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about the Sámi

A History of Johannes Schefferus'
Lapponia (1673)

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Foreword

The foreword is one of the literary conventions that have endured the last couple of centuries. There, the author recounts why and how the very book came into existence. Ideally, the foreword convinces you to read on.

The numerous readers of *Lapponia*, possibly the earliest ethnographical book dealing with one particular people and its homeland, were and still are easily convinced. In the 17th and 18th centuries, learned contemporaries all over Europe wanted to know whether the accounts they had heard about the Sámi people were truthful. Were they mighty sorcerers, as pamphlets, songs and stories would have one believe? Were they Christians? Did they ride on reindeers? Did the sun really disappear in their homeland for weeks on end in winter? Where did they come from and what did they actually look like? What about their customs and their language? Until today, scholars studying the history and cultures of the Sámi people turn to the detailed descriptions and iconic illustrations found in *Lapponia*. It created relatively nuanced yet problematic standard narratives that significantly influenced ideas about and representations of the Sámi people.

This monograph on a monograph tells the story of how *Lapponia* came into existence. It presents a circumstantial study of the agents involved in the Lapponia project and shows how the European book market received and appropriated the work of Johannes Schefferus and his collaborators. The book you hold in your hands is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation and the outcome of a four-year doctoral research fellowship at UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

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Introduction

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

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

The present study centres on the structure and book history of *Lapponia* and the 17th and 18th centuries' writings originating from it. It analyses the structures of knowledge manifested in them and examines how knowledge crucial for the endeavour became part of the book. Local experts and informants were highly significant sources. The knowledge presented in *Lapponia* was dependent on and interconnected with many other scholarly undertakings. One of the most important arenas for information exchange between scholars was

- 1 See Manker's foreword in Johannes Schefferus, *Lappland*, ed. Nordiska museet, trans. Henrik Sundin, ed. Ernst Manker, Acta Lapponica VIII (Uppsala: Gebers, 1956), 7–8: “[...] det skulle dröja nära trehundra år innan det med här föreliggande översättning kunde utkomma på hemlandets språk.”
- 2 Carl Gustaf Warmholtz, *Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica*, 15 vols., vol. 1 (Stockholm: Trykt hos Anders Jac. Nordström, 1782), 257–259; Elena Balzamo, “The Geopolitical Laplander - From Olaus Magnus to Johannes Schefferus,” *Journal of Northern Studies* 8, no. 2 (2014): 29–43, at 41; Mårten Snickare, “Kontroll, begär och kunskap - den koloniala kampen om goavddis,” *RIG - Kulturhistorisk tidskrift* 2 (2014): 65–77, at 71.

the Republic of Letters, a letter-writing community connecting the learned, nobility and others across political and confessional boundaries.³ This study discusses its significance for the Lapponia project and vice versa.

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

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

3 See, for instance Dirk van Miert, Howard Hotson, and Thomas Wallnig, "What Was the Republic of Letters?," in *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age: Standards, Systems, Scholarship*, ed. Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2019), 23–40; Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti, "Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern Culture: An Introduction," *JEMS* 3 (2014): 17–35; Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe III: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

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

state to another. Essentially, it is the carrying beyond of anything. ‘Beyond’ implies the existence of two or more states, moments, or places.⁵

For *Lapponia*, numerous examples of translation in the linguistic meaning, that is from one language to another, and in the wider sense of ‘carrying beyond’ are observable. They are an underlying theme throughout this study. Given that Schefferus never went to the region he described, knowledge about it had to come to him. This knowledge reached him in the form of manuscripts, objects, and people. Their movements are translations in terms of the two above-mentioned meanings of ‘translatio’. *Lapponia*, then, was a translation of these sources into the scholarly standards of the early modern era.

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

Initially, the Sámi drum was a sacred device. In the relevant belief system, all humans possess two souls, the body soul and the free soul. While the body soul remains with the body even after death, aside from illusions in the form of ghosts, the free soul could under certain circumstances leave the body, and would do so permanently after death. Used properly, that is in a state of trance, the drum could ‘carry’ the free soul of the ritual specialist ‘beyond’ the divide between the two worlds. The symbols on the membranes are a depiction of the

5 Cf. the discussion of the term “translatio” in Michael Wintroub, “Translations: Words, Things, Going Native, and Staying True,” *AHR* 120, no. 4 (2015): 1185–1217. The processes of translation of knowledge I describe are to be seen in light of the well-explored theoretical discussions of ‘transfer of knowledge’. See for instance Heike Jöns, Michael Heffernan, and Peter Meusburger, “Mobilities of Knowledge: An Introduction,” in *Mobilities of Knowledge*, ed. Heike Jöns, Peter Meusburger, and Michael Heffernan, Knowledge and Space 10 (Cham: Springer, 2017), 1–19; Udo Friedrich, “Einleitung: Transfer von Expertenwissen,” in *Transfer von Expertenwissen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Gelehrte Diskurse in der volkssprachigen Praxis*, ed. Udo Friedrich and Eva Schumann (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2018), 9–34.

complex system of different spheres in this worldview.⁶ Different drums might share similar features in design or build, but each drum is also a unique representation (or translation) of the worldview of one individual. Accordingly, the Sámi drum itself is a highly translational device.

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

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

This translation of the drum into collections in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe formed the basis of later lappological studies on the drum. Lappology is the idea of studying the "Lapps" within a particular distinctive field of research. A centre of these efforts was the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, where Ernst Manker examined numerous drums and published his findings

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

7 Håkan Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*, ed. Peter Schalk, Third ed., AUU Historia Religionum 12 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2004).

extensively.⁸ Like Schefferus, who kept his collection of drums together with other objects and his library in his *museum* in Uppsala, Manker studied the symbols on the drumskins to write about their meaning.

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

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

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

- 8 Ernst Manker, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine ethnologische Monographie I. Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur*, Acta Lapponica I (Stockholm: Thule, 1938); Ernst Manker, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine ethnologische Monographie II. Die Trommel als Urkunde geistigen Lebens*, Acta Lapponica VI (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1950).
- 9 For a discussion with focus on Norway, see Siv Ellen Kraft, "Sami Neo-shamanism in Norway: Colonial Grounds, Ethnic Revival and Pagan Pathways," in *Contemporary Pagan and Native Faith Movements in Europe: Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses*, ed. Kathryn Rountree, EASA Series 26 (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 25–42.
- 10 Francis Joy, *Sámi Shamanism, Cosmology and Art as Systems of Embedded Knowledge*, Acta Universitatis Lapponiensis 234 (Rovaniemi: Lapin Yliopisto/University of Lapland, 2018), dissertation, 196–207.
- 11 Nils Oskal, "The Character of the Milk Bowl as a Separate World, and the World as a Multitudinous Totality of References," in *Sámi Stories - Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, ed. Marit Anne Hauan (Tromsø: Orkana, 2014), 78–89.



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

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

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

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

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

13 There, they are placed in the thematic category “Sveriges och Finlands geografi och topografi” and in the subcategory “Sveriges geografi, Lappland”. UUB S 163; UUB S 164.

14 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) alluded to the terms diastole and systole

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

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

*

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

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

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

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

Among the literary theories employed in this study is Gérard Genette's model of paratextuality. According to Genette, paratext is the entirety of text accompanying a base text and thereby transforming it into a book. Paratext is either materially connected to the book as peritext, or it exists without any material connection outside of the book as epitext.¹⁶ A more detailed introduction into Genette's paratextuality is part of Chapter 1, where I compare the various manifestations of peritext in the several books deriving from the Lapponia project in the 17th and 18th centuries. My comparative analysis shows the largely differing circumstances of the coming into existence of each one of the versions. This underlines that the project of publishing a monograph on the Sámi continued after the initial publication and led to a number of books that share large parts of their content, but are indeed very distinct pieces of knowledge literature in contexts of their own. There exist a few studies touching upon the transnational and translational quality of the Lapponia project, but this is the first extensive analysis of this aspect.¹⁷

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

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

18 See Christian Jacob, "*Lieux de savoir*. Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge,"

as a book, a manuscript, an instrument or an artefact; and it can be the practice of dealing with an object or with experts.¹⁸ Given the impact of the various editions deriving from the Lapponia project, one can also regard them as *lieux de savoir*.

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

KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge 1, no. 1 (2017): 85–102; see furthermore, the introductory chapters of the first two of four projected anthologies dealing with the lieux de savoir: Christian Jacob, “Introduction: Faire corps, faire lieu,” in *Lieux de savoir: Espaces et communautés*, ed. Christian Jacob, Lieux de savoir 1 (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2007), 17–40; Christian Jacob, “Introduction,” in *Lieux de savoir: Les mains de l’intellect*, ed. Christian Jacob, Lieux de savoir 2 (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011), 11–28.

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

- 20 Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, “Networking the Republic of Letters,” in *Re-*