# THE BEGINNING OF THE REGISTRATION OF ESTONIAN BOOKS IN PRINTED WORKS AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE BALTIC SEA

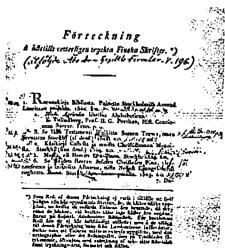
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The discussion has sprung from a particular event – The Year of Estonian Book; therefore it is in every respect appropriate to consider retrospectively the most important issues of Estonian book and its history. The contemporary history of Estonian book lacks conclusive point of view in regards to the date of publishing the first register of Estonian books that could be called the first bibliography of printed volumes in Estonian. We have in mind an enumeration, not synoptical discussions or currently printed lists, which mention and describe books, but

which do not qualify as retrospective bibliographies.

In the year of book it is important to make retrospectives in every book-related aspect, to re-

is important to make retrospectives in every book-related aspect, to revise the hitherto knowledge and to find the crucial points in bibliography. Jan Amos Comenius described the relation between the world and book in following words: the world is a maze, from which the books can lead us out. The idea can be further developed if we claim that the maze of the realm of books can be solved bν technological means of bibliography.



It is common that a national history of books treats the fact of the first printed bibliography, i.e. compilation or register quite uniquely. For example the Finnish bibliographical papers refer that a librarian of Turku University Carl Nicklas Keckman compiled the first enumeration in 1821. The mentioned list can be associated with the birth of Finnish national ideology [18, 26]. On the contrary, Estonian history of typography does not mention similar uniquely treated fact.

Every new step in technology could be described as an annual ring of tree growth, as concentricity. The books have led society to innovations. Gutenberg's invention shot us into a new phase of progress and technology; in the course of changes that took place in manufacturing and marketing it shaped all aspects of life, from education to the development of nations. The advent of typography favoured publishing of books and bibliographies in national languages – the same holds true also in comparative treatment of national printed works in Baltic Sea region. We have referred to the synoptical papers and discussions by Ilse Hamburg [16], Josef Korpala [22], Vladas Žukas [46], Esko Häkli [18], Eduard Winkelmann [51].

The first major innovation in regards to the development of nations began with the printing of books in national languages. It was the preliminary condition and initial point of development for national bibliographies. As a rule, major nations could produce the first national volume before the minor nations; national literature emerged in Lutheran countries at about the same time, during the second quarter of 16th century. That era comprises the most of first printed volumes the nations of Baltic Sea region produced.

The first ones to pay attention to the volumes and books printed in national languages were humanists, especially Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), a scientist of Spanish descent, who during Middle Ages attached importance besides lingua franca - Latin - also to native, spoken languages. It raised the question of the descent and origin of languages, its differences and common features. The problem is that until that time (and even up to 17th century) the Old Testament, especially the legend of how God mixed the languages when the tower of Babylon was being built, was hold as an authoritative theory for descent of languages. A medical doctor, known as the father of bibliographical science, naturalist and botanist Konrad Gesner (1516-1565, the first bibliographical compilation Bibliotheca universalis sive catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus in tribus liguis, Latina, Graeca et Hebrica...1545) was rapt with ideas of classifying and indexing the matters of world. He was the first scientist to gather and compare the linguistic evidence and grammars of different nations; in his book Mithridates: de differentiis linguarum tam veteran, tum quae hodie apud diversas nationes in toto orbe terrarum in usu sunt observationes (1555) he published the text of Pater Noster in 22 different languages. The advent of modern sciences, invention of typography and

spread of learning the latter favoured brought about deeper interest in linguistic phenomena in 16th century. One reason for linguistic comparisons being made was the contact Europe had had with an utterly different world – America. For Europe it was an opportunity to experience orbis novus – a New World – and discover that the world accommodates people rather different from the folks of Europe. Also the linguistic differences were enormous. The interest in languages emerged also due to the fall of universal language, which dominated throughout the Middle Ages, namely Latin. Europeans printed more and more books in their native languages and discarded Latin as the language of old culture and church. Konrad Gesner wrote in Latin; however, he dedicated quarter of his Mithridates, 36 pages, to his native language lingua germanica, which he put in use in his later writings. During Gesner's lifetime the samples of different languages were published in geographical papers and volumes of different Cosmographies. For example Sebastian Münster's Cosmography includes Pater Noster in German, but also in Finnish and Latvian [24].

The comparison of timelines of first printed volumes in native languages confirms the above-mentioned claims. The first languages the nations of Baltic Sea region fostered for printing were German, Swedish and Polish. First German publications were printed during the first decades following the invention of typography. The first Swedish volume, printed in Stockholm in October 1489 with Bartolomeus Ghotan's type, was a brief overview of papal bull on one page. Articuli Abbreviati, which is held in the Library of Uppsala University [7, 98-105]. Johannes Smedh (Fabricus) printed six years later, in 1495, in Stockholm Johannes Gerson's 26 pages long paper Aff dväffwlsens frästile in Swedish. It is the translation of Jean Gerson's, who was a theologian from Paris, Latin written tract Tractatus de diuresis diaboli temptationibus (About the different manifestations of Evil), which is held in the library of Uppsala University [7, 144-147]. A Latin book, printed in 1475 in Breslau (Wroclav) at Caspar Elyan's print, Statuta synodalia episcoporum Wratislaviensiem, included also texts in Polish (Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo). The first wholly Polish volume Raj duscny (Hortus Anima) was printed at Florian Ungler's print in Krakow in 1517 [22, 20]. At some point between these two dates, presumably around the year 1508 Historyja umeczenia Pana naszego Jezu Chrystusa was produced, the text reminds us of catechism; however, no copies nor evidence of physical features of this book have survived [30].

The first Estonian and Latvian (also Livonian?) printed volumes followed soon afterwards. Books in Estonian, Latvian and Livonian (the latter may be also in Low German, which was spoken in the area) or a trilingual book were printed in 1525 in Germany, about which only a brief comment has survived – missas in vulgaro esthonica, lettica oc livonica. The Latin word missa can be interpreted in various

ways. I mention three interpretations: the text could have been an ordinary, an epistle or an encomium. The texts included in catholic liturgy are Kyrie eleison, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei [50, 1182]. Martin Luther produced himself songs similar to the above-mentioned, one of which was Te Deum (Praise the Lord), which could have belonged among the texts of mentioned trilingual book [1, 48-54].

In regards to the timeline the last printed volumes in Baltic Sea region were the first ones in Finnish and Lithuanian. The first known printed matter in Finnish was Mikael Agricola's catechism-oriented *Abc-kirja*, which was published in 1543 in Stochkolm [23, 39–54]. During the following ten years the father of Finnish standard language Agricola published up to 2000 pages of printed texts. The first Lithuanian book is Martynas Mažvydas *Catechismus*, published in Königsberg in 1547, the title page of which contains also Lithuanian alphabet [47].

In Europe and also in Baltic Sea region literary lexicons, compiled grammars and collections of native literature - bibliothekas - started to pay attention to local languages, books written in native languages and the authors. Lexicons outstripped bibliothekas in terms of start of printing. Compiling lexicons was popular and the volumes were fairly widespread at the end of the 17th century. These lexicons emphasised the importance of local writers, but did not always mention the titles of the writings. Johann Scheffer compiled a lexicon about Swedish region - Svecia literata seu de scriptis & scriptoribus gentis Sveciae. It was published in Stockholm in 1680 [39]. During the end of the 17th century and beginning of 18th century four Estonian cities issued a literary lexicon - Tallinn [6], Tartu [10], Narva [13] and Pärnu [40]. Henning Witte's lexicon Diarium biographicum [52] focused more on all the Baltic authors and their texts. Estonian and Livonian literati were related to the first current bibliographical magazine Nova literaria maris Balthici et Septentrionalis edita 1698-1710, which was published in Lübeck and Hamburg [16, 26]. Anders Anton Stienman's Abo literata - the first guide to mainly Swedish literati active at Turku University in Finland and their mainly in Latin and Swedish written papers - was published in Stockholm in 1719, reprinted in 1990 [44]. Jan Daniel Janock's Polonia litterata nostri temporis was published in 1750 in Breslau (Wroclav) [22, 51]. Still, the increasing number of national publications was not given much relevance. The subject arouse more interest on the next century, during the Age of Enlightenment. The best evidence could be Recke's and Napiersky's literary lexicon, published in Baltic countries, which encompassed three provinces - Estonia, Livonia and Courland - and the main goal of which was to enumerate the volumes of all the writers about which the material was available. at the same time fixating in a quite representative way the Estonian and Latvian volumes of the authors [36].

The prerequisite for national printed matters had to do with fixing unitary ortographical and structural rules by means of grammars written in native languages; in that respect the previous centuries are disparate from the 17th century. We could maintain that the latter celebrated the flourishing of native grammars. In regards to Estonian language four authors issued their grammars: Heinrich Stahl [42], Johann Gutslaff [14], Heinrich Göseken [15] and Johann Hornung [17]. Three authors describe Finnish language. Erik Pontoppidan's Danish grammar, published in 1668, contained extracts from Henricus Crugerus' Finnish grammar [27]; also Eskillus Petraeus [33] and Matthias Martinius [28] issued their treatment of Finnish language. Four Latvian grammars - by Georg Mancelius [26]. Johann Georg Rehehusen [37], Heinrich Adolphi [2] and Georg Dressel [9] were published; in addition two Lithuanian grammars, by Konstantinas Širvydas [45] and Daniel Klein [21], two Swedish grammars, by Gabriel Tammelinus (published anonymously) [48] and Nils Tiällmann [49] were produced. However, many of the grammatical manuscripts of that time remained unpublished or were printed much later. For instance Erik Aurivillius' Swedish grammar, which was compiled in 1684, got into print in 1884 [4] and Johann Lange's Latvian grammar, compiled in 1685, was printed not before 1936 [25].

The next stage of development of national literature could be associated with the publication of enumerations, which included local authors and books printed in native languages. These were usually printed volumes known as overviews of national literature or collections of printed texts (bibliothekas), the sample of which could be the first specimen in Baltic Sea region, printed in Sweden already in 1731 – Anders Anton Stierman's Bibliotheka suiogothica, published in two volumes [44]. Bibliotheka of the books of Livonian people was compiled by Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch [12].

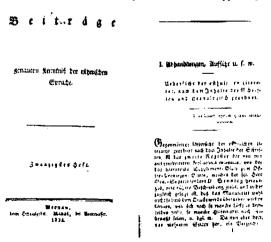
The first four decades of 19th century saw the emergence of first retrospective bibliographical enumerations or registers of printed volumes of all the nations in Baltic Sea region. The first bibliography of Latvian literature was published in 1812 in Jelgava (Mitaus), capital of Curland, under the title Versuch einer Geschichte der lettischer Literatur (An attempt to represent history of Latvian literature) (136 pages). It was compiled by Kuldiga district superintendent Ulrich Ernst Zimmermann (1772–1820). It is probable that the first list did not comprise all the materials [53]. Carl Eduard Napiersky elaborated the enumeration and printed a new copy in 1831 in Jelgava (Mitaus) under the title Chronologischer Conspect der Lettischen Literatur von 1587 bis 1830 (A chronological conspectus of Latvian literature) (281 pages).

First enumeration of Polish books to be printed was Feliks Bentkowski's *Historia* literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł drukiem ogłoszonych (Enumerational overview of history of Polish literature) in two volumes, published in 1814 in

Warssawa and Vilnius [5]. The next attempt to represent a bibliography of history of Polish publications up to 1830 was made by Adam Benedykt Jocher; it was published in Vilnius during 1840–1857 in three volumes under the title Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce od wprowadzenia do niej druku po rok 1830 włącznie (A bibliographical-historical synopsis of literature and sciences in Poland) [19].

In regards to Finnish literature the first list compiled by Carl Niclas Keckman was published in Turu in 1821 under the title Förteckning a härtills vetterligen trycta Finska skrifter (A list of Finnish publications known so far). After the fire in Turu University in 1827 they started to recollect the data about oldest Finnish publications and the samples. The librarian of Helsingi University Fredrik Wilhelm Pipping compiled a new enumeration of publications – Luettelo Suomeksi präntätyistä kirjoista (A list of printed publications in Finnish), which was published in 1856–1857 [34].

The first retrospective bibliographical enumeration in Lithuanian – Lietuvisku knygu bibliografija (A list of printed publications in Lithuanian) – was compiled as an appendix to the book New science of reading by a that time student of Vilnius University, Kajetonas R. Nezabitauskis (1800–1876); its two volumes were published in 1824 in the magazine Dziennik Wilenski. In 1829 was published Simonas Stanevičius' recommendational list of books printed in Lithuanian – A Bibliography of Lithuanian Book. Some bibliographies were supplied with information about both Polish and Lithuanian books, for example that of Peter Köppen's [46, 15–16].



The first register of printed Estonian literature was published by Johann Heinrich Rosenplänter in 1832 in Pärnu; it was included into the last booklet of his magazine Beiträge under the title Uebersicht der ehstnischen Literatur, nach dem Inhalte der Schriften und chronologisch geordnet (An overview of Estonian literature in chronological order and according to the contents of volumes) [38].

Thus we could claim that the nations of Baltic Sea region without statehood, i. e. Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Finnish printed the first historical national bibliographies more or less synchronically. Bibliographers have paid little attention to Estonian first printed bibliographical enumeration. The reason is clear: Rosenplänter's major and thorough bibliography Bibliotheca Estonica remained a manuscript, but overshadowed his printing list. However, also the first bibliographies of other nations do not contain entries that are prerequisite for modern science of bibliography. The fact that Rosenplänter's major manuscript has survived has great significance, contributing to specification of entries of the printed register.

Unfortunately the first register of Estonian printed literature has passed rather unnoticed in Estonian bibliographies. Ilse Hamburg's monography contains a chapter *The establishment of Estonian national bibliography* [16, 38–59] but it does not state, whether we could, while considering establishment, also talk about printing the first enumeration of Estonian books. In the mentioned chapter Hamburg contemplates primarily Rosenplänter's manuscript of *Bibliotheca Eshonica* and concludes that the painstaking work did not remain utterly unnoticed, for Rosenplänter published a systematic register of his manuscript in the last booklet of his magazine. The author does not attribute to the volume a value of the birth of national biography, the reason being the aforementioned fact that the manuscript of major enumeration remained unprinted. On the other hand the latter fact has little significance, for the first printing lists of other nations were poorer (for example that by compilers of Finnish bibliography) than the unprinted major manuscripts which got into print after being elaborated by new generations of bibliographers.

It is important that the bibliographical booklet of Estonian books, which was printed in 1832 and had a separate title, spread also to Finland, Sweden and Germany. Considering the history of Estonian books and bibliography the fact could be unambiguously emphasised much in the way Uku Masing valued the Rosenplänter's publication, writing an interesting overview About one unregistered printed matter by C. Brendeken [29, 737-742]. We know that on the 17th century the registration of publications did not take place in a current manner and Uku Masing took the publication printed in 1832 for the register of Estonian books.

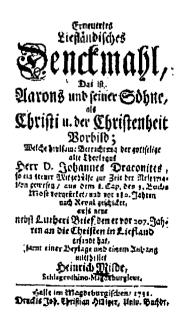
The advance orders for the enumeration of 1832 were placed also in Finland and Sweden; the subscribers spread the word among the local specialists. Among

the subscribers were the future giants of Finnish and Swedish science — Master of Arts Adolf Iwar Arwidson, royal secretary of Stockholm's Royal Library, and students of Uppsala University Adolf Friedrich Baer, Carl Axel Gottlund and Johann Ulrich von Törne. Literati of Finnish descent, Arwidson and Gottlund had published their writings in Rosenplänter's Beiträge. Arwidson proposed in 1822 a Finnish orthography, which corresponds to Estonian phonetics. Carl Axel Gottlund became the advocate of founding Finnish national libraries [32, 231–232]. Among the Estonian subscribers of Rosenplänter's register of Estonian books were Estonian Society in Kuressaare, General Superintendent of Riga and the former parson of Tarvastu and Sangaste dr. Karl Ernst Berg, who had compiled Estonian collection of sermons and an A-B-C and reading book [11, 615].

Historical national bibliography is highly valued by Polish bibliographers Anna Migoń and Marta Skalska-Zlat, who emphasise the contribution it has given to the research and representation of modern national literature. We must agree with their opinion. It is equally important to point out which printed matters are included in

Rosenplätter's register, which consists of approximately 410 entries. By means of the oldest part of published retrospective Estonian national bibliography it is possible to find out how entirely it represented the reality. The mentioned oldest part registers 730 entries of the same period [11].

The value of the first national bibliographies can be proved if we consider the page about Estonian hymnals in Rosenplänter's bibliography's fourth type. It reads that in 1731 was published Heinrich Milde's hymnal (?) Erneurtes Lifländisches Denkmal (A Renewed Memorial of Livonia). The author has not been known as the author of Estonian texts. Further information about Milde's authorship can be found in Recke-Napiersky's lexicon of literati of Estonia, Livonia and Curland, which reveals that the author published in the mentioned book the epistles Lutheran reformers had written for Livonia [36, 228-229]. As



the book was produced in order to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Augsburg's Creed, the pages could hide also some information about the first Estonian book. Especially interesting was the fact that Rosenplänter treats this German-titled book as an Estonian printed matter. The solution came with the copy we managed to retrieve from Riga. It does not reveal anything particularly new about the first Estonian book. The book consists of epistles of German reformers, but is complemented with an Estonian Christian encomium *Te Deum laudamus* (Praise the Lord), which has German parallel text; both versions have Latin titles [31, 48–51]. In order to give sense to the mentioned supplement we may conclude that it is a song which had been translated during the reformation and which was re-translated by an Estonian friend of Milde's, one of the best specialists on Estonian language Heinrich Gutsleff. The history of reformation proves that the same text was translated in Riga during the reformation into Low German; afterwards it was sung in Riga at Latvian (undeutsche) Lutheran sermon [3, 715].

In conclusion we could point out that the bibliography in the countries surrounding Baltic Sea has developed according to general regularity. Here I would emphasise that it is the historical phenomenon of networking, much similar to that of modern computer networks. The networked forwarding of historical information begun after the invention of typography. Despite the fact that the fruits of typography were accessible only for quite a limited part of the society the ideas and models spread everywhere, evoking analogous phenomena in various countries and places.

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#### Abstract

Jam Amos Comenius described the relation between the world and book in following words: the world is a maze, from which the books can lead us out. The idea can be further developed if we claim that the maze of the realm of books can be solved by technological means of bibliography. Every new step in technology could be described as an annual ring of tree growth, as concentricity. The advent of typography favoured publishing of books and bibliographies in national languages – the same holds true also in comparative treatment of national printed works in Baltic Sea region.

We could point out that the bibliography in the countries surrounding Baltic Sea has developed according to general regularity, more or less synchronically. Here I would emphasise that it is the historical phenomenon of networking, much similar to that of modern computer networks. Despite the fact that the fruits of typography were accessible only for quite a limited part of the society the ideas and models spread everywhere, evoking analogous phenomena in various countries and places.

Historical national bibliography is highly valued by Polish bibliographers Anna Migoń and Marta Skalska-Zlat, who emphasise the contribution it has given to the research and representation of modern national literature.

### ESTŲ KNYGŲ BIBLIOGRAFINĖS REGISTRACIJOS PRADŽIA LYGINANT SU KITOMIS BALTIJOS ŠALIMIS

#### LIIVI AARMA

#### Santrauka

Janas Amosas Komenius taip apibūdino pasaulio ir knygos santykį: pasaulis yra labirintas, iš kurio gali išvesti knyga. Toliau galime išplėtoti šią minti, jei paskelbsime, kad iš knygų karalystės labirinto gali padėti ištrūkti bibliografinės priemonės. Kiekvieną naują jų sudarymo technologijos žingsnį galime traktuoti kaip metinį medžio augimo koncentrinį žiedą. Spaudos išradimas padėjo įsigalėti knygų ir bibliografinių priemonių nacionalinėmis kalbomis leidybai. Tai patvirtina ir nacionalinės spaudos Baltijos šalyse lyginamasis tyrimas.

Galime tvi inti, kad Baltijos šalyse bibliografija plėtojosi pagal bendruosius dėsningumus daugmaž tuo pačiu metu. Reikėtų pabrėžti, kad tai buvo istorinis tinklo kūrimosi reiškinys, labai panašus į šiuolaikinio kompiuterių tinklo atsiradimą. Nors spaudos produkcija buvo prieinama tik tam tikrai visuomenės daliai, idėjos ir modeliai paplito visur ir žadino panašius reiškinius įvairiose šalyse.

Istorinę nacionalinę bibliografiją labai vertina lenkų bibliografės Anna Migoń ir Marta Skalska-Zlat, kurios pabrėžia jos įtaka šiuolaikinės nacionalinės literatūros tyrimams ir pristatymui.