

# THE HISTORIAN AND THE PRINTING PRESS IN EARLY MODERN ESTLAND AND LIVLAND

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## ABSTRACT

Print culture and printing presses became available to history writers in Estland and Livland in two different waves. The use of printed books and the idea of having their own work printed emerged in the mid- and latter sixteenth century. This was affected by the Livonian War and greater interest in the area. The books were printed in Central Europe where a handful of printing centres dominated printing. Printing presses were established when different educational institutions were founded or in the case of Riga and Narva when demand in the city became large enough to support a local printer. Even when local printers were available, historians more often used printed books made available simultaneously with circulating manuscripts. Although local history was available in manuscript form, the printed histories of Balthasar Russow, Salomon Henning and Laurentius Müller were very influential. The larger variety of printed sources changed the way history was written. It now included the mentioning of the area by classical authors, discussions on the origins of the local inhabitants, and the gothic historiography of the early medieval period. Authors used newspapers and pamphlets to write about contemporary events. Some authors such as Friedrich Menius and Paul Einhorn had their shorter works printed by local printers but their longer full chronicles were either left in manuscript form or printed in Germany.

*Keywords:* early modern, historiography, chronicle, print culture, printing

The printing press is claimed to be one of the most important inventions of the modern world. It is difficult to argue against the fact that it changed the fields of literacy, literature, education and communication. It is also remarkable how rapidly the art and craft of printing and the printing press spread throughout Europe and how many books (that we now know of) were printed in the half-century after the invention of movable type.<sup>1</sup>

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The article was prepared with the assistance of grant no 8205 from the Estonian Science Foundation.

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion in: Elizabeth L Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe*, 2 (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 45.

According to the influential American historian Elizabeth Eisenstein (b. 1923), printing changed the way written texts were used by literate scholars and brought about the spread of literacy.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, printing made the text uniform and on the other, it diversified the range of texts available to the reader.<sup>3</sup> It helped spread the ideas of Protestantism and the Renaissance throughout Europe.<sup>4</sup> Several authors note that printing brought about a change from public to private reading. This was expressed by the format, language and also the topics of the new books.<sup>5</sup> However, even though print culture may have spread very rapidly throughout literate Europe, it did not instantly replace handwritten culture.<sup>6</sup> At first, printed works at times looked exactly like manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> In a sense, printed text was both different and similar to manuscript, thus both fresh and familiar.<sup>8</sup>

As influential as Eisenstein's books are, they have their critics. For instance, Adrian Johns considers Elizabeth Eisenstein's idea of print culture too simplistic and general. For example, printing did not make texts fixed, i.e. it did not always guarantee that a text would from that moment on remain the same. From edition to edition, similar changes could creep into printed texts as did when manuscripts were copied by hand.<sup>9</sup>

Roger Chartier presents two definitions of "print culture": a) how printing changed all domains of life and opened up new ways of communication; b) how printing brought about a new set of acts connected to the new way of writing and producing pictures. The written word and printed pictures were used in new ways.<sup>10</sup> The present paper is more concerned with the first, broader definition.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), XIII; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing revolution in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 151.

<sup>3</sup> Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, vol. 1, 16, 66, 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 71, 180.

<sup>5</sup> Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg and the impact of printing*, trans. by Douglas Martin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> See for example Roger Chartier, "General introduction," *The culture of print: power and the uses of print in early modern Europe*, ed. by Roger Chartier (Oxford, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 1–23 (2). Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, vol. 1, 32.

<sup>7</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, *The history and power of writing*, trans. by Lydia C. Cochrane (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 231.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Pettegree, "Centre and periphery in the European book world," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (Dec 2008), 101–128 (102–103).

<sup>9</sup> Adrian Johns, *The nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 6–28.

<sup>10</sup> Chartier, "General introduction," 1–2.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the arrival of the printing press and print culture in early modern Estland and Livland based on the example of how it affected the writing of history.<sup>11</sup> This question arose from the curious situation in the writing of history in that area. The latter half of the sixteenth century enjoyed heightened activity in historical writing. The Livonian War (1558–1583) put the area in the spotlight of literate Europe and the continuing war gave chroniclers something to write about. Histories were written from many viewpoints and many of these books were printed, often in several editions (see App. 1). The same cannot be said about the seventeenth century. It is not that no historical works were written at the time. There were, for example, chronicles by Franz Nyenstede, Dionysius Fabricius, Moritz Brandis, Jürgen Helms, Thomas Hiärn, Gustav von Lode-David Werner, Christian Kelch, Adam Friedrich von Fischbach and Otto Fabian von Wrangell in addition to several shorter works.<sup>12</sup> However, of the longer chronicles named, only Kelch's work was printed before the latter half of the eighteenth century (see App. 2 and 3).

The greater portion of this article focuses on the set of problems concerning why different historical works were either printed or remained in manuscript form. Near the end, the article takes a look at the sources of the chronicles and looks at how printing changed the selection and variety of sources used.

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<sup>11</sup> Although divided into areas under the control of the Teutonic Order or the bishops of Riga, Tartu (Dorpat) and Saare-Lääne (Ösel-Wiek), the area is generally named Livonia or old Livonia. After the Livonian War, this area was divided into the provinces of Estland (present day northern Estonia) and Livland (present day southern Estonia and northern Latvia). The western part of present day Latvia became the duchy of Curonia and is represented in this paper by three authors, but the history of printing in Curonia is not discussed.

<sup>12</sup> We know very little about Dionysius Fabricius and Jürgen Helms. Fabricius was an advocate of Catholicism, perhaps a clergyman. Helms may have been a merchant in Riga. Franz Nyenstede was a merchant in Riga. Moritz Brandis acted as a secretary for the *Ritterschaft* of Estland (corporation of nobles) while compiling his chronicle. Thomas Hiärn acted as governor of a manor in Virtsu. Gustav von Lode was a nobleman and David Werner was probably a tutor for his children. We do not know if Lode wrote the chronicle and Werner just translated it or if Werner was the author. Christian Kelch was a clergyman in Järva-Jaani, Viru-Jaagupi and Tallinn. Adam Friedrich von Fischbach and Otto Fabian von Wrangell were officials of the *Ritterschaft* of Estland. It is difficult to name one contemporary overview that would include all of the history writers named here. Most are discussed in Gottfried Etzold, "Die Geschichtsschreibung der polnisch-schwedischen Zeit," *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. by Georg von Rauch (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1986), 43–62.

Why the example of printing historical works? There have been studies on both early modern historiography and printing in Estland and Livland,<sup>13</sup> but there is no special study that connects the two.<sup>14</sup> The study of early modern printing has for the past hundred years concentrated on the first prints in the Estonian and Latvian languages, the dissertations printed by the university printer<sup>15</sup> in Tartu and the printing of newspapers.<sup>16</sup> In addition, some authors and works have been studied closely, but the printing of historical works has not been the subject of investigation. It is paradoxical that the advent of local printing presses coincides with the return of manuscript chronicles, a paradox worth further investigation.

### *Printing presses in Estland and Livland*

One could say that printing reached Estland and Livland relatively late. Jānis Krēslins suggests that not only the Baltic region but most of northeastern Europe was dominated by oral communications well into the seventeenth century. During the seventeenth century, written culture arose and created a cultural divide between the previous predominantly oral tradition.<sup>17</sup>

The first known book orientated towards the Estonian public dates from 1525<sup>18</sup> and the first partially preserved book, the catechism of Simon

<sup>13</sup> The historiography is too extensive to note in full. The first major work about printing is Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1558–1888* (Riga: Müllersche Buchdruckerei, 1890). Notable contributors have been Friedrich Puksoo, Kyra Robert, Tiiu Reimo, Liivi Aarma, Jürgen Beyer, Martin Klöker and Ene-Liis Jaanson in Estonia and Ojar Sander in Latvia. Early modern historiography of Estland and Livland has been studied by Sulev Vahtre, Paul Johansen, Gottfried Etzold, Katri Raik, Stefan Donecker, Kaarel Vanamölder and Janet Laidla among others. See footnotes in this paper.

<sup>14</sup> This also results in a situation where those studying historiography and those studying the history of books define historical works differently. Many smaller prints, such as pamphlets and orations, are at times discarded by the students of local historiography. Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this essay to bring clarity in the matter. As the author of the present article has thus far concentrated on the history of historiography, she is mainly considering manuscripts and prints that have been traditionally included in overviews of early modern historiography. New comprehensive bibliographies being compiled and published recently will help to gain a wider view of history related early modern prints.

<sup>15</sup> Most recently for example Pärtel Piirimäe, Meelis Friedenthal, Kaarina Rein, Janet Laidla.

<sup>16</sup> Most recently Kaarel Vanamölder.

<sup>17</sup> Jānis Krēslins, "Creating new memories: tools and strategies for the newly founded frontier university," *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 2010, 3/4 (133/134), 263–280 (267–268).

<sup>18</sup> A probable catechism ordered by the bishop of Ōsel-Wiek Johann IV Kievel. It has not survived and very little is known about the work.

Wanradt and Johann Koell, dates from ten years later (Wittenberg, 1535).<sup>19</sup> By comparison, the first books for Finland, the “Missale Aboense” (1488) and the “Manuale Aboense” (1522), were printed a bit earlier in Germany.<sup>20</sup> The “Missale Aboense” was printed by Bartholomeus Ghotan in Lübeck. Ghotan later moved to Stockholm and became the second printer in Sweden.<sup>21</sup> Stockholm had a continuous and permanent printing industry since the sixteenth century and many books for Finland were printed in Stockholm. Åbo (Turku), then the cultural centre of Finland, opened its first printing press in 1642 after the founding of the university in 1640.<sup>22</sup> The largest centre for printing in Eastern Europe was Vilnius, which had around ten printing presses at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup>

The first printing press in Livland was established in its largest city Riga in 1588. The first printer Nicolaus Mollyn came from Antwerp, one of the biggest contemporary centres for printing. In addition to printing, he also published and sold books.<sup>24</sup> Buchholtz counts that 14 historical works were printed by Mollyn between 1588 and 1625.<sup>25</sup> Mollyn was followed in Riga for a longer period by Gerhard Schröder who was active between 1625 and 1657. During this time, at least one historical work was printed: “Kurtze [...] Erzählung derer Uhrsachen, welche den [...] Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn, Carl Gustaff, derer Schweden, Gothen vnd Wenden König [...] gedrunge[n] haben, den König inn Pohlen mit Krieg anzugreifen.”<sup>26</sup> Schröder in turn

<sup>19</sup> Hellmuth Weiss, Paul Johansen, *Esimene eesti raamat anno 1535: Wanradt-Koell'i katekismus 1535 aastal* (New York: Kultur, 1956); Friedrich Puksoo, *Raamat ja tema sõbrad* (Tallinn: Valgus, 1973), 170.

<sup>20</sup> Kai Laitinen, “The birth of a literature,” *The book in Finland 1488–1988* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Library, 1988), 2–8 (2); Kai Laitinen, “Missale Aboense,” *The book in Finland 1488–1988* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Library, 1988), 10–11 (11).

<sup>21</sup> Laitinen, “Missale Aboense,” 11.

<sup>22</sup> Matti Klinge, “International relations between Finland and Europe before 1809,” *The book in Finland 1488–1988* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Library, 1988), 12–17 (17); Esko Häkli, “Books and bookmakers,” *The book in Finland 1488–1988* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Library, 1988), 22–30 (26–27).

<sup>23</sup> Ojar Sander, “Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker: sein Schaffen in Riga von 1588 bis 1625,” *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2, ed. by Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 786–800 (786–787).

<sup>24</sup> See Sander, “Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker.”

<sup>25</sup> These were mostly speeches, panegyrics and brochures. Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga*, 44, 53–56. Perhaps *De expugnatione Civitatis Rigensis Livoniae Metropolis ...* (Excusae Rigae: per Nicolaum Mollinum Typographum, 1622). A more contemporary bibliography of publications can be found at Silvija Šiško, *Latvijas citivalodu seniespiedumu kopkatalogs 1588–1830*, Sērija A (Riga: Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka. Reto grāmatu un rokrakstu nodaļa, 2013) but this only contains copies found in Latvia.

<sup>26</sup> Meta Taube, “Die Arbeiten des Rigaer Buchdruckers Gerhard Schröder (1625–1657),” *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2, ed. by Klaus Garber

was followed by Albrecht Hakelmann, Heinrich Bessemesser and Georg Matthias Nöller.<sup>27</sup> From 1675 there was for a short period of time another press in Riga, run by Johann Georg Wilcken.<sup>28</sup>

Tartu was the second town in Livland where a printing shop was established. Before the press arrived, the first disputations of the newly founded *Academia Gustaviana* were printed in Riga and Uppsala.<sup>29</sup> The press became operational in 1632.<sup>30</sup> The print shop was overseen by two inspectors chosen from among the professors of the university. Censorship became more serious only after 1690. The first printer in Tartu was Jacob Becker but he operated for only a few years. For a while, the university could not find a new printer and with the two inspectors, Michael Törlitz, one of the journeymen, kept the press operational. The next printer Johan Vogel started printing in 1643–1644 and managed the shop until the university evacuated to Tallinn during the Russian-Swedish War (1656–1658). When the university was reopened at the end of the seventeenth century, the brother of the Tallinn printer Johann Brendeken offered his services. He had probably been working as an apprentice to his brother Christoph in Tallinn. The Great Hunger at the end of the seventeenth century and the Great Northern War reduced Brendeken's workload. When the university moved to Pärnu in 1699, the printing press went with it. Both Brendekens died from plague in 1710.<sup>31</sup> In the bibliography of University of Tartu publications from the Swedish era, Ene-Lille Jaanson counted 10 prints in the category of history.<sup>32</sup>

The agreement to establish the first printing press in Tallinn (in Estland) was signed in 1633 and it became operational a year later. The founding of the printing press is connected with the founding of the *gymnasium* in Tallinn. The printer was paid by the Estland's *Ritterschaft* and the city

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(Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 801–812 (811). There was also *Gründliche und warhafftige Relation ...* (Zu Riga: Gedruckt bey Gerhard Schröthern, 1657). See also Friedrich Menius and Paul Einhorn.

<sup>27</sup> Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga*, 123–180.

<sup>28</sup> See Liivi Aarma, "Volksbildung und Buchproduktion im schwedischen Livland. Johann Fischer und Bengt Gottfried Forselius," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 2001, 3 (50/3), 389–414 (405–412).

<sup>29</sup> Ene-Lille Jaanson, *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710: ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia = Druckerei der Universität Dorpat 1632–1710: Geschichte und Bibliographie der Druckschriften* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, 2000), 18.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. Although she mentions that in 1631 there was already a book printed. Ene-Lille Jaanson, "Die Buchdruckerei der Universität Dorpat im 17. Jahrhundert," *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2, ed. by Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 873–896 (873).

<sup>31</sup> Jaanson, *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda*, 23–36.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 38, 44. See note 15.

magistrate. The first printer in Tallinn was Christoph Reusner who had been the printer at Stockholm's Royal Printing house.<sup>33</sup> It seems that Reusner felt that he could not survive by the press only and tried to obtain a privilege to print textbooks and sell foreign calendars and almanacs.<sup>34</sup> His widow operated the printing press until their daughter married journeyman Heinrich Westphall, who became the next printer in Tallinn.<sup>35</sup> The printer to succeed Westphall was Adolph Simon and after Simon his widow married Christoph Brendeken.<sup>36</sup>

Before the end of the period in question, Narva also had a printing press. Heinrich Stahl proposed the establishment of a *gymnasium* and a printing press in Narva in 1642 and mentioned the printing press again in 1645. In one instance, the magistrate discussed the offer presented by the printer Johann Georg Drössig to come to Narva but this came to nothing. After some deliberations with Johann Georg Bessemesser, it was Johann Köhler who established himself as a printer in Narva at the end of the century. The printing press was operational between 1696 and 1705. The output was similar to that of other cities. The printer catered to the needs of the magistrate, government, clergy and the citizens.<sup>37</sup>

### *Printed histories*

In addition to speeches and dissertations prepared by students at the University of Tartu and the *gymnasia* of Riga and Tallinn, a few historical works were printed at these printing presses: the short prints by the *Academia Gustaviana* history professor Friedrich Menius, the treatise on the religion of Latvian peasants by Superintendent Paul Einhorn, the "Historia Lettica" and an encyclopaedia of a sort, compiled by an official of the Livland's *Ritterschaft* Caspar von Ceumern that included some historical information (see App. 2).

<sup>33</sup> Kyra Robert, "Tallinna esitrükkal Christoph Reusner senior," *Vana Tallinn*, IV (VIII), (1994) 24–34 (24–25, 29); Kyra Robert, "Christoph Reusner der Ältere: Revals Erstdrucker im 17. Jahrhundert," *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2, ed. by Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 813–821 (814–817).

<sup>34</sup> Robert, "Tallinna esitrükkal Christoph Reusner senior," 29; Robert, "Christoph Reusner der Ältere," 819–820.

<sup>35</sup> Robert, "Tallinna esitrükkal Christoph Reusner senior," 29.

<sup>36</sup> Tiit Reimo, "Trükiprivileegidest Baltimaadel XVII–XVIII sajandil," *Tartu Ülikooli aastaraamat 1999* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, 2000), 184–195 (190–191).

<sup>37</sup> Enn Küng, "Johann Köhler und die Druckerei in Narva 1696–1705," *Buch und Bildung im Baltikum: Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Heinrich Bosse, Otto-Heinrich Elias, Robert Schweitzer Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 123–149.

The historian with the best relationship with the printing press (but not always with the printer) was Friedrich Menius.<sup>38</sup> He was in a very good position to be so – he was a professor at the *Academia Gustaviana* (from 1632 to approximately 1637) with its own printing press.

His first work of interest for the present article was actually printed in Riga by Gerhard Schröder.<sup>39</sup> In this “Intrada” he introduced the great and comprehensive history he was going to write, perhaps in order to find sponsorship for the work in question. In 1632, he published an account of the opening of the university<sup>40</sup> and in 1635, the “Syntagma de origine Livonorum” that could be considered the first part of his great chronicle.<sup>41</sup> These were only his historical works. He had many others printed in Tartu and claimed to have around 46 works waiting to be printed but since no one has seen any unpublished manuscripts written by him, this claim is doubtful.<sup>42</sup> It is also possible that he was hoping to find sponsorship to print his additional manuscripts but had to leave Tartu in a hurry before he could find a patron.

It seems that Menius felt quite comfortable at the printing house as the senate protocols can affirm. He felt he had the right to walk into the printing house in the early hours of the morning to pick up a few copies of his own prints, which upset the workers.<sup>43</sup> Due to another quarrel with the printer, his “Syntagma” was almost not printed (except the first 8 pages).<sup>44</sup>

The Superintendent of Curonia Paul Einhorn<sup>45</sup> was also a prolific writer with several printed works, three of which discussed the religion and

<sup>38</sup> The most recent comprehensive study on Menius has been written by Stefan Donecker, *Origines Livonorum: Frühneuzeitliche Hypothesen zur Herkunft und Ursprung der “undeutschen” Livländer*, PhD thesis (Florence: European University Institute, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> *Intrada und Vortrab...* (Zu Riga: Gedrucket und verlegt, durch Gerhardum Schröder, Im Jahr 1630).

<sup>40</sup> *Relatio Von Inauguration der Universität zu Dörpat ...* (Dörpath in Lieffland: J. Becker, [1632]).

<sup>41</sup> *Frid. Menii P.L.F. histor. P.P. syntagma de origine Livonorum* (Dorpati: S. n [1635]).

<sup>42</sup> See Jürgen Beyer and Leigh T. I. Penman, “Printed autobiographies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” *Documenting the early modern book world: inventories and catalogues in manuscript and print*, ed. by Malcolm Walsby & Natasha Constantinidou (Leyden & Boston: Brill, 2013), 161–184 (169–172, 180–183) and for a more detailed overview of the planned works see Stefan Donecker, “Arbeiten und Projekte des Dorpater Professors Friedrich Menius in den 1630er Jahren,” *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 2011, 6, 31–60 (43–57).

<sup>43</sup> *Tartu Ülikooli (Academia Gustaviana) senati protokollid 1632–1656, I: 1632–1634*, ed. by Arvo Ternig (Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool, 1978), 26–29.

<sup>44</sup> Jaanson, “Die Buchdruckerei der Universität Dorpat im 17. Jahrhundert,” 881.

<sup>45</sup> Etzold, “Die Geschichtsschreibung der polnisch-schwedischen Zeit,” 51–53.



customs of the Latvians.<sup>46</sup> The most important of these was the “*Historia Lettica*” published in Tartu in 1649. Professor Andreas Virginius recommended that Paul Einhorn’s work be printed in Tartu.<sup>47</sup> His other works were printed in Riga, Königsberg or Lübeck.

Caspar von Ceumern<sup>48</sup> (1612–1692) worked for the *Ritterschaft* of Livland and became a nobleman in 1662. In 1690, he published an encyclopaedic work in Riga that included a short historical overview, a list of noble families and their most important privileges.<sup>49</sup>

The most notable seventeenth century historical work, the chronicle of Christian Kelch,<sup>50</sup> was printed in Germany by Heinrich Urban in the small town of Rudolstadt.<sup>51</sup> There are a few questions concerning the printing of the only chronicle of the seventeenth century. Firstly, why Rudolstadt and not some larger centre for printing like most of the sixteenth century chronicles? Since the book also has a publisher,<sup>52</sup> perhaps the bookseller Mehner had business relationships there?

Secondly, why does the chronicle circulate with two different title pages? There are slight differences in the text of the title page. Even the year marking the end of the chronicle is different although the contents of both prints are exactly the same (see Table 2). The second page usually features a woodcut by E. W. Landicer, a dedication to the Swedish king Charles XI and mentions a royal privilege. Was the first page printed before the privilege

<sup>46</sup> *Wiederlegung Der Abgötterey und nichtigen Aberglaubens ... In Verlegung Christian Rittaw, 1627* (Riga in Lieflland: Gedruckt ... Durch Gerhardum Schröder); *Reformatio Gentis Letticae in Ducatu Curlandiae ...* (Riga: Gedruckt Zu Riga durch Gerhardum Schröder, 1636); *Historia Lettica Das ist Beschreibung der Lettischen Nation ...* (Dorpt in Lieflland: Gedruckt durch Johann Vogeln, der Königl. Acad. Buchdrucker, 1649).

<sup>47</sup> Jaanson, “Die Buchdruckerei der Universität Dorpat im 17. Jahrhundert,” 884.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Kleis, “Caspar von Ceumern,” *Eesti biograafiline leksikon* (Tartu: Loodus, 1926–1929), 67.

<sup>49</sup> *Casparis von Ceumern Salcensis Sorabi Theatridium Livonicum ...* (Riga: G. M. Nöller, 1690).

<sup>50</sup> R[udolf] Winkler, “Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Chronisten Kelch und seiner Zeit,” *Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv- und Kurlands*, 5 (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1900), 111–130.

<sup>51</sup> According to Benzing, Heinrich Urban was born 1664 in Hamburg. In 1698 he married the widow of the previous Rudolstadt printer Johann Rudolf Löwe, who had been running the printing press probably since 1692. It was not until 1698 that Urban became the printer. He was *Bürgermeister* and named himself Court printer. Urban died in 1719. Either the information is wrong or Urban worked together with the widow even before 1698, because Kelch’s work was printed in 1695. Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2, verbesserte und ergänzte Auflage (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), 400.

<sup>52</sup> The exact relationship between the publishers, printers and authors would require additional research.

arrived? The privilege and the dedication suggest that the government of Sweden may have supported the printing of the chronicle. Christian Kelch wrote another extensive manuscript to continue his Livonian history and this remained in manuscript form, partly because the author died and partly because it was written from a Swedish viewpoint but the Great Northern War was won by the Russian side.

### *Financial, political and personal aspects of printing history in Estland and Livland*

Why then were so few historical works printed by the local presses? The local printing houses were, in truth, small and catered mostly to the needs of the educational institutions and the local government. They printed speeches, sermons, dissertations, laws, invitations and other small everyday things that kept coming at a fairly regular rate and had limited page numbers.<sup>53</sup> The printers were usually more handicraftsmen and not entrepreneurs. More voluminous works were risky and expensive to print. According to Henri-Jean Martin, the cost of raw material, such as paper, was higher than the cost of manpower. To compete with manuscripts, the printers had to have relatively large editions. However, they would rather have a smaller edition and then reprint the work if necessary than use up a large amount of paper and other raw materials to print a larger edition of a print they were not sure they could sell.<sup>54</sup> If the author or a patron could pay for the edition, it would be a different matter. Tartu printer Johan Vogel covered the printing costs only once for the logic textbook by Professor Petrus Lidenius.<sup>55</sup> A German officer named Conrad Busow discussed the printing of his chronicle of Moscow in Riga. Since he could not find the funds, it was not printed.<sup>56</sup>

One could also argue that the length of the chronicle was an issue, but for example the treatise by the Urvaste clergyman Johannes Gustlaff, printed in Tartu 1644,<sup>57</sup> was over 400 pages long. However, many of the more substantial local works were still printed in Germany even in the seventeenth

<sup>53</sup> For example Robert, "Christoph Reusner der Ältere," 819. Kaarel Vanamölder, "Gümnaasiumi trükkal ja keskvoimu korralduste publitseerimine 17. sajandi lõpu Tallinnas," *Tuna*, 2 (2011), 26–43.

<sup>54</sup> Martin, *The history and power of writing*, 237–239.

<sup>55</sup> Jaanson, *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda*, 29.

<sup>56</sup> Sander, "Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker," 794.

<sup>57</sup> *Kurtzer Bericht vnd Vnterricht Von der Falsch-heilig genandten Bäche in Liffland Wöhhande ...* (Dorpt in Lieffland: Hans Ohm, 1644: J. Vogel).

century.<sup>58</sup> And even in the great printing centres, the printers collaborated in producing exceptionally large works.<sup>59</sup>

It seems that although printing as a novelty spread quite rapidly across Europe, not all local communities would be able to support a printing press in the beginning. There simply was not a large enough market for mass produced print in every locality that used to have a scribe that copied manuscripts. A large proportion of printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth century were printed in about a dozen centres, such as Venice, Antwerp, Paris, Cologne, Basle, Strasbourg and Lyon. Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig were the settings of important book fairs.<sup>60</sup> Most sixteenth century historical works of Estland, Livland and Curonia were printed in Germany (Cologne, Rostock, Lyon, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Amberg) and in the Low Countries (Antwerp), thus mostly at the centres of printing. The printing presses at Europe's periphery (Spain, Portugal, and England) catered mostly to the local vernacular market and imported scholarly books in Latin from the central markets. Even more peripheral areas (including Estland and Livland) often had books printed in Central Europe and had to be more conservative and cautious.<sup>61</sup>

In order to be able to have his work printed, the historian had to appeal to the wider European market for the printer to take up the production of his manuscript or he had to convince the more cautious local printer of the certain profitability of his work. However, since the local literate public was few in number and those able to afford a large number of more substantial and expensive books<sup>62</sup> were even fewer in number, there was still the question of wider European interest. It could be that there was a slight surplus of local chronicles in manuscript form and it would be difficult to choose which one to print. Since manuscripts concerning local history disseminated easily, there was no demand for printed local chronicles. Thus it is also understandable why the end of the sixteenth century saw a large number of printed histories – the wider European public became more interested in the area because of the Livonian War and the demand for historical works rose.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Martin Klöker, "Literarische Kultur in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2, ed. by Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 822–841 (832).

<sup>59</sup> Martin, *The history and power of writing*, 241.

<sup>60</sup> Pettegree, "Centre and periphery in the European book world," 103–105.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 106–107.

<sup>62</sup> Pettegree ranks chronicles with other works that were of interest mostly to the wealthy customers. *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>63</sup> For the influence of war on historiography in Estland and Livland, see Janet Laidla, "Sõja mõjust ajalookirjutusele varauusaegsel Eesti-, Liivi- ja Kuramaal," *Tartu Ülikool*

Another question is the language of the historical work. Most texts in early modern Estland and Livland were written in German; only two unprinted longer chronicles were also available in Latin.<sup>64</sup> We may assume that the majority of early modern chronicles were written for local readers and more widely for Europe's German speaking audience. For what reasons could they have for reaching audiences that did not read German – the audiences of France, Spain, Italy and England,<sup>65</sup> for example? Noticeable examples were Catholic chronicles written in Latin that were probably meant to reach Catholic non-German speaking audiences in Poland and perhaps even further afield.

Because of the lack of material, very little can be said about the illustrations of printed historical works. There were mostly two options – the woodcut was cheaper and could be printed by the same press as the book itself. And then there was the copperplate, which was more expensive and required a special printing press and an engraver. This illustration was usually on a separate page, such as the frontispiece.<sup>66</sup> We know that Christian Kelch's chronicle had one copperplate frontispiece; there were plans for illustrations in the chronicle of Thomas Hiärn; at least one summary of the Jürgen Helms chronicle contains several illustrations and for his "Syntagma de origine Livonorum" Friedrich Menius had an illustration of a man and a woman on the title page that was probably ordered for that specific book.<sup>67</sup>

Some chroniclers did, in fact, try to find a patron. A Tallinn book-binder named Heinrich Hakelmann<sup>68</sup> wrote to the *Ritterschaft* of Estland in 1679 asking for financial support to print the manuscript of the chronicle of Thomas Hiärn. It seems that the binder had supported the writing

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ja Põhjasõda: Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi, XXXIX (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo muuseum, 2011), 7–39.

<sup>64</sup> The Fabricius and the Lode-Werner chronicle.

<sup>65</sup> The English speaking audience did get their own history of Livonia in 1701: *An Account of Livonia ...* (London: Printed for Peter Buck, 1701). This work, often attributed to Karl Johann von Blomberg also has a French edition (see App. 2).

<sup>66</sup> Chartier, "General Introduction," 6.

<sup>67</sup> Jaanson, "Die Buchdruckerei der Universität Dorpat im 17. Jahrhundert," 881.

<sup>68</sup> He appears in the Tallinn citizens' book on 28 January 1676 and comes from Lübeck. Hakelmann married Elizabeth Rüllfest on 31 January 1676, *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1624–1690 nebst Fortsetzung bis 1710*, ed. by Georg Adelheim (Reval: Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, 1933), 88, no 906. Hakelmann later worked as a quaestor at the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (from 1689 until the end of his life in 1693) and managed the finances and lands of the university, Georg von Rauch, *Die Universität Dorpat und das Eindringen der frühen Aufklärung in Livland 1690–1710* (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), 56.

of the manuscript by sponsoring the archive research trips Hiärn made to Stockholm and also helped to purchase books for the author as a form of author's royalties. The letter also reveals that a map, engravings and tables were prepared for the chronicle (now lost).<sup>69</sup> It seems that Hakelmann's request was considered at the *Landtag* of 1679 and it was decided that the *Ritterschaft* should first familiarise themselves with the manuscript and only then decide whether to support the printing of the chronicle. If it is decided that the book should indeed be printed then the bookbinder would get his share of books.<sup>70</sup>

Martin Klöker admits that very little is known about patrons who would pay for the printing of literary works in Tallinn and Estland. From the first part of the century, the governor Philipp von Scheiding is mentioned, but Tallinn's city magistrate was not a substantial patron of printed works not connected to the *gymnasium* nor ordered by the magistrate itself.<sup>71</sup> Since we do not know of any manuscript chronicles concerning the history of Tallinn, it is difficult to say if the magistrate in Tallinn would have been interested in sponsoring it.

Riga has several historical writings in manuscript form and very few printed works. There are two longer and more compact chronicles, those of Franz Nyenstede and Jürgen Helms, and many smaller chronicles and diaries from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. In case of Franz Nyenstede,<sup>72</sup> it could not have been due to financial difficulties for he was a relatively wealthy merchant whose son-in-law David Hilchen was partly responsible for the establishment of a printing press in Riga. The second large chronicle by Jürgen Helms has not been preserved to the present in its full manuscript form. There are summaries of the chronicle.<sup>73</sup> Johann Gottfried Arndt suggested that Helms

<sup>69</sup> "Zur Erinnerung Thomas Hiärne und dessen Chronik," *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands*, ed. by F. G. von Bunge, 3 (Dorpat: Franz Kluge, 1844), 317–321. The original letter is at the Tallinn City Archive [henceforth TLA], B.B.7, l. 51–52p. The summary of Hiärn's work has also survived, but separately at TLA.1.230 B09, l. 83–84.

<sup>70</sup> "Ein Paar kleine Anmerkungen zu dem Aufsasse: "Zur Erinnerung an Thomas Hiaerne und dessen Chronik" (Archiv III, 317.)," *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands*, ed. by F. G. Von Bunge, 4 (Dorpat: Verlag von Franz Kluge, 1845), 326–329 (326–327).

<sup>71</sup> Klöker, "Literarische Kultur in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," 840.

<sup>72</sup> The most contemporary study on Nyenstede is Katri Raik, "*Historia magistra vitae*. Franz Nyenstede Liivimaa ajalugu," *Eesti- ja Liivimaa kroonikakirjutuse kõrgaeg 16. sajandi teisel poolel ja 17. sajandi alul* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 2004).

<sup>73</sup> Copies of the manuscript at the University of Tartu Library: Jürgen Helms, *Livländische Chronik*, R Est. B-586 and mscr. 1197.

was a merchant in Riga who took up writing to avoid the sins that would come to haunt those in leisure.<sup>74</sup>

The shorter works include the notes of Johan Schmidt,<sup>75</sup> the diaries of Jürgen and Caspar Padel<sup>76</sup> and the chronicles of Michael Zaupe,<sup>77</sup> Viecken<sup>78</sup> and Bodecker.<sup>79</sup> It is understandable that every small diary and unfinished chronicle would not be of interest to the printer, but the number of unprinted histories about the city of Riga is relatively high. In the case of Viecken's chronicle, the work could have been left in manuscript form because the chronicle could not be printed during the Riga calendar riots when the events he described were relevant,<sup>80</sup> since they were not favourable for the crown of Poland. When the Swedish government established itself in Riga, decades had passed and the events were no longer newsworthy. The number of manuscripts (over 40)<sup>81</sup> may attest to the popularity of this chronicle.

Could censorship, or at least self-censorship, be counted as a reason why some chronicles were never printed? Historians wrote mostly about local history and that meant that the deeds of past and present rulers would be under scrutiny. It is claimed that the chronicle of Christian Kelch suffered a great deal at the hands of the censor.<sup>82</sup> However, there is very little evidence to support this claim. Unless the censored manuscript or the original manuscript can be recovered, nothing much can be said about the subject.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Johann Gottfried Arndt, *Der Liefländischen Chronik Anderer Theil* (Halle: J. J. Gebauer, 1753), 68.

<sup>75</sup> Alexander Bergengrün, "Einleitung," *Die Aufzeichnungen des rigaschen Rathsecretärs Johann Schmiedt zu den Jahren 1558–1562* (Lepzig: Verlag von Dunker & Humblot, 1892), xix–xxvi.

<sup>76</sup> "Jürgen Padel's und Caspar Padel's Tagebücher," *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, 13 (Riga: Nicolai Kymmels Buchhandlung, 1886), 291–434.

<sup>77</sup> See for example Fr. Bienemann jun., "Bemerkungen über die Zaupeesche Chronik," *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1896* (Riga: W. F. Häcker, 1897), 68–75.

<sup>78</sup> There are several manuscripts at the University of Tartu Library and the Estonian Historical Archives.

<sup>79</sup> J. G. L. Napiersky, *Bodeckers Chronik livländischer und Rigascher Ereignisse 1593–1638* (Riga: Kymmell, 1890).

<sup>80</sup> The riots in Riga between 1584 and 1589 led by Lutheran citizens against the wishes of the king of Poland to introduce the Gregorian calendar.

<sup>81</sup> Gregor Brutzer, "625. Versammlung am 14. October 1898," *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1898* (Riga, W. F. Häcker, 1899), 123–129.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 116–117.

<sup>83</sup> It is interesting to note that there are no known seventeenth-century copies of Christian Kelch's chronicle that was later printed. We have an original manuscript of

It is understandable that the openly catholic chronicle that has been attributed to Dionysius Fabricius<sup>84</sup> was not printed in the Swedish provinces in the seventeenth century. However, why was this chronicle not printed in Poland to be used in propaganda against Swedish rule? Sulev Vahtre has suggested that the manuscript was completed between 1612 and 1617.<sup>85</sup> It is only in retrospect that we can say that this completion date may have been too late for the publication to retain relevance. From its content one could say that this was not a record of events for personal use. It was meant to be disseminated as part of the anti-Lutheran and anti-Swedish campaign. Perhaps the chronicle never reached the appropriate authorities? Or was a full length chronicle too expensive as propaganda when a leaflet would suffice?

Could censorship have played a part in why the Lode-Werner chronicle was never printed? The chronicle clearly argued for the rights and privileges of the Estonian nobility,<sup>86</sup> but perhaps too strongly for the Swedish central government. The chronicle was finished and also translated into either Latin or German, depending on which language the original was written in. Since it was in two languages, it is unlikely that the chronicle was meant for personal use. It is, however, not impossible. It could have been written to educate the children of the Lode family who could benefit from an overview in two languages. However, there have been works written by tutors for educational purposes that were printed, for example a treatise on mathematics and astronomy by the schoolmaster of Georg Stiernhielm's children, Johannes Megalinus.<sup>87</sup>

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the continuation of the chronicle, but not the first part. Was the only copy left in the hands of the printer? Or since the chronicle was printed there was no need to keep the original manuscript and it was destroyed?

<sup>84</sup> Sulev Vahtre, "Dionysius Fabricius Liivimaa kroonika," *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 1 (119) (2007), 3–21; Enn Tarvel, "Eessõna," Dionysius Fabricius, *Liivimaa ajaloo lühiülevaade* (Tartu: Johannes Esto Ühing, 2010), 9; Enn Tarvel, "Väike õiendus Dionysius Fabricius teemal," *Tuna*, 4 (2010), 150.

<sup>85</sup> Vahtre, "Dionysius Fabricius Liivimaa kroonika," 9, 18.

<sup>86</sup> The Lode-Werner chronicle is very interesting in its attitude and merits further studies. It is quite clearly trying to prove that Estland was a province with a very different history from Livland. There were instances at the beginning of the century, at least, when the view was opposite. See Pärtel Piirimäe, "Swedish or Livonian *patria*? On the identities of Livonian nobility in the seventeenth century," *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 1/2 (139/140) (2012), 13–32 (19).

<sup>87</sup> *Memoriale mathematicum seu problematum mathematicorum syllabus quem ex variis authoribus congregit cujusque ad tenorem generosi ... domini, Dn. Georgi Stiernhielmi ... optimae spei filios natalibus et ingenio nobiles Dn. Gustavum Dn. Ottonem Stiernhielmios informavit Johannes Megalinus...* (A Johanne Vogelio, Reg. Acad. Typogr. excusum, Anno MDCLV).

The Lode-Werner chronicle was summarised by a secretary of the Estland's *Ritterschaft* Adam Friedrich von Fischbach. He only used the part of the chronicle that concerned itself with Estonian history and added a few remarks. This summary was continued by the nobleman Otto Fabian von Wrangell but both works were left unpublished. Did Fischbach make a summary for his own use as well as that of the *Ritterschaft*? With the opposition in the Baltic provinces to the reforms from the Swedish central government and the unrest arising from this, it was perhaps unwise to state such strong opinions in print. Did Wrangell plan to continue his work? In a sense, Wrangell's additions resemble more a personal diary than a history written for the wider public, thus he may not have wanted to publish it.<sup>88</sup> Besides, as in the case of Kelch's "Continuation," while Wrangell was noting events in his diary, the rule of Estland and Livland had passed to the Russian empire.

Moritz Brandis<sup>89</sup> may have died before he could finish his chronicle. Brandis worked as the secretary to the *Ritterschaft* of Estland and was very probably asked to compile a catalogue of the laws and privileges of the province of Estland for the use of the *Ritterschaft*. It is very probable that this endeavour was connected to the compilation of a chronicle that reached only up to the thirteenth century.<sup>90</sup> For all we know, Thomas Hiärn's chronicle was also left unfinished. It lacked a concluding chapter and omitted the events of the chronicler's own lifetime from 1639 to 1678. This did not, however, stop Heinrich Hakelmann from suggesting that the work should be printed. Perhaps the chronicle of Brandis was meant for internal use by the *Ritterschaft*, but then why add the fanciful gothic period to the prehistory of Estland and Livland?

Perhaps there was no need for the chronicles to be printed because they disseminated quite well without the help of the printing press? In addition to several medieval manuscript chronicles, the chronicles of Moritz Brandis and Thomas Hiärn were known to many writers after them and have survived in numerous manuscripts. It seems that at least in Estland

<sup>88</sup> On both authors and the relationship of the texts see Kaarel Vanamölder, *Maanõunik Otto Fabian von Wrangelli Eesti- ja Liivimaa kroonika käsitusvõimalustest*, Master's Thesis (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 2007).

<sup>89</sup> Etzold, "Geschichtsschreibung der polnisch-schwedischen Zeit," 49–51. His chronicle was printed: Moritz Brandis, "Chronik, oder älteste Livländische Geschichte, und Collectanea, enthaltend Ritter-Rechte des Fürstenthums Ehsten, zum ersten Male in Druck gegeben mit Anmerkungen von C.J.A.Paucker," *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, 3 (Riga-Leipzig: W. F. Häcker, 1842), 1–195.

<sup>90</sup> Carl Julius Albert Paucker, *Das esthländische Landraths-Collegium und Oberlandgericht* (Reval: J. Kelchen, 1855), 37.



and Livland, anyone really interested in history could find a manuscript or several. This did not, however, apply to the wider European public. Thus it seems that in seventeenth century Estland and Livland, full chronicles were written by local authors for local use. This could not have been intentional. Both the author and very probably also the Swedish government would have been interested in a printed and more widely read work of history. The author would have been grateful for the fame that would be achieved for all the hard work that was done in the preparation of the work. The government would have been interested in a (favourable) overview of the history of a newly acquired province. Could it be that only Kelch was able to provide a suitable work?

Which authors seemed to be interested in the publication of their work? Moritz Brandis compiled his work probably as one of his duties as a secretary to the *Ritterschaft*, so his own motives are unknown. Dionysius Fabricius was very probably looking to get his text printed as it was a work of catholic propaganda against Lutheran authors and the Swedish army. Both Riga tradesmen Nyenstede and Helms said that they were writing out of leisure and for the glory of the fatherland, thus their motives are again unclear. The eager antiquarian and official Thomas Hiärn wanted to see his work go to the printing press but died before it was finished. The motives of the author of the Lode-Werner chronicle are again hazy. Did he consider his text to be too critical of the Swedish government or was he looking to gain more followers by printing his work?

In conclusion, we may say that there are several reasons why so many of the seventeenth century works were left in manuscript form but there are few cases where we may point to one particular reason with any certainty. The most prominent reason could be that while at the end of the sixteenth century, the area was of interest to the wider European readership and many chronicles were printed at the great centres for printing in Europe, in the seventeenth century this was not so. Accounts of some battles and sieges of cities reached the wider public via newsletters, newspapers and pamphlets.<sup>91</sup> The authors of longer chronicles could not persuade the small local printers or the German printers to publish their works if they could not pay for the expensive book, and only a few could. Those who could either did not want to or could not because the text was unacceptable to the crown.

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<sup>91</sup> See Laidla, "Sõja mõjust ajalookirjutusele varauusaegsel Eesti-, Liivi- ja Kuramaal."

### *Printed sources and the chronicle*

What the advent of printing did change about many of the historical works, especially in the seventeenth century, is the use of sources and through that the content of the so called full chronicles (starting from the earliest known periods and continuing until the lifetime of the author unless the author died or left his work unfinished for some other reason). Printing clearly widened the number of authors each history writer mentioned in their work. Even if seventeenth century authors used only quarter of the authors they named in the texts of their chronicles, it was still a considerable number, especially in the case of Friedrich Menius who in his relatively short works was able to mention almost a hundred different authors.<sup>92</sup>

The full chronicles could very probably also have been written without the printing press, for local sources also circulated quite well without being printed. However, there are many additional smaller topics featured in the seventeenth century chronicles that probably would have been left out without the advent of printing. One example would be the Gothic past that was noticeable in the chronicles of Moritz Brandis, Thomas Hiärn, Gustav von Lode-David Werner and Christian Kelch. It is doubtful that chroniclers in Estland would have included the early history of the area in their works without the printed works of Saxo Grammaticus and Johannes Magnus. We may call Gothicism an Estonian rather than Livonian tradition.<sup>93</sup>

There was also a Livonian tradition which accounted for curious additions to the tale of how Livonia was first discovered by German merchants. This tale is included in the chronicles of Franz Nyenstede and Dionysius Fabricius. The discovery itself was a myth created in the sixteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Its seventeenth century descriptions curiously resemble how we usually perceive how the Americas were discovered and were very probably heavily influenced by publications of the early discoveries.<sup>95</sup> Printing very probably changed the way the local inhabitants of the area were viewed or

<sup>92</sup> For the use of sources, see Janet Laidla, *17. sajandi ajalookirjutaja raamaturiiul*, Master's Thesis (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 2006).

<sup>93</sup> And perhaps Curonian if we also consider *An account of Livonia* as being part of Curonian historiography. On Gothic historiography see Janet Laidla, "Gootitsismist Balti varauusaegses ajalookirjutuses," *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 3 (145) (2013), 299–320.

<sup>94</sup> See Paul Johansen, "Die Legende von der Aufsegelung Livlands durch bremer Kaufleute," Sonderdruck aus *Europa und Übersee: Festschrift für Egmont Zechlin* (Hamburg: Hans Bredov-Institut, 1961); Marek Tamm, "Liivimaa leiuutamine: uue kristliku koloonia kuvandi loomine 13. sajandi esimesel poolel," *Akadeemia*, 2 (2012), 195–229.

<sup>95</sup> Ivar Leimus, "Franz Nyenstede – humanist ja kulturträger?," *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 3/4 (106/107) (1999), 177–180 (178).

at least described.<sup>96</sup> The printing press widened the readership of classical Greek and Roman authors who wrote about the pre-Christian barbarians. Descriptions of native people from different parts of the world became available for reading. Estonian and Latvian peasants were compared to both.<sup>97</sup>

In addition, many of the early modern chronicles began using newsletters and pamphlets in writing their chronicles. The swift printing of news very probably helped Christian Kelch to write his chronicle of the Great Northern War.<sup>98</sup>

Although the advent of printing gave history writers more diversity, it also created more unity. The fact that the sixteenth century Livonian chronicle of Balthasar Russow was printed (in 1578 and in 1584) was very probably why later chroniclers relied heavily on his work (even those who criticised him), thus suppressing other sources. One of the first chronicles “destroyed” by the printing press was one that remained in manuscript form for a long time, the sixteenth century Livonian chronicle of Johann Renner. Renner rewrote his manuscript after the publication of Balthasar Russow’s chronicle.<sup>99</sup> The manuscript chronicle of Moritz Brandis also seemed to be an authority for historiography in Estland, although it was never finished nor printed. However, if we look at the local works mentioned by contemporary history writers, then other sources mentioned by four or five authors (Paul Einhorn, Salomon Henning, Laurentius Müller and Balthasar Russow) are all printed.

Even in retrospect there is a tendency to name the chronicles of Balthasar Russow and Christian Kelch as the most important chronicles of the period.<sup>100</sup> I am inclined to say that the fact that they were printed is a factor here. Russow’s chronicle was definitely the most influential. Kelch has a printed Livonian history and also the “Continuation” manuscript.

<sup>96</sup> See for example Anthony Grafton with April Shelford and Nancy Sirasi, *New worlds, ancient texts: the power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (Cambridge, MA., London: Harvard University Press, 1995).

<sup>97</sup> For example by Paul Einhorn.

<sup>98</sup> See for example Kaarel Vanamölder, “Kas Kelch luges ajalehti?,” *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiivid Rootsi suurriigis 16./17. sajandil*, 3, ed. by Enn Küng, Eesti Ajalooarhiivi Toimetised, 17 (24) (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2010), 118–154.

<sup>99</sup> The rewritten manuscript: *Johann Renner’s Livländische Historien*, ed. by Richard Hausmann und Konstantin Höhlbaum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1876). Earlier manuscript: Johannes Renner, *Livländische Historien 1556–1561*, ed. by Peter Karstedt (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 1953).

<sup>100</sup> Arved Freiherr von Taube, “Der Untergang der livländischen Selbstständigkeit”: die livländische Chronistik des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. by Georg von Rauch (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1986), 21–41 (30); Etzold, “Geschichtsschreibung der polnisch-schwedischen Zeit,” 56.

Its importance lay in the fact that there were few chronicles describing the historical events of the latter half of the seventeenth century and the Great Northern War. As for the beginning of Livonian history, I would suggest that there are more interesting compilations to choose from.

*Perspectives for the research of printing presses and print culture in Estland and Livland*

Several authors have connected the advent of the printing press to a more flourishing cultural life. Stephan Donecker implies that humanist culture emerged in Riga with the advent of the printing press and the reform of the Dome school.<sup>101</sup> The secretary of the municipal government and the later *syndicus* David Hilchen who invited Mollyn to Riga, gathered Riga humanists around himself, fostered the growth of the library, took care of the school and reorganised the hospitals.<sup>102</sup> Kyra Robert and Martin Klöker both write that the founding of the gymnasium and its printing press were essential to Tallinn's cultural life in the seventeenth century.<sup>103</sup> Robert gives an example of Paul Fleming's poems and mentions Reusner's role in the history of books in the Estonian language. Before the founding of the gymnasium, Tallinn's cultural life was dominated by the clergy. This changed with the arrival of the teachers of the gymnasium and the embassy from Holstein-Gottorf.<sup>104</sup> Even Enn Küng includes the almost mandatory statement that the actions of the local printer promoted cultural life in Narva at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>105</sup>

Using history writing as an example, it would seem that print culture arrived in Estland and Livland with printed books and not with printing presses. Sixteenth century chroniclers used print sources and many had their works printed before the arrival of the printing press while seventeenth century history writers made more use of printed books and other small prints than the actual local printing presses. Printed regulations, wedding invitations, and the first newspapers came with the presses, but the use of printed books came before.

It could thus be argued that it was not so much the printing press but the institution of higher learning and the people who came with it that

<sup>101</sup> Donecker, *Origines Livonorum*, 66–67

<sup>102</sup> Sander, "Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker," 791.

<sup>103</sup> Klöker, "Literarische Kultur in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," 818, 821.

<sup>104</sup> Robert, "Christoph Reusner der Ältere," 818, 821.

<sup>105</sup> Küng, "Johann Köhler und die Druckerei in Narva," 145.

brought about a more flourishing cultural life.<sup>106</sup> There had to be a critical mass of potential buyers to support a printing press, not the other way around. The printer had to make ends meet. The existence of a printing press was not even always so much governed by the minimum number of literate people in the area but by the profitability of the printing press. Henri-Jean Martin points to Lyon as an excellent example. It did not possess a large literate community but was in an excellent trading position and could therefore become a printing centre in Europe.<sup>107</sup>

We may also ask in the context of history writers, was the cultural life of the early modern period concentrated in the larger cities with printing presses? Unfortunately, we do not know exactly where different historical works were written. In most cases, we can only assume. There were chronicles written in Tallinn – those of Brandis, Fischbach and Wrangell. Many were written in Riga – Nyenstede, Helms, Bodecker, Viecken, and the scholarly works of Menius were written in Tartu. However, there are several comprehensive historical works that were written outside the large cities. The chronicle of Christian Kelch was written in Järva-Jaani, the chronicle of Thomas Hiärn very probably in Virtsu. From one personal observation in the Lode-Werner chronicle, it could be assumed that the chronicle may have been written in Loodna (Pall) in Läänemaa.<sup>108</sup> We do not know where the chronicle of Dionysius Fabricius was written. The only place we can connect him to is the city of Viljandi. Whether that is where he wrote his work is very unclear.<sup>109</sup> It is clear that Kelch, Hiärn and the author of the Lode-Werner chronicle all probably had communication with Tallinn (and perhaps even Tartu) and travelled there occasionally, but we cannot say that historical culture did not exist outside the large cities. More attention has been paid to literary culture in the cities in the early modern period in Estland and Livland than small cities and rural areas probably because of the lack of sources and because there were only individual people engaged in literary activity in the countryside. There is no separate chapter on literary life in Inna Pöltsum-Jürjõ's work on the city of New-Pärnu at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but a previous secre-

<sup>106</sup> Ojar Sander mentions that book culture flourished with the founding of the university in Vilnius in 1579: Sander, "Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker," 789 and Meta Taube describes cultural life in the seventeenth century as being vibrant because of the founding of the academic gymnasium in Riga: Taube, "Die Arbeiten des Rigaer Buchdruckers Gerhard Schröder," 801.

<sup>107</sup> Martin, *The history and power of writing*, 236–237.

<sup>108</sup> Estonian Historical Archives [EAA], f. 2062, n. 2, s. 6, l. 211–212.

<sup>109</sup> Tarvel, "Väike õiendus Dionysius Fabriciuse teemal," 150.

tary of the master of the order and official of the city Nicolaus Barenfeldt is mentioned that was familiar with the chronicles of Johann Renner and Thomas Hörner, for example.<sup>110</sup>

From the contemporary viewpoint, there are lists of literate people from the cities of Riga, Tartu, Tallinn, Narva and Pärnu – incidentally from the cities that had a printing press. Arvo Tering has studied these lists and analysed the professions available requiring literate (in most cases this means academic education) individuals. They include lawyers employed by the city, local government and the crown, clergymen, teachers, professors and students. There are a few noblemen and after the year 1700, several military officers.<sup>111</sup> From among names we can connect to history, Caspar von Ceumern is mentioned in Tartu<sup>112</sup> and Hermann von Brevern in Riga.<sup>113</sup> Unfortunately, these lists have been published only once for each city and therefore it is very difficult to draw any conclusions. However, Christian Kelch, who had published his Livonian history, is not a literate individual according to these sources because he did not happen to be living in a city at the time that these lists were drawn up. Tering does include both rural clergymen (Christian Kelch) and the administrators of manors (Thomas Hiärn in Virtsu) in the literate society of early modern Estland and Livland. Rural culture and its relationships with central cities demand further research. For example, did rural literate society identify itself with a central city, and how much were they able to participate in the cultural life in the cities?

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<sup>110</sup> Inna Põltsam-Jürjo, *Liivimaa väikelinn Uus-Pärnu 16. sajandi esimesel poolel* (Tallinn: Argo, 2009), 144.

<sup>111</sup> Arvo Tering, "Vaatenurki Eesti- ja Liivimaa haritlaskonna kujunemisest 17. sajandil," *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiive Rootsi suurriigis 16./17. sajandil*, Eesti Ajalooarhiivi toimetised 8 (15) (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2002), 27–79.

<sup>112</sup> *Dorpatum in Livonia Literatum, anno M.DC.XCVIII. Exhibitum* (Dorpati, Excudit Johannes Brendeken, Acad, Typographus).

<sup>113</sup> *Riga in Livonia Metropolis Literata Anno MDCXCVIII. Calendis Julii exhibita* (Typis Joh. Georg. Wilcken, Typogr. Regii). Hermann Brevern was an eighteenth-century historian, whose contribution to historiography has received very little attention so far.

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APPENDIX 1. *Sixteenth century Livonian chronicles discussed in the article*<sup>115</sup>

- (1) Tilmann Bredenbach, *Belli Livonici, quod magnus Moschoviae dux, anno 1558. contra Liuones gessit, noua & memorabilis historia, lamentabilem vniversae Torpatensis prouinciae vastationem & excidium complectens, bona fide per Tilmannum Bredenbach conscripta. Coloniae Apud Maternum Cholinum. Anno 1564. Cum grata & priuilegio Caes. Maiest.*

First edition: 1564 (Köln)

2nd ed.: 1564 (Antwerp)<sup>116</sup>; 3rd ed.: 1564 (Leuven); 4th ed.: 1565 (Douai); 5th ed.: 1565 (Neisse)

- (2) Balthasar Russow, *Chronica Der Prouintz Lyfflandt / darinne vormeldet werdt: Wo datsüluige Landt ersten gefunden / vnde thom Christendome gebracht ys: Wol de ersten Regenten des Landes gewesen sint: Van dem ersten Meister Düdesches Ordens in Lyfflandt / beth yp den lesten / vnde van eines ydtliken Daden: Wat sick in der voranderinge der Lyfflendischen Stende /vnde na der tydt /beth in dat negeste 1577. Jar / vor seltzame vnde wunderlike gescheffte im Lande thogedragen hebben / nütte vnde angenehme tho lesende. Korth vnde loffwerdich beschreuen / Dörch Balthasar Rüssouwen Reualiensem. Rostock Gedrucket dörch Augustin Ferber. Anno M.D.LXXVIII.*

First edition: 1578 (Rostock)

1578 (Rostock)<sup>117</sup>; 1584 (Gedrucket tho Bart)<sup>118</sup>

<sup>115</sup> These editions were collected by Sulev Vahtre, new studies may yield different results. Sulev Vahtre, *Balti varauusaegne ajalookirjutus*, I. Manuscript.

<sup>116</sup> *Historia Belli Livonici quod magnus Moscovitarvm dux, contra Livones gessit. Per Tilmannum Bredenbachivm conscripta. Vna cum breui narratione praelarae eius victoriae qua paucis abhinc mensibus Litvani vicissim, contra Moschouitas potiti fuerunt. Antverpiae, Ex officina Gulielmi Silvij, Regij Typographi, An. 1564.*

<sup>117</sup> *Nye Lyfflendische Chronica Vam anfanck des Christendoems in Lyfflandt / beth yp disses Jar Christi 1578. Darin sonderlick Wat sick twisschen dem Muscowiter vnde Lyfflendern / de negesten twintich Jar / her aneinander thogetragen : Trüwlich beschreuen ist / durch Balthasar Russowen Reualiensem. Thom andermal Gedrucket / vnde mit etliken Historien vormehret. Rostock Gedrucket durch Augustinum [...er]. Anno M. D. LXXV[II].*

<sup>118</sup> *Chronica Der Prouintz Lyfflandt / darinne vermeldet werdt. Wo dath süluige Landt ersten gefunden / vnde thom Christendome gebracht ys: Wolde ersten Regenten des Landes gewesen sind: van dem ersten Meyster Düdesches Ordens in Lyfflandt beth vp den lesten / vnde van eines ydtliken Daden. Wat sick in der voranderinge der Lyfflendischen Stende / vnd na der tydt beth in dat negeste 1583. Jar / vor seltzame vnd wunderlike Gescheffte im Lande tho gebrachen hebben : nütte vnde angenehme tho lesende korth vnd loffwerdich beschreuen. Dorch Balthasar Rvssovven Reualiensem. Thom andern mal mith allem flyte*

- (3) Timan Brakel, *Christlich Gespreech Von der grawsamem Zerstörung in Lifland / durch den Muscowiter vom 58. Jar her geschehenn: Auch ihren vrsachen / mit einer kurtzen Predig vnd vermanung / wie / beid Gotlosen / vnnd Frommen / diese schreckliche Mutation fruchtbarlich behertzigen / vnd ihnen zu nutz machen sollen: Durch Timannvm Brakel Liuoniensem, der Gemeine Christi vonn der Augsburgischen Confession Prediger zu Anttorf einfeltig gestellet / vnnd inn Druck verfertigt. Im Jar vnsers Hern 1579.*

First edition: 1579 (Antwerpen)

- (4) Laurentius [Lorenz] Müller, *Polnische / Liffländische / Moschowiterische / Schwedische vnd andere Historien / so sich vnter diesem jetzigen König zu Polen zugetragen / Das ist / Kurtze vnd warhaffte Beschreibung welcher massen dess namens der Erste / zum Regiment kommen / Was für Krieger er geführt / vnd wie er dieselben geendiget / Was sich zu seiner zeit biss daher begeben / vnd auff den Reichstagen zu vnterschiedlichen mahlen abgehandelt / vnd was von dem Türcken vnd Moschowiter für Werbungen vnd andere Anschläge fürgelauffen: Vnd was jetzund für ein zustand in Liffland / Polen / Littawen / vnd der Mosckaw sey. Darinnen auch die Schwedische Kriege wider den Moschowiter / vnd andere Schwedische vnd Dennemärckische hierher notwendig gehörende Händel mit vermeldet vnd beschieben werden. Ingleichen von der Vndentzchen Völcker in Liffland Sitten vnd Leben / so wol auch der Tarterey / dess Fluss Boristhenis / der alten Statt Ryoff gelegenheit / vnd vom warhafften ort dess Exilij Ouidiani, sehr nützlich vnd lüchtig zulesen. Mit fleiss zusammen gezogen durch D. Laurentium Müller / damals Fürstlichen Churländischen Hoffrath / wie auss der Vorrede zuvernemen. Gedruckt zu Franckfort am Mayn / In Verlegung Sigmund Feyrabends. Anno 1585.*

First edition: 1585 (Frankfurt am Main), pirate ed. in 1585 (Lübeck)

together with another book in Wittenberg in 1587, 1601, 1607, 1625; 2nd ed.: 1586, 1595 (Amberg)<sup>119</sup>; from Amberg also eds. 1606, 1607

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*auersehen / corrigeret / vorbetert / vnd mith velen Historien vormehret dorch den Autorem süluest. Gedrucket tho Bart / in der Förstliken Drückerye / Dorch Andream Seitnern. 1584.*

<sup>119</sup> *Septentrionalische Historien Oder Warhaffte Beschreibung der fürnembsten Polnischen / Liffländischen / Moscowiterischen / Schwedischen vnd andern Geschichten: So sich bey Regierung beeder Königen in Polen Stephani vnd Sigismundi dess dritten dises namens / von Anno 1576. biss auff das 1593. Jar zugetragen/ In zwey Bücher kurtz verfasst. Deren Das Erste hie beuor durch D. Laurentium Müllern/ damahls F. Churländischen Hoffrath beschrieben vnd in Druck geben. Das ander aber / sampt einen Appendice vnd continuation dess Ersten / jetz newlich durch einen Liebhaber der Historien mit grossem fleiss zusammen gezogen worden. Sehr nützlich vnd lustig zu lesen. Amberg Durch Michaëln Forstern. Cvm Privilegio. Anno M.D.XCV.*



- (5) Salomon Henning, *Liffländische / Churländische Chronica / Was sich Vom Jahr Christi 1554. biss auff 1590. In den langwirigen Moscowiterischen vnd andern Kriegen an nohttrenglicher verenderung der Obrikeit vnd Stende in Liffland / zeit des letzten herrn Meisters / vnd Ersten in Liffland zu Churland vnd Semigalln Hertzogen /gedenckwürdiges zugetragen: verfasst vnd gestellet / Durch Salomon Henning Vinariesem, Fürstlichen Churlendischen Rath vnd Kirchen Visitatorn. Mit einer Vorrede D. Davidis Chytraei. Jesus Syrach capite 10 Umb gewalt / vnrecht / vnd geitzes willen / kompt ein Königreich von einem Volck auff das ander. Rostock Gedruckt durch Augustin Ferber den Jüngern / ANNO M. D. XC.*

First edition: 1590 (Rostock)

1593 (Leipzig); 1594 (Leipzig); 1595 (Leipzig)

## APPENDIX 2. Seventeenth-century Livonian printed histories discussed in the article

- (1) Paul Einhorn, *Wiederlegung Der Abgötterey und nichtigen Aberglaubens/ so vorzeiten auss der Heydnischen Abgötterey in diesem Lande entsprossen / vnd bisshero in gebrauche blieben. Auch Dess Abergläubigen Missbrauchs der H. Schrift / der falschen und Gottlosen Meinungen / Worte und Wercke / so wieder die Lehre von den Engeln vnd Teuffeln / auch wieder die Tauffe gehalten vnd gebrauchet werden/ Endlich der erdichten Krafft vnd vermeinten Wirkungen so Christlichen Ceremonien, als Feyrtagen / Item besondern örtern / nemblich Kirchen / Altaren / Glocken in den Kirchen/ Lichtern &c. fälschlich zu geschrieben werden. Einfältigen vnd guthertigen Christen zur nachricht/ auch zur vermeidunge und abschew solches Aberglaubens einfältiglich gestellet. / Von Pavlo Einhorn/ Predigern Göttliches Worts zum Grentzhoffe. Gedruckt zu Riga in Lieffland / Durch Gerhardum Schröder / In Verlegung Christian Rittaw Buchbinders vnd Händlers / Im Jahr 1627.*

First edition: 1627 (Riga: G. Schröder)

- (2) Friedrich Menius, *Intrada Vnd Vortrab / Der grossen Vniversal Lieffländischen Historischer Geschichten Beschreibung / Worinnen kürztlich einem*

*jeden für augen gestellet wird / was er in folgender Lieffländischen Chronic zu erwarten. Item / Womit ein jeder mit allerhand Nohtwendigen Nachrichten dem Autori zu bevorstehendem Wercke zu statten kommen möge. Auß licentz zulâ und verordnung der hohen Königlichen Officianten, Gestellet durch Fridericum Menium P. L. C. Pastorn der Kirchen zu Newmühl / Dunemund / Czarnikow und Rohdenpeuß* First edition: 1630 (Riga: G. Schröder)

- (3) Friedrich Menius, *Relatio Von Inauguration der Universität zu Dörpat, geschehen den 15. Octobris, Im Jahr 1632*  
First edition: 1632 (Tartu: J. Becker)
- (4) Friedrich Menius, *Frid. Meni P.L.F. histor. P.P. syntagma de origine Livonorum*  
First edition: 1635 (Tartu: s.n.)
- (5) Paul Einhorn, *Reformatio Gentis Letticae in Ducatu Curlandiae. Ein Christlicher Unterricht / Wie man die Letten oder Unteutschen im Fürstenthumb Churland vnd Semgallen von ihrer alten Heydnischen Abgötterey vnd Aberglauben zum rechten Gottesdienst/ wahrer Gottesfurcht / vnd ernster meidung alles Heydnischen Gottlosen wesens / bringen müge. Frommen vnd Christlichen Predigern / sonderlich den Jungen und die auss Teutschland in diss Fürstenthumb kommen / vnd solcher Heydnischen Abgötterey nicht kündig / zum Unterricht/ neben einer Information, wie das Examen des Catechismi oder die Verhörung der Unteutschen / Jährlich mit rechten Nutzen anzustellen / auch wie etlichen Casibus oder besondern fällen / so sich bey abschaffung solcher Abgötterey begeben möchten / zu begegnen / geschrieben vnd verfertigt Durch Paulum Einhorn / desselben Fürstenthumbs Superintendentem. Gedruckt zu Riga / durch Gerhardum Schröder/ 1636.*  
First edition: 1636 (Riga: G. Schröder)
- (6) Johannes Gutsclaff, *Kurtzer Bericht vnd Vnterricht Von der Falsch-heilig genandten Bäche in Liffland Wöhhanda. Daraus die Vnchristliche Abbrennung der Sommerpahlschen Mühlen geschehen ist. Aus Christlichem Eyfer / wegen des Vnchristlichen vnd Heydnischen Aberglaubens gegeben Von Johanne Gutsclaff / Pomer. Pastorn zu Vrbs in Lieffland. Gedruckt zu Dorpt in Lieffland / bey Johan Vogeln / der Königl. Universität Buchdrucker / im Jahr 1644.*  
First edition: 1644 (Tartu: J. Vogel)
- (7) Paul Einhorn, *Historia Lettica Das ist Beschreibung der Lettischen Nation. In welcher Von der Letten als alten Einwohner und Besitzer des Lieflandes / Curlandes und Semgallen Namen / Ursprung oder Ankunfft / ihrem*

*Gottes-Dienst / ihrer Republica oder Regimente so sie in der Heydenschafft gehabt / auch ihren Sitten / Geberden / Gewonheiten / Natur und Eigenschaften [et]c. gründlich und ümbständig Meldung geschicht. Der Teutschen Nation und allen der Historischen Warheit Liebhabern / zu einem nöthigen Unterricht zusammen getragen und in dem Druck verfertigt Durch Paulum Einhorn / Fürstlichen Curländischen Superintendenten P. M. In Verlegung Jacobi Sternbachs, Notarij Ecclesiastici Curlandiae. Dorpt in Liefland Gedruckt durch Johann Vogel / der Königl. Acad. Buchdrucker / im Jahr 1649.*  
First edition: 1649 (Tartu: J. Vogel)

- (8) Caspar von Ceumern, *Casparis von Ceumern Salcensis Sorabi Theatridium Livonicum Oder Kleine Liefländische Schau-bühne / Worinnen Aller von Anfang herin Liefland gewesenen / so Geist- als Weltlichen Regenten als Bischöffe / Erz-Bischöffen / Herrmeistern und Königen Namen / zu was Zeit sie gelebet / und in was Jahren ein jeder regieret / biss zu Anno 1621. siegreicher Schwedischen Eroberung der Stadt Riga / zu finden. Darauff folgig eine Verzeichnüß der Städte / Schlösser / und Clöster / wie sie Anno 1555. vor der Moscowitischen Verstörung des Landes / als Lieflland noch in vollem Flor gewesen / besessen worden und was darin vor Kirchen und Filialen zu finden. Wie auch eine Specification und Namen-Register des vor deme gewesenen und ausgegangenen und nu jetzo darin befindlichen Adels. Denn auch etliche in alter Nieder-Sächsischer als auch Lateinischer Sprache von vorigen alten Lieflandes Regenten der Ritterschafft damahl gegebene Privilegia ins Teutsche versetzt. Endlich eine kurtze Erwehnung der Müntze / wie solche bey alten Zeiten in Lieflland gänge und gebe gewesen. Aus alten Monumenten zusammen gezogen / und heraus gegeben. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Sac. Regiae Majest. Sveciae. Riga / In Verlegung / Georg Matthias Nöller / 1690.*  
First edition: 1690 (Riga: M. Nöller)

- (9) Christian Kelch, *Liefländische Historia Oder Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung der Denckwürdigsten Friedens- und Krieges-Geschichte / So sich theils vor / theils nach der Liefländer Bestehung zum Christenthum / biss auffß Jahr 1689 begeben / So wohl aus glaubwürdigen Scribenten / als auch aus bisshero noch nicht ans Licht gekommenen glaubwürdigen Uhrkunden / und theils eigener Erfahrung / In Fünff Büchern auffß kürtzeste abgefasset und entworffen von Christian Kelchen / Pastore zu St. Johannis in Jerwen. Frankfurt und Lepzig / In Verlegung Johann Meners / Buchhandl. Rudolfsstadt / druckts Heinrich Urban. 1695.*

Christian Kelch, *Liefländische Historia Oder Kurtze Beschreibung der Denckwürdigsten Kriegs- und Friedens-Geschichte Ehst-, Lief- und Lettlands;*

*Vornehmlich in sich begreifend Einen kurtzen Bericht von den Nahmen / Einteilung / und Beschaffenheit der Provintz Liefland / von deroselben ältesten Einwohnern / der Ehsten und Letten Ursprung / Heydenthum und erster Bezwinngung: Von des Schwerd-Brüder und Marianischen Teutschen Ritter Ordens Anfang / Regierung und Untergang: Von denen zwischen Schweden / Polen / Moscau und Dennemarck ic. des Landes wegen / geführten landwierigen Kriegen / und viel andern bis auffs 1690. Jahr / vorgelauffenen denckwürdigen Dingen mehr; Theils aus Ein- und Ausländischen Geschicht-Schreibern / theils alls glaubwürdigen / noch ungedruckten Urkunden / und selbst-eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen / und in fünff Büchern abgefasset / von Christiano Kelchen / Pastore zu St Johannis. In Jerwen / im Hertzogthum Esthland. Cum gratia & Privilegio Sacrae Regiae Maj. Sveciae. Verlegts Johann Mehner / Buchhändler in Reval / im Jahr 1695. Rudolphstadt / druckts bey Heinrich Urban*

First edition: 1695 (Rudolfstadt: Heinrich Urban)

- (10) *An Account of Livonia; with a relation of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Marian Teutonical Order. The several Revolutions that have happen'd there to these present Times, with the Wars of Poland, Sweden and Muscovy, contending for that Province. A particular Account of the Dukedoms of Courland, Semigallia, and the Province of Pilten. To which is added The Author's Journey from Livonia to Holland, in 1698. with his Observations upon Prussia, Brandenburg, Hannover, Hesse, and several other German Courts. Sent in Letters to his friend in London. London: Printed for Peter Buck, at the Sign of the Temple, near the Inner-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet, 1701.*

First edition: 1701 (London: Peter Buck)<sup>120</sup>

<sup>120</sup> French edition: *Description de la Livonie, Avec une Relation de l'origine, du progres, et de la decadence de l'Ordre Teutonique. Des revolutions, qui sont arrivees en ce Pays jusqu'a notre temps, avec les guerres, que les Polonois, les Suedois, & les Moscovites ont eües ensemble pour cette Province. On y decrit les Duchez de Courlande et de Semigalle, et la Province de Pilten. Enfin on y trouve le voyage de l'auteur de Livonie en Hollande l'an 1698. Avec quelques Remarques sur la Prusse, Brandebourg, Hanover, Hesse, et plusieurs autres Cours d'Allemagne* (A Utrecht Ches Guillaume van Poolsum, Marchand Libraire. 1705).

### APPENDIX 3. *Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Livonian manuscript chronicles*

(1) Johann Renner (ca 1525 – 1583)

Several mscr-s

Editions: *Johann Renner's Livländische Historien*, hrsg. von Richard Hausmann und Konstantin Höhlbaum (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1876); Johannes Renner, *Livländische Historien 1556–1561*, hrsg. von Peter Karstedt (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 1953)

(2) Moritz Brandis (ca 1550 – ca 1604)

Several mscr-s

Editions: *Moritz Brandis, Ehstländischen Ritterschafts-Secretarien Chronik, Monumenta Livoniae antiquae*, Bd. 3 (Riga; Leipzig, Eduard Frantzen, 1840, 1842).

(3) Franz Nyenstede (1540 – ca 1622)

Several mscr-s

Editions: *Franz Nyenstädt's, weiland rigischen Bürgermeisters und königlichen Burggrafen, Livländische Chronik, nebst dessen Handbuch*, hrsg. von G. Tielemann (Riga; Leipzig: Frantzen, 1837); *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae: Sammlung von Chroniken, Berichten, Urkunden und anderen schriftlichen Denkmälern und Aufsätzen, welche zur Erläuterung der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland's dienen*, Bd 2 (Riga; Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Frantzen's Buchhandlung, 1839).

(4) Dionysius Fabricius (fl. ca 1600)

Several mscr-s

Editions: *Dionysii Fabri J. D. de Pomerania oriundi Historia Livonica sive Livoniae descriptio curante Gustavo Bergmann P. R. Stanno Ruinensi MDC-CXCII*; *Dionysii Fabricii praepositi pontificii Felinensis Livonicae Historiae compendiosa seires in quatuor digesta partes ab anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo octavo usque ad annum MDCX. Curante Gustavo Bergmann P. R. Editio secunda auctior et emendatior. Stanno Ruiensi CIOIÖCCXCV*; *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum: Sammlung der wichtigsten Chroniken und Geschichtsdenkmale von Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland; in genauem Wiederabdrucke der besten, bereits gedruckten, aber selten gewordenen Ausgaben*, Bd. 2 (Riga; Leipzig: Eduard Frantzen's Verlags-Comtoir, 1848); *Dionysius*

*Fabriciuse, Viljandi kiriku praosti Liivimaa ajaloo lühiülevaade neljas osas aastast tuhat ükssada viiskümmend kaheksa kuni aastani 1610 = Dionysii Fabricii, Praepositi pontificii Felinensis, Livonicae historiae compendiosa series in quatuor digesta partes ab anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo octavo usque ad annum MDCX* (Tartu: Johannes Esto Ühing, 2010).

(5) Michael Zaupe (1585–1611)

Several partial mscr-s  
Published only partially.

(6) Chronicle of Viecken (ca 1612–1623)

Several mscr-s  
Only small parts have been published.

(7) Chronicle of Bodecker (ca 1600–1631)

Several mscr-s  
Editions: *Bodeckers Chronik. Livländischer und Rigascher Ereignisse 1593–1638*, hrsg. von J. G. L. Napiersky (Riga: N. Kymmel's Buchhandlung, 1890).

(8) Jürgen Helms (fl. ca 1628–1643)

Three manuscript summaries  
Has not been published.

(9) Thomas Hiärn (1638–1678)

Several mscr-s  
Editions: *Thomas Hiärns Ehst-, Liv- und Lettländische Geschichte*, Th. 1, hrsg. von J. F. von Recke (Mitau: bey Johann Magnus Wehrt, 1794); *Thomae Hiärn's Ehst-, Lyf- und Lettlaendische Geschichte, Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, Bd 1, hrsg. von C. E. Napiersky (Riga; Dorpat; Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Frantzen's Buchhandlung, 183; *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae: Sammlung von Chroniken, Berichten, Urkunden und anderen schriftlichen Denkmalen und Aufsätzen, welche zur Erläuterung der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland's dienen*, Bd. 2 (Riga und Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Frantzen's Buchhandlung, 1839).

(10) Chronicle of Gustav von Lode (1633–1705) and David Werner (unknown)

Several mscr-s  
Has not been published.

(11) Christian Kelch (1657–1710), Continuation

Several mscr-s

Editions: *Liefländische Historia. Continuation 1960 bis 1707*, hrsg. von Johannes Lossius (Dorpat, Druck und Verlag von Schnakenburg's litho- und typogr. Anstalt 1875).

(12) Adam Friedrich von Fischbach (middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> C)

Two mscr-s

Published as first part of Otto Fabian von Wrangell's Chronic: *Landrath Wrangell's Chronik von Estland nebst Ehstländischen Capitulations-punkten und Nystädter Friedensschluss*, hrsg. von C. J. A. Paucker (Dorpat: Heinrich Laakmann, 1845).

(13) Otto Fabian von Wrangell (1655–1726)

One mscr

Editions: *Landrath Wrangell's Chronik von Estland nebst Ehstländischen Capitulations-punkten und Nystädter Friedensschluss*, hrsg. von C. J. A. Paucker (Dorpat: Heinrich Laakmann, 1845)

## KOKKUVÕTE: *Ajaloolane ja trükipress varauusaegsel Eesti- ja Liivimaal*

Võrreldes mõne teise Euroopa piirkonnaga, jõudis trükipress Eesti- ja Liivimaale võrdlemisi hilja, alles 16. sajandi teisel poolel. Esimene trükikoda asutati Riiga, seejärel koos gümnaasiumi ja ülikooliga Tartusse ning Tallinnasse. Enne sajandi lõppu sai trükipressi endale Narva ja Tartu ülikool koos trükikojaga kolis sajandi lõpus Pärnusse.

Käesolev artikkel analüüsib, kuidas või kas üldse mõjutas trükikunsti levik ajalookirjutust Eesti- ja Liivimaal. 16. sajand oli Liivimaa kroonikakirjutuse kõrgaeg. Liivi sõja ajal ja järel kirjutasid mitmed vaimulikud ja ametnikud ülevaateid toimunud sõjasündmustest. Euroopa huvi piirkonnas toimuva vastu tõusis märgatavalt ja mitmed siinsed ajaloo teosed trükiti Saksamaa ja Hollandi suurtes trükikunsti keskustes (Köln, Antwerpen, Rostock, Maini-äärne Frankfurt, Lübeck). Ajaloo teosed trükiti Kesk-Euroopas nii Riia trükikoja avamise eel kui järel.

17. sajandil kirjutati Eesti- ja Liivimaal täispikki kroonikaid. Käsikirja jäid katoliikliku vaimuliku Dionysius Fabriciuse, kaupmehe Franz Nyensede, Eestimaa rüütelkonna sekretäri Moritz Brandise, lühemad Riia linna, Jürgen Helmsi, ametniku Thomas Hiärni, aadliku ja tema koduõpetaja Gustav von Lode-David Werneri, Eestimaa rüütelkonna sekretäri Adam Friedrich von Fischbachi ja aadliku Otto Fabian von Wrangelli kroonikad. Ainukesena nägi trükivalgust sajandi lõpupoole kirjutatud vaimuliku Christian Kelchi kroonika esimene osa, kuid trükiti see Saksamaal. Ka selle järg jäi pikaks ajaks käsikirja.

Eesti- ja Liivimaal asunud trükikojad trükkisid pigem lühemaid ajaloo teoseid, mille hulka kuuluvad *Academia Gustaviana* esimese ajaloo professori Friedrich Meniuse trükised, ajaloo teemalised kõned ja disputatsioonid. Traditsiooniliselt loetakse ajalookirjutuse hulka ka Kuramaa superintendenti Paul Einhorni etnograafilised teosed lätlastest ning nende usundist ja kommetest ning ametniku Caspar von Ceumerni entsüklopeediaaladne teos. Lisaks trükkisid kohalikud trükipressid mitmeid lendlehti ja mõned mitte-Liivimaa ajalugu puudutavad teosed, mida traditsiooniliselt ei loeta kohaliku ajalookirjutuse ajaloo märkimisväärsete teoste hulka.

Miks siis ikkagi trükiti enamik 16. sajandi kroonikaid ja 17. sajandi kroonikad jäid käsikirja? Artiklis on tutvustatud mitmeid võimalikke põhjuseid. Autorite isikuga seotud põhjustest võib esile tõsta kaks – autori soovimatus oma käsikirja trükkida lasta või tema enneaegne surm. Kuigi konkreetseid motiive on raske kindlaks määrata, võib mõne teose puhul



oletada, et need on kirjutatud autori või tema perekonna isiklikuks tarbeks. Üsna tõenäoliselt oli selline märkme- või päevaraamat Otto Fabian von Wrangelli kroonika. Ka Franz Nyenstede võis kirjutada teose oma tarbeks, kuid tuleb märkida, et ta pidas ka eraldi päevaraamatut. Eestimaa rüütelkonna sekretärid Moritz Brandis ja Adam Friedrich von Fischbach võisid kirjutada oma teosed ametkondlikuks kasutamiseks rüütelkonnas, kuid mõlema puhul võis mängu tulla teinegi aspekt: Moritz Brandis ja võib-olla ka Thomas Hiärn surid enne kui jõudsid oma kroonika valmis kirjutada ning seetõttu ei trükitud lõpetamata teoseid ära. Adam Friedrich von Fischbach aga võis leida oma teose alatooni pisut liiga Eestimaa-meelse ajal, mil Rootsi kuningriik üritas Läänemere provintse tugevamalt emamaaga siduda. Fischbachi kroonika oli tegelikult kokkuvõtte nn Lode-Werneri kroonikast, millest levis nii saksa- kui ladinakeelne versioon, kuid kumbagi ei trükitud. Kroonika käsitleb erandlikult Eestimaa ja Liivimaa ajalugu eraldi ning viitab sellele, et kahte kubermangu tuleks seetõttu ka erinevalt kohelda.

Probleemsed on ka Dionysius Fabriciuse ja Vieckeni kroonika ning Christian Kelchi kroonika järg. Fabriciuse kroonika väljendab selgelt katoliiklikku Poola vaatenurka Liivi sõjale ja sellele järgnevale. Kindlasti ei oleks seda saanud trükkida Rootsi võimu alla kuuluvatel aladel, kuid miks jätsid Poola-Leedu trükikojad propagandavõimaluse kasutamata? Kas kroonika valmis liiga hilja ja oli liiga pikk? Vieckeni kroonika jutustab Riia kalendrirahutustest ning selle trükkimine võis panna autori ebamugavasse olukorda. Kelchi järg väljendab poolehoidu Rootsile ning selle trükkimine Venemaale jäänud Eesti- ja Liivimaal ei olnud uue riigivõimu huvides.

Vaadates küsimust trükikodade poolelt tuleb tõdeda, et siinsed trükikojad olid väikesed ja trükkisid enamasti lühemaid teoseid – kõned, disputatsioonid ja dissertatsioonid, mille kuld kandis autor; erinevad kohaliku omavalitsuse poolt trükkida lastud dokumendid, mille eest tasus samuti kohalik omavalitsus, ja kutsed ning jutlusetekstid, mille eest enamasti tasus tellija. Mitte, et siinsed trükikojad ei oleks olnud võimelised pikemaid teoseid trükkima. Trükiti ka mõned mahukad teosed, kuid selle töö maksis kinni autor või tema patroon, väga harva trükikal. Siinsed trükikalid ei olnud ettevõtjad, kes oleks trükkinud mahukaid teoseid lootuses saada oma investeeringud teoste müügist tagasi. Tõenäoliselt otsis patrooni Friedrich Menius, kes oma mahuka kroonika kirjutamise eel lasi ära trükkida tulevase teose lühitutvustuse. Thomas Hiärni surma järel jäi kroonika käsikiri raamatukõitja Heinrich Hakelmanni kätte, kes proovis leida toetust Eestimaa rüütelkonnalt.

Senises kirjanduses on arutletud selle üle, kuidas on trükipressi rajamine seotud piirkonna kultuurielu elavnemise ja literaatide hulgaga. Vaadates ajalookirjutuses toimuvat, võib tõdeda, et trükikultuur jõudis Eesti- ja Liivimaale enne trükipressi. Ajalookirjutajad lasid oma teosed trükkida Kesk-Euroopa suuremates keskustes ning kasutasid mujal trükitud teoseid oma ajalooteoste kirjutamisel. Kuigi 17. sajandil ei jõudnud mitmed ajalooteosed trükki, poleks täispikk kroonika kujunenud selliseks ilma trükikunsti levikuta. Trükitud allikate põhjal konstrueeriti näiteks müütiline esiaeg ja eeldatavasti kasutati erinevaid lendlehti ja ajalehti kaasaja sündmuste kirjeldustes. Edaspidi tuleks uuesti üle vaadata varauusajal Eesti- ja Liivimaal trükitud ajalooteemalised teosed, sest raamatuloolaste ja ajalookirjutuse ajaloolaste tähelepanu all on olnud erinevad teosed ja ühtne käsitlus puudub.