

SIGNA VIDES

RESEARCHING AND RECORDING PRINTERS' DEVICES

CERL PAPERS · XIII

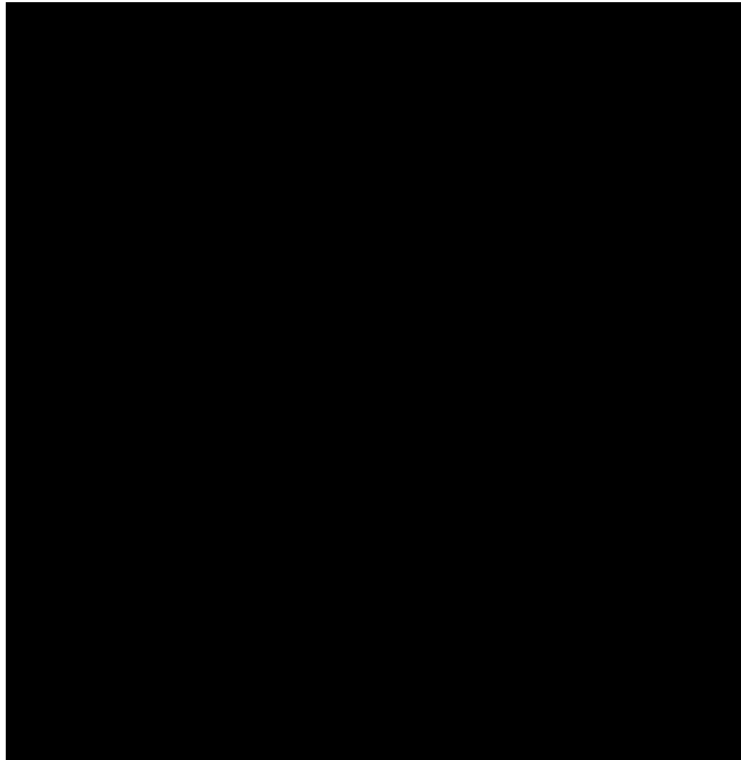
Signa vides

Researching and recording printers' devices

Papers presented on 17-18 March 2015, at the CERL Workshop
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EDITED BY

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Even since they first appeared, printers' devices have attracted considerable interest among readers and booksellers. In the early printing world they functioned not only as a proof of origin, but also as a form of publicity, a riddle game, a self-statement, and the printer's locale. This tradition still lives on but particularly flourished in the early modern period, which saw thousands of printers' devices used across Europe. Humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam played an important part in the development of printers' devices, while eminent artists and printmakers like Hans Holbein the Younger carried out the designs. Some book buyers not only observed the marks in their books, but cut them out and created extensive collections of printers' devices.

For a long time printers' devices attracted little scholarly attention. Towards the end of the 20th century, research into everyday life ("Alltagsgeschichte") and media studies meant that printers' devices, along with emblems and leaflets, became the subject of scholarly attention. However, this rise in interest did not result in comprehensive cataloguing and indexing projects. Their variety in regards to media, geography and time period creates a huge challenge for comprehensively cataloguing and indexing them. However, in the last few years a number of projects have attempted to index and describe these devices. These projects were initiated at a national level in various European countries, and mostly in the context of national bibliographies. Unfortunately, up to now, all these projects have worked independently of each other, according to very heterogeneous criteria and within current political borders. There is a high risk that we may miss an opportunity of a Europe-wide survey of printers' devices, which could provide information on the extent of knowledge, advertising strategies, and economic relations in the early modern period. As this danger becomes more apparent, we have started, in numerous discussions, to find networking and collaborative opportunities. From our point of view it

is absolutely essential to include the perspective of librarians and information scientists as well as the perspective of humanities researchers.

We would like to thank Antje Theise (Hamburg), Petra Feuerstein-Herz (Wolfenbüttel) and Maria Federbusch (Berlin) for their valuable support since the initial stages of our discussions. During our preliminary talks we developed the idea of the Vienna workshop, where speakers would be invited from different European countries, and whose contributions are published here. The aims of this publication are to document the current state of research, foster exchange between various national projects, and to start discussion on future perspectives and criteria for recording printers' devices. We are especially grateful to the head of the manuscript department at Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Andreas Fingernagel (Wien), and his collaborators, in particular the deputy head, Monika Kiegler-Griensteidl, and Ute Schmidthaler, for their generosity in hosting the workshop there and for their support with regard to organization and management. Thanks are due to Christina Schmitz (Berlin) for her valuable support during the preparation for the workshop.

We are very glad that CERL took the project under their wings and agreed to make the presentations accessible under the CERL Papers title. We are especially grateful to Marian Lefferts and Kimberley Hart, who supported us with enthusiasm, and to Kathleen Walker-Meikle for her advice with language issues. We wish to thank the participants of the workshop for their many contributions, and the contributors themselves, who very kindly gave us permission to publish their presentations. We are grateful to Isa Gundlach (Tübingen), assisted by Luise Menz, Sarah Blessing, Aurelia Gumz, David Pitz, Pia-Beate Schmidt, Viktoria Schuster and Sonja Völker for enduring the hardships of editing.

This publication is designed to continue the discussion initiated during the workshop, and to open it to a wider audience. This exchange on the respective national levels is the first step towards coordinated cataloguing and indexing,

and future European research projects, which can draw on this rich resource. If you are interested in researching and recording printers' devices and perhaps wish to participate in the process, please do not hesitate to contact us!

Michaela Scheibe

Anja Wolkenhauer

Printers' marks in scholarly research – overview and questions

The following talk will, I hope, do two things: it will give a first overview of the conference topic and will introduce some questions. In roughly the first half of these remarks, I will therefore briefly sketch the research history of printers' marks. This will provide a platform which, once in place, will prove useful for discerning both the directions and the *lacunae* of the research record to date. In the second part of my talk, I will address the current situation and identify some promising avenues for future research.

Research history

Friedrich Roth-Scholtz: The beginnings

The research history of printers' marks begins with the *Thesaurus*, dating from 1730 and printed by the bookseller Friedrich Roth-Scholtz. To be sure, some indications do point to significantly earlier collections of printers' marks;¹ but the *Thesaurus* is the first monograph we have. The first part of this work illustrates some 500 printers' marks; the second part was never completed, probably due to the early death of Roth-Scholtz, but it was to contain indexes and interpretations.² Thus the fragment that we have concentrates on the icon and on the signet owner, with the affixment locations, variants and genealogies playing no role at all. Also, the specific *motti* and frames of the marks will not be dealt with in this book. The book's typographic lay-out, ranging together several printers' marks in full-page copperplates, is an allusion to the emblem encyclopedias very much in vogue in the years around 1700, like de la Feuille or Bosch.³ The catalogue is supplemented by historical studies by the Nuremberg theologian Johann Konrad Spörl (Spoerlius) and the Alciato commentator Claude Mignault.

Spoerlius emphasizes that there are no extant laws of signet production;

wherever one looks, rank growth prevails. However, a perusal of the material, such as it is, does permit an iconographic systematics to be derived: thus there were initials, coats of arms and, yes, emblems which may, in turn, be divided into those that are 'speaking', as it were, i.e. the name of the printer is depicted, and those that are 'enigmatic', i.e. convey a message couched in riddles. Nor did enigmatic printers' marks spring from the printer's imagination alone; rather, they would always have required input from a humanist adviser, who would have been likewise responsible for the explanatory *motti*. The high artistic value of such a signet, coupled with scant knowledge of its epoch, in which not even the printers were privy to the meaning of their signets, would render a historical excursion necessary, such as was offered by Spoerlius' work.⁴ For both authors, the art of emblems forms the most important reference point. The systematic probing by these thinkers, their willingness to seek a theoretical perspective, offers a glimpse of a new research field in the making.

Let me sum up the ground covered so far: The early 18th century coincides with the first comprehensive attempts to catalogue printers' marks in a systematic way. Such cataloguing is based on the single mark and its iconography. Any relevance that printers' marks may have had as trademarks is passed over. The goal the work has set itself is the chronological determination of printers' marks in terms of their respective owners, particularly well captured here are the needs of private collectors of graphics. In addition, the authors formulate a general historical aspiration, namely that of preserving forgotten corpora of knowledge. The enigmatic character of many signets is adduced as proof that they represent a complex art form akin to that of emblems and hence, *qua genre*, in need of explanation. Moreover, the frequently stressed freedom printers enjoyed in signet selection seems chiefly to serve the purpose of elevating printer and printers' marks alike to the rank of independent artworks. Historization leading to the goal of upgrading printers' marks to become an autonomous art form can be seen here as a key criterion of early modern theory formation.

Paul Heitz: book illustration

Let us now run through all of 150 years to the next important research contribution. Paul Heitz, scion of an old Strasburg printer dynasty, published a series of volumes on European printers' marks in the years after 1890.⁵ The timeframe of representation tended to differ, as did too the accuracy of the descriptions – both were clearly dependent on who Heitz's cooperation partner happened to be. All the catalogues treat printers' marks like book illustrations and take great interest in the draughtsmen and in print variants, while more or less ignoring the various functions played by the printer's mark in the book and, indeed, completely ignoring the *motti*. For a comparable direction where printers' marks are mostly seen as a graphic artform along with *ex libris* and emblems, we need only turn to, say, the repertories of Silvestre (for France), Kristeller (for Italy) and MacKerrow (for Great Britain), all published around 1900.⁶ Fixation on graphic representation, while, at the same time, neglecting biographic, chronological and textual data, is characteristic of the catalogues of the time. The chief reason why this is so can hardly be stressed enough: as we have seen already with Roth-Scholtz, behind these catalogues there are no books or libraries, but only single-sheet collections. Furthermore, most single sheets were not yet title pages, but final pages or even page fragments – no wonder, then, that so many items of data are missing from the catalogues.

Heitz's catalogue, originally intended to run to rather more than its seven published volumes, is based largely on the single leaf signet collection of Frankfurt banker Heinrich Eduard Stiebel. It contained some 10,000 printers' marks by the time it was auctioned off in Leipzig in 1910.⁷ Similarly grand in scope are the Berlepsch collection, which is kept in Wolfenbüttel today and run to some 6000 signets; the Grisebach collection in Berlin with nearly 3000 printers' marks, and the now lost Weissenbach collection (formerly kept in Leipzig) with upward of 50,000 prints, including an unknown number of printers' marks.⁸

Considering the fact that just about every old library, when asked, admits to

having somewhere in its collection a paste album or a pile of folders full of single sheets, then we start to glimpse the contours of a grand migration which, in the years between 1600 and 1900, saw many printers' marks being removed from books and deposited in private collections.⁹ What had happened is this: in their new context, printers' marks had come to be seen as graphics in their own right, that is, they were no longer as book-specific trademarks belonging to a particular printer. So, isolated and reduced in form, they shaped contemporaneous perception, and it is thus that we encounter them in the catalogues of the day. An analysis of current inventory catalogues and historical auction catalogues in respect of scope, structure and location of signet collections - let it be here noted - is therefore a key research *desiderandum*.

From Meiner to Grimm

The next big step in research history occurred in the mid-20th century, closely connected to the then growing study of emblems. However, while 'emblematics' grew into a major scholarly preoccupation in a number of disciplines, the study of signets was itself neglected. This may reflect the fact that most scholars classified them (wrongly) as a kind of later or applied emblematics.

The principal works from those years, as far as signet history is concerned, are those by Meiner, Volkmann, and Grimm in Germany;¹⁰ Vindel in Spain¹¹ and Vaccaro in Italy.¹² All of them have been significantly influenced by emblem research. These authors foreground the paradoxical nature and interpretive ambiguity of printers' marks, with the iconography continuing to receive the lion's share of attention. *Motti* and, for that matter, early theory formation, sign migration and variation, are largely ignored in all of these works, even if exceptions may be found here and there. Volkmann, to be sure, made the conceptual proximity to Renaissance hieroglyphics central to his own thinking; Meiner focused more on genre history, while Grimm, for his part, was at pains to construe signets as ego-documents. All the above works take their point of

departure from an individual case, from isolated evidence; they are silent about the *longue durée* or the larger European cultural scene. In the entirety of research, bearing on the early modern era, they fell off the radar; with the exception of book scholarship, they were accorded scant reception.

Today & tomorrow: what questions should be asked?

In the last twenty years, the pace of technical development has speeded up enormously, starting, as it seems, from many of the most important research libraries of Europe. The 500 or 1000 signets that might have been catalogued in former times are dwarfed by what is possible today. Now, at last, we could easily capture factors like duration and circumstances of utilization, the variability of signets and their migrations, using bibliographic data from numerous books. But what, we may ask, is the purpose of collecting such data at all?

The first answer that comes to mind is that it is to reverse, at least on paper, the destructions wrought by the collection frenzy that gripped the early modern era. And it is also to give a name, to assign a place, to the many homeless single sheets we have. Another aim would be to capture, and render accessible to scholarship, those largely uncatalogued single-sheet collections that continue to languish in all the great libraries. I would like to make a request: if you have in your library any collections of the kind I have just described, do let me know!

But there are plenty more scholarly questions that could do with a wider airing. This has also been remarked by Paolo Veneziani in Italy and by Hans Brandhorst in the Netherlands, already some twenty years ago.¹³ I would myself like to briefly sketch three questions that have preoccupied me ever since working on printers' marks.

Printers' marks are a form of branding, hence as old as commerce itself. But why are they so complicated? What are they actually trying to communicate? Looking at the signets and their progressive alteration - can one learn anything

useful about the self-perception of, say, a printer or a publisher elite *in statu nascendi*, i.e. about the values and interests being represented there? (Self-fashioning)

Where did the knowledge come from that was needed to design highly complex printers' marks? Assuming, as one can, that a printer's mark only seeks to show what a potential customer could see for himself – what insights, then, can be gained about the spread of specific knowledge inventories in the early modern era? (Cartography of Knowledge)

Michael Giesecke has reminded us of the switch, associated with the advent of the printed word, from a culture of hearing to one based on seeing, but he has not chosen to include printers' marks in his analysis. And yet, no other bimodal object in the early modern era achieved similar penetration or, for that matter, proved so mutable. Do the constant alterations in printers' marks perhaps tell us something about other alterations going on in habitual ways of seeing, not to say the expectations reposed in the new media? Could it be that, with their advent, we have a new, ultra-sensitive yardstick for the analysis of modes of social perception? (Historical Media Research)

Historical media research, cartography of knowledge, self-fashioning: these are the keywords which may help us to connect our research to other projects concerning the cultural history of Europe. This horizon of inquiry does not bear solely on, nor is it only shaped by, the history of the printed book. What is at stake is, among others, the history of knowledge and the media in early modern times, a time of transition involving altered modes of perception and evolving mindsets. The data required to answer such questions falls into four categories. (Let me hasten to add that I am not quite happy with the categories – so please take it as a tentative):

1. Chronological and geographical data (When and where is the signet used? Where do we find signet sales and imitations, etc.?)
2. Book-specific data (In which prints and where within a particular print is

- the signet traceable? Is an explanation of the signet given in the paratext?)
3. Media-specific data (Iconography of the pictorial segment of the mark, location and use of *motti* and other text segments, utilization beyond the book context as, say, a shop sign)
 4. Biographical data (What does the printer's educational background and his book publications look like? Who does the printer cooperate with?)

So far there has been something of a deficit in differentiated, worked-through material, such as would enable studies of this kind and attract careful scrutiny on a broader scale. This is true for all European countries, though the degree to which it is true varies. For iconography, Iconclass is a quite interesting reference tool, and Arkyves shows us the manifold ways in which it can be used.¹⁴ The prints of the early modern era are stored in printed catalogues within the borders of the nation states; printers' marks are, however, for the most part, only sketchily represented there. For other areas, there exists, to the best of my knowledge, nothing that merits the name of a systematic approach to cataloguing – this holds true for say the utilized *motti*; also for the twin aspects of materiality and mediality; and it holds true especially to the migrations within Europe, between countries and between art genres. Nor has the lack of a shared terminology been remedied, though this would prove useful for demarcating our present objects of inquiry from other image-text genres in the early modern era – not to mention a cross-border bibliography or a research history that would help us grasp, better than we have done to date, the specific development pace operating in this research area. But the biggest methodological challenge is concealed by the long shadows of emblem research, the dominance of which led to the shared properties of emblem and signet being lumped together as emblems, while what was specific to signets was swept under the rug. Here there is plenty of catching-up to do.

The case of Cratander

I would like to illustrate some possible directions for future inquiry, using the case of the printers' marks of the Basel printer Andreas Cratander.¹⁵ I have analyzed, according to the above criteria for signet use, not a single sign, but a sample of around a quarter of his total output, about 50 titles, which reflect all phases of his career. I'll show four examples.

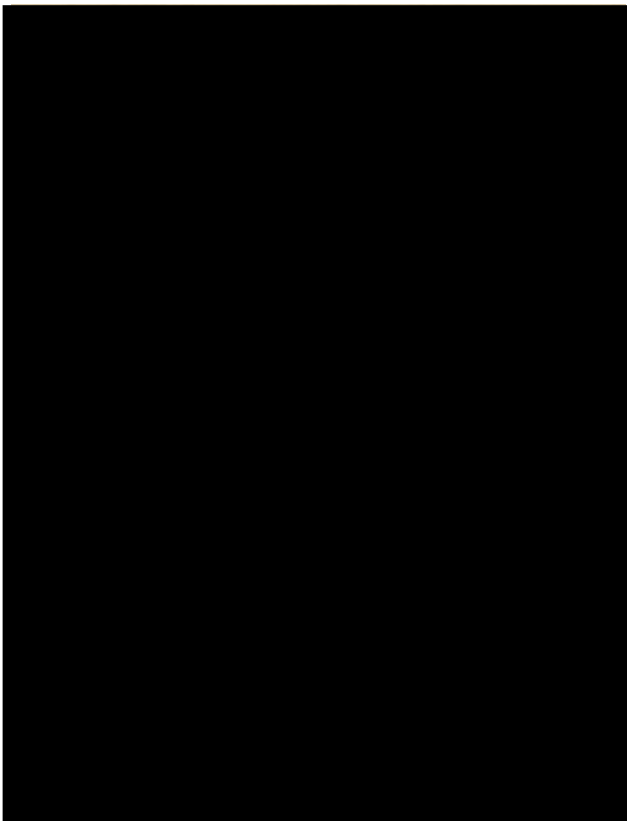


fig. 1¹⁶

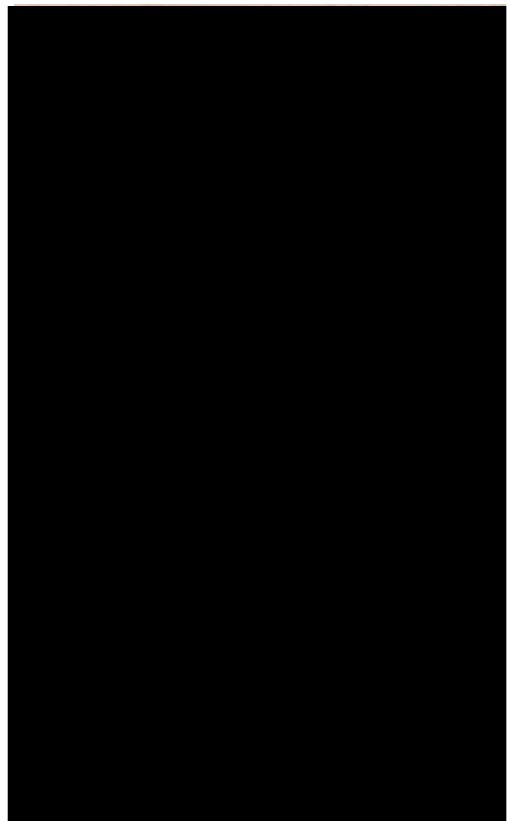
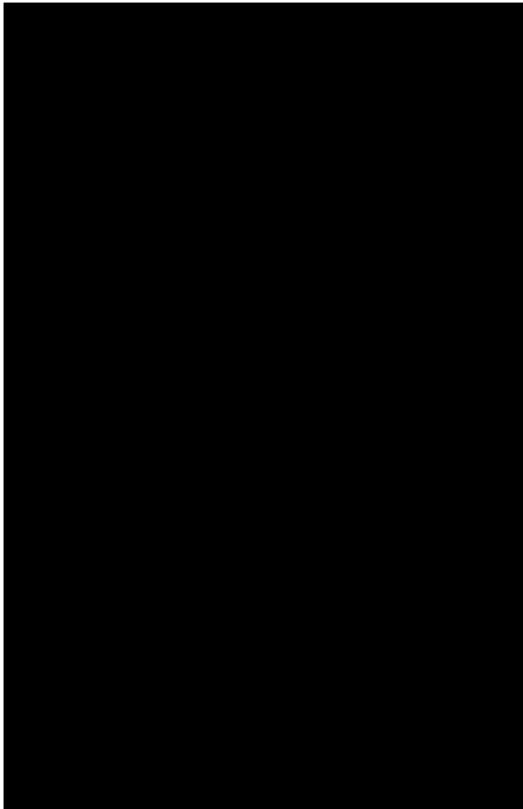


fig. 2¹⁷

The following long-term tendencies can be identified:

- Constancy of visual motif
- Growing technical ability (compare no. 2, say, with. no. 4!)
- But especially: reduction and concentration of the signet components.

Noteworthy is that text and image develop in different ways.

fig. 3¹⁸fig. 4¹⁹

The signet features an allegory of the *occasio*, the moment of earthly happiness. On the last verso of the book we see the female figure of Opportunity standing alone on a globe, representing the earth. In one hand she holds a shearing knife – her neck is shorn of all its hair – while her forelock, which is eminently seizable, falls over her face. Outside the frame, albeit typographically referenced to the icon four short texts are inserted, all of them being differently typeset (Antiqua, Greek minuscule, Hebrew letters). This textual inventory is nothing if not variable; at least ten different *motti* were used in the course of Cratander's career. It is not clear, nowhere is it explicitly commented on, why the printer switched between *motti* with such alacrity; many printers of the time proceeded no differently. My own explanation for this habit is that it is a strategy dictated by commercial-considerations, namely to resort to *variatio* at points where alterations pose no great technical difficulty, with the aim of embellishing the signet in a spirit of *variatio delectat* – without, however, altering the basic structure.

As far as the *motti* are concerned, the result is clear: Cratander begins in 1519

with a comprehensive and differentiated textual segment. First, he changes the *motti* frequently and the languages also.²⁰ First the Hebrew disappears, then the Greek, and last to go is the Latin. After 1523, his use of *motti* becomes sporadic only, whereas the *pictura* is further refined and adapted. In 1539, Cratander's printing career came to an end; the last printing block was sold and, in the years following 1540, found use with the Antwerp printer Johannes Crinitus,²¹ – again without text. The era of books with bimedial printers' marks is over – at least from the standpoint of these two protagonists – already by the mid-16th century. If, at this point in time, I had at my disposal a Europe-wide database, I would study motif migrations, in which case the finely discriminating data-capture techniques of Iconclass would, no doubt, prove indispensable. Perhaps then I would see how Cratander's happy moment (*occasio*) was emulated throughout Europe, to the point where it becomes one of the defining symbols in the age of the printed book. Or maybe I would juxtapose the language of book advertising with that of books, in the hope that this would show parameters elucidating just how wide the gap was, in the early modern era, between aspiration and reality in terms of the language faculty. This would require the *motti* to be captured in terms of their respective languages.

Now, please, don't take these observations on Cratander as describing a *Sonderweg*. Perhaps it can't be pinned down to the exact year, but a general tendency is discernible that many internationally oriented, humanistically educated (and in no sense text-hostile) printers in the early 16th century are vehemently engaged in combining image and text in a manner that assigns to both media a similarly high degree of importance – or, putting it another way: they presume a balanced media relationship, possibly oriented to the hieroglyphics of the time. But what we do find is that, after a number of years, all printers successively distance themselves from the text, with the image left to hold centre-stage – albeit often in a simplified form. I understand this as processing an experiential value against an horizon of expectation that would

otherwise defy understanding: for it is a fact that printers' marks, ever since the days of the first printers, have ranked as important personal signs. To be sure, they function as recognizable corporate identification marks ("logos", as we might call them now). But that's not all: they are also used to make statements about the printer's technical and other related skills, but even more about the printer's own intellectual horizons. The more specific the statements, the greater the imperative to ensure that texts are integrated into the signet. Clearly, it was the case, after several years of use, that the printers' needs had moved on, or it might be that they now saw the public in a different light. For the *motti* grew fewer in number, the classical languages disappeared, even the complexity of images underwent a process of simplification. For purposes of identification as well as conveying key ascriptions, the signets clearly sufficed in a reduced and text-free form.

If this observation holds water (as I think it does), then it would seem to follow that everything the texts stood for in terms of bimedial unity – technical precision, evidence of education, multilingualism – became successively less important in the self-depiction of the printer. True, the images remained eye-catching; even, their technical quality improved at times; but the fact of the matter is that the degree of iconographic differentiation sank. As the 16th century advanced, printers' marks became in general tendency simpler, they contain less information, and they became progressively more oriented to the visual image, even as they demanded from the beholder ever less time and education. Actually, I don't look further. I can't tell you about the development trends of the 17th century (but, maybe, Melinda Simon can).

Cataloguing historical mass-produced goods: thematic and structural aspects

The sheer fact of the databases accumulated in recent years is an invitation to search for models for the analysis of mass-produced goods and long-term developments in an historical timeframe. I would like to direct your attention,

if only in passing, to some other fields of study that operate with a similarly multifaceted body of historical material, incorporating texts and images alike, and I would be grateful to learn of any further fields you may know of.

The study of emblems: Emblems are a closely neighbouring field as we saw before and, as such, merit our attention. Systematically seen, though, something is missing: they are not assigned to a specific user; meaning, in this context, that we can expect no help from them with respect to personal data. Emblem catalogues are, ever since Henkel/Schöne, primarily focused on iconography, but the texts are printed along with it (and often even translated).²² Hans Brandhorst and Arkyves follow their traces in a broader context: he will tell us more about it. Emblem catalogues treat textual components in a more differentiated light than is often the case with printer's mark catalogues. But a new and till now unsolved problem becomes visible here, too: it is that of correctly transcribing the older printed texts and translating the ancient languages. We should take this as a strong marker for the necessity of scientific cooperation.

Similarly, in the case of friendship albums (*alba amicorum*) what we find is a heterogeneous body of information – heterogeneous in the sense that persons, texts, visual images and materials all rub shoulders. As far as this has been evaluated, it seems to be the personal data that has been prioritized. In a research project undertaken by the Anna Amalia Bibliothek at Weimar, geographic and person-related data culled from some 1500 albums (involving a total of 30,000 personal data) have already been captured.²³ This database, now grown to impressive dimensions, is opening up new vistas on biographical and social-historical issues. But concentrating on personal data comes with a downside; it gives only little information about the images and text entries (especially the later), as a result of which the usefulness of the database is significantly reduced. Educational history and media history are not specifically addressed. Even if the project logic does point in this direction, concentrating on only a single data ensemble is very shortsighted with regard to future research questions.

My last example is taken from numismatics – it is perhaps especially due to its material and historical distance that it will prove helpful, as I believe it will. Coins are even older and are much more widely disseminated than printers' marks. Historical numismatics is focused on the regional and chronological origins of coins, on the material aspects of their production, and on the identification of their textual and pictorial components. But the focus of recent research has, as seemed to me, shifted away from the isolated type and towards giving more and more consideration to variants, use and 'find constellations', i.e. the context of recovery. This permits issues of contemporaneous adaption to the political context to be addressed, along with the regional spread of individual coins, along with the migration of visual motifs. Databases like "Online Coins of the Roman Empire",²⁴ whose search engines currently access something in the order of 25,000 entries, weigh in additionally with material charts and maps covering vast geographic areas. But if I had to single out a particular merit, it would be the attention which the discipline brings to the various guises, in which the object turns up: in a catalogue, in a historical collection, or as an *in situ* find. The database has brought the UK, Germany and the USA into a joint project. The website leaves one in no doubt about the great – and continuing – need for coordination, despite the fact that the participating institutions can look back on more than two centuries of intensive cataloguing activity on numismatics.

Conclusion

Printers' marks are an important source material for the study of the early modern era. They constitute a singular body of evidence for a whole raft of studies into long-term changes, whether manifested on the level of media history, book history, social and mental history. Given their enormous scope, their wide-spread dissemination and their high variability, they lend themselves outstandingly well to all manner of far-ranging inquiry. But if printers' marks are to deliver on their

potential usefulness, what will be needed is this: coordinated cataloguing on a truly European scale. While, to be sure, in some segments of this cataloguing enterprise we already have parameters open to discuss (e.g. Iconclass), in other segments (such as signet migration, *motti*, languages) our work has barely begun and the history gives us not much help at all for many of our features. The key point to grasp here is that, apart from systematically targeting the regions – and here we should begin with printers' marks *in situ* – new categories will need to be developed if we are to capture the countless single-sheet collections. But if we begin now with their development, we will have a chance to tap into what emblem and numismatic catalogues can now deliver– and perhaps we will even be able to go one step further (than these).

Notes

¹ The reflex of a 16th century collection probably is to be found in the emblem book of Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum* (Arnheim: Jan Jansz 1611-13). See Anja Wolkenhauer, *Zu schwer für Apoll. Die Antike in humanistischen Druckerzeichen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002, *Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens* 35), pp. 65-73. Spoerlius knows about a collection at Nuremberg, owned by Michael Rötenbeck, which probably was lost around 1740; until now, I haven't been able to find later traces of this collection.

² Friedrich Roth-Scholtz (1687-1736), *Thesaurus symbolorum ac emblematum* (Altdorf/Nürnberg: Tauber, printed between 1729 and 1733), marked as *pars prima* on the last page. The Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel offers a digital edition, taken from the copy of the Berlepsch collection: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/bd-2f-84-1s/start.htm>. The only thing published later is an *Index insignium bibliopolarum et typographorum quondam collectorum*

editorumque (Altdorf: Lorenz Schüpfel, 1765), see <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/bd-2f-84-2s/start.htm>.

Daniel de la Feuille, *Emblematische Gemüths-Vergnügung bey Betrachtung der curieusten und ergötzlichen Sinnbildern mit ihren zuständigen Deutsch-Lateinisch- Französ- und Italianischen Beyschriften*, (Augsburg: Lorentz Kroninger und Gottlieb Goebels Sel. Erben., 1693) [= John Landwehr, *German emblem books 1531-1888. A bibliography* (Utrecht: Dekker & Gumbert [et al.], 1972), p. 113: 456-59: at least five reprints until 1705]. Digital edition (copy of 1697): <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-2867/start.htm>; Jacob Bosch, *Symbolographia sive de arte symbolica sermones septem* (Augsburg: Johann Kaspar Bencard, 1701). 3

Johann Spoerlius (1701-1773) notes that many people of his time didn't understand the hidden meaning of the marks anymore and that printers' marks were increasingly replaced by the trademarks of the booksellers. Spoerlius (in Roth-Scholtz, p. 26): *Si ad sequiorem et nostram aetatem iam accedere propius animus esset, id praecipue observandum foret, insignia typographorum magis magisque a libris abesse iussa esse, in quorum locum soli iam bibliopolae notis suis signare eosdem solent [...] Ausim spondere, nam experientiam testem habeo, plurimos iam bibliopolas nescire ipsos, quid sibi velint notae bibliopolii sui nimium cumulatae.* 4

Paul Heitz (1857-1943) published between 1892 and 1908 seven volumes about printers' marks from different towns. After the death of Eduard Stiebel and Karl Theodor Völcker, a famous antiquarian bookseller from Frankfurt, and after the sale of their collections in 1910/1911 he lost his main source. The catalogue of Stiebel is available (see note 7), but I wasn't able to find traces of Völcker's. Heitz' volume about Frankfurt would have been impossible without the collections; Basel and Alsace however show efforts to give single references, maybe because they had less access to the collections (or more librarian zeal). 5

- ⁶ Louis-Catherine Silvestre (1792-1862), *Marques typographiques: Ou recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblèmes, devises, rébus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs en France, depuis 1470, jusqu'à la fin du 16. siècle* (Paris: Renou et Maulde, 1853, ²1867), gives 1,300 marks and some information about the printer, but nothing about the motti. Silvestre died before finishing the manuscript. Paul Kristeller (1863-1931), *Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis 1525* (Straßburg: Heitz, 1893, reprinted 1969). Ronald Brunless McKerrow (1872-1940), *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, Illustrated monographs 16, 1913, reprinted 1949), gives nearly 500 marks.
- ⁷ The collection of Heinrich Eduard Stiebel (1842-1909) was sold by the Leipzig Bookseller Börner in November 1910. Between other graphic art, it contained more than 10.000 printers' marks in topographic order. The catalogue is accessible at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/boerner1910_11_21/0239. Heitz used several other collections, too, which are lost today.
- ⁸ Hanns von Weissenbach (1847-1912) started to work at the "Buchgewerbemuseum Leipzig" in 1909. As he died in 1912, he left nearly 50,000 items of graphic art. The collection was destroyed during the Second World War. I wasn't able to understand if the 7500 signets, mentioned as part of the Leipzig collection before the war, derived from the Weissenbach-collection, too. There are many smaller collections, which usually are not cataloged and often were spread to the four winds. To be named as a positive sign is the catalog of the collection of Walther von Zur Westen, now in the university library of Würzburg, which offers around 400 items (<http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/pictohek/sammlungen.html>). The collection of Josef Wunsch (1843-1916), sold 1927 in Leipzig and today unknown, had some printers' marks together with exlibris (see http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/boerner1927_05_04/0009).
- ⁹ Delving into my own experience, let me point to the bright metal engraving used by Johann Schott in 1503, showing a citation of Seneca: *necessitas forte*

ferre ...: only very few of his books still contain the signet in question, lone survivors of systematic pillaging. See Wolkenhauer, p. 186-190.

Annemarie Meiner (1895–1985), book historian, publisher and daughter of the Leipzig publisher Arthur Meiner published: *Das deutsche Signet. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*, (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1922). Ludwig Volkmann (1870-1947), publisher and co-owner of “Breitkopf und Härtel” in Leipzig, was president of the „Deutsche Buchgewerbeverein“ and organized the international exhibition of books and graphics in Leipzig 1914. He published: *Bilderschriften der Renaissance. Hieroglyphik and Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923). Heinrich Grimm, *Deutsche Buchdruckersignete des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Geschichte, Sinngehalt und Gestaltung kleiner Kulturdokumente* (Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1965). Some corrections can be found in *Philobiblon*, 11, 2 (1967), pp. 135-52.

Francisco Vindel (1894-1960), book historian and collector, published: *Escudos y marcas de impresores y libreros en España durante los siglos XV a XIX (1485-1850)*. Prólogo de D. Vicente Castañeda Alcover (Barcelona: Editorial Orbis, 1942; Supplement Madrid: Editorial Orbis, 1950).

Emerenziana Vaccaro, *Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del secolo 16.* nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983, *Biblioteca di bibliografía italiana* 98).

Paolo Veneziani, ‘Le marche tipografiche. Problemi di metodològia’, *Bollettino d’informazioni dell’ Associazione Italiana Biblioteche*, 1 (1987), 49-55. Hans Brandhorst/Peter van Huisstede, *Dutch Printers’ Devices 15th-17th Century. A Catalogue* (print edition and database, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1999).

See www.arkeyves.org.

For detailed information about Cratander and his mark see Wolkenhauer, p. 216-225. The best access to digitized editions can be found at www.e-rara.ch (more than 100 hits for “Cratander”).

First mark of Cratander, used since April 1519, made by Hans Franck

(Lützelburger). Image taken from Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, Basel: Cratander Sept. 1519, last page; VD16 G 1036. UB Basel, CF III 5:1. Further details about the mark in Wolkenhauer, pp. 216ff. Marks nr. 3 and 4 can be found in Müller: Holbein, *Druckgraphik*, No. 126, 128 (taken from single leaf collections). All following images have been taken from: <http://www.e-rara.ch>, here: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-2067>. Terms of use: <http://www.e-rara.ch/wiki/termsOfUse?>

¹⁷ Mark used in 1522, attributed to Franz Gerster. Image taken from *Politianus et alii, Epistolarum libri*, Basel: Cratander Febr. 1522, last page; VD16 P 3989. UB Basel, DE IX 12; <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-1422>.

¹⁸ Mark used since 1523, made by Jacob Faber, probably using a draft by Holbein. Image taken from Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae*, Basel: Cratander Sept. 1523, last page; VD16 J 434. UB Basel FJ V 17; <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-401>.

¹⁹ Mark used since 1525, made by Jacob Faber, probably using a draft by Holbein. Image taken from Oecolampadius, *In Iesaiam*, Basel: Cratander, March 1525, VD16 B 3757, first page (but also on the last page, without initials). UB Basel FNP VIII 45:1; <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-1772>.

²⁰ See Wolkenhauer, pp. 219-220.

²¹ Vandeweghe/ Beeck, p. 110 (for 1540) without further information. Vandeweghe, Frank / Op De Beeck, Bart, *Marques typographiques employées aux XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle. = Drukkersmerken uit de 15e en de 16e eeuw binnen de grenzen van het huidige België* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publisher, 1993, Publikaties Nationaal Centrum voor de Archéologie en de Geschiedenis van het Boek 5).

²² Henkel, Arthur/Schöne, Albrecht, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978). There are some very helpful databases now; let me just mention the famous “emblematica online” project of Mara Wade, which combines the rich libraries of the University of

Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the HAB Wolfenbüttel: <http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/>. Recently, it offers a list of mottoes, too: <http://dbs.hab.de/emblem/unioncat/>.

<http://opac.ub.uni-weimar.de/DB=2.4/LNG=DU/> 23

<http://numismatics.org/>. 24