

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLISHING BUSINESS IN TALLINN IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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The aim of the article is to give an overview of the development of publishing business in the 18th century Tallinn. It presents the most important groups of publishers and characterises their publishing activities. The article also analyses how the main characteristic features of European publishing of the time (subscription, authorship rights, contracts with authors) were adapted in Estonian publishing activities.

KEYWORDS: *book history, publishing, the 18th century, Tallinn, printer-publishers, booksellers, bookbinders, publishing companies, subscription, censorship.*

The forms and processes for producing and disseminating books have varied widely during the history, but the role of publishers has always been crucial in formation of literary markets. From small beginnings in the late middle ages it has grown into a vast and complex industry for dissemination of a wide range of cultural material. The development of publishing in its turn depended on the spread of printing and technical innovation as well as on social changes such as the spread of literacy and education. The importance of studying publishing business is perhaps best expressed by Don Francis McKenzie, when stating: “<...> any history of the book which excluded study of the social, economic and political motivations of publishing, the reasons why texts were written and read as they were, why they were rewritten and redesigned, or allowed to die, would degenerate into a feebly digressive book list and never rise to a readable history.”¹

In the Baltic provinces of the Swedish realm the print culture started to develop rapidly after establishing printing offices in Riga (1588), Tartu (1632), Tallinn (1634), Jelgava (1667) and Narva (1695). The spread of printing in its turn created preconditions for the publishers to enrich the book market with the works produced by local authors.

Regarding the fact that everything concerning books (printing, publishing, book trade) in the Baltic provinces was in the hands of foreign entrepreneurs,

mainly of German origin, it is understandable that publishing business and book trade developed according to the German traditions; the changes characteristic of the time period were similar to those taking place in Germany. The books published and printed in local printing offices were targeted at different social and linguistic consumer groups, even though they were produced and disseminated by the same persons. The native people, Estonians and Latvians, were known for a high level of oral national culture (national songs, myths, tales), but it aroused the interest of *litterati* only in the second half of the 18th century when texts, written down by educated men, were first published.

In the 17th century, there were no publishing houses in Estonia (the way we understand them today). State laws and orders were published via mediation of the Governor's office, whereas books and booklets for their own activities were published by grammar schools, town magistrates and *Academia Gustaviana*. As was characteristic of the early period of printing art, printers-publishers and bookbinders were the first to build the local book market and publish books. In several cases the authors published their works also at their own cost.

All activities – printing, publishing and book trade – were regulated by privileges, which differed by time and content, granted by the rulers (The Swedish Kings, Russian Emperors, Courland dukes) or town magistrates. The privileges connected to printing and printers were usually given by magistrates: privileged printers were working on a 'free of tax' basis. They were partially paid by the magistrate for providing services to the town. The privileges for publishing had to protect publishers against illegal reprints of their publishing articles. These were usually given by the state authorities. The book trade privileges were issued by the magistrates (for selling books in towns) or by the rulers, if the question was about the right to sell books in a certain region of the state.

By the end of the 17th century a certain arrangement was finally established, but it was destructed by the Great Northern War (1700–1721). The famine before the war, the war itself and the following plague left the region in economic disaster. Only the Riga and Tallinn printing offices could continue working. *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* was evacuated together with its printing office and the library was removed to Sweden, which left the provinces without the higher education institution for almost a century.

The recovery of the economy and adapting to the political system of the Russian empire took several decades, creating by the middle of the 18th century ad-

1 MCKENZIE, Donald Francis. The book as an expressive form. In *The Book History Reader*. Ed. by

David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. London and New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 29.

equate conditions for the spread of Enlightenment ideas. The region's cultural orientation to Germany remained unchanged, the nobility and municipal authorities preserved their former privileges. For the local cultural development the most important of these were Lutheranism and the use of the German language in all official and juridical matters. The schools were reopened, the church organisation restored, the region offered various jobs for the educated immigrants from Germany – there were lot of vacant places for pastors, school teachers, handicraft workers etc. The growing number of educated people was enhancing the interest to read and to develop the local book culture. The most active in the field were the printers-publishers, but the role of booksellers and bookbinders was also growing fast.

The aim of the article is to give an overview of the development of publishing business in the 18th century Tallinn (Reval) after the Great Northern War, to characterise the main groups of publishers and to demonstrate how the changes in publishing that took place in the European centers were adopted in local publishing business.

Publishing has always been closely connected to printing and book trade and therefore made up a natural part of book history research. Estonian researchers have mainly focused on printers-publishers², less treated have been connections between book trade and publishing.³ The first attempt to give a separate attention to publishing business was made in the historical overview "Estonian book 1525–1975" (1978), in which at the end of every period summaries on printing, publishing and book trade were presented. The first attempt to bring together all forms of publishing business and treat it as a separate phenomenon was made by the author of the article in her monograph "Raamatukultuur Tallinnas 18. sajandi teisel poolel" (Book culture in Tallinn in the second half of the 18th century; 2001). The selected approach enabled to distinguish different groups of publishers and bring forward similar features with the developments characteristic of 18th century European book publishing in general.

The Enlightenment era brought along crucial changes not only in book production, content of book market and reading, but also in the organisation of publishing process, understanding of authors' rights and the birth of men of letters who wrote for their living. In the Baltic provinces these changes were gradually adapted, combining the new ideas with existing traditions, current legislation and social conditions.

In publishing business, similar developments to other European countries are observed. With regard to book production, there was a considerable difference concerning the content of reading lectures for different social consumer groups. In choosing their publishing articles the publishers had to take into account that Ger-

man books were well presented in the local book market and well known authors were often preferred to the local ones.

PRINTERS AS PUBLISHERS

As was the case with printing business in West Europe in the first centuries of its activity, the printers in Tallinn (Reval) combined the roles of a printer, publisher and bookseller. The main publishing articles of the printing office were formed already in the second half of the 17th century: A-B-C-books and catechisms in Estonian, German, Finnish and Swedish languages, calendars and hymnals in German and religious handbooks in the Estonian language. These books were listed as publishing articles by the printer and publisher Adolph Simon already in 1672.⁴

Archival documents do not give evidence whether the first after war printer Johann Köhler (worked as printer 1716–1736) had renewed the publishing privilege. He was married to Simons' daughter, and the privilege of 1672 assured that it was regarded unexpired to the descendants of a printer-publisher, if they proceeded working in the field. However, it seems that in 1721 Köhler obtained the publishing privilege on catechisms and A-B-C-books.⁵ The primers and catechisms from the beginning of the 18th century have not survived, but were most probably still published, although the print numbers could be not as big as expected, as demonstrated by several petitions of bookbinders regarding the lack of the needed number of textbooks in the book market. Köhler also continued publishing the calendars: his first German language calendar "Ehst-Liefländischer Allmanach" in sedecimo is known from 1718. Instead of two different calendars in German, listed in Simon's published items, Köhler started to issue the other calendar in the Estonian language, the first one probably appeared in 1720.⁶ In addition, the printing

2 See for example: PUKSOO, Friedrich. Jacob Johann Köhler. Esimese Eesti piibli trükkal. In *Vana Tallinn IV*. Tallinn, 1939, p. 5–34; Tallinna esimesed eratrükikojad XVIII sajandi lõpul ja XIX sajandi esimesel poolel. In *Vana Tallinn III*. Tallinn, 1938, p. 5–23; JAANSON, Ene-Lille. *M.G. Grenziuse trüki- ja kirjastustoodang 1786–1818*: Bibliograafianimestik. Tartu, 1985. 186 p.; ROBERT, Kyra. Boktryckarna in Tallinn på 1600-talet. In *Den estniska boken genom seklerna*: Bokhistoriska uppsatser. Utgivna av Endel Annus och Esko Häkli. Helsingfors: Helsingfors Universitetsbibliotek, 1995, p. 31–52; REIMO, Tiiu. *Trükindus ja kirjastustegevus Tallinnas 17.*

ja 18.sajandil in Eesti vanimad raamatud Tallinnas. Tallinn, 2000, p. 95–113.

3 See: JÜRJO, Indrek. Der Buchhandel in Reval im 18. Jahrhundert. *Nordost-Archiv. Neue Folge*, 1998, vol. 7, 1, p. 139–172.

4 TREUMANN, Hans. Adolph Simoni raamatute nimestik ja teisi raamatuloolisi mistselle. In TREUMANN, H. *Vanemast raamatukultuuriloost*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1977, p. 53–65.

5 PUKSOO, Friedrich. Jakob Johann Köhler. Esimese Eesti piibli trükkal. In *Vana Tallinn IV*, 1939, p. 30.



Calendar in German published by the printer Johann Köhler

office had the contract with the administration of the Estonian Governor's office for printing legislative publications (*Publicata, Befehle, Ukasen*). Tallinn magistrate ordered printing of various prescripts, regulations, forms and price-lists.

The biggest loss for Köhler was to give up the publishing of the religious handbook "Eesti-Ma Kele Koddoning Kirko-Ramat" in the Estonian language. The Provincial Consistory, which started to compile a new pietistic handbook, conducted evaluation of the conditions of Tallinn printing office and found them not good enough. The decision was taken therefore by the Provincial Consistory to take the publishing of the book upon itself. The first editions of the book were printed in Halle, Germany.

Köhler's son Jacob Johann Köhler (worked as the printer 1736–1757) and his widow Anna Catharina Trump (the owner of the printing office 1757–1769) did not make changes in

the structure of the published items. However, they might have also published some books – Jacob Johann Köhler occurs as publisher at least in one book of religious content: "Das erneuerte Andenken des leidenden und sterbenden Jesu" (1751).⁷

Publishing activity became more intensive under the new ownership of the printing office, namely, that of father and son Axel Heinrich Lindfors (owners of the printing shop 1769–1784). Lindfors the senior was married to the daughter of Jacob Johann Köhler and acted first as a custodian of his underage son to obtain the printing office. Being a merchant of the Great Guild and the member of the Magistrate, he had several possibilities to strengthen the position of the printing office. His first steps were to re-establish the publishing right of the German language hymnal and the Estonian language handbook – the published items that formerly had belonged to the printing shop, but which at that time were published by the Provincial Consistory. To go to court he needed the certification of the publishing privilege given to the printer Adolph Simon in 1672, as his son was Simon's legal descendant. He succeeded in getting the privilege in 1770 and was then ready to dispute the publishing right of the Consistory.

Regarding the publishing rights, the processes initiated by Lindfors were the first documented lawsuits concerning publishing. Already before obtaining the privilege, Lindfors disputed the publishing right of the Tallinn Pastors' Ministry (*Stadtministerium*) concerning the publishing of hymnal in the German language. Lindfors' petition was treated at the Magistrate in January 1770, where the Superintendent Gustav Heinrich Kellner defended the right of the authors (Tallinn Pastors' Ministry) to choose the publisher or publish the book itself.⁸ "Revalisches Gesang-Buch..." was first printed in 1706 by the binder and bookseller Christian von Trapp. He, as argued by Lindfors, gave his publishing right to the printer Christoph Brendeken. Kellners standpoint was that the new version is not the same but a totally new book, but it did not help: the Tallinn Magistrate decided in 1771 that the Pastors' Ministry has the right to publish the half prepared book, but the publishing right of the following editions will go back to the printer.⁹

The legal process on the publishing right of the Estonian language handbook took several years (1772–1778). Having started at the Tallinn magistrate, it was taken over by the Estonian Governor's office and the Board of Justice in St. Petersburg. Already in 1773 the Governor's office brought in a verdict in favour of the printing office, but the Provincial Consistory appealed to the higher court – The Board of Justice (*Reichs-Collegium der Ehst-, Lief- und Finnländischen Sachen*). It was only in November 1778 that the Senates' order ensured the publishing right to the printer and imposed the fine on the Provincial Consistory. As a result, Lindfors published in the years 1773–1793 six new editions of the handbook which brought the printing office considerable profit.

The publishing activity of the printer is documented in the reports to the Governor's office. Reports from 1772, 1775 and 1783¹⁰ have survived and demonstrate not only the items published by the printer but also the content of the local book market in general. The items published by the printer and the print works

6 ANNUS, Endel. *Eesti kalendrikirjandus 1720–1900*. Tallinn, 2000, p. 13.

7 The book is preserved in the Academic Library of Tallinn University (TLÜAR I-6047).

8 *Gehörsamste Vorstellung und Bitte des hiesigen Stadt Ministerii wegen des zu druckenden neuen Gesangbuches*. Tallinn City Archives, f 230, n 1, s Bf.78-II, l. 84–89.

9 REIMO, Tiit. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas 18. sajandi teisel poolel*. Tallinn, 2001, p. 128.

10 The oldest report „Verzeichniß derer Bücher, die Zeit 1770 nach erneyen aller Gnästigten, Confir-

mation, des Privilegio auß den Druck gekommen sind alhier in Revall“ is preserved in Latvian State History Archive (f 4038, n 2, s 1640, l. 639–640); the report from 1775 „Verzeichniß dererjenigen Bücher, welche in der Kayserl. Privilegirten Lindforsischen Buchdruckerey in Reval gedruckt und verlegt werden“ can be found in Estonian History Archive (f 3, n 1, s 374j, l.1); the last one „Verzeichniß derer Bücher, so ich... unterbenannten dato eingerichtet habe“ from 1783 in Tallinn City Archives (f 230, n 1, s Bf 78-I, l. 19).

ordered from the office are separated only in the report from 1775. The printing office published elementary textbooks (A-B-C-books and catechisms) in Estonian, German, Finnish and Swedish languages. In addition to the Bible stories (*Auszug aus der Bibel*, probably “Jummala surest Teggudest Mailma peäl” by J.C.Henckel) and the short stories for peasants (*Bauergespruch*; Hansu ja Mardi jutt) in the Estonian language were among the published items of the printer. For some reason the calendars published by the printer were not registered in the reports. They appear for the first time in the report from 1803.

The most voluminous book published and printed by Lindfors was the full Bible in the Finnish language. The motivation to increase publishing in the Finnish language was based on the need for religious texts for the Finnish-speaking population in the north-west of Russian empire (Ingermanland). Narva Consistory had in 1774 asked from the Board of Justice the permission to start subscription for the new edition of the Finnish Bible, which was planned to be published in Turku. Being aware of it, Lindfors applied himself and promised in addition to the Bible to publish catechisms and hymnals in the Finnish language. Subscription was announced in Ingermanland on both Bible publications. The subscription process was quite successful, already by November 1774 Lindfors' Bible had 700 subscribers, as reported by the Viborg consistory. “Biblia, Se on: Koko Pyhä Raamattu, Suomexi” was published in Tallinn in 1777, Turku Bible had come to the market a year before. Two similar books certainly reduced the selling numbers for both publishers.

The owners of the private printing shop, founded in the middle of the 1780-ies by Martin Christoph Iversen and Sigmund Fehmer, had difficulties to find their niche in the publishing business. Even to find orders for profitable printing activity was not an easy job. Taking into account the potential target groups, the printers focused on publishing books in the Estonian language. Their first subscription announced in the newspaper “Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten” was the reader for Estonian schools “Ellamisse-Juhhataja” (Recommendations for life) by Friedrich Wilhelm Willmann (1793). It was followed by the collection of religious songs “Ued Waimolikkud Laulud” by Peter Heinrich Frey (1794) and Bible stories together with religious songs “Öppetusse-Ramat” by the provost of Ambla, Anton Heinrich Lücke (1795, 1796). According to the order of Catherine II private printing offices were closed in 1796. Iversen moved to Wiborg, and concluded a contract with the town magistrate, in 1802 he moved to St. Petersburg.

Estimating the role of printers as publishers in the 18th century Tallinn, it should be noted that their most appreciable activity was producing books in the Estonian language. The publishing articles had remained, however, quite undefined, which caused confusion and odds among the publishers. The truth was that catechisms,

hymnals and A-B-C-books were similar in content and the new compilers were having troubles to assure their authorship or apparent difference from previous books. As to books in German and other languages, the local printers-publishers took care of primary textbooks, calendars and religious (devotional) literature.

BOOKBINDERS, INSTITUTIONS AND AUTHORS AS PUBLISHERS

Bookbinders who had been quite active publishers in the 17th century, in the 18th century focused on selling books. The national retrospective bibliography registers only one title – the tragedy “Die Inquisition”, published by the bookbinder and bookseller Gottlieb Wilhelm Boldt in 1780.

The Tallinn Grammar School was the most active institution in publishing: twice during the year the programmes containing speeches of professors dedicated to the Emperor’s birthday and name day were published, once a year study programmes were made public, occasionally invitations to exams and inauguration of new professors were published. The Dome school published the small catechism for pupils (1756) and the collection of Bible maxims (1756).¹¹

There have always been authors who finance publishing of their works themselves. In the 18th century Tallinn these were mainly the people who tried their hand in poetry (the minister Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Luce published the collection of poems “Lappalien” at his own cost (1783), the law officer Martin Heinrich Arvelius issued the belletrist album “Die Liefländische Iris” (1784). Authors themselves usually paid for the printing of occasional publications, e.g. publications devoted to a certain person or event. The total amount of occasional printed matter is impossible to estimate, but their number was certainly much bigger than the survived titles demonstrate.¹²

THE FIRST PUBLISHING HOUSE *VERLAGS-CASSA DER EHSTNISCHEN BÜCHER*

The changeover to Russian ascendancy did not bring along changes in religious life. The need for religious education of native people forced the Estonian Provincial Consistory to focus on publishing and disseminating religious texts in the Estonian language. Until the end of the Swedish hegemony the main publish-

11 REIMO, Tiiu. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 135. 18. sajandil. In *Vana Tallinn XIII (XVII)*. Tallinn,

12 REIMO, Tiiu. *Õnnesoovid ja kaastundeavaldused*. Juhutrikised linnakodanike suhtlusvahendina 2002, p. 249.

er of Estonian language religious books had been the Tallinn printing office. The books published by the Consistory were also printed in Tallinn.

However, the printing process of the Estonian New Testament (1713–1715) evinced problems of the local printing office, primarily lack of paper and labour force. The printer Johann Christoph Brendeken had worked alone and the printing process went on slowly. The paper, which was bought already before the war, had been used for different purposes and was sufficient for only 400 copies.¹³

The Estonian Provincial Consistory, having started the work on the new, pietistic manual in the Estonian language, was not convinced of the printers ability to publish the book, and decided to publish it itself. To enhance the publishing activities, a special institution – *Verlags-Cassa der ehstnischen Bücher* was formed in 1721. It can be considered the first publishing house in Estonia, established with the aim of publishing and disseminating religious texts. First headed by the pastor Eberhard Gutsleff Jr., it was since 1733 directed by the board of four members, elected from the assessors. The publishing office became the most remarkable publisher of religious books until the end of the century.

The publishing office issued 15 editions of the religious manual “Ehsti-Ma Rahwa Kodd- ja Kirko-Ramat” (House and Church-Book for Estonian Country-People) during the years 1721–1771 (1721, 1723, 1729, 1735, 1737, 1741, 1745, 1746, 1752, 1755, 1758, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1771).¹⁴ The first editions were printed in the centre of pietistic movement – Halle. It is not clear when exactly the printing was entrusted to the Tallinn printing office, but for sure in 1740-ies the book was already printed in Tallinn.¹⁵ The manual was published in great print numbers, usually 4000 to 6000 copies and during the half of the century at least 56 000 copies were published. Losing the publication right to the Tallinn printing office in 1773 was a big loss for the publishing office and significantly reduced the activity of the Consistory in publishing business. After losing the publishing right the office tried to avoid printing their books by Lindfors, but having few other choices, had in several cases to accept it.¹⁶

The manual consisted of four separate parts: catechism, extracts form gospels and epistles, hymnal and prayer book. Already in 1673 the part of gospels was amended with a tale of Christ’s sufferings and death¹⁷, in 1690 the story of eradication of Jerusalem first appeared in the handbook of South-Estonian dialect, printed in Riga; in Tallinn manual it appears in 1701.¹⁸ Hymnal and prayer book satisfied the need for devotional reading material. The addition to hymnal was first made in 1740 with songs for Hernhuter congregations. Every part of the manual had its own title page and could possibly be bound and disseminated separately. Several editions also have general title pages. The survived copies demonstrate

that quite often the book was put together by a binder, as the bindings consist of parts with different publishing years. The manual made up a profitable publishing article for many reasons. First of all, the number of Estonian language book titles was not big and for many decades the manual was used as a reader for literate people.

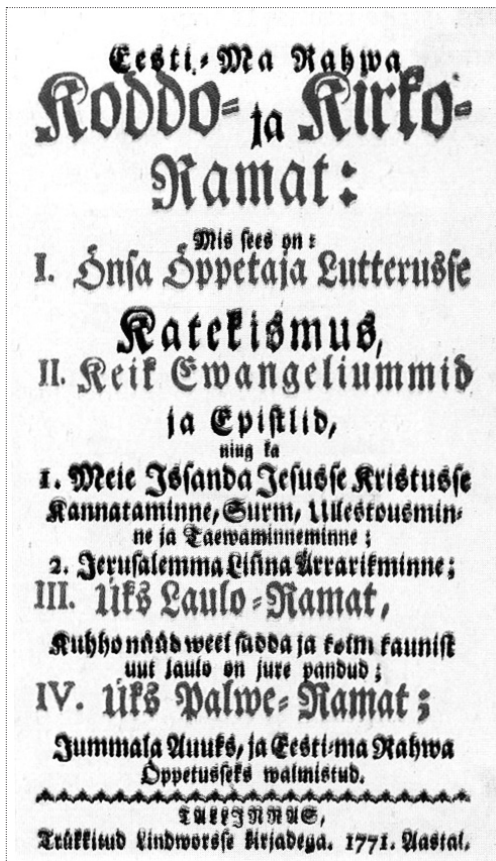
Furthermore, the publishing office issued several editions of the pietistic booklet “Ordnung des Heils” by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, which in Estonian was titled “Jummala Nou Innimesse iggawess-est önnistusest” (1727, 1729, 1743, 1758, 1766, 1790, 1791, 1793)¹⁹ and prepared religious books for German and Swedish congregations.

Quite exceptional in the items published by the Consistory was publishing of the Estonian grammar “Kurtzgefaßte Anweisung Zur Ehstnischen Sprache...” which was printed in Halle in 1732. The author, the minister Anton Thor Helle included in the book the grammar, vocabulary, phrases, and proverbs. The introduction to the book was written by the minister Eberhard Gutsleff. The book was printed in 612 copies and the Publishing Office distributed it to Tallinn

13 *Eesti raamat 1525–1975: Ajalooline ülevaade*. Tallinn, 1978, p. 57.

14 REIMO, Tiit. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 115.

15 The opinions of book historians differ: Friedrich Puksoo has written, that the book was printed in Tallinn since 1738 (see F. Puksoo, Jacob Johann Köhler, p. 21); Endel Annus gives the year 1746 (see *Eestikeelne raamat 1525–1850*, no. 103). According to the Consistory only four editions were printed abroad (see Estonian History Archive, f 1187, n 1, s 126, l. 54).



The Estonian language religious manual. The last edition published by the Provincial Consistory publishing office

16 In 1787 the Consistory started to prepare the second edition of the New Testament and had the agreement with Iversen and Fehmer, but the printing Office was not able to fulfil the contract and probably had their own agreement with Lindfors, as it was also printed by Lindfors.

17 *Eestikeelne raamat 1525–1850*. Toim. Endel Annus. Tallinn, 2000, no. 36.

18 *Ibid*, no. 89.

19 *Eestikeelne raamat 1525–1850*, no. 124, 132, 174, 226, 249, 358, 366, 385.

bookbinders. According to the archival documents all books were sold only by the end of 1768.²⁰

Remarkable is also the fact that the publishing office took part in dissemination of books published by others. The first such case is observed at the end of 1740-ies, when the office helped to distribute the textbook of mathematics “Anweisung zur Arithmetik...” (1737) by the teacher of Tallinn Dome School Michael Weber.²¹ The book was printed by Jacob Johann Köhler, its publisher is not known. The second case, registered in the account book of the office concerned the book by Friedrich Gustav Arvelius “Ramma Josepi Hädda ja Abbi-Ramat”, based on free translation of the book “Noth- und Hülfsbüchlein füe Bauersleute” by the German writer Rudolph Zacharias Becker. This book was published at the cost of the Tallinn German Theater (*Revaler Liebhaber Theater*) in 10 000 copies and disseminated free of charge.²²

In order to print their books in the Tallinn printing shops, the publishing house concluded contracts with printers. Three of them have survived: the agreement on printing the second edition of the Estonian Bible (1773) and the contracts on printing two editions of the collection of sermons “Jutlusse Ramat” (1779, 1791).²³ The contracts determined the print number, the quality of paper, the cost of casting and printing of one sheet and the bonuses for extra work, the breakdown of payments and the deadline to accomplish the printing.

The Publishing Office of the Provincial Consistory succeeded in enriching the literary market with religious books for Estonians and also set in many ways a good example to other publishers in organising the publishing process, editing and dissemination of books.

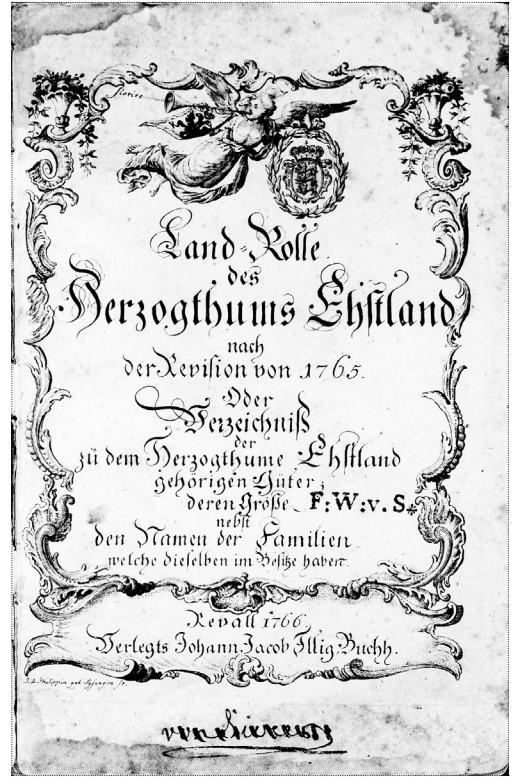
BOOKSELLERS AS PUBLISHERS

In the 18th century Europe the leading role in publishing business belonged to the booksellers. It was the best way to make agreements with other booksellers and to augment the assortment of a bookshop in case books were changed sheet to sheet. Booksellers had also good knowledge on customers reading interests and could easily discover the missing genres in the book market. Carl Günther Ludovici, the author of the commercial handbook, divided the booksellers–publishers according to their publishing activity into three groups²⁴:

- publishers who sell their publishing articles for money;
- publishers who exchange their publishing articles on sheet to sheet principle;
- booksellers who focus on book trade, but who also publish some books and sell them for money.

Tallinn booksellers belonged to the first and third group of publishers.

The first professional bookseller in Tallinn was Johann Jacob Illig from Leipzig. In 1759 he applied to the magistrate for the privilege to establish a bookshop and sell books in Tallinn. In his application he also promised to publish textbooks and bookshop catalogues. Illig as the publisher appears first in 1764 on the title page of the hymnal “Vollständiges Revalisches Gesangbuch”. In 1766 he published the book of the land revision “Land-Rolle des Herzogthums Ehstland nach der Revision von 1765”. In 1768 two schoolbooks followed – the textbook of rhetoric by the teacher of Tallinn grammar school Jacob Martin Herold and the textbook of civil law “Institutiones juris civilis” by Nicolaus Johann Nottbeck. Illig was also the publisher of two philosophy books by Ernst August Wilhelm Hörschelmann: “Kompendium der Philosophie für Anfänger” (1771) and “Kompendium der Metaphysik” (1773).²⁵ His greatest achievement is the founding and publication of the weekly newspaper “Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten”, for which he obtained the permission from the General Governor of Estonia in December 1771.²⁶ The first number of the newspaper was published on January 2, 1772. The newspaper was edited by Hörschelmann, who became



The book published by the bookseller Johann Jacob Illig with the first engraved title page in Estonian book production

20 TREUMANN, Hans. Veel mõnda Eesti Raamatute Kirjastuskassa arhivaalide lehekülgedelt. In TREUMANN, H. *Vanemast raamatukultuuriloost*. Tallinn, 1977, p. 72.

21 TREUMANN, Hans. Mõnda Eesti Raamatute Kirjastuskassa arhivaalide lehekülgedelt. In TREUMANN, H. *Vanemast raamatukultuuriloost*. Tallinn, 1977, p. 68.

22 TREUMANN, Hans. Mõnda Eesti Raamatute Kirjastuskassa arhivaalide lehekülgedelt, p. 67.

23 EHSTNISCHE, Bücher-Verlags Cassa. Tallinn City Archives, f. 874, n 1, s 5, l. 85; s 9, l. 2–3; l. 50–51.

24 LUDOVICI, Carl Günther. *Eröffnete Akademie der Kaufleute oder vollständiges Kaufmanns-Lexicon...* Leipzig, 1767, t. 1, Sp. 2233.

25 REIMO, Tiiu. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 102–103.

26 REIMO, Tiiu. Trükitud „Lindworse kirjade-ga“. *Vana Tallinn IX (XIII)*, 1999, p. 154.

the publisher of the newspaper in 1786, some months before Illig's death. In the first years the newspaper tried to reconcile official announcements and articles on philosophy, history and culture. Later on the first place were taken by official announcements followed by the news concerning the life in town. As the publisher and editor were both interested in books, the newspaper gave periodical information about the new books sold in Tallinn, subscriptions and book auctions.

The newspaper remained the only one in Tallinn until the middle of the 19th century. The grammar school teacher Johann Jacob Reutlinger, who applied for the permission to publish the newspaper "Revalsche Zeitung und Intelligenz Blatt" in 1797 and in 1802, was denied the publishing right.²⁷

The owner of the Tallinn biggest bookshop at the end of the century, Peter Gottlieb Bornwasser, published the collection of Russian laws "Die Russischen Gesetze" by Franz Langhans (1792) and three directories of Tallinn and North Estonia (1787, 1790, 1796). He also planned to publish books in Estonian language – in 1794 he announced the subscription to the play in Estonian, but did not get the permission from the censors.²⁸

Both Illig and Bornwasser were oriented to the local market. The booksellers-publishers aimed to reach the German book market. To achieve that, they adopted new forms of publishing business and searched for partners in Germany.

PUBLISHING COMPANIES

Publishing companies were organised by booksellers-publishers first in the Netherlands in the 17th century, but in a short time they were also established in France and Germany.²⁹ The aim was to increase resources and to diminish publishing risks. Companies could join partners working in different towns. In Tallinn two publishing companies were active during a short period in 1780-ies: Albrecht & Compagnie and the Bookshop of Glehn (*Glehnsche Buchhandlung*).

The publishing company Albrecht & Compagnie was founded by the doctor and writer Johann Friedrich Ernst Albrecht (1752–1816) in winter 1778 in Rakvere (*Wesenberg*) under the name of the Estonian Typographical Company.³⁰ Albrecht had studied medicine at Erfurt, came to Estonia probably in 1776 and was employed by count Manteuffel as a family doctor. The name of the publishing house was changed to Albrecht & Compagnie in 1779, which appears together with the publication place Wesenberg at the title page of the collection of poetry "Ehstländische poetische Blumenlese für das Jahr 1779". At the same time Albrecht organised subscription to his own novel "Waller und Natalie" and to the collected works of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The four-volume novel "Waller und Natalie" demon-

strates well changes in the publisher's strivings: the first volume bears publishing data "Wesenberg, Verlag der Ehstländischen typographischen Gesellschaft", the second volume: "Reval und Wesenberg: J.E.E.Albrecht & Comp", the third and fourth volumes: "Reval u. Leipzig: J.E.E.Albrecht & Comp". The fourth volume also include the list of Albrecht's publishing articles.³¹ According to Sangmeister, Albrecht's partner in publishing business was his friend Philipp Werner Loos.³² In 1780 the firm opened the bookshop in Tallinn and published catalogues to inform customers about the new books acquired from Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs. However, selling books did not last for a long time, as already in 1782 the local newspaper announced about reopening the shop.³³ In publishing Albrecht focused mainly on novels and poetry, biographies, travel stories and philosophical works. Book production was oriented to the German book market and German readers. The Leipzig book fair catalogues register at least 56 books published by the company in Tallinn (*Reval*) and Leipzig. Albrecht's Commissioner in Leipzig was the bookseller and publisher Paul Gotthelf Kummer. Already in 1780 Albrecht also acted as publisher in Erfurt, issuing the newspaper *Erfurthisches Intelligenz-Blatt*, and probably never returned to Tallinn, although the books, published by him up to 1783, were noted with the publication place of Reval u. Leipzig. His greatest achievement as a publisher is no doubt the six volume German edition "Philosophische Werke" (1779–1785) of Jean Jacques Rousseau's works. From his own works of the short period in Estonia the tragedy "Sigismunde und Guischarde" (1779) and the novel in letters "Waller und Natalie" (1779–1780) were published.

The bookseller Christian von Glehn (1760–1832), the founder of the publishing company *Glehnsche Buchhandlung*, is known to be the first publisher of books, written by August von Kotzebue in the years 1786–1789. Glehn came from the merchants' family and, as his parents died young, was raised in his uncle's family. Thus, it was natural for him to start his own business in trading. His interest in book trade lasted for only four years and in publishing business even less. Most probably it was the writer August von Kotzebue who encouraged Glehn to enter the market of book business as both families were in close connection at

27 REIMO, Tiit. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 201.

28 TREUMANN, Hans. *Mõnda Eesti Raamatute Kirjastuskassa arhivaalide lehekülgedelt*, p. 67.

29 FURSTNER, Hans. *Geschichte der niederländischen Buchhandels*. Wiesbaden, 1985, p. 50.

30 SANGMEISTER, Dirk. Von Blumenlesen und Geheimbünden. Die Jahre von Johann Ernst Albrecht als Verleger in Reval und Erfurt. In *Baltische Literaturen in der Goethezeit*. Würzburg, 2011, p. 421.

31 Verzeichniß der Bücher, welche bey den Buchhändlern Albrecht und Compagnie in Reval, auf eigene Kosten verlegt sind. In ALBRECHT, J. E. E. *Waller und Natalie*. Reval u. Leipzig, 1780, Bd. 4, p. 252–254.

32 SANGMEISTER, Dirk. Von Blumenlesen und Geheimbünden, p. 426.

33 REIMO, Tiit. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 227.

Tallinn German theatre, initiated by Kotzebue. In 1786 Glehn opened the bookshop in Tallinn. The announcement, published in the weekly newspaper “Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten” was signed as Glehn und Compl. According to Henning von Wistinghausen, who studied Kotzebue’s activity in Tallinn, Kotzebue could be Glehn’s partner both in book trade and publishing.³⁴ All the books, except the comedy “Die väterliche Erwartung”, were printed in Germany, where Glehn’s partner was the Leipzig bookseller Paul Gotthelf Kummer. Kummer helped to find printing offices in Germany and probably helped Kotzebue to enter the German literary market.

Glehnsche Buchhandlung (Glehn’s bookshop) appears as the publisher in three volumes of Kotzebue’s journal “Zeitschrift Für Geist und Herz” (1786–1787), the novels “Der Eremit aus Formentera” (1787), “Die Leiden der Ortenbergischen Familie” (1787–1788), “Die Geschichte meines Vaters” (1788) and “Adelheid von Wulffingen” (1788, neue Aufl. 1792). In Tallinn Kotzebue put together also the first collection of his works, which was published under the title “Kleine gesammelte Schriften” (1787–1791).³⁵ The business contacts between Glehn and Kotzebue lasted to the end of 1788 (about the same time Kotzebue achieved fame and success as a writer in Europe). Glehn gave up publishing business and at the beginning of 1790-ies he sold his bookshop to Bornwasser.³⁶

The attempts to break away from provincial conditions were not easy. The most successful and well known Baltic publisher of the enlightenment period was Johann Friedrich Hartknoch in Riga.³⁷ The publishing companies in Tallinn, although offering some competitive undertakings, did not achieve his business level.

SUBSCRIPTION AS A NEW PHENOMENON IN PUBLISHING BUSINESS

Publishing was a risky business. It was quite difficult to predict the right print number and selling success of a book. To ensure profit, or at least to avoid financial losses, European publishers took advantage of subscription, e.g. used pre-financing of publishing process by potential customers. Subscription helped to determine the reasonable print number of a book and served also as means of advertising. Advertisements often included not only the conditions of subscription and price, but also introduced the content of a book. Such subscription advertisements were distributed via bookshops and announced in the newspaper.

German publishers used two forms of subscription: pre-ordering (*präenumeration*) and subscribing for a book or a journal (*subskription*). The two forms differed in payment conditions. In case of pre-ordering a subscriber paid the so called

subscription price that was usually cheaper than the selling price. When a book was published a subscriber got it free of charge. In case of subscribing for a book a subscriber was obliged to buy the book at subscription price after it was published.³⁸ In both cases the subscribers' list was printed in the title sheet of a book.

Estonian publishers preferred pre-ordering form of subscription as it brought in money to cover the printing costs. Subscription advertisements were published in the newspaper "Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten", as well as distributed separately by the persons who were engaged in registering subscriptions. Tallinn bookshops also mediated the subscription advertisements of foreign publishers. Subscription advertisements to books in the Estonian language were distributed first of all by ministers, schoolteachers and bookbinders, who also registered the pre-orders.

Putting into practice the subscription system awoke the first and quite sharp discussion on ethical principles of subscription, which took place between the minister and writer Heinrich Johann Jannau and the writer August von Kotzebue. The ground for the discussion was the subscription advertisement published by the young writer Martin Heinrich Arvelius. His belletristic almanac "Die Liefländische Iris" (1784) gained great popularity – the book was subscribed by 535 persons and the author decided to publish the second volume of the book. Jannau criticized the subscription, saying that it was nothing but arrogance to gather money for a book before publishing it and receiving the readers' evalua-



Subscription advertisement of Estonian language Bible

34 WISTINGHAUSEN, Henning von. *Die Kotzebue-Zeit in Reval*. Tallinn, 1995, p. 21.

35 REIMO, Tiiu. August von Kotzebue und das Verlagswesen in Tallinn (Reval). In *Von Kotzebue bis Fleming*: Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturkontakt im Baltikum. Würzburg, 2012, p. 117.

36 REIMO, Tiiu. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 231.

37 See RIETZ, Henryk. Das Verlagswesen in Riga

in den Jahren 1750–1810. *Nord-Ost-Archiv*, 1985, H. 79, p. 187–214; H. 80, p. 241–264.

38 WITTMANN, Reinhard. Subskribenten- und Pränumerantenverzeichnisse als lesersozilogische Quellen. In *Buch und Leser*. Vorträge des 1: Jahrestreffen des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreis für Geschichte des Buchwesens 13. und 14. Mai 1976. Hamburg, 1977, p. 127–128.

tion. He also regarded the printing costs to be lower than asked by subscription. August von Kotzebue tried to defend his friend in the article published in his journal "Für Geist und Herz". Jannau in its turn published in Riga the booklet "Die Sophistery in Estland" in which he explained his point of view on writers' obligations. His standpoint was that a writer has to work in an unselfish manner, wishing to do good and not think about money. Only then is a writer thinking as a patriot. He reproaches Kotzebue for getting paid for his works and called it a merchant's way of thinking. Kotzebue in his turn, offended by Jannau's standpoint, compared himself with well known German authors like Wieland, Goethe, Lessing and Herder who all got paid for their creative work and declared being proud to belong to the same group of authors.³⁹

The public discussion did not hinder the use of subscription. It can be considered as an end of an old model of publishing business where publishers did not pay royalties to the authors. However, in Estonia it took a long time and only in the middle of the 19th century paying royalties became an ordinary habit in publishing business.

CENSORSHIP AS AN OLD WAY TO CONTROL THE BOOK MARKET

Printers, publishers and booksellers had to follow various kinds of restrictions, enforced through laws and orders. Until the middle of the 18th century censorship was carried out by the town authorities: religious texts were controlled by clerical institutions, whereas the domain of secular literature was regulated by grammar school professors. Religious manuscripts presented to be published by the authors outside the town were controlled by the Provincial Consistory.

The censorship was radically changed first in 1783. The printing offices had to work under the surveillance of local police officials who also controlled the publication of secular books. Religious books were censored by the Estonian Provincial Consistory.

The strict censorship system was developed during the last decade of the 18th century caused by the events of the French revolution. Since 1793 it was forbidden to import French books and periodicals. In 1796 all private enterprises were closed. In the same year censorship offices were established in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga and Odessa. Later on Estonian publishers had to get publishing allowances from St. Petersburg or from Riga, which took time and made publishing process slow and unpredictable. In 1797 the legal deposit law was adopted that obliged the publishers and printers to send a copy of every book to the Academy

Library in St. Petersburg. In 1798 censorship offices were established in all ports of the Russian empire.⁴⁰ In Tallinn, Reinhold von Richter was nominated to the post of the censor, whereas he had been engaged in censoring books already since 1795. Orders and rules as well as the lists of prohibited books were sent to Tallinn from Riga. A detailed control of bookshops and libraries was performed in the years 1799–1800. Prohibited books were removed from the collections, questionable books were sealed up for later decisions.⁴¹ In 1800 the Tsar Paul I forbid the import of any kinds of printed matter to the Russian empire.

The situation mitigated at the beginning of the 19th century when the new censorship law was adopted in 1804.

Conclusion

Tallinn developed to become the main publishing centre in the 18th century Estonia. As typical to the European centres booksellers and printers were actively engaged in publishing business. The first attempts to establish publishing companies with the aim to reach the German book market were made, but with no real success. The printed book brought German influences to the intellectual life of Estonians. All persons engaged in book production in Estonia up to the beginning of the 19th century were of German or Baltic-German origin. Books for the enlightenment of common people, although in different languages (Estonian and German), were written by the same authors, printed by the same printers and sold by the same booksellers. To reduce financial risks, publishers were eager to use subscription system which aroused discussions about the ethics to earn living as a writer.

The development of book trade and personal contacts satisfied the need for books of the educated men. It was the main reason why the local book production in foreign languages was not big, both in terms of the number of titles and the number of copies produced. The native people, Estonians, got all their reading material from local printers established in Tallinn and in Riga. The books in Estonian, although the number of titles was relatively small, were printed in thousands of copies, with their print repeated several times. Thus the main characteristic features of the influence of the Enlightenment on publishing activity – the rapid increase of book production and the familiarity with the printed word spreading throughout society – are clearly visible in the Estonian language book publishing.

39 REIMO, Tiiu. *August von Kotzebue und das Verlagswesen in Tallinn*, p. 118–121.

Keel ja Kirjandus, 1997, no. 9, p. 609.

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41 REIMO, Tiiu. *Raamatukultuur Tallinnas*, p. 302–306.

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LEIDYBOS VERSLO RAIDĀ XVIII AMŽIAUS TALINĒ

Tiiu Reimo

Santrauka

Knygų gamybos ir platinimo būdai bei procesai istoriškai buvo labai įvairūs. Vis dėlto leidėjams visada teko lemiamas vaidmuo formuojant literatūros rinką.

Švedijos Karalystei priklausiusiose Baltijos provincijose spausdinimo kultūra ėmė sparčiai plėtotis atsiradus pirmosioms spaustuvioms. Savo ruožtu spausdinimo plėtra sukūrė leidėjams sąlygas praturtinti knygų rinką vietinių autorių darbais.

Šio straipsnio tikslas – pateikti leidybos verslo plėtros apžvalgą XVIII a. Taline, praėjus Didžiajam Šiaurės karui, apibūdinti pagrindines leidėjų grupes ir parodyti, kaip Europos leidybos centruose vykę leidybos pokyčiai atsispindėjo vietiniame leidybos versle.

Tuometinio Talino leidybos versle galima atpažinti plėtrą, primenančią kitose Europos šalyse vykusius pokyčius. Kaip ir Vakarų Europos spausdinimo versle pirmaisiais jo gyvavimo amžiais, Talino (Reval) spaustuvininkai sujungdavo spaustuvininko, leidėjo ir knygų pardavėjo vaidmenis. Pagrindinė spaustuvių leidybos produkcija susiformavo jau XVII a. antroje pusėje. Tai buvo skaitymo pradžiamoksliai ir katekizmai estų, vokiečių, suomių ir švedų kalbomis, kalendoriai ir giesmynai vokiečių kalba bei maldaknygės estų kalba.

Įtvirtinant spaustuvininkų vaidmenį, jiems prisiimant ir leidėjų funkciją, būtina pabrėžti, kad vertingiausias jų veiklos XVIII a. Taline aspektas buvo knygų leidyba estų kalba. Vis dėlto leidybos produkcija ir toliau buvo visai neapibrėžta, o tai kėlė sumaištį ir leidėjų nesutarimus. Leisdami knygas vokiečių ir kitomis kalbomis, vietiniai spaustuvininkai-leidėjai daugiausia rūpinosi pradinio mokyklų vadovėliais, kalendoriais ir religine literatūra.

Pirmoji speciali leidybą skatinanti institucija *Verlags-Cassa der ehstnischen Bücher* buvo įkurta 1721 m.; ją įsteigė Estijos provincijos konsistorija. Atsižvelgiant į šios institucijos tikslą – leisti ir platinti religinius tekstus – ji galėtų būti laikoma pirmąja Estijos leidykla. Šiai leidyklai pavyko papildyti literatūros rinką estams skirtomis religinėmis knygomis ir daugeliu atveju pateikti gerą pavyzdį kitiems leidėjams organizuojant leidybos procesą, knygų redagavimą ir platinimą.

XVIII a. Europoje svarbiausias vaidmuo leidybos versle priklausė knygų pardavėjams. Pirmasis profesionalus knygų pardavėjas Taline buvo Johannas Jacobas Illigas, kilęs iš Leipcigo. Didžiausias jo

pasiekimas buvo savaitraščio „Revalsche Wöchentliche Nachrichten“ įkūrimas ir leidimas. Per trumpą XVIII a. devintojo dešimtmečio laikotarpį aktyvia veikla pasižymėjo ir dvi kitos leidybos bendrovės – *Albrecht & Compagnie* ir Glehno knygynas (*Glehnsche Buchhandlung*).

Siekdami pelno arba bent jau norėdami išvengti finansinių nuostolių, Europos leidėjai pasinaudojo prenumeratos teikiamu pranašumu, tai yra leidybos procesui jie naudojo išankstinį potencialių klientų finansavimą. Prenumerata padėjo nustatyti pagrįstą knygos leidinių skaičių ir buvo naudojama kaip reklamos priemonė.

Knygų leidybos ir prekybos plėtra bei asmeniniai kontaktai patenkino išsilavinusių asmenų knygų poreikį. Tai buvo pagrindinė priežastis, nulėmusi nedideles vietinių knygų leidybos užsienio kalbomis apimtis – tiek leidžiamų knygų pavadinimų skaičiaus, tiek išleistų egzempliorių skaičiaus atžvilgiu. Vietiniai gyventojai estai visą skaitomąją medžiagą gaudavo iš vietinių spaustuvininkų. Knygos estų kalba, nors leidžiamų pavadinimų skaičius buvo santykinai nedidelis, spausdintos tūkstančiais egzempliorių po keletą kartų. Taigi knygų estų kalba leidyboje aiškiai matomi tokie pagrindiniai Apšvietos amžiaus įtakos bruožai kaip sparti knygų leidybos plėtra ir spausdintinio žodžio sklaida visuomenėje.

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