

## From the Ashes: Identifying, Documenting, and Rebuilding the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek's Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft Collections

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### **Abstract**

In 2004, fire struck the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (HAAB) in Weimar. The fire particularly affected its seventeenth-century collections, among them rich holdings of works associated with the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, the foremost seventeenth-century German cultural society. This article investigates the impact of the blaze, looking back over the decade that has elapsed since the event. Among the questions investigated are: what are the numbers of lost, damaged, and surviving volumes? What are the effects on the scholarly research community? How successful has the HAAB been in replacing lost Society editions? What roles have the HAAB's duplicates and restoration efforts played in the editions' continued accessibility? How has, in sum, the significance of the library's Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft holdings been altered due to the damage inflicted by an early twenty-first century disaster?

### **Keywords**

Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek; Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft; Library collections; Baroque literature; Scholarly societies; Fire damage

### **1 Introduction**

Despite its modest size, Weimar is a site of great cultural and historical significance in Germany. One of its major cultural institutions is a ducal library that developed into a public research library admired internationally for its rare and unique holdings of German literature – the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (HAAB), or Duchess Anna

Amalia Library.<sup>1</sup> Its early history was intertwined with that of the earliest, largest, and most important German cultural society of the seventeenth century, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, or Fruitbearing Society (1617–1680). The HAAB, perhaps unsurprisingly, contains substantial holdings of Society-related works.

In 2004, fire struck the HAAB, hitting its seventeenth-century holdings particularly hard. This article investigates the impact of the blaze on the HAAB's holdings of Society-related works, reviewing the decade that has since elapsed. Sharing these results is particularly timely given the recent 400th anniversary of the Society's founding, which was marked by a special exhibit in the HAAB's study center.<sup>2</sup>

### **1.1 Historical Background of the Library**

The HAAB traces its institutional history back to the late seventeenth century, with acquisitions going back even further. Dukes of the Ernestine line of the House of Wettin, who governed various realms of Saxony located in the current state of Thuringia, began building libraries as early as the sixteenth century. Due to the division of inheritances, however, continuous development of collections in Saxe-Weimar started only in the early seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup>

A ducal library in Weimar was first mentioned in 1614 and mainly consisted of volumes belonging to Duke Johann II (1570–1605) and his wife Dorothea Susanna. Unfortunately, in 1618 fire destroyed a large part of the ducal residence, the Hornstein Palace, including most of the library.<sup>4</sup> Ironically, a portion of the library survived because of its transfer two months earlier to the Green Palace, the Renaissance palace that makes up the core of the Historical Building of the HAAB that would burn in 2004.

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this article, “rare books” (Alte Drucke) and similar phrases refer to printed works to 1850. Only in Section 3 does rare mean “scarce”.

<sup>2</sup> On the anniversary, see Michael Ludscheidt: 24. August vor 400 Jahren. Gründung der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft. In: *Mitteldeutsches Jahrbuch für Kultur und Geschichte* 24 (2017), pp. 225–228, here p. 225. On the exhibit, see <https://blog.klassik-stiftung.de/400-jahre-fruchtbringende-gesellschaft/> (accessed Nov. 27, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Frank Boblenz: Die Vorgeschichte der Weimarer Bibliothek bis 1691. In: *Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek. Kulturgeschichte einer Sammlung*. Ed. by Michael Knoche. München 1999, pp. 28–38, here p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), pp. 28–29. For a portrait of Duke Johann Ernst I, who succeeded his father Johann II, with the burning Hornstein in the background, see Gabriele Ball, Klaus Conermann, Andreas Herz, and Helwig Schmidt-Glinterz: *Hundert Jahre nach der Reformation. Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (1617–1680). Forschungen der Arbeitsstelle der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften an der Herzog August Bibliothek*. Wiesbaden 2017 (=Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 150), p. 369, cf. p. 397. This volume contains a fine selection of updated essays and other contributions by scholars associated with the project *Die deutsche Akademie des 17. Jahrhunderts: Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (The German Academy of the 17th Century: Fruitbearing Society) as well as a rich selection of images, including all of the Society heads and many key figures. For more on the project, see fn. 5.

A turning point for the ducal library came in 1617, when an event took place that would make it a prime repository for Baroque literature. Less than a year before the fire in Hornstein Palace, three of Johann II's sons, their uncle Ludwig I of Anhalt-Köthen, and several others founded the first German literary society, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.<sup>5</sup> The founding members based the new society on the Italian literary academies and dedicated it to two main aims: first, the preservation and promotion of the German language; and second, the cultivation of useful and worthy virtues.<sup>6</sup> They took "Alles zu Nutzen" (Let everything be of use) as the Society's motto and a coconut palm tree as its emblem.<sup>7</sup> Although Caspar von Teutleben, the Hofmarschall (Court Marshal) of Saxe Weimar, had suggested the formation of the Society and was a founding member, he did not serve as its first head since all involved assumed that a nobleman should occupy this position.<sup>8</sup> Hence, Ludwig I became the first head of the Society and settled its headquarters into his residence in Köthen, inaugurating its Köthen period (1617–1650).<sup>9</sup> After Ludwig's death in 1650, his nephew Duke Wilhelm IV of Saxe-Weimar (1598–1662) followed him as the Society's second head, thus ushering in its Weimar period (1651–1662/67).<sup>10</sup> This event was notable for Weimar's later development as a repository of Society materials.

[Fig. 1. Title page of Georg Neumark's *Der Neu-Sprossende Teutsche Palmbaum* (1668), a history of the Society's first fifty years.<sup>11</sup>]

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<sup>5</sup> The research and documentary edition project Die deutsche Akademie des 17. Jahrhunderts: Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, sponsored by the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig (Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig) and located at the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) Wolfenbüttel, has produced 12 extensive volumes of correspondence and other documentation on the Society's activities. These volumes focus on the Society's Köthen and Halle periods. The project's website ([www.die-fruchtbringende-gesellschaft.de](http://www.die-fruchtbringende-gesellschaft.de), accessed Dec. 17, 2017) provides up-to-date information about the status of its editorial work, topics covered by individual volumes, and additional research produced both out of the project as well as about the Society generally. The site also contains a database of Society members as well as a necessarily incomplete, provisional list of their digitized works.

<sup>6</sup> Konrad Kratzsch: *Kostbarkeiten der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar*. 3rd ed. Leipzig 2004, pp. 222–223. The meeting took place following a memorial service for the mother of the four dukes, Dorothea Maria of Anhalt (1574–1617).

<sup>7</sup> Gabriele Ball: *Alles zu Nutzen—The Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (1617–1680) as a German Renaissance Academy*. In: *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch. Leiden 2008, vol. 2, pp. 348–422, here pp. 389–390.

<sup>8</sup> Kratzsch (fn. 6), p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> Very few portraits exist of Ludwig I. Ball et al. (fn. 4), p. 372 reproduces the only oil painting.

<sup>10</sup> He was member number five, with the Society pseudonym "Der Schmackhafte" (The Tasteful One).

<sup>11</sup> Georg Neumark: *Der Neu-Sprossende Teutsche Palmbaum. Oder Ausführllicher Bericht/ Von der Hochloeblichen Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Anfang/ Absehn/ Satzungen/ Eigenschaft/ und deroselben Fortpflanzung/ mit schoenen Kupfern ausgeziehret/ samt einem vollkommenen Verzeichnueß/ aller/ dieses Palmen-Ordens Mitglieder Derer Nahmen/ Gewaechsen und Worten/ hervorgegeben Von dem Sprossenden. Nürnberg; Weinmar 1668. [HAAB call number D 6 : 19, B 933, and Scha BS 4 A 03516 (previously D 6 : 18 [a]); PPN*

In the 1630s, Wilhelm began institutionalizing his library. He continuously expanded its holdings, and by the 1650s, he had placed them in at least two locations: the main library in the ducal palace, later dubbed Wilhelmsburg; and a more specialized collection consisting mainly of mathematical, architectural, and military works in the lathe shop of the old ducal residence. From the later 1640s, Society members and other authors dedicated and gifted a growing number of items to Wilhelm based on his association with the Society, thus enriching his collections. When he took on the headship, authors were even more strongly motivated to send him their publications.<sup>12</sup> In 1652, Wilhelm hired a librarian, Georg Neumark, to deal with his growing library. The following year, Neumark joined the Society as “der Sprossende” (The Sprouting One), and by 1655, he had taken over the role of Erzscheinhalter (Society archivist) from Heinrich von Schwechhausen.<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm turned over much of the Society’s business to Neumark – including new member selections – essentially becoming a titular head.<sup>14</sup> After Wilhelm’s death in 1662, five years elapsed before a suitable candidate, Duke August of Sachsen-Weißenfels, accepted the headship. His acceptance launched the Society’s final period, termed the Halle period (1667–1680).

[Fig. 2. The Wilhelmsburg, in Neumark’s *Der Neu-Sprossende Teutsche Palmbaum* (1668).]

Divisions of inheritance once again affected the library following Wilhelm’s death. An inventory shows that he owned approximately 1,000 volumes.<sup>15</sup> His four sons distributed their father’s scholarly and artistic materials by lots in 1667. Afterward, only the approximately 300 volumes inherited by Johann Ernst II, who succeeded his

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248766023; German grammar] This work includes a chronicle of the Society, list of members, bylaws, calligrams, and illustrations, including emblems, from its beginnings to 1668. Neumark’s more up-to-date overview of the Society replaced its forerunners Karl Gustav von Hille’s *Teutsche Palmbaum* (1647) and Georg Harsdörffer’s *Fortpflanzung der ... Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft* (1651). See Gerhard Dünnhaupt: Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock. 2nd ed. 6 vols. Stuttgart 1990–1993, p. 2974, no. 53, p. 2090, no. 4, and p. 2007, no. 68. See fn. 95 for more on Dünnhaupt’s groundbreaking bibliographic work. Hille’s work is contained in Emblematica Online, a major portal for emblems and emblem books hosted at the University of Illinois: <http://emblematica.library.illinois.edu/detail/book/359228461>.

<sup>12</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), pp. 31–35. For more on the military library that grew from the collection in the lathe shop, see Arno Barnert: Die Weimarer Militärbibliothek 1630 bis 1930. Klassische Ordnungsvorstellungen vom Krieg. In: Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift 73 (2014), 1, pp. 1–22.

<sup>13</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> While under Ludwig the Society had been more egalitarian, Wilhelm and Neumark seemed to regard it more as a noble order. Of the 262 members accepted during the former’s leadership, only 30 members (or 11.5%) were non-noble. See Heinz Engels: Die Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts. Giessen 1983, p. 112. Andreas Gryphius and Sigmund von Birken were the main figures of literary importance accepted into the Society during the Weimar period.

<sup>15</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), p. 36.

father, remained in Weimar.<sup>16</sup> The library led a shadow existence until his son, Wilhelm Ernst (1662–1728), established the Herzogliche Bibliothek (Ducal Library) in 1691 with around 1,500 volumes.<sup>17</sup>

Seventy years later, the Duchess Anna Amalia – a great patron of the library – renovated the Green Palace to house its collections (1761–1766), adding the famous oval Rococo Hall. She opened it for public use in 1766. Since the renovation, two major additions have been made to the building: the Goethe Addition to the south, connecting the library with an old city tower (1803–1805); and the Coudray Addition to the north (1849).<sup>18</sup>

From 1815 to 1920, the library was known as the Großherzogliche Bibliothek (Grand Ducal Library), and from 1920 to 1968, the Thüringische Landesbibliothek (Thuringian State Library). From 1969 to 1991, it was renamed the Zentralbibliothek der deutschen Klassik (Central Library of German Classicism).<sup>19</sup> After reunification and in honor of the library's 300th anniversary, it was renamed the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek to both honor the duchess and draw a parallel to the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB, Duke August Library) in Wolfenbüttel, considered the German national library for the seventeenth century.<sup>20</sup>

## **1.2 The Library Fire of 2004**

On Thursday, September 2, 2004, the fire alarm went off a few minutes before the HAAB's reading room was scheduled to close at 8:30 p.m. Plans were already in place to restore the badly decayed Rococo Hall and relocate its contents.<sup>21</sup> The HAAB planned to unite these materials with the bulk of its collection, stored in several facilities around Weimar, and house them in an expanded library complex around the Historic Building. The complex was nearing completion and included underground storage for a million books beneath the plaza in front of the Historic Building. On the day of the fire, in fact, the HAAB's director, Dr. Michael Knoche, had a meeting with the architects.<sup>22</sup> The move, however, came too late. Experts later identified faulty electrical cables in the Rococo Hall

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<sup>16</sup> His brothers took their share of the books to their palaces, mainly those in Jena, Marksuhl, Eisenach, and Altenkirchen. Johann Ernst also sold some of the books he had inherited to his uncle, Duke Ernst of Saxe-Gotha, in 1672. See Boblenz (fn. 3), pp. 31, 38.

<sup>17</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), pp. 36–38; Michael Knoche: *Die Bibliothek brennt. Ein Bericht aus Weimar*. Göttingen 2006, p. 62. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe served as library administrator from 1797 to 1832.

<sup>18</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 39–40, 62.

<sup>19</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), p. 111. The title changes sprang from political events: the Napoleonic wars, World War I, reinforcement of the ideals of the German Democratic Republic, and German Reunification.

<sup>20</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 112–113. See Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (fn. 3) for more detail on the library's history from its beginnings until 1989.

<sup>21</sup> See the longitudinal cross section of the Historical Building in Knoche (fn. 17), p. 85 for an understanding of the building's floors and layout.

<sup>22</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 8, 63.

as the most likely cause of the fire.<sup>23</sup>

That evening Knoche received a call at home from a shocked colleague, who said, “The library is on fire. I don’t know if you want to come.” By the time a fire engine arrived at the scene, smoke was pouring from the top dormer windows. Once it was determined that all library staff and visitors were safe, thoughts turned to the feasibility of saving the rare books, manuscripts, and artworks threatened by the fire. Since transferring the materials for the renovation was estimated at twenty days, the would-be rescuers wondered how much they could accomplish in one night. In consultation with firefighters, who could monitor the fire’s advance, and with long-term library personnel, who were intimately acquainted with the strength and composition of the gallery floors, they began rescuing endangered materials.<sup>24</sup>

By 8:45 p.m., the building’s electricity had failed, so the rescue work began in semi-darkness. Rescuers saved valuable items within close reach first and initially stacked them outside. Around 9:00 p.m., Knoche realized that the underground storage space beneath the plaza could shelter the books. Gradually volunteers began to assist library staff in porting items out of the library. A local moving company appeared on the scene with hundreds of packing crates. At 9:13 p.m., flames leapt explosively more than 60 feet above the roof,<sup>25</sup> sending book pages flying through town. This event marked the burn-through of the roof, which only served to feed the fire. By 9:56 p.m., all non-emergency personnel were ordered out of the building; human life necessarily took precedence over the threatened materials. Firefighters continued blasting water from the nearby Ilm River into the Rococo Hall.<sup>26</sup>

At a hastily convened press conference held shortly before midnight, Knoche estimated 15,000 books had been lost, which in itself seemed a great deal. The final number, however, was approximately 50,000 of the

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<sup>23</sup> Staatsanwaltschaft Erfurt, File 902 Ujs 10648/04q, cited in *Europäischer Sanierungskalender 2007*. Holzschutz, Bautenschutz, Bauwerkserhaltung, Bauwerksinstandsetzung, Restaurierung, Denkmalpflege. Ed. by Helmuth Venzmer. Berlin 2007, p. 122 f.

<sup>24</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 9–11.

<sup>25</sup> Iris Kolomaznik: Chronologie der Ereignisse. In: ‘Auf dass von dir die Nach-Welt nimmer schweigt’: die Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar nach dem Brand. Ed. by Iris Kolomaznik. Weimar 2004, pp. 66–122, here pp. 66–67.

<sup>26</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 11–16.

196,000 volumes located in the Historical Building.<sup>27</sup> By midnight, most of the volumes retrieved were wet, and preservation and restoration plans were already underway.<sup>28</sup> Around 3:00 a.m. the following morning, the contents from the first floor of the Rococo Hall were rescued, albeit with damage. Retrieving books from the next floor up, in the first gallery, became more difficult because of the volume of water and proximity of the flames. With the assistance of fresh volunteers, however, all volumes were removed from the first floor and the first gallery by 9:00 a.m.<sup>29</sup>

### **1.3 The Aftermath of the Fire**

Fire destroyed the second gallery of the Rococo Hall as well as the attic, which housed unprocessed materials. Within these areas, all holdings were considered lost.<sup>30</sup> In 2007, Dr. Johannes Mangei, Head of Collections Processing, ranked the HAAB's seventeenth-century holdings as the hardest hit, including numerous publications associated with the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.<sup>31</sup> This assessment was both in terms of absolute numbers (17,000 volumes lost from the seventeenth century versus 7,000 from the sixteenth century and 15,000 from the eighteenth century) as well as a percentage of the volumes from the respective centuries (30% of seventeenth-century books lost versus 26% from the sixteenth century and 15% from the eighteenth century).<sup>32</sup> Considering the assumed rarity and value of German books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a time of low print runs, unreliable delivery methods, and destruction and plunder, fewer survive.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the tragedy is greater for losses to fire in our own time.

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<sup>27</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), p. 18; Buchbestand der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek nach dem Brand am 2. September 2004. [Weimar] Sept. 2017, pp. 1–5, here p. 1, [http://www.klassikstiftung.de/uploads/pics/171024\\_Factsheet\\_HAAB\\_Brand.docx\\_02.pdf](http://www.klassikstiftung.de/uploads/pics/171024_Factsheet_HAAB_Brand.docx_02.pdf) (accessed Mar. 30, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> The Zentrum für Bucherhaltung (Center for Book Preservation) in Leipzig was alerted, and by 2:00 a.m., the first truck was loaded for transport to its freeze-drying facilities. Forty tons of books (or, as Knoche describes, 'objects similar to books') were sent to Leipzig over the next few days. See Knoche (fn. 17), p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 18–22.

<sup>30</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 23–24. The attic held no or very few rare books, but the second gallery, unfortunately, was full of them and also held the 3,000-item ducal music collection.

<sup>31</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 104–106.

<sup>32</sup> These estimates are rough; Mangei rounded the numbers to the nearest thousand. See Johannes Mangei: Welche Bücher sind verbrannt? Versuch einer Charakterisierung der Weimarer Brandverluste. In: 'Es nimmt der Augenblick, was die Jahre geben': Vom Wiederaufbau der Büchersammlung der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek. Ed. by Claudia Kleinbub, Katja Lorenz and Johannes Mangei. Göttingen 2007, pp. 21–33, here p. 24. According to an updated estimate, approximately 18,000 seventeenth-century copies housed in the second gallery were lost or damaged. Thanks are due to Brigitte Becker-Ebenau of the HAAB for this information.

<sup>33</sup> Mangei (fn. 32), p. 25. Whether early printed books disappeared or survived is often quite genre specific. The types of books that made their way into institutional collections were more apt to survive: those that were larger, more expensive, on religious topics, and in Latin. Smaller formats did not fare as well but had better chances of

With the help of the Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund (GBV), the regional library consortium to which the HAAB belongs, the HAAB was able to make the first version of a database of lost and damaged editions available within three weeks of the fire.<sup>34</sup> Such swift action was possible because the HAAB's pre-1850 holdings were already available in the Gemeinsamer Verbundkatalog (GVK), the GBV's union catalog.<sup>35</sup> Using a list that documented call number ranges in precise locations in the Rococo Hall, the partners were able to update records globally for works residing in the second gallery with the note "Vermutlich Verlust bei Bibliotheksbrand 2004" (Presumably lost in the 2004 library fire).<sup>36</sup> The HAAB continues to update the data for individual titles it discovers are not lost but instead damaged or, against expectation, survived.<sup>37</sup> It has removed around 8,600 titles from the loss column largely because they were in use elsewhere at the time of the fire – checked out by scholars, loaned for exhibitions, being processed, or in the digitization queue.<sup>38</sup> Since the initiation of book repairs in 2006, the HAAB catalog has included data on damaged volumes with precise and detailed notes of the damage and repairs. It also documents additional copies, microform or digital surrogates, and replacement copies.<sup>39</sup>

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survival if they were bound together into *Sammelbände* (collective volumes). See Andrew Pettegree: *The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe*. In: *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*. Ed. by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree. Leiden 2016, pp. 1–27, here pp. 4, 24, DOI: 10.1163/9789004311824\_002; and Goran Proot: *Survival Factors of Seventeenth-Century Hand-Press Books Published in the Southern Netherlands. The Importance of Sheet Counts, Sammelbände and the Role of Institutional Collections*. In: *Lost Books*, pp. 160–201, here pp. 199–201, DOI: 10.1163/9789004311824\_009.

<sup>34</sup> Katja Lorenz and Johannes Mangei: *Ersatzbeschaffung für Brandverluste der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek – Routinebetrieb und innovative Verfahren*. In: *Bibliotheksdienst* 43 (2009), 10, pp. 978–989, here p. 981. For the current version, see <http://haab.weimar-klassik.de/brandverluste/>. It offers a partial view of the HAAB catalog, limited to titles that the HAAB would like to replace.

<sup>35</sup> See below, fn. 90. The HAAB catalog is, in fact, a subset of the GVK.

<sup>36</sup> Brigitte Becker-Ebenau: *Verlust- und Schadensdokumentation*. In: *Es nimmt der Augenblick* (fn. 32), pp. 38–40, here p. 38. See also Mangei (fn. 32), p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> One such surviving Society-related publication discovered in the course of our work was the *Deductio Bentheimensis* (1668), a polemical work on a marriage and succession crisis of European proportions, the so-called Bentheim War of the Roses. The publication survived because it was in another library storage facility when the fire broke out. See Karl Koch: *Feuer verschonte 'Bentheimer Rosenkrieg'. Wertvolles Dokument von 1668 überlebte den Brand der Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar 2004*. In: *Grafschafter Nachrichten* (Dec. 24, 2007), p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Becker-Ebenau (fn. 36), p. 39; Johannes Mangei: *Dokumentation im Online-Katalog. Der Beitrag der Erschließung zur Restaurierung, Digitalisierung und Identifizierung*. In: *Bibliotheksdienst* 47 (2013), 7, pp. 523–533, here p. 526, DOI: 10.1515/bd-2013-0053. These are updated accordingly, with the additional note "unversehrt erhalten" (preserved intact).

<sup>39</sup> The HAAB catalog allows searches by subject, author, place of publication, provenance, language, publication date, and genre, among others. A provenance search in the database under the name "Logau", for instance, reveals that hundreds of rare items from the library of Balthasar Friedrich von Logau that entered the ducal library in 1704 have been lost or damaged. Logau was a late seventeenth-century Breslau jurist and son of the epigrammatist Friedrich von Logau, who became a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in 1648. See Mangei (fn. 32), pp. 24–32; and Becker-Ebenau (fn. 36), p. 40.



The most updated figures show that 28,000 of the 196,000 volumes located in the Historical Building were recovered intact and 50,000 were irretrievably lost to fire. A further 62,000 volumes in the Rococo Hall sustained fire, heat, and water damage. Of these, 25,000 were classified as so-called *Aschebücher* (ashen books), that is, severely fire-damaged materials from the second gallery and attic that were recovered from the rubble after the fire. In the Coudray and Goethe additions, smoke and soot damage in addition to pre-existing mold, lindane, and DDT contamination affected an additional 56,000 books and graphics.<sup>40</sup> These materials, the 37,000 damaged volumes not classified as *Aschebücher*, and 3,615 *Aschebücher* have been restored and many made available for use.<sup>41</sup>

[Fig. 3. Volumes located in the HAAB's Historical Building.<sup>42</sup>]

Mangei makes the point that no objective measures of rarity or cost can lead to a definitive statement about the scholarly value or significance of the HAAB's lost books. Rather, the relative views and interests of each scholar or reader posit widely varying evaluations.<sup>43</sup> Given the apparent magnitude of the loss, the German writer Eva Demske supported a campaign to rebuild the HAAB's Society collection gradually – to the extent one-of-a-kind items can be replaced – into what she hopes could become a *Fruchtbringende Neugesellschaft* (New Fruitbearing Society).<sup>44</sup> The HAAB directed a similar appeal at a meeting of the *Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung* (German Academy for Language and Literature) soon after the fire<sup>45</sup> and continues to appeal to the scholarly community worldwide for donations to replace rare titles, with some positive results. By keeping precise documentation of lost and damaged titles and prioritizing desired replacements, the HAAB has been reconstituting its holdings where possible via material gifts – often duplicates from other libraries – and targeted purchases at antiquarian and auction markets. As of September 2017, more than 12,000 of the books lost in the fire had been replaced – 9,800 by a copy of the same edition, and the rest by comparable, alternate editions or variant

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<sup>40</sup> *Buchbestand* (fn. 27), pp. 1–2.

<sup>41</sup> The HAAB worked with 27 workshops to achieve this outcome. It estimates that a further 5,000 of the remaining *Aschebücher* can be restored. See *Buchbestand* (fn. 27), p. 3. For details on the types of damage and restoration goals for each, see Jürgen Weber: *Vom Schadensprotokoll zum Musterband. Brandfolgenmanagement und Restaurierungskonzept*. In: *Es nimmt der Augenblick* (fn. 32), pp. 74–88.

<sup>42</sup> This chart is closely patterned after that in *Buchbestand* (fn. 27), p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Mangei (fn. 32), p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Eva Demske: *Die Früchte des Palmbaums*. In: *Es nimmt der Augenblick* (fn. 32), pp. 104–110, here p. 106.

<sup>45</sup> Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 104–106.

printings.<sup>46</sup> Financial donations, insurance payments, and government support, in part, have made this work possible.<sup>47</sup>

## 2 Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft Holdings Before and After the Fire

### 2.1 Methodology: Identifying the HAAB's Society Holdings

The magnitude of the losses in the HAAB's seventeenth-century collections, along with the assumption that these would have included numerous copies that Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft authors sent to Weimar according to established practice,<sup>48</sup> begs the question: what impact did the fire have on Society-related collections?<sup>49</sup>

Unfortunately, this question does not have a straightforward answer, in part because the HAAB never curated the items related to the Society as a separate collection.

Perhaps the best record we have is an annotated bibliography of Society editions that Klaus Bulling, a librarian at the Universitätsbibliothek Jena (UB Jena), published in 1965.<sup>50</sup> He aspired to a comprehensive listing of works that discuss the Society at some length or were somehow connected with it internally or externally.<sup>51</sup> Bulling noted a call number for all editions with copies in the Thüringische Landesbibliothek Weimar, a forerunner of the HAAB, and the UB Jena. If neither held them, he noted a copy in another library if he was able to discover it through the published literature.<sup>52</sup> Although Bulling's bibliography is incomplete, it offers a somewhat systematic snapshot of the HAAB's Society holdings and thus remains a valuable record of major editions that it held in the mid-1960s.<sup>53</sup>

In order to make an assessment of the impact of the fire, we were interested in obtaining a better sense of which and how many Society editions the HAAB held before the fire, and how many of them were lost,

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<sup>46</sup> Buchbestand (fn. 27), p. 4. The estimated cost of rebuilding the collections is 67 million Euros. Thus far, the HAAB has raised 38.6 million.

<sup>47</sup> For details see Buchbestand (fn. 27), p. 4. Much work, however, remains.

<sup>48</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), pp. 34–35; Knoche (fn. 17), pp. 104–106.

<sup>49</sup> In addition to quantitative measures, Lorenz and Mangei recommended evaluating the damage from a content-qualitative perspective, which we attempt for the HAAB's Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft holdings to a limited extent in Section 3. See Lorenz and Mangei (fn. 34), p. 979.

<sup>50</sup> Klaus Bulling: Bibliographie zur Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft. In: *Marginalien der Pirckheimer Gesellschaft* 20 (1965), pp. 3–110.

<sup>51</sup> However, he does not claim to have reached this goal. He hoped to facilitate access to materials in the archives and libraries of the German Democratic Republic that were relevant to an important period of German cultural history. See Bulling (fn. 50), pp. 7, 9.

<sup>52</sup> In these cases, he did not inspect the physical item. In the cases of copies of editions in the HAAB and UB Jena, he very well may have, though he did not explicitly state this.

<sup>53</sup> He also accomplished the work without the benefit of online library catalogs.

damaged, or survived the fire.<sup>54</sup> We decided to address these questions by systematically collecting data on: (1) the editions represented in the Bulling bibliography; and (2) our own list of editions associated with Society members. Our data set is much more comprehensive than the Bulling bibliography for the HAAB collections, as we assembled it by searching the 890 names of Society members in the HAAB catalog and included editions to which those names were linked in the catalog record, usually in the role of author, editor, contributor, or dedicatory.<sup>55</sup> We also included all editions published before 1800 in all genres, including belles-lettres, religious literature, political tracts, and dissertations. The idea behind this breadth of screening was to capture editions to which Society members may have contributed, or that they may have influenced or owned at one time.<sup>56</sup>

The number of Society editions in our data set totals 2,056. Those listed in the Bulling bibliography total 146, a subset amounting to 7.1% of our editions. Our data set includes a variety of data points about each edition, including bibliographic data, call numbers, and status information for each copy at two different points in time.<sup>57</sup> We first searched the catalog in 2007 (three years after the fire and one year after the HAAB commenced conservation efforts). We then updated the data for the titles we had originally recorded and for any new copies attached to the records in 2014 (ten years after the fire). This approach allows some evaluation of the HAAB's success in replacing lost Society editions. In addition, we collected edition-level information to facilitate analysis on the availability of content in the HAAB and other German libraries following the fire. Further, we gathered copy-specific information to facilitate analysis on questions such as whether particularly valuable copies (for example, author-owned copies) were lost or survived, and whether the survival of an edition in the HAAB was due to the existence of multiple copies in its collection. We present an analysis of the data and some of our discoveries based on this analysis below.

## **2.2 Lost, Damaged, and Surviving Society Holdings**

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<sup>54</sup> To the 1,538 editions that have at least one copy unscathed by the fire are added 31 that were originally categorized as damaged but by 2014 were restored to the point that they are listed under their original call numbers, for a total of 1,569.

<sup>55</sup> The list of members used is published in *Im Garten der Palme*. Ed. by Martin Bircher. Vol. 1 (Kleinodien aus dem unbekanntem Barock. Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft und ihre Zeit). Berlin 1992 (=Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek 68), pp. 129–151.

<sup>56</sup> This broad approach resulted in the identification of surprise survivors of the fire. One such publication that we would not have investigated if we had adopted a narrower definition of Society-related publications was the *Deductio Bentheimensis* (see fn. 41). In addition to serving our study, our data set – which we shared with the HAAB in 2007 – also its identification and prioritization of editions for replacement.

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix.

As noted, the HAAB's staff feared that the fire's impact on holdings related to the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft was severe, since the worst damage was to the second gallery of the Rococo Hall, where many of its seventeenth-century publications were housed.<sup>58</sup> The present analysis shows that the losses were in some cases slightly less, but in some cases more than they had initially feared.<sup>59</sup> The estimates given in Section 1.3 are based on number of volumes. Since many editions were bound together in collective volumes (Sammelbände), the news is a bit better when one considers the losses from the perspective of editions. We evaluate both below.

For the purposes of our evaluation, copies of editions in the surviving category are those that are listed under their original call numbers in the HAAB catalog and are available for use.<sup>60</sup> Copies in the damaged category have a "Scha" call number, and may or may not be available for use.<sup>61</sup> Copies in the lost category retain their old call numbers and have a status of lost. In the case of editions, if multiple copies exist, we count the edition in the category of its least damaged copy.

In order to compare losses within our set of Society materials to the HAAB's overall loss estimates, we calculated the percentage of volumes lost. In 2007, Mangei estimated that 30% of seventeenth-century and 15% of eighteenth-century volumes were lost. Our figures, which are based on the 1,545 volumes matching our broad criteria, tally 28.53% for seventeenth-century volumes (1.47% under the estimate) and 20.38% for eighteenth-century volumes (5.38% above the estimate).<sup>62</sup>

[Table 1. Lost, damaged, and surviving Society volumes by century.]

A variety of factors might help explain why the numbers for seventeenth-century Society editions were less than the estimate. Given Weimar's meaning for the Society and the strength of the HAAB's collections in this area, the library may have collected more duplicates and attracted more donations of Society works, both before and after the fire. Additionally, Society works were likely among those targeted by the HAAB's active replacement and restoration program. Further, they could have been among the substantial group of seventeenth-century copies

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<sup>58</sup> Although many seventeenth-century works were kept in the Rococo Hall and their number was proportionally high in the second gallery, they were distributed throughout the HAAB's collections. Eighty percent of HAAB's one million volume pre-fire collection was in other library storage facilities. See *Buchbestand* (fn. 27), p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> See Mangei (fn. 32), p. 21.

<sup>60</sup> Replacements for lost and damaged copies that the HAAB acquired and processed by early 2014 are mixed in with the numbers of available editions. We unfortunately did not document these completely systematically.

<sup>61</sup> Catalogers often detail the damage in the catalog record.

<sup>62</sup> Since only 16 of the 1,543 total volumes were published in the sixteenth century, the percentage figures were not reliable for the purposes of comparison to Mangei's loss estimates by century.

backed up in the digitization queue, waiting for their key pages to be imaged for the Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (VD17).<sup>63</sup>

Of 2,056 total editions, 1,569 or 76.31% were available for researchers to consult with little or no indication of damage in 2014. The majority of these editions survived because the one copy the HAAB held was not lost or damaged in the fire (see section 2.3). Regrettably, 412 or 20.04% of Society-related editions once in the HAAB were lost entirely from its collections. Only 75 or 3.65% were damaged and may or may not be available for consultation. The low number of damaged editions as opposed to those surviving or lost is due to the swiftness and severity of the fire on the upper floors of the core of the Historical Building – most copies either survived or perished. Further, the HAAB has also been reasonably successful at restoring copies of editions that it originally classified as damaged (see section 2.4).<sup>64</sup>

Interestingly, the percentages of lost, damaged, and surviving editions are quite similar to the outcomes for the Society editions in the HAAB that Bulling listed in his bibliography.

[Table 2. Lost, damaged, and surviving Society editions in Bulling's bibliography and the authors' data set.]

A Pearson's Chi-squared test comparing the numbers of available, damaged, and lost titles from Bulling's bibliography with our data set verifies this impression. It indicates no significant difference between the percentages ( $p=0.86$ ).<sup>65</sup>

### **2.3 The Role of Multiple Copies**

The existence of multiple copies of an edition in the HAAB's collection plays a substantial role in whether or not the edition remains available to its researchers: 171 or 10.9% of the surviving editions (8.34% of the total), would have been lost from the collections if not for the existence of multiple copies.<sup>66</sup> These numbers go up to 194 or 12.37% of the surviving editions (9.44% of the total) when editions for which the HAAB holds only a damaged copy are added. Still, of the 1,569 editions with a surviving copy, 1,161 or 74% (56.47% of the total body of works identified as Society-related) survived without the benefit of a second copy – quite a high number.

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<sup>63</sup> Becker-Ebenau (fn. 36), p. 39, and references to the Society throughout *Es nimmt der Augenblick* (fn. 32). For more on the VD17, see below.

<sup>64</sup> See Weber (fn. 41), pp. 74–88.

<sup>65</sup> Karl Pearson: On the Criterion That a Given System of Deviations from the Probable in the Case of a Correlated System of Variables is Such That It Can Be Reasonably Supposed to Have Arisen from Random Sampling. In: *Philosophical Magazine*, series 5, 50 (1900), 302, pp. 157–175, DOI: 10.1080/14786440009463897. Thanks are due to Eric Vance of the University of Colorado Boulder for this observation.

<sup>66</sup> This result is very similar to the overall estimate of 10% for the HAAB's collections. See Mangei (fn. 32), p. 23.

We can view the question of multiple copies from yet another perspective. The HAAB held 439 or 21.35% of its largely seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Society-related editions in multiple copies. Of these, 358 or 17.41% were in two copies, 70 or 3.40% were in three copies, nine or .44% were in four copies, and two or .10% were in five copies, regardless of status (that is, including copies that were lost or damaged in the fire). The HAAB held 1,617 or 71.65% in just one copy.

#### **2.4 Restoration of *Aschebücher* and Damaged Copies**

In 2008, the HAAB began restoring the estimated 8,000 of 28,000 *Aschebücher* it deemed worthy of treatment.<sup>67</sup> By 2013, it had restored around 1,400 volumes, and by 2017, more than 3,600 volumes. It still hopes to restore an additional 5,000 or so, but this goal is dependent upon the ongoing examination of *Aschebücher* and, of course, available funds.<sup>68</sup> Between 2007 and 2014, the HAAB recategorized 46 copies of Society-related editions in *Aschebücher* from lost to damaged.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, it recategorized 31 copies from damaged to available in the same timeframe. Most of these copies were contained in the 22,000 volumes that were severely damaged by heat and water during the fire.<sup>70</sup>

An interesting example of a Society-related edition moved from damaged to available status is Friedrich Hortleder's massive two-volume history of the Schmalkaldic War in sources.<sup>71</sup> Hortleder was the princes' tutor, a court councilor, and archivist; he was also involved in a variety of book-related activities for the dukes and court administration from the mid-1610s to the mid-1630s – across the reigns of both Johann Ernst I and Wilhelm IV.

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<sup>67</sup> Lorenz and Mangei (fn. 34), pp. 988–989. Digitization is a part of this process. See Section 3.3 below.

<sup>68</sup> Mangei (fn. 38), p. 530; Buchbestand (fn. 27), p. 3. Since the HAAB is still working through the *Aschebücher* and identifying titles for restoration, the numbers of those that are lost, will remain *Aschebücher*, or can be restored and used is constantly shifting. The HAAB expects this work to last until the end of 2018 for the rare books. Thanks are due to Brigitte Becker-Ebenau for this information.

<sup>69</sup> The HAAB gives damaged copies a call number beginning in "Scha". The note in *Aschebücher* records in the HAAB catalog reads "Brandschaden durch Bibliotheksbrand" (Fire damage due to the library fire). A large number of these are fragments, some of which the library does not intend to restore. See Weber (fn. 41), p. 88.

<sup>70</sup> The note in these records reads "Schaden nach Brand" (Damage after the fire). A further 12,000 were minimally damaged and already available to users by 2007. See Weber (fn. 41), p. 79.

<sup>71</sup> Friedrich Hortleder: *Der Römischen Kayser- und Königl. Maiestete Auch deß heiligen Rö. Reichs, geistlicher und weltlicher Stände, Churfürsten, Fürsten, Graffen, Herrn, Reichs- und anderer Stätte, zusampt der Heiligen Schrifft, geistlicher und weltlicher Rechte Gelehrten Handlungen und Außschreiben, Rathschläge, Bedencken, Send- und andere Brieffe, Bericht, Supplicationschriefften ... von Rechtmässigkeit, Anfang, Fort- und endlichen Außgang deß Teutschen Kriegs, Keyser Carls deß Fünften, wider die Schmalkaldische Bundsoberste, Chur- und Fürsten, Sachsen und Hessen und J. Chur- und Fürstl. G. G. Mitverwandte ... / Ordentlich zusammengebracht und an tag gegeben durch Friedr. Hortledern. 2 vols. Frankfurt a.M. 1617–1618. These volumes likely escaped destruction twice – once in the 1618 fire at the Hornstein Palace and later in the 2004 fire.*

Hortleder also likely undertook librarianship duties on their behalf.<sup>72</sup> Thus, it is entirely natural that this work would have been included in the ducal library.

The HAAB catalog extensively records the damage that the Hortleder volumes, currently available under the call numbers M 3 : 35 and M 3 : 36, sustained.<sup>73</sup>

[Fig. 4. Screen shot from HAAB catalog for volume one of Hortleder’s history, detailing extensive damage.]

The volumes bear the indicators of provenance in the figures shown below. Johann Ernst I had his books bound in a representational and, to some extent, standardized form: in brown leather embossed in gold. The ducal coat of arms was emblazoned on the front and back cover, with borders around the edges and ornaments in the corners. The front cover was embossed with his initials and the year.<sup>74</sup>

[Fig. 5. Evidence of provenance: Duke Johann Ernst I’s representational bookbinding with his coat of arms, initials, and year.]

Upon his death, these volumes passed to his brother and successor, Wilhelm IV. Books in Wilhelm’s possession were commonly identified by the note “Herzog Wilhelm z[u] S[achsen]”.<sup>75</sup>

[Fig. 6. Evidence of provenance: Duke Wilhelm IV’s name written on the title page, above the imprint information.]

## **2.5 Call number schemes**

When analyzing the impact of the fire on the HAAB’s holdings of Society editions, it is important to note that their arrangement was not chronological. They were located on the shelf according to various call number schemes that were largely structured by subject. Further, they came into the HAAB’s and its forerunner collections at various points in time (not necessarily at the time of publication). The division of library collections due to inheritance have at times impoverished the ducal collection in Weimar, as was the case when Wilhelm IV’s sons distributed his collection among themselves. In addition, a large number of seventeenth-century editions entered the collection with acquisitions of several private collections in the early eighteenth century. Most notable within the context of the Society were two acquisitions: in 1704, the library of Balthasar Friedrich von Logau (ca. 6,500 volumes), the son of Society member Friedrich von Logau; and in 1722, the library of Konrad Samuel Schurzfleisch (ca. 8,400 volumes), which included the library of Society member and Wittenberg professor August Buchner, “der

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<sup>72</sup> See Boblenz (fn. 3), p. 29.

<sup>73</sup> For more on how the damage is documented in the catalog, see Mangei (fn. 38), 527–529.

<sup>74</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), p. 29.

<sup>75</sup> Boblenz (fn. 3), p. 31.

Genossene" (The Appreciated One).<sup>76</sup> Of course, the HAAB has since continued to add copies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions to its collections.

The physical arrangement of the volumes in the Rococo Hall within the various call number schemes is evident in those most impacted by the fire, which were housed in the second gallery. The four most prevalent schemes in this location were introduced after the library was moved into the newly finished Rococo Hall in 1766. They exhibit the following patterns:<sup>77</sup>

[Table 3. Major call number schemes used in the HAAB's core historical collection.]

The percentage breakdown of Society volumes by status within each of these call number schemes is as follows:

[Fig. 7. Volume status by call number scheme.]

Scheme 1 suffered the most, both in terms of the percentage of lost and of damaged volumes. Still, the losses are distributed across the core historical collection due to not only the heterogeneous nature of the HAAB's holdings in the Rococo Hall but also the different call number schemes used over the years. Fortunately, this also meant that the fire did not destroy entire subject areas or all of the works by one author.<sup>78</sup> Additional call number schemes in which Society editions appear (for example, B 2188, 19 B 13522, and 234077 – A) were likely kept in alternative locations, as the volumes all survived.

### **3 Importance of the HAAB for Fruchtbbringende Gesellschaft Studies**

#### **3.1 Methodology: Investigating Rarity**

Since the HAAB's collection of Society editions was considered exceptional, we were interested in investigating their rarity.<sup>79</sup> The Bulling bibliography served as the basis for our inquiries. To facilitate this analysis, we not only

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<sup>76</sup> Major acquisitions and the nature of their contents are highlighted in *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa*. Ed. by Bernhard Fabian. Hildesheim 2003, [http://fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian?Herzogin\\_Anna\\_Amalia\\_Bibliothek](http://fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian?Herzogin_Anna_Amalia_Bibliothek) (accessed Aug. 8, 2017). For more specific information on the Logau acquisition, in particular the number of books that were passed from the father into the HAAB via the son's library, see Ulrich Seelbach: *Bücher aus der Bibliothek Friedrich von Logaus in Weimar*. In: *Daphnis* 44 (2016), 4, pp. 547–571, DOI: 10.1163/18796583-10000006. Although Seelbach only found 12 titles in this category, the Logau acquisition is still notable for the HAAB's Society holdings given the number of seventeenth-century publications that passed into its collections.

<sup>77</sup> *Handbuch* (fn. 76).

<sup>78</sup> Mangei (fn. 32), p. 33.

<sup>79</sup> When we speak of rarity in this context, we are only referring to the physical textual object and the content contained within. The HAAB copies of these titles may have contained marks of provenance, marginal notes, etc., that make each one a unique research object in its own right, as the Hortleder volumes described above demonstrate.



collected information on the basic data points for each of the 146 Bulling editions in the HAAB, but also searched for these editions in three union catalogs as a rough measure of their availability to researchers in German libraries: (1) the VD17, for seventeenth-century editions; (2) the Verzeichnis deutscher Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts (VD18), for eighteenth-century editions; and (3) the GVK, for all editions.<sup>80</sup> In addition to recording unique identifiers, the numbers of available copies, and the numbers of holding libraries, we also noted if they had been imaged – either digitally and linked in the VD17, on microform by the HAAB, or as a part of Brill’s *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* microfiche collection.<sup>81</sup> We describe each of these catalogs in more detail below.

The VD17 is a retrospective national bibliography covering German publications of the seventeenth century (1601–1700).<sup>82</sup> It records all German-language publications and all publications printed and published in the historical German language areas, regardless of language. The records are of high quality, as the VD17 distinguishes strictly among editions, and contributing libraries catalog the original items in-hand (Autopsie). Although partner libraries had cataloged most German literature of the seventeenth century in the VD17 by the end of 2006, the catalog continues to grow as institutions inside and outside of Germany add new data.<sup>83</sup> The current priority is to digitize the editions included in the catalog, particularly those identified as unique copies (Unika), with the hope that 90% will be freely available by 2020.<sup>84</sup> While the HAAB had contributed data on all of its VD17-relevant copies by 2009, the VD17 does not fully reflect its pre-2004 holdings. In particular, they are incomplete for copies of editions that were lost or damaged in the fire.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> The data in all three of these catalogs of course are constantly changing as these utilities update and add records. Thus, those to which we refer below are only as accurate as the data at the time we accessed them. We updated the data from (1) and (3) in 2014 and those from (2), which the VD18 is still assembling, in 2016.

<sup>81</sup> Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. Printed Works, Manuscripts and Images from the German Baroque. Ed. by James Spohrer. Leiden 1999, 3,857 fiches. A title list and finding aid to the manuscript and pictorial material in this collection are available at [http://www.brill.com/sites/default/files/ftp/downloads/31742\\_Titlelist.pdf](http://www.brill.com/sites/default/files/ftp/downloads/31742_Titlelist.pdf) and <http://www.idcpublishers.com/ead/316.xml>, respectively. This collection previously belonged to Martin Bircher, who sold it to UC Berkeley.

<sup>82</sup> See <https://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.28/> (accessed Apr. 8, 2018).

<sup>83</sup> After Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft grant funding ended in 2006, the VD17 project continued under the leadership of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB), the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB, Bavarian State Library) in Munich, and the HAB in Wolfenbüttel. In August 2017, the VD17 included almost 300,000 editions.

<sup>84</sup> See <http://www.vd17.de/projekt/beschreibung> (accessed Aug. 22, 2017). This goal is potentially obtainable due to the many digitized editions that the BSB will be able to contribute through its participation in the Google Books digitization program. A list of leading libraries, partner libraries (including the HAAB), and other participating libraries with their library codes is available at: <http://www.vd17.de/projekt/partner> (accessed Apr. 8, 2018). In terms of cataloging, the current emphasis is on adding previously unrecorded editions and editions with only one known holding.

<sup>85</sup> The HAAB started adding titles to the VD17 in 2003. At the time of the fire, it had not yet added an estimated 10,000 VD17-relevant copies located in the second gallery. It did not add lost and damaged copies, including

The VD18 is an effort that has a similar scope and intention for the eighteenth century (1701–1800) as the VD17 for the seventeenth century. The VD18’s workflow, however, is quite different from the VD17. Through an automated process, copies are first preliminarily associated into a set of probable examples of a given edition.<sup>86</sup> Participating libraries process the sets, enter verified metadata into their respective cooperative utilities, and digitize the editions.<sup>87</sup> Afterward, users can access the metadata and link to the text via the VD18 catalog. The VD18 project is currently in its active phase. As of February 2018, the catalog comprised around 178,000 monographs, 9,500 multi-volume works, and around 3,300 periodicals.<sup>88</sup>

The GVK is the largest union catalog in Germany and is the regional union catalog to which the HAAB contributes its records. The GBV cooperative includes the following partners: the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, and the seven federal states of Niedersachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen, Hamburg, Bremen, Schleswig-Holstein, and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The mix of libraries is much broader than those contributing to the VD17 and VD18 – over 500 academic, public, and research institute libraries within the GBV’s territory participate.<sup>89</sup> Since the GVK is not, in its conception, a catalog of early printed books but a union catalog, a variety of record types have been added to the system, some of which do not necessarily adhere to the strict guidelines of the VD17 and VD18.<sup>90</sup> While the data might be less reliable from a rare books perspective, the GVK still provides valuable insights about other potential holding libraries for the HAAB’s lost and damaged copies that cannot be gained from the VD17.<sup>91</sup>

In the present analysis, we have adhered as far as possible to the strict sense of an exact copy of an edition as defined by the VD17, except in cases where it was meaningful to consider variant printings.<sup>92</sup> Still, the

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publications associated with many Society members, after the fact. Thanks are due to Brigitte Becker-Ebenau of the HAAB for this information.

<sup>86</sup> Temporary VD18 numbers can be recognized by a suffix following a dash. These temporary numbers are not citable; only a VD18 number without suffix can uniquely identify an edition and be used for citation purposes. See Christian Fieseler: *Das Verzeichnis Deutscher Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts (VD 18). Ziele, Entwicklung und aktueller Stand*. In: *BuB. Forum Bibliothek und Information* 68 (July 2016), pp. 402–405, here p. 403.

<sup>87</sup> A list of these libraries is available at: [https://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.65/SET=1/TTL=1/START\\_WELCOME](https://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.65/SET=1/TTL=1/START_WELCOME) (accessed Apr. 8, 2018). Currently 21 libraries are participating; the HAAB is not among them.

<sup>88</sup> See <https://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.65/> (accessed Apr. 8, 2018). The project is currently in the second part of its main phase, which runs through 2018. Additional phases are envisioned.

<sup>89</sup> See <https://gso.gbv.de/DB=2.1/> (accessed Apr. 8, 2018).

<sup>90</sup> The HAAB converted its pre-1850 holdings from catalog cards into the GVK between 1993 and 2000. The bulk of its copies of early modern editions entered the GVK in this way, before the fire. Their status is noted there and in the HAAB catalog. Thanks are due to Brigitte Becker-Ebenau of the HAAB for this information.

<sup>91</sup> Mangei (fn. 38), p. 523.

<sup>92</sup> In those cases, we explicitly state that we are referring to variant printings.

data are far from perfect. In the case of the GVK, we cannot vouch for the items attached to individual records being exact copies. In addition, for several of the 12 HAAB editions from the Bulling bibliography that were published in the eighteenth century, the only data available were from the VD18's working database. They must be handled with care, since partner libraries had not yet undertaken the necessary work to determine if the copies in the sets were exact matches to the edition. Still, these data give a general indication of the rareness, or scarcity, of these editions, information that would not have been available otherwise.<sup>93</sup>

Our method for identifying data in the VD17 and GVK, the two major databases from which we elicited information about copies of Bulling editions in the HAAB, is as follows. For the VD17, we: (1) identified the appropriate record in the VD17 using the VD17 identification number given in the HAAB record; (2) in the absence of this number, located the appropriate record to which the HAAB item of interest was attached; and, (3) as a last effort, found a unique record in the VD17 that matched the HAAB record. We only counted additional copies from records in the VD17 and GVK if they had Society-related items from the HAAB attached to them, with the exception of step (3). The strategy in step (2) was only reliable for editions with surviving copies in the HAAB, since many items lost in the fire are not attached to VD17 records.<sup>94</sup> In these cases, the GVK provided the best information available. For the GVK, we used the PPN number from the HAAB record to locate the appropriate record. We restricted our analysis to the VD17 and GVK except when the results indicated that the content or form of a particular edition might be endangered (that is, we found two or fewer copies in these utilities), which held true for 14 of the 146 Bulling editions. We further analyzed these 14 with reference to Gerhard Dünnhaupt's unsurpassed bibliography of German Baroque literature.<sup>95</sup> Where necessary, we drew on individual library catalogs

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<sup>93</sup> Thanks are due to Dr. Christian Fieseler of the SUB Göttingen for sharing this information for the purposes of our study.

<sup>94</sup> In the case of the 12 eighteenth-century editions, we used the VD18 sets and followed up using the same process as the seventeenth-century editions.

<sup>95</sup> Dünnhaupt's *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock* (fn. 11) is the best guide available to German literary production of the Baroque period. It lists the most important authors in German-speaking lands, along with all known editions of their works. This resource proved quite valuable in our research, in part because it records copies of authors' works in repositories outside of the boundaries of present-day Germany. See, for example, Gerhard Dünnhaupt: *Der barocke Eisberg. Überlegungen zur Erfassung des Schrifttums des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Aus dem Antiquariat* (1980), pp. A441–A446; and *Von der Etsch bis an den Belt? Abgrenzungsprobleme in den Randgebieten des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*. In: *Aus dem Antiquariat* (1988), pp. A389–A397.

and other resources. In the sections below, we explicate the most significant potential losses due to the 2004 fire.<sup>96</sup>

### 3.2 Specific Examples: Rare Content Lost from the HAAB's Collections

Before turning to these individual editions, we can draw some tentative conclusions about Society authors based on our analysis of the Bulling editions the HAAB held. As noted, the Bulling bibliography includes works with Society members in major creative roles, that is, as authors, translators, editors or contributors.<sup>97</sup> The following members were associated with the largest number of these 146 editions in the HAAB: Georg Neumark (12); Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (nine); Ludwig I of Anhalt-Köthen (eight); Johann Wilhelm von Stubenberg, Johann Rist, and Philipp von Zesen (seven each); Justus Georg Schottelius and Kaspar von Stieler (six each); and Martin Opitz and Diederich von Werder (five each). Together these ten members, of the 890 affiliated with the Society during its existence, account for half of the HAAB editions in the Bulling bibliography.<sup>98</sup> They were mainly in the role of author, with the exception of Ludwig I, Stubenberg, and Werder, who were more active as translators. We can ascribe Neumark's preponderance to his role as Society archivist and librarian to Wilhelm IV.<sup>99</sup>

[Fig. 8. Portrait of Georg Neumark from *Der Neu-Sprossende Teutsche Palmbaum* (1668).]

Two of the five editions we investigated in greater detail are associated with Neumark (see Figure 8). The other three are associated with Friedrich von Drachsdorf, Kaspar von Stieler, and Sigmund von Birken:

Antoine Montchrestien: *Winter-Tages Schaefferey Von der schoenen Coelinden Vnd deroselben ergebnen Schaeffer Corimbo*. Leipzig 1636. [HAAB call number Scha BS 4 A 03385 (Previously 40, 6 : 103); PPN 191817074; pastoral poetry, translated from French]

Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), p. 794, no. F1 notes that translation of this title has been attributed to Christian Brehme and, erroneously, to Friedrich von Drachsdorf (including Bulling [fn. 51], p. 25), due to both authors using "Der Beständige" (The Steadfast One) as a pseudonym.<sup>100</sup> The HAAB first categorized its copy as lost and then as heavily

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<sup>96</sup> Andrew Pettegree's observation that approximately 30% of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French editions survive only in libraries outside of France also highlights the importance of considering international holdings. See Pettegree (fn. 33), p. 6, and *French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French Vernacular before 1601*. Ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson. 2 vols. Leiden 2007.

<sup>97</sup> With the exception of some that are included because a member was a dedicatory, or because the Society or short contributions by its members were featured in the text. See Bulling (fn. 50), p. 9.

<sup>98</sup> Based on our data, catalog records name only just under a quarter of Society members (23.51%, or 205 of 872) in some capacity, including as a dedicatory. Most of the others, presumably, did not have works associated with them in these records.

<sup>99</sup> Michael Ludscheidt: *Georg Neumark (1621–1681). Leben und Werk*. Heidelberg 2002.

<sup>100</sup> "Der Beständige" was Drachsdorf's Society name. He died seven years before this title appeared.

damaged with loss of textual content; it is still not available for use. As the edition is relatively rare, it is extremely fortunate that the HAAB filmed it before the fire. In addition to the HAAB, Dünnhaupt lists a copy available at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wrocław in Poland. The Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (SUB Göttingen) used to hold a copy that is unfortunately now lost. Looking further, a copy exists at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, which has digitized it.<sup>101</sup> What at first appeared to be a dire situation in terms of the availability of this edition when searching the bibliographic utilities, in the end happily resulted in two complete print copies, a digitized copy, and film of the pre-fire HAAB copy, all of which are available to researchers.

Georg Neumark: *Sieghafter David*. Das ist: Kurtze poetische Beschreibung des wunderbaren Kampfes zwischen dem kleinen David u. dem großen Riesen Goliath : Nach Anl. göttl. Schrift aus dem Lat. in teutsche trochaische Versche verabf., mit Lehrsprüchen u. Gleichnüssen verm. u. ... zum Druck beförd./ v. Georg Neumarken. Jena 1653. [HAAB call number H 1 : 38; PPN 248655558; poetry, translated from Latin]

According to Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), p. 2964, no. 20.1, the HAAB's copy may have been a unique copy of a variant printing of this work; Dünnhaupt or one of his collaborators physically inspected it and listed no other holding libraries. Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), p. 2964, no. 20.2 notes that four other libraries, including the Universitätsbibliothek Jena (now the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena) and the HAB, hold a variant printing of the same edition of Neumark's *Sieghafter David*; Bulling's collation (fn. 50), p. 48 is in error; and it was reprinted in Neumark's *Poetisch-Historischer Lustgarten* (1666). (The HAAB's copy of the latter work is likewise lost.) The Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (FB Gotha) holds a copy (VD17 547:633602R) with a title page quite similar to – though not exactly like – the HAAB's. This detail was not noted in Dünnhaupt. Since the FB Gotha's copy has been identified as unique and is slated for digitization, the content will be preserved and made more accessible to future researchers.<sup>102</sup>

Georg Neumark: *Wilhelm der IV., Herzog zu Sachsen ... Das weyland Durchlechtigste 2. Oberhaupt Der Hochlöbl. Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Der Schmakkhafte. Fürstliches Ehrengedächtnis*. [S.l.] 1666. 1 Bl. Quer-folio. [no call number; memorial image conceptualized by Neumark, etched by Jacob von Sandrart]

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<sup>101</sup> See <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz429230052> (accessed Aug. 30, 2017). The fingerprint indicates it is an exact copy of the HAAB's, but this result would need verification.

<sup>102</sup> This action is connected to the VD17's goal to digitize all unique copies in the collections of partner libraries.

Bulling listed this single-sheet commemorative print dedicated to Wilhelm IV as an independent work. It is absent from the GVK and VD17 and currently cannot be located in the HAAB's collection.<sup>103</sup> It seems to be similar – if not identical – to a print listed in Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), p. 1296, no. 48, albeit under a very different title.<sup>104</sup> Jacob von Sandrart was the etcher; he based his etching on a detailed drawing by Wilhelm Richter, who in turn based his drawing on a conceptual draft by Georg Neumark.

The item Dünnhaupt references resides in the collections of Yale University's Beinecke Library, with four further copies listed in one of the volumes dedicated to Sandrart in Hollstein's *German Engravings*.<sup>105</sup> In addition to the Beinecke, institutions that hold originals as independent items are the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, and Biblioteka Narodowa Warsaw.<sup>106</sup> Fortunately, several copies of this print remain available to researchers. While evidence points to the distinct possibility that the HAAB's print as described by Bulling was an exact copy or a variant printing, confirmation is unfortunately impossible in its absence.

One finds further information about this item in a custom of the time: producing a commemorative print as a supplement to a related textual work.<sup>107</sup> We found identical prints matching its description in two digitized copies of a monograph-length edition memorializing Wilhelm IV, *Christ-Fürstliches Traur-Gedächtnuß*, which appeared the same year as the print.<sup>108</sup> The HAB and Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (ULB

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<sup>103</sup> Staff attempts to locate it in the HAAB's uncataloged collection of single-sheet prints have been unsuccessful.

<sup>104</sup> The title he notes is: Denen Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgeborn : | Fürsten und Herren, ... Herzogen u. Herzogin zu Sachs: ... Jhres weyl. Durchleüchtisten Herr: Vaters, &c. | Fürstliches Ehren-Gedächtnus. Dünnhaupt drew his title from the cartouche, while Bulling drew his from the medallion below the portrait of Wilhelm IV on the print.

<sup>105</sup> F. W. H. Hollstein: *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400-1700*. Amsterdam 1954–, vol. 38, p. 78. The names listed in the family tree below Wilhelm's bust are four generations of his ancestors, rather than his descendants, as noted. The SBB copy is in microform.

<sup>106</sup> Curt von Faber du Faur: *German Baroque Literature. A Catalog of the Collection in the Yale University Library*. New Haven 1958–1969, vol. 2, p. 188a (the call number is not given, but it is likely BrSides Zg17 N37 +666).

<sup>107</sup> Hollstein (fn. 105), vol. 38, p. 8: "In Sandrart's case, and his is certainly not unique, most prints were intended for inclusion in a larger printed work. Individual prints are frequently illustrations or frontispieces from books, and portraits are often portraits of authors meant to adorn editions of their works or portraits of the deceased to be included in printed funeral orations in their memory. Viewed out of this context the individual prints lose much of their cultural meaning. Thus, the total work is very important in the study of this period in German art."

<sup>108</sup> See Ulrich Schütte: *Pyramide und Schloß. Georg Neumarks 'Ehren-Gedächtnus' auf Wilhelm IV, Den Schmachhaften, von 1666*. In: *Die Fruchtbringer – eine Teutschhertzige Gesellschaft*. Ed. by Klaus Manger. Heidelberg 2001, pp. 191–208, here pp. 197–198. The memorial is *Christ-Fürstliches Traur-Gedächtnuß Über das höchstselige Absterben So wol/ Des ... Herrn Wilhelms Des Vierdten/ Hertzogs zu Sachsen/ Jülich/ Cleve und Berg ... Als auch Seiner Durchleuchtigkeit hertzliebsten Gemahlin. Der ... Fr. Eleonoren Dorotheen/ Hertzogin zu Sachsen ... gebohrner Fürstin zu Anhalt ... / Von Beyderseits Hinderlassener/ Hoch-Fürstlichen Herren Söhne/ und Frauen*

Sachsen-Anhalt) in Halle each hold copies of this edition with the print tipped in, the Schlossbibliothek Rudolstadt a third, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) a fourth. The print is tipped into these copies in different places, so it was clearly added after the fact.<sup>109</sup>

This discovery led us to check a copy of the same edition of *Christ-Fürstliches Traur-Gedächtnüß* at the HAAB (Scha BS 1 B 00796), which was first categorized as lost and now as damaged. Given the amount of fire damage to the book's binding, the text block is remarkably well preserved.

[Fig. 9. Fire damage to the binding of the HAAB's copy of *Christ-Fürstliches Traur-Gedächtnüß* (1665, [erschienen 1666]).]

It did, however, did sustain water damage. The HAAB's copy also includes the print, which appears before the biography as in the Rudolstadt copy, but it was not tipped in.

[Fig. 10. Location of the print, showing water damage around the edges.]

The print shows a pyramid presenting Wilhelm IV's genealogy in Weimar's Ilm Park, with the Wilhelmsburg and the Green Palace in the background.<sup>110</sup> The four shepherds in the lower left-hand corner represent members of the Society (including Neumark and Birken) and the centrality of Wilhelm's court to the Society.<sup>111</sup> Although it is highly doubtful that this copy of the print is the same one Bulling recorded in his bibliography, it is reassuring that the content remains in the HAAB's collection if our assumptions above are correct.

Les plus belles lettres des meilleurs auteurs François de ce temps : recueillies et traduites en Allemand = Die feinste Schreiben der besten Frantzösischen Brief-Verfasser dieser Zeit/ par le Tard. [Ed. and trans. by Kaspar von Stieler]. Hamburg 1696. [HAAB call number 33, 4 : 39; PPN 267657269; letter collection, translated from French, with parallel text in German and French]

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Tochter Durchlechtigkeiten Aus Fürst-Kindlicher Liebe ... aufgerichtet/ und zum Druck verfertigt. Weinmar 1665 (erschienen 1666). [HAAB call number O 1 : 1 [a]; PPN 092192785; Leichenpredigt, memorial] For the two digitized copies, from the HAB and Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (ULB Sachsen-Anhalt) in Halle, see <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-4f-406/start.htm> and <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-45628> respectively. Im Garten der Palme (fn. 55), vol. 1, p. 105 reproduces the Berkeley copy.

<sup>109</sup> In the HAB copy, the print under discussion precedes the title page. In the Halle copy, it is inserted after the preface and before the main body of the text. In the Rudolstadt copy, it appears before the biography, well into the main body of the text. See Schütte (fn. 108), p. 198. In the Berkeley copy, it appears at the end.

<sup>110</sup> The Weimar tradition of erecting memorials to important political and intellectual figures in the Ilm Park can be traced back to Neumark's imaginary pyramid. See Im Garten der Palme (fn. 55), vol. 1, p. 59.

<sup>111</sup> Mara R. Wade: The Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft at Skokloster. In: Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten 38, 2 (2011), pp. 149–168, here pp. 163–164.

Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), p. 3970, no. 50 records copies at the HAAB and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB); both are lost (in the latter case, a war loss). Two other copies of an edition published the same year exist, one at the ULB Sachsen-Anhalt and another at the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock (UB Rostock) (VD17 28:730200T). The UB Rostock has digitized its copy.<sup>112</sup> When compared to Dünnhaupt, these two holdings appear to be copies of a variant printing, as the extent and format are similar but slightly different. Unfortunately, there is no way to confirm this supposition given the loss of the HAAB and SBB copies. Thus, if the UB Rostock and ULB Sachsen-Anhalt copies are simply variant printings as we suspect, then the content is readily available online and two print copies exist for consultation. If not, then the last copy of this edition may have perished in the fire.

In summary, of the four Society-related editions from the Bulling bibliography that we investigated in detail above, we discovered that one edition, Montchrestien's *Winter-Tages Schaefferey*, was both rare and erroneously associated with the Society by Bulling. It is fortunately out of danger in terms of form and content. Where the three true Society-related editions are concerned, the story is more complex because we no longer have the HAAB copies to compare. Two are associated with Neumark, *Sieghafter David* and *Wilhelm der IV.*, and one with Stieler, *Les plus belles lettres*. While in some cases the existing copies might be slightly different than the HAAB's lost copy, we believe the intellectual content is secure. Thus, even the worst-case scenarios initially presented by these four titles are not as dire as we initially feared.

In addition to the items above, we came across an interesting example of a HAAB edition that we could show was already damaged before the 2004 fire:

Sigmund von Birken: Kurzer Entwurf eines neuen Schauspiels : darinnen ausgebildet wird das Vergnügte, Bekriegte und Widerbefriedigte Teutschland/ erfunden und auf den Schauplatz gebracht .... Nürnberg [ca. 1648], [actually 1651]. [HAAB call number Scha BS 1 A 00439 (previously 12° XVIII : 13); PPN 194891402]

Although the HAAB catalog record does not include an author or exact date of publication, both Bulling (fn. 50), p. 41 and Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), p. 594, no. 46 attribute this work to Sigmund von Birken with a publication date of 1651. The HAAB restored and subsequently digitized its copy.<sup>113</sup> Only the recto and verso of the title page are damaged, right at the bottom; thus, the place, date, and author information are missing. Otherwise, it is readable. Bulling notes the damage, so it predates the publication of his bibliography in 1965. In addition to the damaged HAAB copy, the Bibliothek des Landeskirchlichen Archivs der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern (LAELKB) in

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<sup>112</sup> See <http://purl.uni-rostock.de/rosdok/ppn778722368> (accessed Dec. 31, 2016).

<sup>113</sup> See <http://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/eprresolver?id=1411768167> (accessed Dec. 31, 2016).



Nürnberg holds a complete copy. Based on staff inspection of the original in the Bibliothek des LAELKB (call number S2/ FenII 12 87 -4) and comparison to the HAAB's online copy, the fingerprint is the same. This copy is not cataloged in the Bibliothek des LAELKB's catalog. One should note that the entry in Dünnhaupt is in error on a couple of details: both copies are in duodecimo rather than quarto format, and "Bekriegte" appears in the title rather than "Beklagte". However, the authorship and publication details in Dünnhaupt, which are missing from the HAAB's copy, are correct: "erfunden und auf den Schauplatz gebracht | in Nürnberg | von | Sigismundo Betulio, J.Cult.P.C. | Jm Jahr 1651."<sup>114</sup> Dünnhaupt describes this work as a preliminary study for the author's later, fully realized theater piece, *Margenis* (1679), while Bulling describes it – presumably from viewing the HAAB's copy – as similar to a playbill. Currently one physical copy and a digital copy of the HAAB's slightly damaged holding are available for consultation.

A relevant yet sad insight we gained from this exercise relates to the impact of the war and ensuing Soviet occupation on early modern editions in eastern German libraries, through notes on lost and damaged copies in the GVK.<sup>115</sup> Among the 146 HAAB editions in Bulling, the SBB recorded eight lost copies. This result is hardly surprising given that the SBB lost an estimated two million volumes during World War II.<sup>116</sup> One example is Caspar von Höveln's *Deutscher Zimber Swan* (1667) at PPN 140060006. The GVK records three available copies and just as many lost during or in the immediate aftermath of the war – two tagged "Kriegsverluste" by the SBB, and one "Verlust 1947" by the ULB Sachsen-Anhalt.<sup>117</sup> The more complete the loss data in library catalogs becomes, the more accurately scholars can estimate the impacts of major upheavals on German libraries. For contemporary disasters like the HAAB's 2004 fire, of course, libraries have documented losses much more thoroughly.

### 3.3 Other Formats

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<sup>114</sup> Thanks are due to Mr. Frank Weber of the Bibliothek des LAELKB for this information.

<sup>115</sup> Of course, these are just for copies for which the holding libraries made such notations in their catalog records.

<sup>116</sup> Jan L. Alessandrini: Bombs on Books. Allied Destruction of German Libraries during World War II. In: What Do we Lose When We Lose a Library? Ed. by Mel Collier. Leuven 2016, pp. 45–54, here p. 48. See also Alessandrini: Lost Books of 'Operation Gomorrah': Rescue, Reconstruction, and Restitution at Hamburg's Library in the Second World War. In: Lost Books (fn. 33), pp. 439–461, DOI: 10.1163/9789004311824\_022.

<sup>117</sup> Conrad von Höveln: Candorins Deutscher Zimber Swan : Darin Des Hochlöbl. ädelen Swan-Ordens Anfang, Zunamen, Bewandnis, Gebräuche, Satsungen, Ordensgesätze, samt der Hochansähel. Geselschafter Ordens-Namen entworfen. Lübek 1667. [HAAB call number O 6 : 97 [b]; PPN 140060006; language society publication (Elbschwanenorden) and calligram] Dünnhaupt (fn. 11), pp. 2118–2119, no. 16.I, notes additional copies of this work.

Librarians and scholars who are concerned with accessibility of the content in Society-related editions, and not necessarily with the material object, may be interested in some general measures of the availability of copies and editions in other formats. Of the 487 editions that the HAAB categorized as lost or damaged, it holds microform for 18 of the originals, which would include any notations. Further, as a general measure, we looked in the HAAB catalog and VD17 to see how many of the 146 HAAB editions in the Bulling bibliography libraries had digitized by early 2014: 60 of the 146 editions, with the HAAB contributing eight. This number has only grown due to digitization efforts linked to the VD17 and VD18, as well as the digitization efforts of individual libraries independent of these projects. The HAAB, for instance, is digitizing its restored *Aschebücher*, so that even unidentified or fragmentary works are available for use online.<sup>118</sup> Given the high proportion of these works in digital format that are freely available, we cannot consider the intellectual content of most of the HAAB editions lost in the 2004 fire to be seriously endangered.

#### **4 Conclusion**

The destructive fire in the HAAB's Historical Building left the cultural heritage and academic communities wondering what its long-term effect on the library's rare book collections and future scholarship would be. This piece has examined the fire's impact on the HAAB's *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* holdings from a variety of perspectives, based mainly on quantitative measures and the continued availability of their content and form. To make this assessment, we investigated the number of Society editions and copies the HAAB held before the fire, and how many of these were lost, damaged, or survived the fire, drawing upon the HAAB catalog and Bircher's list of Society members to identify Society-related works. We based our calculations on data gathered over seven years, first in 2007 and then updated in 2014.

Our analysis shows that losses of volumes containing Society-related works were roughly in line with Mangei's 2007 estimate for the collections overall by century of publication. In some cases the losses were slightly lower and in others a bit higher: 28.53% of seventeenth-century volumes were lost (1.47% under the estimate) compared to 20.38% of eighteenth-century volumes (5.38% above the estimate). Across all three centuries

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<sup>118</sup> The hope is that researchers can help identify the fragmentary works, which are often missing pages at the beginning and end, and the HAAB can complete them virtually using digitized versions that other libraries have made available. See Weber (fn. 41), p. 85.

represented, 68.48% of volumes including Society-related works survived, 4.08% were damaged, and 27.44% were lost.

In 2014, 76.31% (1,569) of Society-related editions – as opposed to volumes – were available for researchers to consult with little or no indication of damage, 3.65% (75) were damaged, and 20.04% (412) were lost from the HAAB collections. The number of multiple copies of these editions in the HAAB's collections plays an important role in whether or not the edition remains available to researchers. Of the 1,569 editions with a surviving copy, 10.9% (171) would have been lost if not for the existence of multiple copies. Additionally, the HAAB has been quite successful over our seven-year period at restoring copies of Society-related editions that it initially categorized as damaged or lost. Of 63 severely damaged copies, it has restored almost half to the point that they were available to researchers in 2014. It recategorized a further 44 that were originally designated lost (almost 10%) as damaged, which is no minor feat given the severity of the fire in the second gallery and the extent of the damage to the *Aschebücher* salvaged from the rubble after the fire.

Since the HAAB's collection of Society editions was considered one of the best, we were interested in investigating the rarity of these editions as a measure of the HAAB's importance for *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* studies. We sought to gain a picture by focusing on the subset of editions listed in Bulling's bibliography and using VD17, VD18, and GVK data to make a closer analysis of their availability to scholars. Specifically, we looked more intently at those registering two or fewer copies in these utilities – consulting additional sources, including Dünnhaupt's magisterial bio-bibliography of German Baroque literature – to determine if additional copies or variant printings existed.

Of the five lost and damaged editions we originally considered most endangered, we believe the intellectual content is secure in print and online, though a few could be variant printings. This finding combined with the substantial proportion of editions in the Bulling subset that were already digitized and available in 2014 leads us to conclude that most of the intellectual content in the HAAB editions lost in the 2004 fire is not seriously endangered. In fact, early modern German editions are more accessible than ever before, due largely to the impressive rate and thoroughness with which libraries are digitizing them. However, on a more somber note, Birken's *Kurzer Entwurf*, which was damaged well before the fire, highlights the fact that damage and losses to early modern collections are ongoing. When exploring the Bulling editions in the GVK, the extent of lost Society-related editions at other institutions reminded us of the destructive and only partially documented impacts of war

on early modern collections. Institutions in Germany, Europe, and around the world have suffered these negative effects.<sup>119</sup>

The scholarly value of individual copies of editions, of course, goes beyond the content and form of a work when it leaves the printing house. No two copies of a rare book are truly identical, so the loss of an individual copy is the loss of an opportunity to create new knowledge. The information each copy conveys, such as its supralibros, marginalia, collection into Sammelbände, and other vestiges of its history of ownership and use, helps us to discover how it was used, read, regarded, and circulated. Thus, we are reminded, “[s]ince modern research also focuses on cultural transfer and history of collections, securing the content alone, while absolutely necessary, does not alleviate fully the loss of the individual book.”<sup>120</sup> Assessing the impact of the fire on the HAAB’s Society-related holdings based on quantitative measures and the continued availability of the content is necessarily limited when each reader determines what loss is the greatest from their own individual perspective.<sup>121</sup>

In terms of the loss of Society-related editions from the HAAB’s collection, our initial research shows the impact of the fire was not quite as dire as originally projected for this important segment of seventeenth-century works. This outcome is due to the existence of multiple copies in the collection, an active replacement program, and chance survivals, among other factors. The intellectual content of almost all of these editions remain available in other libraries, and the increasing availability of digital versions offers unprecedented access and new opportunities to interact with these works. The news is only slightly less positive for scholars needing access to exact print copies; but even in this instance, progress through cataloging backlogs and new additions to cooperative catalogs regularly turn up additional copies and even previously unknown editions of early modern works. Finally yet importantly, the HAAB’s success in restoring *Aschebücher* and its associated digitization program give hope that at least some of the information in these unique copies will remain readily available. The question of the impact on the one-of-a-kind author copies assumed to reside in the HAAB, however, remains open; thus investigating the provenance of its holdings of Society editions is an important and complementary area of further research.

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<sup>119</sup> For instance, the BSB lost 500,000 volumes, and the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg 600,000. See Alessandrini, *Bombs on Books* (fn. 116), p. 46.

<sup>120</sup> Thanks are due to Prof. Mara R. Wade of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for this quote and for sharing her thoughts on this topic.

<sup>121</sup> Mangei (fn. 32), p. 33.



## Appendix 1: Data Points

For all Society-related copies and editions:

- Society member
- Associated publications in the HAAB's holdings? (Y/N)
- Title
- Multi-volume?
- Year(s) of publication
- Society subject heading in record? (Y/N)
- HAAB call numbers
- Status 2007 (Available/Damaged/Lost)
- Status 2014 (Available/Damaged/Lost/Available [previously Damaged]/Damaged [previously Lost])
- In Bulling bibliography? (Y/N)
- Notes

For editions in the Bulling bibliography:

- Role of Society member
- Non-Society author (where applicable, e.g., translations)
- Microform? (N/Y: HAAB/Brill microfiche collection/other)
- VD17/VD18 ID
- VD17/VD18 total number of copies
- VD17/VD18 total number of libraries
- VD17/VD18 library codes and number of copies
- VD17/VD18 digital copy? (Y/N)
- PPN (Pica production number, used as GVK ID)
- GVK total number of copies
- GVK total number of libraries
- GVK library codes and number of copies

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