How complete are the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*VD16* and *VD17)*?

Jürgen Beyer

Passing a judgement on the completeness of national bibliographies is possible in two ways. One would be to compile a competing bibliography of one's own. This would, however, take very many years to achieve. A single scholar therefore has to resort to another method: working by samples. This article looks at the problem by examining a geographical sample and a genre sample. Geographically, it concentrates on the production of some printers in Lubeck and one in Riga – two major trading centres at opposite ends of the Baltic Sea. This choice of examples has the advantage of illustrating how the German national bibliographies are defined geographically. In terms of genre, I considered where official publications from the period are preserved today and to what degree these institutions are covered by the bibliographies.

VD16 and *VD17*

It is necessary to begin by presenting the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are two distinct bibliographies, one for each of the centuries. Both of them are generally known by their abbreviation, *VD16* and *VD17*, in full *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* and *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*. These are bibliographies of the imprints published in the German language area in the sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively. The definite article used in the bibliographies' title (*Verzeichnis der ... Drucke)* signals, as readers will have noticed, completeness.

   VD16 was first published in print in 25 volumes between 1983 and 2000.[1] *VD17* has been published on the internet right from the beginning in 1996.[2] In

recent years, the *VD16* data have been transfered to an internet edition to which further titles and holdings are continually being added.[3] Unfortunately, the *VD16* internet edition does not yet work perfectly. The two bibliographies differ somewhat in the way they describe the titles. Without going into any great detail, it is worth mentioning that *VD17* – unlike *VD16* – offers on-line facsimiles of the title-pages and of a few other significant pages of most books.[4]

Both bibliographies do not contain sheet music and maps while *VD16* also excludes broadsheets. The decision to exclude broadsheets is somewhat odd. Possibly it was occasioned by the fact that several reprint editions of illustrated broadsheets were available or planned,[5] but no such editions exist for the large number of non-illustrated broadsheets. *VD16* thus omits, for

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51 (2004), 213-221; C[laudia] Fabian, 'VD17', in *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, vol. 8, fasc. 57 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, [2]2008), p. 17. All internet sources referred to in this essay have been accessed during September, October and November 2009.

[3] 'Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16)', http://www.vd16.de; cf. also Gisela Möncke, 'Das „Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts" (VD 16) als Teil einer deutschen retrospektiven Nationalbibliographie', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 51 (2004), 207-212; Claudia Fabian, 'Anreicherung, Ausbau und internationale Vernetzung: Zur Fortführung des Verzeichnisses der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16)', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 57 (2010), 321-332. Since October 2009 the VD17 titles are also available through the VD16 website. The data sets in both versions, however, differ somewhat as do the possibilities of retrieving information. Places of publication outside the core German language area, for instance, can be searched in standardised spelling at http://www.vd17.de but not at http://www.vd16.de. This is more confusing than helpful.

[4] In recent years, some links to online facsimiles have been added in both bibliographies, and it is planned to enlarge this service.

[5] Bruno Weber (ed.), *Erschröckliche und warhafftige Wunderzeichen 1543-1586. Faksimiledruck von Einblattdrucken aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Dietikon & Zurich: Urs Graf, 1971); Max Geisberg, The German single-leaf woodcut: 1500-1550, ed. Walter L. Strauss, 4 vols. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974); Walter L. Strauss, *The German single-leaf woodcut 1550-1600. A pictorial catalogue*, 3 vols. (New York: Abaris Books, 1975); Wolfgang Harms (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1-4 & 6-7 (Munich: Kraus International Publications & Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 1980-2005). Möncke, 'Das „Verzeichnis"' (as in n. 3), 212, n. 4, explains the omission of broadsheets with a special project devoted to their registration. The internet link given in 2004 does not work anymore, but according to the information provided at the site http://www.vd16.de, the project in question seems only to be concerned with broadsheets held by the Bavarian State Library in Munich.

instance, some of the first editions of a seminal Latin text, Martin Luther's *95 Theses*.[6] Fortunately, *VD17* did not repeat this mistake and does include broadsheets. The printed edition of *VD16* counts some 75 000 titles. Including the internet additions, the bibliography now lists more than 100 000 titles. *VD17* contains at present descriptions of more than 260 000 titles. It is also worth noting that preparations are currently being made for a *VD18*, covering the eighteenth century.[7]

At the outset, *VD16* was born of a co-operation between the libraries in Wolfenbüttel and Munich. Over time, more and more German libraries have contributed to the work but very few from outside Germany. Similarly, *VD17* is the result of a project set up by German libraries with few titles or holdings being added from libraries outside Germany. While *VD16* to some extent presents titles described in earlier bibliographies, *VD17* only lists books which were available for inspection.

Both bibliographies claim to cover the 'German language area'. This term is, in fact, rather imprecise. There are three German equivalents, *deutscher Sprachbereich*, *deutscher Sprachraum* and *deutsches Sprachgebiet*. Surprisingly, *VD16* uses *Sprachbereich* and *VD17 Sprachraum* in its name. The introduction to the printed *VD16* states that the bibliography only deals with works printed "in the integral German culture area, i. e. in Germany (without firmly defined political boundaries), Austria, the German parts of Switzerland and in Alsace ... irrespective of the language of the text".[8] "The integral

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[6] On the different editions, cf. Martin Luther, *Werke. Kritische Gesammtausgabe*, vol. 1 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883), pp. 229-232; id., *Studienausgabe*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Delius et al., vol. 1 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, ³1987 (¹1979)), pp. 173f.

[7] *VD 18. Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge eines DFG-Rundgesprächs in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale), veranstaltet am 05. 05. 2004*, ed. Heiner Schnelling [Schriften zum Bibliotheks- und Büchereiwesen in Sachsen-Anhalt, vol. 86] (Halle: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2004); Klaus Haller, *Digitalisierung und Erschließung der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts* [Schriften zum Bibliotheks- und Büchereiwesen in Sachsen-Anhalt, vol. 88] (Halle: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2007); Thomas Bürger et al., 'Das VD 18. Eine Einladung ins 18. Jahrhundert', *Bibliothek. Forschung und Praxis* 32 (2008), 195-202; Reinhart Siegert, 'VD18. Zum Diskussionsstand aus fachwissenschaftlicher Sicht', *ibid.*, 203-208

[8] Irmgard Bezzel: Introduction, trans. David Paisey, in *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 22

German culture area", in German *zusammenhängender deutscher Kulturraum*, is yet one more of these expressions serving to indicate in a polite way that Germany once extended far, far beyond its present-day boundaries, but it does exclude pockets of German settlements here and there.[9]

VD17 has decided to travel a different path. Concerning the core of the German language area, *VD17*, too, lists books printed in any language, but it also includes books produced in towns such as Prague, Copenhagen or Riga if they are in German (but not in Latin or in local languages).[10] In these cities either a significant part of or almost all burghers were Germans, while the remaining inhabitants for the most part were Czechs, Danes or Latvians. In principle, the non-German books from these towns should be covered in the Czech, Danish and Latvian national bibliographies, but some of these projects still have a very long way to go.

The way the fringes of the German language area are treated in *VD16* and *VD17* is rather problematic. Throughout Eastern and partly also in Northern Europe, the borders between German-speakers and non-German-speakers were rather fuzzy, largely because the use of language changed over time and depended on context and social status, and because the populations themselves to a large extent were bi-, tri- or even quadrilingual.[11]

(Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1995), pp. XVIII-XXV, here p. XVIII (German original pp. IX-XVII, here p. IX). I am not sure whether it was wise to define, for a confessional age, a cultural area by language only.

[9] The *VD16* internet edition, on the other hand, claims that all sixteenth-century books in German wherever printed are included – but that is certainly not the case: "Erfasst werden alle deutschsprachigen Titel und unabhängig von ihrer Sprache alle im historischen deutschen Sprachgebiet gedruckten und verlegten Werke außer Musica practica, Karten und Einblattdrucke" (http://bvba2.bib-bvb.de:80/V/3R7RVQS4LY3CCJ89INJUSD8J2VQYUDL1RQ9FHUS1SDLS57RLSN-07136?func=file&file_name=search_vd16).

[10] Some non-German books from outside the core German language area are, indeed, catalogued in *VD17*. Part of them have links to Germany proper – be that a German publisher or an attribution to a German printer. Others seem to have been entered by mistake, since the coverage of these imprints in *VD17* is only a fraction of those in German.

[11] Cf. *Viborgs fyra språk under sju sekel*, ed. Marika Tandefelt ([Helsinki:] Schildt, 2002); cf. also Willem Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw. Een verkenning* [Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde, n. s., vol. 73, 2] (Amsterdam, 2010).

Employing the concept "German language area" has resulted in *VD16* and *VD17* being geographically based on the language spoken in the streets of printing towns and on the lanes of the surrounding villages, not on the main language of print (excluding Latin) in a given town. Some examples will explain what this means. In the decades around 1600, printing in Riga was primarily done in Latin and High German and to a very modest degree in Low German, Latvian and Swedish. Lubeck produced books in the same languages but substituting Latvian with Danish. Lubeck, however, is included in the two bibliographies (the spoken language of the area being Low German), while Riga is excluded from *VD16* and is only represented with German-language imprints in *VD17* for the simple reason that many inhabitants of Riga and most people in the surrounding countryside spoke Latvian – but that was entirely irrelevant to the book production in town.

If we now take a look at Sleswick in the same period, a town outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, the situation is not that different from the one in Riga. Printing was mainly done in Latin and High German with a very limited production in Danish and Low German,[12] but these two languages were the ones spoken in the area.[13] Similarly, when printing started in the first half of the eighteenth century in Flensburg and Tønder (in German "Tondern") after the language border had moved further north, High German dominated in the books printed in these towns, while Danish was spoken in the surrounding countryside and – together with Low German – in town.[14]

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[12] Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1600*, 2nd ed. with supplement by Erik Dal, 4 vols. (Copenhagen: Det kgl. Bibliotek & Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1996 (¹1919-35)), here vol. 4, pp. 58-61 (for the years 1580 to 1600).

[13] Cf. C[arl] F[erdinand] Allen, *Det danske Sprogs Historie i Hertugdømmet Slesvig eller Sønderjylland*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Bo og Arvinger, 1857-58); H[ans] V[aldemar] Gregersen, *Plattysk i Sønderjylland. En undersøgelse af fortyskningens historie indtil 1600-årene* (diss. Odense) [Odense University studies in history and social sciences, vol. 19] (Odense: Odense University Press, 1974).

[14] Cf. Grethe Larsen & Erik Dal, *Danske Provinstryk 1482-1830. En bibliografi*, vol. 4: Sønderjylland (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab / Det kongelige Bibliotek, 1998), pp. 109-128 for Tønder. Haderslev (in German "Hadersleben"), on the other hand, produced more Danish than German imprints (starting in 1759, cf. *ibid.*, p. 1-102). For two additional Haderslev imprints – one each in both languages –, cf. the review in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 127 (2002), 279f. (Jürgen Beyer).

Instead of tracing the changes of the German language border during the periods covered by their bibliographies, the compilers of *VD16* and *VD17* seem to have chosen to cover Germany within the borders of 1918 plus Austria and German-speaking Switzerland. That is a fairly ahistorical approach.

To my mind, a much more appropriate approach for book historians and easier to handle would be to include all printing towns with their entire production if in a given period the main language of print (excluding Latin) had been German.[15] In addition, one might also include books printed elsewhere if in German.[16]

The main language of print is not that easy to determine as it might appear. One way would be to count the number of titles published in each language. That can easily be done, apart from the limited number of bi- or multilingual publications. One might also take the number of pages into consideration, and here due credit could be given to each language in multilingual books. The most exact method, however, would be to count the square feet covered with printed text. This approach gives interesting results in the Estonian case. In the eighteenth century, for instance, the number of titles published in Estonian was small, but the Estonian books were printed in very many copies, and they made up rather thick volumes (such as hymnals). The number of German titles produced in the same towns was much higher, but these official publications, occasional poems or scholarly works were produced in a limited number of copies and often on a few pages. Most of the

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[15] Emden would then have to be taken off the list for the second half of the sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth century when the town primarily printed in Dutch (cf. Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch revolt. Exile and the development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), pp. 252-311; Martin Tielke, 'Der Emder Buchdruck des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 27 (2002), 3-41; cf. also Ludger Kremer, *Das Niederländische als Kultursprache deutscher Gebiete* [Nachbarn 27] (Bonn: Presse- und Kulturabteilung der Kgl. Niederländischen Botschaft, [1983])).

[16] I readily admit that I favour bibliographical imperialism, but I cannot see that any harm will be done when, for instance, both Germans and Danes catalogue imprints from the duchy of Sleswick. So far, however, the Danes (and one American, cf. n. 54) have been much better at this than the Germans. Neither do I, in our days, fear an angry reaction from Moscow when Latin imprints from Riga are inserted into a German database. The restraints observed by *VD16* might have been necessary before 1989 but are now surely outdated.

words printed at the time were thus possibly Estonian, while the majority of titles were in German. Counting in square feet, however, is rather difficult and time-consuming, since one not only has to take into account the number of pages and their size, but also the number of copies, and here exact figures are difficult to come by.[17] Therefore, this paper will simply analyse the number of titles.

To sum up, *VD16* and *VD17* show some differences in their coverage. While *VD17* aims to include everything printed in German, *VD16* does not show any interest in German books produced outside the German language area nor in any broadsheets. These are much less ambitious approaches than the ones used, for instance, in the Danish,[18] Swedish[19] or Finnish[20] national bibliographies which would not only include all books published within these countries' historical borders and all books printed in the respective languages

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[17] Cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Schwedische Lesestoffe in Est- und Livland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in *Books and libraries in the Baltic Sea region from the 16th to the 18th century*, ed. Lea Kõiv & Tiiu Reimo (Tallinn: Tallinn City Archives & Academic Library of Tallinn University, 2006), pp. 165-171, here p. 167. E[ndel] Annus (ed.), *Eestikeelne raamat 1525-1850* [Eesti retrospektiivne rahvusbibliograafia, vol. 1] (Tallinn: Eesti Akadeemiline Raamatukogu, 2000), lists, if available, the number of copies printed. During the eighteenth century, Estonian hymnals normally had a print run of 5-6000 copies. 42 editions are known from the eighteenth century (both in Tallinn- and Tartu-Estonian). Until 1745, most of the Tallinn-Estonian hymnals were printed at Halle, Germany.

[18] Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi* (as in n. 12). References to further titles attested in early modern sources but lost today have been provided by Torben Nielsen (ed.), *Vetus bibliotheca. Københavns Universitetsbibliotek på reformationstiden. Katalog 1603 med oplysninger og en indledning* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Natur- og Lægevidenskabelige Bibliotek, 2004), no. 290, and by Jürgen Beyer in a review of the second edition (*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 123 (1998), 247-250, here 249; on p. 248 references to additional preserved editions missed by Lauritz Nielsen).

[19] Isak Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600*, 3 vols. (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927-38). Annotated copies of this bibliography at Uppsala University Library contain some additions.

[20] Tuija Laine & Rita Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen kansallisbibliografia 1488-1700* [Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia, vol. 642; Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisuja, vol. 59] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 1996); eaed. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbibliografia 1488-1700. Hakemisto* [Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia, vol. 643; Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisuja, vol. 60] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 1996).

but also anything published by Danes, Swedes and Finns anywhere in the world in whatever language.[21]

To achieve their aims, the compilers of these bibliographies would not limit their work to exploring the holdings of their countries' libraries; they would also investigate collections abroad. This also applies to the Estonian and Latvian national bibliographies, but so far only the volumes on Estonian- and Latvian-language books have been published for the early modern period.[22] Another language-oriented bibliography of early books is worth mentioning, the Low German bibliography by Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claußen.[23] These two, unlike their successors from *VD16* and *VD17*, did extend their searches across the Baltic Sea in order to describe as many Low German books as possible. They would even include books in other languages if they contained just a few lines in Low German. The description of titles in the bibliographies just mentioned is much more detailed than in *VD16* and *VD17*. Apart from the Swedish bibliography, they contain very good indices, too, for example, on subjects and genres. The standards set in the 1930s around the Baltic Sea have not been reached by *VD16* and *VD17*, but by going online and providing facsimiles, *VD17* has certainly added new and very valuable features.

Riga and Lubeck printers

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[21] The Universal Short Title Catalogue, once fully completed, would certainly represent an elegant answer to the question of what to include in a sixteenth-century bibliography: simply everything.

[22] Annus, *Eestikeelne raamat* (as in n. 17); Silvija Šiško & Aleksejs Apīnis (eds.), *Seniespiedumi latviešu valodā 1525-1855. Kopkatalogs* (Riga: Latvijas Nacionalā bibliotēka, 1999). The Tallinn union catalogue (https://tallinn.ester.ee) also lists non-Estonian books printed in present-day Estonia and not held by Estonian libraries.

[23] Conrad Borchling & Bruno Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, 3 vols. (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1931-57). For additions to this bibliography, cf. Hubertus Menke: '„... dem hordt dith boek tho". Zur Neubearbeitung des Borchling-Claussen, mit 6 Neufunden', *Niederdeutsches Wort* 39 (1999), 455-469; Jürgen Beyer, 'Der Beginn Dorpater Gelegenheitsdichtung in Volkssprachen. Mit einer Edition dreier niederdeutscher Gelegenheitsgedichte von Adrian Verginius aus dem Jahr 1638', in *Innovationen im Schwedischen Großreich. Eine Darstellung anhand von Fallstudien*, ed. Christoph Schmelz & Jana Zimdars [Schriftenreihe der David-Mevius-Gesellschaft, vol. 3] (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2009), pp. 181-207.

Riga is located outside the core German language area. *VD16* therefore does not deal with this printing town, while *VD17* should only list the titles in German. To what extent does *VD17* reflect the production of the town's first printer, Nicolaus Mollyn, who worked in Riga from 1588 to his death in 1625? Mollyn's bibliographers have described 167 titles,[24] but this number can be increased to 179.[25] Mollyn mostly printed books used in the region: hymnals, ecclesiastical manuals, sermons, textbooks, official publications, almanacs and, above all, occasional poetry. As mentioned above, Mollyn's production was primarily in Latin and High German. In addition, Mollyn printed seven books in Low German (all before 1600), two in Swedish (just after the Swedish conquest of Riga in 1621) and three in Latvian. The Latvian books – Luther's *Shorter Catechism*, the pericopes and a liturgy/hymnal, all printed in 1615 –

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[24] Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588-1888* (Riga: Müllersche Buchdruckerei, 1890), pp. 253-310; Ojar Sander, 'Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker. Sein Schaffen in Riga von 1588 bis 1625', in *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 2, ed. Klaus Garber, Stefan Anders & Thomas Elsmann [Frühe Neuzeit, vol. 39] (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 786-800, here p. 800. A statistical analysis of Mollyn's production on the basis of these bibliographies can be found in Alexander Kraus, 'Eine Medienrevolution in der „Peripherie". Nicolaus Mollyn und die Anfänge des Rigaer Buchdrucks', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 54 (2005), 317-349.

[25] Cf. Borchling & Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* (as in n. 23), no. 2470 (a Low German hymnal of 1592); Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1942-46), col. 103 (a Swedish sermon of 1621 in two editions); *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, vol. 12 & 15, ed. Sabine Beckmann, Martin Klöker & Stefan Anders (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms-Weidmann, 2004), no. 815-819, 826, 4075 (occasional poetry in Latin of 1593, 1594, 1615, 1617 and 1624); Jürgen Beyer, *Lay prophets in Lutheran Europe (c. 1550-1700)* [Religious history and culture series, vol. 5; Brill's series in church history, vol. ?] (Leyden & Boston: Brill, forthcoming), ch. 8, item *1595, 2* (a High German pamphlet of 1595 telling miraculous news). The Royal Library in Copenhagen holds the following title: *Vnderthenigste Werbung / wegen der betrangten Prouintz Lieffland: Der Königl: Mayest: vnd den Löblichen Ständen der Cron Polen ... Von der Lieffländischen Ritterschafft Abgesandten ... Auffm Reichstag zu Warsaw ... vorbracht* (Riga: Niclas Mollyn, 1597) (pressmark: 70,-286[b] - rev.nr. 2827). Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga* (as in n. 24), could not trace extant copies of his numbers 83 and 84. They are held by Tartu University Library (both in the volume R Est. A-5077). Similarly, extant copies for Buchholtz, nos. 55, 61, 82 and 153, are listed in *Handbuch*, vol. 12, no. 609, 617, 627 and 827.

not only have German title pages but German headings as well.[26] For this reason they should probably be included in *VD17* as well (though they are not at present), but if we only take the High German books published after 1600, we can state that *VD17* lists no more than two of the 23 extant titles. This corresponds to nine per cent.

Of the Lubeck printers I want to discuss, one is indirectly well-known to speakers of German, the other two are fairly obscure. Johann Balhorn the Younger printed in Lubeck from 1575 to 1606.[27] He was, obviously, the son of Johann Balhorn the Elder, who had printed in Lubeck from 1527 to 1573. Unlike Riga, where Mollyn was the only printer, Lubeck housed two printers simultaneously during most of the early modern period.[28] Balhorn's production was fairly average: He would produce anything from almanacs, occasional poetry and pamphlets to edifying works, sermons and statute books. He not only printed books in High German and Latin, but also works in Low German, Danish and Swedish. This linguistic variety, however, was in no way unusual for a printer of his region. Balhorn was also capable of printing with Greek and Hebrew Letters.

Both the range of his books and the craftsmanship with which he executed them was fairly average. Nothing of this would justify making him famous. His notoriety has quite another origin. Readers familiar with German might have come across the word *verballhornen* which is derived from the name of our printer. Its meaning is 'to distort, to disimprove'. Several theories try to explain how Balhorn achieved this questionable fame, but none of them are really convincing. The first evidence for Balhorn's name being used in this

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[26] On Mollyn's Latvian books, see also Šiško & Apīnis, *Seniespiedumi* (as in n. 22), no. 6-8. I have used the copies at Tartu University Library which are bound together in one volume with the pressmark R III. V. 2.

[27] The following is based on my ongoing research on Johann Balhorn the Younger.

[28] Georg Schmidt-Römhild, 'Rückblick auf die Geschichte des älteren Lübecker Buchdruckgewerbes', in *Lübecks Buchdruck-Geschichte. Festschrift zum 25jährigen Jubiläum der Lübecker Buchdrucker-Innung im Jahre 1924*, [ed. P[aul] W[ilhel]m Adolf Rey & Georg Schmidt-Römhild,] [Lubeck: Vorstand der Innung der Buchdruckereibesitzer zu Lübeck 1924], pp. 5-21, here p. 11; Dieter Lohmeier, 'Die Frühzeit des Buchdrucks in Lübeck', in *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Buchdruck für den Ostseeraum*, ed. Alken Bruns & id. (Heide: Westholsteinische Verlagsanstalt Boyens & Co., 1994), pp. 11-53, here pp. 29-34.

way dates from about forty years after his death.[29] Balhorn's surname is fairly rare but made up of common components. Whether it is etymologically correct or not, Balhorn's printer's mark shows a ball and a horn.[30] This name lent itself better for being turned into a German verb than all too familiar or all too strange names.

VD16 seems to list 93 books printed by Balhorn the Younger (technical problems of the database make it difficult to pronounce a clear judgement here), but the true figure is probably lower since a booklet with five songs will be entered in *VD16* under five different headings. The picture for *VD17* is much clearer: 10 books. I have been able to find 18 new titles from the sixteenth century and seven additional titles from the seventeenth century. In percentages this means that *VD16* in the best case describes 83 per cent of Balhorn's production, while *VD17* just lists 59 per cent of his production (if we assume that all his books have now been discovered). By basing calculations on the existing bibliographies, it would suggest that *VD16* can be expanded by 19 per cent and *VD17* by 70 per cent.

It would take too long to describe all the additional titles by Balhorn. They are written in High German, Low German, Latin, Danish and Swedish; they comprise sermons, almanacs, pamphlets and occasional poetry. The books are now held at libraries in Copenhagen, Uppsala, Oslo, Lund and Warsaw.

Not much is known about the two other Lubeck printers to be discussed here, Hermann Wegener and Gall Hoffmann. Wegener printed at Lubeck between 1599 and 1606. He later worked at Hamburg from 1608 to 1613. Hoffmann produced two books at Lubeck in 1600. In 1594 and 1595 he had been in Magdeburg.[31]

The two books Hoffmann produced in Lubeck in 1600 were both in High German: a devotional book, *Passional*, and a collection of hymns on the themes of the catechism and the life of Christ. The *Passional* had earlier been

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[29] Hans-Bernd Spies, '„Verbessert durch Johann Balhorn". Neues zu einer alten Redensart,' *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 62 (1982), 285-292.
[30] Gustav Struck, 'Von alten Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen und den lübischen Büchermarken,' *Lübeckische Blätter* 82 (1940), 234-236, here 236.
[31] On these two printers, cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Zwei kaum bekannte Lübecker Buchdrucker aus den Jahren um 1600: Hermann Wegener und Gall Hoffman', *Zeitschrift für Lübeckische Geschichte* 91 (2011) (forthcoming).

printed in Lubeck, but only in Low German. Some of the hymns in the other book had been translated from Low German. Both of Hoffmann's books can thus serve to illustrate Lubeck's switch from Low to High German. Neither of the two books can be found in *VD16*. I have used copies at Uppsala University Library.

Wegener printed eight books in Lubeck between 1599 and 1606: four edifying works in Latin by Philipp Kegel, the standard Swedish hymnal and the pericopes in Swedish, a Danish almanac and a Latin poem on the beauties of the island of Als (in German "Alsen") in the duchy of Sleswick. Both of Wegener's books from the sixteenth century can be found in *VD16*, but of his six seventeenth-century imprints, *VD17* lists only one. The two Swedish books are preserved in Stockholm as is one of the Latin books by Kegel. The Danish almanac can be found in Copenhagen as can the Latin poem.

If we take Hoffmann and Wegener as one sample, we find that *VD16* and *VD17* only list three of the ten books. We are here dealing for the most part with real books of 100 to 400 pages, not with ephemeral publications as in the case of the Danish almanac. For all three Lubeck printers (Balhorn, Wegener and Hoffmann), one can say that roughly one imprint per year per printer is lacking in *VD16* and *VD17*. This also applies to Mollyn's German imprints from the seventeenth century – without taking into account the Latin titles which were three times more numerous.

Apparently this bleak picture does not only apply to Lubeck printers of the years around 1600. In 1655, the Pärnu (in German "Pernau") pastor Friedrich Löwenstein ended a collection of sermons with a list of his publications during the preceding 25 years.[32] This is an early auto-bibliography, a forerunner of the lists scholars in recent years have grown accustomed to compiling for the benefit of Research Assessment Exercises and the research administration departments of their universities. Löwenstein presents ten books (nine in German and one in Latin), six of which had been printed in Lubeck, thus on the other side of the Baltic Sea. Of these ten books, *VD17* only knows two, both printed in Lubeck. However, seven of the books could be easily traced in libraries, and not only in one copy but in up to seven

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[32] Fridericus Lowenstein [Friedrich Löwenstein], *ENCÆNIA PARNOVIENSIA Pernausche Kirchweyhe Das ist: Fünff Geistreiche / Lehrhaffte / und Tröstliche Predigten ...* (Lubeck: seel[.] Valentin Schmalhertzens Erben, 1655), fol. S7r-S8r.

copies. These copies are, however, in most cases not held by German libaries but by libraries and archives in Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Latvia and Estonia.[33]

While *VD16's* and *VD17's* poor coverage of these Riga and Lubeck printers probably also extends to other printers from these towns, not all German towns are necessarily treated in the same way by these bibliographies. Products of Wolfenbüttel and Munich print shops are, presumably, well represented in both *VD16* and *VD17*. While the neglect of Riga might be explained by its location outside the core German language area, other factors might have contributed to the feeble representation of Lubeck:

(1) Until the early years of the seventeenth century, Lubeck had an important production of books in Danish and Swedish. This also applies to Rostock. Such books were hardly collected by German libraries.

(2) A natural repository of early Lubeck books is unfortunately not available: most of the early Lubeck holdings of the Lubeck municipal library, founded in 1616/22, were taken to Russia at the end of WW II and have not been returned.[34] Furthermore, this library does not contribute to *VD16* and *VD17*.[35]

(3) Other institutions preserving large numbers of Lubeck (and North German) books are the major libraries of Scandinavia and the Baltic States. They do not participate in *VD16* and *VD17* either.

Background

This might need some explanation. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were only two kingdoms in Northern Europe, Denmark-

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[33] Cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Livländische Autoren und norddeutsche Buchdrucker im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Autobibliographie des Pernauer Pastors Friedrich Löwenstein', in *Die Baltischen Länder und Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit* (working title), ed. Norbert Angermann & Karsten Brüggemann [Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, vol. ?] (Munster: Lit, 2011, in preparation).

[34] *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, vol. 1: Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms-Weidmann, 1996), pp. 114, 117.

[35] The Low German, Danish and Swedish titles from this library, however, had been recorded before the war in Borchling & Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* (as in n. 23); Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi* (as in n. 12); Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600* (as in n. 19). Unlike *VD17*, *VD16* does exploit data from these bibliographies at least partially.

Norway and Sweden-Finland. The two kings ruled over a fair number of German-speaking, or at least German-printing provinces as well: Oldenburg, Bremen-Verden, Sleswick, Holstein, Wismar, Pomerania, Livonia, Estonia and Ingria.[36] Imprints from these provinces would naturally be collected in the realms' major libraries, supported by legal deposit regulations.[37] The most complete collection of early imprints from and on Sleswick-Holstein, for instance, is thus to be found in Copenhagen and not in any of the libraries within the region itself.

During the later middle ages, the Hanseatic League had played a dominant rôle in the trade of the area, and Low German had become northern Europe's *lingua franca*. In the sixteenth century, both northern kingdoms adopted the Lutheran Reformation. This led to even closer cultural ties with Northern Germany. German communities existed in many Scandinavian towns and were served in their own language by Lutheran pastors who every now and then would send funeral and other sermons to the local printers.[38] In

[36] Cf. Gerhard Köbler, *Historisches Lexikon der deutschen Länder. Die deutschen Territorien und reichsunmittelbaren Geschlechter vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C. H. Beck, ⁶1999 (¹1988)). On Swedish Ingria, cf. M[a]x E[ngman], 'Ingermanland', in *Nationalencyklopedin*, vol. 9 (Höganäs: Bra Böcker, 1992), pp. 462f. Gotland, particularly its only town Visby, should probably also be counted among these provinces during the first half of the sixteenth century (for the middle ages, cf. Artur Gabrielsson, 'Zur Geschichte der mittelniederdeutschen Schriftsprache auf Gotland', *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 94 (1971), 41-82, & 95 (1972), 7-65). However, there was no print shop on the island, and hardly anything was sent to printers elsewhere. The *editio princeps* of the *Gotland water law* should probably not be credited to a local scholar: *[Dat gotlandsche Waterrecht] Her beghynt dat hogheste water recht ...* [at the end:] *Hyr eyndet dat gotlansche water recht dat de gemeyne kopmā vñ schippers ... ghemaket hebben to wisby ...* (Copenhagen: [Gotfried van Ghemen], 1505). Although described both by Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi* (as in n. 12), no. 285, and Borchling & Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* (as in n. 23), no. 393, this title has not been copied into *VD16* which only lists subsequent editions published in the core German language area.
[37] Cf. P[alle] B[irkelund] et al., 'Pligtaflevering', in *Nordisk Leksikon for Bogvæsen*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck / Oslo: Dreyer / Stockholm: Forum, 1962), pp. 213-217.
[38] Johan Christopher Stricker, *Försök Til et Swenskt Homiletiskt Bibliothek*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Peter Hesselberg, 1767), pp. 160-187 (Uppsala University Library's copy contains many manuscript additions); Jürgen Beyer, 'Maria Schultz, geb. Lepape', in *Sankt Petri Kopenhagen 1575-2000. 425 Jahre Geschichte deutsch-dänischer Begegnung in Biographien ...*, ed. id. & Johannes Jensen (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2000), pp. 9-11; id., 'Sophie Charlotte Weigbers', *ibid.*, pp. 39-43; cf. also Holger Fr. Rørdam, 'Om de tydske Menigheder i

addition, German was the language of the royal court and of the army in Denmark.[39]

In much the same way that knowledge of English is widespread in Scandinavia today, the same can be said for German in the early modern period, or even more so: German was not felt to be a foreign language. In Denmark one could say: "The German language is being acquired in the same way as original sin: we are born with it."[40]

Uppsala University was closed during most of the sixteenth century, leaving only one university in Northern Europe: Copenhagen. Scandinavian students attended universities on the southern Baltic shore in large numbers, and they travelled also further inland.[41]

While there did exist a Danish and a Swedish literary culture (but not a Norwegian and hardly a Finnish one), most participants in these cultures were just as well informed about the recent trends in Germany. Jokingly, Danish and Swedish colleagues would express this relation much more bluntly when referring to their own country in earlier centuries as "Germany's cultural appendix".

We therefore find that the major old libraries in Scandinavia (Copenhagen, Uppsala, Stockholm, Lund – in this order) have acquired early modern German holdings which certainly can rival those of major libraries in the Lutheran parts of Germany.[42] There is one important difference, though:

Danmark i 17de Aarhundrede, navnlig i Christian IV.'s og Frederik III.'s Tid', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 5 (1864-66), 134-224.
[39] Cf. Vibeke Winge, *Dänische Deutsche – deutsche Dänen. Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in Dänemark 1300-1800 mit einem Ausblick auf das 19. Jahrhundert* [Sprachgeschichte, vol. 1] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992).
[40] E[rich] C[hristian] Werlauff, 'Danske, især kjøbenhavnske, Tilstande og Stemninger ved og efter Overgangen til det nittende Aarhundrede. Efterladte Optegnelser', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4th ser. 4 (1873-74), 245-412, here 271: "Det gaaer med Tydsken som Arvesynden, vi blive fødte dermed".
[41] Vello Helk, *Dansk-norske studierejser fra reformationen til enevælden 1536-1660. Med en matrikel over studerende i udlandet* [Odense University studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 101] (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1987); id., *Dansk-norske studierejser 1661-1813*, 2 vols. [Odense University studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 139] (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1991); Jakob Christensson, 'Studieresorna', in *Signums svenska kulturhistoria. Stormaktstiden*, ed. id. (Lund: Signum, 2005), pp. 170-217.
[42] Cf. *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, vol. 7.1: Dänemark, Schweden (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms-Weidmann, 1998), pp. 48, 57, 71, 82, 133, 203, 232. The data for Uppsala University Library exclude special collections, some of which contain large amounts of German

Germany's bellicose twentieth-century history has not only created the need to coin terms such as "German language area", it also led to the destruction or displacement of many early modern library holdings. In Scandinavia, on the other hand, the last major damage to any of the libraries mentioned occurred in 1728 when the library of Copenhagen University burned down (the Royal Library, however, was not touched by this conflagration). Unlike, for instance, British libraries, which first started to acquire German-language books in larger numbers during the nineteenth century, Scandinavian libraries have bought German books ever since the fifteenth century. Speaking of the war-time displacement of books, however, one should also mention Sweden's so-called literary war booty taken during the military campaigns of the seventeenth century and now spread among several Swedish libraries.[43]

The situation in Estonia, Livonia and Courland – or to use the modern names: Estonia and Latvia – is somewhat different. These countries served as theatres of war on several occasions during the last centuries. The composition of the population differed from that of Scandinavia: the vast majority was made up of either Estonians or Latvians (who were mostly serfs), while burghers, noblemen and pastors were Germans. Regardless of

books (e. g. Waller, Planer, Personverser, partly also Westin, Danica vetera, Predikningar, cf. also Hans Sallander, *Bibliotheca Walleriana. The books illustrating the history of medicine and science collected by Dr Erik Waller and bequeathed to the Library of the Royal University of Uppsala*, 2 vols. [Acta bibliothecae r. universitatis upsaliensis, vol. 8 & 9] (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955); Oskar Planer, *Verzeichnis der Gustav Adolf Sammlung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Schlacht am $\frac{6}{16}$ November 1632* (Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1916); Stricker, *Försök* (as in n. 38); a number of German titles also in [E[rik] G[ustaf] Lilljebjörn,] *Katalog öfver Leufsta bruks gamla fideikommissbibliotek* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1907)). Of the books listed in [Petrus Fabianus Aurivillius,] *Catalogus librorum impressorum bibliothecæ regiæ academiæ Upsaliensis*, 2 vols. (Uppsala: Stenhammar et Palmblad, 1814), mostly those later recatalogued are included in the counts.
[43] Cf. O[tto] Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie*, 2 vols. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1916-20); Józef Trypućko & Michał Spandowski, *The catalogue of the book collection of the Jesuit college in Braniewo [German Braunsberg] held in the University Library in Uppsala*, ed. Michał Spandowski & Sławomir Szyller, 3 vols. [Acta bibliothecae r. universitatis Upsaliensis 41] (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa & Uppsala: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, 2007). The Danes were less succesful militarily, but they did take the ducal library at Sleswick in 1713, thus adding about 10000 books to the Royal Library in Copenhagen (cf. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Gottorp books in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A note on the possibilities of identification', *Auskunft. Zeitschrift für Bibliothek, Archiv und Information in Norddeutschland* 28 (2008), 129-151).

whether these lands were ruled by Poland, Sweden or Russia, the language of administration and written exchange remained German until the 1880s. This situation was in a way similar to that of northern Germany where practically all sources since the seventeenth century are written in High German while the majority of the population spoke Low German.

Unlike northern Germany, however, efforts were made in Estonia, Livonia and Courland to teach Estonians and Latvians the essentials of the Lutheran faith in their own language. To this end, German pastors produced an increasing number of books in local languages: catechisms, hymnals, Bibles etc. Until about 1680, however, books in Estonian and Latvian would end as catechetical and preaching aids in the hands of German pastors in mainly rural parishes (as the three Latvian books from Riga mentioned above). After 1680, such books would also find a readership among the majority population. The authors of Estonian and Latvian books, however, continued to be Germans until the nineteenth century.[44] For the German population in the Baltic provinces, on the other hand, the same kind of works were published as for readers in northern Germany. The grammar schools and Tartu (in German "Dorpat") University, for instance, would produce the usual publications in Latin. They were written and read by Germans (and by some Swedes) but certainly not by Estonians and Latvians.

Most of the books produced in Estonia, Livonia and Courland were distributed only regionally and are therefore poorly represented in German libraries. Since they were printed outside the core German language area, *VD16* would not catalogue them at all, while *VD17* would only register books written in German. The criterion of language area as applied by these bibliographies does not make much sense in this part of the world. Certainly the Latin books, but for a long period also the Estonian and Latvian books, should be viewed as part of German literary culture and therefore be included in the German bibliographies covering the period.[45]

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[44] Cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Strategien zur Hebung der Frömmigkeit in Est- und Livland (1621-1710). Konfessionalisierung und Pietismus', in *Confessionalism and Pietism. Religious reform in early modern Europe*, ed. Fred van Lieburg [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 67] (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), pp. 111-128.

[45] For most of the seventeenth century, even the spelling principles for Estonian followed German rules (including the use of *h* to indicate the length of the preceding vowel) in order to make the language more accessible to

Linguistically, Swedish Ingria had a more complicated composition than Estonia, Livonia and Courland. Its printing history, however, was rather simple and short: Johann Köhler printed at Narva fra 1696 to 1703. The proportion of Swedish imprints at Narva was much higher than in the Baltic provinces,[46] but, by a narrow majority, German still emerges as the main language of print.[47]

For the reasons mentioned, the number of German imprints to be found in Scandinavian and Baltic libraries is higher than in most other countries where libraries first started to acquire German-language books in larger numbers during the nineteenth century.[48] This is as obvious to anyone acquainted with Scandinavian and Baltic history in the early modern period, as it appears to be unexpected to early modernists further south. The study recently produced in Munich to lay the foundations for a future *VD18* does not mention the Nordic and Baltic countries among those with which co-operation is considered to be desirable – apparently it was assumed that not much was to be found in the misty forests of "ultima Thule".[49] This study's list of printing towns having produced German imprints during the eighteenth century is truly ideosyncratic. Norway, Sweden and Finland do not appear at all, while in Denmark only Haderslev and Odense are

most of its readers, i. e. German clergymen, cf. Aivar Põldvee, 'Eesti „tähesõja" taust ja retoorika', *Keel ja Kirjandus* 52 (2009), 642-667, here 646.
[46] On the use of Swedish in these provinces, cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Om anvendelsen af det svenske sprog i Estland og Livland i 1600- og 1700-tallet', in *Svenska språkets historia i östersjöområdet*, ed. Svante Lagman, Stig Örjan Ohlsson & Viivika Voodla [Studier i svensk språkhistoria, vol. 7; Nordistica Tartuensia, vol. 7] (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus, 2002), pp. 59-80.
[47] Enn Küng, 'Johann Köhler ja Narva trükikoda 1695-1705', in *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiivid rootsi suurriigis 16./17. sajandil*, ed. id., vol. 2 [Eesti Ajalooarhiivi toimetised, vol. 12 (19)] (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2006), pp. 336-362, bibliography pp. 352-356 (unfortunately without references to library or archive holdings); additional titles in the Tallinn union catalogue (as in n. 22). Non of Köhler's ten German-language imprints from the seventeenth century can be found in *VD17*.
[48] A fairly complete overview of pre-war holdings of Low German books arranged according to libraries and private collectors can be found in Borchling & Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* (as in n. 23), vol. 3, pp. 29-46. There is no reason to assume that the distribution of High German or Latin books printed in Northern Germany is much different - apart from some German collections being destroyed or displaced during the war. It should be noted though that some important collections which are preserved in their original location are now to be found outside the German language area.
[49] Haller, *Digitalisierung* (as in n. 7), pp. 93-104, 153-171.

recognised but neither Elsinore, Sorø, Tønder, Viborg nor Copenhagen.[50] In Latvia the study lists Liepāja (in German "Libau") and Jelgava (in German "Mitau") but not the much more important Riga. The fairly marginal Tartu, Põltsamaa (in German "Oberpahlen") and Pärnu are mentioned for Estonia but neither important Tallinn (in German "Reval") nor insignificant Narva. Similarly, in the Netherlands, Amsterdam is left out.[51] It can only be hoped that *VD18* will be launched on a more informed basis.

Official publications

The question of bibliographic completeness can be approached from yet another angle. Both *VD16* and *VD17* are based on library holdings. Early imprints are, however, preserved in archives as well.[52] Record offices do have their own libraries (which tend to be particularly strong in legal and regional history as well as in occasional prints). Much more importantly, however, they contain imprints scattered throughout the hand-written documents.

The Estonian Historical Archives at Tartu have taken the effort of cataloguing all imprints from the time before 1710 – the year of the Russian conquest – found among the archival records. Most of them are now available in facsimile over the internet.[53] For the seventeenth century, we are dealing with 740 imprints; about 90 per cent of these consist of ordinances or other official publications. Such publications were generally only distributed in the region in which they had legal force, and it comes therefore as no surprise that hardly any of them are registered in *VD17*.

If we go to Phillip Marshall Mitchell's *Bibliography of 17th century German imprints in Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein*, we find 713 official publications, most of them preserved in the National Archives in Copenhagen

[50] Cf. Grethe Larsen & Erik Dal, *Danske Provinstryk 1482-1830. En bibliografi*, vol. 1-6 (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab / Det kongelige Bibliotek, 1994-2001); cf. also n. 14.

[51] Haller, *Digitalisierung* (as in n. 7), pp. 186-189.

[52] The following paragraphs are based upon 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), 159-190, here 163-166. On the importance of archives as repositories of printed materials, cf. also Falk Eisermann, 'Archivgut und chronikalische Überlieferung als vernachlässigte Quellen der Frühdruckforschung', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 81 (2006), 50-61.

[53] '17. sajandi (kuni 1710) trükised Ajalooarhiivi fondides,' http://www.eha.ee/plakatid.

and the record office at Sleswick.[54] The figure just mentioned is taken from Mitchell's introduction and only concerns official publications published as broadsheets. The overall number of official publications is thus higher. As in the Estonian case, only a small part of the official publications listed by Mitchell can be found in *VD17*. Printing traditions apparently differed from territory to territory: While broadsheets were a common form of official publication in Sleswick and Holstein, small booklets in quarto were the rule in Estonia and Livonia.

Official publications amount to 4 per cent of the titles registered in *VD17*. When trying to extrapolate the data from Mitchell and from the Estonian Historical Archives to the entire German language area, the calculations were based on the 87 German towns in which printing took place continuously throughout the seventeenth century (i. e. for more than 80 years).[55] If we assume that each of these towns only produced 600 official publications in the course of the seventeenth centuries (i. e. fewer than in Sleswick-Holstein and Estonia), this would suggest the publication of 52 200 titles. In turn, this would mean that the percentage of official publications in *VD17* would rise from 4 to 17 per cent. This is probably a rather conservative estimate, but one can safely conclude that *VD17* registers no more than one fifth of the extant official publications for the simple reason that they are generally preserved in archives and not in libraries. The same is probably true for printed forms to be filled in by hand, though we have insufficient relevant data.[56] Official publications and printed forms made up a significant portion of what printers spent their time on. When considering the economics of

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[54] P[hillip] M[arshall] Mitchell, *A bibliography of 17th century German imprints in Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein*, 3 vols. [University of Kansas publications. Library series, vol. 28 & 39] (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1969-76).

[55] The number of printing towns established in Beyer, 'Adressen von Druckern' (as in n. 52), was derived from Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* [Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, vol. 12] (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, ²1982). In the meantime, a revision of this work has been published: Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* [Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, vol. 51] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007).

[56] 11 of the 42 Narva imprints from the years around 1700, i. e. 26 per cent, are made up of printed forms. These items were all described by the (then) archivist Enn Küng in his 'Johann Köhler' (cf. n. 47). Most of the extant ones are now available in facsimile at http://www.eha.ee/plakatid.

printing, we certainly should take this part of the production into account and should not rely on *VD16* and *VD17* only.[57]

Printed items in archives remind me of neglected orphans. Librarians and many book historians do not know about their existence and, if they do, they do not know how to work in archives, where the collections are arranged according to administrative units and not, say, according to the first noun in the nominative. Archivists, on the other hand, do not think printed items are proper archival records. While manuscript records are unique, printed materials by definition were produced in many copies. One representative of this view was recently quoted in a German newspaper on the occasion of the Cologne municipal archives desaster. When sorting the bits and pieces from the ruins of the collapsed building, the manuscript fragments were carefully handed to the restorers while remnants of printed material were simply thrown away. After all, the printed material can be found in other places as well, said the archivist in charge.[58]

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[57] It is to be feared that this will also apply to *VD18*. Karl Gottlob Sonntag, *Chronologisches Verzeichniß der Livländischen Gouvernements=Regierungs=Patente von 1710 bis 1822 ...* (Riga: Julius Conrad Daniel Müller, 1823), for instance, lists 2843 ordinances between 1710 and 1800. Together with those of the first decade of the eighteenth century available in the database of the Estonian Historical Archives (cf. n. 53), this makes roughly 3000 official publications for Livonia only. Slightly more ordinances are listed in [E. Ambrosius,] *Chronologisches Verzeichniß über verschiedene Königliche und Fürstliche Verordnungen und Verfügungen für die Herzogthümer Schleswig und Holstein ...*, 8 vols. (Flensburg: Kortensche Buchhandlung & Sleswick: Serringhausensche Buchdruckerey, 1796-1804). Other inventories point to even larger numbers, for instance: *Sammlung aller in dem souverainen Herzogthum Schlesien ... publicirten ... Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten ... welche ... durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden*, 19 vols. and 2 index vols. (Breslau: Johann Jacob Korn, Wil(l)helm Gottlieb Korn & Gambert, n. d.-1790); Ernst Spangenberg (ed.), *Sammlung der Verordnungen und Ausschreiben welche für sämmtliche Provinzen des Hannoverschen Staats ... ergangen sind*, 4 vols. in 7 parts (Hanover: Hahnsche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1819-25). If we – naïvely – assume that the number of authorities issuing such ordinances remained the same as in the seventeenth century (where I had used the figure 87), this would already – with 30 yearly ordinances – result in 261000 imprints, making the estimate of 600000 *VD18* titles, of which 2 per cent (i. e. 12000) are thought to be ordinances (Haller, *Digitalisierung* (as in n. 7), p. 89), appear highly unlikely.

[58] Tim Stinauer, 'Kostbarkeiten zwischen den Trümmern', *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* 9/11 March 2009 (http://www.ksta.de/html/artikel/1233584110935.shtml).

Conclusions

Having stumbled across a question in the title of this essay, readers may wish to find a general assessment of the completeness of the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such an assessment depends, of course, on what to count and on what to expect of a bibliography.

We know from various references that a large number of books which certainly did exist are lost today, but this is not a question to be adressed here. Therefore I have not mentioned that the titles of two pamphlets printed by Balhorn can be reconstructed from Danish translations mentioning a Balhorn edition as their source. It is worth noting that some of the other national bibliographies around the Baltic Sea do include references to attested but lost books.[59]

It is best to base the assessment of *VD16* and *VD17* on the aims the bibliographies have set for themselves and which, as we have seen, differ to a certain degree. Even though I am very grateful for the existence of *VD16* and *VD17*, I am not impressed by their degree of completeness. Without the holdings of archives at home and of libraries abroad, my estimate is that the two bibliographies will never register more than two thirds of the books still extant. It is time to catalogue the remaining third.[60] For the time being it

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[59] They quote, for instance, references to books printed in Lubeck at the time of Balhorn. Unfortunately these sources do not mention the printer, cf. Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600* (as in n. 19), vol. 3, p. 197; Borchling & Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* (as in n. 23), no. 2534.

[60] Urs Leu's research, published in this volume, shows that the number of Basle and Zurich imprints in *VD16* will increase by about 30 per cent when adding the holdings of Swiss libraries. The *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, vol. 1ff. (Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms-Weidmann, 2001ff.), probably points in the same direction, if the titles had not been abbreviated to such an extent that it is difficult to identify these imprints. Furthermore, this catalogue offers a much smaller selection of imprints than its title would lead to expect, cf. the review of vol. 7, 8 and 12-15 in *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och bibliotekshistoria* 2006, 270-274 (Jürgen Beyer). Among bibliographies not yet quoted in this essay with German titles largely lacking in *VD17*, one could mention: [K[yra] Robert et al. (eds.),] *350 aastat trükikunsti Tallinnas. Näituse kataloog* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1988) (a proper catalogue of Tallinn imprints is in preparation); Jan Drees, *Deutschsprachige Gelegenheitsdichtung in Stockholm und Uppsala zwischen 1613 und 1719. Bibliographie der Drucke nebst einem Inventar der in ihnen verwendeten dekorativen Druckstöcke* [Acta bibliothecæ regiæ Stockholmiensis, vol. 56] (Stockholm: [Kungl. biblioteket], 1995); Ene-Lille Jaanson, *Tartu*

would be more appropriate to rename *VD16* and *VD17*: *Catalogue of sixteenth-(seventeenth-)century German imprints now in the libraries of ...*

Furthermore, efforts should be made to remedy two of the most obvious conceptual shortcomings of the two bibliographies. *VD16* should start to register broadsheets and German books published outside the German language area, while both bibliographies should explain clearly to their users how they define the German language area, for instance by publishing a map showing the printing towns considered. My suggestion would be to use the main language of print (excluding Latin) as criterion. With these changes, the number of titles to be added might be as large as the number of titles already described. One might also consider copying titles from existing bibliographies into *VD17* (as has been done for *VD16*). In the course of time, it will hopefully be possible to replace them with first-hand descriptions.

Ülikooli trükikoda 1632-1710. Ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, 2000); Toini Melander, *Personskrifter hänförande sig till Finnland 1562-1713. Bibliografisk förteckning* [Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisuja, vol. 22] (Helsinki: [Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto,] 1951[-59]), pp. 758-771, 774f.; Jürgen Beyer, 'Nachtrag zu einer Bibliographie „volkskundlicher" Dissertationen vor 1800,' *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, n. s. 28 (2005), 209-240. *VD16* would benefit from excerpting Gustaf Rudbeck, *Skrifter till Sveriges historia tryckta före år 1600 med en inledande redogörelse* (diss. Uppsala) (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1919) (listing almost twice as many books printed in Germany as Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600* (as in n. 19)); Michael A. Pegg, *German and Dutch books (1516-1550) in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. A short-title catalogue* [Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana 122] (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1989); id., *A catalogue of German Reformation pamphlets (1516-1550) in Swedish libraries* [Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana 150] (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1995); Wolfgang Undorf, *Hogenschild Bielke's library. A catalogue of the famous 16th[-]century Swedish private collection* [Acta bibliothecae r. universitatis Upsaliensis 32] (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1995). The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sammlung Deutscher Drucke states on its homepage in very general terms and without any reference that roughly a third of all German imprints are lacking in German libraries (http://www.ag-sdd.de/wir/historie.htm). Möncke, 'Das „Verzeichnis"' (as in n. 3), 208, on the other hand, was in 2004 confident that *VD16* already contained 82 per cent of all relevant titles.