

The Economic History of the Book in the Early Modern Period

International Conference

Wednesday 3–Saturday 6 October 2018

University of Antwerp | Belgium

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Wednesday 3 October 2018

Venue: Heritage Library Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp: Nottebohm Hall
Entrance via Hendrik Conscience Square

17:00 Meet and greet at the Nottebohm Hall

18:00 Miræus Lecture

Professor Ian MacLean, All Souls College Oxford; University of St Andrews, UK

*Andreas Frisius of Amsterdam, and the search for a niche in the international book market
(1664–1675)*

Andreas Frisius (1630–1675), a Leiden graduate who benefited from some important contacts in the international book trade, set out to establish himself as a publisher of historical, medical and natural-philosophical books in the difficult book market that operated in the aftermath of the Thirty Years War. This paper will set out to show how he dealt with the problems of production, sales and distribution, and how he formulated a coherent policy which enabled him to find a niche in the market. It will also show what happened to his *Nachlass* after his untimely death in 1675, and what this reveals about the operation of the publishing industry in the Netherlands.

Free entrance

Thursday 4 October 2018

Venue: University of Antwerp, Prinsstraat 3, Hof van Liere

Entrance via the hall connecting the two courtyards

09:00 Registration, coffee & tea

10:00 Welcome address by *Prof. Dr. Jeroen Puttevils, University of Antwerp*

10:15 **Session 1** | Keynote lecture

Chair: Prof. Dr. Jeroen Puttevils, University of Antwerp

Prof. Dr. Jan Luiten van Zanden, Utrecht University, Netherlands

The economic history of the artifact. Manuscripts, books and cathedrals as mirrors of European economic development

Economic historians do not make intensive use of historical artefacts, such as buildings, paintings and books. The lecture discusses two examples of such research, aimed at analyzing patterns of long term change in the European economy before 1800. A reconstruction of the evolution of the production of manuscripts and printed books in Western Europe is presented (based on research carried out with Eltjo Buringh) and its relevance for understanding the development of the European 'knowledge economy' is suggested. The second example is the reconstruction of the building history of Cathedrals and other large churches in Western Europe between 700 and 1500. Its results show the evolution of the 'big boom' of the High Middle Ages (950–1300) in much greater detail, and allow for a more in depth analysis of its causes. Some of the limitations of this quantitative research are also discussed – the great challenge is measure the quality of the objects involved.

11:15 Break, coffee & tea

11:45 Session 2

Chair: Prof. Dr. David McKitterick, Trinity College, Cambridge, UK

Mark McConnell, independent researcher, Washington, DC

Toward a model of the cost structure incentives of early printing

Book pricing decisions reflect judgments about several factors. The seller must consider, for example, the price that the market will pay for a book and the number of copies that can be sold at that price. Equally important, the seller must consider the cost of manufacturing the copies, the number of copies that must be sold at a proposed price in order to cover the cost of manufacturing, and the speed with which those copies can be sold. If a publisher does not believe that the market will buy a sufficient number of copies to cover costs, the book is unlikely to be produced. To understand fully the pricing decision for a book, therefore, prices must be viewed in relation to costs.

For nearly four years during the 1560s, the press operated by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp recorded remarkable detail on book production costs. Both labor and paper costs, which are by far the most important costs in book production, were accounted for and attributed separately to editions printed in the time period 1563–1567. This record appears to be unique – there is no other known tabulation of such detailed costing information by edition in the early modern time period. Having major costs broken out by edition permits a granular assessment of pricing and production decisions.

To assess the financial implications of the pricing decision for a book, it is necessary to separate fixed costs of the enterprise from the variable cost of printing a specific book. Capital costs, such as the cost of printing presses or the cost of matrices used in casting type, can be used to print many different books and do not vary with an individual book production decision. Major variable costs, however, such as paper and labor, are not incurred unless the specific book is produced.

Understanding this cost structure will inform the assessment of the business behavior of early publishers. Businesses with fixed capital costs that are large in comparison to variable costs (capital-intensive businesses) face production and pricing incentives that differ markedly from businesses that are driven by variable costs. For example, capital-intensive businesses have an incentive to continue to produce even in the face of weak demand, while variable cost-driven businesses have an incentive to shrink production in those circumstances.

Some have assumed that pre-industrial-age printing likely had relatively low fixed capital costs when compared to variable costs (e.g., Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Amsterdam, Vangendt & Co. 1972, vol. II at 88, 133). Melissa Conway has tabulated the start-up costs (both fixed and variable) of a 15th-century press without expressing a view on the capital intensity of the business (cf. Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki 1999, at 19–26). This paper will test that assumption, evaluating capital intensity by quantifying fixed costs and comparing them to variable costs.

This will involve assessment of costs in three categories:

- 1 Capital costs that are fixed for the business operating at a given scale. The most prominent examples of these are printing presses, and punches and matrices used for casting type. (Founts of cast type are a borderline asset that will be examined in detail.) These fixed costs remain constant for a general level of operation, and do not vary with the decision to print a specific book.
- 2 Costs that vary with the business's overall level of activity, but not with a specific edition. These costs include the cost of materials to make ink, and consumable supplies such as inking balls and fuel.
- 3 Costs that vary with a specific edition. These costs are only incurred if a decision is made to print the edition. These costs are principally labor (including composition, presswork, and proofing) and paper.

This paper is an initial step toward a full analysis of costs during the entire time period 1563–1567. A database of variable costs for each edition in that time period is currently being compiled. When complete, that larger analysis will permit the evaluation of many important questions: the cost implications of production decisions such as format selection, fount and layout, and selection of paper quality. It also will permit the calculation of breakeven levels of sales at different prices, assessment of mark-up practices, and cost comparisons between types of books.

The initial analysis of fixed and variable costs proposed for this paper is a necessary precondition for undertaking that fuller analysis. While a means to that broader end, this initial analysis will be of value in itself. If successful, it will permit the measurement of the capital-intensity of a major early modern printing operation. This will shed light on behavioral incentives that affect the decision whether to print a specific book, and will permit a quantitative assessment of the cost implications of increasing or reducing the scale of operations. It will also permit a comparison of expenditures in a year to contributed capital, permitting some exploration of the importance of speedy book sales and working capital turnover to the health of the business.

Dr. Dirk Imhof, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp

*Determining the cost of books in the 17th century:
Balthasar Moretus I's justifications for his prices*

In this talk I will examine what Balthasar Moretus I reveals in his correspondence about how he determined the price of his editions. In the first half of the 17th century many authors were eager to have their books printed by the prestigious Plantin-Moretus Press in Antwerp. When they saw the result, they often expressed their appreciation of the high quality of the workmanship. The general design of the text, the choice of type and illustration, the correctness of the text, as well as the paper used, all made their book attractive to potential buyers. However, when Moretus told them how much he would charge for a copy of their work they were often disappointed, even indignant, that the price was so high that many buyers would not be able to acquire such an expensive work and that they themselves had to pay significant sums to purchase the copies that they wished to distribute to friends. This was the case in particular when Moretus had stipulated that they had to buy a fixed number of copies if their book was to be printed by the Plantin-Moretus Press at all.

When he received these complaints Balthasar Moretus tried to explain why he had set the selling price as he had done. From these justifications we learn more about his motives for the calculation of the price. This was not simply the sum of the costs of the paper and the wages paid to compositors, pressmen, and possibly artists. He also considered the number of copies he expected to sell and what the minimum amount was that an author had to contribute to the expenses to guarantee that Moretus would make a profit. Often, these letters reveal hidden assumptions about the distribution and sales of the books on the part of the publisher and the author. For example, if members of religious orders had their book printed by Moretus, he assumed that their order would automatically purchase a number of copies, while authors often counted on the same discounts for their copies as bookdealers were given. Analyzing this yet unpublished correspondence discloses the intriguing and often unexpected approach to calculating the selling price of books and thereby provides an invaluable context for a simple list of prices.

12:45 Lunch break

14:30 **Session 3**

Chair: Dr. Tom Deneire, University of Antwerp

Prof. Dr. Malcolm Walsby

The stages of development of the French book market ca. 1470–ca. 1600

France was slow to adopt print, but once the presses settled in the kingdom, the country became one of the most vibrant centres of print culture in Europe. Paris and Lyon rapidly emerged as two of the most active cities on this continent, purveying books both for the French and for export further afield.

Between 1470 and the end of the 16th century, the French book market went through a series of identifiable stages, evolving to meet the needs of a local and international readership. This paper will characterise and seek to explain each moment in the development of the French book world as it responded to the changing commercial world that surrounded it. It will charter the rise of print and the spread of the new technology through the kingdom, but also look at how an increasingly sophisticated network of booksellers and the rise of the wholesale book merchant affected printing and access to printed books. It will also show the transformative effect of wider phenomena such as the stages of the French wars of religion on the economy as a whole and what this meant for the book industry.

The analysis will be based on a thorough examination of the trends affecting both the Parisian and provincial book worlds. It will use data taken from the Universal Short Title Catalogue, but pull also on archival data found during a systematic overview of the available sources on the commercial and economic aspects of book production and distribution in France. The – as yet unpublished – identification of the variety, numerical importance and nature of the actors in the provincial book world will equally inform the understanding of how and why the trade changed. The use of precise data on pricing will help explain the trends that have been observed. The analysis will also take into account the impact of the wider European situation and evaluate the consequences of the developing international trade and import and export industry. By providing a clearly identified series of stages in the development of the French book market, it is hoped that this paper will provide a model that can then be discussed and compared with the evolution of other areas during the first century and a half of print.

Dr. Catherine Kikuchi, École Française de Rome, Italy

*Economic competition and oligopoly in the Venetian and European printing world
(ca. 1470–ca. 1530)*

As Venice became the first printing center in Europe at the end of the 15th century, a great number of printers were active in the city and offered a large number of publications for a public that was still in formation. These actors strongly resented and denounced the disloyal competition in their supplica to Venetian authorities or during trials. I will examine how this situation was dealt in the practice of their trade. At the Venetian scale, it is obvious that the very large number of workshops created a very dynamic but also a very tensed economic milieu in the absence of a strict state regulation. The Venetian situation can be described as an oligopolistic economy, which resembles the situation studied by economic Nobel Prize Jean Tirole. To study this situation in depth, I will use the data available in the ISTC to evaluate the inequalities of production between workshops. But this sole approach is not sufficient, so I will also use social network analysis to understand how oligopolies are created in this economic world, thanks to the multiple collaborations of a handful of actors. At the end of the 15th century, a tightly-connected cluster is formed by big entrepreneurs and booksellers. They soon managed to build very strong business relationships at a regional or international level. This was true in cities under Venetian rule such as Padova or Treviso, but also in Bologna, especially in the first decades of printing in Northern Italy. Thanks to their regional networks, some Venetian actors strengthened their local situation in the Venetian productive market. This situation will change between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, with the rise of an oligopolistic economy not at a local scale, but at a regional, if not at a European scale.

Montserrat Cachero-Vinuesa &
Natalia Maillard-Álvarez, University Pablo de Olavide (Seville)

International networks in the Hispanic book market (Seville, 1501–1598)

The invention of the printing press and its application from the mid-15th century produced exponential growth in the supply of books in Europe. Since the very first beginning, printed book acquired an extraordinary dimension, not only in terms of production but also regarding distribution. The traditional mechanisms from manuscript books revealed out-dated, especially when the market turned global due to the inclusion of the Atlantic World. The globalization process in the book market required the incorporation of complex commercial instruments (trading companies, notary documents, new accounting tools, fair system...). These elements altogether contributed to vertebrate book market in a period of political fragmentation.

The international market was articulated via distribution networks of book producers and sellers. During the 16th century, book business was mostly controlled by a few publishing companies with a dense network of commercial agents operating in distant markets from Europe to America. The firms were based in prominent production centres, concentrated in a few European cities. The mass production controlled by these professionals coexisted with local detail production in secondary centres located in the periphery of Europe, America and even Asia.

The Hispanic Monarchy was an extraordinary political space, which comprised a vast territory. This political structure facilitated access to distant markets in which the agents of the European publishing firms could be located, this way connecting international production and local consumption. The political design of the Atlantic Trade placed Seville in a prominent position as a connection point between the Europe and the Americas. This paper analyses the settlement process of the international book merchants in Seville and their networks in the American markets during the 16th century. Through the study of the rich notarial records we can trace books by studying agents, partners, means of payments, places, forms of association, etc. At this regard, the challenge is precisely to homogenize the vast collection of documents from different archives.

Only by using an economic approach we can put the book market in a global perspective, which helps us to fully understand the globalization process during the Early Modern period. At this regard, the paper combines local, regional and international scales, so often disconnected. For this purpose we will use the Network Theory, which has been proven to be an excellent methodological instrument to assemble and analyse historical data.

16:00 **Session 4**

Chair: Prof. Dr. Pierre Delsaerdt, University of Antwerp

Prof. Angela Nuovo, Università di Udine, Italy

The know-how of a Renaissance publisher-bookseller

The group of 110 letters – an exceptional survival – received in 1522 by a resourceful bookseller-publisher in Venice, Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano from Piedmont, can teach us some significant lessons about what kind of knowledge the people who traded in books needed to have in order to be successful in their business. Aspects of this knowledge belonged to all commercial trades, while others were characteristic of this relatively new sector. Some were relative to the specific nature of the merchandise, and others pertained to the human side of the business. A close reading of these letters allows us to analyse all the different facets which constituted the professional culture of a Renaissance bookseller-publisher.

Like any good producer, Gabiano needed first of all to be sufficiently informed about what was available on the market and in which form, in order to plan his own activity; he had to be able to identify and provide specific editions requested by purchasers. He also had to know how to handle his own merchandise properly, for instance being able to count sheets accurately before selling or shipping volumes, which if not done properly consistently affected a number of important procedures.

In the meantime, much of his work involved intense connections with other agents in the book-trade: he had to keep in close contact with his correspondent booksellers in all the places where his books were sold; in the same time, he had to be ready to deal with all kinds of merchandise, not only books; he needed to keep up with book fairs and send agents there; and he had to be careful to build a good network of colleagues from whom he could buy wholesale in order to increase the variety of his stock. As a publisher, Gabiano had a far more complex activity: he had to plan how to reach new markets and new cities, widening his network; he had to obtain information about university teachers and litterati at courts and get into touch with them, in order to find new authors and explore the possibility of convincing some of them to composing new texts for him to publish; he had to carefully keep up his few relationships with members of the aristocracy and fulfil their desires in order to maintain his network of social protection, given that he occasionally was obliged to resort to lawyers and powerful men to protect his own interests.

Dr. Renaud Milazzo, Università di Udine, Italy

The prices of emblem books in Europe in the 16th century

A unique document with call number M296 held by the archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp offers a unique perspective on the European book trade in the 16th century. From the standpoint of emblem books, the manuscript enables the identification of a significant number of these work together with their prices.

Based on M296 and on the appendix of my PdD (a corpus which has been based on the catalogs of the main libraries and providing data for tracking the evolution of the production of emblem books to be followed year by year, over two centuries on an European level) this contribution offers, first of all, to trace the price of emblem books across Europe and to link them to well-known editions. A first survey revealed the existence of otherwise unrecorded editions, which came to light thanks to the sales journals produced directly in Antwerp or during the Frankfurt trade fairs, and by using other sources like booksellers' catalogues. Thanks to the alphabetical classification by cities and printers, then by subject, indicating the format, the number of sheets used (for the Plantin editions) and the prices (in original currencies), this study is then based on various statistical analyses. Indeed, the example of emblem books is particularly interesting to follow for two reasons.

First of all, in most cases, they are books containing many illustrations and ornaments which have a considerable impact on prices due to the cost of fabrication of woodcuts or, more rarely, intaglios in the 16th century. The price map drawn by the M296 allows a better understanding of the publishing strategies of many European *officinae* that have made emblem books one of their specialties.

On the other hand, the popularity of these works during this period implies strong competition both at European level and within the same production centre. Although Christopher Plantin monopolized the production of emblem books in Antwerp, the same cannot be said of Lyon. In the latter case, the comparison of sales prices per sheet of most of the *editiones principes* printed by many *officinae* sheds light on the fact that publishers take into account this competitive context, enabling them to decide what to print, when and at what price, because of their perfect knowledge of this market.

The results of this survey help to understand general price levels of emblem books on a European level and creates an important chronological framework covering several decades of the production of emblem books during the 16th century.

Dr. Francesco Ammannati &
Dr. Goran Proot, Università di Udine, Italy

Books from the Officina Plantiniana as luxury commodities (1580-1655)

19:00 Conference dinner, at *University Club, Prinsstraat 13b*

Friday 4 October 2018

9:00 **Session 5**

Chair: Prof. Dr. Ian Maclean, All Souls College Oxford; University of St Andrews, UK

Dr. Urs B. Leu, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Switzerland

Habent sua pretia libelli!

Unknown sources for the economic history of the book from Basel, Tübingen and Zürich

For Zürich we are in the privileged situation that quite a lot of sources on the economic history of printing and the book trade of the 16th century have been preserved. These sources include not at least the four private libraries of the Antistes (heads) of the reformed protestant church Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586) and Johann Rudolf Stumpf (1530–1592). Many of these books, especially those of the library of Gwalther, contain notes for their prices and sometimes even separately for the prices of their bindings. If one compares these amounts of money with the income of the pastors, one sees that they spent a lot of money on their books. In the Abbey Library of the Grossmünster in Zürich only a few hundred titles were available for the scholars, so that they had to buy many interesting titles themselves. Furthermore the correspondence of Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger includes dozens of passages concerning the production of books, the print runs, the time for printing, the wages for authors, printers, illustrators, translators etc. The letters show also, how some of the illustrated books were colored and how high the prize for colored books finally was. The correspondence of these Swiss reformers contains furthermore information, how the books were sold and distributed and tells us something about the costs for the production of certain titles. A comparison of the previously mentioned prices and wages with sources from Basel (the account book of the printer Froben and the correspondence of the family Amerbach) and from Tübingen (account book and selling lists of the printing press of Hans Ungnad) shows, that the level of the prices and wages remained about the same for decades and even across the borders. Contrary to agricultural products, the book market had only small fluctuations of prices.

Dr. Mona Garloff, Stuttgart, Germany

A long way down the Danube:

Foreign booksellers and book prices in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1680–1750

In the late 17th century, the increasing diversity in the German book trade led to intense competition. Many booksellers invested in long-distance trading, and sought to establish a stable network of bookstores. Especially book traders from Nuremberg and Augsburg managed to build long-term business relationships in the Austrian lands.

This presentation will focus on foreign book traders in the Habsburg Monarchy, with spotlights on the warehousemen in Vienna, who gradually ascended to university and court booksellers. Georg Lehmann or Peter Conrad Monath for example, both Protestant booksellers from Nuremberg, managed to open their own book stores in early 18th century Vienna. Strong family networks between established publishing houses in Southern Germany and the expanding branches of book business in the Austrian Lands contributed to the success of the long-distance trading of books.

In my paper I will analyse the organisation of these bookmarkets with a special focus on the price policy of the Southern German booksellers who sold their books at the local markets along the Danube (Linz, Krems, and Vienna) or directly to noble book collectors and monastic libraries (for example Göttweig or Melk). I am interested in bills of lading or toll registers (Aschach and Krems) to learn about the charges booksellers had to pay to ship their goods down the Danube. I will compare booksellers' catalogues produced for the local markets of Southern Germany with those printed for the Austrian customers to shed light on the pricing policy: entries in sales catalogues give evidence at which price luxury editions were sold or which discounts on 'shelf warmers' were given. How much did large print editions of devotional literature cost, that were printed by publishing houses such as Veith in Augsburg? In addition, I use bills of ordered books to get information about the prices of books and indications how the payment was organised (payment on account or via middlemen involved in book business).

Another focus will be on the practice of reprints: The example of Abraham a Sancta Clara shows that titles such as Mercks Wienn only became widely known (up to 18,000 copies) thanks to South German reprinters such as Hoffmann in Nuremberg and Wagner in Ulm – was their success due to the fact that these reprints were sold at a much cheaper price compared to their first edition? Finally, my paper will discuss to what extent the import restrictions along the lines of a mercantilist economic policy that were imposed since the 1720's had an impact on the business of foreign booktraders.

By studying this price policy, my paper emphasises the important economic position of foreign booksellers in the Habsburg monarchy in the late 17th and early 18th century.

Klaudia Socha DSc, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

The shaping of the editorial repertoire and the prices of books published in 18th-century Polish printing houses in the light of marketing publications

The 18th century was a time of dynamic changes in Polish printing industry. The organization printing houses altered: beside conventual and academic printing houses, enterprises launched by burgers, including foreigners who settled in the country, grew in significance. Secondly, the editorial repertoire profile began to be dependent on fluctuating readers' tastes.

Marketing publications from that period prove to be a very interesting source for research on printing house operations, editorial repertoire, publishing process, and price formation. They include mainly press advertisements published in papers and journals, as well as materials promoting new books, such as prospectuses. Thanks to these materials it is not only possible to follow the process of distributing certain titles (repetitive information about a book's presence on the sale market), but also the publishing workflows. It was also in those days that Polish printers introduced a new method of funding the printing of a book: presale and subscription. These allowed them to avoid the risk entailed related to an erroneous prognosis about readers' interests, as well as to acquire funds necessary to print a work. A predetermined profitability threshold translated into the minimum number of subscribers necessary to begin the printing, which was communicated in marketing materials. Sometimes, printers decided to take the risk of printing a book despite too few subscribers, but it also happened that certain initiatives were not finalized due to the same reason.

It should also be mentioned that the price of a book was an important information provided in marketing materials and that it was usually lower in subscription, which often constituted the chief argument of the publisher. In case of multivolume projects (e.g. the collection of laws *Volumina legum*, released in the years 1732—1782), there are particularly interesting advertisements reporting meticulously the course of the enterprise, subsequent stages of printing individual volumes, and even financial reports featuring the costs borne by the printer. One can also track the changes in the advertised price of a book reflecting the printer's calculations of the costs of subsequent volumes.

What is more, the lists of subscribers included at the beginning of a book have also been preserved, enabling the study the interest in a given publication and sometimes even to precisely determine its potential recipients. Sociological analyses of these lists provide us with information on the book reception process, as well as specific social groups (clergy, nobility, bourgeois) most interested in a given subject.

Therefore, marketing materials are an abundant source of information on a book as a product, the editorial market formation, the methods of promoting and advertising, the costs of printing materials and services that affected the changes in the prices of books, new ways of raising funds for the printing of a publication, as well as on specific groups of book recipients, which are known in details thanks to subscriber lists.

10:30 Break, coffee & tea

11:00 **Session 6**

Chair: Dr. Renaud Adam, Université de Liège, Belgium

J. Christopher Warner, Le Moyne College, Syracuse, NY

In and out of storage: The value of a thousand books left with Christopher Plantin 'en garde'

This paper shares the results of an examination of archival records in the Museum Plantin-Moretus and of the material evidence of a selection of printed books that, in combination, provide a window on a series of business transactions that were made between printer-booksellers in three cities (Gent, Antwerp, and Douai) in the period 1573–1603. Although the financial details of these transactions are partial rather than complete, they do seem at least sufficient to venture some inferences and expand appreciation of the range of collaborative arrangements in which printer-booksellers sometimes entered. The focus of this study is a large cache of books that the English Catholic printer-in-exile, John Fowler, left with Christopher Plantin 'for safekeeping' in 1577, when Fowler was in the process of moving his family and operations to Douai. The contents of this cache, at that time, were not specified, but a total value was recorded. Nearly a decade later, a detailed inventory was drawn up for Fowler's widow, Alice née Harris, when she made a personal visit to Antwerp, also placing a large order with Plantin for books and making payments on her account over the span of a few days. This inventory indicates titles, formats, number of copies per title in how many 'pacquets', and an agreed-upon value per copy of each title – about which there is evidence of some negotiation and adjustments – and it does so in a manner which suggests that the arrangement was not merely one for the safe storage of these books, but for something like their joint sale. Eventually this stage of the books' condition ended, when the Douai printer-bookseller Balthazar Bellère acquired what remained of this cache of books after settling the outstanding balance on Alice Fowler's account with Jan Moretus I in 1602: starting the following year, Bellère repackaged most of the books to be sold as if they were newly printed editions of the works, and again this was something that involved arrangements with other booksellers – Martinus Nutius, as well as Bellère's mother and brother (the widow and heir of Jan Bellère), up in Antwerp. Thus this is a study that concerns not only the assessed value of 'old books' kept in stock, but the creative measures taken to invest them with new value in a new guise, for a new generation of buyers.

Dr. Xevi Camprubí, independent researcher

*The importance of ephemera for the printing industry in the Early Modern period:
The case of Barcelona*

In some European cities, jobbing printing was essential for the subsistence of the book industry during the Early Modern Period. In Barcelona, for instance, printing-houses lacked of long-term capital investment in order to print books in a large scale. Therefore, printers worked in a short-term basis, producing a great amount of daily single sheets, which could be easily sold and gave them money incomings almost immediately.

At the end of the 17th century there were twelve printing-houses in Barcelona, while the number of people living there was around 40,000. How is it possible that a small city like that had such a number of printers operating at the same time? The answer is simple: the main work of the printing-houses was the production of ephemera, not only for institutions, but also for individuals, who found in typography a fast and cheaper way to reproduce documents.

The use of typography reached almost every area of people's activity: politics and administration, economy, justice and public order, defense, health, religion, circulation of information and education. This paper aims to show, taking the case of Barcelona, that the most significant contribution of the use of typography to the development of Early Modern society were some ephemeral printed papers – especially small billets–, which aided the work of the administration and political institutions, as well as the communication and governability.

Nina Geerdink, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

The business model of the literary author. Some methodological reflections

As part of my current research project (NWO Veni: Poets and Profits. A New History of Dutch Literary Authorship 1550–1750) I investigate the economic history of the book from the perspective of the literary author. Taking this perspective causes many methodological challenges: archival material about publisher's agreements or payments to authors are scarce, gift exchange played an important role within the relationship between publishers and authors, and literary authors themselves veiled their financial gains since these were not regarded as honourable reasons to write literature.

In this paper, I will discuss several ways in which I try to overcome these methodological challenges, as well as preliminary results. In the first place, I have created a dataset of mentions of business models of literary authors in Dutch texts from the early modern period, based on queries in all available texts in the DBNL (Digital Library of Dutch Literature, www.dbnl.org), supplemented with other relevant early modern texts. By qualitatively analysing these mentions, it is possible to get an impression of both discourse and practice of literary business models of authors. Secondly, I have collected some cases of authors who quarrelled with their publishers. Often, they fought with each other publicly and their public statements do give some insight in the economic imperatives of authors or the possibilities to negotiate with their publishers. The third methodological pathway I would like to present is related to this and consists of an inventory of literary authors who requested their own privilege for their literary works. This was not a common practice in the Dutch Republic, where privileges were not obligatory and asked for a big investment. Therefore, it is likely that authors who made the investment were either very wealthy or expected to be able to recover the costs and, thus, earn something with their privilege. The reasons they mention in their requests and the way they handled their privileges (selling these to printers, presenting these in their works) sheds light on possible business models. My fourth attempt to gain insight in the business models of literary authors is through a case study into the 'business of nuptial poetry'. Many literary authors, especially those active at the end of the 17th and the start of the 18th century, wrote fair amounts of nuptial poems. With a network analysis of all those involved in this business – authors, publishers, and brides and grooms – it will be able to formulate at least hypotheses about the financial relations and transactions within it.

12:30 Lunch break

14:00 **Session 7**

Chair: Prof. Dr. Hubert Meeus, University of Antwerp, Belgium

Rindert Jagersma &
Helwi Blom, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Book sales catalogues and the second-hand book market (1700–1780)

Early modern book sale catalogues provide valuable information on book collections and their owners in forgone centuries. Some surviving copies of these catalogues provide additional information on the price for which the listed books were sold. This information can be used to gain insight in the economic history of the book.

The ERC-funded project *MEDIATE* (Middlebrow Enlightenment Disseminating Ideas, Authors and Texts in Europe, 1665–1830) uses book sales catalogues to study the circulation of books and ideas in 18th-century Europe. *MEDIATE* uses a bibliometric approach, by drawing on a large corpus of catalogues of private libraries published between 1665 and 1830 in three different regions: the Dutch Republic, France and the British Isles. Since the project database (under construction) contains fully searchable transcriptions and metadata on books and collectors extracted from a corpus of 2,000 smaller private library (sales) catalogues, it allows for a large-scale comparative study of the 18th-century second-hand book market.

Our paper will explore the phenomenon of early modern second-hand book prices through a comparative study of the prices written (and sometimes printed) in the margins of private library catalogues published in the Dutch Republic and in France between 1700 and 1780. In order to put our research in perspective, we will discuss some methodological issues and then compare the prices in our catalogues to the sale prices of ‘new books’ found in other sources, such as book trade catalogues and archival material.

Idalia García & Ricardo Vargas, UNAM, Mexico

Prices of cultural legacy: Second-hand books in Colonial Mexico

Early research established that the price of books have had an important influence on the cultural access in Colonial Mexico. For that reason, only members of high classes had the possibility to buy books. However, there is not enough historical evidence to support that idea. This historical approach never considered the second-hand book market as another option to get books. Recent research about private libraries in this territory found 24 documents with book prices. Most of this evidence was produced in 18th century during an inquisitorial process, but there are some documents elaborated by booksellers. The analysis of libraries inventories shows the great impact on circulation of used editions in the Colonial market. Almost 50% of these identified titles are editions produced in the 17th century, and a different price for an specific book can be appreciated. Economical valuation was calculated based on conservation or binding of every object.

The study of this information has methodological problems because there is a need to identify if book prices could be compared to other manufactured products. One important problem is that the economic historical knowledge in Mexico always uses the cost of corn to understand the nature of prices in the Viceroyalty. Another, is that there is not information of production costs, only three testimonies about the payment of editions in the case of nouns and Jesuits existed. Nevertheless, the studies with the post mortem inventories never made tables or lists to contrast the prices between other products including books. Some books also have annotations about the price payed for certain person. This paper will present prices of used books in comparison to other objects in order to analyze the different variables to determine the access to books.

Alexander Soetaert, KU Leuven, Leuven, Belgium

Reprinting Jeremias Drexel S.J. (1581–1638):

A competitive market between Munich, Cologne, Antwerp and Douai

The Bavarian Jesuit Jeremias Drexel undoubtedly was one of the most published Catholic authors of the first half of the 17th century. At the time of his death in 1638 his Munich publisher Cornelius Leyser estimated that he had printed and distributed nearly 160,000 copies of his many books. Yet, Drexel's works were issued at least as massively in Cologne, Antwerp and even in the French-speaking university town of Douai, in the south of the Habsburg Low Countries. The powerful support and incentives given by the Jesuit order explain why his books were swiftly reprinted in these places. Indeed, Cologne, Antwerp, and Douai were all known as strongholds of the order. But it likewise strikes that the Drexel reprints ultimately became the specialism of particular publishing houses: Bellère in Douai, Cnobbaert in Antwerp, and Henning and Ab Egmond in Cologne. The fact that they often simultaneously published a reprint of one and the same book suggests a large economic interest in the work of the Bavarian Jesuit. Therefore, this paper will study the competition between several publishing houses in Cologne, Antwerp, and Douai in obtaining, expanding and defending their share of the lucrative market of Drexel editions during the 1620s and 1630s. It will be investigated how the reprints differed from the Munich originals. Did the publishers opt for complete or partial reprints? Did they include the engravings made for the original editions, or rather choose to leave them out? To what extent did they produce the reprints in smaller bibliographic formats or smaller character sizes in order to reduce the amount of paper necessary for a reprint? How, more generally, did they position their particular edition in a very competitive market?

15:30 Break, coffee & tea

16:00 **Session 8**

Chair: Dr. Goran Proot, Università di Udine, Italy

Dr. Laurent Guillo, IReMus, Paris, France

The price of music books (France vs. Netherlands, ca. 1675–1750)

The aim of this communication is to study the price of music books from ca. 1675 to ca. 1750, by comparing two types of sources coming from two famous workshops in northern Europe.

I will use the prices advertised in the following sources: (1) the catalogues of the Ballard workshop in Paris, showing mostly typographical prints, and of some of their competitors in Paris; and (2) the catalogues of the Estienne Roger workshop in Amsterdam, showing mostly engraved prints. In addition, if few of them are available from archival sources, contracts signed by the printers and composers will be included.

My ambition is to try to understand how these prices depend of the following factors: (1) printing process (typography vs. engraving); (2) number of leaves; (3) quality of paper (?); (4) binding; (5) print run; (6) rarity, (7) author's notoriety (?).

A comparison will be given between prices of new vs. used music books, as they appear in sales catalogues (after 1715 in France). A comparison with the cost-of-living index should be given, too.

The three main axis on which the contribution will be built are :

- geographical: from Paris to Amsterdam (and probably with an excursus on the rough commercial competition which occurs there between 1695 and 1715);
- technical: from typography to engraving, and we hope to show how this important technical improvement of music printing had a positive influence on music bookselling;
- temporal: can we see a general evolution of the market? is it easier and cheaper for the customers?

Dr. Caren Reimann, University of Würzburg, Germany

‘... Great glory will follow and benefit for the world.’ – Managing the ‘Typographia Medicea’

The case of the Roman printing shop ‘Typographia Medicea’ (1584–1614) gives valuable insights on the production and distribution of highly specialized ‘exotic’ books in the late 16th century. The ‘officina’ was originally financed by the cardinal and later Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando de’Medici. It was founded in order to produce books in Arabic and Syriac with missionary and scientific goals, but also meant to be a self-supporting business. Instead of commissioning the production from an already established printing shop, Ferdinando founded his own, naming it after his noble Florentine family and entrusting it to the mathematician and orientalist Giovanni Battista Raimondi. Editions such as the gospels in Arabic, the Arabic works of Euclid and Avicenna, a missal in Syriac as well as books on Arabic grammar, amongst others, were subsequently produced.

Raimondi was surely able to supervise the selection and editing of the texts to be published, but he had no experience in governing any enterprise that was intended to gain profit, as the *Typographia Medicea* was. To balance out these flaws Ferdinando de’Medici assigned his former ‘major-domo’ Donato dell’Antella with the task of controlling the expenses of the printing shop. Dell’Antella was renowned for his strict budget-keeping in organizing the household of the notorious over-spending cardinal, but he too didn’t have any experience in managing a printing shop. In the years following the foundation of the *Typographia Medicea*, dell’Antella (now in Florence) wrote approximately 150 letters to Raimondi, discussing a broad range of business and private matters. The topics discussed in these letters include the choice of books to be printed, ordering paper, paying employees, print runs, finding patrons and the distribution of the finished books.

My paper will explore how two intellectuals of the 16th century approached the profession of producing and distributing books, in which they had no previous experience. Furthermore, it will be discussed how they interacted in a network as tightly woven as the one of the roman printmakers and editors. Drawing from the exceptionally well-preserved archival sources on this printing shop, it will be reconstructed how Raimondi’s claim to gain perfection in the books produced was continuously balanced against dell’Antella’s pretence that the – very generous – financial framework of the printing shop had to be maintained.

17:00 Closing remarks, followed by a Reception

Saturday 6 October 2018

Venue: Plantin-Moretus Museum

Vrijdagmarktplaats 4, 2000 Antwerp

The following activities are organised with the support of the Plantin-Moretus Museum; registration required. Meeting point for all activities is the entrance hall of the museum in front of the desk.

10:00 *Option 1*

Show & Tell in the new Reading Room at the Plantin-Moretus Museum

Focus on archival documents useful for the study of book prices

Option 2

Printing demonstration at the Plantin-Moretus Museum

11:00 *Option 3*

Show & Tell in the new Reading Room at the Plantin-Moretus Museum

Focus on archival documents useful for the study of book prices

Option 4

Printing demonstration at the Plantin-Moretus Museum

Option 5

Guided tour of the Plantin-Moretus Museum (until about 13:00)

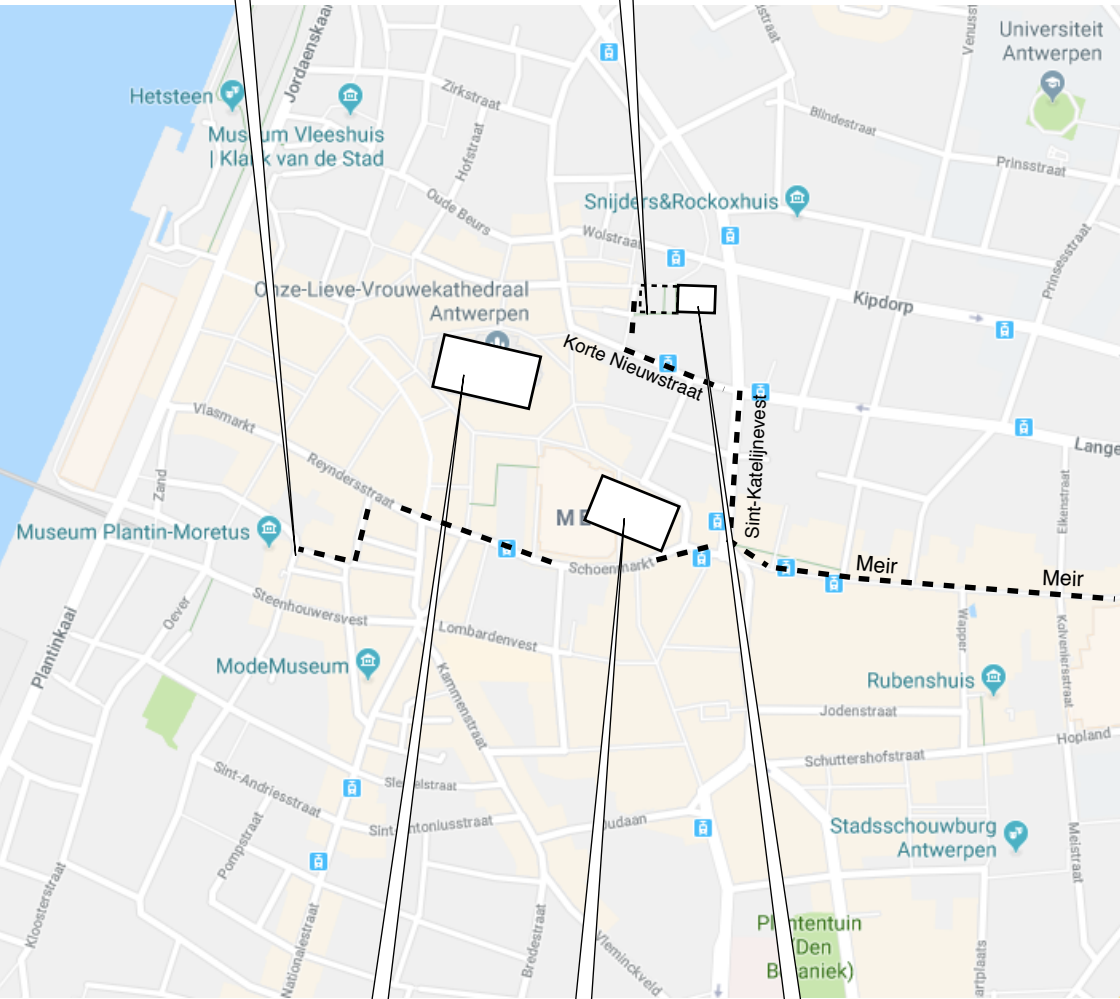
14:00 *Option 6*

Guided tour of the Plantin-Moretus Museum (until about 16:00)

16:00 End of all activities

Plantin-Moretus
Museum
Vrijdagmarkt 4

Heritage Library
Hendrik Conscience, at
Hendrik Conscience Square



Cathedral

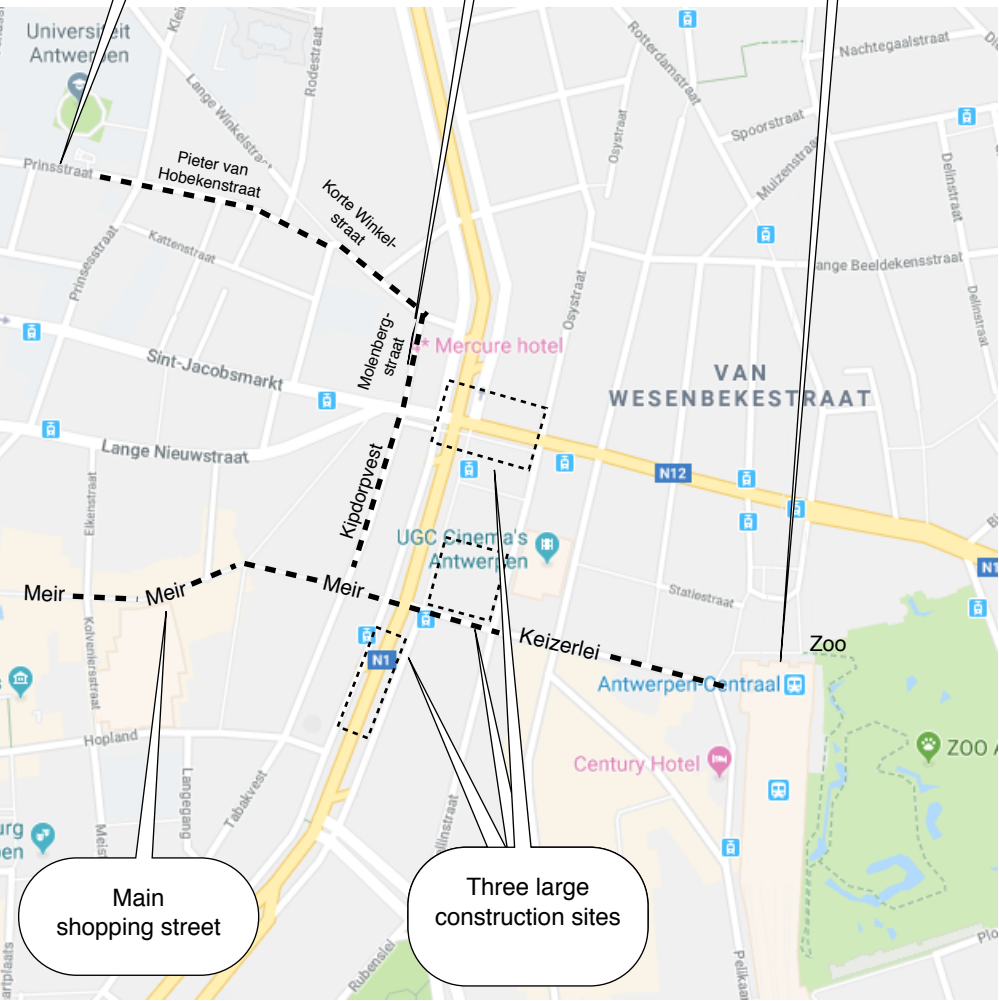
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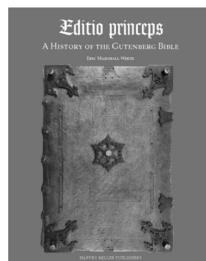
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