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# **Neerlandica in Livonian Collections** *The Survival of Imprints Abroad*<sup>1</sup>

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# Abstract

Rich collections of Dutch imprints – produced in the Netherlands in any language or printed in Dutch elsewhere – are to be found in libraries and archives in Riga and Tartu. This essay presents some of them and explains why so many Neerlandica have survived in these collections. It furthermore discusses some systematic lacunae in retrospective national bibliographies.

# Keywords

Neerlandica – Livonica – Short Title Catalogue Netherlands – retrospective national bibliographies – Elzevier – Estonia – Latvia – Livonia – Pärnu (Pernau) – Tartu (Dorpat) – Riga

Many readers of this journal will have difficulties locating Livonia on a map. It was a historical territory comprising the southern half of present-day Estonia and the northern half of Latvia – the most important towns being Riga, Tartu and Pärnu; the last two of these were formerly much better known internationally by their German and Swedish names, Dorpat and Pernau respectively.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The use of place-names in historical studies on this area is notoriously difficult. In the following, the current official place-names have been used, unless another form is widely used in

During the early modern period, the area was ruled by Poland (1561-1621), Sweden (1621-1710) and Russia (1710-1918), but that had little impact on the ethnic composition of the population or the languages of print. The majority of the population consisted of Estonian serfs in the North and Latvian serfs in the South, but the economic power was wielded by German noblemen in the countryside and German burghers in the towns. The language of administration throughout the period was German which, too, was the main language of print (with printshops located in Riga and Tartu, briefly also elsewhere).<sup>3</sup>

This essay has three aims. Firstly, it presents some early modern Dutch imprints not recorded in the *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands* (*sTCN*) but held in the major Livonian collections. These titles are listed in the bibliographical appendix.<sup>4</sup> The *sTCN*, in principle, does not list single-leafs with print on one side only,<sup>5</sup> but I do not think that was a wise decision to make. The majority of shipbrokers' price-lists (about which more below), for instance, were printed on both sides of a single-leaf, but a substantial minority of them fills only one page. This formal criterion thus cuts right through a uniform genre. A similar claim might be made for other genres where the single-leaf versions were not meant to be affixed to the wall. My appendix therefore also records some single-leafs printed on one side only. Secondly, the essay attempts to explain why such rich collections of Neerlandica have survived on the eastern Baltic shore.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, it is not only meant as an essay in both Dutch book history and in Latvian and Estonian book history, but as a contribution to a discussion on

English. Cf. also *Baltisches historisches Ortslexikon*, 2 vols., ed. Hans Feldmann & Heinz von zur Mühlen (Cologne/Vienna 1985-90).

<sup>3</sup> The term 'main language of print' is, admittedly, difficult to define, cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'How complete are the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*vD16* and *vD17*)?', in: *The book triumphant. Print in transition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, ed. Malcolm Walsby & Graeme Kemp (Leiden/Boston 2011), pp. 57-77, there p. 61 f.

<sup>4</sup> Most titles from Riga collections were traced with the help of *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, vol. 12-15: Riga – Rīga, ed. Sabine Beckmann, Martin Klöker & Stefan Anders, pts. 1-4 (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York 2004), nos. 638, 715, 941, 2323 f., 3469, 3952; Silvija Šiško, *Latvijas citvalodu seniespiedumu kopkatalogs 1588-1830. Sērija A / Gesamtkatalog der fremdsprachigen Altdrucke Lettlands 1588-1830. Reihe A / The union catalogue of foreign language ancient prints in Latvia, 1588-1830. Series A* (Riga 2013), nos. 982, 2296, 4481.

<sup>5</sup> http://www.kb.nl/organisatie/onderzoek-expertise/informatie-infrastructuur-dienstenvoor-bibliotheken/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn/afbakening-van-de-stcn.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the survival rates of books, cf. Neil Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro, ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, 4 (2007), pp. 24-65.

the scope of retrospective national bibliographies and transnational projects such as the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the titles presented here are of ephemeral character, but that does not necessarily mean that they are of less interest to scholars. One of them (no. 8), for instance, is an Elzevier imprint not recorded by Copinger.<sup>8</sup> The bibliographical appendix could easily be made much longer. Some avenues for this will be indicated in various places throughout this essay and its footnotes.<sup>9</sup>

#### The Provenance of Dutch Imprints in Livonian Collections

#### Riga

The Dutch imprints catalogued in Riga collections fall into two main groups, both with fairly obvious provenances:

- (1) Ordinances issued by Riga Town Council concerning the harbour and shipping. As a substantial part of the seaborne trade in Riga was carried on Dutch vessels,<sup>10</sup> it was obvious that the most important official publications addressed to shipmasters would also be printed in Dutch. These imprints have been found in the archives of the issuing authority. Similar items were probably produced in many ports around the world.
- (2) Occasional poetry, partly produced in the Netherlands, partly in Riga, but generally either written by or addressed to Livonians and thus susceptible to be collected as Livonica. The items are now to be found in three institutions. In the Latvian Historical State Archives, the imprints belong to two different collections of genealogical remit, arranged according to families. Unfortunately, it was not possible to trace the provenances

<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed analysis, cf. Beyer, art. cit. (n. 3).

<sup>8</sup> H[arold] B[ernard] Copinger, *The Elzevier Press. A handlist of the productions of the Elzevier presses at Leyden, Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, with references to Willems, Berghman, Rahir and other bibliographers* (London 1927).

<sup>9</sup> The volumes TUL: Bergm. 195, 213, 297 & 550 contain hitherto unrecorded editions of longsellers; *PANEGYRIQUE de Monseigneur L'ELECTEUR DE BRANDEBOURG* (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers 1684) (TUL: Alxd. 122<sub>14</sub>) seems complete but has a slightly different fingerprint and collation than the incomplete copy recorded in the *sTCN*. Three further titles from TUL are described in Jürgen Beyer, 'Adressen von Druckern, Verlegern und Buchhändlern im 18. Jahrhundert. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Diskussion über ein vD18', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 31 (2006), pp. 159-90, there 168 (van Haren, *Traduction*, 1742), 169 (*Psalmen*, 1769), 189 (*Traité*, 1729).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hendrik Hachmer, *Herinneringen aan de Oostzeevaart* (Assen<sup>3</sup> 2013).

much further.<sup>11</sup> In the Academic Library, the imprints are now found in a collection of occasional poems. These holdings once belonged to the Riga Municipal Library, founded in 1524, two years after the final adoption of the Lutheran Reformation in Riga. The occasional poem of 1786 in the Riga National Library is bound in a volume containing about 50 pieces with some connection to Riga, mostly of the eighteenth century.

Thirdly, I should mention the odd one out, imprint no. 5. This pharmaceutical marketing information seems to have been preserved by chance in a file containing 'Varia 1627-1865 and without date' in the records of the Jelgava town council. There is no way of knowing of how it got there.

#### Tartu

In the Estonian Historical Archives at Tartu, the rich archives of the two trading firms Jacob Jacke & Co. and Hans Diedrich Schmidt at Pärnu have been used – one firm in operation from 1734 to 1940, the other from 1741 to 1940.<sup>12</sup> From the eighteenth century, these archives contain about 2,500 price-lists ('price currents') consisting of one leaf each, mostly printed in Dutch and on both sides. Many of the lists are identical from a printing point of view, but different dates and prices have been filled in. While most of the price currents are from Riga, many other ports across Europe are represented as well.<sup>13</sup> Spread

Dept. 4011 of RLHSA is a collection assembled by August Buchholtz (1803-1875), cf. *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums*. Riga, op. cit. (n. 4), vol. 12, pp. 33, 39. The Elzevier print of 1637 bears a manuscript 'N° 28' on the title-page suggesting that this item once belonged to another collection. It probably found its way to Riga because the first of its seven poems in Latin and German was written by a Michael Sartorius from Livonia (matriculated 2 July 1636 at Leiden University, cf. *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV*, ed. Guilielmus du Rieu (The Hague 1875), col. 278). The Leiden imprints of 1651 apparently have never been bound. They carry the old shelfmarks 'Sign XIII. Nro[?] 13.' and 'Sign: XIII: Nro 5[?]'.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Kersti Lust et al., 'Estonia', in: Baltic Connections. Archival guide to the maritime relations of the countries around the Baltic Sea (including the Netherlands) 1450-1800, vol. 1, ed. Lennart Bes, Edda Frankot & Hanno Brand (Leiden & Boston 2007), pp. 87-262, there pp. 243-7; cf. also pp. 168-71.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. TEHA 3339.1.1492-1502, 1623-1631; 3340.1.1234-1240, 1344, 1345, 1353, 1354, 1378, containing eighteenth-century price currents (and similar lists) from Amsterdam in Dutch, German and Spanish, from Barcelona (Dutch, French, German), Bayonne (German), Bordeaux (Dutch, French, German), Copenhagen (German), Le Croisic (Dutch), Danzig (Dutch), Frankfort-on-the-Main (German), Hamburg (Dutch, French, German), Jelenia Góra (German), Königsberg (Dutch, German), Liepāja (Dutch), Lisbon (French), Liverpool (German), Lubeck (German), Magdeburg (German), Mülheim-on-the-Rhine

among these lists, several other printed items can be found such as announcements concerning lotteries, books or newspapers.

The Estonian Historical Archives also hold at least three occasional poems in Dutch, but since they once belonged to the library of the Estonian, not the Livonian Knighthood, they have been omitted here.<sup>14</sup>

Tartu University Library was founded in 1802. Two of its special collections figure prominently in the bibliographical appendix below, possibly because they have been completely recatalogued book-in-hand in the electronic catalogue, which is not yet the case with large parts of the library's other holdings:

- Gustav von Bergmann (1749-1814) served as pastor in three different Livonian parishes and assembled a large library. Parts of his library were bought by Tartu University Library in 1837, particularly his collection of Bibles and other basic religious texts in more than three dozen languages. Most of these are Protestant editions. The collection comprises 761 volumes containing 1,094 titles in all.<sup>15</sup>
- (2) The Alexandrov collection holds 3,490 titles. Lieutenant-general Pavel Konstantinovich Alexandrov (1808-1857) had inherited large parts of the collection (among earlier owners should be noted Johann Albrecht Korff, president of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg). Alexandrov

<sup>(</sup>French), Nantes (Dutch, French, German), Pärnu (Dutch, German), Riga (Dutch, French, German), St Petersburg (Dutch, French), Sète (Dutch) and Tallinn (German). In some files the leaves are numbered in pencil, in others not at all. Such lists have so far primarily been studied by economic historians interested in the history of prices, cf. John J. McCusker & Cora Gravesteijn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism. The commodity price currents, exchange rate currents, and money currents of early modern Europe* (Amsterdam 1991); Markus A. Denzel, *Der Preiskurant des Handelshauses Pelloutier & C<sup>ie</sup> aus Nantes (1763-1793)* (Stuttgart 1997); Erik Lindberg, 'Med brev och kuranter. Affärsnyheters spridning i äldre tid', *Presshistorisk årsbok*, [21] (2004), pp. 7-24.

<sup>14</sup> Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven, vol. 8: Dorpat – Tartu, ed. Sabine Beckmann, Martin Klöker & Stefan Anders (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York 2003), nos. 552, 568 f. This series unfortunately employs a much narrower definition of its scope than the title suggests, cf. the review of the entire series in Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte, 36 (2011), pp. 169-75 (Jürgen Beyer). Therefore many more 'personale Gelegenheitsschriften' can be found in the collections together with, obviously, 'unpersonale Gelegenheitsschriften' (victory celebrations, for instance). Dutch titles in the Handbuch can easily be traced by searching the indices according to language or place of publication.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Kersti Taal, 'Gustav Bergmann ja tema memoriaalkogu Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogus', *Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu töid*, 11 (2000), pp. 108-16.

donated most of his books to Helsinki University Library, but those on law he gave to Tartu University Library in 1832.<sup>16</sup>

The general stacks, too, hold a fair number of Dutch imprints, firstly and obviously, standard scholarly literature already catalogued in the *stcn*, secondly, items apparently arrived more or less randomly.<sup>17</sup>

The collected works of the famous Swedish poet Lasse Johans(s)on, called Lucidor (no. 24), not only contain poems in Swedish, Latin, German, French, Italian and English but also a few in Dutch. The library apparently acquired the book because it is a Livonicum in the wider sense: Estonia and Livonia had belonged to the Swedish empire from 1561/1621 to 1710, and therefore the library has assembled an important collection of Swedish books from that period. Furthermore, the volume contains another Swedish book of greater local interest: In 1702, Urban Hiärne, who had studied at Tartu University half a century earlier,<sup>18</sup> included reports from Livonia when editing replies to his geomorphological questionnaire.<sup>19</sup>

It would be possible to trace many more Dutch books by using both the still uncomplete electronic catalogue and the older card catalogue on printers. This card catalogue covers all books published until 1600 and, from later centuries, those considered to be rare for one reason or the other.

#### Some Observations on the Imprints Described

Even though the publications presented here appear to be lacking in the major Dutch libraries, they are not necessarily preserved in a few copies only.

<sup>16</sup> Niina Vorobjova, *Keisrikojast Tartu raamatuvaramusse* (Tartu 1995) (text in Estonian, German and Russian).

<sup>17</sup> The folio volume XV 476, for instance, contains six titles from Franeker University. All are catalogued in F. Postma & J. van Sluis, *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis. Bibliographie* [...] *1585-1843* (Leeuwarden 1995), nos. M/1647.1, M/1656.6-12, but nos. M/1656.10-12 seem to be lacking in the *stcn*.

<sup>18</sup> Jürgen Beyer, 'H as in Jerne', in: Den otidsenlige Urban Hiärne. Föredrag från det internationella Hiärne-symposiet i Saadjärve, 31 augusti – 4 september 2005, ed. Stig Örjan Ohlsson & Siiri Tomingas-Joandi (Tartu 2008), pp. 15-24, there p. 16.

<sup>19 [</sup>Urban Hiärne,] Den Korta Anledningen / Til Åthskillige Malm och Bergarters / Mineraliers och Jordeslags [et]c. Efterspörjande och angifwande / Beswarad och Förklarad [...] (Stockholm: Tryckt vthi Kongl. Booktr. hoos Sal. Wankifs Enckia af J. H. Werner 1702). The volume bears older stamps of two institutions in Uppsala, the Studentkår and The Royal Society of Sciences.

No. 22, for instance, still exists in 91 copies, while no. 20 is preserved in 175 copies! These are possibly the early modern Dutch imprints preserved in most copies today. However, all 91 or 175 copies are found in the same archival record in Riga and Tartu respectively and are therefore not catalogued as books in a library catalogue. That, in fact, makes them less accessible to international scholars than a unique copy would have been in a major research library.

The Riga broadsheet ordinance of 1759 (no. 19) gives us a hint at where the text met its readers. I quote from the English version: 'The Magistrates [...] command all Ship Masters to have their Ballast transported in Oversetters [sic] boats to such parts of the new Bullwark above mentioned, as are marked out by Posts and the affixing [of]<sup>20</sup> this Placad',<sup>21</sup> or in Dutch: 'op sulke Plaatsen [...], die [...] kenbaar zullen zyn door opstaande Paalen, aan dewelke deese Ordonnantie zal zyn geplakt'. Considering the Eastern Baltic climes, it is no wonder that only the copies in the Riga archives have survived to our days.

The price currents mentioned above seem mostly to have been issued by shipbrokers. Generally they consist of slips with text on both sides. They were probably printed side-by-side on the same sheet of paper – both recto and verso – and then cut apart (this would give eight price currents per sheet). If this assumption is correct, it would explain why a small number of Riga slips carry the printed year '1784', while most others from the same file only have '178' and a lacuna (nos. 20 f.). In one of the eight texts on the sheet the current year will have been printed in full by mistake. Assumedly more minor differences between the slips could be detected.

Apparently it was still faster for shipbrokers to add the prices by hand than to have a new list with prices printed every time. Printed lists with printed prices for particular days were, however, produced as more official weekly publications in Amsterdam, Hamburg and some other major ports.

Mostly the slips do not indicate which firm had issued them. On the price current from Hamburg described below (no. 13), however, one can read the following colophon: 'Uytgegeven door de Makelaars Nicolas Frederik Lohman en Zacharias Semmelman. Te bekomen by Jacob de Vlieger junior by de Beurs',<sup>22</sup> while the Amsterdam list detailed below (no. 2) ends with a printed 'JAN DE

<sup>20</sup> This word has been added for greater clarity.

<sup>21</sup> Although The Hon<sup>bles</sup>, The Magistrates of this Imperial City have already issued [...] severall Ordinnances [...] Published at Riga the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1759. ([Riga:] n. pr. 1759).

<sup>22</sup> The same folder contains two more slips with the same printed text but arranged differently. Both of these slips lack the colophon.

FIGURE 1A Price currents from Riga, 1784, recto sides (Appendix, nos. 20 and 21).

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FIGURE 1B The same price currents as in Figure 1a, verso sides (Appendix, nos. 20 and 21). Note that the price currents are signed by different persons (probably from different firms).

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WIT, DE JONGE, Makelaar.<sup>23</sup> Some other price currents carry a hand-written name at the bottom. I assume that the price currents were not distributed along the shipping routes, but overland through the postal services as they are also preserved from the winter months when the sea was frozen. Their consistently small size suggests transport on a horse rather than on a cargo ship.<sup>24</sup> On a few Riga slips the direction of the wind, the temperature or the number of ships arrived so far during the year have been added by hand in Dutch.<sup>25</sup>

These price currents, preserved by the thousands, constituted an interesting means of communication at the interface of script and print. On the one hand, they were printed forms filled in by hand, on the other hand they were newspapers specialising in commercial news and issued regularly but distributed below the radar of scholarly and legal deposit libraries.<sup>26</sup> The Tartu collections are unique because they are embedded in the complete business archives of two trading firms, quite unlike the large collection brought together by the Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief in Amsterdam from all over the world where the individual price currents are deprived of their original context.

The price currents were not necessarily printed in the town where they were issued. This is obvious in the case of smaller towns lacking printshops, but cannot apply to the following example, where no reason is mentioned in the source. In a letter to his son in Lisbon, a Hamburg burgomaster promised in 1682 to have price currents printed in Hamburg and then shipped to Lisbon. He would take the price current of his son-in-law, a merchant, as an example and leave the spaces for the prices blank.<sup>27</sup> A possible reason might have been the difficulty of finding a Lisbon printshop with the necessary founts to print in foreign languages.

27 Briefe des Hamburgischen Bürgermeisters Johann Schulte Lt. an seinen in Lissabon etablirten Sohn Johann Schulte, geschrieben in den Jahren 1680-1685 (Hamburg 1856), p. 83.

A similar list, but with a slightly different layout, filled in by the same hand earlier the same year (16 January 1764), lacks the printed name (TEHA: 3339.1.1496, fol. 16r/v). TEHA: 3340.1.1344 and 1345 contain many Amsterdam price-lists with the printed indication 'CORNELIS DE MAN Makelaar' at the bottom (dated 1769 to 1775).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ernst Baasch, 'Geschichte des hamburgischen Waren-Preiskourant', in: id., *Forschungen zur hamburgischen Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Hamburg 1902), pp. 123-71, there p. 137.

<sup>25</sup> TEHA: 3340-1-1237 to 1240 (dated 1793 to 1796).

<sup>26</sup> Significantly, even the oldest library specialising in trade and economics, the Commerzbibliothek of 1735 in Hamburg, is poorly equipped with shipbrokers' price currents from Hamburg (Baasch, art. cit. (n. 24), p. 124).

The pharmaceutical marketing information (no. 5) is interesting in several respects. Firstly, the substance - a panacea known as Dutch drops or, in the Netherlands, as *Haarlemmerolie* – is still being sold.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, the notice suggested that readers could recognise the true pharmaceutical product by the accompanying leaflet being printed by the Haarlem town printers Izaak and Johannes Enschedé and by being decorated with correct Arabic letters - instead of the wrong Greek letters used by competitors.<sup>29</sup> Thirdly, the announcement showed a remarkable longevity. We still find it printed in Dutch in an otherwise English-language newspaper published in Australia in 1845!<sup>30</sup> To confuse matters further, both these notices were signed 'Klaas de Koning Tilly'. From 1764 until his death in 1814, this man owned the firm producing the Dutch drops. His heirs continued to run the business under the by then established name, 'C. de Koning Tilly'. From 1740 to 1762, the firm had been owned by Leendert Jonkhout Tilly.<sup>31</sup> From Leendert Jonkout Tilly's days a single-leaf printed on both sides by Izaak and Johannes Enschedé and explaining how to use the product ends with a paragraph announcing that in order to keep competitors from reprinting his leaflets (which probably refers to the single-leaf the reader holds in his hands), Jonkout Tilly would add to each of them a notice with heads printed along the margins.<sup>32</sup> These heads can clearly be seen on the copy preserved in Riga and also on a page in the seventh edition of the firm's longer information booklet from 1792.33 The leaflet also lists the addresses of agents from whom the true product might be bought.

<sup>28</sup> Henri Spijkerman, 'Haarlemmerolie, het Medicamentum Gratia Probatum', Haerlem. Jaarboek 1993, pp. 51-80; E. M. Sieperda-Staab, 'Het Haarlemse Collegium Medicum als toezichthouder', Holland. Historisch tijdschrift, 33 (2001), pp. 239-56, there p. 253; R[oberto] H[ans] Flören & S. F. Jansen, Ondernemerschap en het familiebedrijf. De tien oudste familiebedrijven van Nederland (Deventer 2007), pp. 105-13.

<sup>29</sup> This way of separating the wheat from the chaff seems to have been rather unique, but printed notices explaining how to recognise the true product can be found already earlier, cf. Liesbeth van der Geest, "Spanjaerts plaester, groene meyzalf en kostelijcke balsem". Zeventiende-eeuws reclamedrukwerk voor geneesmiddelen', in: *Buitgemaakt en teruggevonden. Nederlandse brieven en scheepspapieren in een Engels archief*, ed. Erik van der Doe, Perry Moore & Dirk J. Tang (Zutphen 2013), pp. 82-94, there pp. 87, 91.

<sup>30 &#</sup>x27;Dutch drops', *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* 3 (1845), no. 154 (13 December 1845), p. [3].

<sup>31</sup> Spijkerman, art. cit. (n. 28), pp. 57-9.

<sup>32 [</sup>Leendert Jonkhout Tilly,] *Kracht en Werking van het MEDICAMENTUM GRATIA PROBATUM* (Haarlem: Izaak en Johannes Enschedé n. d.) (STCN 369549627), verso.

<sup>33 [</sup>Claas Tilly,] OMSTANDIG BERIGT van het worden en ontworden des STEENS EN GRAVEELS in ons, en veelerhande Qualen; Als mede eenige Gevallen onder het gebruyk van het MEDICAMENTUM GRATIA PROBATUM, enlarged & corrected by Leendert Jonkhout Tilly

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FIGURE 3 Pharmaceutical marketing information from Haarlem (Appendix, no. 5).

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Strangely, the imprint Izaak & Johannes Enschedé seems otherwise only to have been used between 1733 and 1763 (Izaak died in 1761), but even the Australian newspaper announcement of 1845 still admonished readers only to buy Dutch drops authorised by a leaflet printed by Izaak and Johannes Enschedé as did the booklet of 1792. We might thus tentatively conclude that the first notice of this kind was printed between 1733 and 1763, but that the one found in the Riga archives cannot have been produced before 1764, the year in which Klaas de Koning Tilly entered the scene. The longevity of the firm's printed communication was surpassed only by that of the product itself!

#### **Concluding Remarks**

While Neil Harris discusses an impressive list of fifteen factors influencing the survival of early modern imprints on private hands,<sup>34</sup> practically all 'survivors' scholars can work with are held by institutional libraries and archives. The examples presented in this essay point to the importance of institutional acquisition policies for the survival of imprints. Since institutions often acquired private collections, the interests of bibliophiles should also be considered.<sup>35</sup> While legal deposit regulations in principle might allow the acquisition of everything printed, originally this had been a censorship measure. Neither the state nor the librarians aimed at archiving a copy each of the country's entire print output.<sup>36</sup> In any case, no library in Livonia enjoyed such a privilege during the early modern period.

34 Harris, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 42-64.

<sup>(</sup>Haarlem: Gedrukt voor de Erfgenamen van den Autheur<sup>7</sup>1792), p. [64] (not in *stcn*; digital copy available at http://www.dbnl.org/arch/tillo16omsto2\_01/pag/tillo16omsto2\_01.pdf). The first edition appeared in 1728 (*stcn* 354890212). Of the fourth edition of 1741, only an incomplete copy is listed as *stcn* 314914471. A complete copy may be consulted at Uppsala, University Library: Obr. 47: 749.

<sup>35</sup> Many of them were guided by the concept of rarity developed during the eighteenth century, cf. Harris, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 32-35; Jürgen Beyer, 'The influence of reading room rules on the quality and efficiency of historical research', *Text. Svensk tidskrift för bibliografi/Swedish Journal of Bibliography*, 8: 3 (2014), pp. 110-37, there pp. 114-17.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Jonas Nordin, 'Plikten bakom allt. Pliktleveranshanteringen vid det kungliga biblioteket under 1700-talet', in: *Information som problem. Medieanalytiska texter från medeltid till framtid*, ed. Otfried Czaika, Jonas Nordin & Pelle Snickars (Stockholm 2014), pp. 10-43, on how the Royal Library in Stockholm dealt with legal deposit materials during the eighteenth century; cf. also Harris, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 42-64.

Livonian collections hold Dutch imprints for a variety of reasons, the most important being: (1) Due to the prominence of Dutch vessels in Livonian ports, a number of ordinances were printed in Dutch. They are kept in the archives of the issuing institution. (2) For the same reason, the archives of two Pärnu trading firms hold thousands of Dutch price currents. (3) Occasional poetry in Dutch was produced locally, or Livonians studying in the Netherlands would have poems printed there. These works would later be collected back home as Livonica. (4) Books on Livonia published in the Netherlands would be collected for the same reason.<sup>37</sup> (5) As a general research library with rich early modern holdings, Tartu University Library houses many books printed in the Netherlands, not only Livonica. (6) Some private collections acquired by the library contain large numbers of Neerlandica due to the collectors' interests. (7) Some items, such as the pharmaceutical marketing information, seem to have survived by chance.

As it turned out, the local, regional and national collecting interests led to the acquisition of many Dutch books with some relation to Livonia. This transnational material therefore survived, ironically, because it fitted into a local, regional or national frame.

The bibliographical appendix below, which definitely could be much enlarged, suggests that the *sTCN* suffers from the same shortcomings as its German counterparts which, too, try to compensate for the lack of a legal deposit library during the early modern period. Retrospective national bibliographies tend to be based on library holdings (especially in the country itself) but mostly neglect printed items among archival records.<sup>38</sup> The imprints to be found in archives, however, often belong to genres poorly represented in libraries. Judging from the material presented in this essay, some genres or subgroups – such as shipbrokers' price currents and Barcelona, Bordeaux, Le Croisic, Danzig, Hamburg, Königsberg, Liepāja, Nantes, Pärnu, Riga, St Petersburg and Sète as places of publication – seem to lack completely in the

<sup>37</sup> Scholarly works on Livonia and travel accounts are for the most part already catalogued in the *stcn* and therefore lack in the list below, but an unrecorded 1706 edition in French of Karl Johann von Blomberg's *Account of Livonia* is held by TEHA: V-594.

Cf. Piet Verkruijsse, 'Waslijstjes en wenslijstjes. Zwarte gaten in de Nederlandse retrospectieve bibliografie', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), pp. 45-51; Jan Bos, 'Sailing books. Over unieke liedbladen, vakliteratuur, almanakken en gelegenheidsdrukwerk', in: Van der Doe et al., op. cit (n. 29), pp. 47-55; for German imprints, cf. Beyer, art. cit. (n. 3); id., 'Die Autobibliographie des Pastors Friedrich Löwenstein aus Pernau (Livland)', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 38 (2013), pp. 23-47.

*sTCN*.<sup>39</sup> Databases such as the *sTCN* should therefore not be viewed as random samples of a country's or language area's book production equally complete or incomplete for all genres. Statistics based on such databases might show significant bias.

Adding more titles to the appendix would have expanded this essay to such an extent that *Quaerendo* would have lost interest in publishing it. It must be hoped that the *stcn* can raise the funds necessary for registering more Neerlandica in Livonian collections as well as in relevant institutions elsewhere around the Baltic Sea. For limits of space and time, this essay has restricted itself to Livonia, but during the early modern period, Dutch imprints could be found everywhere in the Baltic Sea region, even on the beach, as a letter written by the bishop of Århus in 1631 informs us: 'I am enclosing a Dutch customs form. Many such forms were found at a place on the coast. Rumour had it that they were miraculous papers fallen from the skies carrying red and black lines. They were brought to town [where they caused] great astonishment.'<sup>40</sup>

# Bibliographical Appendix: List of Dutch Imprints Lacking in the *stcn*

This list is arranged according to places of publication, firstly in the Netherlands, secondly abroad. Under each town, the order is chronological. Authors' and printers' names have been standardised, but the spelling of the titles follows the original (small caps, however, have been rendered with upper case letters, while accents have been placed above upper case letters and not besides them). The standards of description do not follow all *sTCN* rules as they would not be applicable to many of these fairly small print products which often, for instance, lack signatures.<sup>41</sup> The format is given according to the signatures, if available; otherwise it is estimated and indicated in square brackets.

<sup>39</sup> Nor does Digitale Bibliothek deutscher Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts (http://vdi8.de) register German publications from Barcelona, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Liverpool or Nantes, cf. n. 13.

<sup>40 &#</sup>x27;Jeg sender herhoß een hollandsk toldseddel, huiß lige mange erre fundne een steds ved haffsiden, och er udspred for Mirakel Zeddeler att skulle vere regned neder, med røde och sorte linier paa, och er kommen her till bÿen mett stor forundring' (Copenhagen, National Archives: Danske Kancelli, B. 160: 1572-1650 Indlæg til Registre og Tegnelser (1631 <sup>9</sup>/<sub>6</sub>)). Unfortunately, the customs form is now missing from the file.

<sup>41</sup> I have added the *stcn* fingerprint (https://www.kb.nl/organisatie/onderzoek-expertise/ informatie-infrastructuur-diensten-voor-bibliotheken/short-title-catalogue-netherlandsstcn/de-stcn-vingerafdruk) if one could be taken, well knowing that the differences between variants are not always to be found near the signatures prescribed for this

Abbreviations RAL: Riga, Academic Library RLHSA: Riga, Latvian Historical State Archives RMA: Riga, Municipal Archives RNL: Riga, National Library TEHA: Tartu, Estonian Historical Archives TUL: Tartu, University Library

# Printed in the Netherlands

Amsterdam (1) Fabrice de la Bassecour(t), *SERMONS DE PIETÉ, POVR RÉVEILLER L'AME À SON SALUT* (Amsterdam: Lowijs (111) Elzevier, 1645). 12°, \*\*\*-\*\*\*8 (fol. \*\*\*1v blank), A-N<sup>12</sup> Fingerprint: 164512 a1 \*\*\*2 e\$,\$ : a2 \*\*\*5 Pri – b1 A n : b2 N6 ui\$e TUL: Bergm. 649.<sup>42</sup>

(2) Jan de Wit jun., Amsterdam [lacuna] De Prysen van de Granen zyn. (Amsterdam: n. pr., n. d.). [long 8°], single-leaf, printed on one side only. TEHA: 3339.1.1496, fol. 18r/v (dated 10 September 1764).

(3) CATALOGUE, Des Livres de Musique tant VOCALE qu'INSTRUMENTALE, qui se vendent chés JEAN JULIEN HUMMEL, Marchand au grand Magazin de Musique sur le Vygendam, à Amsterdam, 1775. ([Amsterdam:] n. pr., 1775).<sup>43</sup>
[2°], single-leaf, printed on both sides. TEHA: 3339.1.1623, fol. 22r/v.

exercise. In the case of the last imprint described below, for instance, signature B – and only signature B – had been censored and is lacking in most copies. Signature B was reprinted shortly later in changed form and again, in 1707, with the original wording. A facsimile of the original version was issued in 1971: *B-arket. Helicons Blomster* [...] (Stockholm 1971), cf. the postface by 'Th. N.' There are also two versions of the title-page, differing only in the illustration, but this variation does not seem to have been caused by censorship.

<sup>42</sup> G[ustaf] Berghman, Catalogue raisonné des impressions Elzeviriennes de la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm (Stockholm & Paris 1911), no. 123, could only describe a copy with a mutilated title-page. What a coincidence that his namesake Gustav v. Bergmann owned a complete copy.

<sup>43</sup> The *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599-1800* (http://bsc.idcpublishers.info) only lists music catalogues by Hummel from the years 1778 and 1792.

(4) Thomas Zuckerbecker, *TER HUWELYKS VEREENIGING VAN DEN HEERE, CHRISTIAN TROMPOWSKY, MET MYNE ZUSTER, CHRISTINA FREDERICA ZUCKERBECKER; EN VAN DEN HEERE, MELCHIOR TROMPOWSKY, MET MYNE ZUSTER, ANNA ELISABETH ZUCKERBECKER; Gevierd binnen RIGA, op den* [lacuna] *van* [lacuna] *MDCCLXXXVI*. ([Amsterdam:]<sup>44</sup> n. pr., [1786]). [4 or 8°],<sup>45</sup> 2 leaves, no signature, verso of the title-page blank. RNL: R B/721 (16) (dated 29 September).

# Haarlem

(5) Klaas de Koning Tilly, *WAARSCHOUWING* ([Haarlem:] n. pr., n. d.). [oblong 8°], single-leaf, printed on one side only. RLHSA: 651.1.642, fol. 138r.

# The Hague

(6) KORT BEGRIP VAN DEN VELD-DIENST, Zoo als dezelve in den LAATSTEN OORLOG WAARGENOMEN IS GEWORDEN, BY DE TROUPES VAN DEN STAAT [...] ABREGÉ DU SERVICE DE CAMPAGNE [...] (The Hague: Pieter de Hondt, 1752).

 $8^\circ,$  \*-\*8 (fol. \*1v blank), \*\*, A-L8, M-M4, 1 leaf with errata, 5 folding tables (to be placed opposite pp. 23, 23, 26, 31, 81)

Fingerprint: 175208 – a1 \*2 N : a2 \*\* ap – b1 A g : M3 \$D TUL: Alxd. 13732.

# Leiden

(7) André Rivet, ORATIO, QVA, Ab Illustrissimo Principe ARAVSIORVM accitus, & educationi Principis Filii præfectus, publicæ Professionis Theologicæ exercitia intermissurus, Academiæ valedixit, & gratias egit. Habita die XI. Maij, in Auditorio solemni (Leiden: Bonaventura & Abraham (I) Elzevier, 1632).

4°, A-B4, C-C3 (fol. A1v, C4r, C4v blank)

Fingerprint: 163204 b<br/>1 A2 è\$no : b2 C3 m,\$ TUL: R $\rm II^b.~79^d{}_2$ .

<sup>44</sup> The text ends with 'THOMAS ZUCKERBECKER JR. Te Amsteldam.' It appears likely that the piece was printed in Amsterdam. Additionally, the author regrets in his poem that he cannot be present at the celebrations.

<sup>45</sup> The other pieces in the volume are either quartos or octavos.

(8) LESSUS In præmaturum [...] OBITVM [...] Doctissimi Juvenis, D.<sup>46</sup> IOHANNIS RATHMANNI, CVM [...] die 8. Augusti, Anni 1637. terræ mandaretur, Ab amicis conscripti (Leiden: Ex Officina Elseviriana, 1637).

 $[4^{\circ}]$ , 6 leaves, cropped at the bottom, only on fol. 3r part of a signature ('A2' or, what might rather be expected, 'A3') in Gothic type is visible, fol. 1v is blank. RLHSA: 4011.1.4552, fol. 1r-6v.

(9) Nathanael Duez, SONNET FVNEBRE, Sur la mort de Monsieur ADAM VALENTIN DE REDERN,<sup>47</sup> Fils du [...] Seigneur ADAM VALENTIN DE REDERN, Conseillier [sic] & Colonnel d'Estat de son Altesse Electorale de Brandenbourg, Gouverneur & Baillif de la Forteresse de Mummel, Seigneur de Walterslage, Guerilsdorf, Kerckaw, Kenigsmarck, &c. ([Leiden]: n. pr., 1651) [printed date 'A Leyden le 10. Iuillet, l'an de grace 1651.'].

 $[2^{\circ}]$ , single-leaf, printed on one side only.

RLHSA: 1100.13.1201, fol. 1r.

(10) LOF-BASUYN, Op het [...] afsterven vanden Wel-Edelen HEER, JONCK-HEER ADAM VALTIN VAN REDERN, Heere van WALTERSLAGE, GORLSDORP, KONINGSMARCK ende KERCHAU, &c. [...] ontslapen op den III. Iulij, des Jaers [MD]CLI. BINNEN LEYDEN (Leiden: Philippe de Croy, 1651) [Poem signed 'Æg. A.'].
[1°], single-leaf, printed on one side only.
RLHSA: 1100.13.1201, fol. 2r.

Utrecht

(11) *LE DEMOSTHENE MODERNE. OU REFLEXIONS Sur les affaires présentes de l'Europe. TOME I*. (Utrecht: Lobedanius, 1745) [the second volume lacks a title-page of its own, but the paginations starts anew with p. 1 on fol. Air].

<sup>46</sup> In this case, 'D.' appears to be an abbreviation for *dominus*, not for *doctor*. A 'Johannes Rætman' of Danzig matriculated at Leiden University on 26 September 1636. On the same day, 'David Zernitz', equally of Danzig, entered the University (*Album studiosorum* (n. 11), col. 281). He contributed the last poem to this collection. Rathmann is not mentioned in *Album scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV-MCMXL*, ed. C. A. Siegenbeek van Heukelom-Lamme & O[ctavie] C. D. Idenburg-Siegenbeek van Heukelom, [vol. 1] (Leiden 1941). No published list of doctoral promotions at Leiden University from the time of Rathmann's stay exists, cf. *Album promotorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1812*, ed. P[hilipp] C[hristiaan] Molhuysen (The Hague 1913-24) [offprint from *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universitei*].

<sup>47</sup> Matriculated as 'Adamus Valentinus a Reideren' on 7 July 1650, simultaneously with what appears to be his elder brother (*Album studiosorum* (n. 11), col. 405).



FIGURE 4 Title-page of a collection of occasional poetry, printed by Elzevier in Leiden, 1637 (Appendix, no. 8). 4° and 6° (printed on sheets of reduced size), \*-\*2, A-P6, Q-X<sup>4</sup> (fol. \*1v blank); vol. [2]: A-2A<sup>4</sup> [each issue of this journal<sup>48</sup> fills one gathering: six leaves for nos. 1-15, four leaves for nos. 16-21 of vol. 1 and for all 24 issues of vol. 2] Fingerprint: 164506 – b1 \*2 ïlle : b2 X2 n\$n; vol. 2: 000004 – b1 A \$ : b2 Aa2 is\$,\$ TUL: Alxd. 1280.

#### No Place

(12) VYFTIENDE LOTERY, Van het Loffelyk en Beroemt GENOOTSCHAP EDEM, Ge-establiceert in de Provincie Devonshire in Engeland (n. pl.: n. pr., [1752]).
[4°], single-leaf, printed on both sides. TEHA: 3339.1.1493, fol. 6or/v.

# Printed Outside the Netherlands

### Hamburg

(13) *Hamburg, den* [lacuna] *Ao.* 17 [lacuna] *Prysen van Graanen* ([Hamburg:] Jacob de Vlieger jun., n. d.).

[long 8°], single-leaf, printed on one side only.

тена: 3340.1.1353 (dated 27 September 1771).

#### Riga

(14) Droevige Tromeets [recte: trommels] clanck over de doot, van [...] vvelbestelden Generael Factoor in Lijfflandt [...] H.r MARTEN WOLFF Sal. Gevveesen Muntmeester in [...] Riga Anno M. DC. XXXIII. den 1. Meert. (Riga: Gerhard Schröder, [1633]) [Poem signed by 'P. V. G.'].

[1°], single-leaf, printed on one side only.

ral: H 4, R 2194.

(15) Lätster Ehrendienst Bei Adelicher Leich=Ceremonien Des [...] JOACHIMI Lippen / genañt Löwenfelds [...] (Riga: Gerhard Schröder, 1653) [on fol. A4r a Dutch poem, possibly by 'Georgius Simon M. SS. Th. Stud.' who signed the following poem in German].
4°, A-B<sup>4</sup> (fol. A1v blank)
Fingerprint: 165304 – b1 A2 .\$Br : b2 Biij re\$lebe

Fingerprint: 165304 – D1 A2 .\$Br : D2 Bilj re RAL: H 4, R 2114.

<sup>48</sup> Published unter this title only in 1745 (and 1746?), continued under three consecutive titles until 1755, cf. *Zeitschriftendatenbank* (http://dispatch.opac.dnb.de/DB=1.1/).

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FIGURE 5A Lottery announcement, 1752, recto side (Appendix, no. 12).

Deze Lotery zal gerokken werden op de plaats en Refidentie ge-eftabliceert door het loffelyk en beroemt genootfebap E D E M, gelegen in de Provintie Devonshire by Excefter, op dezelve wyzen en maniere als hier in Engelandt gebruikelyk is, te weten:

De 20000 nommere zullen te gelyk in een moolen gedaan worden, en naar wel door malkanderen gemengelt zynde van 's gelyke de 4000 Pryzen in een anderen moolen, de welke als dan gerokken zullen worden tegens een egaale quantityd nommers, door twee Weeskinderen en zal Continueeren tot dat alle de Pryzen nitgetrokken zyn, gelyk men klaar in de gedrukte Lyften zal kunnen zien moetende als dan de ingebleeven nommers voor nieten aangemerkt worden.

Menzal beginnen te trekken den 30 January 1753. met alle accurateffen daar toe nodig, en zullen de Pryzen en Premien prompt op zyn tydt betaald worden, vyf weeken naar het trekken onder Corting van 11 percent, by de Comiffionariffen en Collecteurs daar het Lot is ingelegt.

Alle de Looten zullen ondertekent zyn door Ml. Damhop, Precident van het loffelyk en beroemt genoot(chap E D E M, en zal de trekking geschieden onder zyn EDL. directie, ten overstaan van de daar toe gestelde Edle Heeren Gecommiteerdens en geintresserdens die zig daar by gelieven te laaten vinden.

Naar dat de trekking geeindigt zal zyn, zal men de Lyften ten fpoedigiten aan de Commiffionariffen en Collecteurs afzenden, waar uit een ieder zal kunnen zien of zyn nommer met Prys of Premie is uit gekomen, of wel met niet is in gebleven, ook zullen alle de Lyften die naar de Zeventien Provintien der Nederlanden en nabuurige plaatzen verzonden worden, in 't Hollands of Fransch gedrukt zyn.

FIGURE 5B Lottery announcement, 1752, verso side (Appendix, no. 12).

De Collecte begint van nu af aan in alle voornaame Steeden van Europa en zal de Collecte voor het opgeven van eigen deviezen gefloten worden den 30 December 1752. en na dien tydt zal men nog eenige weeken Looten kunnen krygen op het generaal devies, dat als dan door de Collecteurs daar op geltelt zal zyn, dient tot een ieders narigt. 4 Preasily woor en na vider 800 C Gegeven ter voorschreve plaatze door de voornoemde Ed: Heer Prefident in dato als boven. 20 Premies voor en en vder 100 Guineas 3 dito. 5 Premies van seo Guiness voor iedut van de 5 eerfl ditter monde nominers in de certile Lyth. S Promits can no Guinets voor ieder van de 5 laats vi Cu otas a vien an Premier bullaget

(16) Seegen VVensch Over 't huvvelyk Van D' Hr. M. DAVID CASPARI, [...] Rectore van de latynsch: School als BRUYDEGOM En Me Juffr. ANNA BREVERIN als BRUYT 't samen vereenight den 11 Septembr. Anno 1679. [...] door Seekern Vriend  $B UDA H M^{49}$  ([Riga]: Heinrich Bessemesser, [1679]). [4°], 2 leaves, no signature.

RAL: P 1/1, R 35027 (2).

(17) BUrgermeistere en Raht d' Konicklijcke Stadt Riga macken hiermeede alle ankoomende Vremde Schippers bekant [...] Publicat. d. 14. Junii An. 1694. ([Riga:] n. pr., 1694) [Ordinance on how to sail into and out of the harbour].<sup>50</sup>
[oblong 1°], single-leaf, printed on one side only.
RAL: R D1 5-1 inv. 891/128.
RMA: 673.1.02, pp. 123 f.; 673.1.728, fol. 2v f.

RMA: 673.1.102, pp. 123 I.; 673.1.728, IOI. 2V I.

(18) *PRYSEN van Coopmanschappen in Riga A. 17* [lacuna] *den* [lacuna] ([Riga]: n. pr., n. d.).<sup>51</sup>

[long 8°], single-leaf, printed on both sides.

тена: 3339.1.1493, fol. 231r/v (dated 1 February 1755).

(19) Niettegenstaande van den Wel-Edele Magistraat alreets tot verscheide Keeren zeer scherpe Placaten geemaneert zyn, waarin aan alle met Ballast hier aankomende Schipperen [...] is bekent gemaakt [...] Gepubliceert in Riga den 31 Julii 1759. ([Riga:] n. pr., 1759) [Ordinance on where to leave ballast near the harbour].

[oblong 1°], single-leaf, printed on one side only. RMA: 673.1.235, fol. 21. $^{52}$ 

<sup>49</sup> *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums*. Riga, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 941, considers this to be the name of the author, but it might just as well be an abbreviated description of his identity.

<sup>50</sup> Translation of BUrgermeistere und Raht der Königl. Stadt RIGA thun hiemit allen und jeden ankommenden frembden Schiffern kund [...] Publicat: den 14. Junii Anno 1694. ([Riga:] n. pr. 1694) (RAL: R D1 5-1 inv. 891/129; RMA: 673.1.728, fol. 4r).

<sup>51</sup> German versions are literally, and awkwardly, translated from the Dutch: *Preysen von Kaufmannschaften in Riga A. 1*7 [lacuna] *den* [lacuna] (TEHA: 3339.1.1493, fol. 1r/v et passim).

<sup>52</sup> The same record (fol. 3r) contains an English version in identical layout. Both versions carry manuscript corrections of the same content: Indicating another place to leave the ballast, specifying that the harbour master will be responsible for enforcing this ordinance and, importantly, a new date: 18 April 1763. The German original is to be found in 1381.1.845, fol. 83v f., with corresponding manuscript changes. German and English

(20) *Rigase Prys-Courant Anno 178* [lacuna]. *den* [lacuna] ([Riga:] n. pr., n. d.). [long 8°], single-leaf, printed on both sides.

тена: 3340.1.1235 (175 copies,<sup>53</sup> dated 3 January 1784 to 31 December 1785).

(21) *Rigase Prys-Courant Anno 1784. den* [lacuna] ([Riga:] n. pr., 1784). [long 8°], single-leaf, printed on both sides. TEHA: 3340.1.1235 (26 copies, dated 28 February 1784 to 14 December 1784).

(22) PUBLICATION. Ein Wohledler Rath macht hiedurch bekannt [...] Riga=Rathhaus, den 31sten März, 1798. [...] PUBLICATIE. Den Weledele Raad maakt hierdoor an alle Schippers bekend [...] Riga-Raadhuys, den 31. Marz, 1798. ([Riga:] n. pr., 1798) [Ordinance prohibiting primarily the use of fire onboard ships laying in port. Text in German, Russian, Dutch, English and Swedish]. [2°], single-leaf, printed on one side only.

RMA: 1381.1.845, fol. 223r-314r (91 copies).

(23) *PUBLICATION* [...] *PUBLICATIE* [...] *Riga-Raadhuys, den 31. Marz 1798.* ([Riga:] n. pr., n. d.) [reprint of the above; the Russian text is printed with another fount; there are a few changes in the Dutch text: Voor/voor, Plaatzen/ Plaatsen, no comma after 'Marz'].

 $[2^{\circ}]$ , single-leaf, printed on one side only.

RMA: 1381.1.845, fol. 315r–329r (15 copies).

Stockholm

(24) Lucidor, *HELICONS Blomster / Plåckade ok Wid åtskillige Tillfällen utdelte af LUCIDOR den Olyklige Det är Alle de Poëtiske Skrifter / Som författade blefne Af Lasse Johanson* (Stockholm: Niclas Wankiif, 1688) [Dutch poems on fol. M2r, M4r, N4r].

4°, \$-\$<sup>4</sup>, A-2X<sup>4</sup>, Y-Y<sup>2</sup> Fingerprint: 168804 – b1 A h : b2 Yy \$ TUL: R 4 XVI A-14000.<sup>54</sup>

versions – without manuscript additions – also in RAL: R Brotze Rigensia 11/62 and 63; RMA: 749.6.1327, fol. 193r.

<sup>53</sup> Among these copies, there is some variation in the use, placement and shape of the full stop after '178'. Furthermore, minor variations occur in the text itself.

<sup>54</sup> This copy contains the original signature B as well as the original illustration on the titlepage (cf. n. 41).