō, quod*. I hear there is somebody who translates [it] into German and that he is prepared to publish it shortly. I myself will produce an edition that will not only be more correct, but also enlarged, as soon as the present edition is sold out.⁷¹⁵

Schefferus' letter shows that he himself did not have plans to publish *Lapponia* in German. The fact that he only heard about the translation prepared by someone else, make any kind of involvement unlikely. Given that the same press published *Lappland*, these plans might have been a decision by the bookseller caused by the demand for *Lapponia*. Nevertheless, since one of De la Gardie's intentions was to eradicate rumours about the use of Sámi sorcery in the Swedish ranks, to reach new readers was in line with the initial commission. Those rumours generally circulated through pamphlets and songs in German directed at the populace of the

⁷¹⁴ N.N., "Johannes Schefferus och fyra andra utländska lärda i stormaktstidens Sverige," 65-66; Schefferus, *Breve chronicon de archiepiscopis et sacerdotib. cæteris*.

⁷¹⁵ Schefferus to Heinsius, 6 January 1674. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V*, 149-150. "Interea & Lapponiam meam accepisse debes, si modo fidem & promissa servavit Bibliopola Francofurtensis. Sed ea quidem tam est edita vitiose, ut illius pudeat poeniteatque. Mitto hic errata nonnulla, si forte tuo exemplari non adjuncta sunt. Nonnulla dico, nam omnia enotare non potui. Et scio, festinanter relegenti ne observata quidem aliqua, quale illud pag. 200. vers. 14. ubi *pendens semper supra*. & pag. 223. vers. 3. ubi, *de Ahenō, quod* scribendum. Est qui eam transfert in sermonem Germanicum, ut audio, brevique parat edere. Ego quoque eam dabo non emendatiorem modo, sed & auctiorem, ut primum haec editio fuerit distracta."

Holy Roman Empire.⁷¹⁶ Consequently, a German translation of *Lapponia* would present an adequate response to these kinds of popular narratives.

On 9 February 1674, Heinsius could finally report on his first glance at *Lapponia*, which he had made on a visit to Grævius in Utrecht:

Nearby, our Grævius has shown me your *Lapponia* when I had gone to Utrecht, whose copy of the book was acquired by a friend from Cologne: for near us at the booksellers I know this book is not yet found for sale.⁷¹⁷

The fact that both Heinsius in The Hague and Grævius in Utrecht had to go to great lengths to obtain a copy of the book suggests three possibilities. Perhaps the logistics of the book market were slow in general, it may have been difficult to keep up with the high demand for this monograph in particular, or Schefferus had simply selected the wrong press. With regard to the technicalities of book production, luck and contingencies are real factors, although it is hardly possible to evaluate and analyse them. Intriguingly, Heinsius made no comment on the actual content of the book, even though he would presumably at least have run over a few pages and probably examined the illustrations. To Schefferus, this reply not only indicated that something had gone wrong with his arrangements to have a copy of *Lapponia* delivered to Heinsius, but perhaps even that Heinsius considered the print itself of dubious quality. He comments on this in his letter sent to Heinsius on 17 March 1674, after again mentioning his state of health:

I have written to you on 6 January, and have excused the rarity of my letters with the disease that has wearied me since autumn of the past year and that has not even now ceased entirely. I also mentioned other obstacles that occurred during that time. Now, from your letter written in February I understand that my letter had not been delivered to you, which makes me wonder, since I entrusted it to someone in Stockholm, who solemnly promised to make sure it reached you. I still hope that it did arrive, after you sent your latest letter to me. I really hope it did, not least because of the list of errata, so disgraceful and numerous, occurring on virtually every single page of my *Lapponia*. I trust that these have reached you from the bookseller in the meantime. For this is something I demanded of him, and he promised to do so in several letters.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁶ See, for instance: Andreas Klein, "Wissenspolitik als Großmachtpolitik: Die Samen im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden," in *Schweden in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Milos Reznik and Katja Rosenbaum, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau - Quellen und Studien (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, forthcoming).

⁷¹⁷ Heinsius to Schefferus, 9 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 28r-v, at: 28r. "Exhibebat mihi proxime *Lapponiam* tuam noster Grævius, cum Trajectum Rheni me contulissem, cuius voluminis exemplar ab amico nactus erat ex Ubijs: nam apud nos in bibliopolijs nondum, quod sciam, venalis invenitur his liber."

⁷¹⁸ Schefferus to Heinsius, 17 March 1674. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V*, 150-151. "Scripsi tibi 6. Januarii, raritatemque mearum excusavi per morbum, qui me fatigavit inde ab autumno anni praeteriti, ac ne nunc quidem plane cessat. Significavi quoque alia, quae tum occurrebant. Nunc ex tuis in Februario scriptis intelligo, non esse traditas tibi eas litteras, quod miror, cum commiserim Holmiae cuidam, qui se fide optima spondebat ad te curaturum. Spero tamen ad te perlatas, postquam ultimas ad me misisti. Quod cupio, vel propter errata, quae

The unreliability of some agents in the printing and publishing business seems to have been a recurring problem for scholars at that time. This explains Schefferus' remarks accounting for the delay of letters and books to Heinsius. To make things worse, this meant having to wait longer for Heinsius' comments about the book. Based on this negative experience, Schefferus begins to rant about booksellers and printers in general, noting about Schultze from Hamburg:

Nevertheless, I cannot comprehend the kind of neglect that exists amongst this species of humans, as I see from Schultze's example, who now finally sends the book *Memorabilium Sueticae Gentis*, which you must have received already a year ago.⁷¹⁹

In the case of *Memorabilium Sueticae Gentis*, the one-year delay in Schefferus receiving a copy of his own work represented problems caused by external factors. It was published simultaneously in Amsterdam and Hamburg, and Heinsius, who had moved to The Hague in 1671, had probably obtained his copy from the Amsterdam print run in the workshop of Johannes Janssonius van Waesberghe (1616-1680), while Schefferus had to wait for Schultze to send him a copy from his print run.

In his letter, Schefferus comments on the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War fought between 1672 and 1674. The Dutch had won and with some exceptions, the Peace of Westminster reinstated the conditions prior to the conflict. The war was part of the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678), a series of conflicts soon involving many European territories. Sweden entered the war in 1675, and joined forces with the French, while Denmark allied with the Dutch. Accordingly, the loyalties of Heinsius and Schefferus divided later on, but this did not harm their friendship and mutual respect. At the time of Schefferus' letter, Sweden had not yet engaged actively in the war, however, and his words indicate both a general weariness of war and genuine congratulations on behalf of Heinsius' home country:

However, even they [i.e., the booksellers] may perhaps occasionally be hindered by the calamities of our time, a remedy for which we hope to see any day soon in the form of the peace that your citizens have negotiated with the Englishmen. If only the clemency of the heavens would show mercy on us all and exchange the vicissitudes of so many and so devastating wars for the benefits of peace! That the strife, which until now has distracted you from your learned studies, is finally over to your benefit, is something I truly rejoice and I congratulate you wholeheartedly [lit. from the soul], not least because I expect that you will now

ad te misi, commissa in Lapponia mea, foeda & multiplicia, singulis etiam occurrentia paginis. Confido enim illam tibi redditam interea a Bibliopola. Sic certe mandavi, & ipse promisit pluribus."

⁷¹⁹ Ibid. "Quanquam nescio quae apud id genus hominum sit negligentia, quod video ex *Schultzii* exemplo, qui nunc demum mittit libellum *Memorabilium gentis Suecicae*, quem jam ante annum debebas accepisse."

catch up with undertakings that you, because of this war, had to abort before you even got started.⁷²⁰

The comment on current political developments leads Schefferus to share other news. Jacob Gronovius had travelled from Spain to Italy, where Cosimo III de' Medici made him professor of law in Pisa. Having received no replies from him for some time, Schefferus questions whether Gronovius would continue to honour the friendships he had maintained with him and Heinsius:

I am amazed with Jacobus Gronovius, who has abandoned the fatherland and settled in Italy. I would like to know whether he has started to commit to oblivion the friendships of his fatherland, or whether he still continues to honour his friendship with you. I did write to him once upon a time, as you know, but I never received any answer.⁷²¹

Despite his state of health, Schefferus' steady correspondence continued. This he portrays somewhat ironically as a problem hindering him from advancing in other projects. Arguably, the participation in the Republic of Letters and the maintaining of friendship with colleagues in faraway places was too important for Schefferus to put it on hold. In this way, corresponding appeared to be a way to keep himself occupied and to take part in ongoing discussions or new scholarly developments independent of his health and mobility:

Regarding myself, I have little to tell, for my ailments render me if not exactly inept to studies, then rather sluggish. I can just about bring myself to write a letter to my friends, with the result that I am not able to finish any kind of scholarly work.⁷²²

In fact, Schefferus still managed to proceed with some of his philological projects, as he tells Heinsius:

Nevertheless, you will soon receive Hyginus, furnished with an inscription in your name, as I promised and you deigned to permit me. Besides, I continue to comment something on Justin and [Julius] Obsequens. Speaking of them, I kindly ask, as I requested before, that in case you have either assembled anything

⁷²⁰ Ibid. "Sed tamen & ipsos forte impedit interdum calamitas temporum, cui remedium speramus indies plenum a pace, quam cum Anglis cives tui sancivere. Atque utinam nos omnino bonitas caelestis respiciat, commodisque pacis mala tot tantaque bellorum permutet. Litem, quae te hactenus a litteratis curis abstraxit, esse finitam tandem in tuum commodum, laetor gratulorque tibi ex animo, eo magis, quia spero, posthac abs te iri compensatum, quod ipsius causa ab initio intermissum est."

⁷²¹ Ibid. "*Jacobum Gronovium* patria deserta consedis in Italia, miror. Velim scire, num paternas amicitias oblivioni tradere incipiat, num tecum quoque eas colere pergat. Scripsi ei olim, uti scis, sed responsi tuli nihil."

⁷²² Ibid. "De me, quae nuntiem, non habeo, morbi enim non ineptum magis me faciunt ad studia, quam pigrum. Vix a me obtineo, ut scribam epistolam amicis, adeo non possum operis litterati quid absolvere."

of various writings yourself, or are able to get such material from somewhere else, to be willing to share this with me.⁷²³

The promise of a presentation copy of Schefferus' above-mentioned Hyginus edition was fulfilled, as Heinsius' letter from 26 October 1674 shows.⁷²⁴ The commentary on Justin appeared through the press of Schultze in Hamburg and Janssonius van Waesberghe in Amsterdam in 1678, while the one on Julius Obsequens (fourth century) was printed in Henric and Theodor Boom's workshop in Amsterdam in 1679.⁷²⁵ Schefferus' request for assistance with these endeavours emphasizes that learned correspondence provided opportunities for remote collaborative research. The last few lines of the letter return to the practical problems a scholar could encounter with the book market:

I even thought to do something on Marcianus. However, I lack subsidiary works, which I have no clue how to get hold of, especially because not even common books reach us. And perhaps my patience is all in vain, for even those works that I have already finished, particularly the *Lectiones Academicæ*, that is the commentaries on a range of authors, and also our *Militia Navale*, are lacking a publisher. They all return your greetings most scrupulously, every single one of those that you wanted me to greet on your behalf. I too ask you to stay in good health and to remain in vigour for as long as can be. From Uppsala, 17 March 1674.⁷²⁶

In addition to the rather vague mention of contemplations on a new project dealing with Aelius Marcianus (second-third centuries), for which Schefferus seems to lack the necessary literature, he comments on the difficulties of finding a publisher for his already advanced works. This, he continues, was particularly true of *Lectiones Academicæ*, which would appear through Schultze's press in 1675, and the new edition of his *Militia Navale* from 1654, which never

⁷²³ Ibid. "Hyginum tamen proxime accipies, inscriptum tuo nomini, ut promisi ego, & tu indulsisti mihi. Ad Justinum quoque pergo annotare quaedam atque Obsequentem. De quo proinde rogabo, quod petii antea, ut si quid lectionis variae vel habes ipse, vel aliunde potes habere, id communicare mihi ne graveris."

⁷²⁴ Heinsius to Schefferus, 26 October 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 62r-63r; Transcribed with the date "XXV. [sic!] Octobr." in: Burmannus, *Syloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 154-155.

⁷²⁵ Johannes Schefferus, ed., *Justini Historiarum Philippicarum Trogi Pompei Epitome* (Hamburgi & Amsterodami: apud Gothofredum Schultzen & apud Janssonio-VVaesbergio, 1678); Johannes Schefferus, ed., *Iulius Obsequens De Prodigiiis liber: Cum annotationibus Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis. Accedit Conr. Lycosthenis supplementum Obsequentis* (Amstelodami: Ex Officina Henrici et Theodori Boom, 1679).

⁷²⁶ Schefferus to Heinsius, 17 March 1674. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Syloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 150-151. "Cogitavi quoque aliqua ad Marcianum. Verum desunt mihi subsidia, quae quomodo impetrare valeam non video, cum praesertim ne vulgati quidem libri ad nos perferantur. Et fortassis frustra festino, cum iis etiam, quae jam ante confecta habeo pluscula, praesertim lectionibus Academicis, id est observationibus in scriptores plusculos, & Militiae Navali nostrae, Typographi desint. Resalutant te officiosissime, quotquot per me voluisti salutari. Ego quoque te salvere jubeo, & valere diutissime. Upsaliae XVII. Martii 1674."

reached publication despite existing as a manuscript ready for print by 1680, according to *Svecia Literata*.⁷²⁷

It was in this productive environment with many other projects that *Lapponia* came into existence and began to be reviewed. Arguably, most of its early readers would know about some of Schefferus' previous works or ongoing projects. In addition to the biographical, institutional and local contexts presented through Schefferus' life, the College of Antiquities, the University of Uppsala, and the lappmark experts in the previous chapters, the Republic of Letters adds another context to the genesis and early reception of the work. This includes the erudite connections and correspondence, which, among other contexts, were revealed in *Lapponia* as one of many projects of the scholar and author Johannes Schefferus. There are two obvious *lieux* where all of these contexts intertwined and became manifest. Naturally, one of them is the person of Schefferus himself. The second one is the *Museum Schefferianum*, housing at least a significant part if not all of the relevant literature, his collection of naturalia and other objects and serving as a viable work environment, where letters were both read and written. Presumably, the work on a new and amplified edition of *Lapponia* also began there. In a letter sent to Heinsius on 30 March 1674, after writing about his edition of Hyginus, Schefferus again mentions his dissatisfaction with *Lapponia*:

Lapponia came out far worse, so that it causes both shame and repent. No page is without numerous mistakes, and often very serious ones. Therefore, it will be reprinted not only more correctly, as I hope, but also enlarged in many places. This is something the printer himself asks for, when all the copies have been sold out, although they say there are some [people] in Königsberg and in Wittenberg who plan to reprint the first edition. [...] For I would prefer that you wait for the new edition of Lapponia, as the reading of such a shamefully edited book will make you want to vomit.⁷²⁸

The misprints were manifold. One exemplar now belonging to the collection of the Royal Library in Stockholm contains a folio of errata in close type listing more than 200 mistakes and inaccuracies.⁷²⁹ Schefferus' own copy also kept at the Royal Library included another,

⁷²⁷ Schefferus, *Lectionum Academicarum Liber*; Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciae. Opus postumum.*, 298.

⁷²⁸ Schefferus to Heinsius, 30 March 1674. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptorum Tomus V.*, 157-158. "Longe pejus prodiit Lapponia, ut ejus plane pudeat poeniteatque. Nulla pagina est sine vitio multiplici, eoque saepe foedissimo. Itaque & illa recudetur non modo emendatior, ut spero, sed & auctior locis plurimis: quod Typographus ipse petit, distractis jam exemplaribus omnibus, licet sint Regiomonti in Borussia & Wittembergi, qui editionem primam denuo dicantur refingere. [...] Lapponiae enim expectare te editionem novam malo, quam ex lectione libri tam foede editi nauseam contrahere."

⁷²⁹ KB F1700 3328. The stamp on the title page identifies it as formerly belonging to the extensive collection of Stockholm wine merchant Daniel Georg Nescher (1753-1827).

significantly shorter, errata list.⁷³⁰ In addition to retroactively correcting the existing version of *Lapponia*, work on a new and better version began immediately.⁷³¹ Handwritten notes fill many marginalia of the pages of Schefferus' copy. There are a good many interfoliated comments and additions, and, in a few cases, even notes glued on interfoliations.

As the letters suggest, the reception of *Lapponia* took place in the context of the reception of many other works. They were rarely discussed individually, but usually in parallel. This is also evident in Heinsius' reply to Schefferus of 12 April 1674, where he writes of the many books sent to him:

For the many books that you arranged to send to me, I already thanked and still thank you as much as I can. Our Grævius has shown *Lapponia* to me, which a certain Swedish nobleman had brought with him from Cologne not that recently. I have not caught sight on any other copy of this commentary so far. Because of the occupation of the Rhine through more than one enemy, safe passage of book goods to us is scarcely given. Indeed, Elzevir last month sent a representative of his to Frankfurt to attend the last Easter fair. However, after struggling for quite some time in the province of Frisia with the greatest difficulties of travel, he returned a few days ago to his master, having failed to achieve his goal.⁷³²

Heinsius repeats that Grævius had presented a copy of *Lapponia* to him, pointing out that it was a member of Swedish nobility unknown to him who brought it to Grævius from Cologne. Furthermore, he emphasizes that he has not seen any other copy than that one. The reason for this would be general insecurities connected with the book trade, again a consequence of the Franco-Dutch War, and especially of the occupations along the Rhine, such as the occupation of Bonn by French troops in November 1673. These conflicts led to great difficulties for Dutch book traders, as Heinsius exemplifies through the famous Elzevir press that had sent someone to the Easter fair in Frankfurt who was forced to make a detour through Frisia and return after a troublesome journey. Even with the autumn fair in Frankfurt, there seemed to be delivery problems for Heinsius. They were, however, of another nature and not due to the political situation, as Heinsius confesses in his letter from 26 October 1674: "To the last Frankfurt fair,

⁷³⁰ KB F.e. 7: interfoliated at the end of the volume.

⁷³¹ See the discussion in Section 4.3.

⁷³² Heinsius to Schefferus, 13 April 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 38r-39r, at: fol. 38r; transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V*, 151-152, at: 151. "Pro libris compluribus per te missis mihi gratias iam egi, agoque quantas possum. Lapponiam exhibuit mihi Grævius noster a nobili Sueco nescio quo ex Ubijis ad se perlatam non ita nuper. Aliud eius commentarij exemplar mihi hactenus videre non contigit. Inseso enim per hostem non unum Rheno vix datur merci librariae tutus ad nos transitus. Miserat quidem mense praeterito ex suis nonneminem Elzevirius Francofurtum, qui nundinis Paschalibus proximis interesset. Verum is, luctatus aliquamdiu in Frisia provincia cum maximis itinerum difficultatibus, paucos ante dies ad herum, irritus propositi, est reversus."

Elzevir sent someone of his own, to whom I however forgot to give the commission to bring your Lapponia from there to me”.⁷³³

Schefferus also received letters commenting on *Lapponia* from within the Kingdom of Sweden. One of those letters reached him from Åbo, from the theologian Petrus Bång (1633-1696), who studied in Uppsala from 1649, where he was ordained in 1658. He spent most of his career in Finland and Karelia, becoming a professor of theology in Åbo in 1664, where he also was university rector from 1670 to 1671. In 1678, he became superintendent in Narva, and in 1681 bishop of Viborg. Bång was a delegate to the Imperial Diets in 1668, 1675 and 1686, and a widely travelled man. Amongst other university towns, he had visited Copenhagen, Wittenberg, Leiden, and Straßburg. The two already knew each other, as Bång’s address to Schefferus indicates: “Most considerate Schefferus, Sir, patron and friend, worthy of long-lasting honour!”⁷³⁴ Bång returns the greetings that Schefferus had sent to him previously:

A couple of weeks ago, you asked the highly renowned theologian, Brunnerus, to send me your greetings. This he did. He also wrote down your greetings verbatim. May God bless you and your highly cherished family! I pray for this, not only because of the greetings you sent me, but because I pray ever so often for the growth of learning and the honour of the academia of the fatherland.⁷³⁵

It was through his colleague in Uppsala, the professor of theology Martin Brunnerus (1627-1679) that Schefferus had sent his greetings. This might indicate that Schefferus and Bång had not corresponded before, at least not regularly. As his notion of regular prayer for academia in Sweden suggests, Bång felt close bonds to the scholarly circles on the other side of the Bothnian Bay. The theologian Brunnerus would know his colleague from Åbo and could arrange further correspondence between the two. In the so far unidentified letter, Brunnerus mentioned the cause of Schefferus’ interest, as is evident in Bång’s words:

I see that you wish to hear what I have to tell about the Lapps from their Tuderus, the reason being that the Lapponia, about which I had not heard a single word until the letter by eminent Brunnerus, is still virtually damp from the press.⁷³⁶

⁷³³ Heinsius to Schefferus, 26 October 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 62r-63r, at: fol. 63r; transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V*, 154-155, at: 155. “Ad nundinas Francofurtenses proximas misit quidam e suis nonneminem Elzevirius, cui tamen in mandatis dare sum oblitus, ut Lapponiam tuam mihi inde adferret.”

⁷³⁴ Petrus Bång to Schefferus, 14 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 30r-31r, at: fol. 30r. “Consultissime Scheffere, Domine, fautor et amice ætatem honorande [.]”

⁷³⁵ Ibid. “Per Brunnerum Theologum Clariss[imum] me ante aliquot septimanas salutasti. et salutem quoq[ue] ille recte perscripsit. Deus Tibi Tuæq[ue] lectissimæ familiæ benefaciat! quod non modo reprecor ob missam salutem, sed quod et precor sæpius, in rei literariæ incrementum, et academiæ patriæ ornamentum.”

⁷³⁶ Ibid. “Desideras ut video, audire q[uod] habeo de lapponibus ex eorum Tudero, idq[ue] ideo q[uod] Lapponia, de qua ante literas Optimi Brunneri nihil audivi, fere adhuc madeat ex typis.”

These lines give a clear indication of the ignorance about the Lapponia project in Åbo. This underscores the possibility of a hierarchy of knowledge within the Realm reflected by the universities. Uppsala was the centre of academia of all of Sweden, while Åbo mostly played its part for the eastern regions of the Kingdom. Accordingly, it was more important to bring knowledge from elsewhere in the realm to Uppsala than to distribute it to the provinces. Furthermore, Bång's words suggest that Schefferus did not have access to Tuderus' texts prior to 1674.⁷³⁷ Tuderus' account would, as discussed in more detail in Section 4.3, play an important role in Schefferus' further plans for a revised edition of *Lapponia*. Bång agrees to tell what he knows "about the Lapps from their Tuderus", hinting at the role the Finn Tuderus had taken on for the Sámi people in the lappmarks of Northern Finland. Bång, despite being born in Sweden proper to Swedish parents, also refers to himself as a Finn, demonstrating the transitional quality of identity in early modern Sweden:

You will know, most renowned Sir, that I first and foremost congratulate us here with this work of yours, and I am sick with longing for it to arrive even here amongst us Finns. For I know that many a tall tale by Olaus the Goth will therein be crushed. And not only that: truth will also be revealed on numerous other points.⁷³⁸

Bång calls Schefferus' attention to the importance of the Lapponia project for the Finnish provinces in the Kingdom. He mentions his certitude that Schefferus would correct many of the claims made by Olaus Magnus in the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, but also those of others, in the monograph. This probably exemplifies a general attitude towards the *Historia* among the learned, possibly originating in the confessional disagreement with Olaus Magnus, the last Catholic bishop of Uppsala. Bång continues with a presentation of the information he has about the Sámi people:

On the Lapps I have these tiny pieces of information, as far as I know: From the inspectors who, by royal decree, were dispatched in January 1638 to consolidate the parish of Enare. From their current pastor Tuderus, as well as from reports of various pastors along the bay of Bothnia, and others.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁷ See also Subsection 3.5.5.

⁷³⁸ Bång to Schefferus, 14 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 30r. "Scies vero Claris[sime] D[omi]ne me hic primum gratulari nobis de hoc tuo labore, ac peream ut q[uam]primum et[iam] nobis Fennis adpareat, cum sciam ibi non modo fabulas multas Olai Gothi damnatas esse, sed et in aliis perplurimis veritatem detectam."

⁷³⁹ Ibid. "De lapponibus habeo ego ea tenuiora; q[uod] novi, ex visitoribus qui anno 1638 mense januario, mittebantur jussu regio ad confirmandam ecclesiam Enarensis. ex moderno eorum Pastore Tudero, nec non ex rela[t]ione quorundam Pastorum p[er] Bothniam, aliorum."

In view of the identical ink colour of the underscored lines, this highlighting of his three sources for this information might originate with Bång. The first one probably refers to the visitation of Kemi lappmark by Claudius Christophori Alanus (c.1610-1683), although it actually took place in 1639. Alanus, who later became pastor in Korpo, wrote down a description of this visitation, probably in 1674. It is titled *Kort Berättelse om Kemi Lappmarkz tilståndh i ÖsterNorrlanden under Åbo Biskops Stijft Beläget* (Short account about the condition of Kemi lappmark in East Norrland situated under Åbo bishopric).⁷⁴⁰ The reason for this visitation might have been complaints about the conduct of a pastor in Kemi by the name of Johannes Olai Pictorius (c.1590-1643), as Isak Fellman implies.⁷⁴¹ Bång's second source of information was Tuderus and as a third source he names reports of various pastors along the Bothnian Bay, and even of others. It is unclear who these pastors were, yet the fact that these kinds of reports were also gathered in Åbo hints at an increase of missionary efforts directed towards the Sámi people on both sides of the Bothnian Bay. Bång is reluctant to send the reports, however, assuming that Schefferus would already know about them anyway, and pointing out their low scholarly value:

It would, however, be superfluous to write all that down on this occasion, and your assiduous zeal would no doubt have gathered this already. Thus, there will be no reason to convey this. Moreover, most reports are of this nature, namely, unworthy of being conveyed.⁷⁴²

Bång does not have information on all topics of relevance for Schefferus. He writes that he had not cared too much for some of them, and correctly adds that Schefferus would be aware of all of them:

On the land, intellect, customs and arts, etc. of the Lapps I have not been inquisitive so far. Besides, I know that you thanks to your great learning have explained all this, and all sorts of things of its kind, perfectly.⁷⁴³

Following this apologetic assessment of his own knowledge, Bång starts to explain the information about the Sámi he wants to convey to Schefferus. It concerns the interrelations of

⁷⁴⁰ Transcription and commentary in: Fellman, *Handlingar och Uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och Lapparne I*, 314-323.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁷⁴² Bång to Schefferus, 14 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 30r. "Foret autem prolixum o[mn]ia hac vice perscribere, et oneras[s]et sine dubio eadem ante diligens tua industria, ut nec opus sit illa p[er]ferre sicut præterea rerum pleraq[ue] talia sunt, ut nec mereant[ur] perferri." The word "oneras[s]et" is hardly legible, and therefore the translation of this sentence is not entirely clear.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.* "De situ, ingeniis, moribus ac artibus etc eorum hactenus non fui sollicitus, et scio per tuam summam eruditionem hæc o[mn]ia eorumq[ue] similia alia, optime esse explanata;"

the Sámi, the Finns and the birkarls in terms of where they live. Bång encapsulates the origins and the migratory history of some of the Sámi living in Finland in a few lines:

Nevertheless, you will perhaps find something of value in that which I have to tell about their former places of abode. Once upon a time, they lived in upper Satakunta after the parish of the birkarls. However, as they were gradually forced away from their old places of abode by the neighbouring Finns they retreated to the hillsides of the mountains, where they live today. It is only thanks to the harsh terrain and inclement climate that they have avoided being the object of similar harassment so far.⁷⁴⁴

Bång names one region as the former settlement area of the Sámi, namely the province of Satakunta, which covers several current administrative regions of Finland.⁷⁴⁵ He specifies that the Sámi had “lived in upper Satakunta after the parish of the birkarls”. By this, he is referring to a region traditionally considered the origin of the birkarls, namely Pirkanmaa, in Swedish called Birkaland. Like many of his contemporaries, Schefferus advanced this later refuted view.⁷⁴⁶ Bång writes that the Sámi, gradually displaced by the Finnish population in the area, moved to a more mountainous terrain, there protected by the harsher topography and climate.

Following this explanation of the ancient origins of the Sámi, Bång moves on to explicate the actions related to a slaughtered reindeer Schefferus had enquired about through Brunnerus. Bång attempts to answer all of the questions sent to him and tries his best to explain the meaning of the procedure itself and the reasons for it in much detail:

What you specifically asked for in your greetings that Brunnerus sent me by letter, was lest I am mistaken, related to the sanctification of an old reindeer. About this matter I believe I have some knowledge, although there are not few details that are still obscure to me. An exhausted reindeer will at last after a three-day duress, if not earlier, be killed by them. From the side of the killed animal they drink its blood. You ask: from both sides? I do not know. You ask again: why do they drink? Again, I do not know. For, all that which they themselves claim – about the quenching of hunger, the instilment of eagerness to hunt, etc. – I believe to be pure nonsense. On the contrary, I suspect this drinking of the

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., fol. 30r-v. “q[uam]q[uam] fortassis id non sit contemnendum, q[uod] de eorum antiquis sedibus habeo dicere: nimirum post Birchalensem paroeciam sitam in superiori Satagundia eos olim habitasse, sed a Fennis vicinis magis magisq[ue] arctatos relictis priscis sedibus in juga montium se contulisse, ubi nunc habitant[.] sola locorum ac aëris injuria, ne similiter vexantur, hactenus tuti.”

⁷⁴⁵ The historical landscape of Satakunta covered all of today’s Satakunta, most of Pirkanmaa, minor parts of Keski-Suomi (Central Finland), Varsinais-Suomi (Southwest Finland) and Etelä-Pohjanmaa (South Ostrobothnia).

⁷⁴⁶ For a circumstantial discussion of this question, see: Steckzén, *Birkarlar och Lappar: En studie i birkarleväsendets, lappbefolkningens och skinnhandelns historia*, 62-103.

side of an animal that has just been slaughtered, to be the first in a whole range of ceremonies that all belong to this act of sanctification.⁷⁴⁷

Bång's explanation of what he perceives to be the first part of a longer sanctification ritual reveals the conflict traditional Sámi practices could evoke among the Lutheran clergy. He raises doubt about the reasons given to him by people performing the slaughtering rituals. According to him, they claimed that it satisfied their hunger and increased their desire for hunting. To the orthodox Lutheran theologian Bång, this ritual was of pagan nature and therefore in sharp opposition to the right doctrine. His perception of their testimony was probably that they were concealing the actual heathen nature of the ritual in order to continue performing it unhindered by the church. Bång explains the next part of the ritual:

The next thing they do is to cut out the heart from the animal and to offer the due part to their god, *usi luottemurit*, exactly as I have written on page 212. What part it is that they offer, I do not know. That is how the second ceremony proceeds.⁷⁴⁸

Schefferus' enquiry provides Bång with an opportunity to refer to his overview of the history of the Swedish church *Historia Ecclesiae Sveo-Gothicæ* (History of the Swedish-Gothic church), published over the course of three years in twenty-one disputations and finally as one tome in 1675. Rurik Holm has summarized Bång's description of the propagation of a Gothicist idea of Sweden's church history, stretching from Adam via Magog to the apostle of the North, Ansgar (801-865).⁷⁴⁹ As most parts of Bång's work were finished by the time of his letter to Schefferus, he could cite from a specific page of his forthcoming work. He narrates the third and fourth part of the ritual as follows:

In the third, the Lapp drags [a piece of] blood-soaking meat through that opening which is facing the door. Here, he toils all by himself, for this third ceremony does not allow company, and he always keeps his face turned away from not only the opening, but the area of the opening altogether. When he carries the meat, soaking with blood, through the said opening into the cotta – this is what the house is called in Finnish – there awaits him in the fourth stage his wife or mother. She waits in another part of the house, because she is not allowed to go

⁷⁴⁷ Bång to Schefferus, 14 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 30v. "Ad sanctifica[tio]nem rangiferi veteris ni fallor, respicere, cum me novissime in literis Brunneri salutasti. In illa videor mihi nunc quædam intelligere, at sunt [t]ame[n] non pauca quæ et[ia]m ignoro. Fatigatum rangiferum trium dierum, si ante non offeretur, vexa[tio]ne tandem confodiunt, et ex confossi latere sanguinem bibunt. Dicis: utro latere? nescio. dicis iterum cur bibunt? itidem nescio: nam quæ præferunt de fame sedanda, de ardore vena[tio]nis accendendo etc ea puto o[mn]ia vana esse: et contra, de sanguine ex recens cæsi a[nim]alis latere bibendo, hanc ceremoniam suspicor primam esse inter o[mn]es, quæ in hac sanctifica[tio]ne dantur plures."

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid. "Excoriant inde a[nim]al, et partem debitam offerunt suo deo ad *usi luottemurit*, prorsus sicut scripsi pag. 212. quem vero partem offerant, ignoro. et ita ceremonia secunda." Cf. Petrus Erici Bång, *I. N. J. Priscorum Sveo-Gothorum Ecclesia. Seu Historia Ecclesiastica De Priscis Sveo-Gothicæ Terræ Colonis*. (Aboæ: Excusa â Petro Hansonio, 1675), 212.

⁷⁴⁹ R. Holm, "Petrus Erici Bång," in *SBL* 7 (1927), urn:sbl:16241.

near the opening. She greets him – her husband or son – with a fixed string of words and greases him with sap from the bark of alder. I do not know what utensil she uses for this. Having thus gone through all four ceremonies of this sacrament, they bring the slaughtered animal home to eat it, etc. etc.⁷⁵⁰

Bång designates the procedure as a sacrament, underlining that he perceives of it as a religious ritual. In addition to the correct order, in his renarration the most noteworthy details are words, materials, agents and proscriptions connected with the ritual. Either because he did not know the vocabulary to phrase this accurately enough in Latin or because he wanted to be as specific as possible and relied on his mother tongue, he switches to Swedish when describing how the woman involved in the procedure uses the sap from the bark of alder to grease the man.

Following his renarration of the slaughtering ritual, Bång crosses over to the next topic. He refers to a list of objects requested by Schefferus probably enclosed with Brunnerus' letter. Bång continues:

Most accomplished Schefferus! We received the fundamentals of your antiquities last week; however, our pastors have no understanding for most of these things whereas others are either overwhelmed by age or age-old neglect. However, to the 7th and 9th point on your list they answer as follows: All items [will be shipped] in your direction, none in the opposite direction. Although you intend to send in return that which is sent to you in good faith, they fear that when everything is stored here, someone else will occupy himself with their destruction. All this said with the discretion of friendship, for farmers ought not to have anything to say about those that wear wigs.⁷⁵¹

Bång's account shows difficulties in the handling of the desired objects. According to him, they were in danger of destruction if they were to remain in Åbo or if Schefferus would send them back. Bång deems it best for Schefferus to keep them in Uppsala. His wording lets the clergy appear as guardians of the objects collected on behalf of Schefferus. The possibility of their destruction implies that the objects were Sámi drums or other paraphernalia used for rituals forbidden by the clergy. The systematic collection and destruction of Sámi drums by scholars

⁷⁵⁰ Bång to Schefferus, 14 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 30v. "Tertio trahit lappo carnem cruentam per antrum illud januae obversum; et ibi solus defatigatur, cum hæc tertia ceremonia non ferat socium, et faciem tam ab antro, qu[am] antri loco tunc ac semper prorsus abigat. Ubi autem cruentam carnem per illud antrum invexit in cottam sic domus adpellat[ur] lingva Fennica, parte domus altera, quia propius ad antrum accedere non licet, illi adest quarto conjunx aut mater, ac verbis certis salutatum, maritum, filium, bestrucker (nescio instrumentum) med saft af aalebarck: et sic peracto hoc 4 ceremoniarum sacramento, occisum rangiferum domum sibi ferunt in escam, etc, etc."

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., fol. 30v-31r. "Amplissime Scheffere fundamenta antiquitatum v[est]rorum accepimus superiori septimana: sed eorum pleraq[ue] non intelligunt n[ost]ri pastores aliiq[ue] sat multi, ætate aut incuria antiqua onerati: ad cætera vero quæ habentur puncto 7 et 9. respondent: o[mn]ia te adversum spectalia nulla retrorsum. Et q[uam]q[uam] vos bona fide transmissa velitis remittere, metuunt t[ame]n ut convasata ibi o[mn]ia alius aliquis per damna[t]ionem occupet: sed ita per fidem amicitia, q[uod] de pileatis non debeant rustici loqui."

and clergymen has been analysed in a number of studies.⁷⁵² In the last lines of the letter, Bång notifies Schefferus about the possibility of further antique treasures out of his reach, and assures him of his willingness to send whatever he could find to the College of Antiquities.

I believe, indeed I am confident that many ancient items are hidden away in the manors of certain jurists. These items cannot, however, be taken away with force; one has to use skills, skills that I unfortunately do not possess so far. Everything that I can find, I shall immediately share with your revered collegium, focusing on masses as my own specialty. Farewell, most considerate fellow, and do not take it gravely in case I disagree with you in my writings. Farewell again. Written hastily, Åbo 14 February 1674. The most humble cultivator of your name P. Bång⁷⁵³

The meaning of these last lines of Bång's letter is somewhat ambiguous. For lack of Schefferus' list, we do not know whether the desired objects on the list were of Sámi origin. Since Schefferus and many of his contemporaries in Uppsala, and the College of Antiquities specifically, collected rune stones and other ancient objects, he might also have requested such items. Yet Bång's promise to send immediately to Uppsala all things of interest to the group indicates that the work of the elite group of scholars researching the ancient history of Sweden had become an undertaking of significance for all academics in the Empire.

The interest in the Lapponia project from Sweden and abroad showed that Schefferus' monograph had struck a nerve. Apart from the many enquiries by individual scholars, references to the book were also found in a relatively recent forum, namely the scholarly journal, which arose in the 17th century as a new venue for the discussion of novelties in the sciences. The formation of those journals originated with learned societies, themselves newly established. As academic think tanks concentrating and connecting outstanding men of science, they not only played a key role in advancing their own projects, but were also crucial in expanding the reach of individual works through the reviews published in their journals.

These evaluations were where reception and reproduction of a work came together. They were in effect condensed abstracts of *Lapponia*. Given that Schefferus was so dissatisfied with the outcome of his work that he immediately planned a revised and augmented version, as

⁷⁵² See especially Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*; furthermore Snickare, "Kontroll, begär och kunskap - Den koloniala kampen om Goavddis," 65-77; Peter Müller, "Das Verstummen der Zaubertrommeln. Die Zwangschristianisierung der nordeuropäischen Volkes der Saamen und ihre Folgen," *ThZ* 70 (2014): 310-336; Nordin and Ojala, "Collecting, connecting, constructing: Early modern commodification and globalization of Sámi material culture," 58-82.

⁷⁵³ Bång to Schefferus, 14 February 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 31r. "Credo, imo, scio in hæreditibus quorundam legiferorum multa antiqua documenta esse recondita, sed illa non vi inde extorquentur, verum arte, quam ego hactenus non didici. O[mn]ia quæ invenero, cum Venerabili v[est]ro Collegio statim communicabo, sacris modo mihi reservatis. Vale Vir consultissime, nec indignare si quando in meis disserta[t]ionibus a Te disenserō. iterum vale. aboæ scripsi festinanter 14 Febr. 1674 Tui Magni Nomini observantiss[imus] P. Bång"

mentioned in the above-cited letters to Heinsius, at least two types of re-written versions of the Lapland project exist. These, and further re-writings of *Lapponia*, as well as the way they came into existence, are the topic of the next section.

4.3 RE-WRITING *LAPPONIA*

The well-connected Secretary of the Royal Society Henry Oldenburg knew about Schefferus' project several months before its publication. Through his fellow member of the Royal Society, Thomas Henshaw, he heard about recent developments in December 1672 and February 1673.⁷⁵⁴ Following the publication of the monograph, it did not take long for Oldenburg to receive a copy, as seen in his detailed abstract in the ninth issue of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* for the year 1674. On seven pages, Oldenburg reviews "Schefferi LAPPONIA". He starts out by introducing the novelty of the project and the fact that not many exemplars of the monograph would be available to the English readership yet:

The Author of this History, glorying in the Preface, that he is the first that hath truly discover'd Lapland and its Inhabitants to the World; and there being not yet transported hither any considerable number of Copies, to satisfie the Curiosity of the Inquisitive: We shall here the more largely and particularly represent the principal Contents of this Book, as far as 't is consistent with the design and business of these Tracts.⁷⁵⁵

By writing of the claimed uniqueness of the book and by mentioning that he had acquired access to one of the first copies available in England, Oldenburg also points out the significance of his review. He sections the contents of *Lapponia* into twelve groups.⁷⁵⁶ Those are "Scituation and Climat", "the habit both of the Body and Mind of the Laplanders", "the Origin of these Laplanders", "an Account of their ancient Pagan, and modern Christian Religion", "their Government and Judicature", "Trade", "Language", "Houses, Dress and Victuals", "Hunting", "Diseases of the Laplanders", "Animals, Vegetables and Minerals", and finally "the many Rivers, Lakes, and Hills of Lapland".⁷⁵⁷ While he treats some of these topics of *Lapponia* only superficially in one short paragraph, he elaborates on others in some detail. He emphasizes, for instance, the fourth topic of religion by briefly stating: "the Swedes were the happy Instruments of" Christianization "under their King Ladislaus, A.1277" as well as the establishment of "no

⁷⁵⁴ See Section 4.1.

⁷⁵⁵ Oldenburg, "An Accompt of some Books. I. Johannis Schefferi LAPPONIA, &c. Francofurti 1673 in 4^o," 31-38, at: 31.

⁷⁵⁶ See the discussion in Section 1.1.

⁷⁵⁷ Oldenburg, "An Accompt of some Books. I. Johannis Schefferi LAPPONIA, &c. Francofurti 1673 in 4^o."

less than four Churches A.1640, in a part of Lapland, where a Silver-Mine had been found out” through “the late Queen Christina” who was living in Rome by the time of the review. Following a mention of the schools founded by Gustav Adolf around 1619, Oldenburg describes in great detail the topic of most fascination to many contemporaries, namely the different kinds of magic purportedly in use among the Sámi people. He refers to the “Magical Drum”, its “Fabrick and Ornaments” as well as the accessory needed to make use of it. In addition to describing the drum, he lists all areas of usage, and explains the function of the “Magical Cord” and the “Magical Arrows”.⁷⁵⁸ The prevalent interest in curious objects is also evident in other parts of Oldenburg’s review. The sections about “their Houses, Dress and Victuals” and “Hunting”, for instance, mention numerous items with brief specifications of their material form.⁷⁵⁹ This was of great interest to collectors. The eleventh topic, “Animals, Vegetables and Minerals of Lapland” features itemizations of “wild Beasts”, “Birds”, “Fishes”, “Vegetables”, “Herbs” and soil resources.⁷⁶⁰ Oldenburg sums up the significance of mining for the region as follows:

As to Minerals, there was found in that Country a Silver-mine A.1635; the first Mine that ever was discovered there; and another A.1660. There are also Copper and Iron-Mines, more than one. It yields also Crystals, Amethysts, Topazes, and Pearls; of which the Crystals are by this Author said to surpass the Bohemian Diamonds in hardness, and are used by the Natives to strike fire with, when they want [here meaning: lack] Flints.⁷⁶¹

Details like these were not only of interest to collectors of natural objects, but also to the authorities, as detailed information about rich deposits of resources, especially of metals, could provide further insight into the treasury of an allied foreign power. With regard to the intentions of the initiator De la Gardie, Oldenburg arrived at the intended conclusion about purported Sámi sorcerers fighting for the Swedes:

But as to the constitution of their Mind, they are exceedingly superstitious, timorous and un-warlike; whence the Author takes occasion to un-deceive the World, that hath hither-to been perswaded, as if that great Warrior, King Gustavus Adolphus, had done his great Atchievements by Laplanders, and their Magical Arts.⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., 33-34.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 35-37.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 37-38.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 38.

⁷⁶² Ibid., 32.

Shortly after the review, the English translation *The History of Lapland* appeared. Burnett has pointed out Oldenburg's role in the commissioning of the translation, making the monograph accessible to a wider audience.⁷⁶³ Oldenburg was first to review *Lapponia*, but his review did not remain the only one.

Another review appeared in the *Giornale de' letterati*, a journal founded in 1668 in Rome by the priest Francesco Nazzari (1634-1714) who became professor at the famous La Sapienza in 1670. In 1675, the journal began to appear in two conflicting versions with the initial printer Nicolò Angelo Tinassi (1622-1699) printing new issues monthly and another version appearing quarterly. The editor Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633-1698) was a friend of the abdicated Queen Christina, to whom Schefferus' monograph must have been of utmost interest, not only as it concerned her home country but also because Schefferus came to Uppsala during her reign. The relationship of the two appears to have been amicable, as the annual pension Christina had granted him implies.

Schefferus himself was no stranger to loyal readers of the *Giornale de' letterati*. He appeared in the journal's issue of 31 July 1674 with a short comment in six points on the 1671 review of Robert Boyle's (1627-1691) *The Origine of Formes and Qualities*.⁷⁶⁴ The short text showed that Schefferus considered his expertise to extend to questions of natural history, as its title indicates:

Replies of Sir Johannes Schefferus, professor at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, to questions hinted at in the previous [issue of the] *Giornale* on page 73, surrounding amber, swallows, the whitening of animals, fish under the ice, and about several effects of the cold.⁷⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that the six thematic sections of the text all deal with topics related to the North. Schefferus' interest in amber is apparent through his mineralogical collection.⁷⁶⁶ Furthermore, *Lapponia* holds detailed explanations of the Northern climate as well as illustrations of birds.⁷⁶⁷ Other than underlining the multifaceted knowledge of Schefferus, his contribution points to the fact that he had access to the learned circles of Italy and that he knew of the *Giornale de'*

⁷⁶³ Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800," 134-162, at: 143.

⁷⁶⁴ Robert Boyle, *The Origine of Formes and Qualities, (According to the Corpuscular Philosophy)* (Oxford: Printed by H. Hall for Ric: Davis, 1666); N.N., "Raggvaglio del Libro intitolato L'origine delle Forme, e Qualità, illustrato con esperimenti e considerazioni dal Sig. Roberto Boyle," *Giornale de' letterati*, no. IV (1671).

⁷⁶⁵ Johannes Schefferus, "Risposte del Sig. Gio. Scheffero professore dell' Vniuersità d' Vpsall nella Svetia, à Quesiti, accennati nel Giornale precedente alla pagina 73, intorno all' ambra, rondini, imbiancamento d' animali, pesci sotto il ghiaccio, e à diuersi effetti del freddo.," *Giornale de' letterati*, no. VII (31 July 1674): 88-89, at: 88.

⁷⁶⁶ See Subsection 2.4.2.

⁷⁶⁷ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, c. III: 16-23; c. XXX: 349, 352.

letterati and read it, at least in excerpts. It is, however, unknown whether he sent the text in Italian or in Latin. Given that he could read Italian, he could probably also write it; however, most plausibly, he sent his replies in Latin, which the editor or someone else then translated into the vernacular.

The Italian review of *Lapponia* appeared in the twelfth of eighteen issues for 1677. On five pages, the author, possibly editor Ciampini, describes the work. The first long, rambling sentence presents how a 17th century Italian scholar perceived the region of the very North of Europe. The author emphasizes its remoteness, and therefore its curious quality, the foreign customs of its people, which he compares to the Greeks of antiquity, and the richness of the land:

The kingdom of Lapland is today mainly subject to the rule of the King of Sweden, which because of its distance from our sky [i.e. region] remains little frequented, consequently less known, so that it has given opportunity to various accounts, not at all different to the vanity of ancient Greece, regarding the custom of this people, their superstitions, and in the quality of these places, from where the author eager to let the truth stand out among so many lies, has chosen to make of it in this learned work of his a genuine description, regarding the quality of this sky, the nature of this people, and the fertility of this land, particularly about the abundance of minerals.⁷⁶⁸

The reviewer presents the structure of Schefferus' monograph, mentioning the number of chapters and the map described as "very careful[ly made] to let everyone learn from it with great ease the borders and to find the region".⁷⁶⁹ It is noteworthy that the text refers to "Sameednam, which denotes it [the land] and its people in their language".⁷⁷⁰ This is of great significance, as the explanation of the name the Sámi, in this case the Lule Sámi, gave to their land, means that it was at least heard of among the Italian (and other European) readership of the *Giornale de' letterati*.

The discussion of religion is equally prominent as in the review of the *Philosophical Transactions*, despite differing connotations. To the Italian readership, Christianity meant

⁷⁶⁸ N.N., "Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia, idest regionis Lapponum, & gentis, noua, & verissima descriptio. Lipsiæ, & Francofurti: ex officina Christiani VVolfij. Typis Ioannis Andreae: Anno 1674. In 4.," *Giornale de' letterati*, no. XII (1677): 182-186, at: 182-183. "Il Regno della Lapponia soggetto oggi al supremo dominio dal Rè di Svezia, si come per la sua distanza dal nostro Cielo resta poco praticato, conseguentemente meno conosciuto, così hà dato occasione à varij racconti, non punto dissimili, alle vanità dell'antica Grecia, circa a' costume di que'Populi, alle loro superstizioni, ed alla qualità di que'luoghi, onde l'Autore desideroso di far campeggiare trà tante menzogne la verità, hà eletto di farne in questa sua erudita fatica vna sincera descrizione, riguardando la qualità di quel Cielo, la natura di quelle genti, e la fertilità di quella terra particolarmente nell'abbondanza de' minerali."

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 183. "[...] diligentissima per farne apprendere à ciascheduno con facilità grande i confine, e rintracciarne il clima."

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid. "[...] Sameednam, che significo, se e sua gente in lingua loro."

primarily Catholicism, which is also seen in the summary of the topic, where the Sámi are introduced as currently having the “Christian religion, but that Lutheran one”.⁷⁷¹ Following a short overview of the history and state of Christianity in the region, a description of the old religion and its rites is given. The fact that Schefferus knew of the *Giornale de' letterati* and contributed to it hints at its reach, and it can be assumed that it was read and circulated widely in the entire Republic of Letters. Later issues of the journal also featured reviews of other works of Schefferus.⁷⁷²

While the two reviews mentioned here attempted to provide the particular audience with a suitable overview of the monograph as a whole, there were also examples of other kinds of text focusing exclusively on one thematic section. The earliest one is an adaptation in German by the polyhistor Erasmus Francisci that focuses on CH. XI of *Lapponia*. Francisci's way of re-writing differs fundamentally in three aspects from the ones mentioned above. Firstly, Francisci translated only one chapter of Schefferus' monograph and included some comments. He mostly followed the arguments of the original. Secondly, his text does not only consist of an annotated translation of the chapter “De Sacris magicis & magia Lapponum” (the magical rites and sorcery of the Laplanders), it contextualizes the findings and arguments of Schefferus by referring to and paraphrasing from other texts dealing with similar observations made in other regions. Through Francisci's connection of Schefferus' account of practices among the Sámi to “tales among American, African, and Chinese sorcerers” taken from other literary sources, “the Sámi people stand out as the Europeans within the demonological pantheon”.⁷⁷³ Thirdly, the fact that his adaptation titled *Anhang Oder Kurtzer Bericht, von der Lappländer Zauber-Kunst, Hexerey, und Wahrsagerey* (Appendix or short account of the magic arts, witchcraft and fortune telling of the Laplanders) did not appear as an independent publication amplifies the connotations of this contextualization. Francisci's *Kurtzer Bericht* appeared in print for the first time in 1674 as an appendix to a new edition of the popular narration about the life of the legendary alchemist and scholar Doctor Faustus by Johann Nicolaus Pfitzer (1634-1674). All variations of the story state that the protagonist Faustus or another Faustian figure accepts a

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 184. “E dunque oggi la Religione Cristiana, mà Luterana quella [...].”

⁷⁷² N.N., “Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis de stylo, exercitiisque eius ad consuetudinem Veterum liber singularis. Eiusdem Gymnasium styli, seù de vario scribendi exercitio liber singularis. Accessit Ioannis Henrici Boecleri V. C. dissertatio de comparanda linguæ latine facultate. Ienæ impensis Ioannis Breilkij Bibliop. Ien. Typis Io:Nisi in 1678. in 12.,” *Giornale de' letterati*, no. IV (1678): 61-63; N.N., “Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis lectionum Academicarum liber. Hamburgi. Ex Officina Gothofredi Schultzen 1675. In 12.,” *Giornale de' letterati*, no. VII (1678): 104-105; N.N., “Ivlivs Obsequens de Prodigiiis cum notis Ioannis Schefferi. Amstelodami ex Officina Henrici, & Theodori Boom 1679. In 8.,” *Giornale de' letterati*, no. IX (1679): 133-135.

⁷⁷³ Klein, “Faustus and the Arctic.”

trade where he promises his soul to the devil in exchange for years of delightful experiences and great understanding of the world. In the end, all remorse about his bargain is to no avail and Faustus ends up in hell. There were connections of this story, a favourite among authors and their audience in the Holy Roman Empire, to the Sámi people prior to Francisci's text, yet in this case elaborate scholarly discussions were for the first time printed together with a new adaptation on the life of Faustus.⁷⁷⁴ This example shows how the reception of a text (A) could produce a somehow related text (A₁) that would effortlessly contradict and work against the intentions expressed by the author of (A).

Francisci made use of Schefferus' name to underline the authoritative quality of his adaptation. The title page of the appendix also uses it, stating that it is taken "from the new Lapponian description of the blessed Mister Johannes Schefferus once Professor at the University of Uppsala in Sweden" ("Aus der neuen Lapponischen Beschreibung, Herrn Johannis Schefferi, sel. weiland Professorn der Hohen Schul zu Upsal, in Schweden") and "translated" ("verteutschet", lit. Germanized) by Francisci. The formulation "the blessed Mister Johannes Schefferus once Professor" ("Herrn Johannis Schefferi, sel. weiland Professorn") indicates that neither Francisci nor bookseller Endter had been in contact with Schefferus.⁷⁷⁵

The notion of Schefferus' death conveyed through this book caused great concern among his acquaintances. This is for instance apparent through the worried enquiry of the personal physician of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp Christian Albrecht (1641-1695), Joel Langelottus (1617-1680), who addressed Schefferus in a letter from Schleswig on 4 January 1675:

Surely nothing more pleasing could happen to me, nor indeed to the entire world of learning, who having read the work by that most famous German author, Erasmus Franciscus, entitled Treatise on the Lapps, printed this year in Nuremberg: "aus Sehl[igen] H[errn] Scheffern Lateinischem Tract. Von Lapland zusammen gezogen" [abridged from the blessed Mister Schefferus' Latin treatise on Lapland] will surely be in deep grief. In fact, they will pray for the safe passage into the heavens of their illustrious gem [i.e. Schefferus]. Act therefore, most renowned Schefferus, and prove shortly, that you just like Phoenix have become alive again.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁴ See *ibid.*

⁷⁷⁵ Francisci, "Anhang Oder Kurtzer Bericht/ von der Lappländer Zauber=Kunst/ Hexerey/ und Wahrsagerey," title page of appendix 2.

⁷⁷⁶ Joel Langelottus to Schefferus, 4 January 1675. UUB G 260c: fol. 64r. "Mihi sane nihil gratius eo nunciare posses, immo et[iam] universo literatorum Ordini, qui lecto nominatissimi illius in Germania scriptoris Erasmi Francisci titulo Tractatus de Lapponibus hoc anno Norimbergæ impresso: aus Sehl. H. Scheffern Lateinischem Tract. Von Lapland zusammen gezogen haud parum dolebunt. Volebunt inquam illustre ordinis sui decus in coelum migrasse. Age ergo Clarissime Scheffere, brevi demonstra, Te Phœnicis instar revivixisse."

It is unknown whether Schefferus knew about Francisci's adaptation before Langelottus wrote about it. In any case, the premature obituary of him must have caused some sort of reaction. Given his dissatisfaction with *Lapponia*, this could seemingly have been the next evil tidings regarding the project. It is also unknown whether he ever read Francisci's abstract. However, he counted it as an adaptation of his work, as seen in its inclusion in the list of his publications featured in the *Lectioinum Academicarum Liber*.⁷⁷⁷

Schefferus could hardly change anything about the existence of Francisci's text, but because his monograph contained so many misprints, he had already begun working on a revised version, as mentioned in his exchange with Heinsius. Yet he also discussed his plans with others, such as his student Laurentius Norrmannus (1651-1703). Norrmannus, born in Jäder in Södermanland, went to the gymnasium in Strängnäs in 1664 and started studying in Uppsala in 1668. On 5 March 1674, Schefferus addressed him in a letter referring to a prior exchange between the two:

I am sending the first page of my *Lapponia*, which you are lacking, because you would have had to wait in vain for the bookseller, who has passed away. Regarding the drum you write of, you will do me a very welcome service in case you send me not only the inscriptions, but the drawing itself, without which the headings are hardly intelligible. For I am now preparing a new edition of this work, since the first one came from the press with so many flaws that I regret the work⁷⁷⁸

From this section, we can deduce that Norrmannus owned a copy of *Lapponia* that did not include the first page. Furthermore, Norrmannus appears to have sent some explanatory notes to accompany the drawing of a drum to Schefferus, but not the drawing itself. In his extensive study on Sámi drums, Manker names the correspondence between the two by referring to another letter. However, as the focus of his work was the drums themselves, Manker does not elaborate beyond that.⁷⁷⁹ Since the exchange between Schefferus and Norrmannus is part of a larger discussion with other agents in preparation of the French adaptation *Histoire de la Laponie*, it is worth examining it in more detail.

Another actively contributing protagonist was Johannes Uppendorff (1645-1698). Born in Tondern in Schleswig, he studied in Rostock and Kiel before becoming rector of the German

⁷⁷⁷ See Section 2.1.

⁷⁷⁸ Schefferus to Laurentius Norrmannus, 5 March 1674. UUB G 191: fol. 28r-v. "Lapponiæ meæ primam paginam, quia tibi deest, mitto, cu[m] a Bibliopola frustra expectaueris, qui jam abiit ad plures. Tympani de quo scribis, si non modo titulos, sed ipsam delineationem, sine qua tituli vix intelliguntur, miseris, rem facies acceptissimam. Paro enim nouam ejus operis editionem, cu[m] hæc tot prodierit inquinata vitiis, vt laboris me poeniteat."

⁷⁷⁹ Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 156.

school in Stockholm in 1672. From there, he started corresponding with Schefferus. On 25 March 1674, Uppendorff reported about a prior request communicated to him relating to the reliability of the bookseller involved with *Lapponia*, Christian Wolff of Frankfurt:

For I have made an inquiry in the name of your excellence to the respected German domestic chaplain concerning the reliability shown by the bookseller in terms of transmitting copies of *Lapponia*. For his part, he strongly criticised the sloppiness of the person, assuring me that not even a single page had been sent to him yet.⁷⁸⁰

Either directly or through another contact, Schefferus had asked Uppendorff to find out more about bookseller Wolffius, attested in business in Frankfurt and Leipzig for the short period from 1672 to 1674. Just a few weeks prior to the final parts of *Lapponia*, the *Syntagma Politicum*, a commentary on letters of Sallust and Cicero by Schefferus' father-in-law Johannes Loccenius (1598-1677) had reached Wolffius.⁷⁸¹ Accordingly, the reliance of the thus far unknown bookseller was of even greater interest to Schefferus' circles, and Loccenius sent his regards in the postscript of that letter. By the time Schefferus received Uppendorff's letter, he already knew about Wolffius' death, as he had written to Normannus.

Uppendorff approached a German domestic chaplain to obtain more information. The large proportion of Germans among Stockholm's population was at that time also noticeable in the clergy. An example of this was Martinus Blockius (1627-1675), originally from Northern Germany, who came to Sweden in 1654 with the entourage of Queen Hedvig Eleonora. After studies in Lund and Uppsala, Blockius became the librarian of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, even naming his son Magnus Gabriel von Block (1669-1722) in honour of his patron. Blockius eventually became domestic chaplain and vicar in the parishes of Bromma near Stockholm and of Riddarholm on one of the town's central islands.

However, the clergyman approached was not Blockius, but Johann Heinrich Gerth (1645/1646-1696), as the greetings by "Gertas concionator Auliens" (Gertas, preacher of the royal court) in the postscript of Uppendorff's letter show.⁷⁸² Born in Frankfurt, he studied in Gießen and in 1673 became Hedvig Eleonora's domestic chaplain. He became bishop of Estonia in 1684, and in addition to being the vicar of the German Church in Stockholm from

⁷⁸⁰ Johannes Uppendorff to Schefferus, 25 March 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 34r-35r, at: fol. 34r. "Inquisivi enim Excell. Tuæ nomine ap[ud] Rev. Dn. Concionatorem Aulicum Germanum, de fide a bibliopola in transmittendis Lapponiæ titulis præstita, is vero graviter invecus in hominis levitatem, asseverabat ne pagellam quidem adhuc sibi missam esse."

⁷⁸¹ Johannes Loccenius, *Syntagma Politicum, in quo continentur Epistolæ Politicæ Sallustii et Ciceronis* (Francofurti & Lipsiæ: Sumptibus Christiani Wolffii Bibliop., 1673).

⁷⁸² Uppendorff to Schefferus, 25 March 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 35r.

1689 onwards, he was made bishop of Reval in 1691. With his close connections to Swedish royalty, Gerth ought to have been among the first people to receive a copy of *Lapponia*. However, as Uppendorff reports, this had not been the case, elaborating further:

Although there was the rumour that a parcel had been deposited in Hamburg at the most noble Sir Grafenthal's, ambassador of His Royal Majesty at the same place, addressed to himself [i.e., to the chaplain]. However, whether or not it actually contained a copy, was unknown. This bookseller has played the same game with many others, who are said to be less inclined to put their trust in his promises in the future.⁷⁸³

Uppendorff traces the chain of delivery and points out that the Swedish ambassador in Hamburg, Eberhard von Graffenthal (before 1635-1687/1688), apparently had received a package, but it was unknown whether it actually contained any copy of *Lapponia*. The role of Uppendorff in advancing the *Lapponia* project has so far not been highlighted at all, yet the following lines of his letter imply that he was among Schefferus' collaborators:

Furthermore, I met the German M[agister] Hermanni, who had received a vain promise from the bookseller, namely, his help in translating *Lapponia* into German. He in fact admitted that he had previously wanted to write something on the Lappish people, but since this people was so amply described by Your Excellency, he seems now to have changed his mind.⁷⁸⁴

Unfortunately, Uppendorff does not give any further information on the German Magister Hermanni. The parish registers of the German Church in Stockholm list Martin Frid. Herman, "headmaster of the new collegium near St. Jacob" ("Rector des Neuen Collegij bei S. Jacob"), who married Anna Margareta Bähr in October 1674.⁷⁸⁵ The learned profile of a school rector would fit attempts to write a description of the Sámi, yet it is unclear if headmaster Herman was the person Wolffius had contacted with plans to translate *Lapponia* into German. To date, no further discussions of this issue have been found in Schefferus' correspondences.

Only a few weeks after Uppendorff's letter, Norrmannus replied to Schefferus. On 15 May 1674, he addressed his teacher full of enthusiasm about the latest accomplishment. In a style

⁷⁸³ Ibid., fol. 34r. "Qvanqvam rumor fuerit, depositum esse Hamburgi ap[ud] Nobiliss. Dn. Grafenthal S. Reg. Majest ibid. Residentem fasciculum qvendam nomine ipsius consignatum, num vero in eodem Titulus contineretur, ignorari. Plures coeteroqvi vana hujusmodi spe lactavit bibliopola hic, qvi in posterum haut ita facile promissis ipsius fidem habituri dicuntur."

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid. "Conveni præterea Germanum M. Hermanni, cujus operam in vertenda Germanice Lapponia sibi bibliopola frustra promisit; Eqvidem non infitatus est, animum sibi antehac fuisse, qvædam de gente Lapponica scribendi, verum cum ab Excell. Vestra prolixius illa sint pertractata, mutasse jam sententiam visus est."

⁷⁸⁵ Stockholm stadsarkiv: Register till Tyska Församlingens Vigselbok 1640-1700, 115, <https://sok.stadsarkivet.stockholm.se/bildarkiv/egenproducerat/kyrkobok/K231O0101-0120.pdf>.

popular among the learned of the time, Norrmannus includes a commonly known quote from the ancients, in this case from one of the poems of Catullus (c.84-c.54 BC):

Indeed, although admiration of your virtue and erudition had crept into me before, it recently overwhelmed me entirely, when your pages on Lapponia were offered to me, a work “both learned and painstaking, by Jove!” if I am to exclaim it with the words of Catullus. It would be really difficult for me to write, for you to believe, how exceedingly they are baffled by the writing itself, whosoever are shown these things, before they even have leafed through them. This is not surprising, for actually, in your other works, however worthy they were to be placed on Jupiter’s head covered by the nine Muses, there are very few humans, at least amongst our fellow countrymen, that have dared – I wish I am mistaken – to visit the doors of Greeks as well as Romans, or rather, to take part in their interlocutions.⁷⁸⁶

After praising Schefferus for *Lapponia* and several of his other publications and for his capability to penetrate into the depths of the Greco-Roman world, Norrmannus returns to the topic discussed in the previous exchange between the two. He clarifies that it is not the first page that is lacking in his copy of *Lapponia*, but the title page: “The title page of Lapponia is missing in my copy. The bookseller promised to send this to me, but has not kept his promise so far, to my dismay”.⁷⁸⁷ Norrmannus continues with elaborations on an even more impressive drum:

Regarding the characters on the Lappish drum, I would make a remark, if this were not a frivolous thing to do. There are many more – 150, in fact – on the drum of Laurentius Altnneckius, a resident of Stockholm. It is especially noteworthy because of its size and the barbarian notes added to each and every figure, along with an explanation dated Torne 16 June 1673, signed with the hand of a certain Christophorus Utterius from the oral testimony of Lapps. I felt like including it here in Latin translation.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁶ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 15 May 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 40r-41v, at: 40r. “Etenim Tuæ virtutis ac Eruditionis admiratio, cum sese ad me antea, tum penitissime pronuper insinuabat, oblati de LAPPONIA chartis Tuis. doctis juppiter et laboriosis. ut cum Catullo vere exclamem. Sane mihi scriptu, creditu Tibi, admodum fuerit difficile, quantopere ista scriptione capiantur, quotquot visa ea, nedum lustrata. neque id mirum. nam cætera Tua, etsi dignissima, quæ vel ad jovis cerebrum novem Musis cælata credantur, hominum sunt paucorum. nostrorum præsertim. in queis, fallar utinam, rari Antiquitatum Græcarum pariter ac Romanarum, fores frequentare, aut propius cortinas assistere sunt ausi.” The quote is from poem 1 of Catullus.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. 40v. “Index Lapponiæ, exemplari meo deest. quem promittebat, qui edidit, Bibliopola, nondum vero fidem, quod doleo, liberavit.”

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid. “Ad Tympani Lapponici characteres, nisi frivolum sit, id haberem observandum, longe plures (scilicet CL.) occurrere in tympano Laurentii Altneckii, civis Stockholmensis. inprimis visendo ob magnitudinem, et ascriptas figuris singulis notas numerorum barbaricas. cum explanatione, Tornæ xvii Cal. Julias Anni clōcLxxiii. cuidam Christophoro Utterio, ex ore Lapponum, consignata. quam latine utcunque tralatam heic attexere libuit.”

Both Manker's study of the drum and Löw's comments on the Swedish edition of *Laponia* elaborate on this letter.⁷⁸⁹ In an earlier article, Manker explained the roles of Laurentius Altneckius (1614-1697) and the otherwise obscure Christopher Utterius.⁷⁹⁰ Like Uppendorff, Altneckius was born in Tondern. From 1642, he worked as a clothier in Stockholm as one of the large group of German merchants there. In 1651, he became burgher of the town. A presbyter and sponsor of the German Church for many years, he had eleven children with his first wife Anna Magdalena Rothlöben (d.1667) and nine with his second wife Anna Otters (d.1688).⁷⁹¹ Altneckius owned a number of objects of Sámi origin, mainly clothes such as gloves, pelts and shoes, as Manker found.⁷⁹² Since Altneckius was a draper by profession, it is very probable that he had connections to Sámi merchants. It was presumably through these connections that a Sámi drum came into his possession.

Until now, there is no reliable biographical data on Utterius. Löw suggested that the actual name of Utterius was Christopher Ulrich, yet his supposition is based on the idea of a potential misreading of the signature of Utterius, leading him to maintain this as a plausible possibility.⁷⁹³ In his letter, Norrmannus does not clarify how he had come across the drum of Altneckius, but he mentions the details of a document listing one hundred and fifty remarks about the symbols on the drum. Norrmannus gives the author, place of origin and date of this index, namely Christophorus Utterius, Torne and 16 June 1673. Since Norrmannus indicates that he presents it translated into Latin, Latin was clearly not the language of the original document. Manker identified the original, written in Swedish, in the university library of Uppsala.⁷⁹⁴ Accordingly, Norrmannus lists the one hundred and fifty explanatory remarks from Utterius' index for the first time in Latin translation below the section of the letter mentioned above. Manker analysed the symbols themselves exhaustively in his study of the drum.⁷⁹⁵ Following the explanation of the individual symbols on the drum, Norrmannus writes about how it is used:

The reviewed symbols were explained in this way by the Lapps. They affirmed that magic rings, when they – upon pulsation of the drum – stopped upon one of the figures, revealed future events as well as by which kind of animal [sacrifice]

⁷⁸⁹ Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 154-157; see Löw's notes 4-6 to page 162 of Schefferus, *Lappland [swe]*, 425-426.

⁷⁹⁰ Manker, "Ett "Lapparnas Tillitellse Register", 174-210; cf. Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 154-181.

⁷⁹¹ Joh. Anton Aug. Lüdeke, *Denkmal der Wieder-Eröffnung der Deutschen Kirche in Stockholm zur öffentlichen Gottes-Verehrung, nach vollendeter Ausbesserung, 1821. Eine Predigt mit diplomatisch-historischen Beylagen* (Stockholm: Fr. Bog. Restius, 1823), 213, 349-372.

⁷⁹² Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 156-157.

⁷⁹³ See Löw's note 6 to page 162 of Schefferus, *Lappland [swe]*, 426.

⁷⁹⁴ Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 154-156, 162; UUB N 299, fol. 108r-v.

⁷⁹⁵ Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 157-181.

the divine powers were to be appeased. I carefully inspected the hide of the drum outstretched, bereaved of its proper sound, by holding a fire close to it. The drummer beats until he loses his breath and falls down seemingly half-dead: as he awakes again, he executes the tasks that have been given him.⁷⁹⁶

This short narration corresponds approximately to the version Schefferus condensed from the accounts of several of his sources in CH. XI of *Lapponia*.⁷⁹⁷ The preserved explanatory list also includes a short text:

Consideration register of the Lapps about the pictures that are painted on the drums. Written anew in Torne[å] on 16 June 1673. All of this is enquired in the lappmark and written, while I was in the lappmark, and fully made known to me from the Lapps but I do not know for sure whether all of it is true.⁷⁹⁸

Norrmannus refers to an account by Utterius as the source of the index and the account of the use of the drum. However, it is unknown whether this account is still extant. Referring to the dedication letter of Olaus Graan's *Relation* to De la Gardie dated 8 May 1672, Manker suggests that the drum could actually be identical to one sent to the copper mine in Torneå in order to obtain exact details about the drums.⁷⁹⁹ Norrmannus continues with further details about the way Utterius' information had come to him:

So far the account of Utterius, excerpted hastily by me in Stockholm. If not memory fails me, the day of Laurentius [10 August, one of the feastdays depicted on the drum] was omitted in this catalogue, but included in the Altneckian one, where the number of 150 remarks remained intact. If you, most learned man, are pleased with my small effort then the list shall, God willing, be sent to you as soon as possible in the form of a more accurate transcript.⁸⁰⁰

Norrmannus' wish for Schefferus to make use of the contributions of Utterius, Altneckius and himself became evident at a later date. The drum and the index were also a topic of the next

⁷⁹⁶ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 15 May 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 41r. "characteres jam recensitos hoc Lappones modo exponebant. affirmantes annulos magicos, pulsato tympano, in figurarum aliqua subsistentes, tum eventura, tum quo animantium genere, Numina sint placanda, aperire. Pellem tympani laxatam, et clangore justo destitutam igni leviter admoto, intendi. tympanotribam tandiu pulsare, donec animo defectus instar seminecis corruat: eumque rursus expectatum negotia expedire commissa."

⁷⁹⁷ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 133-144.

⁷⁹⁸ UUB N 299: fol. 108v. Transcribed in Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 162, footnote 3: "Lapparnas Tillitellse Register oppa dhen affmahlningh som på Trumborna allmählade findes. Skrifwit i Torneer den 16 Juni Anno 1673 å Nya. Den tilforenne i lapmarken tilfrågat och skrifwit är detta alt enähr jagh uti lappmarken war, bleef migh aff lapparne fulkomligen bekändt doch weet icke för wissa om det är alt sant."

⁷⁹⁹ Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel II.*, II, 157-158, footnote 1; Olaus Graan to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, 8 May 1672. Transcribed in: Graan, "Relation, Eller En Fulkomblig Beskrifning om Lapparnas Vrsprung, så wähl som om heela dheras Lefwernes Förehållande," 9-11.

⁸⁰⁰ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 15 May 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 41r-v. "Hucusque relatio Utteriana. Tumultuaria mihi opera Stockholmae descripta. nisi memoriola vacillat, obmissus in hoc catalogo D. LAURENTI dies, continebatur Altneckiano. manente eodem CL Notarum numero. Si Tibi, Vir Eruditissime, mea placuerit opella index accuratius transcriptus, Deo dante, quamprimum Tecum communicabitur."

letter sent to Schefferus by Uppendorff. On 19 June 1674, he mentions Norrmannus and Altneckius, elaborating the connection between the two and himself in more detail:

A certain student by the name Norrmannus, recommended to me by many people, recently asked me that I shared with him once more that little list that I several months ago presented here to be copied, pertaining to a Lappish drum, which a friend of my uncle L. Altneck possesses. I was also to add the remarks themselves for the sake of Your Excellency.⁸⁰¹

Norrmannus had asked Uppendorff to be shown the list of symbols which he had seen before. Uppendorff's letter shows that Altneck whom he identifies as his maternal uncle did not own the relevant drum. Instead, it was in the possession of one of Altneck's friends. Possibly, this friend was the obscure Utterius. To further the Lapponia project and to assure Schefferus of his allegiance, the letter also contains some small images, as Uppendorff writes:⁸⁰²

Accept therefore, Excellent Man, the enclosed small images, in the spirit that I thought I should send them, and do not take the unskilled drawing style as indication of any kind of negligence from my part. For I would surely have arranged for a more accurate drawing if only the brevity of time would have allowed it.⁸⁰³

Uppendorff's mention of his own sketches, which he defines as inaccurately executed, and the conveying of explanatory lists, corresponds to an early form of reporting research. Since Uppendorff was critical about the quality of his hastily sketched drawings, he offered to let an expert prepare new and better depictions. After all, *Lapponia* was also a confirmation of Schefferus' reputation as an apt draughtsman since its many detailed illustrations are based on his own drawings. Only a few years earlier, he had published a historical and methodological work on the art of painting.⁸⁰⁴ Uppendorff was aware of the high standard of the woodcuts in the monograph and wanted to provide similar attention to detail. With the six drums

⁸⁰¹ Uppendorff to Schefferus, 19 June 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 48r. "Petiit nuper a me studiosus quidam, Norrmannus, mihi multis nominibus commendatus, ut quem hic loci ante menses aliquot describendum obtuleram Indiculum ad tympanum quoddam Lapponicum, quod L. Altneck Hospes ex Avunculus meus possidet, iterato secum communicarem, notasq[ue] ipsas in gratiam Excell. V[est]ræ adjicerem."

⁸⁰² Ibid. "Cum autem hæ quoq[ue] literæ serius mihi exhibitæ, factum hinc, ut maturata descriptione ostendere vix liceat, quam gratissimum foret, in hujusmodi negotiis Excell. V[est]ræ obsequium meum probare" (The circumstance being, however, that even this letter was shown to me somewhat late, it was impossible for me to share with you the description as quickly as I would have liked; I ask Your Excellency to condone my obedience in this kind of assignments).

⁸⁰³ Ibid. "Accipe Ergo, Vir Excell. inclusas imagunculas, eo quo mittendas putavi animo, neq[ue] ex pictura rudi negligentiam quendam mihi tribui patere, accuratius enim depingendas curassem si temporis angustia concessisset."

⁸⁰⁴ Johannes Schefferus, *Graphice Id est, De arte pingendi liber singularis. Cum Indice necessario*. (Norimbergæ Ex Officina Endteriana, 1669); a detailed study contextualizing Schefferus' monograph is: Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi: Latin art literature in seventeenth-century Sweden and its international background*; on Schefferus as a draughtsman, see: Hamberg, "Johannes Schefferus als Sammler und Zeichner: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Illustration," 68-98.

schematically depicted in *Lapponia*, he also had a model from which he knew the details Schefferus was looking for.⁸⁰⁵

Now if it will seem worth the trouble, I will most gladly give the task of making this drawing to someone else more skilful in these arts. Meanwhile, I expect to achieve no modest light on the description of it. Please do not be wearied by the task of forwarding the list copied by me along with the letter for my Normannus. I am unaware, you see, to whom I should entrust these materials safely, as they were supposed to be sent to him while he still lived in Uppsala.⁸⁰⁶

Before closing with the customary blessings, Uppendorff signals to Schefferus that he prays for the success of the new edition of *Lapponia* and mentions his wish to purchase a copy of *Breve chronicon de archiepiscopis* that appeared in the previous year.⁸⁰⁷ Apparently, Schefferus' edition was out of stock or had not yet reached the booksellers in Stockholm:

I pray for the desired success of the new edition of your Lapponia; the treatise on the Archbishops I would have bought for the appropriate price long ago, in case there had been a copy of it available.⁸⁰⁸

A couple of weeks later, Uppendorff once again addressed Schefferus, sending him a more satisfactory version of the drawing of the drum. He states the reason for the long time it took him to send new illustrations, holding the draughtsman responsible for the delay. Possibly, this new depiction was the one upon which Schefferus based his illustration interfoliated into his own copy of *Lapponia* (see Figure 20).⁸⁰⁹ On 1 August 1674, Uppendorff wrote:

Finally, I am sending you, most Excellent Man, the drawings of the Lappish drum, which I had made you hope for a long time ago. I would have made the copy far earlier, if not the artist had been delayed; it was with great effort that I managed to make him take a break, and only for a brief timespan, from other assignments. In case the drawing to some degree meets your expectations, I will find reason therein to hope that I shall be forgiven for my lateness in carrying out my promises.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁵ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 125, 127-129.

⁸⁰⁶ Uppendorff to Schefferus, 19 June 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 48r. "Quod si nihilominus operæ pretium videbitur, per alium hujus artis peritiorem, ut depingantur, lubentissime opera[m] dabo, interim lucem non omnino nullam inde descriptioni accessuram spero. Indicem a me descriptum, una cum literis Normanno meo tradendis curare haut gravaberis, ignoro etenim, apud quem certius deponi possint, quæ ad illum Upsaliæ adhuc viventem mittenda fuerint."

⁸⁰⁷ Schefferus, *Breve chronicon de archiepiscopis et sacerdotib. cæteris*.

⁸⁰⁸ Uppendorff to Schefferus, 19 June 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 48r. "Novæ Editioni Lapponiæ Vestræ exoptatum successum apprecor, Tractatum de ArchiEpiscopis dudum justo pretio comparassem si illius copia data fuisset."

⁸⁰⁹ KB F.e. 7.

⁸¹⁰ Uppendorff to Schefferus, 1 August 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 52r. "Mitto tandem, Vir Excellentissime, picturas tympani Lapponici, quarum spem jam pridem feci, copiam autem citius fecissem, nisi pictor in mora fuisset, quem ægre per tantillum temporis spatium a laboribus aliis abstrahere potui. Quod si exspectationi Tuæ qvadantenus responderit hæc delineatio, erit cur sperem, tarditati meæ in præstandis promissis veniam paratam fore."

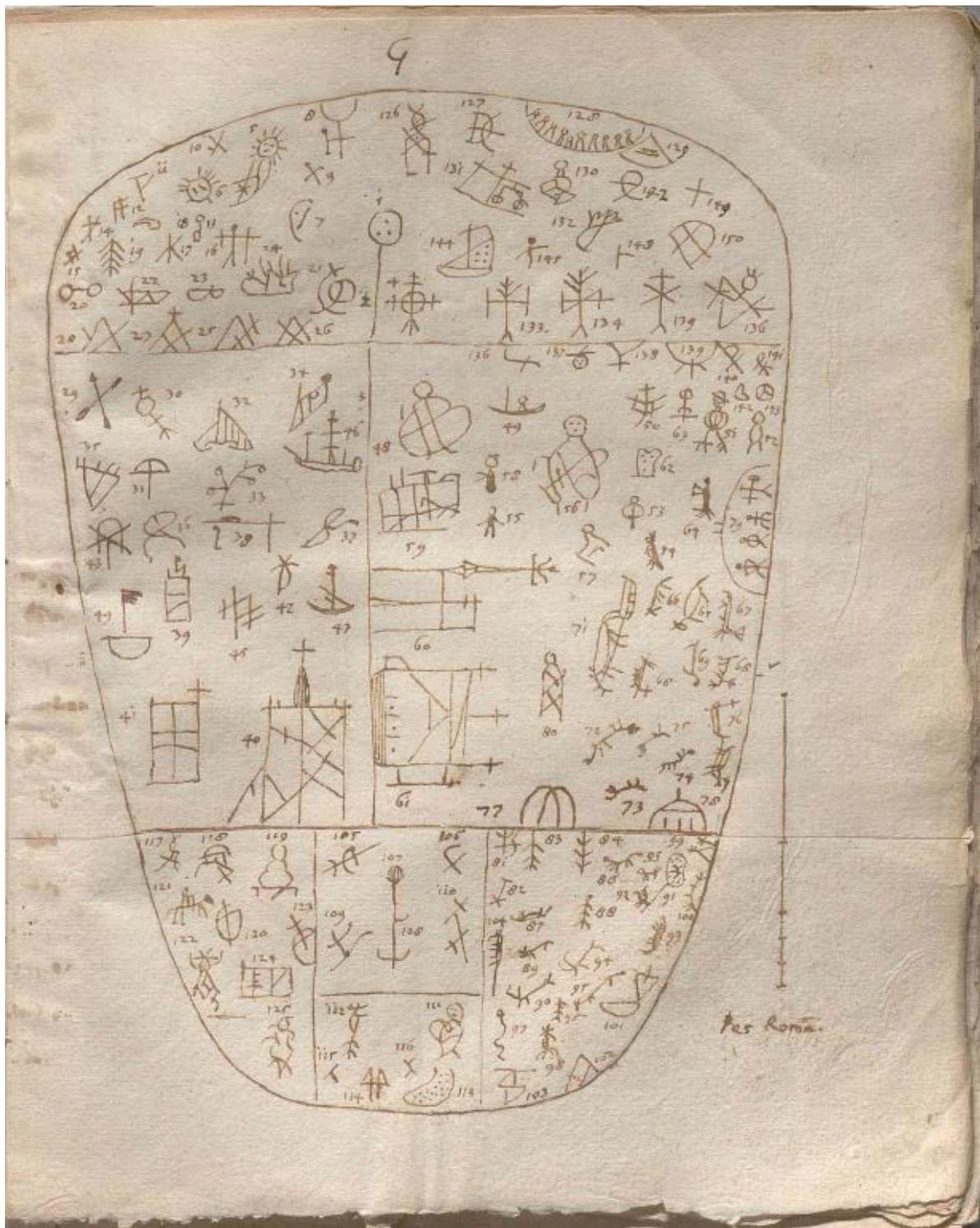


Figure 21: Drawing interfoliated into Schefferus' copy of *Lapponia*, shelf mark KB F.e. 7. Photograph courtesy of KB Stockholm.

Uppendorff repeated his wishes for the success of a second edition of *Lapponia*. His involvement and that of Norrmannus as well as the new material showed that Schefferus' desire for a revised and augmented version became the concern of several collaborators. Their motives

remain mostly unknown, but in the following lines, they stand out as based on the desire for further collaboration with Schefferus. It is assumable that the reasons to participate in the project stretched from earnest scholarly interest in the Sámi or the lappmarks to the desire to advance knowledge about the Northern stretches of the Empire to further the Protestant faith among its inhabitants or to increase Sweden's glory abroad. They may have wished to cooperate in the hope of new career opportunities or to widen their own scholarly reach. Naturally, financial gain could also have been a reason to participate.

I pray wholeheartedly for the desired success of the second edition of *Lapponia* as well as the other writings of His Excellency; likewise, I hope there will be another opportunity in the future to prove my great respect for you, so that my efficiency and my trustworthiness can be approved by such a grand promoter of learning.⁸¹¹

Uppendorff's scholarly interest was by no means restricted to the Sámi. He would move to Riga in 1677, becoming the rector of the German school there. Throughout his career, he pursued the study of Hebrew and Greek. He accepted a call to a professorship in Greek and oriental languages at the University of Dorpat in 1698, but he died before starting to work there. His invitation to Solomon ben Aaron Troki (c.1670-1745) to come to Riga to lecture about Karaite Judaism testifies to his philological and theological interests. To the missionary efforts of the Protestants, the Karaites, a Jewish sect recognizing only the written Torah (and not Midrash or Talmud), were a natural counterpart for dialogue, since they refused tradition as an authoritative source of God's will, corresponding to the basic idea of the Protestant creed 'sola scriptura'.⁸¹²

Spanning from the rituals of the Sámi to the Hebrew language and Jewish religion, Uppendorff's fields of expertise corresponded to what Olaus Rudbeck the younger (1660-1740) would later bring together in the treaty *Nora Samolad Sive Lapponia Illustrata*, published in 1701.⁸¹³ It is a description of the expedition to the North in 1695, on which he accompanied King Karl XI. The writing, printed side by side in Swedish and Latin, was the first part of a projected eleven-volume account of the journey, and describes the first stretch of the journey through the county of Uppland. Unfortunately, the fire of 1702 destroyed the manuscript drafts for the remaining volumes. At the centre of this project's attention were the Sámi people, nature

⁸¹¹ Ibid. "Successum exoptatum iterandæ editioni Lapponiæ ut ex aliis scriptis Excell. V[est]ræ ex animo apprecor; optarim et in posterum occasionem dari, observantiam meam declarandi, ut sic promptitudinem juxta ac fidem meam tanto Literarum Promotori probare liceret."

⁸¹² Daniel J. Lasker, "Karaism and Christianity: An Evolving Relationship," in *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations. In Honor of David Berger*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach and Jacob J. Schacter, The Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 477-488, at: 481-483.

⁸¹³ Rudbeckius, *Nora Samolad Sive Lapponia Illustrata*.

and climate, as well as the ancient history of the entire Kingdom, as its title page suggests. It also indicates that the treaty would contain a “Lappish dictionary [...] with the title the Hebrew Lapp from the North”.⁸¹⁴ Laurentius Norrmannus contributed with a panegyric implying his sympathy for the idea that there was a clear connection between the Sámi and the ancient Hebrews:

What [is the] origin? Whence [is the] home of the Lapp? Who [has their] blood come forth [from]? Will they believe [to be] the remains of the tribes of Olav the tenth? Wonderful promises raise the faith. What reason to be asking for their remote settlements, and the cold fields, the violence? Freedom they sought for elsewhere in vain: at last, among Northern strangers [they were] found safe anew. The worship indeed and the ancestral habits vanished: not any of the books worthless of use and the crown remains. Do none of the Jacobæan marks of origin remain now? The morals. The Sabbath. The happy repose. The sitting. The houses. The communities. And the disposition. And the short stature. And the colour. And the mixed hyperborean language. Do we believe? Or do we still doubt? By persisting, Rudbeck the younger cuts off that knot with a learned sword.⁸¹⁵

The treatise contains comparative discussions of words in numerous languages, among them Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, all three typographically depicted in Hebrew block script, Greek, Swedish and Sámi. Although its ideas might today appear rather strange, the significance of a work like this for the formation of the study of the Sámi people can hardly be overstated. As an effort to connect the Sámi to the ancients, Rudbeck the younger presents a Gothicist understanding of their origin and history. With this work, Rudbeck showed that he was greatly inspired by the worldview manifested in the hypotheses his father Olaus Rudbeck (1630-1702) had presented in his four-volume Swedish-Latin work on world history *Atlantica sive Manheim*.⁸¹⁶ Schefferus, who was not convinced of this grandiose view of Sweden as the actual Atlantis, also contributed to discussions about the Eastern origins of the Sámi. He compared Sámi and Tatar, but found that the languages had nothing in common.⁸¹⁷

The Sámi with their attire, language and drums appeared outlandish to observers in the political, intellectual and religious centres of Sweden and attracted the attention of scholars and

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., title page. “Glossarium Laponicum [...] cum inscriptione Lapo Hebraizans in Septentrione.”

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., unpaginated. “Qui Genus? Unde Domo Lappi? Qui sanguine creti? Relliquias Tribuum credin’ Olave Decem? Mira fidem promissa levant. Quæ caussa remotas Quærendi sedeis, frigidaque arva, viris? Libertas, ne quidquam alibi quæsita: sub Arcto Hospitibus tandem tuta reperta novis. Sacra quidem & ritus patrii periere: nec ullus Librorum miseris usus apexque manet. Nulla Iacobææ ne igitur vestigia stirpis Nunc superant? Mores. Sabbato. Læta Quies. Sessio. Tecta. Greges. Habitusque. Humilisque Figura. Et Color. & Sermo mistus Hyperboreo. Credimus? an dubitamus adhuc? hærentibus istum Rudbeck J nodum docta machæra secat.”

⁸¹⁶ Rudbeckius, *Atlantica sive Manheim*.

⁸¹⁷ Schefferus, *Lapponia*, 181-182.

collectors abroad. Schefferus' collection grew constantly, as his postscript to a letter to Norrmannus of 9 September 1674 shows:

The Lappish stone used for fishing, I ask you to procure from its owner. I want to attach it to the other objects that I own in the category of Lappish equipment. This is something you can accomplish easily, and you will make me extremely grateful to you.⁸¹⁸

Possibly, the stone Schefferus wrote about was the *sieidi* Johan Grape (1647-1715) had obtained.⁸¹⁹ A side effect of *Lapponia* was that it directed the attention of collectors of curiosities all over Europe to Schefferus, which in turn meant that they consulted him with a view to acquiring Sámi items. The example of Lorenzo Magalotti who addressed Schefferus on 1 (O.S.)/11 (N.S.) September 1674 from Stockholm on behalf of the above-mentioned Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo III de' Medici has been touched upon elsewhere in connection with the Sámi drum.⁸²⁰ Magalotti was one of Italy's most prominent polyhistorians of the time. He had been the Secretary of the *Accademia del Cimento* from 1660 until its activities ceased in 1667.⁸²¹ He travelled extensively through large parts of Europe, often on diplomatic missions on behalf of the Grand Duke. It was in this function that he visited Sweden in the summer of 1674. As his letter, written in French, indicates, he had met Schefferus personally:

Sir, the generosity with which you gave me so many signs of your benevolence since the first time I had the pleasure to see you, and the frankness with which you witnessed to me that you would always continue in the same sentiment lets me now take the liberty to remind you of the favour of which you made me hope that is to say that you would wish to take care to bring together a collection of curiosities of the North most similar to yours, if possible.⁸²²

Magalotti's travel account of his time in Sweden *Relazione del Regno di Svezia dell'anno 1674* (Account of the Kingdom of Sweden in the year 1674), published in print in Swedish translation in 1912 before an Italian edition appeared in 1968, mentions that he had been to Uppsala, but

⁸¹⁸ Schefferus to Norrmannus, 9 September 1674. UUB G 191: fol. 30½r-v, at: fol. 30½r. "P.S. Lapidem Lapponicum, piscationi seruientem, quæso ut mihi impetres ab ipsius domino, cupio enim cum cæteris quæ habeo ex supellectile Lapponica adjungere. Poteris facile efficere, meq[ue] sic plurimu[m] deuincire tibi."

⁸¹⁹ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, 368. See also John Bernström's note to page 141 of Schefferus, *Lappland [swe]*, 422, note 1.

⁸²⁰ Manker, *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine Ethnologische Monographie I. Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur*, I, 80; Pentikäinen's translation of the letter holds several inaccuracies rendering a new version necessary. Cf. Juha Pentikäinen, "The Saami Shamanic Drum in Rome," *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 12 (1987): 134-135.

⁸²¹ Boschiero, *Experiment and Natural Philosophy in Seventeenth-Century Tuscany*.

⁸²² Lorenzo Magalotti to Schefferus, 11/1 September 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 57r-v, at: 57r. "Monsieur, La générosité avec laquelle vous me donnastes tant de marques de vostre bienveillance dez la premiere fois que j'eu le bien de vous voire, et la franchise avec laquelle vous me tesmoignastes que vous continueriez toujours dans les mesmes sentimens me fait prendre a cette heure la liberté de vous faire souvenir de la grace que vous me fites esperer c'est a dire que vous voudriez bien vous charger d'entreprendre a faire un amas des curiosité du Nort les plus aprochantes du vostre qu il sera possible."

there is no indication of a visit to the *Museum Schefferianum*.⁸²³ Naturally, this does not preclude the possibility that he could have personally visited the collection, especially since he planned to assemble a similar one and had discussed this with Schefferus prior to the letter. Magalotti, who was leaving for Florence in autumn of 1674, had even arranged for the payment of the desired items, as he informs Schefferus:

The justice that my master, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, returned through his esteem to your merit merits indeed your correspondence, because it is for his service that I am obliged to make this request to you. What you are going to gather from time to time you may send to Mister Nicolas Matthiesen, a German merchant here in town living close to the German church. To him I gave the order to pay you the sum according to the rarities that you will give to him. In case it happens to be something of considerable value, I request you to let me know beforehand what you may do by addressing letters for me to the mentioned merchant.⁸²⁴

The German merchant Nicolas Matthiesen whom Magalotti names as his representative remains obscure. Magalotti entrusted Matthiesen, whose domicile close to the German church speaks of a successful business, to reimburse Schefferus' expenses. However, Magalotti was not interested in obtaining all Sámi items. Instead, he specifies what he already had managed to buy and planned to take to his master in Tuscany. He also discusses a possible source of curiosities with Schefferus:

The journey Mister Åkerman will go on in the North will maybe provide you with a rather favourable opportunity to attain some curiosities from Lapland. What I have of those, is a robe, boots, gloves, a hat of bird feathers and all of this embroidered with lead. That is why it is not at all necessary that you take the trouble [to obtain any of those]. I also have a drum and a hammer.⁸²⁵

Magalotti mentions the future journey to the North of a certain Åkerman, a favourable opportunity to commission the purchase of further Sámi curiosities. No further information on

⁸²³ Lorenzo Magalotti, *Sverige under år 1674*, trans. Erik Ålund, ed. Carl Magnus Stenbock (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1912); A critical edition of the Italian text was presented in connection with other travelogues. See: Lorenzo Magalotti, "Relazione del Regno di Svezia dell'anno 1674," in *Relazioni di Viaggio in Inghilterra Francia e Svezia*, ed. Walter Moretti, Scrittori d'Italia (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1968), 221-333.

⁸²⁴ Magalotti to Schefferus, 11/1 September 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 57r. "La iustice que Le Grand Duc de Toscane mon maistre rend par son estime a vostre merite, merite bien cette correspondance de vous, parceque c'est pour son service que je suis obliges de vous faire cette demande. Ce que vous receuillerez de temps en temps vous le pourrez faire tenir a Mons Nicolas Matthiesen marchand allemande de cette ville demeurant prez de l'eglise allemande. Cest a luy a qui ie laisse ordre de payer l'argent que vous luy marquerez a mesure que vous luy ferez tenir quelque rareté. En cas qu'il se rencontre quelque chose de prix assez considerable ie vous prie de m'en aduertir auparavant, ce que vous pourrez faire adressant les lettres pour moy a mon dit marchand."

⁸²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 57r-v. "Le Voyage que Monsr Åkerman va faire dans le Nort vous fournira peut estre d'une occasion assez fauorable pour auoir quelque curiosité de Lapland. Ce que j'en ay c'est de leur robe, bottes souliers, gans, bonet de plumes d'oiseaux et tout cela brodés de plomb cest pourquoy de cela il n'est nullement necessaire que vous vous en mettiez en peyne. J'ay aussy un tambour et un martheau."

Åkerman is given, and it is therefore not certain to whom Magalotti was referring. Among academics in Uppsala, there were Olaus Agræus Åkerman (1629-1678), professor of law in Uppsala, and Sven Åkerman (1649-1728), who also went by the names Agricola and Åkermarck, before he was ennobled Leijonmarck in 1686. There is no evidence of a journey of Olaus Åkerman to the North. Sven Åkerman, the son of the provost and vicar of Uskela in Finland Christiernus Agricola (d.1669), studied in Åbo from 1664 onwards and came to Uppsala in 1673. There, he became the secretary of *riksråd* (councillor) Lorentz Creutz, who had played a prominent role in what developed into “the Great Northern Witch Craze of 1668–1678”; as chair of the witchcraft committee in Mora in Dalarna county on 7 August 1669, he had sentenced fifteen men to death on charges of witchcraft.⁸²⁶ Creutz, who had made a career in the *Bergskollegium*, an agency overseeing the mining industry and related trades, operated a copper mine in Avesta, about one hundred kilometres west of Uppsala. When he became supreme commander of the Swedish fleet in connection with the Scanian War (1675-1679), he sent Sven Åkerman to liquidate the mine in Avesta for funds. Whether Magalotti was referring to this journey or to some other by another Åkerman is difficult to say.

Magalotti clearly expressed what he still required. After listing all of the curiosities he already had in his possession, he mentions further items. Having already acquired all kinds of Sámi attire, which did not seem too difficult to obtain in Stockholm from clothiers like Altneckius and other merchants with connections to the North, as well as a drum and its associated hammer, Magalotti was now on the lookout for the following:

What I desire is a ring of those that they make jump on the drum by beating, a bow, some arrows some of them produce, and especially a pair of skates [i.e. skis]. I would also be glad to have a Storjunkare, besides that everything one can find helpful to the natural history except from the copper and silver mines with which I am provided sufficiently enough.⁸²⁷

Magalotti was trying to emulate the collection of Sámi objects Schefferus owned. A useful orientation as to the composition of this collection was *Lapponia* with its frontispiece that depicted several of the items Magalotti had already gathered, and several others he still required. The fact that he asked for a *sieidi*, which he calls a “storioncare” underscores again

⁸²⁶ Östling, "Witchcraft Trials in 17th-century Sweden and the Great Northern Swedish Witch Craze of 1668–1678," 97-105, at: 101-104.

⁸²⁷ Magalotti to Schefferus, 11/1 September 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 57v. “Ce que je voudrois c'est un annulus de ceux qu'ils font saulter sur le tambour en battant un arc quelques fleches quelqunes de leur manufactures, et sur tout une pair de patins je seray aussi bien aise d'auoir un storioncare, outre cela tout de qu'on peut trouuer des choses capable de servir a l'istoire naturelle excepté des mines de cuiure et d'argent dont ie suis pourueu suffisamment.”

how quickly the knowledge presented in *Lapponia* came into use among the learned and among collectors. Magalotti's eagerness for certain Sámi objects exemplifies how *Lapponia*, a work that had originated from a museum, namely the *Museum Schefferianum*, resulted in new museums. In this way, the entire Lapponia project is connected to the tradition of indices of collections. There are many famous examples of works of that kind, such as Ole Worm's famous *Museum Wormianum, seu Historia Rerum Rariorum* from 1655, or the description of the cabinet of curiosities in Gottorf Castle *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer* from 1666 by librarian and mathematician Adam Olearius (1603-1671) who had curated the collection.⁸²⁸



Figure 22: Frontispiece of Ole Worm's *Museum Wormianum*, 1655. Photograph courtesy of the Getty Research Institute.

⁸²⁸ Worm, *Museum Wormianum*; on Worm's museum, see: Camilla Mordhorst, *Genstandsfortællinger: fra Museum Wormianum til de moderne museer*, Tidlig moderne, (København: Museum Tusulanum, 2009); Adam Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer, Worinnen Allerhand ungemeyne Sachen, So theils die Natur, theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet. Vor diesem Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen*. (Schleßwig: in der Fürstl. Druckerey gedruckt durch Johan Holwein, 1666); a second revised edition appeared through Schultze: Adam Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer, Worinnen Allerhand ungemeyne Sachen, So theils die Natur, theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet. Vor diesem Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen, Und Vor einigen Jahren beschrieben, Auch mit behörigen Kupffern gezieret*, 2nd ed. (Schleßwig: Auff Gottfriedt Schutzens Kosten, 1674); See also: Ekman, "The birth of the museum in the Nordic countries: *Kunstammer*, museology and museography," 5-26.



Figure 23: Table 3 of Adam Olearius' *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer* (1666) with depictions of Greenlanders and their clothes, runic calenders in use among “the ancient Goths and Danes, but also still among the Laplanders”, sledges “which the Laplanders and other Northern peoples use on snow”, etc.⁸²⁹ Photograph courtesy of LUB.

However, not all of the publications originating from the Lapponia project embody this tradition. Through the existence of different frontispieces and illustrations, which I elaborated in Section 1.2, one could argue that those editions depicting the museum-like room on their frontispiece refer to works such as Worm's *Museum Wormianum* or Olearius' *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer*. However, the Dutch editions do so to a much lesser degree and the third English adaptation not at all. The illustrations featured in *Historie van Lapland* situate Sámi people and objects mostly in landscapes with multiple scenes, departing from the museological style of presentation of the other first-generation editions.

⁸²⁹ Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer* 1666, 4-5. “Seynd Runische Calender/ derer sich nicht allein die alten Gothen und Dänen gebrauchet/ sondern auch die Lapländer sich noch gebrauchen sollen. [...] Ein außbehauen Schifflin oder Schlitten/ so die Lapländer und andere Nordische Völcker auff dem Schnee gebrauchen.”

With the increasing importance of the lappmark mining industry, it is no surprise that Magalotti collected samples from the copper and silver mines to present them to his master. Apart from reimbursing the expenses Schefferus might have in this connection, Magalotti promises to provide him with a book he had mentioned in a previous conversation. Its title is unknown, but the letter indicates that the two had either corresponded or spoken in person prior to this letter:

You see, Sir, how I deal with you although you gave me very little reason for this as you forgot to add to the catalogue of your works which you thankfully sent to me the title of the book that you told me you hoped so much to get. I ask you here not to forget it this time and to be convinced that there is hardly anyone in the world who esteems you and who honours your merit as much, Sir, as Your very humble servant Magalotti[.]⁸³⁰

To convince Schefferus of his reliability, Magalotti gives the names of two warrantors who could vouch for him: “Sir Åkerman and Sir Houfenius would find you here if you would like guarantees of my most humble service”.⁸³¹ Apart from the aforementioned Åkerman, he refers to Petrus Hoffwenius (1630-1682), professor of medicine in Uppsala and convinced Cartesian. Hoffwenius studied oriental languages and philosophy in Uppsala from 1644 before taking an interest in medicine and going to Leiden, where he gained a doctorate in medicine in 1660. In 1661, he became professor of medicine in Uppsala. Schefferus had presumably become acquainted with Hoffwenius soon after arriving in Sweden, possibly already in 1651 at Hoffwenius’ *disputatio* on the anatomy of the eye, presided over by Johannes Franckenius (1590-1661).⁸³²

In the meantime, a new agent entered the Lapponia project, engaging with great fervour to advance a revised edition and becoming one of the key figures for the first augmented version to appear in print. Despite his well-attested activities, only his last name, (De) La Piquetière, is known. He was a resident in Stockholm under the French ambassador Isaac de Pas, Marquis de

⁸³⁰ Magalotti to Schefferus, 11/1 September 1674. UUB G 260c: fol. 57v. “Vous voyez, Monsieur, come j’en use avec vous quoy que vous m’en donniez fort peu de sует en ce que vous oubliasses d’ajouter au Cathalogue que vous me fites la grace de m’enuoyer de vos oeuvres Le tiltre du liure que vous me dites que vous souhaitiez d’auoir sy passionement. Je vous prie a ne point l’oublier cette fois icy et a estre bien persuade quil ny a guair de personnes au monde qui vous estiment et qui honorent vostre merite autant que Monsieur Vostre tres humble Seruiteur Magalotti [.]”

⁸³¹ Ibid. “Monsieur Åkerman et Monsieur Houfenius trouue vous icy s’il vous plaise les assurances de mon tres humble service [.]”

⁸³² Petrus E. Hofvenius, *Disputatio Anatomica de Oculo, Quam Divinâ affulgente gratiâ Præsidi Experimentissimo & Excellentissimo Viro, M. Johanne Franck Anat. & Botan. Profes. ordin. & Publico, Præceptore atq; fautore suo omni observantiæ cultu prose quendo: In Regiâ Upsaliensium Academiâ Publice ventilandam proponit Petrus E. Hofvenius Upl. Stip. Reg. In Auditorio Veteri Maj. ad diem 10. Maij horis consvetis Anno 1651* (Upsaliæ: Imprimebat Eschillus Matthiæ, Typog. Acad., 1651).

Feuquières (1618-1688).⁸³³ According to Andrew Lossky, La Piquetière's time in Sweden started in 1673.⁸³⁴ He introduced himself formally to Schefferus on 22 March 1673 with references to Jean Chapelain (1595-1674) as a common acquaintance and by naming his fear of the cold as the reason why he had not yet paid a visit to Uppsala.⁸³⁵

The famous poet Chapelain, a founding member of the *Académie Française*, and the professor in Uppsala started corresponding in 1667 at the latest, but Chapelain, a well-connected and very active correspondent had already in February 1663 asked Nicolaus Heinsius, at the time Dutch resident in Stockholm, and one of Schefferus' best friends: "What kind of man is Schefferus? What are his talents? Is he first-class? Inform me about him, I implore you, and about what other Swedish, English, German, Dutch scholars are dignified with your esteem".⁸³⁶ Also in Chapelain's later exchange with Heinsius, Schefferus and his work would be a topic.⁸³⁷ Furthermore, Chapelain commented on Schefferus in letters to Ottavio Ferrari (1607-1682), professor of rhetoric and Greek at the University of Padua, to the French secretary of state and fellow member of the *Académie Française* Jean-Baptiste Colbert

⁸³³ See also the edition of his correspondence: Étienne Gallois, ed., *Lettres Inédites des Feuquières tirées des Papiers de Famille de Madame la Duchesse Decazes*, 5 vols. (Paris: Leleux, 1845-1846).

⁸³⁴ Andrew Lossky, "La Piquetière's Projected Mission to Moscow in 1682 and the Swedish Policy of Louis XIV," in *Essays in Russian History: A Collection Dedicated to George Vernadsky*, ed. Alan D. Ferguson and Alfred Levin (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1964), 69-106, at: 194.

⁸³⁵ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 22 March 1673. UUB G 260b: fol. 165r. "Monsieur, Vous deues estre Si accoustumé a recevoir des lettres des gens que vous ne connoissés pas, que ie croy que vous ne seres point surpris de la mienne, cela est ordinaire a ceux qui ont autant de merite et de reputation que vous en aues: Comme ie n'ay pas le mesme auantage, Monsieur, et qu'il me faut emprunter des autres dequoy me faire quelque recommandation auprès de vous, i'ay crû n'en pouoir trouuer de meilleure que de vous dire que i'ay l'honneur d'estre des amys de l'illustres Monsieur Chapelain, qu'il ma chargé en partant de vous assurer de la continuation de son estime et de son amitié et qu'il ma promis quelque part dans la vostre; i'ay bien de la confusion, monsieur, de me ni estre pas acquitté en personne de cete commission, et de ne pouoir vous en alleguer d autre excuse que la peur du froid, qui en est pourtant une tres legitime pour moy qui lapprehender extremement, i'attendrai aux beaucoup d'impatience une saison moins rude pour vous aller assurer moy mesme aux combien destime et de passion ie suis vostre tres humble et tres obeissant Seruiteur dela Piquetiere ches Monsieur Lambassadeur de France" (Sir, you must be so accustomed to receive letters of people you do not know, that I believe you are not in the least surprised by mine. This is ordinary to those who have so much merit and reputation as you do: Since I do not have the same advantage, Sir, and I need to use others to make some recommendation to you, I have believed only to be able to esteem best to say to you that I have the honor of being friends with the illustrious Mister Chapelain, who instructed me thus to assure you of the continuation of his respect and friendship and who has promised me some part in yours; I am certainly at a loss, Sir, to neither acquit myself personally of this commission, and to not be able to allege another excuse than the fear of the cold, which is however a very legitimate one for me who dreads it extremely. I will await with much impatience a less rougher season to be going to assure myself to you with how much esteem and passion I am your very humble and very obedient Servant dela Piquetiere at the Sir Ambassador of France).

⁸³⁶ Jean Chapelain to Heinsius, 15 February 1663. Transcribed in: Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, ed., *Lettres de Jean Chapelain, de l'Académie Française, Tome Second. 2 Janvier 1659-20 Décembre 1672.*, 2 vols., vol. 2, Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883), 290-293, at: 293 (no. CLXIV). "Quel homme est-ce que Schefferus? Quels sont ses talents? Est-il de la première classe? Mandés le moy, je vous supplie, et quels autres sçavans Suédois, Anglois, Allemands, Hollandois, sont dignes de vostre estime."

⁸³⁷ See for instance Chapelain to Heinsius, 20 October 1664, 28 January 1665, 9 April 1665, 30 April 1665, 7 January 1666, 27 May 1666, 11 December 1668. Transcriptions or references in: Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Jean Chapelain* 2, 370-373, at: 371-372 (no. CCXIII), 382 (footnote), 393 (footnote), 395-396 (footnote), 432-434, at: 433 (no. CCLIII), 459-460, at: 459 (no. CCLXX), 607-608 (no. CCCLXXXIII.).

(1619-1683), to the classical philologist in Utrecht Johann Georg Grævius (1632-1703), to Hermann Conring, and to the cleric and jurist in Florence Bandino Panciatichi (1629-1718).⁸³⁸

Chapelain not only discussed Schefferus' works with others, he also addressed him directly with a few letters, all of which were written before the work on the Lapponia project commenced.⁸³⁹ Although there is no knowledge of correspondence between Schefferus and Chapelain during the relevant time span, Chapelain presumably knew about the project at an early stage. Here, La Piquetière was the crucial informant. Several letters to Schefferus during the period in question and the regular correspondence of La Piquetière with Chapelain indicate that La Piquetière acted as an intermediary to the intellectual elite in France. Furthermore, La Piquetière appears to have entered the service of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by 1667. On 15 June 1673, Chapelain addressed him about Schefferus and other learned men in Uppsala:

The lives of the archbishops of Uppsala will apparently be very curious writings from such a good hand. You did not tell me anything about his so famous treaty on the subject of ships of which I implored you to inform yourself and whether there has been made a halfway more ample print of it neither where it is customary nor about where one could send for it. I am very pleased to know that he is not the only skilful one at this university, and I will take care to recover the works of the other Misters Luccarinus [read: Loccenius], Rudbeck and Verelius which you have pointed out for me to add them to my library.⁸⁴⁰

In addition to enquiring about the oeuvre of these established scholars, Chapelain requests La Piquetière to keep him up to date on any other outstanding works. He also asks for news of La Piquetière's health and, more importantly, of the diplomatic work of the embassy, as France was waging war against the Dutch. In the series of conflicts later termed the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678), Sweden became an increasingly important ally for France. Chapelain's words demonstrate that foreign residents such as La Piquetière were often navigating the thin line

⁸³⁸ Chapelain to Ottavio Ferrari, 30 September 1666; C. to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, 13 March 1668 & 22 October 1672; C. to Johann Georg Grævius, 2 May 1672; C. to Conring, 18 June 1672; C. to Bandino Panciatichi, 20 October 1672. See: Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Jean Chapelain* 2, 484 (footnote); 557-558 (no. CCCXL); 776-777 (no. DXXXVII); 782-784 (no. DXLIII); 795 (footnote); 795-796 (no. DLIV).

⁸³⁹ Chapelain to Schefferus, 4 September 1667, 12 October 1668, 9 June 1669, 6 July 1669. Transcriptions or references in: Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Jean Chapelain* 2, 526-527 (footnote), 601-602 (no. CCCLXXIX), 653-654 (no. CCCCXXIV), 880.

⁸⁴⁰ Chapelain to La Piquetière, 15 June 1673. See Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Jean Chapelain* 2, 823 (footnote). "Les vies des archevesques d'Upsale seront apparemment très curieuses écrites d'une si bonne main. Vous ne me dites rien de son traité si fameux des matières navales dont je vous avois prié de vous informer et s'il en a fait une impression de moitié plus ample ni où elle s'est faite, ni d'où on le pourroit faire venir. Je suis bien aise de sçavoir qu'il n'est pas le seul habile en cette academie, et j'auray soin de recouvrer les ouvrages de ces autres M^{rs} Luccarinus, Rudebequinus et Verelius que vous m'avez marqués pour en enrichir ma bibliothèque."

between the seemingly peaceful and noble scholarly Republic of Letters and the world of power politics:

If some other remarkable work is published in these districts there, you would grant me a favour to inform me about it and, as far as your business permits it to you, to send me news about your state of health and generally about the success of the embassy in this country which is so important to us to maintain our interests.⁸⁴¹

In an undated letter written after that one and before the Frankfurt fair around Michaelmas 1673, La Piquetière forwards Chapelain's appraisal and enquiry for more information about the works of other learned men in Uppsala to Schefferus.⁸⁴² La Piquetière's lines suggest that he had in the meantime sent at least one other letter to Chapelain to write about the Lapponia project and about Utterius whom he groups together with established scholars such as Loccenius, Rudbeck and Verelius:

I do not know how to express with how much joy he [Chapelain] has received the news of your well-being and of the sentiments that you have for him. He thanks me also a lot for having pointed him to Misters Loccenius, Rudebequius, Utte[r]jius & Verelius. He charges me with certainly making them compliments on his behalf, as I will have the honour of yours, and asks of me a list of their works, as well as of yours, both printed and to be printed principally of the treatise that you have given de re navali [On seafaring]. Someone has told him that there was a second edition more ample than the first. He would surely like to know where it is printed. He awaits with much impatience your account on Lapland, of which I have written to him, that I hoped we could have it at this fair of St. Michael [the Frankfurt book fair].⁸⁴³

⁸⁴¹ Ibid. "S'il paroist quelque autre ouvrage signalé en ces quartiers là, vous me ferés grace de m'en informer et, autant que vos affaires vous le permettront, de me donner des nouvelles de vostre santé et en général du succès de l'ambassade en ce pais qu'il nous est si important de maintenir nos interests." Chapelain continues: "Vous connoissés mon cœur et n'ignorés pas la passion que j'ay pour le bien de ma patrie et pour l'honneur du Roy dont M^r de Feuquièrre représentant la personne, quand je ne serois pas autrement son ancien et sincère serviteur que je luy ay toujours esté, je ne serois pas moins obligé de souhaiter qu'il reussit [...]" (You know my heart and do not ignore the passion I have for the good of my fatherland and for the honour of the King whose person Mister de Feuquièrre represents, if I were not his senior in another manner and the sincere servant that I have always been to him, I would not be required less to hope that he succeeds [...]).

⁸⁴² La Piquetière to Schefferus, undated. UUB G 260c: fol. 93r-94r, at: fol. 93r. He opens the letter by stating: "ie suis bien honteux d'estre si longtemps a six lieues de vous sans auoir lhonneur de vous voir, ie me luis excusé sur le froid pendant lhiuer, mais pour cet esté, ie vous advoué quil y a & ma faute, il est vray que M. lAmbassadeur me faisant espere qu il feroit lui mesme le voyage d'Upsal[.]" (I am quite ashamed to have been six leagues from you without having the honour to see you, I am excusing myself due to the cold during the winter, but for this spring I confess that it has been my fault, it is true that Monsieur Ambassador has made me hope that he himself will even make the journey to Uppsala [...]).

⁸⁴³ Ibid., fol. 93v-94r (in reversed order: fol. 94r-93v). "ie ne scauvois vous exprimer avec quelle ioye il a appris les nouvelles de vostre santé et des sentiments que vous aués pour lui, il me remercie fort aussi de l'auoir informé des messieurs Loccenius, Rudebequius, Vttenius & Verelius, il me charge de leur faire bien des compliments de Sa part, lorsque i aurai lhonneur de les vous, et me demande vne liste de leurs ouurages. aussi bien que des vostres, tant imprimés qu'a imprimer principalement du traitté que vous aues donné de re navali, on lui a dit qu'il y en auoir vne seconde edition plus ample que la premiere, il voudrait bien scauoir ou elle est imprimée, il attend avec beaucoup d'impatience vostre relation de Laponie, dont ie lui ay escrit, ie souhaiterois que nous la pussions auoir a cette foire de st. michel [...]"

Schefferus sent the requested lists of works to La Piquetière, as a reply dated 15 September indicates.⁸⁴⁴ It is, however, unknown whether Chapelain received a copy of *Lapponia*, since he died on 22 February 1674. About one year later, on 24 February 1675, La Piquetière wrote again to Schefferus in order to excuse his failure to visit him on the return journey from Kopparberg, an important mining site following discoveries of copper there in the 1630s. This implies that he visited Schefferus on the journey to Kopparberg.

Sir, please forgive travellers slightly weary and fatigued from the journey to Kopparberg, if they have not paid their respects while passing by Uppsala [.] We arrived there so late and we left so [early in the] morning that it was impossible for us to pay you a second visit [.] I hope to repair this fault of mine particularly shortly, meanwhile, if I am useful to you for anything in this land, please honour me with your command and believe that I am, Sir, with much passion and esteem your very humble and very obedient servant De La Piquetiere.⁸⁴⁵

In addition to sending regards from ambassador Feuquières, La Piquetière added a note of his visit to Reinhold Blumius, who, following his engagement as Sweden's envoy to the Regensburg diet from 1672 to 1674, spent some time in Stockholm before returning to the Holy Roman Empire. Schefferus and Blumius corresponded for several years, at least until May 1675, when the latter sent a letter from Stockholm, which he dictated to his son Arnold,⁸⁴⁶ probably due to an injury also mentioned by La Piquetière in his letter to Schefferus:

I was with Mister Blum when he received your letter, I am witness to the joy with which he read it, and of the impossibility [he has] to respond to you because of his injury [.] He has charged me to excuse him to you. I will not fail to write to Mister Justel regarding what you have to augment to your history of the Lapps.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁴ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 15 September [1673]. UUB G 260c: fol. 91r. "Monsieur, dans lesperance que iay d'auoir bientost lhonneur de vous voir icy, ie ne vous escriis cette lettre que pour vous en tesmoigne ma ioye et pour vous dire que quand il vous plaira d'ecrire a Monsieur Chapelain, vos lettres lui seront seurement rendües. ie vous reme[r]cie du catalogue que vous m'aués enuoyé, il augmente encore la passion que i auois de vous voir et de vous tesmoignies de bouche avec combien d'Estime ie suis Monsieur Vostre treshumble et tres obeissant seruiteur de la piquetiere" (Sir, in the hope that I soon will have the honour to see you here, I only write you this letter to let you know my joy and to tell you that if you will want to write to Mister Chapelain, your letters to him will surely be returned. I thank you for the catalogue which you have sent to me, it adds more to the passion I have to see you and to witness to you with my mouth with how much esteem I am, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant de la piquetiere).

⁸⁴⁵ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 24 February 1675. UUB G 260c: fol. 69r-70r, at: fol. 69r, 70r. "Monsieur, vous pardonneraz Sil vous plaist a des voyageurs un peu las et fatigues du voyage de Kuperberg, sils ne vous ont pas rendu leurs deuoirs en repassant a Upsal nous y arriuasmes si tard et nous en partismes si matin qu'il nous fut impossible de vous rendre une seconde visite, i'espere reparer cette faute en mon particulier dans peu de temps, cependant si ie vous suis bon a quelque chose en cepays icy, ie vous prie de m'honorer de vos commandement, et de croire que ie suis avec beaucoup de passion et d'estime Monsieur vostre treshumble et tresobeissant seruiteur dela piquetiere [.]"

⁸⁴⁶ Blumius to Schefferus, 15 May 1675. UUB G 260c: fol. 79r. Signed "R. Blumius, pro quo scr[ipsit] Arnoldus F[ilius]."

⁸⁴⁷ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 24 February 1675. UUB G 260c: fol. 69v. "ie me suis trouué ches Mons. Blum lorsqu'il a receu vostre lettre, ie suis tesmoing de la ioye avec laquelle il la leue, et du limpossibilité ou il est de vous respondre a cause

La Piquetière informs Schefferus that he would address the secretary of Louis XIV, the scholar, librarian, and avid correspondent Henri Justel (1620-1693) to let him know about the additions to the *Laponia* project. This might serve as an indication of the advanced state of the French adaptation. On 25 April 1675, the King and his council approved a royal privilege for the bookseller Olivier III de Varennes (c.1632-1677) for the printing of a manuscript titled *Nouvelle Relation de la Laponie, contenant vne description exacte du País, leurs mœurs, &c.* (New account of Lapland, containing an exact description of the land, their customs, etc.).⁸⁴⁸ La Piquetière's next letter is dated only a few days later. On 29 April, he reports Justel's reply, confirming that there had already been talk of the printing of this edition:

I have received an answer, Sir, to the letter I have written to Mister Justel touching upon what you want to add to your history of Lapland. He promises me to delay the printing of the French translation until he has received this augmentation. If it is in a state that you would entrust it to me, I will not fail to let him have it with the first route that will be safe, which will perhaps not delay [the printing] for a long time. He feels much obliged to the compliments I made to him on your behalf to accept with much joy the correspondence you offer him. I will let him have yours as I will be here, and he will give his responses to Mister Bond Envoy of Sweden in France.⁸⁴⁹

According to La Piquetière's information, French efforts to translate *Laponia* into the vernacular had begun immediately. The title page of *Histoire de la Laponie* names the Royal Geographer at the French court Augustin Lubin OESA (1624-1695), who also reworked the map, as the translator.⁸⁵⁰ However, as Laurent Bray discovered, the translator of the first five chapters was the lexicographer César-Pierre Richelet (1626-1698), who had previously translated descriptions of Florida and Africa.⁸⁵¹ It is unknown whether an exchange between Schefferus and Justel actually took place. The involvement of the Swedish envoy to France Carl Bonde, to whom the French translation would later be dedicated, in the planned correspondence between the two, indicates the significance given to learned connections between the allies. Schefferus'

de sa blessure il m a chargé de vous en faire ses excuses. ie ne manquerai pas descriuer a M. Justel touchant ceque vous aues a augmenter dans vostre histoire des lappons."

⁸⁴⁸ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated.

⁸⁴⁹ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 29 April [1675]. UUB G 260c: fol. 77r-78r, at: fol. 77r, 78r. "Jay receu response, Monsieur, a la lettre que iavoy escrite a Monsieur Justel touchant ceque vous voullés adioutés a vostre histoire de Laponie, il me promet de retarder l'impression de la traduction françoise iusqu'avec qu'il ayt receu cette augmentation, si elle est en estat ceque vous voulliez me la confier ie ne manquerai pas de la lui faire tenir par la premiere voye que sera seure, cequi ne tardera peut estre pas longtemps. il se sent fort obligé des compliments que ie lui ay fais de vostre trait a accepte avec beaucoup de ioye le commerce de lettres que vous lui offrez, ie lui ferai tenir les vostre tant que ie serai icy, et il donnera ses responses a Mons Bond Enuoyé de Suede en France."

⁸⁵⁰ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*.

⁸⁵¹ Bray, *César-Pierre Richelet (1626–1698): Biographie et œuvre lexicographique*, 171-181.

response to La Piquetière seems to have left the latter dissatisfied, as he pressed on in his next letter of 29 June 1675:

I received, Monsieur, your last letter and the book of which you have made me the honour of sending it to me, for which I thank you humbly. I await with impatience your additions to the history of Lapland, even more so because I would give them to the carrier the same month if you could send them to me ahead of eight days, since I assume to leave during that time for France [.]⁸⁵²

Meanwhile, discussions about the project continued with Norrmannus. On 2 January 1676, Schefferus addressed Norrmannus in response to a previous, so far unidentified, letter.⁸⁵³

What I should respond to the letter that you recently sent to me, I am almost incapable of figuring out. You deplore the malice of those that sent you to my house, as if to write a supplement to my *Lapponia*.⁸⁵⁴

Schefferus refers to rumours about Norrmannus' involvement with the writing of an appendix to *Lapponia*. Apparently, Norrmannus had informed him that there was talk about Schefferus having hired him as a ghostwriter. In any case, Schefferus avows his reliability in defiance of rumours:

Firstly, I confess to have heard nothing about this, or, if some empty rumour circulated, to have paid no attention to it whatsoever. Furthermore, you should not take me for one of those men that becomes jealous of the world, in case somebody else, no matter who, manages to produce something better than I myself have managed, in whatever of the branches [of learning] that I have published something on so far.⁸⁵⁵

Schefferus names his wife Regina's severe disease as the reason for the delay in his work on revising *Lapponia*. He also mentions that he had discussed the projected augmentations with his assistant Johan Heysig (1653/1654-1695). Heysig, born in Stockholm to a German barber surgeon, started studying in Uppsala in 1673 and quickly became Schefferus' amanuensis. Schefferus introduced him to Sweden's learned elite. The exact role of Heysig, later ennobled

⁸⁵² La Piquetière to Schefferus, 29 June [1675]. UUB G 260c: fol. 87r, 88r. "Jay receu, Monsieur, vostre derniere lettre et le liure que vous m'avez fait lhonneur de m'enuoyer, dont ie vous rends treshumbles graces, iattends avec impatience vos additions a lhistoire de Laponie, dautant plus que ien ferois le porteur mois mesmes si vous pouuiez me les enuoyer auant huit iours, car ie crois partie dans ce tempsla pour France[.]"

⁸⁵³ In the letter Norrmannus sent to Schefferus on 10 August 1674, he discusses other topics, but not the Lapponia-project. See UUB G 260c: fol. 53r-v.

⁸⁵⁴ Schefferus to Norrmannus, 2 January 1676. UUB G 191: fol. 30v. "Quid respondere tuis debeam nuper ad me missis, pæne non excogito. Quereris prolixè de malignitate eoru[m], qui te detulerint apud me, quasi Appendicem scripturum ad Lapponiam meam."

⁸⁵⁵ Schefferus to Norrmannus, 2 January 1676. UUB G 191: fol. 30v. "Primu[m] fateor me nihil ejus inaudisse, vel si vanus circumferebat rumor, nulla auscultasse cura. Deinde non ex eo genere me esse credas, velim, qui inuideat orbi, si me melius quid tradere possit alius quicunq[ue], in quocunq[ue] genere eoru[m], quæ a me hactenus sunt publicata."

as Ridderstjerna, for the Lapponia project remains somewhat unclear, but we know that he assisted Schefferus throughout the later part.⁸⁵⁶ This is supported by the two discussing the project in their correspondence, as Schefferus relates. Before turning to other topics, he prompts Norrmannus to supply him with everything he could find out about the Sámi:

Yet, since I remembered that you promised me some extensions to my Lapponia last autumn, which at the time I could not comprehend due to the deep grief derived from the disease of my wife, I could do no more than to mention this promise in a letter to Mister Heysig. I would like to ask you to not hesitate any longer to communicate by letter what it was that you said at that time. If I have been a burden to you in that assignment of yours, please forgive me; as for the rest, feel free to write as you yourself deem best.⁸⁵⁷

Schefferus asks Norrmannus to send regards to Uppendorff before closing the letter.⁸⁵⁸ Norrmannus' reply, sent three days later from Stockholm, comments on the ridiculousness of the rumours by referring to his own inaptitude to do any ghostwriting on Schefferus' behalf. He insinuates that he would not know anything about "Lappish things" were it not for Schefferus:

A man of very limited intellect, with no knowledge of learning, lacking skills in the art of rhetorics, either utterly unaware of Lappish things or introduced to them by the benevolence of Schefferus alone, devoid of all resources necessary for this kind of writing, preoccupied at the time with studies of no relevance whatsoever; and last but not least, what should have been mentioned at the very start: devoted without reservation to the reputation of Schefferus. But enough slander about Lappish studies, unknown to you I presume (for the nonsense of idle men is mindless, I believe). In truth, when you read these ridiculous things, it has probably gone too far already.⁸⁵⁹

After this brief explanation of his opinion about the rumours and the clarification of his loyalty to Schefferus, Norrmannus continues with a new bibliographic suggestion:

⁸⁵⁶ See Lewenhaupt, "Johan Heysig-Ridderstjerna. I.," 59-105; Lewenhaupt, "Johan Heysig-Ridderstjerna. II.," 43-96; on Heysig's later impact, see furthermore William Poole and Kelsey Jackson Williams, "A Swede in Restoration Oxford: Gothic Patriots, Swedish Books, English Scholars," *Lias* 39, 1 (2012): 1-67.

⁸⁵⁷ Schefferus to Norrmannus, 2 January 1676. UUB G 191: fol. 30v. "Quia tamen superiori autumnno memineram te polliceri quaedam ad Lapponiam meam pertinentia, quæ tum audire non poteram per maestitiam sum[m]am ex morbo vxoris meæ conceptam, non potui, quin promissi ejus facerem mentionem in litteris ad Dn. Heysig, teq[ue] rogatu[m] vellem, vt quæ tum ajebas com[m]unicaturum te per epistolam, ea com[m]unicare longius ne differas. Si petitione ista tibi fui grauis, ignoscas quæso, de cætero tuo arbitrato scribas."

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid. "Cl. Dn. Uppendorffium amice saluto" (I greet the most renowned Mister Uppendorff amicably).

⁸⁵⁹ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 5 January 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 101r-v, at: fol. 101r. "perexig[ui?] hominem ingenii, nulla literarum cognitione, nullis dicendi artibus pollentem, rerum Lapponicarum aut ignarissimum, aut Schefferi unius beneficio gnarum, subsidiisque ad hoc Scriptionis genus necessariis prorsus destitutum, tum studiis etiam toto coelo diversis deditum; denique, quod caput est, ac principi dictum loco oportuit, Schefferiani nominis venerationi addictissimum. Satis fabulæ de Historia Lappica, Tibi ut autumo ignotæ (nam otiosorum hominum ἀκρόφαλος puto φλυαρία est), ridenda vero cum hæc leges, fortasse an nimium etiam indultum."

Now about the American colonies of the Lapps*. I would have told about another more illustrious author, if there had been enough space on this sheet of paper. There is no mention of his, lest I am mistaken, in the [*intelligible word*] issue of Lapponia.⁸⁶⁰

The asterisk is explained in marginalia: “* This is in Mayer, Phil. S. Part. II. 296. I could describe the passage [or, copy it] at another occasion if you want”.⁸⁶¹ Here, Norrmannus, whose interest in the Hebrew language had shown early in his studies, refers to the second part of Bartholomæus Mayer’s (1598-1631) *Philologia Sacra*. Mayer’s aim with this work was to refute the theory of Johann Caspar Myricæus (d.1653) that the Syriac language had been the language of Adam spoken in Paradise, which Myricæus had elaborated in two textbooks in 1619 and 1622. In the two-volume *Philologia Sacra*, published in 1629 and 1631, Mayer argues that Hebrew was the oldest language of all.⁸⁶² In this connection, he refers to the Table of Nations (Gen 10) explaining the origin of various peoples, amongst them the Sámi, whom he regards as descendants of Japhet, together with the peoples of Europe and large parts of Asia, such as the Medes, Greeks, Indians, Scythians, Chinese, Muscovites and Tatars. According to Mayer, some would regard the first colonizers of America to have been the Chinese, while he, with respect to the similarity of the customs of the “Lapones Norvegiq[ue]” (Lapps and Norwegians) to those of the inhabitants of Estotiland and Baccalao (fictitious islands nowadays identified with Newfoundland), concludes that the Sámi and the Norwegians were the first to settle in America.⁸⁶³

It is unknown whether Schefferus found any value in this theory about possible historical connections of the Sámi with the inhabitants of the American continent, but the fact that he did not refer to any of this in the revised edition supports the supposition that he did not. The exchange between him and Norrmannus moved on to other related topics. In his next letter on 20 June 1676, Norrmannus addressed Schefferus on languages and runes.⁸⁶⁴ Schefferus’ reply,

⁸⁶⁰ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 5 January 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 101r. “jam de coloniis Lapponum* Americanis. illustriorem aliam, si chartula ferret, recenserem. cujus nisi me animus fallit, in [*illegible*] Lapponiæ ἐξδόση mentio nulla.”

⁸⁶¹ Ibid. “* Est apud Mayer. Phil. S. Part. II. 296. Describam alias si jusseris.”

⁸⁶² Bartholomæus Mayer, *Philologiæ Sacræ Pars Prima Continens Prodromum Chaldaismi sacri, in quo ejusdem causa eruitur, ac Sylloge vocabulorum Ægyptiacorum, Græcorum & Latinorum, quæ in Veteris Instrumenti authentico codice, partim reverà, partim opinione quorundam habentur, exhibetur* (Lipsiæ: Gothofredi Grosii, 1629); Bartholomæus Mayer, *Philologiæ Sacræ Pars Secunda, in quâ linguæ sacræ antiquitas contra Myriceum astruitur, variâque alia linguam Ebræam & Syro-Chaldæam concernentia excutiuntur* (Lipsiæ: Gothofredi Grosii, 1631).

⁸⁶³ Ibid., 295-297.

⁸⁶⁴ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 20 June 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 104r-105v.

sent three days later, also refers to a previous letter, possibly the one mentioning Mayer's work, but without discussing the suggestion itself.⁸⁶⁵

Norrmannus sent his next letter on 26 August 1676 from the archives of Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654) in Fiholm Castle near Eskilstuna, where he had gone to study their composition. Amongst the many works he mentions, one was of some relevance to the Lapponia project:

The small treatise in Swedish of Olavus Treskius about the lawful borders of Swedish Lapland, divided into its five provinces, separated from the Danish and the Ruthenian [i.e. Russian] Lapland. It furthermore promises geographical maps of the area. Nyköping in March 1640.⁸⁶⁶

Over the course of at least seven years, the Swedish land surveyor Olof Tresk (d.1645) undertook several journeys to the Northern parts of the realm to survey settlements and the Swedish borders. This was of great significance for the emerging hubs of the Swedish mining industry in the Scandinavian mountains.⁸⁶⁷ For the diet in Nyköping held in 1640, he wrote the description of the lappmark borders with Denmark-Norway and Ruthenia (i.e. Muscovy) about which Norrmannus reported from the Oxenstiernian archives. Furthermore, Tresk delineated Kemi and Torne lappmark in detailed maps in 1642 and 1643. These maps had not previously been accessible to Schefferus, and were not taken into account for the revised edition of *Lapponia*.⁸⁶⁸ In his reply, on 12 September 1676, Schefferus did not address Tresk's work. However, since Norrmannus also mentioned numerous other topics and Schefferus worked on many projects in parallel, this is not surprising. After all, the literary reference given by Norrmannus was only one among many, and Schefferus did not refer to any of them in his reply.⁸⁶⁹

In the meantime, La Piquetière had been actively working with his contacts in France to prepare the publication of an augmented French edition of the Lapponia project. On 20 October 1676, he politely reminds Schefferus of the growing impatience in France regarding the

⁸⁶⁵ Schefferus to Norrmannus, 23 June 1676. UUB G 191: fol. 29r. Several burn marks rendered sections of the letter illegible.

⁸⁶⁶ Norrmannus to Schefferus, 26 August 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 110r-111v, at: fol. 111r. "Tractatulum Svedicum Olavi Treskii, de justis finibus Lapponiæ Svedicæ, per quinas regiones suas, a Danica et Ruthenica discretæ. cujus tabulas etiam chorographicas pollicetur. Nycopingæ in Martii clōbexL."

⁸⁶⁷ An important mining site in Denmark-Norway was Røros in Trøndelag. There, mining for copper started in 1644. Situated close to the Swedish border, the area was subject to several attacks by the Swedes. See Gunnar Brun Nissen, *Røros Kobberverk 1644-1974* (Trondheim: N.N., 1976), 17-69.

⁸⁶⁸ See Olof Tresk, *Kartor över Kemi & Torne Lappmarker 1642 och 1643*, ed. Nils Ahnlund (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, [1640-1643] 1928).

⁸⁶⁹ Schefferus to Norrmannus, 12 September 1676. UUB G 191: fol. 31v.

promised additions. According to La Piquetière, Justel has, in expectation of the additions, “for a long time postponed the printing”:

If I could leave Stockholm, Monsieur, instead of writing you, I would myself go to greet you and give you the compliments of our illustrious ones in Paris. They have charged me to witness to you the esteem they have for your last two works, and their impatience for those I have made them hope of, which I have communicated them the paper you have had the kindness to send to me. [Mister] Justel has for a long time postponed the printing of the French translation of your history of Lapland in awaitment for that which you have intended to add to it, and I do not know if he is still in expectation to receive it. If it suits you to let him know something, I have often enough occasions to write to him, and I will have another one to send him some big packets in eight or ten days.⁸⁷⁰

In addition, he discusses his own absence from the Diet of Uppsala in 1675, and Schefferus’ opinion about the differences between two editions of the Swedish history by his father-in-law Johannes Loccenius.⁸⁷¹ Furthermore, La Piquetière asks on behalf of contacts in France for some of the source material Schefferus used:

Someone in France has strongly demanded of me if they could not have the handwritten relations that you have cited in your history of Lapland, I believe to cannot do any better than to refer to you to know where I could find them, I kindly ask you to let me know, if anything new has been printed in Uppsala since my departure [.]⁸⁷²

In his next letter, La Piquetière indicates that Schefferus had soon replied, on 24 October, to the previous letter. Heysig, whom La Piquetière calls “Essig” in line with French pronunciation,

⁸⁷⁰ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 20 October 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 114r-115r, at: fol. 114r. “Si ie pouvois quitter Stocholm, Monsieur, au lieu de vous escrire, i’yrais moy mesme vous saluer et vous faire les compliments de nos Illustres de Paris, ils m’ont chargé de vous tesmoigner lestime qu’ils ont pour vos deux derniers ouvrages, et leur impatience pour ceux que ie leur ay fait esperer, dont ie leur ay communiqué le memoire que vous avies eu la bonité de m’envoye. cn. Justel a fait retarder longtemps l’impression de la traduction francoise de vostre histoire de Lapponie dans l’attente de ceque vous auies desseins dy adiouste, et ie ne scais s’il n’est point encour dans lesperance de le receuoir, si vous aues agreable de lui en faire scauoir quelque-chose, iay asses souvent des occasions de lui escrire, & ien aurai mesme vrie de lui enuoyer quelque-gros paquet dans huit ou dix iours.”

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., fol. 115r. “Je regrette tous les iours Monsieur d auoir esté absent pendant la diebte d’Upsal, ce m’ auroit esté vne occasion, de profite de vos doctes conversations, que ie ne retrouverai peutestre iamais. Si par quelque bonne fortune pour moy, vous venes a Stockolm, ie vous supplie de m en faire auertir. i’attens quelques livres nouueaux dont ie vous enuoyrai le memoire aussi tost que ie les aurai receus, ie trouuai hier ches un libraire, l’histoir de cn Loccenius in 4^o, imprimee depuis peu a Francfurt, ie vous supplie Monsieur de me mander si elle est beaucoup plus amplee que celle qui est in 8^o” (I constantly regret, Monsieur, to have been absent during the Diet of Upsala, this would have been an occasion for me to profit from your learned conversations, that I will maybe never find again. If through some good fortune for me, you came to Stockholm, I would beg you to let me know. I await some new books of which I send you memory as soon as I have received them [;] yesterday, I found at a bookseller the history of M. Loccenius in quart, printed a while back in Frankfurt, I beg you Monsieur, to inform me if it is much more ample than the one in octav).

⁸⁷² Ibid., fol. 115r-114v. “L on ma fort demander en France si lon ne pourroit point auoir les relations manuscritts que vous aues citées dans vostre histoire de Lapponie, ie croy ne me pouuoir mieux adresser qu’a vous pour scauoir ou ie le pourrois trouuer, ie vous demander aussi la grace de me faire scauoir sil ya quelque de nouueau imprimé a Upsal depuis mon depart [.]”

brought the reply to him, indicating the involvement of Schefferus' amanuensis in the practical challenges of the project. On 12 November 1676, La Piquetière reported to Schefferus about this:

Mister Essig has given your letter from 24 October with the augmentations of your history of Lapland to me, surely I have an occasion in this week to send it to Justel, through a friend who is going to France. I am very thankful to you, Monsieur, for the trouble that you have taken to answer all my questions, I apprehend that they did not importune you in the end.⁸⁷³

It is worthy of note that La Piquetière prefers to rely on a courier instead of the postal system. This indicates the value he ascribed to the manuscript intended for the press. Again, La Piquetière mentions Henri Justel, to whom he forwarded the augmentations intended for the French translation. Having read them, La Piquetière also requests copies of the original sources for France, arguing for their value as curiosities, although French readers would have been unable to understand Swedish:

I know well that the manuscripts which you have cited are in Swedish, which one does not understand at all in France, but, since these are originals they are always curious, and I would be very delighted to be able to present them to someone in France, so that if you could obtain some copies of them for me, I would be much obliged to you, as also other manuscripts which regard the history of Sweden [.]⁸⁷⁴

La Piquetière adds that he had taken a copy of the *Manuale Lapponicum* to France before and observed the enthusiastic reaction of the recipient: "It has been one year since I carried to France the *Manuale Lapponicum*, you would not be able to believe the high opinion a curious man to whom I gave it had of it".⁸⁷⁵ La Piquetière's efforts in collecting had furthermore already provided him with one of the lappmark accounts, as he tells Schefferus: "I already have the relation of Samuel Rheen, but I lack the others".⁸⁷⁶

These details are significant. According to La Piquetière, there was great curiosity in France for everything related to the Sámi. The enthusiasm about an original manuscript expressed by

⁸⁷³ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 12 November 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 116r-117r, at: fol. 116r. "Le sieur Essig ma rendu vostre lettre du 24 octobre avec les augmentations de vostre histoire de Laponie, iay une occasion seure dans cette semaine pour lenuoyer en Justel, par un amy qui s'en va en France. ie vous suis fort obligé Monsieur de la peine que vous aues prise de respondre toutes mes questions, i'aprehend & qu elles ne vous importunent a la fin."

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., fol. 116r, 117r. "ie scay bien que les manuscrits que vous aues cites sont en suedois, que l on n' entend point en France, mais comme ce-sont des originaux ils sont tousiours curieux, & ie serois bien ayse d'en pouuoir faire present a quelquun en France, de sorte que si vous pouues m' en procurer quelque copies, ie vous en serai fort obligé, comme aussi des autres manuscrits qui regarderont lhistoire des suede [.]"

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., fol. 117r. "il y a un an que ie portai en France le Manuale Laponicum, vous ne scauviés croire le cas qu'en fait un curieux a qui ie lay donné."

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid. "iay desia la relation de Samuel Rheen, mais les autres me manquent."

an acquaintance, a “curieux”, that is a person driven by curiosity, and La Piquetière’s own efforts to collect as many of the accounts of the lappmark clergy as possible, suggest that a growing group of dilettantes occupied itself with the Sámi people. Arguably, this interest preceded Schefferus’ *Lapponia*, which amateurs such as La Piquetière and the anonymous *curieux* in France had read just as eagerly as people in other European countries. Probably, an earlier account of the North sparked this fascination for the region. In 1671, Pierre Martin de La Martinière (1634-1676/1690) published a travelogue of his journey to the European North, titled *Voyage des Pais Septentrionaux* (Journey to the Northern Lands).⁸⁷⁷ He had joined a trade mission with the Danish Northern Trading Company (*det Nordlige handelskompani*) in 1670 as the physician onboard one of the mission’s three ships. His observations on the “Norwegians, Lapps, Kilopps, Borandians, Siberians, Samoyeds, Zemlyans, and Icelanders”⁸⁷⁸ he claimed to have met during his journey form the basis of his travelogue. In his revised edition, Schefferus would also refer to La Martinière’s account, but during his work on *Lapponia*, he did not have access to it.

La Piquetière closes his letter with news of some learned men in France whom Schefferus had asked about in his previous letter. One of them, the bibliophile and well-connected citizen of the Republic of Letters Émery Bigot (1626-1689), had corresponded with Schefferus in 1663 and 1664.⁸⁷⁹ Besides Bigot and the latest of his works, La Piquetière shares news about some other French scholars:

Mister Bigot about whom you are worried, is in Normandy and carried himself well when I left. [From him] I have not seen anything since the Italian etymology. I cannot tell you on what the Misters Valois work. Mister Baluze, the librarian of Mister Colbert will soon give numerous very curious capitularies – if I learn something about these men, I will not fail to let you know. I implore you to believe that I would deem myself very fortunate if I could satisfy your curiosity and give you signs of my thankfulness and of the esteem with which I am your very humble and very obedient servant de la Piquetière.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁷ Pierre Martin de La Martinière, *Voyage des pais septentrionaux: dans lequel se void les moeurs, manière de vivre, et superstitions des Norweguiens, Lappons, Kiloppes, Borandiens, Syberiens, Samojedes, Zembliens, et Islandois ; enrichi de plusieurs figures* (Paris: Vendosme, 1671).

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, title page.

⁸⁷⁹ Émery Bigot to Schefferus, 24 April 1663 and 2 May 1664. UUB G 260a: fol. 30, 74.

⁸⁸⁰ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 12 November 1676. UUB G 260c: fol. 117r-116v. “Monsieur Bigot dont vous estes en peine est en Normandie & se portoir bien quand ie partis. en menage de mesme ie n’ay rien veu de lui depuis les etimologies italiennes. ie ne scaurai, vous disez a quoy trauailent messieurs valois. Monsieur Baluze bibliothecaire de Monsieur Colbert donnera bien tost quantité de capitulaires fort curieux – si iapprens quelque chose de ces messieurs, ie ne manquerai pas de vous en faire part. ie vous prie de croire que ie m’estimerois fort heureux si ie pouuois satisfaire vostre curiosité & vous donner des marques de ma reconnaissance & de lestime avec laquelle ie suis vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur de la Piquetière.”

La Piquetière mentions the brothers Henri (1603-1676) and Adrien Valois (1607-1692), philologists and historians, but states that he could not tell what they were working on. By the time of writing of his letter, Henri had already died. The historiographer and librarian of Colbert, Étienne Baluze (1630-1718) was, according to La Piquetière, about to present something about capitularies. He was announcing Baluze's two-volume work on the Frankish kings' capitularies published in 1677, which was certainly to Schefferus' liking.

The last known letter of La Piquetière to Schefferus was sent on 3 February 1677. It not only gives a final update on the long preparations for the French translation of Schefferus' monograph on the Sámi, but also presents once more the good connections within the Republic of Letters. Politely, La Piquetière thanks Schefferus for the additions he had received some days earlier:

If you would not be as virtuous as you are, you might deem that I were a little grateful man, since I wait for such a long time to thank you for the favours I received from you. It has been more than eight days ago that Mister Heysig brought me the manuscripts which you have sent him, and he works to have them copied.⁸⁸¹

Again, Heysig stands out as an important contributor to the project, not only ensuring safe delivery of manuscripts, but also helping to have them copied. Apart from more written material for the monograph, La Piquetière asks for further contributions to the collection of one of his contacts abroad:

I say humbly thanks to you for them, Sir, and I implore you at the same time to continue with the same kindness for the other pieces you believe worthy of a place in the cabinet of a curious person. With regard to the curious, deem it right that I ask you where you are at with Magalotti, if you have sent him that which you have amassed for him, and if you have any instruction to continue.⁸⁸²

Magalotti was at the time ambassador of Tuscany at the court of Leopold I (1640-1705), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, in Vienna. As mentioned, during his stay in Stockholm Magalotti had started to gather a collection of Sámi curiosities on behalf of Cosimo III, as was also evident in his letter to Schefferus in September 1674. One has to regard La Piquetière's

⁸⁸¹ La Piquetière to Schefferus, 3 February 1677. UUB G 260c: fol. 122r-123r, at: fol. 122r. "Si vous n'esties pas aussi bon que vous estes, vous iugeries que ie serois un homme peu reconnoissant, puis que ie tarde si longtemps a vous remercies des graces que ie recois de vous, il y a plus de huit iours que monsieur Heissig ma apporté les manuscrits que vous lui aues enuoyés, & il trauaille a les faire copier [...]"

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, fol. 122r, 123r. "ie vous en rends treshumble graces, Monsieur, & ie vous pries en mesme temps de me continuer la mesme bonité, pour les autres pieces que vous croirés dignes d'auoir place dans le cabinet d'un curieux. a propos de curieux, trouues bon que ie vous demander ou vous en estes auec en de Magalotti, si vous lui aues enuoyé cequi-vous va m'assies pour lui, et si vous aues quelque ordre de continuer."

comment on Magalotti in light of the marriage of Cosimo III to Marguerite Louise d'Orléans (1645-1721), Princess of France. The couple's strong mutual dislike led to numerous scandals and eventually to their separation and Marguerite Louise's departure for Paris in 1675, where she spent the rest of her life. Through her presence at the court of Louis XIV in Versailles, Marguerite Louise was acquainted with the illustrious circles surrounding the King. La Piquetière's request to Schefferus for an update about the state of Magalotti's collection might have its origin in this connection. It may speak of an increased interest in the state of affairs in Tuscany. In the meantime, Schefferus' additions were on the way to France, as La Piquetière ensures him:

It has been more than a month since I have sent your augmentation to the history of Lapland through a very trustworthy friend, and who will place it into the hands of Mister Justel. Perhaps, we will have a response before spring.⁸⁸³

The identity of the trustworthy courier is uncertain, but due to the turmoils of the Franco-Dutch War and the Scanian War, safe passage was an issue. Sweden had entered the conflict in 1675. To Schefferus, who probably remembered the times of the Thirty Years War all too well, the wellbeing of his colleagues and friends was in question. Accordingly, he implored La Piquetière to tell him any news about colleagues and the state of academia in France. The reply he received demonstrates the high degree of interconnectedness of learned circles in the 17th century, as all five scholars named by La Piquetière had been among Schefferus' correspondents:

With regard to the subject of the attention that you said one has in France for the people of the arts, I will tell you that the war brought a great reduction there, just as in the other countries. Nevertheless, one has not deducted any of the pensions given to foreigners. Conring and Hevelius still receive the ones the King has rewarded them with, while those of Gronovius, Reinesius and Boeclerus have not been given to others. I believe, Sir, you will judge me well for guessing the wishes that I make with this, and for being persuaded that I contributed to them with all of my heart. I am with much esteem and passion your very humble and very obedient servant Delapiquetière. Mister Heysig pleases me a lot with your esteem.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸³ Ibid., fol. 123r. "Il y a plus d'un mois que iay enuoyé vostre augmentation a lhistoire de Laponie par un ami bien seur, et qui la mettra entre les mains de Monsieur Justel. peut estre en aurons nous response avant le printemps."

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., fol. 123r-122v. "Sur le suiet du soing que vous dittes qu'on a en france des gens des lettres, ie vous dirai, que la guerre y apporté une grande diminution, aussi bien que dans les autres pays, neantmoins on na retranché aucunes des pensions par lon donne aux estrangers, [C]orringius et [H]euelius recoiuent encour celles dont le Roy les a gratifiés, mais celles de gronouius, Rheinesius, et Boeclerus, n'ont point este donnus a dautres. ie crois, Monsieur, que vous me ferés bien la iustice de deuiner les souhaits que ie fais la dessus, & d'estre persuadé que iy contribuerois de tous mon coeur. ie suis avec beaucoup d'estime et des passion. Vostre treshumble et tres obeisant seruiteur [D]elapiquetière [.] [M]onsieur [H]eyssig me fait beaucoup de plaisirs en vostre consideration."

Just over a year after La Piquetière sent this letter to Schefferus, Jeanne Cailloüé de Varennes (fl.1666-1687), the widow of the recently deceased bookseller Olivier III de Varennes had the text printed.⁸⁸⁵ The “Achevé d’imprimer” following the royal privilege states the printing date as 5 March 1678.⁸⁸⁶

Apart from the new layout with marginalia, the fifty-page appendix with Schefferus’ augmentations, a reworked frontispiece, and other accompanying paratext, the map had been revised by Royal Geographer Augustin Lubin, who had been the main translator, and engraved by René Michault (fl.1666-1679).

A large number of people were involved in the preparation and publication of *Histoire de la Laponie*. What had begun with Schefferus’ dissatisfaction with the first edition of the Lapponia project continued in 1674 with repeated requests to his correspondent Heinsius to wait for a revised version. Early on, Norrmannus became a valuable collaborator for this endeavour. Utterius’ explanatory list of a drum, made its way to Schefferus via Norrmannus and Uppendorff, the nephew of Altneckius. The new account by Lundius became the most important written source of the augmentations for the new edition.

Apart from these four, another zealous contributor was Heysig, who conducted many of the practical tasks connected with the revision. In the meantime, the focus had switched from Latin to French for the issue of this reworked *Lapponia*. Key parties to this were La Piquetière in Stockholm and Justel and the Swedish envoy Charles Bonde in Paris. High-ranking diplomats and officials were involved with the project, and the translators Richelet and Lubin were also no strangers to the learned.

The proximity to the French court and to learned men such as Colbert, Justel, Lubin and Richelet explains the speed with which *Histoire de la Laponie* was reviewed in France. Less than four months after the printing, an abstract appeared in the *Journal des Sçavans*. The review featured in the twenty-second issue of the year 1678, dated 27 June, contains no comments about the quality of the monograph but describes its contents. The text consists of eight paragraphs, all of which are dedicated to one thematic section. Following an introduction to the topic of the monograph, namely “Laponie”, which mentions that Finland is the actual fatherland

⁸⁸⁵ Arbour, “VARENNE, Olivier III de,” 512.

⁸⁸⁶ Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, unpaginated. “Achevé d’imprimer pour la première fois le cinquième jour de Mars 1678.”

of the “Lapes ou Lapons” (Lapps or Lapponians),⁸⁸⁷ the unknown reviewer describes climate and seasons:

Since this land is very close to the pole, there is three months of continuous daylight in summer and [just] as much night in winter. The air there is very good, the cold excessive in winter, which does not hinder however that the children are being soaked in the water as soon as they are born. But that which is surprising there, is that the heat is no less great in summer, and it is so much so that one would not be able to be barefoot on a stone for one moment without burning oneself. There is neither spring nor autumn, so much so that in fifteen days the grass and the leaves of the trees sprout and gain their full size.⁸⁸⁸

The extreme climate of the far North and the seasons with polar day and night presented a great curiosity to French readers. Similar to the reviews of *Lapponia* featured in the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Giornale de' letterati*, the anonymous author of this review, possibly the journal's editor Jean-Paul de La Roque (d.1691), catered to the expectations and imagination of the readership. Apart from the concise presentation of the climate, the review introduced the people living in this strange land, both with regard to their physique and their spirit. The review states that they are exceptionally small: “The Lapps are the smallest people of the North. They are usually only three coudées [1.56 m] tall, and sometimes much smaller.”⁸⁸⁹ Furthermore, they could not survive outside of their home region and would be unable “to accustom themselves to our ordinary meat”.⁸⁹⁰ In their composition, they would be “ugly, bent, but strong, vigorous, nimble, and great runners”.⁸⁹¹ With respect to their spirit, the reviewer comments that their soul is no more beautiful than their body.⁸⁹² The following presents Schefferus' opinion of them, which contributed to the intended refutation of the idea that the Swedish army had used Sámi sorcerers to gain an advantage in the battlefield:

⁸⁸⁷ N.N., “Histoire de la Laponie, sa description, l'origine, les mœurs, la maniere de vivre de ses habitans, leur Magie, &c. Avec des additions, traduite du Latin de M. Scheffer. Par le R. P. A. L. Geogr. Ord. du Roy. In 4. A Paris chez la veuve de Varennes. 1678.,” *Journal des Sçavans* XXII (Du Lundy 27. Juin 1678): 249-253, at: 249.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 249-250. “Comme ce País est fort proche du Pole il y a en Esté trois mois de jour continuel & autant de nuit en Hyver. L'air y est tres-bon, le froid excessif en Hyver, qui n'empêche pourtant pas qu'on ne trempe les enfans dans l'eau dés qu'ils naissent. Mais ce qu'il y a de surprenant c'est que la chaleur n'y est pas moins grande en Esté, & elle l'est en un tel Point qu'on ne sçauroit estre un moment pieds nuds sur une pierre sans se brûler. Il n'y a ny Printemps, ny Automne, si-bien qu'en quinze jours les herbes & les feüilles des arbres y poussent & prennent toute leur grandeur.”

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 250. “Les Lapons sont les plus petits hommes du Septentrion. Ils ne sont ordinairement grands que de trois coudées, & quelquefois mêmes plus petits.”

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.* “Ils ne sçauroient vivre hors de leur pais ny s'accomoder à nos viandes ordinaires.”

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid.* “Ils sont laids, courbez, mais forts, vigoureux, disps & grands coureurs.”

⁸⁹² *Ibid.* “Leur ame n'est pas plus belle que leur corps.”

This author assures that they are cowardly and anxious, and that it is partially therefore that one does not at all employ them in the military, even though it was said that Gustav Adolph had several regiments in his own [forces].⁸⁹³

In comparison to the two reviews of *Lapponia* discussed above, the section on the purportedly magical practices of the Sámi is relatively short and refers to their reputation as great sorcerers and their usage of the sorcerer drum to “consult demons”. The author of the review refers to the book for more details about the “magic drum or kettledrum of which one can see description and drawing in this book”.⁸⁹⁴ Similarly brief is the summary of the state of Christianity in the land. The one sentence mentioning Christianization under the reign of Magnus Ladulås (c.1240-1290) also reasons that this was not enough to “remove completely this inclination for the magical art”.⁸⁹⁵ The omission of the later efforts to proselytise the Sámi was probably rooted in the dismissive policy of Louis XIV towards Protestantism.

The remaining sections of the review present the animals found in the land, occupations among the Sámi, their relationship to the reindeer and use of skis, sledges and boats, all of which are depicted on the book’s frontispiece.⁸⁹⁶ Furthermore, there is mention of the change in policy towards Sámi migrations between different dwellings, before the author closes:

There are many other particular things in Lapland, such as the birds and the fishes which are the principal food of the Lapps, and the trees and plants, the stones, gems and pearls, the waters and rivers, the soil, the mountains and the metals; for although several historians have written about it, one finds there several silver, lead, copper, iron mines etc.⁸⁹⁷

It is unknown whether Schefferus ever read *Histoire de la Laponie*. There are no indications in support of this, yet the fact that his list of editions of the Lapponia project in *Svecia literata* does not include any reference to a French version has to be regarded as a clear argument against this.⁸⁹⁸ Understandably, he was excited about the new version of his monograph.

On 2 October 1678, he addressed his former student Petrus Erics Broms, who had returned to Sweden with a doctorate from studies abroad. In the letter, Schefferus firstly congratulated

⁸⁹³ Ibid. “Cet Auteur assure qu’ils sont lâches & craintifs, & que c’est en partie pour cela qu’on ne s’en sert point dans les armées, quoy qu’on ait dit que Gustave Adolphe en avoit plusieurs Regimens dans les siennes.”

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid. “On les accuse d’estre soupçonneux, coleres, brutaux & grands Magiciens. Ils se servent pour consulter les demons d’un Tambour ou Timbale Magique dont on peut voir la description & la figure dans ce livre.”

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., 250-251. “La Religion Chrestienne qu’ils ont commencé d’embrasser en 1277 sous la Regne du Roy Magnus Ladulaos n’a pô encore leur oster tout à fait cette inclination pour l’art Magique.”

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid., 251-253.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., 253. “Il y a plusieurs autres choses particulieres dans la Laponie tant pour les oiseaux & les poissons qui font la principale nourriture des Lapons, que pour les arbres & les plantes, les Pierre [,] les Pierreries & les Perles, les Eaux & les Fleuves, les Terres [,] les Montagnes & les Metaux; car quoy qu’en ayent écrit plusieurs Historiens on y trouve plusieurs Mines d’Argent, de Plomb, de cuivre, de Fer &c.”

⁸⁹⁸ Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciae. Opus postumum.*, 297.

him on his safe return from the journey he had been on: “Most honoured friend. From your letter, I understand that you have safely returned home from your journey. This makes me joyful, and I congratulate you wholeheartedly on your return”.⁸⁹⁹ There was another reason for Schefferus’ excitement about Broms’ return, namely *Histoire de la Laponie*:

I take pleasure in the French edition of my Lapponia, and I wish nothing more than to see it at the earliest possible occasion. Hence, rest assured that you will do me a most desired service, if you send it hither, particularly because, apart from yours, I would guess there exists no copy whatsoever here in Sweden: at least, nobody has spoken of it until now, as far as I can tell.⁹⁰⁰

According to these lines, Broms had become one of the first owners of a copy of *Histoire de la Laponie* in all of Sweden. He may have obtained the copy on his journey home, which Schefferus was eager to see. Schefferus also knew about the review in the *Journal des Sçavans*, which by the time was only about three months old. Given the immediate involvement of learned circles around the *Journal* with the French translation, a review of the *Histoire* was a matter of course. For its author, this review held high informative value. He knew about the reach of the journal and emphasized this in the letter to Broms: “I would wish that you think the same about excerpts from the so-called Journal des Sçavans. From them, I will see how the French judge my work as well”.⁹⁰¹ Broms went on to become a lecturer of history in Linköping in 1681 and of theology in 1692. He was ordained in 1685 and made kyrkoherde of Skeda parish near Linköping in 1692. In the following year, during a visit to Stockholm, Broms died from smoke poisoning caused by a new tile stove.

As mentioned, there were also plans for another revised version, which have until now been neglected in studies of the Lapponia project. There is no known manuscript of this version, yet several sources enable an approximate reconstruction of it. The list of his own works in Schefferus’ posthumous *Svecia literata* contains fifty-two published volumes, sixteen works prepared for print, and eight manuscripts still “in need of the final touch”.⁹⁰² Of the sixteen manuscripts ready for the press, four are revised and augmented versions of earlier publications. Schefferus had prepared augmentations for and extensive revisions of *De militia navali veterum*

⁸⁹⁹ Schefferus to Petrus Eri Broms, 2 October 1678. Copy in: UUB G 322a: 46-47, at: 46. “Amice honoratissime. Salvum te ex itinere reversu[m] esse domum lætus ex tuis intellego, reditu[m]q[ue] hunc tibi gratulor ex animo.”

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 46-47. “Lapponiam meam Gallice editam gaudeo, nec mihi quidq[ue] amplius in votis, q[ue] videre eam primo quoq[ue] tempore. Quare mihi te facturum crede rem optatissimam, Si huc miseris illa[m], cum præsertim præter isthoc tuum o[mnino] existimem exstare ullu[m] hic in Svecia exemplar: neminem certe de eo mentionem facere hucusq[ue] intellexi.”

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., 47. “Idem velim credas de excerptis ex Journal de Scavans, ut appellat. Videbo quid de hoc labore meo Galii quoq[ue] judicent.”

⁹⁰² Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciæ. Opus postuumum.*, 293-300, at: 300. “Manum ultimam desiderant.”

libri quatuor, published in 1654, of his edition of Claudius Aelianus' (c.175-c.235) *Varia historia*, published in Straßburg in 1647, of his *Upsalia antiqua* from 1666, and of *Lapponia*.⁹⁰³ The sixty-seventh entry describes the outline of this project, an augmented edition of the monograph on the Sámi people:

Lapponia much enlarged. With addition of Tuderus' commemoration of the conversion of certain Lappish villages to the true Christian piety, and short description of the Lappish people, translated from Swedish into Latin. Handed over to the bookseller in Naumburg Carolus Wolff for publication.⁹⁰⁴

This hitherto neglected indication of the value Schefferus ascribed to Tuderus' two texts (see Subsection 3.5.5) not only suggests that *Histoire de la Laponie* in Schefferus' eyes was not the ultimate and authoritative edition of the Lapponia project, but also shows how far the process involving this more enlarged version had reached. Schefferus did not live to see the publication of his *Svecia literata* and could therefore not have seen the augmented *Lapponia* in Latin either. After Schefferus' death, his son-in-law Johannes Jonæ Columbus (1640-1684), professor of poetry in Uppsala from 1671 onwards continued some of his affairs. Columbus was born in Dala-Husby in the province of Dalarna, more than one hundred kilometres northwest of Uppsala. His father Jonas Svenonis Columbus (1586-1663) had studied in Copenhagen and Uppsala, and even held a professorship in poetry and music before becoming the vicar of Dala-Husby. Johannes Jonæ Columbus went to school in Kopparberg and Västerås, before coming to Uppsala in 1659. When he married Schefferus' daughter Margareta (1652-1716) in 1672, he was already renowned for his excellent command of Latin and his knowledge of other languages. Columbus had begun to correspond with Heinsius no later than 1674 and their exchange continued until 1681, the year of Heinsius' death.⁹⁰⁵

On 10 February (O.S.) 1680, Columbus addressed Heinsius, who at the time lived in Vianen, a couple of kilometres outside Utrecht. After Schefferus' death on 26 March 1679, the two begun discussing his legacy, referring to his numerous publications and manuscripts. According

⁹⁰³ Ibid., 298-300. "Sequuntur prælo parata, cum se offeret idoneus typographus." (The ones prepared for print follow, when a suitable printer will offer his services.); Johannes Schefferus, ed., *Cl. Aeliani Sophistae Variæ Historiæ: Cum Notis Joannis Schefferi* (Argentorati: Spoor, 1647); Schefferus, *De militia navali veterum libri quatuor. Ad historiam græcam latinamque vitiles*; Schefferus, *Upsalia*.

⁹⁰⁴ Schefferus, *Svecia Literata sev De Scriptis & Scriptoribus Gentis Sveciæ. Opus postumum.*, 300. "Lapponia multo auctior. Accedit Tuderii commemoratio conversionis quorundam pagorum Lapponicorum ad veram pietatem Christianam, & Descriptio brevis Lapponicæ gentis, è Suetico versa in Latinum. Tradita est bibliopolæ Naumburgensi Carolo Wolff, ut emittat in lucem."

⁹⁰⁵ See the fifteen letters between them transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 163-187.

to Columbus, he had worked on the revisions for *Lapponia*. Furthermore, Heinsius had yet to obtain his own copy:

Our old man was saying, while he still was with us, that the book about the Lapps was to be printed in an enlarged edition – in Königsberg, I seem to remember. After that, nothing was heard about the matter. I shall send this to you as well, in case I get hold of it. Meanwhile, the first ship that sets sail from Stockholm to you will carry with it the *Lapponia* as it was published long ago, and with it, the augmented version of the annotations to Justin, for I assume that you have not yet seen these. I have not yet inspected books recently published in Germany because of bad health; this has not permitted me to visit the shops of the booksellers in this extremely bad weather.⁹⁰⁶

Columbus mentions the supposed involvement of somebody in Königsberg with reprinting an augmented version. While *Lapponia* appeared through Christian Wolff in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1673, the publisher of the German version was, according to the frontispiece of *Lappland*, Martin Hallervorden (fl.1643-d.1693) from Königsberg. The printer of both editions was Johann Andreae, who had already printed Schefferus' *De Re Vehiculari Veterum Libri Duo* in 1671. Columbus implies that the revised version of *Lapponia* was at the press, but without any success so far. He promises to send this new version to Heinsius as soon as he has it, and, in the meantime, he would send a copy of *Lapponia*, as well as an exemplar of Schefferus' edition of Justin. By that time, Columbus was already suffering from a severe disease that would eventually be the cause of his death at the age of only forty-three in 1684.

In his next letter to Heinsius on 30 April 1680, Columbus informs him about new developments in connection with the revised version:

Regarding the *Lapponia*, that was supposed to be reprinted, I have received no information. The bookseller of Naumburg Carolus Wolff has received it to publish it anew. I think his pretext is that not all exemplars of the prior edition have been sold yet. Accordingly, I sent you a copy of it on the seventeenth of this month, together with Julius Obsequens, and the augmented annotations to Justin, which before long will be brought to Elzevir by sailors of your country. From there, it will be delivered to you, as the kindness of Rumpfius makes one expect.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁶ Johannes Jonæ Columbus to Heinsius, 10 February (O.S.) 1680. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 181-182. "Librum de *Lapponibus* apud Regiomontanos, si memini, auctiorem excudi senex noster, dum nobiscum fuit, dicebat: post id temporis nihil de eo auditum est. Mittam & hunc, cum fuero nactus: & interea navis, quae prima solvet ex portu Holmiensi ad vos itura Lapponiam, qualis jam ante est edita, tibi adferet; una cum notarum in Justinum auctario: hoc enim nondum te vidisse arbitrator. Libros in Germania nuper editos inspicere nondum potui propter corporis imbecillitatem, quae summam per aëris intemperiem non sinit in tabernas bibliopolarum exire."

⁹⁰⁷ Columbus to Heinsius, 30 April 1680. Transcribed in: Burmannus, *Sylloges Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomus V.*, 182-183, at: 183. "De *Lapponia*, quam recusam oportuit, nihil audivi. Bibliopola Naumburgensis Carolus Wolffius eam recepit denuo publicandam. Opinor eum causari exemplaria nondum omnia distracta editionis prioris. Hujus itaque misi

Columbus introduces a bookseller from Naumburg named Carolus Wolff commissioned with publishing *Lapponia* anew. He was most probably a relative and possibly the son of the Frankfurt bookseller Christian Wolff.⁹⁰⁸ Carolus Wolff was a bookseller in Frankfurt, Leipzig and Jena from 1677 until 1679. In April 1681, a merchant by the same name became naturalized in Naumburg, where he married in 1690.⁹⁰⁹

As the entry in *Svecia literata* indicates, the manuscript sent to Carolus Wolff was not a mere reprint, but a revised and augmented edition different from the one Varennes' press in Paris had received. According to *Svecia literata*, in addition to being a "much enlarged Lapponia", the most noteworthy distinctive feature was the addition of Gabriel Tuderus' texts giving an account of Tuderus' activities in preaching and administering to the Sámi and describing the Sámi of Kemi lappmark in detail. Columbus explains Wolff's reason why had not yet begun to print the second edition of *Lapponia*. Apparently, the first edition was still available for purchase. Perhaps the financial risk of publishing a work for which the market might already be saturated was too great for Carolus Wolff. If he had observed the business activities of Christian Wolff, who had been involved with the publication of *Lapponia* and its German translation, he might have had insight into the market dynamics, leading him to abandon the idea of a revised Latin edition. There is also no record of publishing activities by Carolus Wolff following his naturalization in Naumburg. The reason why the publication did not appear may have been that the man responsible for publishing it had gone into another line of work.

It is impossible to know whether the revised version of the Lapponia project on which Schefferus worked during the last years of his life would have changed the history of its reception fundamentally. Apart from the Latin first edition, both an English, a German, and an augmented French version were already on the market. There was also Francisci's adaptation, which was included in the reprints of Pfitzer's *Faustus* from 1681, 1695, 1711, 1717, and 1726. It is very likely that this text had more readers than all other versions arising from the Lapponia project.

In 1682, when the Dutch translation *Waragtige en Aanmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland en Finland* (Truthful and remarkable history of Lapland and Finland) was published by Jan Claesz ten Hoorn (fl.1671-1714) of Amsterdam, not only were there entirely new copper

exemplar die XVIII. hujus mensis, una cum Jul. Obsequente, & Auctario notarum in Justinum, quae propediem a nautis vestratibus *Elzevirio* allatum, tibi que ab eo redditum iri, *Rumpfii* bonitas jubet sperare."

⁹⁰⁸ Personal communication with Dr. Christoph Reske, Gutenberg Institute for World Literature and Written Media, Department for Book Studies at the University of Mainz, 31 March 2020.

⁹⁰⁹ Personal communication with Annegret Jungnickel, Stadtarchiv Naumburg, 31 March, 1 April and 2 April 2020.

engravings by Jan Luyken (1649-1712) depicting the Sámi and their religion with sensationalist connotations of idolatry and witchcraft, even the structure of the text had mostly changed.⁹¹⁰ The text was an adaptation based on *Histoire de la Laponie* translated into Dutch, and aside from rearranging the contents and inserting the additions of the French appendix into the running text, there was a novel division into four books and fifty-four chapters. The fourth book consisted of a text of unclear origin, presenting a description of Finland and its inhabitants. How this version came into existence has yet to be examined.

The origin is also unclear for the second Dutch adaptation *Het Vermaak der Tover-Hekzen van Lap- en Fin-Land*, published in 1716 by the bookseller Jan Klasen of Leeuwarden.⁹¹¹ Apart from an abstracted translation of Schefferus' monograph, it contained descriptions of Iceland and Greenland by Dithmar Blefken, who claimed to have travelled there. Arngrímur Jónsson attempted in several replies to repair the damage done by Blefken's pejorative descriptions, but the text remained highly popular.⁹¹² Even *Het Vermaak der Tover-Hekzen* had two print runs, suggesting a rather great demand for both texts in Dutch-speaking regions.⁹¹³

Two further editions in English appeared in print in 1704 and 1751. In her examination of the reception history of *Lapponia* in Britain, Burnett focuses mainly on *The History of Lapland* from 1674 and 1704.⁹¹⁴ The 1704 edition, just like the Dutch adaptations, exceeded the geographical scope of Schefferus' initial edition. In addition to integrating his annotations found in the appendix of the French version into the running text, it includes four additional texts that provide the reader with descriptions of the subordinate lands of the Swedish crown. There is "A short Description of the Great Dukedom of Finland, and the Lordship of Ingermanland", "An Account of Livonia, with the Manners, Customs and Religion of its Antient as well as Modern Inhabitants, and the chief Occurrences that have happened there, during the present War betwixt Muscovy, the King of Poland and the Swedes" in four chapters, "An Account of a Voyage of Charles XI. late King of Sweden, in the Year, 1694. to the Borders of Lapland, with the Observations made by Mr. Andrew Spole, and Mr. Johan Bilberg, two of his Mathematicians in the Year, 1695. in Lapland, and some other of the most Northern Parts

⁹¹⁰ Scheffer, *Historie van Lapland*; On the iconographical aspects of Luyken's illustrations, see: Bergesen, "Dutch Images of Indigenous Sámi Religion. Jan Luyken's Illustrations of *Lapland*," 103-124.

⁹¹¹ Schefferus and Blefkenius, *Historie van Lapland 1716*.

⁹¹² See Bei der Wieden, "Dietmar Blefken, Island und Philipp Melanchthon."; furthermore Monique Mund-Dopchie, "'A beau mentir qui vient de loin': défaillances de la mémoire et forgeries dans l'*Islandia* du voyageur Dithmar Blefken (1^{ère} éd. 1607)," *NlatJb* 6 (2004): 159-172.

⁹¹³ Haraldur Sigurðsson, *Ísland í skrifum erlendra manna um þjóðlíf og náttúru landsins. Ritaskrá. Writings of Foreigners Relating to the Nature and People of Iceland. A Bibliography* (Reykjavík: Landsbókasafn Íslands, 1991), 21-22.

⁹¹⁴ Burnett, "Translating Swedish Colonialism: Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* in Britain c. 1674–1800," 135.

of Sweden, by special Command from his said Majesty”, and finally an excerpt from Rudbeck’s *Nora Samolad*.⁹¹⁵ The reason for the inclusion of these additions is stated in the preface:

To make this History the most perfect of any of this kind yet Publish’d, we have here added to Mr. Scheffer, the Travels of the King of Sweden’s Mathematicians in those Countries, perform’d in the Year 1695. Also Dr. Rudbeck Junior, his Journey into those Parts in 1701. And in the last place, considering the Vicinity and near Alliance of Livonia, we thought it not improper to conclude this Work with a true History of that Country, presuming that the light it gives into the occasion and progress of the present War between Muscovy and Sweden, will recommend it as an useful and seasonable Undertaking.⁹¹⁶

In addition to connecting Schefferus’ text to the current political developments of the Great Northern War which had broken out in 1700 and would at its end in 1721 leave the Swedish Empire in a diminished state, the publishers, the two London booksellers Thomas Newborough (fl.1686-1707) and Richard Parker (fl.1692-1725) included new material on the Sámi and their land.⁹¹⁷ A report by the two mathematicians, Anders Spole (1630-1699) and Johan Bilberg (1646-1717), who had accompanied Karl XI on his journey to Torneå, had been published in English already in 1698.⁹¹⁸ Thus, the augmented edition of *The History of Lapland* issued in 1704 did offer some novelties and marketed those by stating on the frontispiece that it had been “newly done into English from ye last Edition with large Additions” with the title page even giving it as “Translated from the last Edition in Latin”.⁹¹⁹ With this statement, the editors imply the existence of more than one edition in Latin. Löw’s assessment of this edition is that it was “aside from the unavoidable handed-down misprints, the most satisfactory of all”.⁹²⁰

The abridged version of *The History of Lapland* that appeared in London in 1751 transformed the work into a running text omitting all divisions into chapters. The text is significantly shorter and there are no illustrations. An interesting feature of this version is that it refers to the reception of the previous editions in its only footnote, mentioning the translations of the two joiks communicated to Schefferus by Olaus Sirma: “These Songs are inserted in the Spectator,

⁹¹⁵ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, 373-416. The excerpt of Rudbeck’s text paginated 1-22 is found at the very end of the volume.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

⁹¹⁷ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, ed. Arundell Esdaile (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 216, 230.

⁹¹⁸ John Bilberg, *A Voyage Of the Late King of Sweden, And another of Mathematicians, Sent by Him: In which are discover'd The Refractions of the Sun, which sets not in the Northern Parts, at the Time of the Summer Solstice, Variation of the Needle, Latitudes of Places, Seasons, &c. of those Countries. By Command of the Most Serene, and Most Mighty Prince, Charles XI. King of Swedes, Goths, and Vandals. Faithfully Render'd into English* (London: Printed for Edward Castle, next Scotland-Yard-Gate, by Whitehall, 1698).

⁹¹⁹ Scheffer et al., *The History of Lapland 1704*, frontispiece and title page.

⁹²⁰ Löw, "Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia," 22. “Denna 1704 års edition är omsorgsfullt gjord och, frånsatt de oundvikliga traderade tryckfelen, den mest tillfredsställande av alla.”

see No. 366 and 406”.⁹²¹ An exhaustive review of all posthumous editions and the context of their genesis would exceed the limitations of this part of the present dissertation. Moreover, these were, as shown, not the only rewritten texts associated with the Lapponia project.

4.4 FURTHER RECEPTION AND IMPACT ON TRAVELOGUES

There are many other writings inspired by the Lapponia project, such as the entries on “Lappland oder Lapland” and “Lappländische Zauber- oder Wahrsager-Trommel” (Laplandish sorcery or fortune-teller drum) in Johann Heinrich Zedler’s (1706-1751) enormous *Universal-Lexicon* from 1737.⁹²² Both encyclopaedia entries summarize sections of Schefferus’ *Lapponia*.

However, the re-writing of the Lapponia project continued for much longer. The foreword of the Swedish edition *Lappland*, written by Sámi expert Ernst Manker in 1956, revealed that he, probably like many of his contemporaries, considered this first complete translation into Swedish a necessity:

With almost modern ethnological methods and not without criticism of sources regarding earlier authors, Schefferus compiled all of his enormous material and thus highlighted realistically this nomadic reindeer-herding people, which until then lived in a world of myth and fable. The work was read throughout the learned world, but it would take almost three hundred years until it could, in the present translation, appear in the language of the homeland.⁹²³

The previous non-existence of and long wait for an edition in Swedish caused some to remark on it and ask for a reason.⁹²⁴ As early as 1782, Carl Gustaf Warmholtz (1713-1785) expressed surprise about the lack of a Swedish version in his *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica* (Swedo-Gothic Historical Library): “It is peculiar enough that this book, which was translated into several languages, never appeared in Swedish”.⁹²⁵

⁹²¹ Scheffer, *The History of Lapland 1751*, 73.

⁹²² N.N., “Lappland oder Lapland,” in *Zedler 16* (1737), col. 759-823; N.N., “Lappländische Zauber- oder Wahrsager-Trommel,” in *Zedler 16* (1737), col. 758-759; on Zedler’s life and publications, see: Gerd Quedenbaum, *Der Verleger und Buchhändler Johann Heinrich Zedler 1706 – 1751: Ein Buchunternehmer in den Zwängen seiner Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms, 1977).

⁹²³ See Manker’s foreword in Schefferus, *Lappland [swe]*, 7-8. “Med nära nog modern etnologisk metod och icke utan källkritik när det gällde de äldre författarna sammanställde Schefferus hela sitt väldiga material och lyfte därmed fram i realistisk dager detta nomadiserande renskötärfolk som dittills levat i en myt- och fabelvärld. Verket lästes över hela den bildade världen – men det skulle dröja nära trehundra år innan det med här föreliggande översättning kunde utkomma på hemlandets språk.”

⁹²⁴ Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica*, 1, 257-259; Balzamo, “The Geopolitical Laplander - From Olaus Magnus to Johannes Schefferus,” 41.

⁹²⁵ Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica*, 1, 258. “Besynnerligt nog är, at denna Bok, som blifvit på flere Språk öfversatt, aldrig på Svenska utkommit.”

From a Swedish perspective, it might seem surprising that for almost three hundred years there existed no translation into the vernacular. However, from its very beginning, the Lapponia project itself addressed a readership outside Sweden. All the first potential readers within the Kingdom, i.e. the nobility, academics and clergy, would in any case know Latin. Apparently, there was no immediate necessity to publish Schefferus' monograph in Swedish. Possibly, potential publishers considered the financial risk of such an endeavour too high, unlike the morally instructive and edifying *exempla* compiled in *Memorabilium Sueticæ Gentis Exemplorum Liber Singularis*, published in Swedish by antiquarian Nils Hufwedsson Dal (1690-1740) in 1733.⁹²⁶

The evaluation of the work by Warmholtz presents further plausible reasons for the non-existence of a Swedish edition. He writes about Schefferus' monograph:

This work has for a long time as the most detailed and most reliable [one] in its field owned the applause of the learned world, and is reviewed with praise both in the Acts of the English [Royal Society] and in the French and Italian journals [.] Yet, since through closer examinations, one became in many cases more enlightened, it has eventually lost its value: still, it should not be fully disregarded, although therein is much, that partly has no foundation, partly contradicts the opinions of the more recent [ones].⁹²⁷

According to Warmholtz, more recent writings on the Sámi and their home region had painted a more accurate picture. Among those, the first one to appear in Swedish was Pehr Högström's (1714-1784) *Beskrifning öfwer de til Sweriges krona lydande Lapmarker* (Description of the lappmarks belonging to the Swedish crown), published in 1746.⁹²⁸ Högström held Schefferus' writing in high esteem and referred to it in several sections to argue whether certain things had, or had not, been known before *Lapponia*.⁹²⁹ More than seventy years after its publication, it was still regarded a prime authoritative writing, a *lieu de savoir* on the Sámi.

⁹²⁶ Johannes Schefferus, *Swenska folkets äro-minne*, trans. Nils Hufwedsson Dal (Stockholm: tryckt och vplagt vti Jacob Schneidlers boktryckeri, 1733).

⁹²⁷ Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica*, 1, 257-258. "Detta Arbete har länge, såsom det utförligaste och tilförlitligaste i sit ämne, ägt den lärda verdens bifall, och omtalas med beröm, så väl i Engelska Vetensk. Societetens Handlingar, som i Franska och Italienska Journalerne [.] Men sedan man, genom närmare Undersökningar, blifvit i många mål mer uplyst, har det småningom förlorat af sit värde: det bör likväl icke helt och hållet å sido sättas, fastän däruti åtskilligt finnes, som dels icke äger grund, dels strider med de Nyares meningar."

⁹²⁸ Pehr Högström, *Beskrifning Öfwer de til Sweriges Krona lydande Lapmarker, Innehollande Kort underrättelse Så väl Om Landets belägenhet och beskaffenhet i gemen, Som Des Inwånarens tilstånd och Husholdning, deras seder, maner och lefnadsart, samt laster och widskepelse, m. m.* (Stockholm: Tryckt med Lars Salvii egen kostnad, 1746).

⁹²⁹ See *ibid.*, 103, 110, 122, 171, 174, 201, 252.



Figure 24: Frontispiece of Linnæus' *Flora Lapponica* (1737). Photograph courtesy of Frankfurt University Library.

Also for Carl Linnæus (1707-1778), who had undertaken an expedition through large parts of the Swedish lappmarks in 1732, *Lapponia* was an important reference in his botanical work on the region *Flora Lapponica*, published in 1737. There, Linnæus remarked on Schefferus' writing: "He examines few lapponic plants therein because he did not see Lapland himself".⁹³⁰ As the frontispiece of Linnæus' *Flora Lapponica* shows, Lapland had become a visual place of knowledge. There, readers found a landscape populated by Sámi people and reindeers, sledges, drums and tents. The engraving can be regarded as a transformation of the region into an Arcadian idyll. In the travelogue of the journey *Iter Lapponicum*, which was published posthumously in 1811 in English translation as *Lachesis Lapponica, Or a Tour in Lapland*, Linnæus saw it necessary to refute Schefferus' claim that reindeers would not ruminate.⁹³¹ This refutation is of some significance; the travelogue mostly contains Linnæus' own observations and only a few references to scholarly writings.

There are numerous other examples of writings inspired by *Lapponia*. The way in which these became part of its reception depended on how they related to Schefferus' work. In several cases, new accounts copied Schefferus' illustrations. The account of Francesco Negri's journeys in the North, which appeared posthumously in 1700 as *Viaggio Settentrionale*, contained seventeen illustrations, some of which closely resembled the motifs found in *Lapponia*.⁹³² As I have shown above, Negri had corresponded with Schefferus.

The account of Johann Gerhard Scheller (d. 1740), pastor in Hermstedt and Stobra a few kilometres north of Jena, also made use of the illustrations. Scheller, who worked as a tutor for the children of wealthy Stockholm burghers from 1705 until 1707, went on a yearlong journey to Torneå and further to the North. His travelogue, which includes many observations of nature, climate, people and customs, appeared in 1727 as *Reise-Beschreibung Von Lappland und Bothnien* (Description of a journey through Lapland and Bothnia).⁹³³

⁹³⁰ Carolus Linnæus, *Flora Lapponica Exhibens Plantas Per Lapponiam Crescentes, secundam Systema Sexuale Collectas in Itinere Impensis Soc. Reg. Litter. et Scient. Sveciæ A. [1732]. Instituto. Additis Synonymis, & Locis Natalibus Omnium, Descriptionibus & Figuris Rariorum, Viribus Medicatis & Oeconomicis Plurimarum* (Amstelædamii: Apud Salomonem Schouten, 1737), unpaginated. "Plantas lapponicas paucas hinc inde recenset, qui Lapponiam ipse non vidit."

⁹³¹ Carolus Linnæus, *Lachesis Lapponica, or a Tour in Lapland, now first published from the Original Manuscript Journal of the Celebrated Linnæus*, trans. James Edward Smith, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Printed for White and Cochrane, Horace's Head, Fleet-Street, by Richard Taylor and Co., Shoe-Lane, 1811), 312.

⁹³² Negri, *Viaggio Settentrionale*; a booklet with an extract of Negri's account was published in French through Jean Boude (d.1696) as early as 1686: Francesco Negri, *Voyage du Celebre Francisco Negri en la Laponie País tres-extraordinaire pour sa situation, climat, la figure des peuples, leur Religion, leurs mœurs, leur habitations, nourriture & vêtements*, ed. Jean Boude (Toulouse: Chez Jean Boude le jeune, Imprimeur du Roy, des Estats Generaux de la Province de Languedoc, de l'Université de Toulouse & de la Cour, ruë de la Porterie, 1686); Orlandini Carcreff, *Au pays des vendeurs de vent*, 130-143.

⁹³³ Johann Gerhard Scheller, *Reise-Beschreibung Von Lappland und Bothnien/ Worinnen Nicht nur von der Landes-Art, Winter und Sommer/ Nord-Licht oder Nord-Schein/ Mineralien/ Gewächsen/ Thieren, wie auch der Einwohner Beschaffenheit/ Religion/ Gouvernement, Kauffmannschafft/ Wohnungen/ Jagden/ und andern denckwürdigen Dingen/ aus selbst-eigenen Augenschein und Erfahrung durch einige Figuren gezeigt; Sondern auch die dahin und wieder von dar*



Figure 25: Lapponia, 270. Photograph courtesy of UUB.



Figure 26: Title page of Scheller's *Reise-Beschreibung von Lappland und Bothnien*, 1727. Photograph courtesy of SLUB Dresden.

To my knowledge, Scheller's account has remained largely unnoticed. The seven illustrations and the vignette on the title page are all copies from *Lapponia*, while the title page claims that the volume contains "other noteworthy things, shown from own inspection and experience through some figures".⁹³⁴ Scheller refers to Schefferus incidentally when writing about the birkarls:

Learned people in Bothnia can talk very well about this whole matter, and one can prove such from a Swedish author, Johannes Buræus, former antiquarian of the Kingdom of Sweden, of whom Joh. Schefferus, once professor of natural law and law of nations at Uppsala availed himself in his treatise of Lapland, in which he assembled much of what other authors wrote before him.⁹³⁵

The fact that the illustrations by Schefferus, who never went to the lappmarks he described, were well received and even copied by travellers who had been in the region, is noteworthy. This underscores the impact of Schefferus' drawings on the imagination of the North. The mostly factual depiction of objects, people and nature contributed to this. In comparison to

zurück genommene Reise ordentlich dargeleget wird von Johann Gerhard Schellern, h.t. Pastore zu Hermstedt und Stober. (Jena: verlegt Heinrich Christoph Cröker/ Buchhändler, 1727).

⁹³⁴ Ibid., title page. "[...] andern denckwürdigen Dingen/ aus selbst-eigenen Augenschein und Erfahrung durch einige Figuren gezeiget [.]"

⁹³⁵ Ibid., 60. "Von dieser gantzen Sache können gelehrte Leute in Bothnien gantz wohl discouriren/ und man kan solches aus einem Schwedischen Scribenten/ Johanne Buræo, ehmahls des Königreichs Schweden Antiquario beweisen/ dessen sich Joh. Schefferus, weiland Juris Naturæ & Gentium Honorarius zu Upsal/ selbst bedienet/ in seinem Tractat, de Lapponia, in welchem er viel colligiret/ was andere Autores vor ihm geschrieben."

depictions in other writings about the Sámi, there is a noticeable absence of landscapes. Apart from horizontal lines that accompany many of the drawings, Schefferus featured landscapes only to depict sites of worship in nature, because in those cases they were a crucial part of the motif itself. Others, such as Negri, replaced the background of illustrations inspired by *Lapponia* with landscapes. As discussed above, the entirely different illustrations of *Historie van Lapland* situated the Sámi in elaborate landscapes.

Naturally, one could add numerous other travelogues describing journeys to the Sámi, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, to this discussion.⁹³⁶ However, this would exceed the scope of the present dissertation and others have already presented comparative studies focusing on the region.⁹³⁷

Schefferus' *Lapponia* and its adaptations and translations aroused an ongoing reception, not just of the works themselves, but also of early Sámi literature, as Zorgdrager has shown.⁹³⁸ It was and still is one of the most influential places of knowledge about the Sámi. The fragmented and contradictory entirety of the writings and imaginations produced and inspired through the *Lapponia* project, but also its individual parts, have formed our understanding of where the Sámi live and what they are like until today.

⁹³⁶ Among the numerous examples of travel accounts through Sweden between 1674 and 1900, many treat the Swedish part of Sápmi. See: Samuel E. Bring, *Itineraria Svecana: Bibliografisk Förteckning över Resor i Sverige fram till 1950*, Svenska Bibliotekariesamfundets Skriftserie III, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954), 37-350; for an overview of Italian travellers, see: Lars Hansen Juvik, Anita Westbrandt, and Irene Piippola, eds., *Verso l'estrema Thule. Bibliografi: Italienske reiser på Nordkalotten för 1945/Italienska resor på Nordkalotten före 1945/Italialaiset matkailijat Pohjoiskalotilla ennen vuotta 1945/Viaggi italiani sulla Calotta polare artica prima del 1945*, Ravnetrykk (Tromsø: Universitetsbiblioteket i Tromsø, 2003).

⁹³⁷ See, for instance: Ekkehard Witthoff, *Grenzen der Kultur - Differenzwahrnehmung in Randbereichen (Irland, Lappland, Rußland) und europäische Identität in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 758, Europäische Hochschulschriften - Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997); Florian Wagner, *Die Entdeckung Lapplands: Die Forschungsreisen Carl von Linnés und Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis' in den 1730er Jahren* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand GmbH, 2004); Ludger Müller-Wille, "Sápmi und die Sámi in den Augen deutschsprachiger Mitteleuropäer: Zeitläufte von Vorstellungen, Wissensbildung und Berührungen seit dem 17. Jahrhundert," in *Sámit, sánit, sánehámit: Riepmočála Pekka Sammallahtii miessamánu 21. beaivve 2007*, ed. Jussi Ylikoski and Ante Aikio, Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura - Société Finno-Ougrienne, 2007), 293-314; Eric Schnakenbourg, "Travelling to Scandinavia: The French Visitors' Experience of the North, 17th–18th Centuries," in *Travels in the North*, ed. Silje Gaupseth, Marie-Theres Federhofer, and Per Pippin Aspaas, TROLL - Tromsøer Studien zur Kulturwissenschaft 13 (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2013), 75-96; Naum, "Between Utopia and Dystopia: Colonial Ambivalence and Early Modern Perception of Sápmi," 489-521; Orlandini Carcreff, *Au pays des vendeurs de vent*.

⁹³⁸ Zorgdrager, *Sirmas joiketekster*.

CONCLUSION

Here ends this exploration of the development and book history of one of the most influential and frequently quoted early modern sources on the Sámi people, Johannes Schefferus' *Lapponia*. The aim of this study was to shed light on the history of the circumstances of the Lapponia project and the various editions and adaptations that followed. In previous research, the authorized and unauthorized versions were presented as one group of almost uniform writings that did not deviate much in content and form, other than being published in different languages. If mentioned at all in studies, the various adaptations are regularly named translations without taking into account their differences. This seems to be a general problem in historical research of comparable forms of literature.⁹³⁹ The differing texts and books that came into existence through or in consequence of the Lapponia project have been oversimplified as different in language, but identical in content. Yet the various 17th or 18th century versions addressed distinct audiences and placed the text about the Sámi people in new contexts, new structures, and, at times, new accompanying texts.

While all of the seven versions published after the Latin edition were translated from the Latin *Lapponia* or from the augmented French version *Histoire de la Laponie*, they deviate to varying degrees from their predecessor and from each other. In a strict sense of the word, the term translation can be used to describe the German version, which is an attempt to transfer the entirety of *Lapponia*, including all paratext and practices of quotation, verbatim into German. Schefferus called it a complete version. For all other editions, the language-to-language operation of translating does not cover the entirety of choices made by the people working on the individual publications. This common sense meaning of the word translation cannot adequately describe these new versions. In order to differentiate between a translation in the strictest or common sense and the product of transferring with omissions, additions, or other changes, I employed the term 'adaptation' to describe the relationship of later editions to the predecessor they built upon.

As shown in the study of the chapter structure of all versions in Section 1.1, there were two general tendencies dominating the treatment of the base text. Either the volume followed the chapter structure of *Lapponia* meticulously, featuring thirty-five chapters dealing with the same topics, or it deviated completely from this practice of providing chapter headings. The first four

⁹³⁹ This is also discussed in: Sandmo, "Historien om en *Historia*: Olaus Magnus i et bokhistorisk perspektiv."

versions of the monograph and the second adaptation in English (1704) have identical chapter structures. Both Dutch-language adaptations deviate significantly from this by rearranging the contents, and the 1716 adaptation also omits some of the topics presented in *Lapponia* and *Histoire de la Laponie*. With respect to contents, the third English adaptation from 1751 does follow the structure of the first four versions, but it omits chapter headings and in some cases summarizes entire chapters in a few lines.

In consequence, the paratextual structure of the eight versions from the 17th and 18th centuries, i.e. the texts communicating the book to the reader, also differed widely, as Section 1.2 showed. While the two distinct variants of the frontispiece depict similar objects, they are linked to dissimilar traditions, illustrating Sámi objects either in surroundings resembling a cabinet of curiosities or in landscapes evocative of demonological depictions. The largely different title pages are the only paratextual element extant in all editions and adhere to various traditions. With the exception of that of the second Dutch adaptation, all title pages name Schefferus as the author of the individual editions. Only *Lapponia*, the German translation, and the French augmented version hold a foreword addressing and honouring their sponsors. The King of Sweden or, in the case of *Histoire de la Laponie*, the King of France authorized these editions. The *History of Lapland* contains an Imprimatur prompted by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The four other adaptations do not include any such sanctions. Naturally, this is also due to differing legal situations of the various places of publication.

The prefaces of the first six versions instruct the reader on how to read them. In Schefferus' own preface, he emphasizes the methodological steps he took in order to defend himself against criticism and specifically mentions that he had not been to the land he describes. In some later prefaces, there is no longer any mention of this, and the preface of *The History of Lapland* 1704 states that Schefferus travelled there. Furthermore, some of the prefaces feature certain notions typical of the time, for instance emphasis on the extreme climate of the North or the idea of Lapland as a new world on a par with the 'discovery' and occupation of territories in Africa or America by European settlers.

Johannes Schefferus played a key role in the Lapponia project. As I have argued in Chapter 2, a number of *lieux de savoir* were crucial to his life and development as a scholar. This is also reflected in *Lapponia*. Through the examination of a number of documents and archival sources, Chapter 2 presents an intellectual biblio-biography of Schefferus and *Lapponia*. It focuses on the beginnings of the Lapponia project and describes the most significant academic places of Schefferus' life. Since the monograph about the Sámi people was written without

Schefferus travelling to Sápmi, *lieux* outside the lappmarks were of paramount importance. Among these were the College of Antiquities, providing expert knowledge through other scholars and the ideological setting of Gothicism, and the *Museum Schefferianum*, which housed his private collection of natural and man-made objects as well as his library. During his work on *Lapponia*, Schefferus made use of further *lieux de savoir*: he compared recent accounts of lappmark clergy to earlier writings, examined objects, conversed with Sámi experts, and exchanged ideas with his correspondents.

This thorough approach can be regarded as a consequence of Schefferus' biography, which led him from his birthplace Straßburg, where he received basic philological schooling and began to study, on journeys along the river Rhine to Switzerland and to the Netherlands, where he studied at the renowned University of Leiden, made friends and encountered many influential scholars. Following his emigration to Uppsala in 1648, he rose to fame through his philological and historical writings. Many of the features of the Lapponia project connect to specific places, both geographical and conceptual, which Schefferus had visited and inhabited before coming to Sweden.

Some studies have summarized the role of Schefferus for the Lapponia project as that of the author who presented the outcome of it, namely the various versions, and thus as the compiler who only had to put the pieces together.⁹⁴⁰ Indeed, numerous other contributors facilitated the success of the writing. In the third chapter, I presented the primary contributors to the project, informants and clergymen with knowledge of the lappmarks. Through the information they conveyed to Schefferus, which was mostly, but not exclusively, in writing, they functioned as the philologist's eyes and ears in the region in question. This involvement of local experts enabled him to compose a factual and documented account. The lappmark informants were generally people connected to the church and missionary endeavours. They all belonged to the clergy, with the possible exception of Spirri Nils, a Lule Sámi of whom only his involvement with the Lapponia project is known. Among the contributors are prominent figures of Sámi history, such as Olaus Sirma who with his two joiks sparked the beginning of recorded Sámi literature, Nicolaus Lundius, who contributed significantly to the augmented French version, or Olaus Graan, who, although not involved directly with the project, is a founding figure of ecclesiastical literature in the Sámi languages. Even the first and only Sámi ever ennobled in Sweden, Johan Graan, governor of the counties of Västerbotten and Österbotten, an advocate

⁹⁴⁰ See, for instance: Lindkjølen, "Johannes Schefferus og bokverket «Lapponia» utgitt 1673."

of the Sámi but also the creator of the ‘parallel theory’, was involved with providing lappmark accounts to the College of Antiquities. My analysis of the correspondence of Matthias Steuchius and Haquin Bohlin with Schefferus shows that the documents and accounts sent to Schefferus connected the Swedish lappmarks to the European Republic of Letters, and, combined with the accounts of the clergy, formed what I have called the Lappmark Republic of Letters. The geographical *lieux de savoir* of this ‘constituent republic’ of the letter-writing community were manifold, and included the marketplaces, mines, parishes, schools and bishopric seats of the lappmarks, as well as Swedish universities.

This thesis helps to challenge classical concepts of authorship in early modern non-fiction literature. The Lapponia project qualifies as a collaborative endeavour. Earlier studies have mostly put emphasis on the author Johannes Schefferus. Naturally, his work and name added to the authoritative quality of the entire project. However, given the involvement of the various sources provided by Sámi and lappmark clergy, I introduced the idea of Schefferus as a selector, compressor and compiler of knowledge of and about the Sámi. Through his philological education, his established position, and his connections to academia, collectors and nobility, Schefferus was able to transform the manuscripts of lappmark experts into an exhaustive study adhering to contemporary academic standards. In this way, Schefferus’ expertise translated local expert knowledge into accepted scholarship.

As presented in the first chapter of this study, the Lapponia project brought forth a number of editions and adaptations. Schefferus as the central figure of the project was personally involved with the production of only two of them, the original *Lapponia* in Latin and the augmented French edition *Histoire de la Laponie*. Furthermore, he knew about the translation of *Lapponia* into German, but the correspondence analysed did not show any active involvement beyond that. In the fourth chapter of this dissertation, I examined (parts of) Schefferus’ correspondence in order to present the history of *Lapponia* and *Histoire de la Laponie*.⁹⁴¹ In this connection, I identified three functions of corresponding: positioning, preparing and consulting. They took place over the course of three phases: firstly, leading up to the publication of *Lapponia*, secondly, in the early reception following the publication, and

⁹⁴¹ To my knowledge, the index I present in Klein, “The Res publica Schefferiana – the correspondence of Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679)”, <https://doi.org/10.18710/VDLBWH>, DataverseNO, V1, UNF:6:UQlAsxwKYZx2JtcB5VcB7Q== [fileUNF] is the only recent actualization of Fant’s list from 1782. See: Fant, *Minne öfver Joh. Schefferus*, 52-64. In addition to the letters I list, I assume further correspondence material uncharted at various manuscript collections across Sweden and Europe. Overall, most of the letters require both transcribing, translating, editing and further research.

thirdly, the re-writing phase connected to the further dissemination of the monograph as well as the preparation and publication of the augmented *Histoire de la Laponie*.

The main characteristics of the first phase were excitement about and anticipation of the new project. The letters of Fogelius and Blumius, and the interest of members of the Royal Society, show that in other parts of Europe Schefferus was clearly regarded an expert on all matters related to the Sámi and to the lappmarks. This demonstrates that Schefferus' authoritative role in the project was created in two distinct ways. The creation of Schefferus as the authority on the Sámi not only depended on contacts with local experts, but also on an audience in the Republic of Letters that would confirm his status and communicate it within its circles.

The second phase, despite Schefferus' disappointment at the poor typographical quality of *Lapponia* with its many misprints, was one of active reception in which he received much acclaim and feedback about the content of the edition. However, the political uncertainties caused by the Franco-Dutch War prevented some of his contacts from obtaining a copy of *Lapponia*.

The third phase, the re-writing of *Lapponia*, started immediately after its publication. Early platforms for the dissemination of the Lapponia project were the relatively new scholarly journals. Reviews, that is to say concise re-writings, of Schefferus' monograph, appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* and in the *Giornale de' letterati*. The English adaptation *The History of Lapland* came into existence in the circles of the *Royal Society*, either in parallel to or following the review. In connection with the publication of the French version *Histoire de la Laponie*, a review appeared in the *Journal des Sçavans*. The augmented edition in French was both a typographical revision and a thematic continuation of Schefferus' work on *Lapponia*. Again, many were involved in the collection of further material and the communication of new accounts of the lappmark clergy. The collection and depiction of Sámi objects connects the Lapponia project to indices of collections such as Worm's *Museum Wormianum* or Olearius' *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer*. As the correspondence with Magalotti demonstrates, this led to collectors wishing to add Sámi artefacts to their collections in places as far away as Florence. Naturally, the correspondence surrounding the Lapponia project underscores that the work was one endeavour among many discussed in Schefferus' circles. It is likely that further research into Schefferus' correspondence will produce more knowledge about the Lapponia project in general.

The fact that Schefferus had prepared another revised version of the monograph appears as a new finding of this study. Unfortunately, the whereabouts and state of preservation of the

manuscript sent to the press in Naumburg are unknown. Judging from Schefferus' own information, he wanted to add the account of the conversion of Kemi lappmark by Gabriel Tuderus to his revised *Lapponia*. However, this projected edition never came into existence. One can only speculate whether or to what extent this would have influenced knowledge and studies of the Sámi. It would presumably have had a considerable impact on the study of the Eastern Sámi (especially the Kemi Sámi), who were often neglected in early modern descriptions.⁹⁴²

The idea of Schefferus as the founding father of lappology, a discipline proposing that the Sámi people can be studied in all their aspects, has often been mentioned.⁹⁴³ Indeed, the Lapponia project was the first ever attempt to produce a comprehensive study on all things Sámi. Furthermore, later lappological studies made use of the works originating from the project. Chorographical works were all-encompassing at that time. However, with respect to historicity, the classification of the Lapponia project as the beginning of lappology is questionable.⁹⁴⁴ Instead, I understand the Lapponia project as an early predecessor of lappology in that it perpetuated the amassment of Sámi objects and collections, the precursors of later lappological museums, but also as an ancestor of Sámi studies in the way it included and communicated Sámi perspectives. The difference between the two fields of study lies in their approaches towards the production of knowledge: lappologists tended to have a colonial outsider perspective on the Sámi and produce knowledge about the Sámi, while Sámi studies primarily seek the Sámi insider perspective to produce knowledge originating from the Sámi. To some extent, the Lapponia project made use of both approaches.

As demonstrated by Erasmus Francisci's German-language adaptation of the eleventh chapter of *Lapponia* published as an appendix to a new version of the life of Faustus, the intention of De la Gardie to dissociate the Sámi from their notorious reputation as warmongering sorcerers in the Holy Roman Empire soon met the realities of the book market. This text was just the beginning of a wave of writings that received parts or features of Schefferus' monograph and situated them in new surroundings. Travellers like Francesco Negri, Johann Gerhard Scheller, Carolus Linnæus, and many others took inspiration from Schefferus' illustrations. Recirculated in all kinds of contexts, they have become widely known

⁹⁴² See tables 13 and 14 in the appendix of Jelena Porsanger, *Bassejoga čáhci: Gáldut nuortasámiid eamioskkoldaga birra álgoálbmotmetodologijaid olis* (= *The Water of the Sacred River: The Sources of the Indigenous Religion of the Eastern Sami Examined Within the Framework of Indigenous Methodologies*) (Karášjohka: Davvi Girji, 2007), 424-479.

⁹⁴³ Cf. Risto Pulkkinen, "Lappology," in *Saami* (2005), 189-191; Risto Pulkkinen, "Lapponia," in *Saami* (2005), 191-192.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. the discussion in: Greggor Mattson, "Nation-State Science: Lappology and Sweden's Ethnoracial Purity," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, no. 2 (2014): 320-350, at: 329-330.

and accepted symbols of Sámi history.⁹⁴⁵ Another equally significant side effect of the Lapponia project was that it furthered Sámi poetry as written literature and introduced joiks as a genre and form into the literary realm.

Thus, the Lapponia project introduced the Sámi people in a relatively modern way to the emerging sciences. Simultaneously, it created new and reaffirmed old stereotypical assumptions about Europe's northernmost peoples. It contributed to a biased perception of the Sámi, creating commonplaces and depicting only Western Sámi, and in this way also influenced Sámi identity to a great degree. Christian Jacob's framework of *lieux de savoir* has been a constant feature of this study. To employ it for one last time, both Schefferus and the works ascribed to the Lapponia project became influential *lieux de savoir* about, but also of and for the Sámi people and Sápmi today. The consequences of the Swedish missionary and colonialist efforts in the northern parts of Fennoscandia changed, influenced and destroyed, but also created, parts of the diversity of the Sámi cultures we know today. The Lapponia project, which was an expression of these efforts, produced a number of writings that provide the reader with perspectives of outsiders, insiders and in-betweeners of a world long lost.

⁹⁴⁵ See, for instance with an example on the anachronistic usage of the illustrations in museum exhibitions: Monica Grini, "Sámi (re)presentation in a differentiating museumscape: Revisiting the art-culture system," *Nordic Museology*, no. 3 (2019): 169-185, at: 179.

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C 687 Wimpfeling Codex
E 527a Sweden's history until 1697, letters to Johan Rosenhane XII, supplement
G 29a correspondence [photocopies of "Brieven van Zweedsche geleerden an
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G 191 correspondence [letters to Laurentius Norrmannus]
G 260, G 260a-e correspondence, main collection of Schefferus' correspondence
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N 279 Nordin collection, Biographica [copy of a letter to Magnus Gabriel De la
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register of the symbols on a drumskin]
N 479 Nordin collection, letters to nobility and others [letter to Göran
Gyllenstierna af Lundholm]
N 1190 Nordin collection, Johan Heysig-Ridderstjerna [list of the items in
Schefferus' collection of natural objects]
S 163 Swedish Geography, Lapland [accounts by Johannes Tornæus, Samuel
Rheen, Zacharias Plantinus, Petrus Bång, two letters by Matthias
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completed by Schefferus' hand, account by Samuel Rheen, Spirri Nils'
account of sacrificing, letter by Haquin Bohlin, outline of the chapters of
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U 258c Bibliographica [Schefferus' library theory "Musæum seu de Optimo
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Engestr. C.IV.1.37	Letters of Freinsheimius and Boeclerus to Schefferus
D 65	A version of Samuel Rheen's account
F1700 3328	A copy of <i>Lapponia</i> containing an extensive list of errata
F.a. 9	Zacharias Plantinus' Latin-Sámi word list
F.a. 12	Johannes Bureus' <i>Sumlen</i>
F.e. 7	Schefferus' annotated private copy of <i>Lapponia</i>
I.s. 7	Proceedings concerning the inheritance of professor Johan Scheffer († 1679) and his widow Regina Loccenius († 1679 [sic])
U.373.i	Documents concerning Schefferus' library

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Book and chapter headings of *Historie van Lapland* with a translation into English

	I. Waaragtige en Aanmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland. Behelsende Desselfs Oorspronk, Landen, Godsdiensten, Tovery, 't Gebruik des Tover-Trommels, en Wind koopen, by haar in swang gaande.	Truthful and remarkable history of Lapland. Comprising its origin, lands, forms of worship, sorcery, the usage of sorcerer's drums, and selling of wind, a common practice among them.
1	De naam van Lapland en desselfs Volkeren. Kleeden. Samojedeen.	The name of Lapland and its people. Clothes. Samoyeds.
2	De gelegenheid van Lapland. Hoe by ouds gehieten heeft. Bepaling. Langte en breete.	The situation of Lapland. How it was called in ancient times. Location. Longitude and latitude.
3	Van 't Climaat en den aart van Lapland. Lange nagten en dagen. Maanligt. Winden. Menigte Sneeuw. Regen. Sneeuw-bergen. Hebben geen Lente noch Herfts. Het Veld en Boomen zijn binnen 15 dagen Groen.	Of the climate and nature of Lapland. Long nights and days. Moonlight. Winds. Snow masses. Rain. Mountains of snow. Have neither spring nor autumn. The field and trees are within 15 days green.
4	De Verdeeling van Lapland. Wat Mark te seggen is.	The division of Lapland. What Mark means.
5	Van de manieren der Lappen, haar Natuur en Aart. Zijn kleine Menschen. Oorzaak. Leelijkheid. De Vrouwen zijn moeder. Magerheid. Swart hair. Vaardigheid in 't loopen. Bloodigheid en onnuttigheid in 't Leger. Konnen buiten haar Land niet leven. Molte een harer Koningen. Tovery. Boosheid. Luiheid. Maken haar eigen Gereedschap.	Of the manners of the Lapps, their nature and way. [They] are small people. Cause. Ugliness. The women are more beautiful. Thinness. Black hair. Dexterity in running. Timidity and uselessness in the army. Cannot live outside of their land. Molte, one of their Kings. Sorcery. Wickedness. Laziness. Make their own tools.
6	Oorsprong der Lappen. Finnen zijn sterk, verschelen weinig van de Lappen. Getuigenis van Tacitus, Saxo, Andr. Andriess, en Ol. Petri. M. Kurk is niet seer oud; bewijs. Verscheide Kapiteins. Oorsprong des naams van Skriidfinns. Biarmers wat te seggen is. Oorlog tusschen de Finnen en de Sweden. Oorlog tegen de Kajaners. Hoe de naam van Biarmers opgehouden heeft; zijn te vooren geen Lappen genoemd. Oorlog van Errik. Banning van d'on-Christenen. Zijn niet van de Tartaren afkomstig. Verandering van Taal. Finnen bouwen 't Land en Huizen. Fontein. Verjaeging der Lappen. Kurk is van den Adel. Brengt de Lappen onder Contributie. Schattingen. De naam der Lappen.	Origin of the Lapps. Finns are strong, differ little from the Lapps. Evidence of Tacitus, Saxo, Andr. Andriess, and Ol. Petri. M. Kurk is not very old; proof. Several captains. Origin of the name Skriidfinn. What Biarmian means. War between the Finns and the Swedes. War against the Kajanians. How the name of the Biarmians ended; have before not been called Lapps. War of Erik. Ban of Non-Christians. Do not stem from the Tartars. Language change. Finns farm and build houses. Fountain. Ejection of the Lapps. Kurk is of nobility. Brings the Lapps under contribution. Estimates. The name of the Lapps.
7	D'eerste Religie der Lappen. Heidendom. De God Jumala, Thor en Turrisas. Koning Torrus. Verscheide Goden. Eere diemen Jumala aan doet; gelijkt na Thoron: Opper-God: is van Hout gemaakt; Offering van Goud. Goude Tas. Hoe de Tempel is. Wat het woord Hof is.	The first religion of the Lapps. Paganism. The god Jumala, Thor and Turrisas. King Torrus. Various gods. Honor one bestows upon Jumala; likens Thoron: chief god: made from wood; offering of gold. Golden cup. What the temple is like. What the word Hof is.
8	De tweede of Christelijke Godsdienst der Lappen. Zijn verlede Eeuw eerst Christenen geworden. Brieven van Errik. Meaning van datse over 500. jaren Christenen zijn geweest. Slegten yver, verschilt weinig van de Heidense. Veele laten sig niet Doopen. M. Michel eerste Priester. Kerken en Scholen, door Christina gebouwt. Is van de Sweden gestigt. Oversetting van Boeken. De Priester pleeg	The second or Christian worship of the Lapps. Have only become Christians last century. Letters of Erik. Opinion that they have been Christians for more than 500 years. Bad zeal, differ little from the Heathens. Many do not get baptized. M. Michel first priest. Churches and schools, built by Christina. Founded by the Swedes. Translation of books. The priests use to

	een Vertolker te hebben. Patent-brieven. Skytt krijgt geld voor de School. Toeneming der School. Agting of estime voor de Priesters en Sacramenten. Verbranden der Goden. Historisch verhaal.	have a translator. Patent-letters. Skytte receives money for the school. Increase of the school. Respect or esteem for the priests and sacraments. Burning of the gods. Historical account.
9	Van't overige Heidendom, 't geen nog jegenwoordig onder de Lappen in swang is. Uitroying der Superstitie: Oog-Christenen: groote Superstitie. Feestdagen. Goden in de logt. Komen weinig te Kerk. Yver van een Priester. Groote Goden, Storjunkare en de Zon. Bidden Stammen van boomen aan. Seiten. De God Wirku-Accha, de Lijf landse Lier. Graf-goden. Spoken en Duivels. Goede en quade Geesten.	Of the remaining paganism, which is at present still common among the Lapps. Eradication of superstition: Pseudo Christians: great superstition. Feasts. Gods in the air. Come seldom to church. Zeal of a priest. Great gods, Storjunkare and the Sun. Worship trunks of trees. Seiten. The god Wirku-Accha, the Livonian lyre. Grave gods. Spooks and devils. Good and evil spirits.
10	Van de Heidense Goden der Lappen, en d'eere diese aen de selve bewijsen. Drie Goden. Thor. Aijerke is Donder-God. Eeren Thor. Storjunkare komt veel eere toe, en laet sig somtijds sien; is God van de Vangst. De Son is de derde God. Elke God heeft sijn besondere vuur-plaetsen. Seithe en Thoron verschelen weinig. Tempel van Thoron. Nagt-spoken. De goddelijke plaetsen zijn menigte in getal. Respect aen Storjunkare. Waerom de Vrouwen daer niet by komen. Berken-houte Goden. Gedaente van Thoron en de Seitans. De Zon werd niet verbeeld. Rang der Seiten: zijn rouwe steenen: koleur, de mannen Offeren alleen. Door de Trommel en ringen weten sy wat Offer aengenaem is. Vernieuwen Thoron alle jaer. Order in't offeren. Offer van Storjunkare. Godsdienst der Seiten. Wijzen van Offeren. Watmen aen de Zonne offert, Ceremonien. Kleine Goden. Begraven het Offer. Juhlen, desselfs Feest.	Of the heathen gods of the Lapps, and the honor which they bestow upon them. Three gods. Thor. Aijerke is god of thunder. Worship Thor. Storjunkare is much worshipped and shows himself sometimes; is god of the catch. The Sun is the third god. Each god has its special fireplace. Seithe and Thoron differ little. Temple of Thoron. Night spooks. The godly places are numerous. Respect for Storjunkare. Why the women do not come along to this. Gods of birch wood. Shape of Thoron and the Seitans. The Sun is not depicted. Rank of the Seiten: are coarse stones: colour, the men sacrifice alone. Through the drum and the rings they know which offering is agreeable. Renew Thoron every year. Order in the offering. Sacrifice of Storjunkare. Worship of the Seiten. Sacrifice tunes. What one sacrifices to the Sun, ceremonies. Minor gods. Bury the offering. Juhlen, selfsame feast.
11	Van de verborgene Toverkonst. Tover-trommels. Betoveren de Menschen. Tover-meesters. d'Ouders leeren die de Kinderen. Toverye is een erfgoed. Siekte der Tovenars. De Duivel vertoont sig al singende. Werden van haer sinnen berooft; wat haer overkomt. Paredri. Aenmerking. Trommel, waer uit sy gemaekt is. Hoe de boom sig drait. Figuur der Trommel, is een Ketel-trom gelijk, figuren daer op gemaekt: verscheidenheid van Characters en groote. Bos met ringen en een hamer: benaming; Geen Vrouws-persoonen mogen de Trommel aenraken. Gebruik des Trommels, Ceremonien. Sy weten door de Trommel wat in verre Landen geschied: Exempelen: wijze om te weten: Vlieg: de ziel gaet uit het lighaem: legt als voor dood: Order in't Jagen. Tovering door woorden: Wind-verkoopen, koorden met knopen, drierlei Wind. Tover-pijlen. Tover-beurs vol blauwe Vliegen. Verhael. Braken der Slangen.	Of the concealed Sorcery. Sorcerer drums. Bewitch people. Wizard masters. Parents teach it to their children. Sorcery is inherited. Illness of the sorcerers. The Devil presents himself [to] all [those who] sing. Are being robbed of their right mind; what happens to them. Paredri [demons]. Comment. Drum, what it is made of. How the tree turns itself. Figure of the drum, is similar to a kettle drum, figures made on it: Difference of characters and size. Bunch with rings and a hammer: naming; no women may touch the drum. Usage of the drum, ceremonies. They know through the drum what happens in distant langs: Examples: manner of knowing: Fly: the soul leaves the body: lays as dead: Order in hunting. Sorcery through words: Wind-selling, cord with knots, three kinds of wind. Sorcery-darts. Sorcery-purse full of blue flies. Account. Throwing up of snakes.
II. Waaragtige en Aenmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland. Tweede boek.		Truthful and remarkable history of Lapland. Second book.
1	Van de Republiik der Lappen. Civile zaken zijn tweederley. Gouverneurschap. Koning Motle. Magnus Ladulaus eerste Koning van Zweeden. Zijn voornemen. Errik de Goud-smids verspieding,	Of the Republic of the Lapps. Civil matters are twofold. Office of the governor. King Motle. Magnus Ladulaus first King of Sweden. His intent. Spying, encounter and betrayal of Errik

	gevegt en bedrog. Gehoorzamen de Birkarlen. De president gaat in't Rood gekleed, en werd van de Koning van Sweden bevestigd. Regten en vryheden. Schattingen.	the Goldsmith. Obedience of the birkarls. The principal is wearing red, and installed by the King of Sweden. Rights and liberties. Taxation.
2	Van de Justitie onder de Lappen. Justitie en schatting zijn twee voornamen zaken. Het regt werd in Sweden uytgesproken. Toverkonst wert meest gestraft. Drie Rigt-kamers en drie Rigtters. Oeffenen tweemaal des jaars Justitie.	Of justice among the Lapps. Justice and taxation are two distinguished matters. The law is administered in Sweden. Sorcery is punished the most. Three chambers of law and three judges. Exercise justice twice a year.
3	Van de Schattingen der Lappen, waar in die bestaan. Op-halen der Schattingen. Statuten van Koning Karel. Tienden. De Schattingen bestaan in drierley saken. Plaatsen daar men vergadert om Schattingen te betalen.	Of the taxations of the Lapps, what they consist of. Raising of taxes. Statutes of King Karel. Tithe. The taxations consist of three matters. Places where one gathers to pay the taxes.
4	Vande markten welke onder de Lappen gehouden werden: als ook de plaats en bestemde tyd. Ophoedanigen wijze de Koophandel toe gaat. Wat waren zy verhandelen: wat geld by haar omgaat.	Of the markets which are being held among the Lapps: both place and exact time. In which manner commerce happens. Which goods they trade: what [kind of] money circulates among them.
5	Van de Laplandse taal, woorden en redenkavelingen; verschil met de Tartarische Finlandse en andere talen; des zelfs declinatie om de Laplandse taal te leeren.	Of the Laplandish language, words and conversations; difference to the Tartaric, Finlandish and other languages; the declination of the same to learn the Laplandish language.
6	Van de woon-plaatsen of Tenten der Lappen. Hoe die gemaakt werden, van wat stoffe en gedaante: veranderen gedurig van wooning. Hoe zy hare Rheen laden. Wat order zy houden in het trekken. En hoe zy hare spijs-kamer bouwen.	Of the dwellings and tents of the Lapps. How they are made, of which material and appearance: permanent change of abode. How they pack their reindeers. Which order they keep in the migration. And how they build their pantries.
7	Van de kleeding der Lappen, zoo der Mannen als Vrouwen; hare nagt-kleeden en dekens, Schoenen, Leersen en mutsen.	Of the clothing of the Lapps, both of the men and the women; their nightgowns and blankets, shoes, boots and toques.
8	Van het Voedsel, Spijs en Drank der Lappen: Kaas, Boter, Confituren, en hare bereydingen. Tafelgereedschap, gulsigen aart. Plegtelykheden na de maaltijd.	Of the food, foodstuff and drink of the Lapps: Cheese, Butter, jams, and their preparation. Cutlery, greedy nature. Ceremonies after the meal.
9	Van de jagt der Laplanders. Beirejagt. Eenige superstities; order in gaan op de jagt. Hondejagt; gaan met plankjes onder aan de voeten. Vangst van Eekhorrens, Hermijnnen, Hasen, Bevers, Vossen, Martel-dieren, Wolven, Linxen, Rheen, &c. Instrumenten op de jagt. Gesangen op de jagt-maaltijden &c.	Of the hunt of the Laplanders. Bear hunt. Some superstitions; order in going on the hunt. Dog hunt; [they] go with planks under their feet. Catching of squirrels, ermines, rabbits, beavers, foxes, martens, wolves, lynxes, reindeer, etc. Instruments on the hunt. Songs during the hunting-meals etc.
10	Van de Wapenen en Gereedschappen, die de Lappen op de Jagt gebruyken. Hoe hare Schaatsen gemaakt zijn; dwalinge van sommige Authouren, die van de Schaatsen geschreven hebben. Haar Stok diese op de reys hebben. Sleden, &c.	Of the weapons and tools, the Lapps use on the hunt. How their skates are made; mistakes of some authors who have written about the skates. Their stick which they have on the journey. Sleds, etc.
11	Van de Laplandse Handwerken. Keuken-gereedschap, Schepen maken, Schuiten, dragen die op haar schouders. Timmeren van allerley sleden. Schaatsen. Laden en koffers maken. Korven en manden te vlegten. Verscheyde huys-raad. Lepels, Weeftuig. Vormen om Tin te gieten: Tonnen: Drinkschalen &c.	Of the Laplandish handiworks. Kitchen tools, making of ships, boats, carry them on their shoulders. Constructing of all kinds of sleds. Skates. Making of loads and chest. Braiding of creels and baskets. Various household items. Spoons, weaving stuff. Forms to cast tin: barrels: drinking bowls etc.
12	Van de besigheden der Vrouwen. Spinnen draden van plat geslagen senuwen om te nayan. Verscheide soort van draden, bereiding. Wolle gaaren, koussen	Of the occupations of the women. [They] spin threads out of flatly embossed filament to sew. Different sorts of threads, preparation. Woollen

	breiden, als ook mutsen en wanten. Wevery van lind. Het maken van tin-draad. Hoe andere draden met tin omwonden werden. Verscheide borduurwerken.	yarn, weaving of stockings, as well as caps and mittens. Weaving of band. The making of tin thread. How other threads are enwinded with tin. Different embroideries.
13	Van de gemeene besigheden, zoo der Mannen als der Vrouwen. Doen sware werken te zamen. Hoese in de sleden zitten. Hoese des zomers en des winters reisen; visseryen. Houte visch-haken. Een drytandig yser om Snoek te vangen. Visschen onder Ys. Om geluk en ongeluk in't vissen te weten. Toveryen ontrent de vis-vangst.	Of the common occupations, both of men and of women. [They] do heavy works together. How they sit in the sleds. How they travel in summer and in winter; fisheries. Wooden fishhooks. A three-toothed iron to catch pike. Fishing under ice. How to know fortune and misfortune in fishing. Sorceries with respect to fishing.
14	Van't vermaak en divertissementen der Lappen. Haar leuygheid. Houden veel van malkander te bezoeken. Verscheide spelen; springen om verst. Springen om hoogst. Boog-schieten. Premie. Balslaan oft kolven. Worstelen. Kaartspelen. Taarling-spel. Kogels-spel. Beproeven malkanders kragten.	Of the entertainment and diversions of the Lapps. Their idleness. [They] like a lot to visit each other. Some games; long jump. High jump. Archery. Prize. Ball game or Kolven (a ball game often played on ice). Wrestling. Cardgames. Dice. Marbles. [They] test each other's strength.
15	Van het Trouwen en de Bruiloften der Lappen. Waar de Vryer na siet. Verzoek van't Houwelijk. De Vryer moet buyten staan hout-hakken. Beschenken met Brandewijn. De Vryer wert binnen geroepen, begroet zijn Vryster. Geschenken. Hoe het ja-woort gegeven werd. Steentjes die de liefde verwekken. Lange uytstel. Bezoek al zingende. Regt der Vryer en Ouders. Bruiloft. Bruilofskleden. Wijse van trouwen. Verborgentheden van't Houwelijk by een vuur-steen vergeleken. Speelnoods. Order in't gaan. Droefheid des Bruid. Order aan tafel. Hebben geen Musijk-instrumenten. De nieuw-getrouwde moet een jaar dienen. Historie. Jaloersheid.	Of the marriages and weddings of the Lapps. What the suitor is looking for. Proposal of marriage. The suitor has to stand outside chopping wood. Presenting with spirits. The suitor is called inside, greets his sweetheart. Gifts. How the wedding vow is given. Stones that arouse love. Long deferral. Attendance already singing. Right of suitor and parents. Wedding. Wedding dresses. Manner of marrying. Secrecies of the wedding compared to a flint. Playmates [marriage witnesses]. Walking order. Sorrow of the bride. Seating arrangements. [They] have no musical instruments. The newly-weds have to serve for one year. History. Jealousy.
16	Van de geboorte en opvoedinge der kinderen. Verlangen zeer na kinderen. Oud gebruik van't byslapen. Oorzaak der onvrugbaarheid. Hoese weten of een vrouw een meisjen oft jongetjen draagt. De vrouw werd by de maan vergeleken. Teikenen of het kind gezond is. Kraamleggen. Wassen het geboren kind. Blyven niet lange in de kraam leggen. Doopen. Namen der kinderen. Verandering der namen. Zuygen. Wiegen. Kinderen speel-goed. De Soons werden van de Vader geleerd en de Dogters van de Moeder. Boog-schieten. Rheen diese aan de kinderen geven.	Of the birth and upbringing of children. [They] desire children very much. Old custom of intercourse. Reason of infertility. How they bet on whether a woman is carrying a girl or a boy. The woman is compared to the moon. Signs if the child is healthy. Parturition. [They] wash the newborn. [They do] not stay parturient for long. Baptisms. Names of the children. Changing of the names. Nursing. Cradling. Children toys. The sons are taught by the father and the daughters by the mother. Archery. Reindeers they give to the children.
17	Van de ziekten der Lappen, haar dood en begrafenisse. Oog-qualen: Pijnen. Scheur-buik. Branden daar pijn is. Lende-pijn. Vervrore leden. Kragt der Rheen. Kaas kragten. Hoogen ouderdom. Weten door toveryen of ymand sterven zal. Lijkmaal. Bewinder der dooden. Ring tegen de Graf-goden. Dood-kist. Begraaf-plaatsen en wijse. Superstitien. Offer. Lof der doode. Rouw. Verdeiling van goederen.	Of the sickdoms of the Lapps, their death and burial. Eyestrain: Pains. Scurvy. [They] burn where the pain is. Lumbar pain. Frostbitten limbs. Vigour of reindeer. Cheese strengths. Old age. [They] know through sorcery if someone will die. Funeral feast. Handling of the dead. Ring against the tomb gods. Coffin. Burial site and manner. Superstitions. Sacrifice. Praise of the dead. Mourning. Dispersion of property.

III. Zeldzame en Aanmerkenswaardige Historie van Lapland. Derde boek. Handelende van de Gedierten, Gewassen, Gebergten, Steenen, Metalen en Wateren.		Strange and remarkable history of Lapland. Third book. Treating the animals, plants, mountains, stones, metals and waters.
1	Van de Rheen. Taranden. Onderscheid der Herten en Rheen. Rheen met dry, vier en ses hoorens; fatsoen der hoorens. De Rheen herkauwen niet. Wilde en tamme Rheen. Tijd van Reujen, Lubben, Melken, Kaas, Stremsel; konnen geen Boter maken. Weiding, Voeder, Swemmen en Ziekten der Rheen. Schade door Ziekten en Tovery, ouderdom, Jagthonden.	Of the reindeer. Tarands. Distinction between deers and reindeer. Reindeer with three, four and six antlers. Form of the antlers. Reindeer do not ruminant. Wild and tame reindeer. Rutting season, castrating, milking, cheese, rennet; [they] cannot make butter. Grazing, fodder, swimming and illnesses of the reindeer. Harm through sicknesses and sorcery, old age, hounds.
2	Van de Beiren, Herten, Wilde Rheen, Elanden, Onderscheid tussen Rheen en Elanden, Wolven, Gulsigaart, Bevers, Marteldieren, Eekhoorentjes, Sabels, Herminen, Berg-muisen, Hasen, Wezels &c. haar aart, eigenschap, voortteling, verandering des huids.	Of the bears, deers, wild reindeer, elks, distinction between reindeer and elks, wolves, wolverine, beavers, martens, squirrels, sobles, ermines, snow voles, rabbits, weasels, etc. their nature, character, reproduction, change of skin.
3	Beschryving van de Laplandse Vogels, sijn alle wild, Swanen, Hopvogels, Knypers, Loomvogels, Kiæders, Faisant, wilde hanen, Veldhoenders, Patrijzen, Arenden, Raven en diergelijken.	Description of the Laplandish birds, [they] are all wild, swans, hoopoes, woodpeckers, divers, wood grouses, pheasant, wild chicken, partridges, eagles, ravens and the like.
4	De Laplandse Visch-vangst van Salm en desselfs overvloed. Wat Lax en Salm is. Snoeken. De Sweden zijn Meesters van de Vangst, reden daar af. Syk, Baars, Raeding, Oerlax, Har, en nog andere soorten van Visch.	The Laplandish fishing of salmon and its abundance. What lax and salmon is. Pike. The Swedes are masters of the catch, reasons for it. Common whitefish, perch, arctic char, trout, grayling, and some other types of fish.
5	Van de kruypende Gedierten: allerley soort van Muggen. Vlojen en Luysen: en Wespen die veel ongemaks aanbrengen.	Of the crawlers: all kinds of gnats. Fleas and lice: and wasps that cause much ill.
6	Verscheide Geboomten, Kruiden en Mossen in Lapland. Boomen Wassen gansch Lapland niet door. Bossen, Heesters, Kruysbesien, Wilde Kersen, Jenever, Moerbesien, Framboysen, Krakebesien, Roode Besien, Swarte Bessen. Steen Angelica, Suiring, Rheen-kool MOSAROOHT; WELKGNIGROES. Dolkruid: Droogen en verscheyde soorten van Mosch.	Different trees, greens and mosses in Lapland. Trees do not grow all over Lapland. Bushes, shrubbery, gooseberry, wild cherry, juniper, mulberry, raspberry, blueberry, red berries, blackberry. Stone angelica, sorrel, reindeer kale Mosarooth [?]; Welkgnigroes [?]. Scopolia: Drugs and different types of moss.
7	Van de Minen die in Lapland gevonden werden. Ontdekking van Silverminen; Loot-aders; Lootminen. Silverminen. Marcasita. Werkhuis. De Luiheid der Lappen is d'oorzaak dat de Minen niet ontdekt werden. Koperminen. Verscheide Yserminen. Goudminen zijn nog niet gevonden.	Of the mines found in Lapland. Discovery of silver mines; lodes; lead mines. Silver mines. Marcasite. Workshop. The lazyness of the Lapps is the reason why the mines are not discover. Copper mines. Different iron mines. Gold mines are not yet discovered.
8	Laplandse Gesteenten, waar voor Gods-dienst gedaan werd. Platte ronde Steenen. Seilsteen is daar niet te vinden. Diamanten oft Cristal, met welke men ook vuur slaat. Amethijsten, Topaas, Paarlen, in wat Schulpen de Paarlen wasschen.	Laplandish stones, which are used for worship. Flat round stones. Loadstone is not to be found there. Diamonds or crystal with which one also makes fire. Amethysts, topaz, pearls, in which shells the pearls grow.
9	Laplandse Rivieren, Meiren, Fonteynen en Watervallen, desselfs oorsprongen, gronden en benamingen.	Laplandish rivers, lakes, fountains and waterfalls, their origins, ground and naming.
10	Verscheidene Aarde in Lapland. Zanden, desselfs schade in de Somer. Gevaar op de Bergen Fellices. Beschryving der Bergen Fellices. Spoken op de Bergen. Toppen der Bergen, namen. Seker gebouwen tijde des Sondvloeds gemaakt; wederlegging. Vlakten.	Different soils in Lapland. Sands, their damage in summer. Danger in the mountain fells. Description of the mountain fells. Spooks in the mountains. Mountain peaks, names. Confirmed building made during the time of the Deluge; refutation. Plains.

IV. Naukeurige beschrijving van Finland, en desselfs inwoonders. Vierde boek.		Accurate description of Finland, and its inhabitants. Fourth book.
1	Kort begriip van de gansche Historie der Finnen.	Short concept of the entire history of the Finns.
2	Beschrijving van Finland.	Description of Finland.
3	Van de Kragtige Winden die in Finland heerschen, mitsgaders van de Donder, Blixem, en overmatige koude, Rijp, Sneeuw en Ys. Kastelen van Sneeuw. Gevecht in de Sneeuw. Renbanen met Paarden op het Ys.	Of the strong winds prevailing in Finland, also of the thunders, lightning and unduly cold, frost, snow and ice. Snow castles. Battle in the snow. Racetracks with horses on the ice.
4	Van de Spoken die hy nagt danssen, mitsgaders van de Toveressen, Toveraers, Wind-verkoopers, enz.	Of the spooks dancing in the night, also of the sorceresses, sorcerers, wind-sellers, etc.
5	Sekerwerktuig der Toovenaars. Manier om te weeten wat men in verre Landen doet. Hoe de Toveraers siekten aan andere verwekken. Toveryen van Hollerus en Oddo. Tovery van Othni.	Certain tool of the sorcerers. Manner to know what one does in distant lands. How the sorcerers arouse diseases on others. Sorceries of Hollerus and Oddo. Sorcery of Othni.
6	Van de gebonde Toovenaar.	Of the bound sorcerer.
7	Van de Straff der Tooveress. Van een Engelschen Vrouw, die van de Duyvels uit het graf gehaalt wierd. Verhaal van Saxo, wegens de straffen der Tooverijen. Schade die de Duyvels doen.	Of the penalty of witches. Of an English woman, who was raised out of the grave by the devil. Account of Saxo, concerning the penalties of sorceries. Damage done by the devils.
8	Van de Schuytjes en Scheepjes, die met Pesen en Wortelen gebonden werden. Houte Ankers.	Of the barges and boats, which are bound with sinews and roots. Wooden anchors.
9	Van't onderrigt om te schieten.	Of the shooting instructions.
10	Van de Beking der Noord en Oost Finlanders.	Of the conversion of North and East Finlanders.
11	Van sekeren Arngrimus, en de Tooverijen der Finlanders.	Of a certain Arngrimus, and the sorceries of the Finlanders.
12	Van de strijden der Finnen tegens de Moskoviters.	Of the battles of the Finns against the Muscovites.
13	Hoe de Finnen op verscheide wijze Strijden.	How the Finns fight in various manners.
14	Van de Finlandse Wapenen.	Of the Finnish weapons.
15	Van de Visschen en Swarte vloed te Nieuwburg in Finland; mitsgaders van een wonderlijke Harpenaar in de zelve.	Of the fishes and black flood at Nyborg in Finland; also of a wondrous harpist thereat.
16	Van de Viervoetige Gedierten; mitsgaders van het Gevogelt.	Of the quadrupeds; also of the birds.

Appendix 2: A comparison of the source list of *Lapponia* with the inheritance indices at the Royal Library Stockholm (KB U.373.i)

Source list (<i>Lapponia</i>)	Title & year of publication	Entry in the inheritance indices (KB, U. 373.i)
Adamus Bremensis.	Historia Ecclesiastica, Helmestadii 1670.	-
Albertus Magnus.	Citation from Jonston (see below).	-
Anonymus Sueticus. Ms.	-	-
Arngrimus Jonæ.	Crymogea sive rerum Islandicarum libri III, Hamburgi 1610.	- Arngrimi Jonæ Specimen Islandicæ (Specimen Islandiæ Historicum, Amstelodami 1643.)
Auctor Herrods sagæ.	Herrauds och Bosa saga, Upsala 1666.	-
Auctor S. Olaffs sagæ.	Itt stycke af Konung Olaf Tryggiasons saga, Upsala 1665. Sanct Olaffs Saga på svenske rim, fordom öfwer 200 år sedan uthdragin af then gambla Norske sagan, utskrifwin af ett gammalt mssto archivi, item några norske foreningar ..., Stockholm 1675	-
Bartolomeus Cocles.	Physiognomiæ et chiromantiæ compendium, Argentorati 1533.	-
Jo. Baazius.	Inventarium Ecclesiæ Sveo-Gothorum, Lincopiæ 1642.	Bazii Historia Eccles. Svet. Bazij meditatio Sacra.
Andr. Buræus.	Suecia, sive de Suecorum Regis Dominiis et opibus Commentarius politicus, Lugdunum Batavorum 1631.	-
Johan. Buræus. Ms.	Sumlen, 1648.	-
Phil. Cluverius.	Germaniæ antiquæ libri III, Lugduni Batavorum 1616.	-
Damianus à Goes.	Legatio magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis, ad Emanuelelem Lusitaniæ Regem, Triennium 1532.	-
Andr. Frisius.	?	-
Hugo Grotius.	Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Langobardum, Amstelodami 1655.	- Joh. à feld: annotationes ad Grotium Joh. Ad. Osiander in Grotium Procopius Grotii, Jornandes, etc. Grotius de Jure belli et Pacis Pierre Grotius de Imperio primaru potest. circa sacra Grotius de veritate Relig. Christ. Boeclerus in Grotium Hug: Grotii Epistolæ ad Iaskium Aratus Grotij
Sigism. ab Herberstein.	Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii, Basileae 1556.	-
Jo. Jonston.	Historiæ Naturalis De Quadrupetibus Libri IV, Francofurti ad Moenum s.d.	-

Paul. Jovius.	De legatione Moschovitarum libellous, Basileæ 1555.	- Pauli Jovii Tomus 1, 2, 3 Paulus Jovius de Britann. Scot. Hib.
Lomenius Briennæ Comes.	Itinerarium, Parisiis 1660.	-
Magnus Olai Islandus.	Specimen lexicæ runicæ obscuriorum quarundam vocum, collectum a Magno Olavio, redactum ab Olao Wormio, Hafniæ 1650.	-
Johan. Magnus.	Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus, Romæ 1554.	-
Olaus Magnus.	Carta Marina, Venetiis 1539. Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus, Romæ 1555.	Olaus Magni
Seb. Münsterus.	Cosmographiæ universalis libri VI, Basileæ 1550.	Cosmographia Münsteri Seb. Münsteri de Compos. Horolog (Compositio Horologiorum, Basileæ 1531.)
Nicolaus Aronis.	?	-
Ola. Petri Niurenius. Ms.	Laplandia seu Descriptio orbis illius Arctoi quem in remotissima Scandiæ seu Sveciæ parte Lappi inhabitant Authore Olao Petri Niurenio Plantino, b. 1645.	Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
Casp. Peucerus.	Commentarius de præcipuis generibus, Witeberga 1560.	-
Eric. Plantinus Ms.		Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
Zachar. Plantinus Ms.		Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
C. Plinius.	Historiæ naturalis libri XXXVII, Ludguni Batavorum 1635.	- Fr: de Qvedeno disquis: polit: in Plinii Brutum Plinius cum notis Rhenani Plinii Panegyricus variorum Plinii Epistolæ cum coment. Catanæi Milichius in lib xx Plinii de mundi historia Gronovii annot: in Plinii histor Nat: Zieglerus in Mathematica Plinii
Procopius.	?	Procopius Grotii, Jornandes, etc.
Sam. Rheen Ms.	Een kortt Relation om Lappmarkens Beskaffenheet, så och Lapparnar lefwarne, Sedhor och Wijdhskieppellser, Sampt i många stycken grofwe Willfahrelser, 1671.	Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
Saxo Grammaticus.	Historicæ Danicæ libri XVI, Soræ 1644.	-
J. Cæs. Scaliger.	Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV. De subtilitate ad Hieronymum Cardanum, Hanoviæ 1634.	- Ausonius Scaligeri ? Scaliger de Emendat. Temporæ ? Scaligeri Poetica ?
Servius.	Aeneis Vergiliana cum Seruij Honorati Grammatici commentarijs, Parrhisij 1515.	-
Sigfridus Aronis.		-
Ol. Matthiæ Sirma Lappo.		Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.

Spirzi Nils Lappo.		Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
M. Matth. Steuchius Ms.		Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
Tabula Peutingeriana.		-
Tacitus.		Förstnerus in Tacitum Tacitus Lipsii Tacitus variorum 2. tomi Scipionis Amirati Disc in Tac. Boecleri coment in Tacitum, Flor. et Joseph. Tacito abiuratio. Beuterus in Tacitum de morib. Germ. Traj. Boccalini in Tacitu Altamerus in Tacitum de moribq Germ: Savillus in Tacitum et de milit: Rom
Jo. Tornæus Ms.	Berättelse om Lapmarckerna och Deras Tillstånd, 1672.	Tornæi berättelser om Lapparna etc.
Isa. Vossius.		Barnabæ Epistolæ cum not. Is. Vossii Pomponius Mela Is. Vossii Wossii Isag: Chronol: Sacræ
Mich. Wexionius Gyldenstolpe.	Epitome descriptionis Sueciæ, Gothiæ, Fenningiæ et subjectarum provinciarum, Aboæ 1650.	Wexionii Svicia Wexionij Politica
Ol. Wormius.	Specimen lexicæ runici obscuriorum quarundam vocum, collectum a Magno Olavio, redactum ab Olao Wormio, Hafniæ 1650. Museum Wormianum, seu Historia rerum rariorum, Lugduni Batavorum 1655.	- - Olai Vormij Literatura Runica (Runir, Seu Danica Literatura Antiquissima, Hafniæ 1651)
Jac. Zieglerus.	Quæ intus continentur. Syria, ad Ptolomaici operis rationem..., Argentorati 1532.	- Zieglerus in Mathematica Plinii

