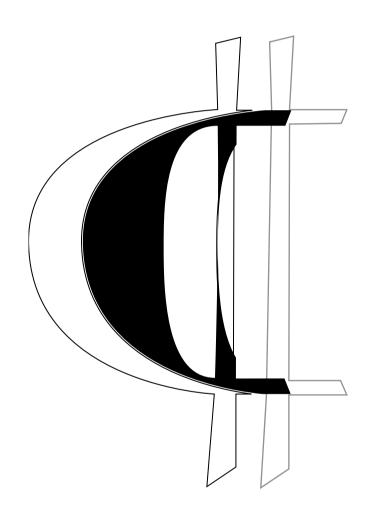
DE GULDEN PASSER

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THE GOLDEN COMPASSES

Journal for book history



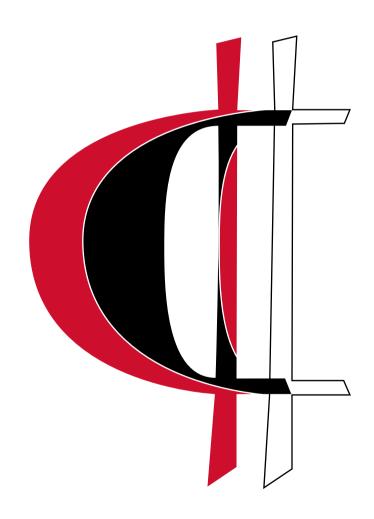


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COMPETITION IN THE EUROPEAN BOOK MARKET

COMPETITION IN THE EUROPEAN BOOK MARKET

Prices and privileges (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries)

Edited by

ANGELA NUOVO · JORAN PROOT · DIANE E. BOOTON



Contents



Angela Nuovo, Joran Proot & Diane E. Booton	Early modern book prices lost and found	7
C. 2 2. 2 0 0 0 0 1	List of abbreviations	12
Francesco Ammannati & Joran Proot	Book prices from the <i>Officina Plantiniana</i> in a comparative perspective (1586–1631)	13
Saskia Limbach	Sales and trading in Frankfurt Feyerabend's prices in perspective (1565–1597)	27
Renaud Milazzo	Le marché des livres juridiques à Lyon et à Venise au xv1° siècle	69
Angela Nuovo & Francesca De Battisti	The price of books in early modern Venice (1586–1600) <i>A statistical analysis</i>	147
Francesco Ammannati	Notes on Venetian monetary history from the medieval to the early modern era	193
Andrea Ottone	Renaissance publishers, market risks and empirical methods of assessment A revised interpretation of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti's 1600–1643 catalogue	203
Erika Squassina	The protection of the printing industry in Venice (1560–1580)	235
Diane E. Booton	An analysis of book prices in Paris The first bookseller's catalogue of Simon de Colines, c. 1540	253
Kevin M. Stevens	Deciphering the Antoni/De Franceschi partnership in Milan (c. 1588–1591) <i>Some preliminary observations</i>	267
Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni	Torti, Giunta & Co. A full programme of publishing legal editions (Venice 1507)	279
	Index nominum	310
	Colophon	315



ANGELA NUOVO, JORAN PROOT & DIANE E. BOOTON

Early modern book prices lost and found



Sometime in late May or early June 1619, Balthasar Moretus I (1574–1641), grandson of the Antwerp printer and publisher Christophe Plantin (c. 1520–1589), became very upset. Two precious manuscripts had gone astray. They did not concern exemplars of new editions to be put under the press by the renowned Antwerp printing and publishing enterprise, founded in 1555, but they were at the very heart of the business operation. The first volume was a large account book recording sales and credits. Although important, it was trumped in significance by the second manuscript, though somewhat smaller in size. Patiently composed with painstaking precision over the course of many years, this quarto manuscript listed thousands of book titles that were or had been on the market, along with relevant details about the edition, concise indications of where they could be found, and, most importantly, at what price. On closer investigation, Balthasar Moretus had to conclude that the precious documents must have been taken by Cornelis van Egmont. The latter had entered the Plantin Press in 1608 as an apprentice under Balthasar's father, Jan Moretus I (1543-1610), and had become a salaried employee after six years under the direction of Balthasar and his brother Jan Moretus II (1576-1618). He stayed on with the company for five more years until he left to set up shop in his hometown Cologne. The situation was delicate because Van Egmont was not only the son of an important merchant but also a distant family member of the Moretuses and an important future business contact. Although everything pointed to Van Egmont, Balthasar contained his anger and wrote him a letter, in which he diplomatically asked whether his cousin had not seen the books that he had been keeping in his bedroom and whether he had 'by any chance [...] unintentionally put them in [his] bags.' As if to excuse himself, Balthasar continued to emphasise the importance of the two missing books: 'We can hardly do without them, in particular the one in quarto. Although it lacks several names and prices of books, it is the most complete catalogue that we have.' How, after thirteen years at the Plantin Press, could Van Egmont not have been aware of that? For Balthasar Moretus, knowledge of the book market - more than his publishing agenda – lay at the heart of the success of his enterprise. Information about what was available and its price was crucial to the thriving of his business.

Wolters, Johann Kinckius and Cornelis van Egmont' in The Library, 7th s., 17:1 (2016), 3-27, here at 18, footnote 63.

¹ мрм, Arch. 136, Copie de lettres, 1615-1620, p. 227, as cited by Dirk Imhof, 'Three future Cologne publishers as apprentices in Antwerp: Bernhard

The present volume consists of a series of chapters concerning economic aspects of the European book trade in the early modern period. The majority of these studies result from a multiyear project funded by the European Research Council entitled An evidence-based reconstruction of the economic and juridical framework of the European book market (Grant Agreement 694476), which ran until 2022. This ERC project was directed by Professor Angela Nuovo and hosted until 2019 by the Università degli Studi di Udine in Italy before it relocated to the Università degli Studi di Milano, where it was fittingly integrated into the Department of Economics, Management and Quantitative Methods - for this kind of research, numbers are, as it will become clear shortly, at least as important as words.

Although economics is of great importance for our understanding of how the book world developed and functioned, studies tackling this subject are fairly rare. There are several reasons for this. By nature, most scholars working in the field of books do not have much affinity for numbers or money, let alone for mathematics, statistics, currencies, piece rates, cost accounting and the like. Traditionally, a price penned on a pastedown or a flyleaf of an early modern book that is accidentally stumbled upon will receive some passing remark at best. Such information may be cited in a footnote, but even then, it usually remains of little value when it is presented bare of a wider context. One aspect that the above-mentioned ERC project has clearly established is that book prices only become meaningful when they can be related to time, place, and currency, in addition to a number of material features of the book in question and information about its content. Moreover, to obtain scientific results, this kind of research requires large quantities of coherent and consistent data.

Studying the economy of the book thus demands several specific skills which, when carefully combined, can lead to meaningful results. One of those skills is closely related to the material features of books and to an understanding of how they came about since the introduction of moveable type in the West by Gutenberg around 1450. In most cases, books consist of sheets of paper, which are pinned upon common presses to receive text and sometimes also images through contact with inked formes. There is a cost to the infrastructure, the equipment and the labour involved in preparing the paper, composing type, drawing and cutting images, inking, printing, and other operations which may vary widely in complexity. The choice of paper, colour and illustration has an important impact on production cost, which often translates in some way or another into book prices. In order to control production cost, compositors and printers usually received piece rates for their work, i.e., per forme composed and per sheet printed, and not for their time spent at the workshop. Consequently, one would expect that it would not matter much whether a printed sheet would hold four, eight or sixteen pages, but in fact, in specific cases it did. The authors of this volume have confirmed that the number of sheets in a folio, quarto or octavo being equal, book prices also varied according to bibliographic format (e.g., see the analysis of book prices in sixteenth-century Paris by Diane Booton in Chapter 8).

The book market has always had room for product differentiation. This was the case long before the introduction of printing with moveable type, and it continued thereafter. Some types of books simply wanted a different canvas, be it one consisting of parchment or so-called papier blanc, or any other kind of large, high-quality paper. In addition, in view

of specific customers, publishers like Plantin in Antwerp also provided variant runs of editions embellished with woodcuts or with delicate copper plate illustrations, the latter requiring extra runs under a roller press. In the second chapter about Sigmund Feyerabend, Saskia Limbach shows that the successful Frankfurt-based printer-publisher in the last third of the sixteenth century, exceptionally, had hand-coloured copies of specific titles on offer and sometimes even prebound copies. In the business-to-business trade, this was not at all the rule; booksellers usually sold copies en blanc, being unbound. The reasons for this were not only practical and economical but also cultural. As bindings were costly, providing them upfront would not only involve a lot of extra capital on behalf of the seller, but would also literally weigh down shipping costs and take more space in the warehouse. In addition, the taste for bindings varied greatly among cultures, and thus in general, bindings would only be provided in retail. It is obvious that information about these kinds of material aspects is important in assessing prices. In this context, Kevin Stevens's observation in Chapter 9 that the late sixteenth-century inventory book of the Milan-based bookseller Francesco de Franceschi features about thirty per cent of bound books might be a trace of the growing second-hand trade.

But books can never be reduced to their material characteristics or components alone. Content and genre are also relevant for the price, as demonstrated by Angela Nuovo and Francesca De Battisti in Chapter 4, which offers a comparison of Venetian book prices during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In one printing centre, book prices varied widely across subjects, when considered per copy or recalculated in terms of printed sheets. This monograph repeatedly shows that each publisher occupied a distinct place on the market and focused on particular niches.

Thus far, we have emphasised the importance of a deep understanding of material bibliography and of the contents of books to lay bare mechanisms of the book market. This type of research also requires statistical skills to analyse considerable series of reliable and coherent data. To overcome an anecdotal level, the information that served as a basis for the contributions in this volume is drawn from different types of sources, such as printed booksellers' catalogues, business records and other less well-known 'knowledge tools'. Two of these so-called knowledge tools receive in-depth discussion in the present book. The first is a voluminous manuscript, which was misleadingly described more than thirty years ago as the 'Giunti stock book'. As Andrea Ottone points out in Chapter 6, this name is not very accurate for a volume in which the Giunti endeavoured to track a large number of titles on the market, along with their most relevant features and prices. Their undertaking culminated in a document that helped to assess opportunities and risks in publishing and acquisition. A similar manuscript holding a wealth of book prices survives in the archives of the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp (shelfmark м 296). This manuscript served as a vital tool at the Officina Plantiniana as it facilitated the assessment of the contemporary book market by recording the availability of titles and their prices. More than 20,000 entries in this manuscript are arranged according to the place of publication or where the itemised books could be obtained. It might well have been a twin or forerunner of one of the manuscripts allegedly taken by Van Egmont. In Chapter 3, Renaud Milazzo examines

the Antwerp manuscript and offers a detailed analysis of the competitive publishing market of law books in Venice and Lyon. His study is based on a substantial number of transcriptions and identifications of law-book prices for those early modern publishing hubs.

This monograph opens with an analysis of book prices established by Christophe Plantin and his successors up to 1631 at the Officina Plantiniana as books were recorded in contemporary production lists. In this chapter, Francesco Ammannati and Joran Proot compare prices charged by competitors active in the German-speaking area to demonstrate that the Antwerp firm increasingly offered luxury books. This holds a methodological warning for book historians who would like to extrapolate book prices from the Antwerp firm to those of competitors.

Surveys of book prices in early modern Europe still require one additional element: an indication of currencies in which book prices were recorded. Although this may seem to be self-evident, that was not at all the case in the era considered here, during which a great number of local rulers had the power to put their own money on the market. For various reasons, new currencies were often introduced, 'good' money was driven out of the market and replaced by 'bad' money of a lower sterling quality, and exchange rates were often altered. Amongst other things, governments indirectly applied these strategies to generate taxes and cope with inflation. The instability of minted coin is one of the reasons why wholesale booksellers generally avoided cash transactions and preferred to work with money on account. In the wholesale book trade, sales and acquisitions would be typically recorded in business documents in an agreed-upon currency and would be settled six months later. It is therefore of great importance to know when and in which currency book prices were fixed. For early modern Venice, this history and development of currencies, their value and use are explained by Francesco Ammannati in Chapter 5.

The comparison of book prices, synchronically between two regions or diachronically within one area, requires a stable and reliable way to translate their actual value. Francesco Ammannati has developed a methodology to do so, using two complementary solutions. Book prices entered in the custom-made database of the EMoBookTrade project are automatically recalculated both as lire veneziane and as grams of silver. In addition, the extent of the book concerned is recalculated, where possible, into printing sheets, attaining a price per sheet expressed either in lire veneziane or grams of silver. This results in normalised units.

In sum, one of the major challenges of the EMoBookTrade project was to provide a working tool that integrated all the different dimensions briefly discussed above. This includes information related to material features of early modern books, information about their content and price, the nature of the sources from which data were derived, time and place of their origin, as well as the currency in question. The outcome is an online, relational database of early modern book prices, recalculated in *lire veneziane* and grams of silver per printing sheet. This research tool is freely available on the project website. Based on 73 different sources, the dataset contains about 33,000 prices in ten different currencies, which refer to about 22,000 editions produced mainly in the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century.

The introduction of printing with moveable type caused a great stir in the book market. In contrast to the pre-Gutenberg era, books were produced in large print runs which had to find their way to potential customers, who, in the beginning, were not aware of available titles. Publishers developed methods to advertise the books on offer. As they had to lay out considerable sums of money to cover production and distribution costs, it was important that they could sell a significant portion of the print run within a reasonable time span. Making a profit was not only necessary to stay in business, but also a condition for the further development of the books on offer. As Erika Squassina explains in Chapter 7, the city of Venice soon offered solutions to protect printers and publishers through the introduction of privileges for books, which guaranteed a temporary monopoly to recuperate one's investment. The privileges, which form the basis of this study, have been entered and analysed into a second custom-made, online database, which is available to all for consultation.

Law books are at the heart of the closing chapter of this book, in which Alessandra Panzanelli discusses the Venetian compagnia established by the brothers Battista and Silvestro Torti and the partners Luc'Antonio Giunti, Giorgio Arrivabene, Amadio Scoto and Antonio Moretto. The partnership was founded in 1507 and sealed by a five-year contract, which unveiled an ambitious plan to put the most important legal texts of their time in print.

Both databases of Venetian privileges and European book prices are cornerstones of the EMoBookTrade project. In many ways, they come to replace some of the lost precious catalogues with books and prices composed by contemporary book people. The studies in the present volume demonstrate their value and potential, and should encourage scholars to explore and exploit the information therein in future studies.

List of abbreviations

ВТ	E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, <i>Belgica typographica</i> , 1541–1600, Nieuwkoop 1968–1994 (4 vols)
EDIT16	Edizioni italiane del xv1 secolo, edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web/edit-16
EEBO	Early English Books Online
GC	Leon Voet, The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp, Amsterdam 1969–1972 (2 vols)
GW	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de
GLN15-16	Bibliographie de la production imprimée des xve et xvie siècles des villes de Genève, Lausanne et Neuchâtel, www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln
ISTC	Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, data.cerl.org/istc
MPM	Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp
рр	Leon Voet & Jenny Voet-Grisolle (coll.), <i>The Plantin Press (1555–1589).</i> A bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, Amsterdam 1980–1983 (6 vols)
SBN	Catalogo collettivo delle biblioteche del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, opac.sbn.it/web/opacsbn
STCN	Short Title Catalogue Netherlands, www.stcn.nl
STCV	Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen [Short Title Catalogue Flanders], www.stcv.be
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue, www.ustc.ac.uk

FRANCESCO AMMANNATI & JORAN PROOT

Book prices from the Officina Plantiniana in a comparative perspective (1586 - 1631)



'A book was a commodity like jewels, gloves, handkerchiefs, rosaries, pepper, or any other luxury product; it was not a commodity like meat, beans, wheat, wine, and other products that everyone needs to buy just in order to live' - this is how book historians usually describe the nature of books as commodities. The book is a product that, in contrast to food, fuel or housing, is not essential. In times of shortage, prices of grains go up, as a result of the imbalance between offer and demand. This point was dramatically made in 1586 and 1587, when the Southern Netherlands were haunted by extremely wet summers and, as a consequence, very poor harvests.² As a result, prices spiked as never before, and common people had no other choice but to postpone or drop unnecessary expenses.³ In contrast, prices of luxury goods remained relatively stable, as they did not experience shocks in supply or demand. Buyers of luxury products usually do not suffer as much as common people under inflation, decreasing wages or rocketing food prices.

In this chapter we focus on the following questions. First, how did average book prices change over time at the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp in the period from 1581 to 1655? Second, how do book prices relate to people's fluctuating income, their and rents? Third,

Francesco Ammannati, Ph.D. in Economic History, is a Research Fellow of Economic History at the University of Florence, an Adjunct Professor at Bocconi University in Milan and collaborates with the Foundation International Institute of Economic History 'F. Datini' in Prato (Italy). Previously he held research and teaching positions at Bocconi University, the University of Udine and the University of Milan. His academic interests include the history of manufacture and trade in preindustrial Europe, as well as long-term economic inequality and social mobility.

Joran Proot is Curator at Cultura Fonds in Dilbeek, Belgium. He teaches at Sint Lucas, Karel de Grote Hogeschool, and at Plantin Institute of Typography, both in Antwerp.

- 1 Christian Coppens & Angela Nuovo, 'Printed catalogues of booksellers as a source for the history of the book trade' in Giovanna Granata & Angela Nuovo, Selling & collecting: Printed book sale catalogues and private libraries in Early Modern Europe, Macerata 2018, 145-160: 146. With reference to Christian Coppens, 'Giovanni da Colonia a.k.a. Johann Ewylre/Arwylre/Ahrweiler: the early printed book and its investors' in La Bibliofilía, 116 (2014), 113-119.
- 2 E. Scholliers, 'De levensstandaard der arbeiders op het einde der 16de eeuw te Antwerpen' in Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis 68 (1955), 80-103, esp. 81.
- 3 Herman van der Wee, 'Voeding en dieet in het ancien régime' in Spiegel historiael, 1 (1966), 94-101, esp. 100-101.

how did book prices fixed by the Officina Plantiniana compare to prices of their competitors elsewhere in Europe, and more specifically, of books produced in the German-speaking area? Answers to these questions will help to understand the status of the books produced by the famous Officina Plantiniana during the last years of its founder, Christophe Plantin, and the business operation directed by his successors after July 1589, and help to put it in a broader, international perspective.

In the first part, we will discuss how we assess income, wages, rents, and book prices. Then we will compare trends between income and book prices. This will be followed by a comparison with prices of books produced in the German-speaking region for sale at the Frankfurt Book Fairs. We will conclude with a discussion and further research questions.

Methodology: assessment of income, wages, rents and book prices

The goal is to verify whether the prices of the books produced by Officina Plantiniana, or rather their trend over time, follows or diverges from those of a general price index represented by a basket of goods measuring the average consumption of the population of the Brabant area and from that of another sui generis but still representative 'commodity' as the average rents of houses in Antwerp. Those prices will be related to the nominal and real wages of two categories of workers belonging to a lower-middle class of the population, in this case compositors serving at the Officina Plantiniana and Brabant master masons.

Price baskets of consumables

For the creation of the price index, we relied on the data proposed by John Munro,4 obtained by processing the basket of consumables offered by Herman van der Wee.5 Van der Wee observed the behaviour of prices in the Brabant region of Antwerp-Lier-Mechelen for the three centuries from 1400 to 1700, thus covering the entire Price Revolution era, along with the preceding century.

The present analysis covers the period 1581-1655; as we will explain later, the time span for the second part of our analysis, which includes 'German' books, is limited to the years 1586-1631.

The set of goods considered by Van der Wee includes a combination of food products, such as farinaceous (grains), drink (barley malt), meat, fish, dairy products (butter and cheese) and industrial products, including fuel/light (charcoal candles, lamp oil), and textiles (linen, canvas, coarse woollens).

A remarkably positive element of the index proposed by Munro/Van der Wee is that its components do not have fixed shares of the total basket. The proportions accounted for by each commodity group vary over time with changes in relative prices, and the major variation involves grain prices. This is important for at least two reasons. First, grain represented a large part of the entire consumption basket, especially for the lower-middle classes of the population. Second, grain prices frequently experienced severe fluctuations. For example,

during prolonged periods of population growth, and presumed diminishing returns in agricultural production, the relative price of grains usually rose more than did those of animal products, which in turn rose considerably more than did the prices of labour-intensive industrial products. That was particularly evident in the case of families showing fixed budgets for household expenditures.

Rising food prices would have led low-income households to reshape their budgets, devoting a larger share of their expenditure to bread, and somewhat less to beverages, meat, fish and dairy products. A restriction of disposable income would also have pushed the household budget to a reduction in the share to be spent on industrial goods, which could generally be foregone or postponed (although hardly eliminated altogether), with the possible exception of fuel. Consumer demand for this latter category of goods would therefore have grown at a lower level, or not grown at all, and that would be reflected in the corresponding behaviour of relative consumer prices. On the contrary, with a persistent decline in population, cereal prices tended to fall, with a greater decline than the prices of other goods: such grains would have accounted for a smaller share of the basket, while industrial goods would have seen their relative weight increase.

The construction of this index, in sum, aims to reflect better the historical reality of consumer expenditures.

The price index calculated in this way, compiled for five yearly intervals and adapted by us to take as a basis the period 1581-1585, was then used both to compare the trend of the book price index and to deflate the nominal wages of the two categories of workers identified according to the standard formula RWI = NWI/CPI, i.e., the Real Wage Index equals the Nominal Money Wage Index divided by the Consumer Price Index. It should be noted that the wage index provided by Munro for the master masons has been adapted by him to reflect the trend of seasonal work.6

The wage index of the compositors has been obtained from the data of 63 workers active at the Officina Plantiniana in the period 1595–1655.

- 4 J.H. Munro, 'Real wages and the "Malthusian problem" in Antwerp and South-Eastern England, 1400-1700: a regional comparison of levels and trends in real wages for building craftsmen'. Paper presented to the Second Dutch-Flemish Conference on The Economy and Society of the Low Countries in the Pre-Industrial Period, University of Antwerp, 20 April 2006; J.H. Munro, 'Money, prices, wages, and "profit inflation" in Spain, the Southern Netherlands, and England during the Price Revolution era, ca. 1520-ca. 1650' in História e Economia, 4:1 (2008), 13-71.
- 5 H. van der Wee, 'Prijzen en lonen als ontwikkelingsvariabelen: een vergelijkend onderzoek tussen Engeland en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1400-1700' in Album aangeboden aan Charles Verlinden ter gelegenheid van zijn dertig jaar professoraat, Gent 1975, 413-447; translated as (but without tables): 'Prices and wages as development varia-
- bles: A comparison between England and the Southern Netherlands, 1400–1700' in Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, 10 (1978), 58-78; republished in Herman van der Wee, The Low Countries in the Early Modern World, Cambridge/New York 1993, 223-241.
- 6 E. Scholliers, 'Prix et salaires à Anvers et dans la région anversoise (16e-19e siècles)' in Charles Verlinden et al. (eds), Documents pour l'histoire des prix et des salaires en Flandre et en Brabant (xve-xvIIIe siècle), Brugge 1959-1972, 3 vols, vol. 2,2 (pub. 1965), 641-1056.
- 7 The data about the compositors is taken from G. Impens, 'Salaires à l'imprimerie plantinienne (16e-18e siècles)' in Verlinden et al. (eds), Documents pour l'histoire des prix et des salaires en Flandre et en Brabant, vol. 2,2, 1057-1235, who in turn took this data from the business records of the Officina Plantiniana.

Finally, the index of rents has been derived from the one elaborated by Scholliers, to which we refer for further details, and modified so as to have the five-year period 1581–1585 as a basis.⁸

Book prices at the Officina Plantiniana

As a rule of thumb, the price of a book in the handpress period depends on the number of printing sheets it contains because the production of each sheet requires the same amount of raw material and labour. To keep labour cost under control, the workers in great enterprises, such as the Officina Plantiniana, worked at piece rates.9 Thus, a book consisting of two printing sheets cost twice as much as a book consisting of only one sheet, and this is why printers, publishers and booksellers usually counted in sheets.¹⁰ But a book is never just a book. There are books of all kinds, on different subjects, in different formats, in different languages, and geared to different audiences." Some of these features have an impact on the price of books. An analysis of Parisian book prices in bookseller's catalogues of Henri Estienne between 1552 and 1552 has shown that both specific bibliographic formats, such as, in Estienne's case, sedecimo, and the use of special types such as Greek and Hebrew, force prices up.¹² In the case of the Antwerp printer Martinus Nutius I, who was active between 1540 and 1558, the editions in Spanish were more expensive than the books that he produced in Latin.¹³ Furthermore, it is obvious that the use of a second colour (usually red) causes higher prices because it requires extra manipulation to ink the second colour and an extra passage under the press. And last but not least, different analyses of book prices at the Officina Plantiniana have shown that the presence of illustrations in relief or intaglio, or the use of specific paper stocks, such as very thick or very large paper, also weigh in on prices.¹⁴ For the purpose of this contribution, we analysed two different archival sources. First, we focussed on ideal retail prices fixed by Christophe Plantin and his successors in the period 1581–1655 as recorded in manuscript M 321 at the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp. M 321 is a dynamic production list of titles with prices for the book trade starting in 1580 and was completed year after year, by several hands, down to 1655.15 It contains 2,367 entries of editions and, in a number of cases, different issues of editions. Second, we analysed purchases by the Antwerp company at the Frankfurt Fair in the period 1586-1631, which are recorded in the so-called Cahiers de Francfort, in order to understand price levels of books produced in the German-speaking region.

Prices in both sources are expressed in *Carolus Gulden (Carolus Guilders)*, the account money usually used in the *Officina Plantiniana* for earnings and expenses.¹⁶ One Carolus Gulden or *florijn (florin*, abbreviated as *fl.)* consisted of twenty *stuivers (stivers, st.)* or *patars*.¹⁷

Not unimportant for this analysis, prices always pertain to first-hand, unbound books, i.e., *in albis* or *en blancq*, thus avoiding difficulties related with bindings and other types of finishing, such as washing or red-ruling.¹⁸

The production list is beyond any doubt a very valuable source for the study of prices of first-hand books on offer by the *Officina Plantiniana* over a period of 76 years. It allows for comparisons of pricing strategies of the last nine years under its founder, Christophe

Plantin (c. 1520-1589), and his four successors, subsequently Jan Moretus I (in charge of the publishing enterprise from 1589–1610), Balthasar Moretus I (1610–1641) and Jan Moretus II (1610–1618), and Balthasar Moretus II (1641–1674). The sheer number of entries in the document may suggest that it is complete, but that is not the case. Some editions are lacking, but in general, the quantity of data is so vast that it guarantees a reliable reflection of price trends.

In order to make comparisons across prices of all kinds of books possible, we recalculated the price per copy to the price per printing sheet. By doing so, we obtained a stable price per unit across varying sizes of books (bibliographic formats). Then we re-calculated all quinquennial averages as an index, taking the period 1581-1585 as a base (100%), which allows for a comparison with the Antwerp price index, wages, and rents.

Book prices at the Frankfurt Book Fairs

The analysis of the Cahiers de Francfort is more complicated. A brief description of this source may explain this. Twice a year, an employee or an agent of the Officina Plantiniana travelled to the Frankfurt Book Fairs, held at schrove tide (Quadragesimale, in the middle of Lent) and in September, 14 days after August 24th. 19 At those fairs, the Officina sold large numbers of books and bought books from local and international bookdealers. Sales and purchases were first recorded in little scrap books (the so-called carnets de Francfort), which were then copied in fair notebooks (Cahiers de Francfort). Typically, sales to a bookseller were listed on the left-hand side of a double page, and purchases on the right-hand

- 8 É. Scholliers, 'Un indice du loyer: les loyers anversois de 1500-1873' in Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani, v, Evi moderno e contemporaneo, Milano 1962, 593-617.
- **9** Cf. Leon Voet, The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in two volumes, Amsterdam 1969–1972 (henceforth: GC), II, 344.
- 10 See also the chapter by Saskia Limbach in this volume.
- 11 Francesco Ammannati, 'Book prices and monetary issues in Renaissance Europe' in Granata & Nuovo (eds), Selling & collecting, 161-176, at 162: 'The very nature of the book object itself demands special attention when deciding to perform aggregate data analysis.'
- 12 Goran Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues (Paris 1541-1552): a statistical analysis' in Granata & Nuovo, Selling & collecting, 177-209, here 207. See also the chapter by Diane Booton in this volume.
- 13 Giles Mandelbrote & Goran Proot, 'Prices for Spanish and Latin books published by Martinus Nutius 1, ca. 1558' in Goran Proot, David McKitterick, Angela Nuovo & Paul F. Gehl (eds), Lux Librorum. Essays on books and history for Chris Coppens, Mechelen 2018, 65-122, esp. 73-76.

- 14 Goran Proot, 'Shifting price levels of books produced at the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp, 1580-1655' in Massimo Rospocher, Jeroen Salman & Hannu Salmi (eds), Crossing borders, crossing cultures. Popular print in Europe (1490-1900), Berlin 2019,
- 15 For a detailed discussion of M 321, see Proot, 'Shifting price levels', 91-93.
- 16 GC, II, 445. About Carolus Gulden as account money, see Erik Aerts & Herman van der Wee, 'Les Pays-Bas espagnols et autrichiens' in Johan van Heesch. Jean-Marie Yante & Hannes Lowagie (eds), Monnaies de compte et monnaies réelles. Pays-Bas méridionaux et principauté de Liège au Moyen Âge et aux Temps modernes, Louvain-la-Neuve 2016, 163-200; here especially: 182-188. We noted only one exception in this production list. On fol. 113 recto the price for a copy of Rembertus Dodoens's Cruydtboeck from 1644 is explicitly priced in cash (parata pecunia) (cf. Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen (STCV), at www.stcv.be, no. 3119583). With thanks to Diederik Lanoye.
- 17 GC, I, 440; II, 445, n. 2. In turn, 1 stuiver made 4 oorden, but the latter unit never explicitly appeared in м 321.
- 18 GC, II, 244-252.
- 19 GC, II, 396, note 3.

side. Entries usually mention very brief titles, the number of copies involved, often bibliographic formats (in about 77% of the cases) and almost always total prices for the total number of copies sold or bought. In a small number of cases (about 4%), the source also mentions the price for one copy. Sometimes, a deduction - in money or in kind - is mentioned below the grand total of a transaction with a business partner. The prices that we used for this analysis do not take those deductions into account. Prices are recorded in Carolus Guilders (florins and stivers).

We analysed prices for books produced in the German-speaking area in ten Cahiers de Francfort for September fairs between 1586 and 1631, in five-year intervals.20 A number of entries could not be used because prices were lacking or too obscure. In a limited number of cases, acquisitions included bound copies. More importantly, a great number of entries could not be linked with editions present in VD16 and VD17, the online bibliographies of 16th- and 17th-century books from the German-speaking region.21 For this analysis, descriptions in those bibliographies are of great importance, as they include the bibliographic format of the books and their extent (collation, foliation or pagination), two elements which are essential for the recalculation of the price per sheet.

This resulted in a dataset of 903 editions (see Table 1), with prices ranging between 0.03 and 4.40 stivers per sheet. To obtain more consistent results, we trimmed the dataset by 5% (46 records, each time 23 records at the lower and at the high end of the dataset).

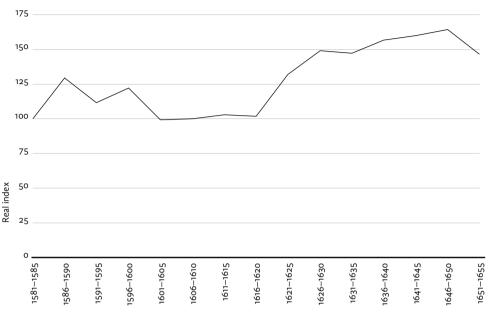
Cahier de Francfort	Number of editions	Trimmed dataset (omission of 5% outliers)
September 1586	130	109
September 1591	31	31
September 1596	39	38
September 1601	28	26
September 1606	126	126
September 1611	164	159
September 1616	198	193
September 1621	66	62
September 1626	38	38
September 1631	83	75
TOTAL	903	857

Table 1 Editions with prices from the German-speaking area, recorded in Cahiers de Francfort, 1586–1631

For the calculation of average prices per sheet, editions were grouped according to the date of publication, and not the date of acquisition, because in general, printers, publishers and booksellers maintained the price established when the book was first put on the market.²²

Results

The first graph indicates the evolution of the price index of an average basket of consumables in five-year spans, taking the period 1581–1585 as a base for our index (= 100).

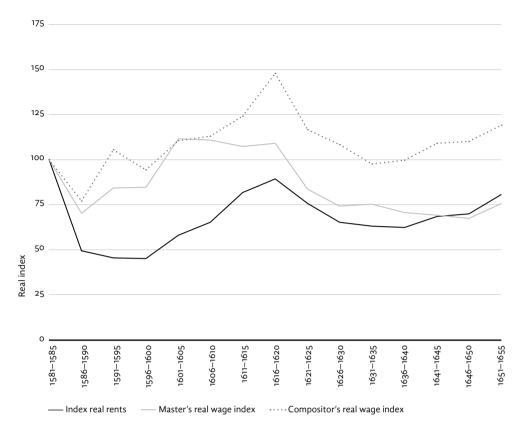


Graph 1 Antwerp price index (1581–1585 = 100)

Since the index is based on the period just before the Fall of Antwerp in 1585, it reflects the immediate effects of this disruptive event in the period which follows immediately. The surge of prices is also caused by very bad harvests in the years 1586-1587 and, more generally, other political (i.e., wars, pillaging, taxes, abuse of power), economic and monetary factors, such as the progressive devaluation of local currencies.23

Prices for rye and barley remained very high until 1587.24 By the beginning of the seventeenth century, price levels are back to normal and stay at the original level during the peaceful years of the Truce (1609–1621). The end of the Truce is marked by a sudden rise in price levels until the period 1626-1630. Prices rise again from the period 1636-1640 onwards, albeit at a slower pace, and drop again in the last quinquennial of our survey.²⁵

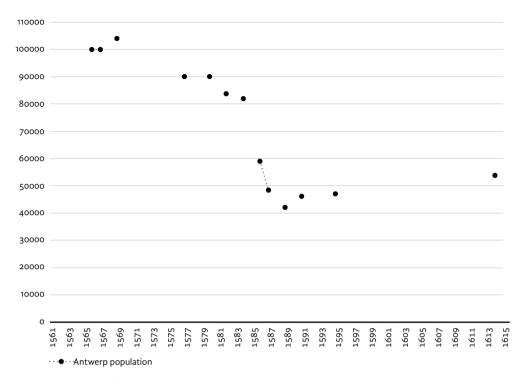
- 20 Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus, Arch. 963 (September 1586), Arch. 972 (September 1591), Arch. 982 (September 1596), Arch. 992 (September 1601), Arch. 1012 (September 1606), Arch. 1011 (September 1611), Arch. 1021 (September 1616), Arch. 1031 (September 1621), Arch. 1041 (September 1626), and Arch. 1051 (September 1631).
- 21 See www.vd16.de and www.vd17.de.
- 22 See for instance Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues', 206.
- 23 Aerts & Van der Wee. 'Les Pays-Bas Espagnols et Autrichiens', 166–167. See also H. van der Wee, The growth of the Antwerp market and the European economy (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries), The Hague 1963, I, 128-129 and III, 26-27; Van der Wee, 'Prijzen en lonen als ontwikkelingsvariabelen', 427; GC, I, 440-443 (Appendix 6).
- 24 Cf. Van der Wee, 'Prijzen en Ionen', Table at p. 433; Scholliers, 'De levensstandaard der arbeiders', 81.
- 25 Compare Van der Wee, 'Prijzen en lonen', esp. graph 1 on p. 419.



Graph 2 Real rents, wages of master masons and compositors at the Officina Plantiniana (1581-1585 = 100)

Graph 2 compares the price index with real wages of master masons in Antwerp and compositors active at the *Officina Plantiniana*; it also displays information about real rents in this city. The graph shows that nominal wages were not compensated for the sudden rise of prices from the Fall of Antwerp until the end of the sixteenth century. In the period 1601–1620, master masons and compositors at the *Officina* enjoyed better times, as their income must have allowed some extra purchasing power. This changed dramatically after 1621. Incomes went down, while prices went up. As a result, people became considerably impoverished for at least some 35 years. Remarkably, the compositors at the *Officina Plantiniana* systematically earned more than master masons from the 1610s onwards and must have suffered less from diverging prices and incomes. As Voet pointed out, after the disruption of the labour market by the events in 1585, it had become increasingly difficult to find skilled workers such as compositors, which is why they could negotiate better piece rates for their work.²⁶ The evolution of rents in this period is compared to wages in Graph 2.

Because of the massive depopulation of the city after the Fall of Antwerp, as represented in Graph 3, rents plummeted in the following years, to increase again from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the end of the Truce, after which they dropped again.

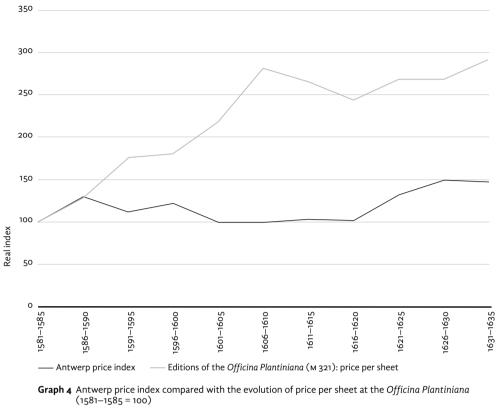


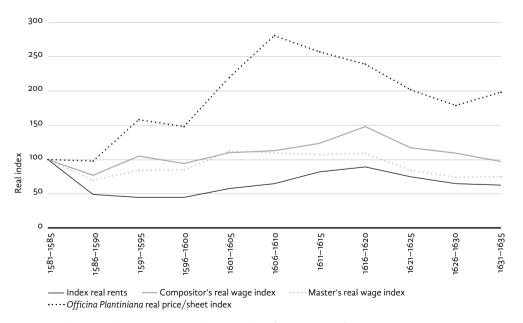
Graph 3 Size of the population in Antwerp, 1561-1615

Interestingly, rent levels are systematically paralleled by levels of wages. It confirms, once again, how compositors were always better off than master masons.

Graph 4 compares the evolution of the price index with the average nominal retail price per sheet of new, unbound books at the Officina Plantiniana. Remarkably, it reflects a steep increase in book prices, diverging from the price index from the period 1591-1595 onwards. This happened probably not by coincidence after Jan Moretus I took over the business of his deceased father-in-law in the summer of 1589. As explained below, Jan Moretus I immediately steered the company in a new direction.

Graph 5 combines prices, wages and rents expressed in real terms, i.e., deflated using the general price index. This graph also confirms the divergence in the average price per sheet, wages and the cost of living. Book prices at the Officina Plantiniana evolved in a sovereign way, as they detached completely from evolutions in prices, wages and 'commodities' like housing (rents).





Graph 5 Real index: wages, rents, and price per sheet (1581-1585 = 100)

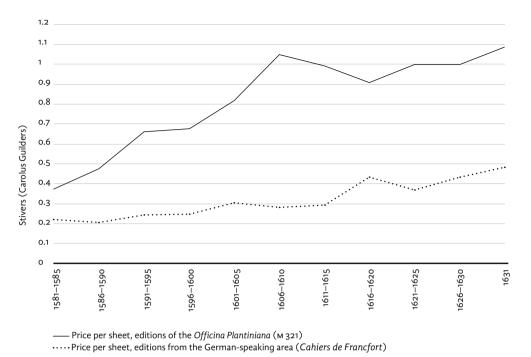
Discussion

These findings not only confirm what we already knew about the direction taken by Plantin's successors at the firm, but they also put it in a wider perspective. The comparison with living standards of common people allows for a more articulated interpretation of the book prices that the masters of the Officina Plantiniana had established.

Other studies about the Officina Plantiniana have indeed demonstrated that Jan Moretus I and later generations gradually moved towards (1) the production of more expensive book formats, both large (folio, quarto) and small, especially duodecimo; (2) that they reduced the number of woodcut illustrations in favour of more beautiful but also more expensive intaglio illustrations; 28 (3) that they produced more special runs of editions on luxury paper than previously;²⁹ (4) that they systematically and increasingly focussed almost exclusively on liturgical books, printed in two colours, which, as they were in Latin, could be aimed at both local and international markets,30 All these elements match well with specifically targeted public groups of well-to-do individual and institutional customers who did not suffer much from inflation, debased currencies, rising prices or dropping wages. More than ever, by the mid-seventeenth century, the Officina Plantiniana had moved to the upper strata of the book market.31

How does the price level at the Officina Plantiniana relate to prices for books produced in Germany? A comparison with books bought by Plantin and his successors at the Frankfurt Book Fair throws some light on that question. Graphs 6 and 7 show the average price per sheet in stuivers Carolus Guilders for editions produced in German-speaking countries. The average values are grouped in five-year intervals according to the date of publication of the books.³² Graph 6 displays information for both Antwerp books and German books in nominal terms, while Graph 7 translates the same data in real terms.

- 27 Cf. Proot, 'Shifting price levels in books produced at the Officina Plantiniana', 100-101, and Table 2; Dirk Imhof, Jan Moretus and the continuation of the Plantin Press. A bibliography of the works published and printed by Jan Moretus 1 in Antwerp (1589-1610), Leiden 2014 (2 vols), I, LXXIII.
- 28 Cf. Proot, 'Shifting price levels in books produced at the Officina Plantiniana', 103-105; Karen L. Bowen & Dirk Imhof, Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe, Cambridge 2008: Karen L. Bowen, 'Tabellen van illustraties in liturgische werken' in D. Imhof (ed.), De boekillustratie ten tijde van de Moretussen, Antwerpen 1996, 178–181, esp. the table and graph on p. 181.
- 29 Cf. Proot, 'Shifting price levels in books produced at the Officina Plantiniana', 105.
- 30 Cf. Kristof Selleslach, 'The confirmation of the Officina Plantiniana's general privilege in 1641' in The Golden Compasses, 98:1 (2020), 197-223, at 198 (graph 1); Proot, 'Shifting price levels in books produced at the Officina Plantiniana', 104; Dirk Imhof, 'De Plantijnse uitgeverij onder Balthasar II Moretus (1641-1674). Een vergelijking met het uitgeversfonds van zijn grootvader Jan 1 Moretus (1589-1610)' in Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis, 16 (2009), 113-129.
- 31 Cf. Proot, 'Shifting price levels in books produced at the Officina Plantiniana', 107.
- 32 26 editions in the dataset for the German-speaking area were published before 1580 and are omitted from Graphs 6 and 7.

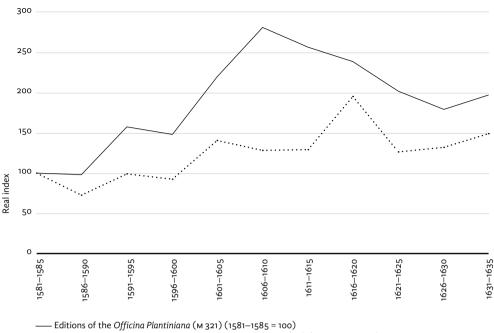


Graph 6 Average nominal price per sheet in stivers of editions published by the Officina Plantiniana (based on MPM M 321) and in the German-speaking area (based on records in the Cahiers de Francfort), grouped in five-year intervals (based on the year of publication); n(M 321) = 1,621 and n(CdF) = 831 (trimmed datasets)

The average price of editions published in the period 1581–1631 by the *Officina Plantiniana* is 0.81 stivers per sheet, while those acquired at the Frankfurt Fairs and published in the German-speaking area in the same period cost 0.31 stivers per sheet, which makes an overall difference of about 62%. As graph 6 with nominal prices indicates, the difference between the two datasets in the beginning of the period (1581–1585) is 0.16 stivers per sheet, or about 41% if one takes the Antwerp value as a base. Later both graphs gradually increase, but the Antwerp graph more so, and the spread between them remains considerable. It varies between about 57% in the period 1586–1590 and about 73% in the period 1606–1610.

This comparison indicates that the price per sheet of editions produced in German-speaking countries was, on average, significantly less expensive than those produced by Plantin. This is undoubtedly due to the nature of the books that poured out of the Antwerp enterprise. It is clear that Plantin and his successors increasingly focussed on richer audiences than their competitors in the German-speaking area.

But we must remain cautious not to jump to conclusions. One of the unsolved questions which springs from this comparison is to what extent the acquisitions by the *Officina Plantiniana* at the Frankfurt Book Fairs are representative for the market *at large*. Did those books match the high-end products from the *Officina Plantiniana*, or was this selection representative of the entire market?



····· Editions from the German-speaking area (Cahiers de Francfort) (1581–1585 = 100)

Graph 7 Real index of the price per sheet in stivers of editions published by the Officina Plantiniana (based on MPM M 321) and in the German-speaking area (based on records in the Cahiers de Francfort), grouped in five-year intervals (based on the year of publication); n(M 321) = 1,621 and n(CdF) = 831 (trimmed datasets).

Conclusion

The method demonstrated in this contribution offers clear insights into general price trends and wages compared to the price of books. Book prices published by the Officina Plantiniana evolve in ways that are no longer related to the average trend of prices or to the evolution of wages. If regular books were already labelled as luxury commodities, then books from the Officina Plantiniana can be labelled as 'luxury objects to the power'.

Once again, this survey shows that the Officina Plantiniana occupied a specific place in the market and that trends shown in their business records do not necessarily reflect strategies of other printers/publishers, and finally that their pricing strategy was probably not the norm for other businesses.

From the comparison with editions from the German-speaking area at the Frankfurt Fairs, it is obvious that book prices from the Officina Plantiniana cannot serve as a good proxy for book prices in general, as they do not target typical customers from the middle class. Future research should try to define 'common books' as opposed to 'luxury books' and study their prices. It is very likely that other publishing firms developed other pricing strategies to meet the demands of the common and local public in need of, amongst others, almanacs, prayer books, and school books.



SASKIA LIMBACH

Sales and trading in Frankfurt Feyerabend's prices in perspective (1565–1597)



Although Sigmund Feyerabend was not a noble character, he will always be closely linked to the entire German literature [published] in the sixteenth century, and his name will remain unforgettable.

With these words, Heinrich Pallmann concludes his extensive bibliography on one of the greatest publishers not only in Frankfurt but the entire German lands.1 Other scholars following Pallmann have attested Feyerabend's 'perspicacity' as well as his 'entrepreneurial spirit' and his 'necessary ruthlessness for making rapid progress'. Feyerabend certainly made a stellar career: soon after he began work in Frankfurt in the 1550s, he formed collaborations with other printers and publishers to share the risks of the fickle book business. From the very beginning he knew how important support was and therefore frequently petitioned the city council for legal protection or permissions to produce a publication; he was quick to sue anyone who dared to compete with him; and when he himself was sued for not settling his debts, Feyerabend tried shady tricks and chicane to avoid paying his dues as long as he could.3 With this determination, it may hardly be surprising that between 1570 and 1577 Feyerabend quadrupled his assets.4

Fortunately for modern-day scholars, Feyerabend's many, sometimes hostile, interactions with his suppliers, partners and clients left an abundance of evidence. It allows us to peek behind the curtain of arguably the most prosperous book business in sixteenth-century Frankfurt. After providing a short overview of currency, value of money and paper units, this chapter will briefly introduce Feyerabend and contextualise his activities within

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- * I would like to thank the EMoBookTrade Team as well as the Material Text Cultures Team, who kindly invited me to Heidelberg as a Mercator Fellow in 2020. The fruitful exchange with experts from both projects helped me considerably to write this chapter.
- 1 Heinrich Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen, Frankfurt
- 2 Alexander Dietz, Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte, Band III, Frankfurt 1921, 29.
- 3 Once he declared to have entrusted a third person with money until it turned out that this person had already died and could not have received Feyerabend's payment. Later Feyerabend claimed that the paper maker had not delivered all the paper and that it was not even clear if it was, in fact, worth the agreed upon sum of money. This way Feyerabend could draw out the litigation for several years, see Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 41.
- 4 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 50.

the Frankfurt book business at the time. I will then approach the prices of Feyerabend's books with two in-depth analyses of particular sources. Part I will concentrate on the sales register compiled for the Frankfurt spring fair in 1565, a truly magnificent source, which allows us to trace Feyerabend's sales practices, his vast network and the instant sellers in his publishing program. Part II will analyse two book catalogues, published by Feyerabend in 1588 and his heirs in 1597, respectively, which both contain prices for the books on offer. At that time, Feyerabend concentrated mostly on publishing Latin law books and the developments in the prices over the period of nearly a decade will show why these publications were so lucrative. Finally, I will discuss which factors influenced the prices for Feyerabend's books, paying special attention to works by the same authors as well as multivolume publications.

This chapter is based on many different types and sources of data, including prices for the books, prices for the smallest units of the books (one printed sheet), references to the specific editions and their publication years. While this extensive data is essential to support the arguments made throughout this chapter, the exhaustive details may also interrupt the reading flow. Therefore, the text only includes displays of the data in the form of graphs, diagrams and tables. Those readers who seek more specifics about the exact data behind the visuals will find extensive tables in the Appendix.

A brief note on currency, the value of money and paper units

Before we have a closer look at Feyerabend's sales and the prices of his books, it will be useful to have a short excursion into the denominations of the Gulden in Frankfurt in the second half of the sixteenth century. At that time, two units were frequently used: in some sources we find the denomination of 1 Gulden (fl) = 15 Batzen (bz) with a Batzen consisting of 4 Kreuzer (kr). Thus, 1 fl equalled 60 kr. In other cases, we can find the denomination of 1 *Gulden* (fl) = 20 *Shilling* (s) with a *Shilling* usually consisting of 12 *Pfennig* (d). This latter unit, however, is tricky to pin down since the value of a Shilling and especially of a Pfennig could change in relation to each other during the period under investigation.

In almost all documents that survived from Feyerabend's business, we can find the first denomination, Gulden, Batzen and Kreuzer, as specified for instance in a contract signed by Feyerabend in 1574 ('Jeden gulden zu 15 bazen oder 60 Creutzer gerechnet') and the register from 1565 as well as the two book catalogues with prices (1588 and 1597).5 This denomination was agreed on in the currency reform in the Republic of Bern (1492) and the Batzen, a new coin that contained less silver than others, quickly spread in the Swiss and southern German areas.⁶ It was soon established as a central arithmetical unit in Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Austria and the Alsace. As Feyerabend had numerous clients in these areas [Table 1], he presumably preferred this denomination because it facilitated his exchange with those clients. By contrast, other contemporary booksellers, like Michael Harder, used Gulden, Shilling, Pfennig or even a combination, as did the heirs of Egenolff, who used 1 Gulden = 20 Shilling = 3 Kreuzer.7

To put these prices in perspective, the following references to wages and prices might be useful. In 1565, a craftsmen earned 4 kr per day. At the same time, 1 kilogram (kg) of butter cost 3 kr; 1 kg of fish cost ½ kr; and 1 kg of grain ¼ kr. Clothes were, of course, more expensive, for example a pair of shoes cost 16 kr (4 bz), a pair of boots as well as a pair of pants 15 bz (1 fl).8 Thus, Feyerabend's book Biblische Figuren (Biblical Figures), priced at 3 bz (12 kr), was well within reach of its intended target group, which consisted of craftsmen and artists. They needed to spend the equivalent of three days' wages to acquire a copy.

As for trade units of printed books, German printers and publishers only rarely counted books in copies. Instead, they referred to the books just by the number of sheets that made up the requested copies of the book. This, for instance, was also common practice in the Duchy of Württemberg.9 Whereas paper units could generally vary in size depending on region and time period,10 the units for printed sheets in sixteenth-century Frankfurt were always 25 sheets = 1 quire (Buch); 20 quires = 1 ream (Ries); and 10 reams = 1 bale (Ballen). This meant that 1 bale contained 5,000 sheets $(25 \times 20 \times 10)$. Thus, when the printer Jacques Foillet from Montbéliard delivered the copies of the *Amadis* novels to Frankfurt in the later sixteenth century, Feyerabend's heirs calculated the first volume as follows:

Autumn fair 1594: Item settled with Jacob Filethen from Mümpelgarth [Montbéliard], the first part of Amadis consist of 67 sheets [produced in] 1225 copies, [equals] 16 Ballen 4 Ries 3 Buch.¹¹

Here, the total number of sheets, i.e., 82,075, was divided into $16 \times 5,000$, 4×500 and 3×25 sheets. Similarly, the second volume of *Amadis*, which was produced in the same print run but consisted of only 42 sheets per copy, equalled 51,450 sheets, which were noted as 10 bales, 2 reams and 18 quires.12

Sigmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt

Frankfurt is well known for its important biannual fair, which was established as early as 1330.13 The fair had benefitted greatly from the city's high political status as the election and coronation place for the German emperors. Similarly, it had benefitted from the city's geographics at the centre of major trade routes, connecting the southern and northern parts of

- 5 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 167.
- 6 Konrad Schneider, 'Untersuchungen zum Geldumlauf im Untermain- und Mittelrheingebiet vom ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert bis in die Zeit der Reichsmünzordnungen (1. Teil)' in Archiv für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 57 (1999), 1-54, here 11.
- 7 Günter Richter, 'Christian Egenolffs Erben 1555-1667' in Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 7 (1966), 449-1130, here 844.
- 8 Historisches Museum Frankfurt, https://historisches-museum-frankfurt.de/node/28756 (all online sources last consulted 19 January 2023).
- 9 Saskia Limbach, Government use of print. Official publications in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500–1600, Frankfurt 2021, 96.

- 10 Daniel Bellingradt, 'The paper trade in early modern Europe: an introduction' in Daniel Bellingradt et al. (eds), The paper trade in early modern Europe. Practices, materials, networks, Leiden/Boston 2021, 21.
- 11 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 255. For more information on the Amadis novels, see below.
- 12 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 255.
- 13 Tina Terrahe, 'Frankfurts Aufstieg zur Druckmetropole des 16. Jahrhunderts. Christian Egenolff, Sigmund Feyerabend und die Frankfurter Buchmesse' in Robert Seidel et al. (eds), Frankfurt im Schnittpunkt der Diskurse. Strategien und Institutionen literarischer Kommunikation im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, Frankfurt 2010,

the empire. Despite its importance as a political and economic centre, however, Frankfurt was not one of the larger cities in the German lands, like Cologne, Nuremberg or Augsburg, and counted only some 10,000 inhabitants at the turn of the sixteenth century. It was also not home to a university until the modern era.

Printing, therefore, only slowly took a hold in Frankfurt. The first printer who stayed permanently in the city was Christian Egenolff the Elder (†1555), who started his business in 1530. From then on, the book trade in Frankfurt matured. In the last decade of the century (1591–1600) printers in Frankfurt produced more books than their colleagues in Augsburg or Cologne (as far as the number of titles is concerned).¹⁴ By then, the fair had become the most important occasion in the year for printers, publishers and authors all over Europe. This economic prosperity also let the city to grow in size with the number of inhabitants, doubling by the early seventeenth century (20,000).15

Sigmund Feyerabend played an important role in the city's rapid rise into a major book centre. Born in 1528, Feyerabend took up his father's profession, became a woodcutter and spent years in Venice and Augsburg before he settled in Frankfurt in the late 1550s. Here he focused exclusively on publishing (not printing) books, and with clients all over Europe, he soon began to rival the large international book centres, like Wittenberg, Lyon and Venice. In 1560, for instance, he published an illustrated Bible closely modelled after the Luther Bible (much to the dismay of the Wittenberg printers). From the very beginning, Feyerabend was aware of the financial risks in the book trade. The Bible appeared in collaboration with his partners, the printers David Zöpfl and Johann Rasch, and Feyerabend had obtained a privilege from the Elector Palatine of the Rhine that protected him from unwanted competition in the Elector's territory for six years (offenders had to pay the extraordinary fine of 100 fl).16 In the following decades, Feyerabend would often seek legal protection for his work (or the goodwill of a patron) and would fiercely defend his market areas.

With this keen business sense, Feyerabend soon became one of the most successful publishers in the city with many of the local printers working for him. His revenues at the book fairs were impressive (see below), and his interests were manifold. He had a variety of books on offer, but focused in particular, as we shall see, on popular/history books, theological works and later also legal publications by foreign authors, challenging producers in Lyon and Venice. This latter category is particularly interesting because there was no university in Frankfurt (unlike in the aforementioned print centres). Nevertheless, Feyerabend was able to compete with both centres, after he had established himself by producing high-end publications from the very beginning of his career.

PART I THE 1565 SALES REGISTER

Feyerabend's sales register from the spring fair in 1565 was created for the association ('companei') that he had formed with two other Frankfurt printers/publishers.¹⁷ One of them was Georg Rab, a printer who had come to Frankfurt shortly after Feyerabend (1561) and who had founded the association in April 1562. The other was Weigand Han who had sold a print shop with three presses (for 30 fl each) and equipment to Rab upon his arrival in Frankfurt (interestingly, the equipment included a painted piece of cloth which Rab may have used as a signboard for his shop at the fairs).18 When Han died only a few months after the founding of the association, the heirs of Han took over and continued the business of the association with Rab. 19 Finally, in 1563, Feyerabend joined the association and took over the responsibility of publishing the books, together with Han's heirs, whereas Rab dedicated himself to printing. With Feyerabend, the production of the association increased both in quantity and quality, and in the following years the association published many illustrated imprints.²⁰ The association existed for nearly a decade until it was dissolved in 1571.

The register was titled 'Copy or transcript of the sales register for the spring fair Anno 1565 [by] Sigmund Feyerabend. This is what I need to invoice with my partners Jorg [Georg] Rab and Weigandt Han', The manuscript is part of the collection of the Deutsches Buchund Schriftenmuseum in Leipzig and consists of 41 unnumbered leaves and 8 blank pages at the end.²² All in all, the booklet is rather small, measuring only 215 × 170 mm. It was drawn up primarily to keep track of the accounts for Feyerabend's clients, with some entries crossed out when the debt was later settled.

Its content is very detailed and provides us with important clues not only about the impressive size of the business but also about the proportion of cash and account purchases. The register shows that Feyerabend sold no fewer than 2,650 copies, totalling the large sum of 2,627 fl, 12 bz and 3 kr, for the association.²³ This represents fairly accurately an average of 1 fl for every book sold. The overwhelming majority of copies (97.4%, 2,581 items) were sold on account, for which Feyerabend created a large section in the register, listing 107

- 14 Terrahe, 'Frankfurts Aufstieg zur Druckmetropole des 16. Jahrhunderts'. 183.
- 15 Marina Stalljohann, 'Frankfurt am Main' in Wolfgang Adam et al. (eds), Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit, Berlin/Boston, MA 2012, 535-594, here 539.
- 16 USTC 616484, VD16 B 2747, 3v. The privilege is dated 7 September 1559. In case of infringement, all copies should be confiscated and given to the Elector Palatine. Half of the fine was for the local court; the other half for the three producers.
- 17 The register was edited by Heinrich Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's aus dem Jahre 1565' in Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels, 9 (1884), 5-46.
- 18 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 154. For the speculation on the painted cloth as signboard, see p. 115 (footnote 152a).
- 19 The group of heirs consisted of Han's children and his widow Katharina who presided over the group

- of heirs. When Katharina remarried in 1565, Han's mother, the publisher Margarethe Gülfferich, took over the business for the heirs until her death in 1568.
- 20 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 22.
- 21 'Copey oder Abschrift des Registers Fasten Mes Ao. 1565 Sigmund Feirabendt. Das mus Ich meinen mitverwanthen als Jorg Rab vnnd Weigandt Hanen Erben verrechnen.'
- 22 Leipzig, Deutsches Buch- und Schriftenmuseum, call number: Вö н 12.
- 23 It lists 21 individual titles which can all (except of one) be matched with contemporary books. They were produced by the association or, in the case of two editions, produced by Johannes Oporinus in Basel. Lothar Poethe, 'Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen 1562 bis 1565/67. Ergänzungen zum Register Sigmund Feyerabends von der Frankfurter Fastenmesse 1565' in Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte, 15 (2006), 33–85, here 57.

individuals by name and hometown.²⁴ The last part of the register, which is much smaller, lists books sold for cash ('Handtkaüff'). This referred to those transactions where a buyer bought one or more copies for cash. In the 1565 register, there are 33 entries listed under the heading for cash purchase with half of the entries referring to only one sold copy. On other occasions, buyers bought a few copies, such as one client who bought ten copies. But this was the exception. All in all, the part dedicated to the cash purchase totals 69 copies, worth 62 fl and 2 kr, representing only 2.6% of the overall sales at the 1565 fair. 25 Unfortunately, this section does not mention the clients by name but only includes entries such as '2 Ouidus complett 1 pro 6 Patzen t[hu]t 12 [bz]'.

The larger part of the register that details who bought books on account from Feyerabend allows us to reconstruct the publisher's vast network of business contacts [Diagram 1]. It shows clearly that already, after five years of activity in Frankfurt, Feyerabend had been able to win customers from many parts of the empire and beyond. Only a small portion of his books stayed in Frankfurt. When looking only at the hometowns of the purchasers, the number of books that were bought by those in Frankfurt amounted to 354, representing 13%, with a total of 352 fl 3 bz 1 kr. However, in this particular case, this approach is slightly misleading, and the number was actually much lower.²⁶ One of the Frankfurt clients was Simon Hüter who formed another business association with Feyerabend.²⁷ Hüter had published and sold books in Frankfurt since 1559 and had possibly worked as a printer, too. Shortly after Feyerabend started his business, the two men collaborated for four years (1563-1567), and then Hüter worked on his own from 1568 to 1571. He published over 100 editions, mostly in German, but eventually accumulated so many debts that he fled Frankfurt and left behind his stock of books (see below). In vain, Hüter tried to open a print shop in Zwickau. Eventually, he went to Leipzig in 1581 where he continued to work for Feyerabend until 1583. His earlier strong connection to Leipzig becomes obvious in the register from 1565. He is listed as having bought a total of 303 books; however, the majority of them (245) were intended to be sent to Leipzig after the Frankfurt Fair had ended (the total value of these 245 books amounted to 173 fl 8 bz 3 kr).28 This is noted in a special entry under Hüter's name. If we subtract this quantity of books from those that actually remained in Frankfurt, it was in fact only 109 out of the total of 2,581 books sold on account (4.2 %) that Feyerabend sold to business partners in Frankfurt. The overwhelming majority (95.8 %; 2,472 items) of the books were sold by Feyerabend to his many clients outside Frankfurt.

²⁴ The entry, 'Wilhelm von Romond nachgelassene Wittfrau' (Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 38), may refer to Roermond, but it is not clear whether that is the hometown of the widow or simply her husband's name and the widow lived in Frankfurt. She bought nine books for a total of 2 fl 14 bz 1 kr.

²⁵ Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 39-40.

²⁶ Poethe, 'Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen', 47-48.

²⁷ Irmqard Bezzel, 'Hüter, Simon' in Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens Online, Leiden/Boston 2017.

²⁸ Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's',



Diagram 1 Feyerabend's network of clients outside Frankfurt based on his sales register from 1565 The places 'Bossa', 'Fach' and 'Ursel' most likely refer to 'Bosau', 'Fachbach' and 'Oberursel'

More than half of Feyerabend's business in 1565 was with clients from other book production centres. The detailed list shows us that these cities were well represented [Table 1]. If we add the books from Simon Hüter to those bought from clients in Leipzig, we can see that Leipzig was the city that received the largest number of books: 413 books, bought by seven clients in total, including Simon Hüter. Leipzig was closely followed by the other large book centres in the empire: from the eastern centre, Wittenberg, clients bought 329 books. Clients to the north in Cologne purchased 233 books. Finally, the two large book centres in the south also received their fair share of Feyerabend's books: Nuremberg clients purchased 224 books and Augsburg clients even bought 303 books. Taken together, Feyerabend sold half of his books (1,502 books), representing 56% of the total amount, to clients in Leipzig, Wittenberg, Cologne, Augsburg and Nuremberg.

Leipzig	413	Bossa	34	Schwäbisch-Hall	17	Hirschfeld	9
Wittenberg	329	Jena	30	Dinkelsbühl	16	Weißenburg	7
Augsburg	303	Regensburg	30	Hildesheim	15	Pforzheim	6
Cologne	233	Würzburg	28	Gotha	14	Fach	5
Nuremberg	224	Erfurt	26	Oehringen	13	Frankenberg	5
Antwerp	89	Speyer	25	Munich	12	Nördlingen	5
Tübingen	77	Heidelberg	23	Schweinfurt	12	Bechtheim	3
Strasbourg	75	Basel	22	Worms	12	Ingolstadt	4
Magdeburg	66	Boppard	21	Kassel	11	Fulda	4
Venice	57	Mainz	18	Landau	11	Freiburg	4
Ulm	50	Heilbronn	17	Bretten	9	Korbach	2
Stuttgart	48	Paris	17	Fritzlar	9	Ursel	2
-						Bern	1

Table 1 Number of copies sold by Feyerabend to clients outside Frankfurt at the spring fair in 1565 (extended version of the table in Poethe, Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen 1562 bis 1565/67, 48-49) [places outside the Holy Roman Empire are shown in italics]

Feyerabend's network also included the international book centres of Antwerp, Paris, Venice and Basel, where he was in close contact with other booksellers and book producers. Even relatively small Bern in the Old Swiss Confederation was represented. Perhaps not surprisingly, most books went to only three clients from Antwerp: interestingly, not Christophe Plantin (c. 1520-1589) at this point, but to his leading rival Willem Silvius (1521-1580), as well as Gerard de Jode (fl. 1551-1591) and Joannes Bellerus (fl. 1553-1559).29 Together, the three men bought books for a total of 41 fl 8 bz 1 kr.30 Venice ranked second with 57 books, which were all purchased by one client, namely, the bookseller Gaspare Bindoni the Elder (fl. 1561–1589) (24 fl in total).31 Another 22 books were sold to two clients in Basel, namely, the bookseller Thomas Guarinus (fl. 1561-1591) and the heirs of Johann Herwagen (fl. 1564-1566) (total of 45 fl 11 bz 1 kr),32 There were also two clients from Paris: Andreas Wechel (fl. 1554–1581), who would later work in Frankfurt, and Jacques Du Puis (fl. 1540–1589) who altogether bought 17 books for a total sum of 21 fl 4 bz and 2 kr.33 And finally, Feyerabend also sold one book to Samuel Apiarius (fl. 1554-1590) in Bern.34

The business of the association grew steadily. Already in the next year, Feyerabend increased the number of books that he sold by nearly 40%: at the autumn fair of 1566, he traded a total of 3,662 books.35 Shortly after that, at the spring fair of 1568, this number more than doubled to 8,000 books.³⁶ Yet, these numbers could also fluctuate significantly among the fairs within one year. At the autumn fair of the same year, 1568, Feyerabend 'only' sold 4,882 books. Although this number represents a stark decline from the previous fair in the same year, it was still nearly twice as much as the number of books he sold in 1565.

Similar to the number of books sold, the revenue - 2,627 fl - in the 1565 sales register is impressive. This becomes especially clear when we compare it to other printers and publishers in Frankfurt. For the heirs of the printer Peter Braubach, we can fortunately rely on documentation from a slightly later period: the documents detail the revenue for the six fairs in the years 1568-1570. These were the years immediately following the death of Peter Braubach (†1567), when his heirs had taken over the business. The material shows that the revenue peaked at the spring fair of 1568 with 867 fl. Yet, this steadily declined over the years: at the autumn fair in the same year, they made only 708 fl, and in the following year, 489 fl in the spring and 429 fl in the autumn. Finally, in 1570, the heirs made only 246 fl at the spring fair and 303 fl at the autumn fair. This represents on average some 500 fl at each fair – only one fourth of what Feyerabend had made in 1565.37

Book prices

One reason for Feyerabend's success seems to have been the fact that, at least at the beginning, he sold his books for a fixed price without any discounts. One would have expected that buyers who bought a significant number of copies received a discount, such as in the 1590s when Feyerabend's heirs took over the business and granted booksellers and publishers between 10 and 40%.38 In the 1560s, the printing journeyman Michael Harder also granted discounts to his customers. His Messregister (which also has been referred to as 'Mess-memorial') from both the spring and autumn fair of 1568 as well as the autumn fair of 1569 has not yet received much scholarly attention, probably because only one part has been transcribed (i.e., the 1569 fair) and the transcription, published in 1873, was unfortunately done rather

- 29 Gérard de Jode was represented by Cornelius Caimocks, see Anne Rouzet's Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des xve et xve siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle, Nieuwkoop 1975, 32. For Bellerus and Silvius, see Rouzet, Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, 11-12 and 201-203. I would like to thank Joran Proot for this
- 30 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 38, 16, and 14 respectively.
- 31 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's',

- 32 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 25, 34.
- 33 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 12, 27.
- 34 Samuel Apiarius bought one copy of the 'Biblia Median' (3 fl), Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 36.
- 35 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 134-135.
- 36 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 156-160.
- 37 The exact numbers in Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 179.
- 38 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 91.

carelessly.³⁹ Not only does the transcription leave out parts of the actual source, like sales transactions for which the debt was settled, 40 but the editors also mix up numbers, such as '36' and '86' [sic!]. Moreover, in the preliminary remark, the editors confuse prices with the number of printed sheets, claiming that the small book Schimpf und Ernst was the most expensive book at 36 s (= 432 d), when actually the '36' referred to the printed sheets, and the cash purchase price for a copy was only 2 bz (= 32 d).41 Fortunately, the ledgers have recently been digitised and show us that Harder only sometimes sold books at a fixed price to clients. 42 The overwhelming majority of the books were just recorded in printed sheets: firstly, the number of printed sheets for one copy and then the total number of sheets for all copies that the buyer had purchased. At the end, everything was added up and then multiplied with a specific unit price. This particular price was not written down, but we can calculate that, in the cases of Clemens Balduin (Lyon) and Hans Granmeister (Regensburg), the bookseller quoted the price of 15 fl (= 300 s) per bale (5,000 sheets) or 0.72 d per printed sheet.43

This rate fluctuated slightly. At first glance it may simply be connected to the number of sheets the buyer bought: Dietrich Baum (Cologne; fl. 1562-1588) bought 274.5 printed sheets and paid roughly 0.72 d per sheet whereas Georg Willer's assistant (Augsburg) ordered a total of 17,263.5 printed sheets and received the lower rate of approximately 0.67 d per sheet.⁴⁴ But there must have been other reasons that influenced the rate as well: the heirs of Arnold Birckmann (Cologne; fl. 1561–1585), for instance, bought 1,741 sheets and thus nearly six times as many as their colleague Dietrich Baum. However, the heirs did not receive the same rate (0.72 d) but had to pay more (0.79 d).45 This difference may have had personal reasons or may have been connected to the payment details, both of which are impossible

- 39 The original manuscript is in the Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Ms. Ff. M. Harder (Nachlaß). For more details, see for instance Imke Schmidt, Die Bücher aus der Frankfurter Offizin Gülfferich – Han – Weigand Han-Erben, Wiesbaden, 1996, 40-41. Harder was a printing journeyman who did not have his own press. But he may have worked as a factor (i.e., an employee of a long-term partnership entrusted with managing and conducting business) in the Egenolff print shop from 1574 onwards, see Christoph Reske, Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet, Wiesbaden 2015, 242.
- 40 Wolfgang Virmond, Eulenspiegel und seine Interpreten, Berlin 1981, 82-83.
- 41 Ernst Kelchner & Richard Wülcker (eds), Mess-memorial des Frankfurter Buchhändlers Michel Harder, Frankfurt 1873, digitised by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: https://mdz-nbn-resolving. de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11155608-2.
- 42 They are available online: https://nbn-resolving. org/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-1092388 [1568]; https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hebis: 30:2-1095018 [1569].

- 43 Michael Harder, Messregister Anno 69, 1569, 26 verso and 29 recto. Balduin's books totalled 4,145.5 sheets for which Harder invoiced 12 fl 9 s; and Hans Granmeister's books totalled 941 sheets for which Harder invoiced 2 fl 17 s 2 d (to which he accumulated books with a set price (taken together for 1 fl 19 s), so that the total of the invoice made up 4 fl 16 s 2 d).
- 44 Michael Harder, Messregister Anno 69, 1569, fols 24 recto and 8 verso-9 recto.
- 45 Michael Harder, Messregister Anno 69, 1569, 25 verso. The 1,741 sheets were invoiced 5 fl 15 s to which Harder accumulated another 5 fl 15 s for books with a set price which brings the total sum to 11 fl
- 46 See Gerd Dicke, Heinrich Steinhöwels 'Esopus' und seine Fortsetzer. Untersuchungen zu einem Bucherfolg der Frühdruckzeit, Tübingen 1994, 267-268, note 137. Dicke miscalculated the prices per sheet, Baum: 0.79 d/sheet; Hüter: 0.46 d/sheet.
- 47 For more information on the Biblische Figuren, see below.
- 48 See Paul Needham's calculations on https://www. cerl.org/resources/links_to_other_resources/ bibliographical_data/needhamsruler.

to reconstruct from Harder's Messregister. We do, however, get a glimpse into Harder's discounts in another instance (taken from 1568): both Dietrich Baum as well as Simon Hüter (Frankfurt) bought copies of the Schimpf und Ernst for which they did not pay the set price of 2 bz (= 32 d). Instead with the rate Baum received, a copy of the book only cost 1 bz 3.4 kr (28.44 d) and 1 bz 0.56 kr (16.56 d) in the case of Hüter. 46 This shows that Harder provided his buyers with a discount of 11-48% of the cash purchase price.

In 1565, however, there were no discounts for any of Feyerabend's clients. The bookseller Georg Willer, for instance, bought a total of 100 copies of Biblische Figuren at the spring fair.⁴⁷ In the entry under his name, the publication is mentioned three times, presumably because Willer bought more copies as the fair progressed: first, Biblische Figuren is listed with 50 copies, then with another 20 and finally with an additional 30 copies. Despite this large quantity, however, Willer paid 3 bz for each copy on every single occasion, which then amounted to 10, 4 and 6 fl for each order. Similarly, Simon Hüter, who bought 35 copies of the German version of Adam Reißner's *Jerusalem* paid the same price (1 fl per copy) as Samuel Selfisch (fl. 1554–1615) in Wittenberg who only bought four copies.

This business strategy of not giving discounts to clients, regardless of how many copies they bought, may have had to do with the fact that Feyerabend was still relatively new in the city. Since he had only worked for some five years in Frankfurt prior to the fair in 1565, he might have set the prices for his books particularly low. This way he could undermine the competition and firmly establish himself on the book market. Yet, the already low prices did not allow him to make any further deductions without causing him a loss. It seems much more likely, however, that his strict policy to sell books only for the full price may have simply had to do with the fact that he had high-end products on sale which no one else had on offer at the time. This way, he could dictate market prices and, because his books were well sought after, he could also take the liberty of not reducing any of his profits to retain his clients.

Coloured books

Before we discuss the content of the books in detail, one more facet of Feyerabend's prices is intriguing. Although the prices for copies of an edition always stayed the same in the 1565 register - regardless of how many copies the client bought - the prices did vary with regard to the finishing. Generally, many factors influence the price of a book, such as the quality of paper, the format of the book, the type used for the composition of the text or extras which the buyers ordered to customise their copy. In the 1565 register, these extras were hand-colouring and binding. Of the 21 editions sold by Feyerabend in the mid-1560s, two were offered in colour: Luther's *Hauspostille* and a version of Luther's Bible. The latter – produced on median sheets (maximum dimensions of c. 350 × 500 mm) and therefore referred to as 'Biblia Median' – was even available as a bound version. 48 Both colouring and binding had a significant impact on the price. Whereas the unbound Bible in itself was already relatively expensive, costing a total of 3 fl, a coloured version was priced at a minimum of 8 fl

which represents a price increase of 167%.⁴⁹ Laban Wechselberger from Bretten was even charged 9 fl for a coloured copy,50 Higher still was the price paid by Peter Zeittler from Leipzig: 10 fl for one copy in colour.51 Zeittler also bought a bound (coloured) copy for which Feyerabend charged no less than 14 fl - nearly five times as much as an unbound, uncoloured version.⁵² This was, however, an exception. Of the 2,650 copies that Feyerabend recorded in the register, this was the only bound copy he sold. The number of coloured copies was similarly low: the publisher sold only 16 copies of the coloured Bible and three of Luther's Hauspostille.53 This was less than 10.7% of his sales, which shows that Feyerabend's clients nearly always purchased his books uncoloured and unbound.

Subject matters

The register does not indicate any categories for the books sold by Feyerabend during the fair, but we can rely on later sources for his general divisions. In Feyerabend's earliest surviving catalogue, printed for the 1576 spring fair, we see that the publisher organised his books by subject: theology, law, medicine, and so-called Historienbücher (history books), which was a multifaceted category, including, for instance, chronicles, account books, classics and news.54 This category, as well as theology, was subdivided according to language into Latin books, listed first, and German books. In the 1576 catalogue, this division was emphasised by the use of different fonts: Latin titles were printed in roman type, German titles printed in Gothic type.55 Within the German titles, Latin expressions like 'in folio' or 'in quarto' were also printed in roman font.

With this classification, Feyerabend followed the tradition of displaying university faculties according to their prestige – distinctions which were very familiar to his buyers.⁵⁶ Already by the late 1460s, the printer Peter Schöffer the Elder (fl. 1457-1502) in Mainz had used this sorting in his sales advertisement, albeit leaving out headings for the categories.⁵⁷ Later, this categorisation was adopted by the bookseller Georg Willer, who, from 1564, produced the first composite catalogues of the new books on offer at the Frankfurt Fairs.⁵⁸ Other printers, who specialised in humanist works, modified this arrangement and would introduce further categories, as did the Frankfurt printer Peter Braubach (fl. 1540-1567) who placed his Greek books (Libri Graeci) at the very beginning of his catalogue.⁵⁹ Sebastian Gryphius (c. 1492-1556) in Lyon opened his catalogue with Libri Grammatici, followed by Varia and Philologica and placed his theological books at the end of the catalogue. 60 The Parisian bookseller Robert Estienne (fl. in Paris 1526-1550) divided his books by language first and then by genres.⁶¹ Even though Feyerabend sold grammars as well, he (and his heirs) always followed the way of displaying the books by university faculties.

If we apply these categories to the sales register from 1565, the books that Feyerabend sold for the association fall into three main categories: theological books, law books, and history books. 62 Theology featured prominently with about 58% of the sold copies (1,541 of the 2,650 books). 63 Law, on the other hand, comprised only one title, the teachings of Johannes Sichard, of which Feyerabend sold 187 copies (7%). Medical books were missing

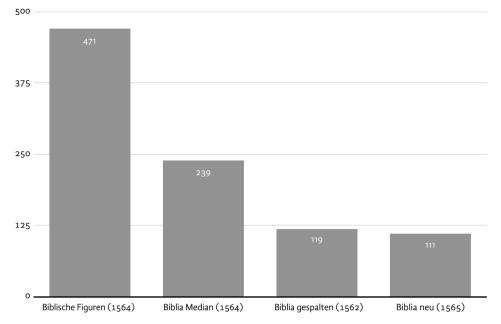
altogether, which then leaves the remainder (922) to history books, accumulating 35% of the overall sales.64

Instant sellers

Among the instant sellers in 1565 were three versions of a German Bible and Biblische Figuren, which contained the woodcut illustrations used in the Bibles, accompanied by Latin and German verses [Graph 1]. Taken together, these four editions were sold in 940 copies which made up 35% of Feyerabend's entire sales at the fair. From the very beginning of his activities in 1560, Feyerabend had a great interest in publishing German Bibles. 65 Among the first books that he financed in his initial year was a new edition of the Wittenberg Bible.66 It was modelled after the 1545 and 1550 editions that Hans Lufft (fl. 1523-1584) had produced in Wittenberg; Feyerabend extended the text by including a commentary and a lengthy index of names, events and teachings (Lehrpunkte).⁶⁷ Feyerabend also used more illustrations:

- 49 For example, Hans Schenck from Schwäbisch Hall bought a coloured version for 8 fl, as did Jeronimus Rihel from Strasbourg, Jost Zimmermann from Heidelberg and Michel Bruner from Pfortzheim. Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's', 25, 26, 28, 31.
- 50 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's',
- 51 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's',
- 52 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's',
- 53 Pallmann, 'Ein Meßregister Sigmund Feyerabend's',
- 54 As Feyerabend had to provide the authorities with an overview of his books, a copy of this spring fair catalogue from 1576 survives in the Haus-, Hofund Staatsarchiv Wien. Interestingly, it was progressively amended at the bottom of the sheet where the publisher had noted the additional books that he had on offer at the fairs in autumn 1576, spring 1577, autumn 1577, spring 1578, autumn 1578 and spring 1579. Feyerabend also crossed out some of the books mentioned in the printed text as they were presumably sold out by the time that he sent the broadsheet to the Imperial Book Commission. The broadsheet unfortunately does not list any prices for the books. The Vienna copy is reproduced in Günter Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen in den Akten der Kaiserlichen Bücherkommission' in Elisabeth Geck et al. (eds), Festschrift für Josef Benzing zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, Wiesbaden 1964, 317-372 and plate no. 11, 11.
- 55 Similarly, the German title of the broadsheet, Verzeichnuß der Buecher [etc.], is printed in Gothic type whereas the year 'M.D.LXXVI' is printed in roman type (catalogue no. 1, see below).
- 56 Günter Richter, 'Humanistische Bücher in Buchhändlerkatalogen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts' in

- Fritz Krafft et al. (eds), Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch, Boppard 1977, 184-208, here 194; lan Maclean, Scholarship, commerce, religion. The learned book in the age of confessions, 1560-1630, Cambridge, MA 2012, 61.
- 57 GW M40875, digitised by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00101543/image_1. This advertisement is also reproduced in Christian Coppens, 'Marketing the early printed book. Publisher's and bookseller's advertisements and catalogues' in De Gulden Passer, 92:2 (2014), 155-180, 168.
- 58 Ian Maclean, Episodes in the life of the early modern learned book, Leiden/Boston, MA 2021, 6; Bernhard Fabian (ed.), Die Messkataloge des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, Hildesheim 1972–2001 (5 vols).
- 59 David S. Paisey, 'Dating a stock catalogue of Peter Braubach' in Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 51 (1976), 248-253.
- 60 Richter, 'Humanistische Bücher', 197.
- 61 For an analysis of his early catalogues, see Goran Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' cataloques (Paris 1541–1552). A statistical analysis' in JLIS.it 9:2 (2018), 192-221 (DOI: 10.4403/jlis. it-12459).
- 62 Poethe, 'Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen', 57.
- 63 Poethe, 'Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen', 57.
- 64 Poethe, 'Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen', 58.
- 65 Hermann Oertel, 'Die Frankfurter Feyerabend-Bibeln und die Nürnberger Endter-Bibeln' in Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 70 (1983), 75–116, here 78, https://periodika.digitale-sammlungen.de//mvgn/Blatt_bsbooooo 986,00113.html?prozent=1.
- 66 USTC 616484; VD16 B 2747.
- 67 Anette Pelizaeus, Eine Bibel für Württemberg. Bibeln als Glaubenszeugnisse im Zeitalter Herzog Christophs (1550-1568), Stuttgart 2012, 43.



Graph 1 Number of copies sold according to Feyerabend's register from 1565

whereas the Wittenberg Bible lacked images in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, the Frankfurt Bible illustrated these parts, which brought the number of total woodcuts to 140 instead of 122 (1545).⁶⁸ In addition, the function of the images changed. The Wittenberg images served solely to illustrate the text whereas the images in the 1560 Bible with secular motifs (plants, animals, etc.) were used as artistic embellishment.

Success was imminent, and the Feyerabend Bible was progressively expanded to comply more to the taste of the audience. After two more editions in 1561, Feyerabend published a revised version in 1562 with new woodcuts and a more elaborate guidance system for the reader.⁶⁹ The index was expanded, now covering 22 pages, and placed at the front of the book, following the table of contents. The book also provided short chapter summaries, and the main text was displayed in two columns. With this composition, Feyerabend turned stylistically away from the Wittenberg Bibles of 1534 and 1545, which had broken with tradition and had abandoned the two-column page layout. Finally, Feyerabend's 1562 Bible was revised again and published in 1564.⁷⁰ For this edition, the publisher replaced all woodcuts with 'heretic' ('heidnischen') elements, as many disliked them according to the publisher's statement in the preface ('diweil sie vilen mißfallen').⁷¹

According to the sales register from 1565, Feyerabend had three Bible editions on offer. The 1564 edition sold particularly well with no fewer than 239 copies. Nearly every client bought at least one copy for the considerable price of 3 fl. This sum made it the highest priced item on the list. As we have seen above, clients could also buy a hand-coloured version and even a bound version of the book. In addition to the 239 copies sold at the fair, Feyerabend had also been able to sell 300 copies (also each for 3 fl) to Duke Christoph of

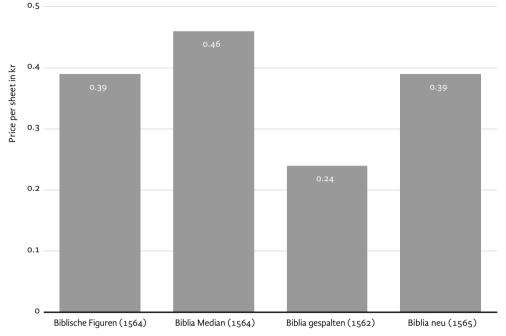
Württemberg (1515–1568) on 22 April 1564.72 These sales to Württemberg must have spurred the compilation of a new Bible edition from 1565, which Feyerabend then sold at the fair, in addition to the remaining copies of the 1564 Bible. This 1565 Bible is referred to in the register as 'biblia der neuen' ('the new Bible'). It was finished in time for the spring fair and included an appendix of nearly 250 pages, consisting of an overview of names and dates, as well as a calendar of events, from the Creation to the Ascension.⁷³ Taken together, Feyerabend sold 111 copies of the 1565 Bible. Furthermore, he was still able to sell copies of the previous edition of the Bible from 1562. All in all, he sold another 119 copies of this earlier edition, which was referred to as the 'Gespaltene bibel' due to its design in two columns.

It is interesting to see that these four editions had a different price per printed sheet [Graph 2]. Whereas the Bible from 1562 cost only 0.24 kr per sheet (20 fl/bale), the extended version from 1564 cost nearly twice as much, namely, 0.46 kr per sheet (38.7 fl/bale). Undoubtedly, this reflected the costs that the association had to cover for the newly designed (more pious) woodcuts. Yet these costs inflated the price only of the 1564 edition. The later Bible, printed in 1565 - which also included the woodcuts - was already a bit cheaper, namely, 0.39 kr per sheet (32.5 fl/bale). This was a price decrease of 15% and reflects the lower production costs for the edition for which Feyerabend could reuse the woodcuts. The production costs were probably even lower than when we take into account Renaud Milazzo's recent findings for the Plantin press in Antwerp. There, Plantin's production costs for the second edition of three emblem books, for which he reused the woodcuts, decreased by 65–80%.⁷⁴ It is very likely that Feyerabend's costs for the 1565 edition had also dropped so dramatically, but by reducing the price only by 15%, he made he made better profits on the second edition.

Similarly, the publication of the Biblische Figuren contained the 130 woodcuts used for the Bibles. However, it seems likely that the woodcuts in the Biblische Figuren were accompanied by extra leaves. After all, a second edition of the Biblische Figuren was printed in August 1565, according to the date in the preface.75 It consists of the images printed on one leaf (recto and verso), followed by a blank leaf for artists to practice. Taken together, this brings the total number to 123 leaves (with and without images). It seems very likely that the earlier edition from 1564 was also produced with these extra sheets, as seen for instance in the copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel that includes extra leaves at

- 68 Oertel, 'Die Frankfurter Feyerabend-Bibeln', 79; Pelizaeus, Bibel für Württemberg, 225, gives an overview of the illustrations in the Bibles from 1535, 1545 and Feyerabend's later version from 1564.
- 69 USTC 616483, VD16 B 2748; USTC 616482, VD16 в 2752; and usтс 616518, vd16 в 2756; Oertel, 'Die Frankfurter Feyerabend-Bibeln', 8o.
- **70** USTC 616528, VD16 B 2759.
- 71 USTC 616528, VD16 B 2759, fol. 3 verso.
- 72 Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 282 Bd. 1299. The duke paid an additional 40 fl 40 kr to have the Bibles delivered to Stuttgart. For more information on the books that the dukes of Württemberg bought in the sixteenth century, see Limbach, Government use of print. Note: Pelizaeus states in her Bibel
- für Württemberg on page 55 that the print run only consisted of these 200 copies, yet Feyerabend also sold 239 copies of the Bible at the spring fair 1565 which shows that the print run was much higher.
- 73 USTC 616451; VD16 B 2760.
- 74 Renaud Milazzo, 'In the mind of a publisher. Establishing the price of emblem books in Antwerp in the sixteenth century' in Nina Lamal & J. Christopher Warner (eds), Christophe Plantin 1520-2020. Studies of the Officina Plantiniana at the quincentennial of Plantin's birth, Antwerp 2021 (= The Golden Compasses, 98:2 [2020]), 183-202, here 191.
- 75 USTC 677037; VD16 B 6068.

the end. However, in the only digital copy available (Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart), the extra blank leaves seem to have been cut out when the book was bound. Thus, VD16 lists only 70 leaves. Yet, this would mean that, with the price of 3 bz per copy, the price per printed sheet was 0.68 kr – nearly twice as much as the most expensive Bible. It is therefore much more plausible that Feyerabend designed the earlier version of the *Biblische Figuren*, like the one that was to follow in August 1565, which meant that the price was 0.39 kr/sheet.



Graph 2 Price per printed sheet in Kreuzer (kr)

Biblische Figuren sold extraordinarily well. On the title page, Feyerabend and his partners specified that this book was published for 'all artists, painters, goldsmiths, sculptors, stone-masons and carpenters'. Not surprisingly, most copies of *Biblische Figuren* (109 copies) were sold to clients in Augsburg, a hub for many artists in the early modern Germany area. Buyers from other cities with a strong artist community also bought the book: an Antwerp client purchased 47 copies and Nuremberg clients 34 copies. Gaspare Bindoni the Elder, Feyerabend's only client from Venice at the spring fair in 1565, also bought 25 copies of the edition. Furthermore, Feyerabend would sell 13 copies of *Biblische Figuren* for cash.

The difference in the price of one printed sheet could change significantly from book to book. For the heirs of Christian Egenolff the Elder in Frankfurt, it was suggested that their books ranged from as high as 105 fl to as low as 17 fl per bale which equals a range from 1.26 kr/sheet to 0.20 kr/sheet.⁷⁶ This observation was primarily based on the copies that Egenolff's heirs sold to Antwerp publishers – Christophe Plantin as well as his successors

(the Moretuses) - and the material was complemented with other sources. This led to an overview of prices for 50 editions, printed between 1592 and 1616. Some of these price differences were probably caused by inflation following difficult times, like pestilences. Such times of trouble, even if lasting for only a few months, made it hard to obtain material, like paper, or increased expenses in the print shop, such as wages. However, the differences in price naturally also have to do with the books themselves. The data for Egenolff's heirs suggest that Latin books were generally more expensive than vernacular editions and that illustrations did not tend to have a significant impact on the price. After all, once the woodcuts were cut, publishers and printers could use them for several editions, just as we have seen with Feyerabend's woodcuts for his Bibles. The new images inflated the costs for a new edition (1564) but not to the same degree as the following edition (1565). As studies on the production of the Nuremberg Chronicle have shown, woodcuts could even be used for about 25,000 impressions.77

Generally, the lowest price for a bale of printed sheets in Frankfurt was at least a few Gulden: in 1569, for instance, the printer Thomas Rebart (fl. 1558-1570) bought Historienbücher for 6 fl per bale (0.072 kr/sheet).78 A few years later, in 1572, the stock of the bookseller Simon Hüter was sold at the price of 5 fl per bale (0.06 kr/sheet).79 As Hüter had fled the city, this was the liquidation of his stock, and the price was therefore relatively low, although the inventory included Latin and Greek works as well. Two years later, Feyerabend himself sold a significant amount of his stock to his cousin Johann Feyerabend who had come to Frankfurt in 1573 to open a book business with his partner. To help him start his enterprise, Sigmund Feyerabend sold Johann and his partner a large portion of his books, namely 117 bales, 5 reams, 2 quires, 10 sheets.80 For this, Feyerabend charged no less than 1,028 fl, which relates approximately to 8.74 fl/bale.81 Yet, there was a wide range of quality in the books. As specified in the contract, the total included both 'good and bad' books. The majority of them, just over 72 bales (62%), belonged to the first category with even some of the titles (and the number of copies) listed separately. But over 44 bales (38%) were made up of books which did not sell successfully or which were already considered paper waste ('Makulatur').82

The rate of 6 fl or even 5 fl per bale was also remarkably close to the lowest wage that a printer received when working for Feyerabend. Fortunately, we can rely on two interesting statements made by the printers Peter Schmidt and Georg Rab, respectively. In 1570, the

- 76 Richter, 'Egenolffs Erben', 850. Lonicer's Kräuterbuch was even more expensive than that at 112 fl/ bale, but it was a coloured copy, which, as we have seen above, was sometimes even three times as expensive as an uncoloured copy.
- 77 Christoph Reske, 'Der Holzschnitt bzw. Holzstock am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts' in Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 84 (2009), 71-78.
- 78 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 146.
- 79 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 166-167.

- 80 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 166-167; as I have calculated, the total was 587,550 sheets.
- 81 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 167-172.
- 82 This paper waste comprised at least 1 bale and 7 reams (from Feyerabend's 'defect chamber') but possibly also another 1 bale, 9 quires and 19 sheets which were 'books of varied genres found in Sigmund Feyerabend's shop and elsewhere'. It seems that this later entry refers to waste paper being used in the shop (for proof copies or other material) which was not stored in the extra chamber.

former was involved in a court case and was asked to declare how much a printer could earn per week. Schmidt answered that printing books of the lowest standard ('die allerschlechteste Materj') resulted in the payment 5 fl/bale. If one printed 'good books of better standard or larger formats' ('gute stattlich unnd gross materj oder Format'), the payment could vary between 6 and 12 fl/bale. In the same year, Rab drew up an account for the association. In this list, he also itemises the payment per bale that he earned when producing books for the fairs. For the two fairs in 1567, he produced seven editions, ranging from 1,025 to 1,525 copies per edition. For four books, he received 5 fl/bale; for producing the Bibel gespalten and the Betbüchlein, he received 6 fl/bale; and for the Biblische Chronik Rab received the highest compensation of 7 fl/bale.

PART II BOOK CATALOGUES FROM FRANKFURT

Although Frankfurt was an extremely important commercial hub for the early modern book world, only a few book catalogues from this city are known. This lack of sources is connected to the general low survival rate of early modern documentation. Ephemeral material such as catalogues produced as broadsheets, booklets or manuscripts stood a particularly slim chance of survival. Fee, the peculiarities of the material that did survive suggest that printers, publishers and booksellers did not frequently compile catalogues in the first place. That were exceptions. The most prominent example for producing a catalogue for nearly every fair is Georg Willer, a bookseller from Augsburg, who in 1564 started to publish his famous *Messkataloge*. Yet other booksellers, printers or publishers did not seem to have produced catalogues often, even despite the fact that every fair visitor was legally obliged to provide an overview of his books on offer to the Imperial Book Commission. The institution was founded as early as 1569. It became more active in 1579 and from that time onwards a commissioner was sent to the spring fair who had to collect the catalogues of visiting booksellers to check if the titles conformed to censorship legislation. All in all, 46 different catalogues have survived from the two fairs in 1579. We also

- 83 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 17.
- 84 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 147.
- 85 USTC 616767; VD16 H 3326.
- **86** Flavia Bruni & Andrew Pettegree (eds), *Lost books.* Reconstructing the print world of pre-industrial Europe, Leiden 2016.
- 87 The argument was put forward by Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführer-katalogen', and his evidence will be discussed in the following.
- **88** Fabian (ed.), Die Messkataloge des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts.
- **89** Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen', 320; 328–362.

- 90 Friedrich Kapp, Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das 17. Jahrhundert, Leipzig 1886, 615.
- **91** Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen', 322.
- 92 See below.
- 93 This amended broadsheet was only handed in at the autumn fair in 1579, as Feyerabend most likely was one of the late suppliers who needed to be reminded to hand in his catalogue for the spring fair as well.
- **94** Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen', 324.

know that at least six catalogues were lost (but recorded by the commissioners) and that some visiting booksellers had to be reminded to provide an overview of their books, but only a few of them followed suit.89

Some book producers and sellers were simply reluctant to abide by this rule. After all, contemporaries attested that the commission held a bias towards Catholic works, a bias that could potentially lead to heavy financial losses. The commissioners had the right to confiscate immediately any book deemed heretical, an action that could have a devastating effect on the producer's finances. Naturally, this cautioned some Protestant booksellers who did not then provide a catalogue at all. Others, it was argued, only handed in old catalogues to conceal the titles of their new - and potentially 'dangerous' - works.90 Indeed, three Protestant booksellers from Basel delivered catalogues from the late 1560s or even the late 1550s, which, by 1579, were 10-20 years old.

However, the practice of providing old catalogues to the commission seems to have been more than just a ploy to avoid censorship. In fact, when the extant catalogues now in the state archives in Vienna are studied closely, the sources seem to suggest that some book producers and sellers in the sixteenth-century German area either did not issue book catalogues or only produced them rather infrequently. To support this claim, it is telling that out of the 49 catalogues that survived from both fairs in 1579, the majority was handwritten (29) and only 17 were printed. Four suppliers from Cologne, Zürich, Geneva and Heidelberg, for instance, compiled their overview on paper produced in Frankfurt, which strongly suggests that the catalogues were only produced when the booksellers, publishers and printers had been prompted by the commission at the fair and not as a means of advertisement beforehand. Frankfurt paper could have been available in all of those cities, but it is highly unlikely that all four visitors chose this particular paper for their manuscript catalogues before their arrival at the fair. It is much more likely that they bought the paper when they were already in Frankfurt and started to create the catalogue on the spot. Secondly, it was not only Protestants who provided the commission with old catalogues, but Catholics as well. A case in point is Gerwin Calenius from Cologne, who supplied a catalogue from 1573 in which he had noted by hand the additional books produced until 1579.91 His Cologne colleague Maternus Cholinus (fl. 1556?–1588) even handed in a catalogue from 1571, produced as a broadsheet, on which he listed 272 titles. On another sheet of paper pasted to the broadsheet, the printer had manually recorded another 52 titles produced in the intermediate years until 1579.

It was simply not necessary, even for large publishing houses, to produce a new catalogue for every single fair. They relied on old catalogues until they needed to be updated. Thus, in 1579, Feyerabend handed in an old catalogue, printed on a broadsheet three years earlier.⁹² The printed text provides an overview of all 147 titles on offer at that particular spring fair. Feyerabend had then added by hand the 40 new titles offered at the next six consecutive events until the spring fair in 1579, at which the imperial representative had expected his catalogue.93 This represented an average of six to seven new books for every fair. To advertise these new titles, Feyerabend still relied most likely on the common practice of using title pages as advertisements.94 They provided all the details that a potential

buyer needed to know, ranging from the author and any contributors, translators or illustrators to the complete title, editorial statements and the printer's and/or publisher's name. The printed sheets could be given out to previous clients or fixed to the stalls at the fair for every passer-by to see. On the other hand, Feyerabend used catalogues to advertise his slow sellers - older editions still in stock. These titles were, for the most part, already known, and thus authors' names and titles could be abbreviated significantly, and any remarks on contributors or previous versions of the text were omitted completely. As we will see below, the catalogue from 1588 consists primarily of editions that were nine to eighteen years old. These backlist titles did not require updating on a frequent basis, and thus, Feyerabend produced only new catalogues every three to five years (see the list below).95 Other producers seem to have followed the same logic. For the Officina Henricpetrina in Basel, we only have published catalogues from 1576, 1579 and 1583.96

Before we have a closer look at Feyerabend's catalogues and their contents, I would like to address briefly the format of printed catalogues. In the incunabula age, German producers had printed catalogues exclusively on broadsheets. This changed in the course of the sixteenth century when the format of catalogues was influenced by Italian and French booksellers who relied more and more on pamphlets. The Parisian bookseller Robert Estienne, for instance, published his six catalogues between 1541 and 1552 as octavos.97 From the very beginning in 1564, Georg Willer produced his serial Frankfurt catalogues as quartos.98 Still, broadsheet catalogues did not cease to exist and, at least in Germany, the two formats co-existed well into the seventeenth century.99 Whereas some book producers and sellers might have preferred pamphlets, there were others, such as Feyerabend, who used both formats.

The following gives a detailed overview of all known catalogues produced by Feyerabend and his heirs:

Spring fair 1576.100 Verzeichnuß der Bu[o]cher/ Welche in Sigmundt Feyerabendts Buch-|| laden/ diese Ostermeß / Anno M.D.LXXVI. gefunden werden/ etc | [Sigmund Feyerabend's printer's device]. [Frankfurt, for Sigmund Feyerabend, 1576]. Broadsheet, 385×505 mm.

3 columns, books arranged by categories: Theology/Latin (9), Theology/German (27), Law/Latin and German (70/7), Medicine/German (3), History/Latin (11), History/German (20). All in all, 147 titles of which 92 are in Latin and 55 in German.

Only surviving copy in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien (Konv. 4, Bl. 40). The broadsheet was amended with a separate sheet of paper (385 × 245 mm) with the handwritten title: Vertzaichnus deren bucher welche In nachvolgenden Meßen noch || weithers durch obgenanten Sigißmundt Feyerabendt getrückt. It lists a total of 40 titles (19 Latin; 21 German), arranged by autumn fair 1576, spring fair 1577, autumn fair 1577, spring fair 1578, autumn fair 1578 and spring fair 1579. Some of the titles in the printed text were crossed out by hand. Presumably, Feyerabend presented this sheet to the Imperial Book Commission in 1579.

⁹⁵ The 1588 catalogue presents an exception and will be discussed in detail below.

⁹⁶ Richter 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen', 352-353.

⁹⁷ Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues'.

⁹⁸ USTC 678653; VD16 W 3143.

⁹⁹ Richter 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen', 323.

2 Autumn fair 1579.101 Verzeichnuß der Bu[o]cher / Welche in Siggißmundt Feyerabendts | Buchladen / diese Herbstmeß / Anno M.D.LXXIX. gefunden werden / etc. | [Johann Feyerabend's printer's device]. [Frankfurt, Johann Feyerabend for Sigmund Feyerabend, 1579].

Broadsheet, 470×305 mm.

3 columns, books arranged by categories: Theology/Latin (6), Theology/German (33), Law/Latin and German (90/9), Medicine/German (1), History/Latin (11), History/German (28). All in all, 178 titles of which 107 are in Latin and 71 in German.

Only surviving copy in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (Einbl. VIII,7 B).

3 Spring fair 1584.102 Verzeichnuß aller La= || teinischen vnd Teutschen Buecher/ welche || in Sigmund Feyerabendts Buchladen/ diese || Fastenmessz Anno 1584. gefun- || den werden / etc. | [Sigmund Feyerabend's printer's device]. [Frankfurt, for Sigmund Feverabend, 1584].

Quarto, 8 leaves.

No known copy. Described in a sales catalogue from a rare book dealer (1906):103 books arranged by categories: Theology/Latin, Theology/German, Law (both Latin and German), Medicine/German, History/Latin, History/German. All in all, 210 titles.

4 Spring fair 1587.104 Verzeichnuß aller lateinischen und Teutschen Bücher, welche in Sigmund Feyerabendts Buchladen, diese Fastenmessz Anno 1587 gefunden werden [Sigmund Feyerabend's printer's device]. [Frankfurt, for Sigmund Feyerabend, 1587]

Broadsheet (presumably).

3 columns, books arranged by categories: Theology/Latin (5), Theology/German (39), Law/Latin (96), Law/German (10), Medicine/German (10), History/Latin (32), History/German (42). All in all, 234 titles of which 133 are in Latin and 101 in German.

No known copy. Transcribed in Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 184-191.

5 Spring fair 1588.105 CATALOGVS | LIBRORVM VTRIVSQVE IVRIS, HISCE | NVNDINIS VERNALIBVS FRANCOFVRTI IN BI- || BLIOPOLIO SIGISMVNDI FEYRABENDII PUBLIC- || cè prostantium, Anno MDLXXXVIII || [Frankfurt, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1588]

Broadsheet, 482 × 315 mm.

2 columns, only Law/Latin (93)

Only surviving copy in Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt (Ausst. 364).

- 100 See also footnote 54. Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen'. It includes a reproduction of the broadsheet and its handwritten amendment as plate no. 11, 11.
- 101 Copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12bsbooo98952-8. Günter Richter (ed.), Verlegerplakate des xvı. und xvıı. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des Dreissigjährigen Krieges, Wiesbaden 1965, 27-30 and plate 30.
- 102 Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen, 357–358.
- 103 Frankfurter Bücherfreund. Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariate von Joseph Baer & Co., 4 (1906), 137–139, including an image of the title page on p. 138.
- 104 Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen' 358; transcribed in Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 184-191.
- 105 The copy was thought to have been lost in World War II (Richter, 'Humanistische Bücher', 197), yet a copy survives in the Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hebis: 30:2-241770.

6 1597. Verzeichnus aller La= || teinischen vnd Teutschen Bu[e]cher/ wel= || che in Herren Sigmundt Feyrabendts seligen || Erben Buchhandel gefunden werden. || Gedruckt zu Frankfurt/ | M.D.XCVII. | Frankfurt, heirs of Sigmund Feyerabend, 1597

Octavo, 8 unnumbered leaves, [A-B]4.

Catalogue designed as a form with spaces on the left (for buyers to fill in quantities for an order) and on the right (3 columns for prices). Books arranged in Law/Latin (85), Law/German (4), Theology/Latin (9), Theology/German (29), Medicine/German and Latin (6 + 2), History/Latin (28), History/German (56). All in all, 219 titles of which 124 are in Latin and 95 in German.

Only surviving copy in Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (Ke XVIII 57 [2]). Prices added by hand; the pages of the catalogue were printed in the wrong order, e.g., books in the category Law/Latin are not consecutive but on leaves 2v (part I), 5v (part III) and 6r (part II).

The latter two catalogues – dating from 1588 and 1597 – are the only ones that include prices for the books on offer. Whereas the prices in the former catalogue are part of the printed text, the latter's layout was printed in such a way that prices could be added by hand. This is arguably the first time such a form layout for a book catalogue was used in the German lands. Until then, the Wittenberg bookseller Samuel Selfisch was believed to have spurred on this innovation with his catalogue from the first half of the seventeenth century:106 the printed text included the author's name, the book's title, its language and its format; there were additional spaces to be filled in by hand for the publication's year, the number of sheets and the price.107 Thus, Selfisch could quickly make a 'new catalogue' by using an old printed copy and completing the details about recent titles or by adjusting the book's prices. The catalogue by Feyerabend's heirs was simpler in design, without any space for the publication year. It was filled in by a contemporary hand, so that we now have a total of 315 prices for the books on offer in the Feyerabend shop in the 1580s and 1590s. Taken together, these many prices give us the unique opportunity to trace the development of the value of Feyerabend's books towards the end of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the two catalogues with prices shall be discussed in greater detail in the following.

The catalogue from 1588 is particularly interesting as it differs decisively from the others: it is a specialised catalogue listing only Latin law books. By the time the catalogue was published, this category was the most important section of Feyerabend's business. Frankfurt's first printer, Christian Egenolff the Elder had already focused on legal works, but he primarily produced ordinances and legal texts for laymen.¹⁰⁸ With the rise of Roman law in the German lands and the increasing appointment of judicial specialists who had studied law in Italy or France, Feyerabend ventured more and more into publishing the works of influential legal scholars from various countries.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the Frankfurt publisher challenged the established print centres for Latin law books, Venice, Lyon, Basel and Cologne, and often reprinted editions that had previously appeared there.

When he began to publish in Frankfurt, Feyerabend had concentrated mostly on Bibles and religious texts, as we have seen above in his sales register from 1565. Out of the 21 titles sold according to the register, there was only one law book, i.e., the lectures of Johannes Sichard (1499-1552) who taught law at the University of Tübingen from 1535.110 About ten years later, Feyerabend's preferences had changed dramatically. In the catalogue published for the spring fair 1576, legal texts played a dominant role: out of the 147 titles, 77 were law books (52%), almost all of them in Latin. Feyerabend's special interest in law books continued in later catalogues, in which Latin law books featured even more prominently. In the catalogue for the autumn fair of 1579, Feyerabend advertised 90 legal titles in Latin and 9 in German, which represents 56% of the overall book list (178 titles). Then, in 1588, he produced the separate catalogue dedicated to 93 law books only.

The specialised catalogue from 1588 was more than just another fair catalogue, despite the absence of any additional purpose stated on the broadsheet itself. The catalogue may have simply been a proud display of the breadth and volume of the books that Feyerabend had accumulated in this highly specialist area. There were very few, if any, publishers in 1588 who could have rivalled Feyerabend's extraordinary collection of scholarly legal works. By emphasising his large collection, Feyerabend could target, for instance, legal practitioners who were affiliated with an institution (members of a government, advisors to a prince, etc.) that had connections to Feyerabend or his clients. The catalogue could prompt them to buy new copies or at least keep the publisher's name in mind for any future purchases. The advertisement of his large legal collection was also very probably connected to Feyerabend's financial difficulties in 1586 when he sold one of his houses to the heirs of a printer and teamed up with two new partners.111 As most of the books were published years, even decades, before the publication of the catalogue (see below), Feyerabend must have tried to sell some of his older books in an attempt to recover financially. In this way, he acted like his Frankfurt colleague, Andreas Wechel, who also advertised much of his backlist in 1618, including almost all of his titles from a catalogue printed more than fifteen years earlier.¹¹² The bookseller Georg Willer also published a catalogue that was not intended to promote his recent books but rather to give an overview of the firm's holdings (of which 4/5 of the titles were older than five years).113

Another, more pressing, reason to publish the catalogue was Feyerabend's legal disputes. In 1588, the publisher was once again fighting in court, this time with his Frankfurt rival Nikolaus Bassée (fl. 1561/2, 1564–1598) whom he accused of producing illegal reprints of his law books.114 Given Feyerabend's tendency to escalate conflicts, this was not the first time

- 106 Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen', 326. It is not entirely clear when the catalogue appeared, as the title mentions books published and printed by Selfisch between 1554 and 1608. However, it has been suggested that the catalogue also contained books from later years, such as 1632, see Hans Leonhard, Samuel Selfisch. Ein deutscher Buchhändler am Ausgange des xvi. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig 1902, 53.
- 107 A copy of the catalogue is in the Germanische Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (4° w. 540).
- 108 Ernst Holthöfer, 'Frankfurts Rolle in der Geschichte des juristischen Buchdrucks' in Reiner Scholz (ed), Frankfurt am Main als Druckort juristischer Literatur, 1530–1630, Frankfurt 1986, 5–28, here 16.

- 109 Holthöfer, 'Frankfurts Rolle in der Geschichte des juristischen Buchdrucks', 16.
- 110 Poethe, 'Zu Sigmund Feyerabends verlegerischen Unternehmungen', 57.
- 111 Ian Maclean, Learning and the market place. Essays in the history of the early modern book, Leiden/ Boston, MA 2009, 165.
- 112 Ian Maclean, Learning and the market place, 17.
- 113 Amelie Roper, 'Early modern shelf lives: the context and content of Georg Willer's music stock cataloque of 1622' in Shanti Graheli (ed.), Buying and selling. The business of books in early modern Europe, Leiden/Boston, MA 2015, 353-379, here 366 and 375.
- 114 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 56.

that the two parties had fought. The struggle had already started in 1585 when Bassée had illegally reproduced Feyerabend's Bible. The new legal dispute even urged the city council to revise the existing ordinance regulating the production of books (albeit the ordinance proved to have little effect).¹¹⁵ In the course of these legal proceedings, Feyerabend may have thought it useful to produce an overview of all his Latin legal books to 'mark his territory'. This way, Bassée and other printers/publishers were discouraged from producing any of the mentioned books in the near future.

The 1588 catalogue was published as a broadsheet itemising 93 titles arranged in two columns with 47 and 46 titles, respectively. As all of the books in the catalogue were in Latin, the entire text was printed in roman type. The majority of the titles are simply listed underneath each other, arranged by the author's given name. Only the two influential genres, consilia and decisiones are grouped together. Both were important works in legal literature. The consilia, on the one hand, were written by legal professionals who offered advice on current legal problems. These documents were often requested by solicitors or governments to help them with their argumentation in court, and the texts were later collected and produced in print. Decisiones, on the other hand, were also written by learned legal experts, but they were comments on the legal argumentation in particular cases in the highest courts of law.116 In the 1588 catalogue, both groups were grouped by brackets; the consilia comprise 23 titles, the decisiones 12 titles.

The edges of the catalogue were trimmed, especially at the bottom of the sheet, which may - at first glance - suggest that the broadsheet is not complete and once consisted of more than one sheet. However, when compared to the catalogue from the previous year (1587), there is potentially only one title missing, namely, Fernando Vázquez Menchaca's Controversiarum illustrium aliarumque usu frequentium.117 In the 1587 catalogue, it appears between Fernando Vázquez's other work, De successionibus et ultimis voluntatibus, and Francisco Sarmiento de Mendoza's De redditibus ecclesiasticis. Both titles appear in the 1588 catalogue. When investigating the second column, however, it becomes clear that there is no book missing. At the bottom, Feyerabend had included a separate section with only five books, which had been produced with his business partners at the time, Heinrich Dack and Peter Fischer. Feyerabend had started to cooperate with them when it became increasingly clear that he had to act: his cousin Johann's debts had grown so quickly that Sigmund Feyerabend was afraid of never seeing the money he had lent to his relative.¹¹⁸ In an attempt to save money, Feyerabend teamed up with Johann's creditor, Heinrich Dack, and a wealthy burgher, Peter Fischer in 1585.¹¹⁹ In the following three years, the three businessmen produced 26 books together. Most of them were classic editions (Livy, Ovid and Terence), as well as Bibles and herbals published both in Latin and the vernacular. Yet, as far as Latin law books were concerned, the three men cooperated only on five titles, all of which are listed in the 1588 catalogue. Thus, we can safely assume that no information was lost by trimming the edges of the broadsheet.

Formats and sheets

The law books advertised in the 1588 catalogue were almost all large bulky books, which counted on average of 193 printed sheets. Nearly all of them are folios, that is, 83 out of the 93 books, which then had on average nearly 800 pages. The remaining ten titles were produced either as quarto (2) or as octavo (8), mostly consisting of fewer pages. The two quartos comprised only 31.5 and 42.5 sheets, whereas six of the octavos were made of only sixty printed sheets or fewer. By contrast, the majority of the folios held at least one hundred sheets and some of them even 300 or 400 sheets. The largest consisted of two volumes with a total of 770 printed sheets, that is, more than 3,000 pages. 120

Prices

These many law books in Latin were expensive. The three least expensive books cost as much as 4 bz (16 kr), but this was only the bottom of the list. Overall, we can see that only 24 books cost less than 1 fl – this represents only 25%. The majority of the books was much more expensive: 32 books cost between 1 and 2 fl; 16 books cost between 2 and 3 fl; and 21 books even cost 3 fl or more. The average was 121 kr per book, which equalled just over 2 fl.

At the top end of the price list stood three titles. Firstly, the Corpus juris civilis of the celebrated French jurisconsult Denis Godefroy (†1622), a contemporary of Feyerabend's. Godefroy had compiled and reviewed the fundamental works of Justinian and with his publication, in fact, established the very name Corpus juris civilis. The text remained authoritative until the very end of the eighteenth century.¹²¹ It was first published in Geneva in 1583, and four years later, it appeared in Frankfurt as the first city in the German lands. 122 Feyerabend published it together with his two partners Heinrich Dack and Peter Fischer. 123 The book was voluminous, comprising four volumes with a total of 519 printed sheets. According to the 1588 catalogue, a copy of the Corpus juris civilis cost 7 fl.

More expensive at 8 fl was the collection of another French jurist, André Tiraqueau (†1558), who was a counsellor of the Parisian Parliament. His work comprised seven volumes and appeared in 1574. 124 It was again a reprint of a foreign edition. However, only four

- 115 Maclean, Scholarship, commerce, religion, 66.
- 116 While both genres were often produced in early modern Europe, they have only recently been studied in more detail, see for instance, Wouter Druwé, Loans and credit in Consilia and Decisiones in the Low Countries (c. 1500–1680), Leiden/Boston, MA 2020.
- 117 USTC 626421; VD16 V 436, published by Feyerabend in 1572.
- 118 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 54.

- 119 In one imprint from 1577 all three men were listed in the colophon, USTC 688284; VD16 ZV 26142, but I could not at the moment verify its date.
- 120 USTC 624929; VD16 C 1779 and USTC 624926; VD16 C 1780.
- 121 Holthöfer, 'Frankfurts Rolle in der Geschichte des juristischen Buchdrucks', 21.
- 122 USTC 156458, VD16 C 5193.
- 123 USTC 156458, VD16 C 5193.
- 124 USTC 625880; 611475, 611474, 611470, 611467, 611468, 611465, 611466; VD16 T 1333-T 1340. Note that the last volume appeared in two editions.

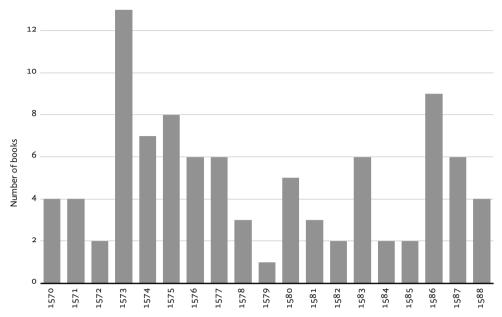
parts of his work had been published previously in Basel (1561), and one edition appeared without imprint data in 1559.125 It also appeared in Lyon (1567), and in the same year that Feyerabend published it in Frankfurt, it was also produced again in Lyon as well as in Paris. 126 Feyerabend presented an extended version which comprised Tiraqueau's book on the law of repossession, the *cessante causa* and the commentary on *si unquam*.

The most expensive book on the list was priced at 9 fl. The book was the collection of consilia written by the jurist Giovanni Cefali (†1580), who had taught civil law first at his hometown university in Ferrara and then later in Pavia and Padua.¹²⁷ Cefali had his first collection of consilia published in Milan in 1563 for which he even obtained a privilege (which he later conferred to the publisher Pietro Giorgio Visconti).¹²⁸ The work was progressively extended and printed in Venice and Genoa before Feyerabend published it in Frankfurt. By that time, Cefali's consilia comprised two volumes in a total of four parts. Feyerabend published the first three parts as one volume in 1579 and the fourth part in a separate volume in 1583.¹²⁹ Both volumes were folios for a total of 3,080 pages, making them the most voluminous books in Feyerabend's 1588 catalogue.

Law books and their long shelf lives

Most of the books listed in the 1588 catalogue were rather old, showing that legal law books could remain in stock for decades after their initial publication [Graph 3]. 30 In this way, they were like other specialist books. Amelie Roper has shown that only 1/5 of the music publications in Georg Willer's catalogue from 1622 were printed within the last five years before the catalogue's publication.¹³¹ The other imprints were much older, sometimes even 50 years in age. Similarly, in Feyerabend's case, only 21 books (23%) were produced either in the year that the catalogue appeared or in the three years preceding its publication. Another 19 books were between 4 and 8 years old, having been published in the first half of the 1580s [Graph 4]. Yet, the majority of the books, i.e., 53 publications (57%), had been produced many years earlier, in the 1570s. Consequently, they were between 9 and 18 years old by the time Feyerabend published the catalogue.

When we look at the price per printed sheet for the books advertised in the 1588 catalogue, we do see that books from the 1570s were cheaper on average than those from the 1580s. While books printed up to three years before 1588 cost on average 0.68 kr per printed sheet, editions that had been printed earlier were cheaper. The books printed 4-8 years prior cost on average 0.61 kr/printed sheet, whereas the books in the 1570s cost even less than that. However, these are only average numbers - within these groups there is still a considerable degree of fluctuation. We can, for instance, find expensive books dated from the first half of the 1570s, such as Gottfredo Lanfranco Balbi's Decisiones with the price of 0.85 kr/printed sheet, which is statistically significantly above the average at that time. 132 And we can find cheaper books in the second half of the 1580s, such as Marquard Freher's Tractatus de fama publica, which only cost 0.40 kr/printed sheet, below the average for that time period. Generally, over the entire period, the law books ranged between 0.18 kr per



Graph 3 Year of publication of the books advertised in the 1588 catalogue

printed sheet and 1.34 kr per printed sheet. This apparent decrease in value was probably the result of rising wages and general inflation which had an impact on production costs during the 1580s. As booksellers tended to maintain the prices initially fixed for their books and did not adapt them to the increased cost of living, the development of Feyerabend's book prices seems to have followed the same logic as that of his Parisian colleague Robert Estienne.133

Among the books with a higher price per printed sheet are all five imprints that Feyerabend produced with his aforementioned partners, Heinrich Dack and Peter Fischer (see Appendix, Table 6). The books are all in the top third of the price per printed sheet:

- 125 USTC 611477; VD16 T 1349, USTC 611481; VD16 T 1350, USTC 611479; VD16 T 1351 and 1352; USTC 611478; VD16 ZV 14985, USTC 611480; VD16 ZV 14984. There is also one edition of the seventh volume printed in 1559 but without place or printer name (USTC 611442; VD16 ZV 14983).
- 126 Rainer Scholz, 'Verzeichnis der ausgestellten Druckwerke' in Reiner Scholz (ed.), Frankfurt am Main als Druckort juristischer Literatur, 1530-1630, Frankfurt 1986, 45-64, here 56.
- 127 Kevin M. Stevens, 'Publishing and piracy: a case study of Giovanni Cefali's Consiliorum (1562/1563)' in Goran Proot et al. (eds), Lux Librorum. Essays on books and history for Chris Coppens, Mechelen 2018, 39-51, here 40.
- 128 For this first edition from 1563 a surprising amount of documentation survives, including detailed publishing contracts, see Stevens, 'Publishing and piracy'.
- 129 VD16 C 1779 (not in USTC); VD16 C 1780, USTC 624929.
- 130 On rare occasions some multi-volume editions were printed over several years, such as the collection of Giovanni Cefali's works. The first edition, comprising volumes 1-4, was published in 1579 (USTC 624929; VD16 C 1779); the second edition comprising volume 5, was printed in 1583 (USTC 624926; VD16 C 1780). For the purpose of this analysis I used the later date (1583).
- 131 Roper, 'Early modern shelf lives', 375.
- 132 USTC 632001; VD16 L 270.
- 133 Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' cataloques'.

- · Barnabé Brisson's Lexicon iuris (1587) cost 0.63 kr/printed sheet;
- · Pieter Cornelis van Brederode's Repetitorium (1587) cost 0.68 kr/printed sheet;
- · Johann Sichard's Praelectiones in libros codicis sacratissimi principis Iustiniani (1586) cost 0.79 kr/printed sheet;
- · Denis Godefroy's Corpus iuris civilis (1587) cost o.80 kr/printed sheet;
- · and *Corpus iuris canonici* (1586) cost 0.99 kr/printed sheet.

The five books were produced in 1586 or 1587, shortly after the three businessmen had started working together. After all, as we have seen above, Feyerabend only teamed up with the two wealthy burghers in order to protect his financial interests when the business of his relative Johann Feyerabend was in danger. As shown in Graph 3, Feyerabend had a total of fifteen books on offer produced in the same two years as the imprints published with Dack and Fischer. The average price per printed sheet for these books was 0.70 kr, which meant that of the five imprints produced with his business partners, only Barnabé Brisson's Lexicon iuris and Pieter Cornelis van Brederode's Repetitorium were below average in price. The other three had a much higher price per printed sheet, in the case of the Corpus iuris canonici even 0.99 kr. The difference also becomes clear when we look at the total price for the books. On average, the books produced in 1586 and 1587 cost 163 kr (2 fl 10 bz 3 kr) in the 1588 catalogue. Again, only Brisson's and Van Brederode's books are below that price, costing 1 fl and 2 fl, respectively (see Appendix, Table 5).

The higher prices, both in total and for the unit of a printed sheet, of the imprints that Feyerabend produced with his two partners are interesting. It seems very likely that it was connected to the fact that, by collaborating, the three men implicitly agreed not to compete with each other in these areas. Thus, they secured a monopoly on the texts, even if this was not secured by legal protection (privilege). Yet, by collaborating they discouraged each other and also other printers and publishers from reproducing the texts. Therefore, Feyerabend, Dack and Fischer were able to charge a higher-than-average price for the editions.

Comparisons among the catalogues from 1587, 1588 and 1597

If we compare the 1587 catalogue (without prices) with the one from 1588, nearly 90% of the books appear in both: the 1587 catalogue lists a total of 96 law books in Latin, of which 86 later appeared in the 1588 catalogue. This may suggest that the other ten imprints were sold out in the meantime, but this was interestingly not the case. After all, one of the ten books also appears in the later catalogue from 1597: Juan López de Palacios Rubios's Repetitio rubricae, which had first been published in Valladolid in 1503 (and later reprinted in e.g.,

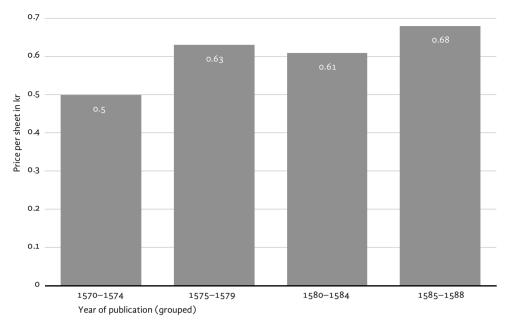
¹³⁴ USTC 690623; VD16 ZV 9856.

¹³⁵ Another five titles appear which Feyerabend's heirs had reprinted in the 1590s (more on this below).

¹³⁶ In two cases, the 1597 catalogue lists the volumes of the books separately, i.e., Francesco Borsati's Consilia is listed as 'Consilia Franc. Bursati. compl.'

in 1588, but as two entries in 1597: 'Franc. Burs.1.tom.f.' and 'Franc.Burs.2.tom.f.'. Similarly, Giuseppe Ludovisi's Decisiones is split up in two entries in 1597. The prices remain the same.

¹³⁷ Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Leiden/Boston, MA 2013, 397.



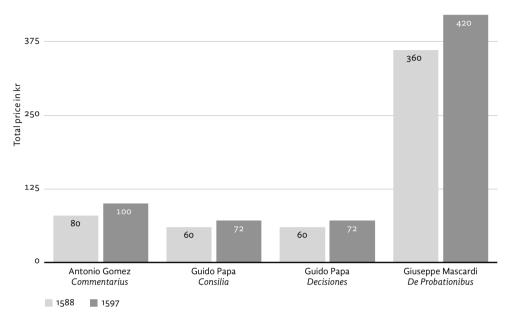
Graph 4 Average price per printed sheet in Kreuzer (kr) according to year of publication

Lyon).134 It was printed in Frankfurt in 1573, and thus was nearly 25 years old by the catalogue's publication in 1597. Why the edition was omitted from the 1588 catalogue is not entirely clear, but it shows that the 1588 catalogue contained only a selection of the law books in Latin that Feyerabend had produced.

If we consider Feyerabend's two catalogues with prices (1588 and 1597), it is remarkable to see that nearly 68% (63 out of the 93 editions) listed in the 1588 catalogue are still included in the 1597 catalogue. 135 Because the 1597 catalogue contains only 85 titles in the Latin law book section, it means that, as far as law books were concerned, more than 76% of the 1597 catalogue consisted of backlist titles. 136 The remaining titles in this category were either new editions of the books advertised in 1588 (5 items) or new titles altogether (15 items). This clearly shows that the majority of the Latin law books on offer in 1597 were very slow sellers, published between 9 and 26 years before the catalogues' date.

New legal editions in the 1597 catalogue

Comparing prices in the two catalogues from 1588 and 1597 emphasises that the market for law books was tricky. It required large amounts of capital and returns came only slowly, partly because many law books were kept in the family.¹³⁷ The 85 Latin law books on offer in 1597 were mostly books from the previous decades. Only 20 imprints (about 24%) were printed after 1588, with some of them being the next volumes of works already printed; for instance, Feyerabend had already printed parts one and two of Francesco Borsati's Consilia

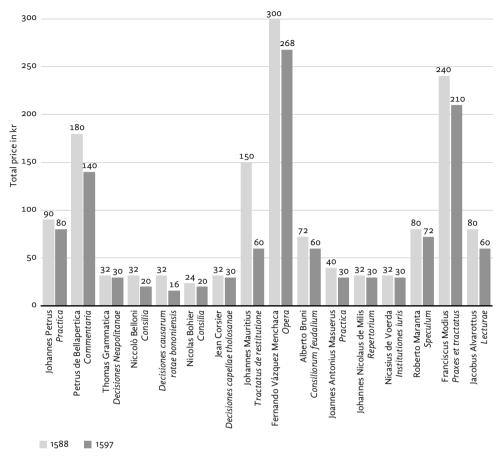


Graph 5 Price increase of new editions in the 1597 catalogue in contrast to their prices in the 1588 catalogue (total price in Kreuzer)

in 1579, and then Feyerabend's heirs produced parts three and four in 1594.138 This shows that new editions of law books in Latin were often not necessary for the Feyerabend firm. If new editions were produced, however, the publisher could hope for more profit as the increased price for the four books show in 1597 (see Appendix, Table 7). They were all a page-by-page reprint. The prices of the books increased by 20% on average [Graph 5]. While part of this increase was undoubtedly the result of a general inflation of prices for general commodities, the price did not increase evenly for the four books, with the lowest being 16.67%. This suggests that the heirs of Feyerabend had most likely calculated an even sounder profit margin than Feyerabend.

The two catalogues show that Latin law books remained relevant long after their initial publication and that they lost little of their value over the years. In 1597, Feyerabend's heirs could still advertise large portions of backlist titles, which were by that time between 9 and 26 years old. Generally, one would assume that the nominal price of books declined with age. However, as far as Latin law books were concerned, this was not the case. Of the 63 law books advertised in 1588 and then later in 1597, only 25% (16 imprints) decreased in price.

¹³⁸ USTC 624902; VD16 B 6756 and USTC 624927; VD16 ZV 2278.



Graph 6 Editions for which the prices decreased from 1588 to 1597 (prices in Kreuzer)

Moreover, the decrease is rather unstable and is not strongly connected to the publication date of the book [Graph 6]. Thus, we see that one of the oldest books printed 26 years before the 1597 catalogue decreased by 22% in comparison with the 1588 catalogue (see Appendix, Table 8). The price for a book, printed in 1573, on the other hand, decreased only by 6.25% from 8 bz (= 32 kr) to 7 bz 2 kr (= 30 kr). In contrast, Jacobus Alvarottus's Lecturae was much more recent (produced in 1587) and thus by the time of the 1597 catalogue was only ten years old. Nevertheless, its value decreased by 25%. Two books printed in 1573 and in 1575 were even reduced by 50% and 60%, respectively. On average, however, the prices for the 16 books decreased by 34% between 1588 and 1597.

By contrast, the prices for the majority of the books remained stable, showing that despite their age, the books did not decline in value. This concerned 54%, i.e., 34 of the 63 books listed both in 1588 and 1597. Among them, for instance, was Barthélemy de Chasseneuz's Catalogus gloriae mundi, printed in 1586, which cost 2 fl (= 120 kr) in 1588 and 1597. Similarly, Marianus Socinus's Opus was sold for 3 fl 7 bz 2 kr (= 210 kr) in both years. It was the only work by this author printed in sixteenth-century Frankfurt and had appeared in 1583.

What is even more interesting to see is the fact that 13 books (21%) advertised in 1588 had increased in price by 1597. This increase was quite significant with an average of 64% [Graph 7]. This comprised books from the 1580s as well as from the 1570s, which once again shows that the age of the book – as far as law books are concerned – was not such an important factor for its sales price. In fact, more books dating from the 1570s, i.e., eight books, had increased in price compared to books printed in the 1580s (five books) (see Appendix, Table 9).

This price increase is not explained easily. One may assume that it indicates that Feyerabend's heirs sold bound copies of these 13 editions. This would have undoubtedly increased the price of the copies as we have already seen in the sales register from 1565, in which the bound (albeit also coloured) copy of the Bible was five times as expensive as a plain one. There is indeed some evidence to support the claim that Feyerabend's heirs may have advertised bound books by 1597. Some two years earlier, in December 1595, Feyerabend's son Carl Sigmund fought with his brother-in law about the inheritance. In the process, it was claimed that Feyerabend had left '600 bound copies in folio'. These 600 copies may have been on sale in the 1597 catalogue. However, there are no indications in the catalogue that suggest that these books were bound or that they, in fact, differed in any way from the other books on sale.

It is more likely that the price increase was the result of the limited availability of these 13 books. This becomes obvious with one book, in particular, Angelus de Ubaldis's Consilia. It nearly quadrupled in price from 8 bz (= 32 kr) in 1588 to 2 fl (= 120 kr) in 1597. The work was written by the brother of the great jurist Baldus de Ubaldis and had appeared previously in 1551 in Lyon before Feyerabend published it in 1575. 140 By 1597, the book must have become a rarity: not only was it the only work by this author that appeared in the German lands in the sixteenth century, there was no other printer or publisher who produced the book. More importantly, it was not printed in any other European city before 1600, at least.141 Similarly, Bernardino Alfani's Collectanae was rare after its publication by Feyerabend in 1572. 142 Two years later, it appeared in Venice, but the next edition of the book did not appear until the early seventeenth century.¹⁴³ Another book among the 13 items with increased prices was Sigismondo Loffredo's Consilia, which appears not to have been printed in the decades after the Feyerabend edition. Thus, Feyerabend's heirs were presumably one of the few, if not the only European publishers or booksellers who still sold copies of all 13 books. As these were not time-critical publications that would have rendered old copies obsolete, the heirs could not only still advertise them but also set the price according to their availability.

¹³⁹ Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 75.

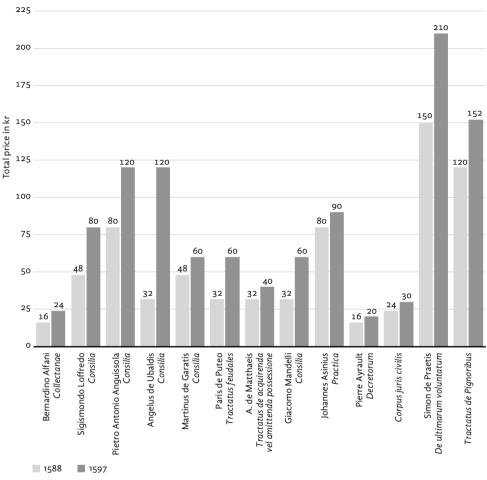
¹⁴⁰ USTC 150779 (Lyon, octavo format); USTC 624859; VD16 A 2827.

¹⁴¹ According to a search in USTC with the search strings 'Angelus de Ubaldis' and 'Angelo degli Ubaldi'.

¹⁴² USTC 616003; VD16 A 1865

^{143 1574:} USTC 808735; 1605: USTC 4037123.

¹⁴⁴ See his presentation at the EMoBookTrade conference in 2016 (online). I'd like to thank Joran for sharing his insights with me.



Graph 7 Editions for which the prices increased from 1588 to 1597 (prices in Kreuzer)

This prompts the question which is at the very heart of the EMoBookTrade project – which factors determined the price of a book? As the project has already shown, printers, publishers and booksellers took a large variety of factors into account before they set prices for their publications. Among the most prominent ones were the language of the text, the size of the type, the number of illustrations, the quality of the paper and the format of the book. Another factor which may not be as obvious was the price of previous editions, especially books written by the same author, similar text genres and multi-volume works. Joran Proot has called this the 'psychological factor' and has shown that Jan Moretus I in Antwerp set similar prices for the volumes of Caesare Baronius's Annales ecclesiastici despite their difference in size and thus their real production costs. 144

For Feyerabend and his heirs, this psychological factor also played an important role. It becomes evident already in his 1588 catalogue, in which Feyerabend advertised both Guido Papa's Consilia (1573) and his Decisiones (1574). Yet, whereas the Consilia comprised 129.5 sheets, the Decisiones consisted of nearly twice as many, namely, 222 sheets. Despite this difference in size, both books were priced 1 fl (= 60 kr). Similarly, when both editions were reprinted in 1591 and 1594, they were again advertised for the same price, this time slightly higher at 1 fl 3 bz (= 72 kr) as they were new editions [Graph 5]. This shows that the heirs still took the psychological factor into account for the two works by Guido Papa.

The pattern of pricing similar books in the same way also becomes obvious with a collection of court judgements. In 1570, Feyerabend published three Decisiones from the court in Turin, the Parliament of Paris and the court in Lithuania.145 The latter is priced at 1 fl (= 60 kr) and comprises 131 printed sheets, that is, 0.45 kr/printed sheet. However, the publication of Turin's court is twice as expensive at 2 fl (= 120 kr), although it contains only 43% more sheets (i.e., 188 sheets). Thus, the publication had a higher rate per printed sheet, namely 0.63 kr. Finally, the Decisiones of the Parisian parliament is also priced at 2 fl (= 120 kr) and thus follows the pricing of the Italian item. Yet, among the three editions, it is by far the smallest publication with only 30.5 sheets which results in the extraordinarily high rate of 3.93 kr per printed sheet. This underlines the point that the price did not always depend on the size of the publication but also on the price of similar editions.

In the final example, this becomes even more obvious. In 1569, Feyerabend had started to publish a German translation of the famous chivalric romance Amadis. The story follows a medieval knight, who, like Lancelot or Tristan, proves his bravery and wisdom by surviving many adventures. The book consisted of several volumes, with some cliffhangers to encourage the readers to continue with the next book.146 The first printed edition had appeared in Spanish at the turn of the sixteenth century. The text became so popular that it was soon extended and translated into other languages.¹⁴⁷ Feyerabend had it translated into German and, by 1575, had produced no fewer than 13 volumes of the romance. Then the market was saturated, at least in the German-speaking areas, and Feyerabend had only one other edition printed in 1583 - this time in folio - which comprised volumes 1 and 2.

It was not until 1590, after Feyerabend's heirs took over the business, that the cycle continued. This time, the printer and bookseller Jacques Foillet the Elder (fl. 1587-1619) from Montbéliard took the initiative. 148 He produced volumes 14 and 15 on his own in the space of only one year. The two new volumes reinvigorated the interest in the text for the German readers. In the following year, Feyerabend's heirs employed the printer to produce another nine volumes (16-24), which Foillet duly produced between 1591 and 1594. When finished, the heirs also entrusted him to reprint volumes 1-7, as they were very low on stock. In an inventory of the heir's shop compiled for the autumn fair in 1597, they listed between 4 and 30 copies of each volume (1-7), while volume 8, for instance, was recorded with 150 copies. 149 Foillet supplied the new editions of volumes 1-7 until 1596 and eventually volumes 8-13 followed in 1599.150

In the 1597 catalogue, the majority of the volumes was advertised, namely, volumes 1–7 and 14-24. As we can see in Table 2, the prices were only loosely connected to the number of printed sheets or to their publication year. With regard to the first seven volumes, only volume 1 cost a bit more than the others as it contained slightly more printed sheets. On average, the first seven volumes contain between 44 and 55 sheets, while the first one com-

prises 66 sheets. This meant that every volume, except the first one, was priced as one unit: volumes 2-7 cost 6 bz (24 kr) each. Similarly, volumes 14-15, which were printed only on the initiative of Foillet without the involvement of Feyerabend's heirs, cost 6 bz. Furthermore, the publication dates of all these volumes, which ranged from 1591 to 1594, seem to have had no impact on the price. Volume 14, for instance, was priced at the lower end at 0.41 kr per printed sheet, whereas volume 7 was priced at the higher end of the spectrum at 0.60 kr per printed sheet.

Title	Reference	Year	Printed sheets	Price	Price/sheet (kr)
Amadis 1	USTC 627268; VD16 ZV 471	1594	66.5	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.45
Amadis 2	USTC 2215607; VD16 ZV 32033	1594	42	6 bz (24 kr)	0.57
Amadis 3	USTC 626731; VD16 A 2116	1595	42	6 bz (24 kr)	0.57
Amadis 4	USTC 626751; VD16 A 2119	1595	42	6 bz (24 kr)	0.57
Amadis 5	USTC 627292; VD16 A 2122	1595	39.5	6 bz (24 kr)	0.60
Amadis 6	USTC 627999; VD16 A 2124	1595	55.75	6 bz (24 kr)	0.43
Amadis 7	USTC 628023; VD16 A 2126	1596	40	6 bz (24 kr)	0.60
Amadis 14	USTC 626752; VD16 A 2135	1590	58	6 bz (24 kr)	0.41
Amadis 15	USTC 626733; VD16 A 2137	1590	56	6 bz (24 kr)	0.42
Amadis 16	USTC 623302; VD16 A 2138	1591	96	9 bz (36 kr)	0.37
Amadis 17	USTC 623303; VD16 A 2139	1591	95	10 bz (40 kr)	0.37
Amadis 18	USTC 626721; VD16 A 2140	1593	100	10 bz (40 kr)	0.40
Amadis 19	USTC 627794; VD16 A 2141	1593	90	10 bz (40 kr)	0.44
Amadis 20	USTC 626755; VD16 A 2142	1593	93	10 bz (40 kr)	0.43
Amadis 21	USTC 626732; VD16 A 2143	1593	102	10 bz (40 kr)	0.39
Amadis 22	USTC 626756; VD16 A 2144	1594	86	10 bz (40 kr)	0.46
Amadis 23	USTC 623307; VD16 A 2145	1594	95.5	12 bz (48 kr)	0.50
Amadis 24	USTC 626750; VD16 A 2146	1595	92	12 bz (48 kr)	0.52

Table 2 Amadis volumes on offer in the sales catalogue of Feyerabend's heirs in 1597 Note volumes 8-13 had been sold out and not reprinted before 1599

145 All three form part of USTC 631991; VD16 T 2312 (and ustc 631992; VD16 T 2313).

146 Henrike Schaffert, 'Historias después del final. Sobre las continuaciones alemanas del Amadís' in Historias Fingidas, 3 (2015), 123-138 (DOI 10.13136/2284-2667/38; ISSN 2284-2667).

147 Henrike Schaffert, Der Amadisroman, Serielles Erzählen in der Frühen Neuzeit, Berlin 2015, 13-15.

148 Henrike Schaffert, 'Montbéliard à la frontière des langues et des confessions: l'officine de Jacob Foillet (1554-1619). Mömpelgard im Grenzraum zwischen Sprachen und Konfessionen. Die Offizin

Jacob Foillets (1554–1619)' in Elsa Kammerer et al. (eds), Imprimeurs et libraires de la Renaissance: le travail de la langue. Sprachpolitik der Drucker, Verleger und Buchhändler der Renaissance, Geneva 2015, 253-260.

149 Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 254.

150 According to an account drawn up for the autumn fair in 1594, Foillet states that he has produced 1,225 copies of volume 1, 2 and 23. Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 255. The '23' misses the first digit but the sheet count and the print date match USTC 623307; VD16 A 2145.

Yet, the publication date did, in fact, play a role in the later volumes. Two printer's invoices drawn up by Jacques Foillet show us that volumes 16-24 were more expensive than their predecessors because they were recent, and more importantly, needed to be translated.¹⁵¹ The invoices are wonderful snippets of information which offer us insights into the payments that a printer received when working for a Frankfurt publisher in the late sixteenth century. They also shed light on the producers whose involvement is often not visible from the books. Foillet is not mentioned explicitly in the colophon of the later volumes; they only state 'printed in Frankfurt am Main'. Finally, the invoices give us a rare glimpse into the print runs of the books, which add valuable information regarding the size of the book business.

The first printer's invoice was drawn up on the occasion of the autumn fair in 1594. In the invoice, Foillet states that he has produced the first two Amadis volumes, each in 1,225 copies, for which he charged 15 fl per bale (i.e., 5,000 printed sheets). In the second invoice, the printer states that he produced volumes 8–13 for 16 fl per bale. This invoice is undated, but as it refers to books printed between 1597 and 1599, it was most likely a collective invoice written in 1599 or shortly thereafter. The printer must have started to record the items shortly after the appearance of the 1597 catalogue, as volumes 8-13 were listed without prices in the right column of the catalogue (i.e., no copies were left). In the first invoice, the printer also records that he had produced volume 23. For this volume, however, he charged the higher rate of 19 fl per bale. This increase of almost 25% undoubtedly reflects the extra cost of the translation. The first two volumes, as well as volumes 8-13, had previously been translated and printed in the 1570s, so that Foillet could easily use a copy for his new editions. Volume 23, on the other hand, appeared for the first time in German, and Foillet first needed to have it translated. Although no invoices for the other untranslated volumes survive, we can reasonably assume that translation costs were responsible for the increase in price. A copy of the newly translated volume 16, therefore, cost 50% more than the previous volumes (9 bz).

The second factor that influenced the prices of the 'new' Amadis volumes (16-24 did not exist in a previous edition) was the publication date. In contrast to Feyerabend's law books, chivalric romances in the vernacular aged less well. Whereas only 25% of the Latin law books on the backlist lost some of their value, the younger Amadis books were priced lower with every passing year until reaching the unit price of 6 bz. This way, the most recent volumes (23 and 24) were the most expensive at 12 bz because they only appeared 2-3 years before the catalogue's publication. By contrast, volumes 18-22 were priced lower (10 bz) as they appeared mostly in 1593 (four years earlier). Here, the difference in size, ranging from 86 to 102 printed sheets, did not factor into the price. Finally, volumes 16-17 were produced in 1591 and were therefore six years old by the time they were advertised in the catalogue. Thus, they had the lowest price of the later volumes (9 bz). Nevertheless, the price was still higher than the volumes which had merely been reprinted.

¹⁵¹ The invoices are transcribed in Pallmann, Sigmund Feyerabend, 255-257.

Conclusions

The book catalogues from 1588 and 1597 offer us intriguing insights into the Feyerabend firm, the dissemination of its books, its pricing strategies and book catalogues in general. Although their survival rate is low, we can safely assume that printed catalogues were not produced on a frequent basis. Instead, they were a way to advertise the long sellers of the firm and proudly display the width and breadth of the publisher's production, like Feyerabend's 1588 catalogue of Latin law books. In this particular case, Feyerabend may even have used the catalogue to dissuade other producers from reprinting any of the included titles.

Together with the sales register from 1565, the sources reveal how one of the largest firms in Europe operated on a daily basis and how it could become so successful in such a short amount of time. Feyerabend's strong international network, his tactics to minimise risk, and his high-end products testify to his sound understanding of the working mechanisms of the book trade. His ability to challenge the large print centres of Wittenberg and later Lyon and Venice in their special areas (Bibles and Latin law books) underlines how swift he was to seize opportunities. With the new versions of his Bible, which catered increasingly to the needs of the reader, Feyerabend demonstrated how quickly he could detect new developments on the market and adapt his products accordingly.

His shrewd business sense is reflected in his pricing strategy. Feyerabend offered his exclusive products without any discounts (at least in the early years of his career) and charged a considerable sum of money for extras, such as colouring and binding. New woodcuts also had a significant impact on the price, especially with the initial edition. By collaborating with other publishers, such as Fischer and Dack, Feyerabend even acquired a monopoly that put him in the position to charge higher-than-average prices. Similarly, translation costs were reflected in the price as was the fact whether the book was a reprint or not. The psychological factor also played an important role, especially for those books that formed part of multi-volume works, as did the date of the publication.

Finally, the catalogues from 1588 and 1597 tell us about different genres and their prices. Both catalogues confirm that law books remained relevant long after their initial publication and that most of them lost little of their value over time. Some even became a rarity and allowed the Feyerabend heirs to increase their prices. Chivalric romance, on the other hand, aged less well and lost its value much quicker. As the sources show that law books became increasingly important for Feyerabend over the years, we may extend his biographer's judgment, quoted at the beginning of this chapter: Feyerabend was certainly not a noble character but one who was known for his legal publications throughout contemporary Europe.

Appendix

Title	Reference	Sold copies	Sheets per copy	Price for a copy	Price in kr and d	Price per sheet	Price per bale
Biblische Figuren (1564)	USTC 677036; VD16 B 6067	471	30.75	3 bz	12 kr (48 d)	0.39 kr (1.56 d)	32.5 fl
Biblia Median (1564)	USTC 616528; VD16 B 2759	239	387	3 fl	180 kr (720 d)	o.46 kr (1.8 d)	38.7 fl
Biblia gespalten (1562)	USTC 616518; VD16 B 2756	119	321.5	1 fl 5 bz	80 kr (320 d)	o.24 kr (1.0 d)	20 fl
Biblia neu (1565)	USTC 616451; VD16 B 2760	111	420	2 fl 11 bz 1 kr	165 kr (660 d)	o.39 kr (1.57 d)	32.5 fl

Table 3 Feyerabend's topsellers at the spring fair in 1565, arranged by the number of sold copies

1570 4 1580 1571 4 1581 1572 2 1582 1573 13 1583 1574 7 1584 1575 8 1585 1576 6 1586 1577 6 1587 1578 3 1588	
1572 2 1582 1573 13 1583 1574 7 1584 1575 8 1585 1576 6 1586 1577 6 1587	5
1573 13 1583 1574 7 1584 1575 8 1585 1576 6 1586 1577 6 1587	3
1574 7 1584 1575 8 1585 1576 6 1586 1577 6 1587	2
1575 8 1585 1576 6 1586 1577 6 1587	6
1575 8 1585 1576 6 1586 1577 6 1587	2
1577 6 1587	2
	9
1578 3 1588	6
	4
1579 1 TOTAL	93

Table 4 Years of publication of the books advertised in Feyerabend's 1588 catalogue 152

Year of publication	1570-1574	1575-1579	1580-1584	1585–1588
Number of editions	30	24	18	21
Age by 1588	14–18 years	9–13 years	4–8 years	o-3 years
Average price/sheet	0.50 kr ¹⁵³	0.63 kr	0.61 kr	o.68 kr

 $\textbf{Table 5} \ \, \textbf{Age of the law books by the time of the publication of the 1588 catalogue}$

Title	Reference	Sheets per copy	Price per copy	Price in kr and d	Price per sheet	Price per bale
Corpus iuris civilis (1587)	USTC 625602, VD16 C 5193	519	7 fl	420 kr (1,680 d)	o.80 kr (3.23 d)	67.43 fl
Corpus iuris canonici (1586)	USTC 625607; VD16 C 51803	241.75	4 fl	240 kr (960 d)	0.99 kr (3.97 d)	82.73 fl
Praelectiones in libros codicis sacratissimi principis Iustiniani (1586)	USTC 626164; VD16 S 6291	303.5	4 fl	240 kr (960 d)	o.79 kr (3.16 d)	65.89 fl
Repertorium sententiarum et regularum (1587)	USTC 690595; VD16 B 7392	174.5	2 fl	120 kr (480 d)	o.68 kr (2.75 d)	57.30 fl
Lexicon iuris (1587)	USTC 615210; VD16 B 8332	85	ı fl	60 kr (240 d)	o.63 kr (2.52 d)	52.63 fl

Table 6 Latin law books produced by Feyerabend, Dack and Fischer, listed in the 1588 catalogue

Title	Reference	Date	Price 1597	Price 1588	Increase in kr	Increase in %
Antonio Gomez Commentarius	USTC 623576; VD16 G 2648	1596	1 fl 10 bz (100 kr)	1 fl 6 bz (80 kr)	20	25
Guido Papa Consilia	USTC 624937; VD16 G 4058	1594	1 fl 3 bz (72 kr)	1 fl (60 kr)	12	20
Guido Papa Decisiones	USTC 631982; VD16 G 3177	1591	1 fl 3 bz (72 kr)	1 fl (60 kr)	12	20
Giuseppe Mascardi De probationibus 155	USTC 631101; VD16 M 1314 (part1); USTC 668245; VD16 ZV 10466 (part 2)	1593	7 fl (420 kr)	6 fl (360 kr)	60	16.67

Table 7 New legal texts that Feyerabend's heirs had printed and were on sale in 1597

- 152 On rare occasions some multi-volume books were printed over several years, such as the collection of Giovanni Cefali's works. The first edition, comprising volumes 1-4, was published in 1579 (USTC 624929; VD16 C 1779); the second edition, comprising volume 5, was printed in 1583 (USTC 624926; VD16 C 1780). For the purpose of this analysis I used the later date (1583).
- 153 VD16 P 753; part of USTC 631992 (1570) was left out of this analysis as its price per printed sheet is 3.93.
- 154 Note, VD16 lists the third volume of this book separately with USTC 672894; VD16 ZV 15841. Yet, the book is a part of ustc 625607; VD16 C 5180.
- 155 Feyerabend produced the third part of the book in 1588, yet it seems unlikely that he had included it in his catalogue of same year: the entry 'losepus Mascardus de probationibus, in f.' (1588) was very similar to the one from the previous catalogue when the third part had not yet existed either ('Josephus Mascardus de probationibus, in fol', 1587). In contrast to this, the 1597 catalogue lists part 1 + 2 together and part 3 separately (for an extra 3 fl).

Title	Reference	Year	Printed sheets
Joannis Petri de Ferrarijs Pract. f.	USTC 685417; VD16 J 831	1570	143.25
Petri de Bella Pertica. f.	USTC 683567; VD16 P 1812	1571	370.5
Thome Gram f.	USTC 631984; VD16 N 432 (only part 3)	1573	84.5
Consilia Nicolai Belloni in fol.	USTC 624890; VD16 B 1641	1573	74.5
Decisiones Rotae Bononiensis. f.	USTC 630121; VD16 B 6497	1573	42
Consilia Nikolai Boerij f.	USTC 624881; VD16 B 6452	1574	40
Decisiones Capellae Theolos f.	USTC 630117; VD16 T 1664	1575	75
Joan. Maur. Tract. de rest. in integ. f.	USTC 699100; VD16 M 1640	1575	109.5
Ferdinandi Vasquij Opera f.	USTC 631642; VD16 V 438	1577	359
Consilia Alb Bruni feudalia	USTC 610602; VD16 B 8579	1578	188
Masueri Pract. f.	USTC 685422; VD16 J 834	1581	152.25
Nicolai de Milis Repert. aur. 8.	USTC 690594; VD16 J 631	1581	60.75
Institutiones Iuris Nicasij 8	USTC 672957; VD16 C 5218	1583	59
Speculum Maranthae f.	USTC 694287; VD16 M 895	1586	147
Pract. & tract. Criminales f.	USTC 690684; VD16 M 5742	1587	307
Jacobi Aluarotti Lecturae f.	USTC 664754; VD16 A 2085	1587	162.5

 Table 8
 Feyerabend's books that decreased in price between 1588 and 1597 (arranged by publication date)

Title	Reference	Year	Printed sheets	
Bernardi Alphani Collect	USTC 616003; VD16 A 1865	1572	36	
Consilia Sigis. Loffredi feud. f.	USTC 623282; VD16 L 2345	1573	179	
Consilia Antonij angusolae, f.	USTC 624908; VD16 A 2846	1574	124.5	
Consilia Ang. de Vbaldis Perusini, in folio.	USTC 624859; VD16 A 2827	1575	155.5	
Consilia Martini Garrati, in fol.	USTC 624861; VD16 M 1268	1575	50.5	
Paridis de Puteo Nea. tract. Feu. f.	USTC 682796; VD16 P 5417	1575	125	
Antonii de Matthaeis Romani tract. de acquirenda vel amittenda posseßione, in 4	USTC 611967; VD16 M 1353	1576	42.5	
Consilia Iacobi Mandelli, in fol.	USTC 624862; VD16 M 544	1577	98	
Ioan Asinij Pract. in fo.	USTC 685514; VD16 A 3897	1580	131.5	
P. Aerodius super lib. Decret. 8.	USTC 681869; VD16 A 4519	1580	30.5	
Institutiones Iuris Imper. Iust. 8	USTC 665190; VD16 C 5217	1583	54.5	
Simon de Praetis de vlt. volunt. f.	USTC 628863; VD16 P 4561/ USTC 628862; VD16 P 4562	1583	147	
Tractatus de Pignoribus f.	USTC 625605; VD16 F 898	1586	183.5	

 Table 9
 Feyerabend's books that increased in price between 1588 and 1597 (arranged by publication date)

Price in 1588	Price per sheet in 1588	Price in 1597	Price per sheet in 1597	Increase in kr	Increase in %
1 fl 7 bz 2 kr (90 kr)	0.62 kr	1 fl 5 bz (80 kr)	0.50 kr	10	11.1
3 fl (180 kr)	o.48 kr	2 fl 5 bz (140 kr)	o.38 kr	40	22.2
8 bz (32 kr)	0.37 kr	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.35 kr	2	6.3
8 bz (32 kr)	o.43 kr	5 bz (20kr)	0.26 kr	12	37.5
8 bz (32 kr)	0.76 kr	4 bz (16 kr)	o.38 kr	16	50
6 bz (24 kr)	o.60 kr	5 bz (20 kr)	0.50 kr	4	16.7
8 bz (32 kr)	0.42 kr	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.40 kr	2	6.3
2 fl 7 bz 2 kr (150 kr)	1.36 kr	1 fl (60 kr)	0.54 kr	90	60
5 fl (300 kr)	o.83 kr	4 fl 7 bz (268 kr)	0.74 kr	32	10.7
1 fl 3 bz (72 kr)	o.38 kr	1 fl (60 kr)	0.32 kr	12	16.7
10 bz (40 kr)	0.26 kr	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.19 kr	10	25
8 bz (32 kr)	0.39 kr	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.49 kr	2	6.3
8 bz (32 kr)	0.54 kr	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.50 kr	2	6.3
1 fl 5 bz (80 kr)	0.54 kr	1 fl 3 bz (72 kr)	0.49 kr	8	10
4 fl (240 kr)	o.78 kr	3 fl 7 bz 2 kr (210 kr)	o.68 kr	30	12.5
1 fl 5 bz (80 kr)	0.49 kr	1 fl (60 kr)	0.36 kr	20	25

Price in 1588	Price per sheet in 1588	Price in 1597	Price per sheet in 1597	Increase in kr	Increase in %
4 bz (16 kr)	0.44	6 bz (24 kr)	0.67 kr	8	50
12 bz (48 kr)	0.26	1 fl 5 bz (80 kr)	0.44 kr	32	66.7
1 fl 5 bz (80 kr)	0.64	2 fl (120 kr)	0.96 kr	40	50
8 bz (32 kr)	0.20	2 fl (120 kr)	0.77 kr	88	275
12 bz (48 kr)	0.95	1 fl (60 kr)	1.19 kr	12	25
8 bz (32 kr)	0.25	1 fl (60 kr)	o.48 kr	28	87.5
8 bz (32 kr)	0.18	10 bz (40 kr)	0.24 kr	8	25
8 bz (32 kr)	0.32	1 fl (60 kr)	0.61 kr	28	87.5
1 fl 5 bz (80 kr)	0.60	1 fl 7 bz 2 kr (90 kr)	o.68 kr	28	87.5
4 bz (16 kr)	0.52	5 bz (20 kr)	o.66 kr	4	25
6 bz (24 kr)	0.44	7 bz 2 kr (30 kr)	0.55 kr	6	25
2 fl 7 bz 2 kr (150 kr)	0.98	3 fl 7 bz 2 kr (210 kr)	1.43 kr	60	40
2 fl (120 kr)	0.65	2 fl 7 bz 2 kr (152 kr)	0.82 kr	32	26.7



RENAUD MILAZZO

Le marché des livres juridiques à Lyon et à Venise au xvie siècle



L'existence d'un marché des livres de jurisprudence en Europe occidentale a été documentée dès le XII^e siècle. Sous forme manuscrite, ce marché est parallèle à l'évolution du cadre institutionnel des universités, où l'on assiste à un renouveau intellectuel chez les juristes. Ce phénomène est associé à la redécouverte de manuscrits rassemblant des textes législatifs romains d'origines diverses collectés par Justinien 1er (482/483-565) et formant un corpus de droit civil. L'émergence des écoles de droits à Bologne, Paris et Oxford et la création des premières universités ont permis aux futurs juristes, clercs ou laïcs de suivre une formation en droit civil et canonique. Plusieurs générations de professeurs particulièrement dynamiques enseignant à Bologne glosent, commentent et discutent ces textes de références, créant des outils d'apprentissage utiles pour les professeurs et les étudiants.1

Ce renouveau du droit romain est un élément important de l'histoire du droit occidental, car il sous-tend le système romano-germanique et a contribué à façonner inégalement le paysage juridique de l'Europe selon sa réception. Rencontrant des résistances dans le nord de la France, il se diffuse dans le Sud ainsi que dans les péninsules italienne et ibérique.

Renaud Milazzo a obtenu son doctorat en histoire, histoire de l'art et archéologie à l'Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines avec une thèse portant sur le marché du livre d'emblème en Europe durant la période 1531-1750. Il a rejoint l'équipe du projet EMoBookTrade en juillet 2018 à travers le projet spécial EMoEuropeBookPrices (financé par FARE-MIUR, Italie) dans le but d'étudier le catalogue manuscrit des prix des livres enregistré par Christophe Plantin (Museum Plantin-Moretus, м 296).

- * Je remercie vivement pour leurs relectures et précieux conseils, Christian Coppens, Angela Nuovo et Ioran Proot.
- 1 Pour une approche de l'histoire du droit, il existe plusieurs manuels: Jean Hilaire, Histoire du droit, Paris 2017 (14e éd.); Valérie Ménès-Redorat, Histoire du droit, Paris 2019; Éric Gasparini & Éric Gojosso, Cours d'introduction historique au droit et d'histoire des institutions, Paris 2020 (10e éd.); Graziano Paradisi, Storia del diritto medievale e moderno, Napoli, 2020 (6º éd.). Pour identifier les professeurs et les écrivains de droit médiévaux, l'ouvrage de J.A. Clarence Smith, Medieval law teachers and writers, civilian and canonist, Ottawa 1975, est utile malgré le choix de ne pas associer la forme latine des noms présentés dans leur forme anglaise. Quant au droit canonique, les ouvrages publiés par la maison d'édition Cujas sont prédominants. Nous conseillons principalement: H. Gilles &

Paul Ourliac, La période post-classique (1378-1500). 1. La problématique de l'époque, Les sources, (Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident, 13), Paris 1971; Jean Bernhard, Charles Lefebvre & Francis Rapp, L'Époque de la Réforme et du Concile de Trente, (Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident, 14), Paris 1990; Charles Lefebvre, Marcel Pacaut & Laurent Chevailler, L'Époque moderne (1563—1789). Les sources du droit et la seconde centralisation romaine, (Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident, 15.1), Paris 1976. Voir aussi, Christine Bousquet-Labouérie & Antoine Destemberg (dirs.), Écrit, pouvoirs et société en occident aux x11e-x1ve siècles. Angleterre, France, Italie, Péninsule Ibérique, Paris 2019. Enfin, un outil de travail intéressant qui nous a particulièrement aidés dans notre recherche pour sa vocation encyclopédique: Denis Alland & Stéphane Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, Paris 2019 (6º tirage).

À la différence des parties de l'Europe où le droit commun prédomine, le droit romain est une loi écrite. La common law est de nature locale ou régionale et se transmet oralement. La coutume est un usage qui, consacré par le temps, devient force de droit. Les besoins se font progressivement sentir de la coucher par écrit. Ainsi, les pouvoirs royaux et communaux cherchent à accroître leur emprise sur le droit privé au profit de l'écrit. Ce passage du droit oral au droit écrit contribue au développement de catégories socioprofessionnelles spécifiques telles que les notaires et les podestats dans le sud de la France et en Italie. Pour prendre des décisions, ces juristes se réfèrent à des auteurs anciens et modernes faisant autorité et examinent leurs nombreux ouvrages.

Pour toutes ces raisons, l'édition des livres de droit est considérée depuis la fin du xve siècle comme l'un des secteurs les plus florissants du marché du livre.² Ce dernier était encore en développement à l'époque, et les progrès technologiques apportés par l'utilisation des presses et des caractères mobiles permettaient de coordonner le travail et de le faire exécuter plus rapidement, afin qu'il puisse se diffuser à un plus grand nombre de personnes. Cependant, c'était un marché difficile. Ce dernier impliquait des coûts de production importants et tendait à attirer une clientèle fortunée constituée de grandes familles d'hommes de loi qui avaient pour habitude de transmettre leurs livres de génération en génération. L'édition de livres de droit était un marché spécialisé, mais considéré comme lucratif, ce qui a suscité l'intérêt du monde du livre et des investisseurs. La publication de livres de droit dans un domaine hautement concurrentiel nécessitait non seulement des capitaux, mais comprenait également la recherche de nouveaux textes, le recrutement d'auteurs et la mobilisation d'experts pour créer de nouveaux commentaires ou corriger les épreuves, de conclure des contrats, d'obtenir des privilèges, de sous-traiter l'impression. Ensuite, il fallait distribuer les exemplaires et occuper le marché. Cela nécessitait de mobiliser de nombreuses compétences et un vaste réseau. En outre, les éditeurs de livre de droit étaient confrontés à la concurrence d'un marché de 'seconde main'.3 Pour ces raisons, seuls quelques éditeurs concentraient l'essentiel des publications.

De nombreuses questions se posent lorsque l'on tente d'expliquer ce marché particulièrement complexe des livres de jurisprudence. Comment s'articulait-il? Comment fonctionnait-il? Était-ce un marché hautement concurrentiel à la fois national et transnational? Y avait-il une guerre commerciale entre plusieurs sites de fabrication? Comment les éditeurs se sont-ils positionnés et comment se sont-ils protégés financièrement dans un marché jugé difficile?

Le marché européen des livres de droit au XVI^e siècle n'a que peu retenu l'attention de la recherche et reste une terra incognita. 4 L'objectif de cette étude est d'éclairer cette problématique en comparant les marchés du livre juridique de Lyon et de Venise. Le terme 'juridique' doit être compris comme synonyme de 'jurisprudence' tel que défini dans le dictionnaire d'Antoine Furetière. Il s'agit donc de la 'science du Droit, des coutumes, des ordonnances & de tout ce qui sert à rendre, ou à faire rendre la justice.'5 Bien qu'incomplète, cette définition, plus large que la notion de 'droit savant' utilisée par Michel Reulos,6 permet de recouper la plupart des ouvrages de droit sortant des presses européennes au XVI° siècle: le droit civil, c'est-à-dire le 'Droit Romain, du Digeste et du Code', le droit canonique, le 'droit canon, des

décrétales', 'la jurisprudence féodale, celles des Fiefs et des Coutumes', autrement dit, tous les ouvrages de droit utiles aussi bien aux professeurs et aux étudiants comme aux praticiens: juges, avocats, notaires et conseillers. Les ordonnances, proclamations, édits et placards sont exclus de notre analyse, car les éditeurs comme Christophe Plantin (vers 1520-1589), ne les intègrent pas dans leurs catalogues de ventes. Il s'agissait de commandes leur permettant d'engendrer des flux de trésorerie rapide. De facto, ils pouvaient gagner de l'argent rapidement, et ils ne considéraient pas le produit final comme un moyen de démontrer leur art. En effet, commandées par les magistrats des villes ou de l'État, ces publications respectaient des normes de présentation, de format et de mise en page imposés par divers organismes administratifs, le tout sans risque financier. Tous ces facteurs ont limité l'intervention directe des éditeurs dans la conception de ces textes.⁷

A contrario, la décision d'imprimer un livre est un risque sérieux pour celui qui finance la publication (éditeurs, investisseurs, auteurs, etc.). En effet, l'éditeur doit disposer d'un capital important pour couvrir tous les coûts de production: matières premières, salaires, et dans certains cas, illustrations. Son objectif est de vendre ses livres principalement pour

- 2 Ce marché a plus particulièrement retenu l'attention des chercheurs travaillant sur les incunables. C'est notamment le cas de Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century with a focus on Corpus iuris civilis and the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato' dans Cristina Dondi (dir.), Printing r-evolution and society 1450–1500. Fifty years that changed Europe, Venezia 2020, 67-197 (DOI:10.30687/978-88-6969-332-8; toutes les sources en ligne consultées 28 avril 2023, sauf indication contraire). Très peu de livres ont pour sujet le marché du livre de droit au xvie siècle. Voir Angela Nuovo, 'Produzione e circolazione di libri giuridici tra Italia e Francia (sec. xv1): la via commerciale Lione-Trino-Venezia' dans Maria Gioa Tavoni & Gian Paolo Brizzi (dirs.), Dalla pecia all'ebook. Libri per l'università: stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Bologna, 21-25 ottobre 2008), Bologna 2009, 341-349.
- 3 Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Leiden/Boston 2013, 397.
- 4 Yves-Bernard Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française sous l'Ancien Régime' dans Histoire et civilisation du livre, 1 (2005), 33-136 (https://revues.droz.org/index.php/ HCL/article/view/1829, consulté 10 janvier 2023). Olivier Wagner a tenté de combler cette lacune en proposant une étude basée uniquement sur la bibliographie lyonnaise de Baudrier, qui ne donnait pas une vision réaliste de ce marché. La Compagnie des Libraires est totalement absente, bien qu'elle joue un rôle important dans ce domaine. Il est également surprenant qu'un éditeur comme Jacques Giunta ne soit pas mentionné dans les résultats. Olivier Wagner, 'L'Édition juridique à Lyon au xvie siècle' dans Mireille Delmas-Marty, Antoine Jeammaud & Olivier Leclerc (dirs.), Droit et humanisme. Autour de Jean Papon, juriste forézien, Paris 2015, 113-131.

- 5 Antoine Furetière, Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts, La Haye/Rotterdam, Arnout & Reinier Leers 1690, 3 vols, in-folio; STCN 851997031.
- 6 Michel Reulos, 'Les droits savants dans l'édition française du xvıe siècle' dans Pierre Aquilon & Henri-Jean Martin (dirs.), Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du xxvIII^e colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours, Paris 1988, 323-331. Selon sa définition: 'par les mots "droits savants" sont compris le droit romain et le droit canonique par opposition au droit coutumier; il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une distinction entre les sources du droit mais il faut tenir compte de ce que seuls le droit romain et le droit canonique faisaient l'objet d'enseignements dans les universités alors que le droit coutumier est estimé relever exclusivement de la pratique du Palais' (p. 323).
- 7 Saskia Limbach, Government use of print. Official publications in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500–1600, Frankfurt am Main 2021, 6; Renaud Milazzo, 'Les enieux économiques du choix du format et du papier dans la politique éditoriale de Christophe Plantin (1555–1589)' = 'The economic stakes in the choice of bibliographic format and paper in the publishing policy of Christophe Plantin (1555-1589)' dans Goran Proot, Yann Sordet & Christophe Vellet (éds.), A century of typographical excellence. Christophe Plantin and the Officina Plantiniana (1555–1655) = Un siècle d'excellence typographique. Christophe Plantin and son officine (1555–1655), Paris 2020, 142–191. Concernant le cas français, Xavier Prévost a décrit la croissance du marché d'ordonnances et de placards qui s'est développé parallèlement à l'avènement de l'imprimerie: Xavier Prévost, Les premières lois imprimées: étude des actes royaux imprimés de Charles vIII à Henri II (1483-1559), Paris 2018.

survivre et si possible s'enrichir. Pour cela, de véritables stratégies commerciales sont élaborées et l'éditeur doit avoir une connaissance approfondie du marché européen du livre ainsi que de la production de ses principaux concurrents. Cette veille commerciale est essentielle.

En analysant le marché comparativement par sujet de livre et par auteur, l'éditeur peut mieux cibler sa clientèle, qu'elle soit étudiante, professionnelle, fortunée ou disposant de faible revenu. Cette analyse préliminaire de la concurrence peut ainsi être utilisée pour améliorer sa position sur ce marché, occuper des niches laissées vacantes par la concurrence, saisir des opportunités ou, par exemple, reprendre certaines politiques éditoriales à titre posthume. Il peut ensuite choisir le format du livre, la qualité du papier, d'imprimer en couleurs rouge et noir, décider s'il illustre ou non l'ouvrage, calculer ses frais de fabrication au plus juste en toute connaissance de cause et limiter le risque de ne pouvoir écouler ses stocks et de perdre son investissement. Les conséquences d'une mauvaise décision peuvent être dramatiques et entraîner la faillite d'une officine. Pour ces raisons, de grandes entreprises comme celle de Christophe Plantin à Anvers ont mis en place de véritables outils d'étude de marché (benchmarking). Cette analyse s'appuie sur l'un d'eux, le manuscrit m 296 qui est conservé au Musée Plantin-Morétus à Anvers.

Sur la base de ce document exceptionnel, qui permet une analyse comparative à long terme entre les pratiques éditoriales lyonnaises et vénitiennes dans le domaine du droit, une approche en quatre étapes a été choisie. La première partie de notre recherche est consacrée à la présentation de la source et à la description des premiers résultats. La deuxième partie se penche sur le livre de droit en tant qu'objet sur le marché et examine la question de ses formats, langues et mises en page. Le monde du livre juridique, composé d'auteurs et d'éditeurs, fera l'objet de la troisième partie. La dernière partie de cette étude porte sur les pratiques tarifaires des éditeurs des deux villes en comparant les prix à la feuille des livres de droit.

⁸ Anvers, Musée Plantin-Moretus (ci-après: мрм) м 296.

⁹ L'expression est de Malcolm Walsby, L'Imprimé en Europe occidentale, 1470–1680, Rennes 2020, 38.

¹⁰ Christophe Plantin possédait, avec son officine, une lucrative entreprise spécialisée dans la dentelle de luxe dont il a confié la direction à son épouse.

¹¹ MPM, M296, fol. 351 verso.

SOURCES ET PREMIERS RÉSULTATS **PARTIE I**

Le manuscrit M 296

Le manuscrit M 296, un grand in-quarto de 425 feuillets, contient une liste de plus de 20 000 titres fournissant des informations sur le marché européen du livre au XVIe siècle.8 En effet, tous les grands bassins de production sont situés dans des aires économiques francophones (Paris, Lyon, Genève), italophones (Venise), germanophones (Francfort, Cologne, Wittenberg) et néerlandophones (Anvers, Gand, Louvain), tandis que les centres hispanophones sont quasi inexistants. Les listes de livres sont réparties par centres de production puis par libraires et dans une moindre mesure par imprimeurs.

Les termes 'libraire' et 'imprimeur' prêtent souvent à confusion et nécessitent quelques précisions. 'Libraire' est un terme étroit, synonyme 'd'éditeur commercial' (publisher, Verleger, uitgever),9 qui regroupe de nombreuses fonctions puisqu'il désigne à la fois un industriel, un homme d'affaires, un commerçant et un investisseur occupant une position centrale dans une maison d'édition. Souvent, ces industriels cumulent d'autres activités dans des secteurs aussi divers que le textile ou le vin. 10 L'éditeur organise les publications, détermine la politique éditoriale, recherche des manuscrits inédits, s'occupe d'obtenir les privilèges et essaie de recruter de nouveaux auteurs. Seul ou associé avec d'autres confrères, il doit non seulement réunir le capital nécessaire à la production d'un livre et disposer (ou rechercher) des liquidités nécessaires pour soutenir le retour sur investissement sur des années ou des décennies, mais aussi le maintenir pour éviter le risque de faillite en cas de pertes. On constatera plus loin que nombres d'entre eux occupent les plus hautes couches des hiérarchies sociales et professionnelles de leurs villes, grâce à leur richesse personnelle. Certains partenaires financiers ne sont pas directement liés au commerce du livre. D'autres sont des investisseurs silencieux (silent investors) et préfèrent rester dans l'ombre en attendant un retour sur investissement. Ces industriels assurent généralement la vente directe de leurs ouvrages dans leurs boutiques et succursales locales ou étrangères, et profitent également des foires du livre de Francfort et de Lyon pour écouler leur stock. Ils privilégient avant tout le commerce de gros. La vente aux particuliers est généralement considérée comme une activité secondaire, un service de proximité, dont la gestion est confiée à un membre de la famille. Ils s'appuient généralement sur un réseau de distribution transnational par le biais de liens familiaux, de mariages et d'accords contractuels passés avec des industriels d'autres villes. Ils peuvent posséder leurs propres presses à imprimer, utiliser divers ateliers d'impression et vendre à la fois leur propre travail et celui de leurs pairs par le biais du commerce et du troc. Certains se spécialisent dans la vente de genres spécifiques. À Venise, par exemple, le manuscrit м 296 montre que Melchiore I Sessa (1505–1555) a centralisé toutes les comédies en langue italienne. Sous la rubrique 'Comedia del Sesso', parmi les 40 pièces de théâtre énumérées, se distinguent des comédies issues des catalogues d'Altobello Salicato, Domenico Farri, Agostino Bindoni, Antonio Rampazetto, entre autres." À Lyon, Plantin a pu se procurer un même livre de droit chez plusieurs marchands qui entretenaient

d'étroites relations d'affaires avec la Compagnie des Libraires. Un rapport de gestion de cette dernière, daté du 27 mars 1567, indique la présence d'ouvrages édités par les frères Senneton, Antoine Gryphe (1527?-1599) et les héritiers de Jacques (ou Jacopo) Giunta (1486-1546), et cela s'explique par les échanges qu'ils ont faits avec la compagnie.¹² Ces industriels rassemblent divers profils et exercent plusieurs activités qui les différencient des simples entrepreneurs.

Ainsi définie, la figure du 'libraire' se distingue de celle de l'imprimeur. Dès lors, l'expression 'imprimeur-libraire', souvent utilisée aujourd'hui, n'est pas satisfaisante. Comme l'a souligné Malcolm Walsby, en France, 'la plupart des éditeurs [...] n'étaient pas simultanément des imprimeurs' et 'la vaste majorité' d'entre eux 'commanditaient des impressions'. De facto, Timprimeur devenait un exécutant, l'artisan au service des libraires'.13 Dans le domaine de l'édition juridique, nous verrons que cette répartition des rôles est très importante. Parmi les imprimeurs, il faut distinguer d'une part, l'imprimeur-entrepreneur commercial et d'autre part, l'imprimeur-sous-traitant. L'imprimeur-entrepreneur est à la fois un prestataire de services et un commerçant, mais dispose de moins de moyens financiers qu'un homme d'affaire. Il peut devenir ponctuellement un éditeur, mais à plus petite échelle que les grandes entreprises industrielles. Par rapport à ces dernières, leur production globale reste plus modeste. L'imprimeur-sous-traitant est un artisan à qui les travaux d'impressions ont été confiés en raison de son savoir-faire et de sa réputation. Ces deux catégories d'imprimeurs peuvent aussi vendre des livres pour compléter leur activité. Dans ce cas on ne peut les identifier comme 'libraire' comme on l'entendait au XVIe siècle. Dès lors, ils deviennent dépositaire ou revendeur, car dans ce contexte on ne peut pas parler de commerce de gros, mais seulement de commerce de détail. Cela permet de distinguer une troisième figure, celle du simple vendeur de livre (bookseller) qui n'est ni un éditeur, ni un imprimeur, et dont les fonctions se rapprochent de la définition actuelle du mot 'libraire': un commerçant qui vend des livres.

Christophe Plantin présente un rare exemple d'industriel ayant occupé tous ces postes. En effet, au XVI° siècle, seules quelques firmes contrôlaient toutes les étapes de la production: étude de marché, stratégie commerciale, achat des matières premières, fabrication, distribution, ventes en gros et au détail. La correspondance de Plantin soulève un point particulièrement intéressant: il distinguait chaque rôle. Il était avant tout un éditeur qui

¹² Voir à ce sujet, Jeanne-Marie Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais au xvie et xviie siècle' dans Roger Chartier et al. (dirs.), Nouvelles études lyonnaises (Histoire et Civilisation du livre, 2), Genève 1969, 5-63. Le compte de gestion de la Compagnie est retranscrit

¹³ Walsby, L'Imprimé en Europe occidentale, 38-39.

¹⁴ Ibidem, 38.

¹⁵ MPM, M296, fol. 199 recto.

¹⁶ Nuovo, The book trade, 282-293. Les éditions vénitiennes étaient assez présentes à Francfort.

¹⁷ Par exemple, le 16 janvier 1566, Plantin reçoit 'ung tonneau de Venise' contenant exclusivement des ouvrages liturgiques de la firme Giunti et indique dans une note qu'il enregistre la facture correspondante sous le nom des Giunti 'au livre des libraires'. Cf. MPM, Arch. 44 fol. 6 verso.

¹⁸ мрм, м 296 fol. 199 recto.

¹⁹ Ludovico Guicchardini, Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, Anversa: Christofano Plantino, 1581, in-folio (Léon Voet & Jenny Voet-Grisolle (coll.), The Plantin Press (1555–1589). A bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, 6 vols, Amsterdam 1980-1983, no. 1277; dorénavant: PP), p. 162.

possédait ses propres presses. Lorsque pour des raisons financières il se contentait, au début des années 1580, de n'être qu'un imprimeur sous-traitant pour des maisons d'éditions parisiennes, lyonnaises et colonaises ou exécutait des commandes pour la ville d'Anvers, il se décrivait comme 'mercenaire' et se sentait dévalorisé.14

Dans le manuscrit M 296, les ouvrages sont classés par titre ou par auteur. Dans la plupart des cas, les formats, le nombre de feuilles nécessaires à l'impression d'un exemplaire et les prix de vente sont indiqués en monnaie de compte locale. Ce dernier point sera expliqué ultérieurement. Les prix se référent toujours à des livres de première main et non reliés, c'est-à-dire en blanc (in albis).

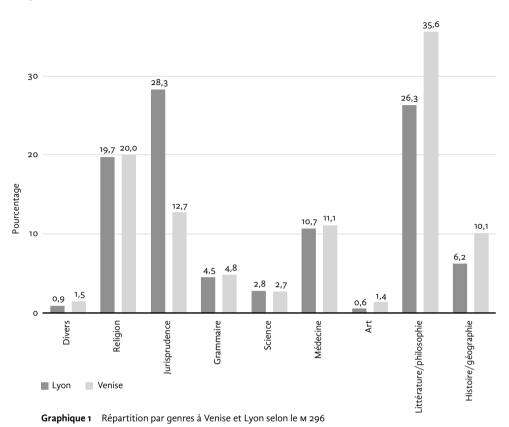
Selon les informations qui y sont contenues, le manuscrit semble avoir été tenu à partir de 1572. Il a été écrit par plusieurs mains et complété à différentes périodes dont la date exacte ne peut être déterminée. Toutes les sources d'informations disponibles sont mobilisées par Plantin pour connaître le marché. En envoyant des représentants de l'officine aux foires commerciales de Francfort l'éditeur anversois a reçu une grande quantité d'informations, qu'il a utilisées pour créer des 'indices'.15 En effet, outre les éditeurs germaniques et hollandais, vénitiens et lyonnais fréquentent assidument les foires du livre de Francfort.16 De même, les journaux annuels fournissent de nombreux exemples d'échanges commerciaux réalisé avec les grands éditeurs des deux villes.17 Pour compléter ses données, la correspondance de Christophe Plantin montre que cette surveillance commerciale s'est opérée dans toute l'Europe, grâce aux demandes de nombreux correspondants, généralement membres de la République des Lettres. Ainsi, certains clients et les catalogues d'éditeurs deviennent de facto des sources d'informations secondaires comme en témoigne l'incipit d'une liste de livres sans lieux d'impression ni noms d'auteurs: 'Recueilly tant de divers Catalogues que des billets des demandeurs'. Après la mort de Plantin en 1589, le M 296 n'est plus régulièrement mis à jour par ses héritiers. Si les résultats restent pertinents à cette date, ils sont incomplets à partir de 1590.

Plantin jouissait d'une réputation exceptionnelle. Son officine était considérée comme la plus grande de toute l'Europe en termes de taille et de capacité de production, et les coûts de fonctionnement quotidien de son officine impressionnaient ses contemporains.¹⁹ Sa connaissance du marché transnational et son regard expert sur les œuvres importantes tant anciennes que nouvelles et sa situation géographique en font un observateur extérieur des marchés lyonnais et vénitien, donnant au manuscrit M 296 une place à part. En fait, ce document offre un aperçu important du marché européen du livre depuis plus d'un siècle, développé par les acteurs majeurs du monde du livre au XVI^e siècle.

Résultats généraux

Après avoir identifié les éditions, nous avons pu déterminer que le manuscrit couvre un siècle de la production européenne, c'est-à-dire de 1496 pour le livre le plus ancien à 1596 pour l'ouvrage le plus récent. Après avoir écarté les données douteuses, incomplètes et neutralisé les doublons, on obtient les résultats suivants: Lyon totalise 2080 entrées, Venise





1922, tous genres confondus. Bien que certaines publications manquent, le nombre d'ouvrages sélectionnés par Plantin révèle la tendance du marché des livres de jurisprudence de ces deux villes.20

La cité rhodanienne totalise 591 contributions à des ouvrages de jurisprudence publiés entre 1504 et 1588, ce qui correspond à une part de marché de 28,3%. Quant à la cité lagunaire, 239 ouvrages de droit sont cités et les années de leur publication vont de 1514 à 1590, ce qui, selon le manuscrit de Plantin, représente 12,7% de part de marché. Deux-centcinquante-quatre auteurs sont publiés par 76 maisons d'édition Lyonnaises. À Venise, on dénombre 188 juristes et 75 éditeurs. Plantin et ses clients s'intéressent d'avantage aux livres de droit civil qu'au droit canonique. Ce dernier ne représente que environ 7% à Venise et 4% à Lyon. Comme le montre le Graphique 1, la répartition par genre semble indiquer que les deux centres se sont réservés des domaines de production spécifiques. Ces derniers sont très similaires dans les deux villes en ce qui concerne les ouvrages de médecine, de sciences, de grammaire et de religion, mais l'éditeur vénitien est plus susceptible que l'éditeur lyonnais de produire des recueils d'histoire et de géographie, d'art, de littérature ou de rhétorique. Ce dernier s'est spécialisé dans le marché du livre de jurisprudence, seul genre surperformant Venise de plus de 50%. Cette spécialisation semble garantir des profits, montrant que

chaque centre développe des stratégies différentes pour non seulement répondre aux demandes de tous les groupes cibles, mais aussi de conserver un domaine propre qui évite d'accroître la concurrence.

Le genre des livres de jurisprudence

Pour comprendre le marché des textes juridiques, il faut clarifier les textes de base du droit romain et du droit canonique. Ces derniers sont regroupés en deux grands corpus depuis le XIIe siècle.

Le premier, le Corpus iuris civilis rassemble cinq textes législatifs et prend sa forme définitive au XIII^e siècle. Le Code (Codex repetitae) est une compilation de textes constitutionnels promulgués par les empereurs romains et organisée par Justinien (529-534).21 Le Digeste ou Pandecte est un ensemble de textes de la littératures juridiques savantes choisis par une commission juridictionnelle présidée par Tribonien (†542). Les Institutes (Institutiones) publiées le 21 novembre 533 - texte rédigé par Tribonien, Théophile (†536) et Dorothée (v1e siècle) – s'adressent aux étudiants en droit. Les Novelles ou Novellae constitutiones complètent le Code après la mort de Justinien et sont publiées entre 535 et 555. Cette collection de Constitutions promulguées par Justinien fut enrichie à une date inconnue, et les juristes occidentaux lui donnèrent le nom 'd'Authentique'. Enfin, Les libri feudorum, ajoutés plus tardivement au XIIIe siècle, compilent plusieurs textes de droit féodal lombard. La longueur inégale des textes oblige les copistes à organiser le corpus en cinq ou six volumes. Les cinquante livres des Pandectes sont ainsi divisés en trois tomes nommés Digeste vieux (Digestum vetus), Infortiat (Infortiatum) et Digeste nove (Digestum novum). Il est suivi d'un quatrième volume consacré au Code. Enfin, le volume 5 (Volumen parvum, Authenticum, Volumen) contient les Institutes, les trois derniers livres du Code, les Authentiques et les Libri feudorum. Après 1312, les Extravagantes, deux constitutions d'Henri VII (1312), complètent l'ensemble. Le Corpus est diffusé sous deux formats: le texte seul ou accompagné de la glose d'Accurse (1182?-1263?) dite Glossa ordinaria ou Grande Glose.²² Il s'agit d'une compilation de tous les commentaires et interprétations du droit romain écrits par ses prédécesseurs et lui-même vers le milieu du XIIIe siècle et dont l'autorité est aussi importante que les textes originaux.

Le Corpus iuris canonici n'est ainsi mentionné qu'au XVIe siècle et se compose de lois papales divisés en trois volumes. Le Décret de Gratien (XIIe siècle), les Décrétales de Grégoire IX (XIII^e siècle) et le Sexte de Boniface VIII (XIII^e siècle). Au début du XVI^e siècle,

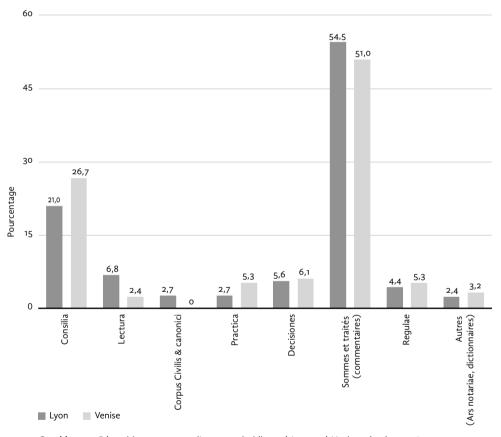
²⁰ La comparaison des résultats de M 296 a été réalisée à l'aide des deux bases de données bibliographiques USTC et EDIT16. Les courbes statistiques obtenues sont similaires aux résultats du manuscrit anversois présenté dans cette étude.

²¹ Les textes les plus anciens datent du règne d'Hadrien (76-138).

²² Jacques Berlioz (éd.), Identifier sources et citations (L'Atelier du médiéviste, 1), Turnhout 1994, 121-143. Voir aussi Jean Gaudemet, 'Corpus iuris civilis' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 299–304.

le Corpus est complété par les Clémentines (les décrétales de Clément v, 1264-1314), les Extravagantes (les décrétales de Jean XXII, 1245-1334) et enfin les Extravagantes communes (diverses décrétales de Boniface VIII, 1235-1303, à Sixte IV, 1414-1484).23

Tous les traités, sommes et commentaires dans les deux droits sont basés sur les textes des deux corpus. Commercialement, certains volumes rencontrent plus de succès que d'autres et peuvent faire l'objet d'éditions séparées. Sans surprise, s'adressant à un lectorat universitaire, les Institutiones bénéficient de tirages numériquement plus élevés que d'autres textes. Lorsque Plantin commença à travailler sur un Corpus iuris civilis en 1566, imprimé en 12 volumes au format in octavo le tout fut tiré à 1600 exemplaires, mais les Institutes bénéficièrent d'un tirage à 2550 exemplaires.24



Graphique 2 Répartition par genres d'ouvrages juridiques à Lyon et à Venise selon le м 296

Les lecteurs du XVIe siècle savaient exactement quel texte était caché sous un titre. Outre les deux corpus, le marché des livres de jurisprudence se divise entre les études de droit destinées aux universitaires, les ouvrages de pratiques professionnelles s'adressant à différents corps de métiers et les livres de conseils répondant à des critères bien précis. Par exemple, la première catégorie comprend les Lectura qui contenaient des notes prises par un étudiant

durant un cour magistral, tandis que les commentaires sont généralement rédigés par le professeur lui-même. Ce dernier fait référence à un sujet particulier indépendamment de tout autre texte. A contrario, une Somme [Summa, ou Summula] est une forme de commentaire qui se concentre sur un titre, une loi précise et a pour objectif de rassembler tout ce qui a été écrit sur un même sujet ailleurs dans le Corpus. Les manuels de pratique s'adressent à différentes catégories de professionnels du droit, notamment les notaires, certains fonctionnaires et les greffiers. Les artes notariae ou artes notariatus s'adressent à ces derniers et sont des 'recueils de modèles d'actes notariés rédigés par des notaires ou des professeurs, pourvus de notes explicatives et, en règle générale, d'une introduction sur la profession de notaire et la rédaction des actes notariés.²⁵ Les premiers ouvrages de ce type remontent au XIII^e siècle et ont été produits à Bologne à l'attention des étudiants qui suivent une formation professionnelle de notaire.

De cette façon, les juristes, les avocats, les magistrats et les clercs disposent d'un solide corpus d'études de cas, de règles établies et de recueils de décisions faisant autorités et dont ils peuvent se servir pour préparer leurs plaidoiries, juger une affaire, etc. Enfin, les Consilia sont des études de cas commandées par un juge à un jurisconsulte pour répondre à une question interlocutoire (mesure servant à compléter l'instruction de l'affaire) ou à des questions majeures faisant l'objet d'un contentieux.26 Ces ouvrages sont des recueils de textes du même auteur. À l'inverse, de nombreuses anthologies qui rassemblent les œuvres les plus importantes de certains jurisconsultes sont souvent préférés par les éditeurs. Pour le lecteur, toute cette littérature est interchangeable. Elle constitue la base de la jurisprudence qui dans son sens originel caractérise toutes les sources du droit et était assimilée à la science du droit, la prudence du juriste et la recherche du bon droit.²⁷

Tant à Lyon qu'à Venise, les études de cas représentent plus de la moitié des ouvrages cités dans le manuscrit (54,5% sur les bords du Rhône, 51% dans la lagune) et concernent à la fois le droit civil et canonique. Dans les deux villes, la production n'ignore aucune des deux méthodes d'enseignement du droit: la méthode italienne (mos italicus) et la méthode française (mos gallicus). La première, en circulation depuis le XIIIe siècle, repose sur l'étude du droit romain et met l'accent sur la doctrine et l'interprétation en les renforçant toutes deux par des emprunts au droit canonique, féodal, coutumier et urbain. Ainsi, le droit romain devient un droit commun (ius commune) qui n'occulte pas les autres traditions juridiques (droit propre, droit particulier).²⁸ Les représentants les plus célèbres du *mos italicus* sont mentionnés en détail dans le M 296 (Bartole, Balde, Pierre de Belleperche, etc.). Dans la France du XVI^e siècle, de nouvelles universités voient le jour (Valence, Bourges et Toulouse,

²³ Berlioz, Identifier sources et citations, 145-176; Franck Roumy, 'Corpus iuris canonici (Compilations canoniques et codifications plus récentes)' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 294-299.

²⁴ PP, II, 727 [no. 1034].

²⁵ Guido van Dievoet, Les coutumiers, les styles, les formulaires et les 'artes notariae' (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 48), Turnhout 1986, 83.

²⁶ Peter R. Pazzaglini & Catherina A. Hawks, Consilia, a bibliography of holdings in the Library of Congress and certain other collections in the United States, Washington, DC 1990, xiii.

²⁷ À ce sujet, voir l'article de Maryse Deguerque, 'Jurisprudence' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire culturel du droit, 883-888.

²⁸ Nous résumons ici Gasparini & Gojosso, Cours d'introduction historique au droit, 170.

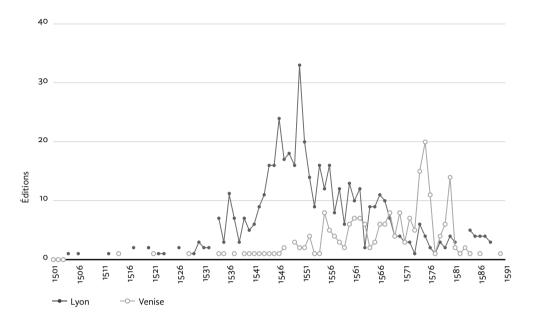
entre autres). L'esprit humaniste et critique qui y règne défie la suprématie des docteurs italiens. Cette méthode 'est fondée sur l'usage d'une langue latine plus recherchée et plus conforme à l'idée que l'on se faisait désormais du latin classique, sur une recherche des textes antiques et sur leur interprétation conformément à la chronologie de l'histoire'.29 Cette nouvelle méthode est développée par André Alciat (Andrea Alciato ou Alciati, 1492-1555).30 Le manuscrit de Plantin recense les principaux tenants de cette tendance: Hugues Doneau (1527-1591), François le Duaren (1509-1559) et Charles Dumoulin (1500-1566), etc.

En seconde position, les Consilia représentent 21,0% à Lyon et 26,7% à Venise. Peter R. Pazzaglini et Catherina A. Hawks ont montré que l'importance de ces écrits est liée aux rôles des juges dans le nord de l'Italie et le sud de la France. Beaucoup d'entre eux étaient itinérants, inexpérimentés, s'en remettaient au droit coutumier local pour prendre des décisions et avaient besoin de conseils d'experts. De plus, l'expertise apportée sur ces questions spécifiques offrait la garantie d'un jugement impartial et juste évitant ainsi l'annulation d'un jugement ou les procès en appel. S'appuyer sur une telle autorité a également permis de réduire la durée des procédures judiciaires en supprimant la nécessité pour les juges eux-mêmes d'acquérir une connaissance des us et coutumes locaux.

Les outils professionnels (pratiques, ars notariae, règles, décisions) varient et portent sur des formulaires types ainsi que sur des dictionnaires de vocabulaire juridique tant pour le droit civil que canonique. Cette catégorie d'ouvrages ne représente que 3% de l'ensemble des livres de droit. Ils ont été principalement réalisés à Lyon, et le manuscrit M 296 ne fait aucune mention d'une édition imprimée à Venise.

Outre le Corpus iuris canonici, les livres de droit canoniques qui ont attiré l'attention de Plantin et de ses clients peuvent être divisés en plusieurs genres. La littérature conciliaire se compose de traités, de mémoires et de controverses traitant essentiellement des Conciles de Pise (1409) et de Bâle (1431). Des écrivains tel que Jean de Torquemada (1388-1468), Niccolò Tedeschi, dit Panormitanus (1386-1445) et Giovanni Nicolétti, dit Johannes de Imola (vers 1370-1436) apparaissent souvent dans le M 296. En seconde position, les traités portant sur la légitimité du pouvoir pontifical étaient particulièrement populaires pendant le Concile de Trente (1545-1563). Les vénitiens se spécialisent dans l'édition de ce type de livre. Les rapports de cas ne sont pas omis. Ils sont de deux types. Tout d'abord, les recueils des arrêts du tribunal de la Rote ont pour objectif de 'conserver le souvenir de leurs arrêts'.31 À Lyon, l'activité des officialités du diocèse de Toulouse fait l'objet d'une publication proposant 'un bel exemple de l'application pratique du droit canonique et témoigne du recul progressif de la compétence ecclésiastique au profit des juridictions laïques'.32 Les Decisiones capellae Tholosanae de Jean Corsier (13..-14..), pourtant écrites au x v° siècle, font l'objet de deux éditions qui paraissent en 1553 et 1560.33

Répartition chronologique des livres de jurisprudence



Graphique 3 Répartition chronologique des livres de jurisprudence selon le м 296 (valeur nominale)

Globalement, le Graphique 3 montre la domination des éditions lyonnaises pendant près de quarante ans (de 1530 à 1568). Lorsque ce marché s'effondre brutalement au début des années 1570, les éditeurs vénitiens prennent le relais et augmentent la production de ce genre d'ouvrage, mais n'atteignent jamais l'apogée des éditeurs lyonnais. D'ailleurs, dès le début des années 1580, ces derniers reprennent le dessus, bien qu'à un niveau de production beaucoup plus faible qu'entre 1545 et 1563, lorsque les éditeurs de la cité rhodanienne publiaient en moyenne plus de dix éditions chaque année, à quelques exceptions près. On constate deux pics exceptionnels de production, le premier en 1546 (24 éditions) et le second en 1550 (33 éditions).

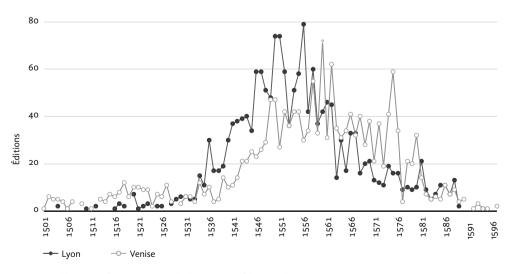
- 29 Christian Chêne, 'Enseignement du droit' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 621.
- 30 André Alciat sera souvent mentionné dans cette étude. On consultera à ce sujet: Roberto Abbondanza, 'Alciato, Andrea' dans Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, 2 (1960), consultable en ligne: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/ Alciato,-Andrea/. Paul-Emile Viard, André Alciat, 1492–1550, Paris 1926; Gianluigi Barni, Le lettere di Andrea Alciato, giureconsulto, Firenze 1953; Roberto Abbondanza, 'A proposito dell'epistolario dell'Alciato'

dans Annali di storia del diritto, 1 (1957), 467-500. Plus récemment, une mise à jour des recherches sur le jurisconsulte milanais est disponible dans Anne Rolet & Stéphane Rolet (dirs.), André Alciat (1492-1550): un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance, Turnhout 2013; Denis L. Drysdall, Andrea Alciato, the humanist and the teacher. Notes on a reading of his early works, Genève 2022.

- 31 Gilles & Ourliac, 'La période post-classique, 128.
- 32 Ibidem, 130-131.

Venise

Venise a dominé le marché des livres juridiques dans les dernières décennies du xve siècle, mais d'après M 296 on note que cette tendance s'est radicalement inversée en faveur de Lyon à partir du début du XVIe siècle.34 Ces résultats peuvent surprendre pour plusieurs raisons. Tout d'abord, de nombreux manuscrits originaux ou copies de textes de conseillers juridiques médiévaux ont été conservés dans diverses villes italiennes. Par conséquent, le matériau de départ est facilement accessible. Comme l'a souligné Angela Nuovo, si dès les débuts de l'imprimerie les livres de droit ont été imprimés dans les villes universitaires de Padoue, Pérouse, Bologne et Pavie, Venise a immédiatement cherché à dominer ce secteur.35 Cependant, le M 296 ne mentionne que quelques éditions dispersées entre 1514 et 1546. Le Graphique 4, ci-dessous, montre que cette tendance est propre aux livres juridiques, car si l'on considère l'ensemble de la production des deux villes, Venise occupe une place prépondérante jusqu'au début des années 1530, et les ouvrages imprimés à Trino et Pavie permettent de comprendre ce phénomène. En effet, Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari (†1539) a non seulement publié environ 185 éditions de livres de droit, mais en a aussi importé beaucoup de Lyon, grâce à ses liens étroits avec d'anciens compatriotes devenus partenaires commerciaux. Aux yeux des éditeurs vénitiens, le marché semblait peut-être saturé à cette période. Comme nous l'avons vu, le genre le plus largement publié, le livre de droit savant, s'appuie sur une large base d'auteurs médiévaux. Cependant, le système du privilège de l'époque favorisait la publication d'œuvres nouvelles, qui étaient protégées pendant dix ans. Cela explique en partie pourquoi les éditeurs vénitiens ont préféré imprimer des ouvrages contemporains en italien, et pourquoi Giovanni Giolito, lorsqu'il a ouvert une nouvelle officine à Venise au début des années 1530, a abandonné les livres juridiques au profit d'anthologies poétiques. Pour ces raisons, les livres juridiques publiés principalement en latin sont exclus de la politique éditoriale de nombreux éditeurs.³⁶



Graphique 4 Répartition annuelle de toutes les éditions selon le M 296

Un autre facteur permet d'éclairer la courbe de la production des livres juridiques de la ville. Les événements politiques ou sanitaires ont un impact direct sur les éditeurs et les imprimeurs. Une chute dramatique de la production en 1577 est liée à une épidémie de peste qui sévit dans la lagune à partir de 1575 entrainant la mort de plus d'un quart de la population. Paolo Preto a souligné l'impact de la peste sur la main-d'œuvre et il est compréhensible que de nombreuses imprimeries aient dû être fermées provisoirement ou définitivement.³⁷

Enfin, nous devons considérer un autre point. La propagation du mos gallicus a donné à la ville du Rhône un avantage culturel important pendant un certain temps. Pourtant à l'origine de cette nouvelle méthode d'enseignement du droit, André Alciat n'est guère publié à Venise de son vivant. Sa notoriété lui permet de choisir ses éditeurs, principalement à Lyon et à Bâle. Nombres de ses ouvrages juridiques ont été plusieurs fois réimprimés et publiés par les presses lyonnaises, tout comme l'Emblematum liber, succès de la littérature humaniste.

Après 1570, la production de livres juridiques à Venise augmente et continue de décroître à Lyon, et après 1583 les deux courbes sont presque identiques. À l'heure où l'on assiste à l'effondrement général du marché du livre lyonnais suite aux guerres de religion et aux épidémies de peste à partir de 1562, les vénitiens intègrent à nouveau les livres de droit dans leur politique éditoriale.

Lyon

Selon le M 296, la forte croissance du marché des ouvrages de jurisprudence à Lyon vers 1530 [Graphique 3] est étroitement liée à l'évolution générale du marché du livre [Graphique 4].38 La présence fréquente de la cour lors de l'emprisonnement de François 1er (1494–1547) après la défaite de Pavie (1525) et les nombreux séjours de Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549)³⁹ à Lyon, ont favorisé l'émergence d'une forme poétique propre à Lyon. La diffusion d'idées nouvelles contribue au rayonnement culturel de Lyon jusqu'au début de la seconde moitié

- 33 Joannes Corserius et al. (dir.), Decisiones causarum, sive materiarum, quae quotidie in praxin incidunt, in capella sedis archiepiscopalis Tholosae decisae, Lugd. [: héritiers Jacques Giunta], 1560, in-8; Joannes Corserius (dir.), Decisionis capelle sedis archiepiscopalis Tholose una cum additionibus additis, Lyon [: s.n.] 1553, in-folio, USTC 154199.
- 34 Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century'. Pour une approche économique et sociale de la production vénitienne de la fin du xve siècle au début du xvie, voir l'étude de Catherine Kikuchi, La Venise des livres, 1469-1530, Ceyzérieu 2018. On consultera aussi l'ouvrage classique de Martin Lowry, The world of Aldus Manutius. Business and scholarship in Renaissance Venice, Oxford 1979, traduit par Sheila Mooney et François Dupuigrenet sous le titre Le Monde d'Alde Manuce. Imprimeurs, hommes d'affaires et intellectuels dans la Venise de la Renaissance, Paris 1989.
- 35 Nuovo, 'Produzione e circolazione di libri giuridici', 341.

- 36 Marino Zorzi, Essor et déclin du livre imprimé vénitien, Paris 2016, 45.
- 37 Paolo Preto, Peste e società a Venezia nel 1576, Vincenza 1978, 230.
- 38 La recherche de Natalie Zemon Davis est l'une des études les plus documentées sur l'imprimerie à Lyon au x v 1e siècle et reste essentielle aujourd'hui: Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon' dans Roger Chartier & Henri-Jean Martin (éds.), Histoire de l'édition française, Tome 1. Le livre conquérant, du Moyen Age au milieu du xvIIe siècle, Paris 1989, 303-335. On consultera aussi, Henri-Jean Martin, 'L'apparition du livre à Lyon' dans Henri Hours et al., Le siècle d'or de l'imprimerie lyonnaise, Paris 1972, 31-112. Yves Krumenacker, 'Le livre religieux à Lyon au x v1e siècle (1517-1561)' dans Bulletin des bibliothèques de France, French School of Librarianship and Information Science (2007), 20-31.
- 39 Née Marquerite d'Angoulême, appelée aussi Marquerite de Valois-Angoulême.

du XVI° siècle. De nombreux nouveaux genres littéraires vont émerger comme les livres d'emblèmes, créant des mannes financières pour les éditeurs. Parallèlement, cette augmentation de la production va de pair avec l'inflation des ouvrages protestants à partir des années 1540. Grâce à la vente de ces ouvrages, les éditeurs non seulement récupèrent leur investissement, mais réalisent également un bénéfice et peuvent réinvestir leur capital dans la production d'ouvrages plus onéreux ou dans des projets plus risqués. Il n'est donc pas surprenant dans ce contexte que les livres juridiques bénéficient de cette dynamique. Pour les raisons évoquées ci-dessus, Lyon ne semble pas faire face à la concurrence directe des vénitiens dans ce domaine particulier.

Entre 1550 et 1600, Lyon perd 75% de sa population, passant de 70 000 habitants à 40 000. La ville n'a pas été épargnée par la succession des troubles religieux et deux épidémies de peste en 1564 et en 1577 qui dévastent sa population. L'impact sur les livres de droit est immédiat: au cours de ces années, la production est considérablement réduite. D'autres événements politiques affectent la courbe du graphique. La restauration du pouvoir royal en 1563 après la prise de contrôle de la ville par les protestants l'année précédente, malgré un partage du pouvoir entre catholiques et protestants, provoque des troubles populaires qui éclatent en 1567 entraînant de facto l'exil des principaux représentants du protestantisme. En effet, une forte proportion des compagnons imprimeurs et des éditeurs sont acquis à la Réforme. Par conséquent, pour des motivations religieuses et financières, de nombreux imprimeurs et libraires émigrent vers Genève qui 'dispose en matière d'imprimerie d'une main-d'œuvre de réfugiés abondante et peu exigeante' ainsi que de nombreux moulins à papier. Antoine I Vincent (1500?-1568) et son successeur Barthélemy Vincent (153.?-159.?), Claude Senneton (†1570), Barthélémy et Henri de Gabiano, Barthélemy Honorat (155.?-1589) et Sébastien Honorat (1535?-1572), Jean II de Tournes (1539-1615) préparent une fuite des capitaux vers Genève entre 1567 et 1585, tout en assurant la continuité d'un point de vente à Lyon généralement confié à un membre de la famille.

Comme l'a démontré Ingeborg Jostock, 'Genève devient également un centre de production à prix relativement bas, attirant à part des éditeurs réformés les capitaux de marchands catholiques d'origine lyonnaise'. 4º Selon l'auteur, l'attrait de la 'Rome protestante' est lié à deux raisons. Tout d'abord, les salaires des ouvriers de l'imprimerie sont inférieurs de 25% et le manque de formation syndicale 'garantie une plus grande discipline' qu'à Lyon. 41 Après cela, 'la continuité de la production' est 'garantie à Genève' car 'le rythme de travail ne dépend ni des guerres civiles, ni des fêtes religieuses' catholiques.⁴² Ainsi, pour la période mentionnée dans le manuscrit, les imprimeurs genevois doivent être considérés comme des sous-traitants actifs des marchands lyonnais et non comme des concurrents directs. Parler de coopération étroite est de mise et nous rejoignons Ingeborg Jostock dans ce sens.⁴³ Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1590 et surtout durant les premières décennies du XVII^e siècle que les relations entre les deux villes se tendent et se 'transforment en une rivalité apparente'.44 Selon les bases de données GLN 15-16 et USTC, la production de livres de droit était secondaire à Genève jusqu'en 1585. Elle ne progresse réellement qu'à partir de cette année-là et connaît un essor après 1590 pour culminer au milieu du XVIIe siècle, donc une période postérieure au manuscrit de Christophe Plantin. 45

Ce n'est donc pas à cause de la rivalité entre Genève et Lyon, mais pour des raisons économiques et religieuses, qu'à partir de 1563, la production de livres de droit ne cesse de décliner et atteint son plus faible niveau en 1572. Durant la Saint-Barthélemy lyonnaise qui se déroule entre le 28 août et le 2 septembre 1572, les réformés sont soumis à la violence populaire. Selon Richard Gascon, 700 d'entre eux sont massacrés et l'industrie du livre est sévèrement touchée (six imprimeurs ou libraires sont tués).46

Pour toutes ces raisons, la situation économique se dégrade, frappant durement les villes et 'le monde' de l'imprimerie. Henri-Jean Martin a souligné que les prix de la maind'œuvre ainsi que 'les prix de revient industriels apparaissent désormais plus élevés en France qu'à l'étranger'. 47 La mise en place d'une réforme monétaire par l'ordonnance de septembre 1577 a permis de substituer 'le compte par écu au compte par livres [monnaie] à partir du 1er janvier 1578'.48 En conséquence, nous assistons à un assainissement des monnaies et à la stabilisation de l'écu ainsi qu'à la volonté des autorités de mettre en œuvre 'une politique plus large de maintiens des prix'. 49 Elles semblent y parvenir jusqu'en 1585. Cette brève période de stabilité affecte la production de livres de droit, qui repart à la hausse à partir de 1580, mais n'atteint pas les niveaux de l'apogée lyonnaise.

Comme nous le verrons plus loin, la production d'un livre de droit nécessite un investissement en capital substantiel. On peut donc concevoir que l'instabilité économique provoquée par les guerres de religion ébranle le marché du livre et qu'elle pénalise plus particulièrement le secteur difficile et complexe des livres juridiques. En temps de crise, investir comporte un risque plus considérable qu'en période de stabilité économique. Par conséquent, il est tout à fait logique que les investisseurs se tournent vers des genres qui garantissent un retour sur investissement rapide.

- **40** Ingeborg Jostock, *La censure négociée*. *Le contrôle du* livre à Genève 1560-1625, Genève 2007, 29.
- 41 Jostock, La censure négociée, 30.
- 42 Ibidem, 30.
- 43 Ibidem, 31.
- 44 Ibidem, 31.
- 45 Voir aussi Alain Dubois, 'Imprimerie et librairie entre Lyon et Genève (1560–1610): l'exemple de Jacob Stoer' dans Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, 168:2 (2010) 447-516. L'auteur démontre qu'en raison des diverses mesures prises par les autorités françaises pour limiter la diffusion des livres sous-traités à Genève et portant l'adresse lyonnaise: 'les relations d'affaires avec les libraires lyonnais en restent aux balbutiements jusqu'au milieu des années 1560 et n'augmentent véritablement qu'à partir de 1567–1568, au moment où le marché du livre religieux chute. Elles subissent par contre une sévère phase de repli durant plus d'une décennie (1571–1581), malgré une timide reprise entre 1575 et 1577. Si elles augmentent à nouveau régulièrement à partir de 1581, elles décroissent en revanche de manière continue de 1588 à 1596, année où s'amorce une nouvelle phase de croissance pour le début du XVIIe siècle, 452.
- 46 Richard Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvie siècle. Lyon et ses marchands, Paris 1971, (2 vols), 11, 528-529.
- 47 Henri-Jean Martin & Roger Chartier (dirs.), Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xvIIe siècle (1598-1701), Genève 1999 (3e édition), 1, 31.
- 48 Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvie siècle, 11, 579.
- 49 Ibidem, 11, 581.

Conclusion de la première partie

Les premiers résultats, basés sur l'analyse du M 296, attestent de la domination indéniable du marché lyonnais vers le milieu du siècle, et les éditeurs des deux centres de production semblent éviter une concurrence trop directe dans le domaine des livres de jurisprudence en raison des liens parfois familiaux qui les unissent. Nul doute que les principaux artisans du livre lyonnais et vénitien étaient pleinement informés des projets des uns et des autres.

L'atout de Lyon n'est pas seulement typographique, mais aussi culturel. L'émergence du mos gallicus jura docendi (méthode française d'enseignement des droits) offre de nouvelles opportunités aux éditeurs lyonnais, tandis que les écoles et universités italiennes continuent à privilégier les auteurs médiévaux, notamment dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle.

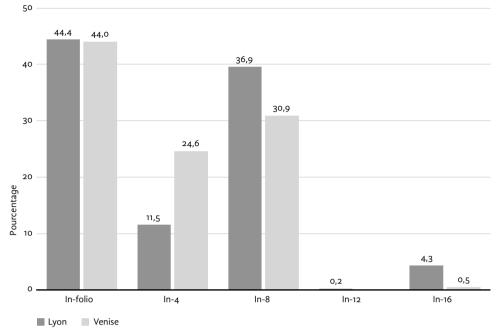
Les livres de droit ont d'abord circulé sous forme manuscrite, et grâce à la redécouverte du droit romain au XIIe siècle, un marché important a émergé.

PARTIE II LA FORME DES LIVRES DE JURISPRUDENCE

Aux débuts de l'imprimerie, imprimeurs et éditeurs adoptent et perfectionnent progressivement les techniques de vente pour développer leur activité et se différencier. Par conséquent, leurs motivations sont étroitement liées aux processus économiques. Avant même que ne commence la production d'un livre, l'analyse comparative du marché permet aux éditeurs de cibler des publics spécifiques, qu'ils soient professionnels ou étudiants, aisés ou non. Grâce aux informations obtenues lors de cette recherche commerciale, les éditeurs définissent le format du livre, choisissent la qualité du papier et les caractères typographiques (romain, italique, civilité entre autres) et décident d'insérer ou non des illustrations. Tous ces éléments doivent être considérés à des fins financières uniquement. Les livres de jurisprudence ne font pas exception à cette règle. Issus d'une longue tradition de manuscrits, ces livres suivent les normes de format et de mise en page en circulation depuis le XIIe siècle.

Le choix du format

La décision initiale d'un éditeur d'imprimer un livre dans un format particulier est basée sur des considérations économiques et une bonne compréhension du marché. Le format bibliographique, rappelons-le, désigne le nombre de plis imposés à la feuille de papier imprimée, pour composer les cahiers qui seront assemblés à la reliure pour former le livre. L'impression dans un mauvais format peut être dévastatrice pour les ventes.



Graphique 5 Répartition par format à Lyon et à Venise selon le м 296

Le format in-folio représente respectivement 44% des livres de jurisprudence à Venise et à Lyon. Dans la cité rhodanienne, on note une préférence pour les formats facilement transportables qui représentent un total de 45%. Dans le détail, le format in-octavo (40%) domine, suivi de l'in-sedecimo (in-16; 4%). Les petits formats sont moins répandus dans la cité lagunaire (30,9% pour le in-8 et seulement 0,5% pour le in-16). En revanche, les éditeurs vénitiens affichent une forte préférence pour le moyen format, l'in-quarto, totalisant 25% des ouvrages référencés contre seulement 12% à Lyon.

L'importance des folios dans les deux centres indique que les éditeurs n'innovent pas dans le domaine du livre de jurisprudence et s'inscrivent dans la continuité du marché du manuscrit qui existe depuis plusieurs siècles. En effet, ce dernier, produit en série grâce à la mise en place d'un procédé de copie, la pecia [morceau, partie], 'qualifie un mode de diffusion éditoriale organisée sous l'autorité de l'université.50 Ce système affecte non seulement le format des manuscrits, mais aussi, comme nous le verrons, la mise en page du texte. Ce format est réservé aux dictionnaires, sommes, commentaires, consilia et corpus civils ou canoniques.

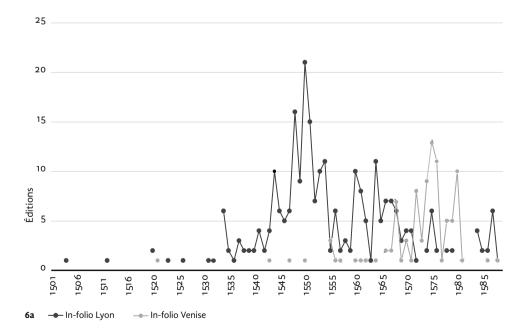
Le format in-quarto s'adresse avant tout aux lecteurs savants. En effet, le quarto, plus facile à transporter que les lourds in-folio, est le format préféré des éditeurs pour l'impression des ouvrages scolaires. Ce format permet d'aérer le texte en l'imprimant avec de grandes interlignes et de larges marges blanches facilitant et incitant la prise de note.

⁵⁰ Yann Sordet, Histoire du livre et de l'édition. Production et circulation, formes et mutations, Paris 2021, 101.

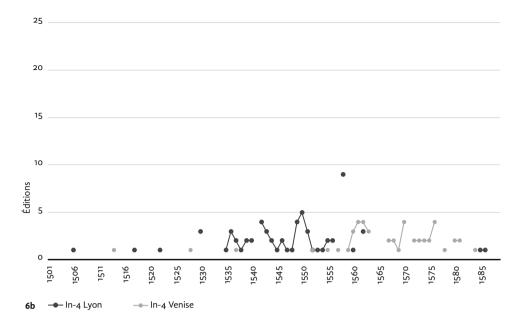
En regardant les titres des livres publiés en in-octavo, deux considérations viennent à l'esprit. Ce format est facilement portable et constitue le premier choix commercial des éditeurs. Notons tout d'abord qu'un grand nombre d'ouvrages réservés à la pratique professionnelle sont publiés dans ce format, la plupart des titres commençant par les mots praxis, practica et consilia. Après cela, seuls trois auteurs contemporains sont largement publiés en in-octavo: André Alciat totalise 15 éditions, Johannes Oldendorp (1488-1567) 14 éditions, et André Tiraqueau (c. 1488–1558) 9 éditions, L'exemple d'Oldendorp est particulièrement intéressant. Tous ces ouvrages publiés en in-octavo sont destinés à deux publics: d'une part, les avocats et magistrats, et d'autre part, les étudiants (voir infra). La première catégorie comprend des ouvrages de conseils professionnels, la seconde, des livres de lieux communs et des définitions de termes juridique.

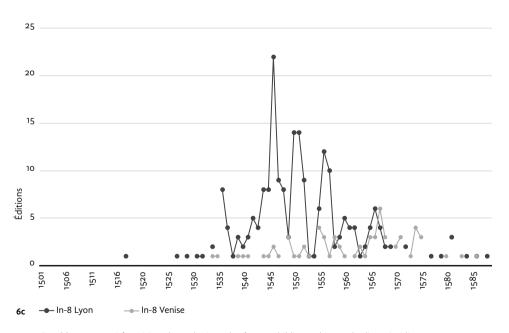
Si les œuvres de grands formats sont les plus répandues au XVI° siècle, nous rejoignons Yves-Bernard Brissaud qui affirme que 'la tendance à la diversification et à l'adoption de formats plus commodes et moins coûteux ne pouvait en effet que se développer pour satisfaire une nouvelle clientèle. Il cite l'exemple d'Hugues de La Porte (1500-1572) qui 'produisit [...] quelques autres volumineux ouvrages de droit jusque-là publiés au format grand in-folio' aux format in-quarto ou in-octavo, 'sans changer le nombre de volumes mais en diminuant le corps des caractères'.51

Pour compléter ces données, une répartition chronologique des formats permet d'améliorer ces résultats et de mieux comprendre certaines pratiques éditoriales.



⁵¹ Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 47.





Graphique 6a-c Répartition chronologique des formats bibliographiques des livres juridiques à Lyon et Venise selon le м 296

Les Graphiques 6a–c montrent bien que le marché entre les deux villes est équilibré et globalement organisé. Venise semble avoir profité de l'effondrement du marché lyonnais pour se lancer dans la production d'in-folio à partir de 1568. Avant cette date, le M 296 n'indique que 16 titres dans ce format publiés dans la lagune entre 1504 et 1567. La reprise progressive du marché dans la cité rhodanienne à partir de 1584 relance la production de livres de jurisprudence in-folio: 15 nouveaux livres de droit au format in-folio sont publiés entre 1584 et 1588. A contrario, à Venise les éditeurs l'abandonnent (seulement deux durant cette même période) au profit des in-quarto. De même, quand les lyonnais privilégient le support in-octavo entre 1534 et 1565, les vénitiens utilisent d'autres formats pour se positionner sur le marché du livre.

Cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'y a pas de concurrence entre les éditeurs des deux villes, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Mais globalement, ils semblent vouloir éviter de vendre un titre dans un format identique au même moment. Est-ce parce que les éditeurs lyonnais entretenaient des liens étroits avec leurs pairs à Venise? Probablement, nous y reviendrons, car comme l'a souligné Ian Maclean, l'Italie est la patrie de nombreux éditeurs lyonnais.⁵² Leur survie et leur santé économique en dépendent. Bien sûr, cette recherche d'équilibre sur le marché du livre ne s'applique pas à toutes les localités: la situation est différente à Anvers, par exemple.

Le choix des langues

À Lyon (95%) comme à Venise (99%), les livres de droit sont majoritairement imprimés en latin. Le droit civil et le droit canon étaient considérés comme 'droits savants', écrits en latin, langue des clercs, par opposition au droit 'vulgaire' des coutumes exprimé en langues vernaculaires et appliqué au quotidien.⁵³ Les livres de jurisprudences sont donc généralement réservés à une élite cléricale et laïque.

Ainsi, à Lyon, le français représente les 5% de part du marché. Seuls quelques éditeurs incluent des livres de droit en vernaculaire dans leur politique éditoriale. En effet, la plupart sont issus du catalogue de l'officine de Jean I de Tournes (1504–1564) et représentent 14 titres sur un total de 21. Il s'agit principalement de livres de pratiques professionnelles qui

- 52 lan Maclean, 'Concurrence ou collaboration? Sébastien Gryphe et ses confrères lyonnais (1528–1556)' dans Raphaële Mouren (dir.), Quid novi? Sébastien Gryphe, à l'occasion du 450° anniversaire de sa mort, Villeurbanne 2008, 15–32 (20).
- 53 Louis de Carbonnières, 'Documentation juridique (Avant l'imprimerie)' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 389.
- 54 Laurent Pfister, 'Jean Papon' dans P. Arabeyre, J.-L. Halpérin & J. Krynen (dirs.), Dictionnaire des juristes français: xII^e-xx^e siècle, Paris 2015 (2^e éd.), 792.
- 55 Plusieurs ouvrages importants traitent de la question de la mise en page des manuscrits et des incunables. Henri-Jean Martin & Jean Vezin (dirs.), Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit, Paris 1990. Voir aussi Sabine Griese, 'Layoutformen des Buchs im 15. Jahrhundert' dans Christoph Reske & Wolfgang Schmitz (éds.), Materielle Aspekte in der Inkunabelforschung, Wiesbaden 2017, 9–42.

s'adressent aux juges, aux avocats et aux notaires. Entre dans cette catégorie le livre de Jean Mille de Souvigny (fin xvº siècle-1553), Style et pratique fondez et succincement adaptez aux ordonnances royaux et coustumes de France dont le manuscrit м 296 fait référence à deux éditions imprimées au format in-16 en 1549 et 1550. Ce livre est un ouvrage représentatif de ce 'genre' qui décrit diverses procédures judiciaires (ajournements des procès, non-lieu, récusation, plaidoiries d'avocats, interrogatoires, etc.). Édités par Guillaume Rouillé (1518?–1589) qui cible une clientèle identique, Les quatre livres des institutions forenses de Jean Imbert (1522?-159.?) en in-octavo font l'admiration de Jacques Cujas (1522-1590) et de Charles Du Moulin (1500–1566). Initialement imprimé en latin en 1535, Imbert assure lui-même sa traduction en français. Son objectif est d'aider et guider ses lecteurs en 'rassemblant tout ce qu'il avait trouvé espars en plusieurs livres et auteurs, et autres lieux [...], et de n'en faire qu'un seul corps de pratique tant civile que criminelle'. En publiant plusieurs éditions du Recueil d'arrests notables des cours souveraines de France de Jean Papon (1505–1590), Jean I de Tournes a innoyé en proposant ce genre de recueils en français, comme le notait justement Laurent Pfister: 'La nouveauté de cet ouvrage réside dans le fait qu'il est écrit en français et surtout qu'il est consacré à la jurisprudence de plusieurs parlements et d'autres juridictions'.54 Différentes éditions de l'Instrument du premier notaire (1576) et du Trias judiciel du second notaire (1575), du même auteur et éditeur, sont des outils dont l'objet est de venir en aide aux notaires et officiers.

Tous ces livres ont été publiés en français après le milieu du siècle. Ce facteur indique une évolution progressive du marché des livres de droit qui, comme d'autres genres, s'oriente vers le vernaculaire. Dans ce contexte, il n'est pas surprenant que le manuscrit de Christophe Plantin face état d'une traduction française des Institutions impériales du Corpus iuris civilis, imprimé en très petit format (in-16), par Jean 1 de Tournes en 1558.

Le choix de la mise en page

Dans ce domaine également, les éditeurs n'ont pas innové. Ils ont adopté les codes de présentations des manuscrits juridiques qui intègrent dans la mise en page les gloses et riches commentaires des textes de références qui ont été progressivement introduits par les docteurs depuis le XIIe siècle.55

L'Illustration 1 offre un exemple caractéristique de mise en page d'un manuscrit italien de droit canon, la *Concordia discordantium canonum* (la Concorde des canons discordants), plus communément dénommé le Décret de Gratien. Comme premier élément du Corpus iuris canonici nous avons quelques éléments sur le processus de rédaction du décret, qui s'est probablement achevé au XII° siècle. C'est l'œuvre de Gratien, moine bolonais et de son équipe. Il s'agit d'un recueil d'environ 4 000 textes (législation conciliaire et papale, fragments patristiques, textes d'origine séculière issus pour beaucoup du droit romain). Toutes ces sources sont classées. L'objectif est de faire ressortir leurs convergences et leurs contradictions et d'expliquer leurs origines. Franck Roumy a parfaitement décrit la structure du texte:

Précédés d'inscriptions indiquant la provenance et de rubriques résumant le contenu, les canons sont distribués en deux parties, respectivement divisées en 101 distinctions et en 36 causes, chacune de ces dernières s'ouvrant par un cas fictif de droit présentant les questions abordées.56

S'agissant d'un texte complexe, il faut guider le propriétaire du manuscrit dans l'identification du texte original, des sources et des gloses à l'aide de la mise en page.

Le texte principal, en écriture gothique de type bononiensis, apparaît au centre du folio en deux colonnes de 61 lignes chacune. Le texte de la glose de Johannes von Wildeshausen (Johannes Teutonicus, Jean le Teutonique, 1180-1245), révisé par Bartolomeo da Brescia (1174?-1258) avant 1245, encadre le texte de Gratien avec une même écriture d'une taille légèrement plus petite. Les titres de chapitres apparaissent à l'encre rouge dans le texte principal, et chaque début de paragraphe est indiqué par de petites initiales rouges ou bleues peintes dans la marge, entourées d'un feuillage ou de feuilles d'acanthe bleues quand l'initiale est rouge et inversement. Comme l'écrit Elisabeth Pellegrin, '[c]haque paragraphe





Ill. 1a & b Gratianus, Decretum (cum glossa ordinaria)

Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 75, fol. 2 verso et fol. 59 recto. Parchemin, 282 fols. 46,3 × 29,2 cm Bologne, XIIIe siècle ou début XIVe siècle

du commentaire marginal est précédé d'une lettre de renvoi au texte, et de nombreux passages sont précédés de sigles désignant les auteurs',57 Le commentaire contient de nombreux pieds de mouche qui apparaissent également en rouge ou en bleu. La mise en page du fol. 59 recto diffère quelque peu, car une miniature illustrant le texte est positionnée en tête de chaque Causae (cause) et l'on note la présence de nombreux ornements. Sur le côté gauche du folio, apparaît une mention: 'fi[inis]. xviiii'. Il s'agit d'une indication de pecia. Comme l'explique Yann Sordet, il s'agit 'd'un procédé de copie' désignant 'chacune des copies partielles d'un texte original, l'exemplar' qui est 'segmenté pour faciliter la reproduction simultanée' d'un texte. L'objectif est de 'mettre à disposition de plusieurs étudiants, rapidement et à moindre coût, des copies identiques de l'œuvre enseignée ou commentée'.58 Cette activité était contrôlée par les autorités universitaires qui s'assuraient *de facto* de la conformité du texte.

Ainsi les premiers éditeurs se contentaient de reproduire à l'identique des manuscrits dont la structure textuelle était hiérarchisée selon des codes précis. Ce phénomène est bien connu et n'est pas propre aux livres de jurisprudences, mais certains éléments tels que l'utilisation de l'encre rouge permettant de distinguer les titres et les paragraphes, l'usage des doubles colonnes pour le texte principal encadré par les commentaires et les gloses, se poursuivront et l'on retrouve ces fonctionnalités dans de nombreux centres de production.⁵⁹

Comme on peut le constater à l'aide de l'Illustration 2, la mise en page du *Digestym vetys* (l'un des ouvrages qui composent le Corpus iuris civilis) publié à Lyon par Hugues de La Porte en 1560 n'a que peu évolué par rapport au manuscrit. Elle contraste avec d'autres genres qui s'en détachent dès les premières décennies du XVI^e siècle. Excepté l'abandon des lettres gothiques au profit de lettres romaines et italiques, le texte principal apparaît toujours sur deux colonnes centrales, entouré des commentaires, de citations et de références (colonnes 3 et 4). Les colonnes 1 et 2 montrent que les titres, les rubriques, les en-têtes et les paragraphes sont toujours imprimés en rouge, et de nombreux pieds de mouche aident les lecteurs à naviguer dans le commentaire. L'ensemble du livre est imprimé en rouge et noir et nous reviendrons plus loin sur l'impact d'un tel procédé sur les coûts de fabrication et ses répercussions sur le prix de vente. Pour ces raisons, de nombreux éditeurs ont abandonné l'utilisation de l'encre rouge au profit de l'encre noire uniquement. Dans ce dernier cas, différentes parties du texte sont mises en évidence à l'aide de caractères plus gros ou en gras. À noter également qu'en ce qui concerne les manuscrits du décret de Gratien, chacun des livres qui composent le digeste est précédé d'une illustration en bois sculpté et d'une lettrine historiée marquant le premier paragraphe du texte principal.

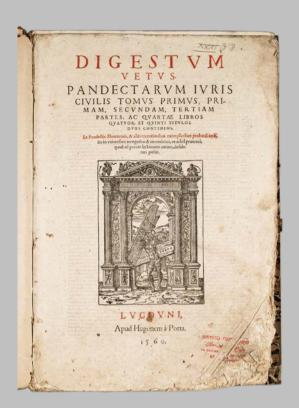
⁵⁶ Roumy, 'Corpus iuris canonici', 296.

⁵⁷ Elisabeth Pellegrin, Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana, Cologny/Genève 1982, 127-130.

⁵⁸ Sordet, Histoire du livre et de l'édition, 101-102. À propos de l'organisation et la distribution du système de pecia voir: Nikolaus Weichselbaumer, "Quod Exemplaria vera habeant et correcta": Concerning the distribution and purpose of the

pecia system' dans Richard Kirwan & Sophie Mullins (dirs.), Specialist markets in the early modern book world, Leiden 2015, 331-350. Voir aussi Jean Destrez, La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du xIIIe et du XIVe siècle, Paris 1935.

⁵⁹ Elisabeth L. Eisenstein, La révolution de l'imprimé dans l'Europe des premiers temps modernes, Paris 1991, 37.





III. 2a–c Page de titre et exemple de mise en page (cols 1–4) du *Digestvm vetvs* (in-folio) édité par Hugues de La Porte à Lyon en 1560 | Fondo Antiquo de la Universidad de Granada, Num. registro: 05084



III. 3 Andrea Alciati, In digestorum sive Pandectarum, Lugduni: apud Sebastianum Gryphium, 1538 In-folio, fol. A3 recto, cols. 9–10

Exemplaire Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.rom.m. 3 e



III. 4 Marcantonio Bianchi, Tractatus de indiciis homicidii, Venetiis, apud Cominum da Tridino, 1545 In-folio, fol. A2 recto

Exemplaire Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Crim. 8



Les traités et commentaires des jurisconsultes contemporains bénéficient également d'une mise en page hiérarchisée. Le traité d'Alciat, In digestorum, sive pandectarum librum XII, a été publié à Lyon en 1538 par Sébastien Gryphe en format in-folio et est imprimé en deux colonnes de 42 lignes, comme le montre l'Illustration 3.60 Celles-ci sont numérotées toutes les dix lignes et affichées avec des chiffres arabes insérés entre les colonnes. Il s'agit d'un marqueur qui permet aux lecteurs de mieux localiser et de le citer avec précision des passages du digeste. Le texte de la première colonne commence avec une lettrine historiée représentant une chouette attaquée par des oiseaux. Imprimées en caractères romains, les notes entourant le commentaire d'Alciat sont imprimées conventionnellement en petits caractères italiques.61

En comparaison, à Venise, le traité de Marcantonio Bianchi (1498-1548), publié en format in-folio par Comin da Trino (1510?-1574?) en 1545 [Ill. 4] fournit un autre exemple de mise en

page. Le texte est imprimé sur une seule colonne en caractère romain. La lisibilité du texte est assurée, d'une part par la numérotation des paragraphes apparaissant à gauche du texte en chiffre arabe, et d'autre part les nouveaux paragraphes étant noyés dans le corps du texte principal, un pied de mouche permet de les matérialiser. Le plan est immédiatement identifiable par les lecteurs grâce à l'utilisation de mots en majuscules (PRIMO, SECVNDO). Cette mise en page semble distinguer les traités, commentaires et ouvrages de pratiques professionnelles vénitiens de ceux de Lyon. En fait, ces mêmes éléments se retrouvent dans

- **60** Andrea Alciati, In digestorum sive Pandectarum lib. xII, Lugduni: apud Sebastianum Gryphium, 1538; USTC 156874.
- 61 Sur ce dernier point, une étude quantitative et comparative reste à réaliser quant à la coexistence à cette période des caractères gothiques et romains. Ce sujet a surtout retenu l'attention des chercheurs flamands: Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, The palaeotypography of the French Renaissance, Leiden 2008 (2 vols); Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, Robert Granjon, letter-cutter, 1513–1590: an œuvre-catalogue, New Castle, DE 2018; Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, Sixteenthcentury printing types of the Low-Countries, Amsterdam 1968. Dans cette étude, la question de la coexistence entre les caractères romains et gothiques est traitée pour les Pays-Bas dans le chapitre 4, 'New versus old: Roman or Gothic?', 56-67.

Portant également sur les Pays-Bas. l'étude quantitative de Joran Proot sur l'évolution des caractères romains dans l'imprimé néerlandais de 1541 à 1700 apporte un éclairage statistique sur le sujet et fournit une excellente mise à jour non seulement des connaissances dans ce domaine mais aussi de la bibliographie secondaire: Goran Proot, 'De opmars van de romein. Het gebruik van romein en gotisch in Nederlandstalig drukwerk uit de zuidelijke Lage Landen, 1541–1700' dans Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis, 19 (2012), 65–85. Concernant Venise, voir: Martin Lowry, Venetian printing: Nicolas Jenson and the rise of the Roman letterform, Herning 1989.

de nombreux livres de divers formats imprimés entre 1545 et 1575. 62 La définition étape par étape d'une norme de modèle éditorial visant à répondre aux besoins des institutions universitaires, notamment des professeurs, est sans aucun doute un enjeu important pour les éditeurs. Comme l'a souligné Angela Nuovo, 'dès le début, [ces derniers] ont cherché à établir un système de marché dans lequel les enseignants étaient directement impliqués par le biais de relations contractuelles axées sur les ventes'.63

En conséquence, chaque centre de production se caractérisait par une technique de mise en page spécifique, et tout au long du XVIe siècle, les livres de droit semblaient conserver une mise en page formelle très structurée pour permettre aux lecteurs de naviguer facilement dans le texte. Dans le cadre de cette recherche, nous ne décrivons que les premiers résultats qui demandent à être confirmés.

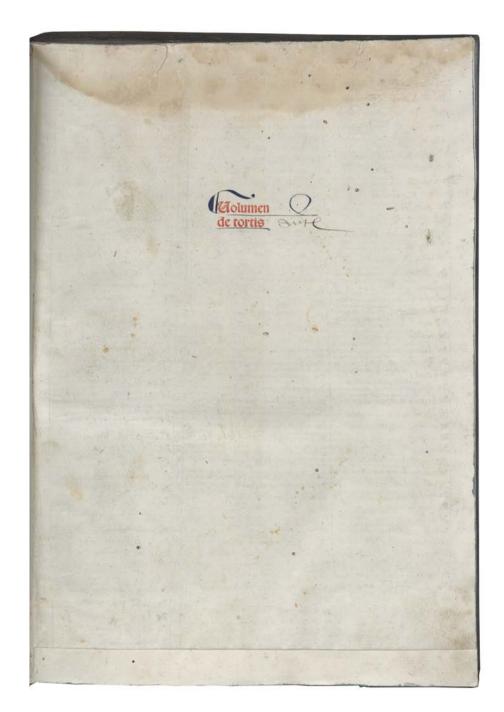
La mise en page des pages de titre

Venise

Il n'existe pas d'étude sur la mise en page des pages de titre à Lyon et à Venise au XVI° siècle. Seule la période incunable a fait l'objet d'une analyse quantitative, qualitative et comparative des pages de titre imprimées en Allemagne, aux Pays-Bas et à Venise réalisés par Ursula Rautenberg.⁶⁴ Considérant cette lacune, dans le cadre de cette étude, nous avons constitué notre propre corpus pour proposer une première approche analytique des pages de titres des livres de droit lyonnais et vénitiens. L'analyse de 318 pages de titres d'ouvrages de jurisprudence imprimés à Venise entre 1500 et 1589 permet d'identifier plusieurs traits. Notre échantillon est composé de 138 in-folio, 77 in-quarto, 102 in-octavo et d'un seul in-sedecimo. Du point de vue des livres de droit, cinq périodes se distinguent.

Les résultats d'Ursula Rautenberg, montrent qu'une première période qui s'étend de 1500 à 1519 se caractérise par un certain degré de conservatisme. Les éditeurs et imprimeurs vénitiens s'appuient toujours sur la tradition scripturale en n'indiquant que peu d'informations sur la page de titre. La majeure partie des titres sont imprimés en noir et en caractères gothiques de même taille en forme de triangle inversé n'occupant qu'une petite fraction de l'espace de page laissé en blanc. Comme l'a souligné Ursula Rautenberg, il s'agit d'une caractéristique vénitienne qui distingue les éditeurs de la lagune de leurs homologues allemands et

- **62** On retrouve ces mêmes éléments de mise en page dans l'ouvrage in-4 de Ludovico Carerio, Practica nova causarum criminalium [...] Cum repertorio et summariis, Venetiis [: ad signum Fontis] (apud Bartolomeum Caesanum), 1550 (EDIT16 CNCE 9506); dans l'ouvrage in-8 de Antonio de Burgos, Super utili, et quotidiano titulo De emptione, et venditione, dum in antiquo, & florenti gymnasio Bononiensi iura civilia & canonica interpretaretur. [...] Nuper accurate recognitus, & emendatus, Venetiis: ad signum Iurisconsulti [Damiano Zenaro], (apud Mauritium Rubinum), 1575 (EDIT16 CNCE 7966).
- 63 Nuovo, 'Produzione e circolazione di libri giuridici',
- 64 Ursula Rautenberg, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts in der Inkunabelzeit in Deutschland, den Niederlanden und Venedig. Quantitative und qualitative Studien' dans Monika Estermann & Ursula Rautenberg (éds.), Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 62 (2008), 1–105. Son étude s'appuie entre autres sur l'ouvrage de Margaret M. Smith, The title-page. Its early development 1460-1510, London/New Castle, DE 2000.



III. 5 Page de titre du *Corpus iuris civilis. Authenticum; Codex. Liber 10–12*: avec la *Glossa ordinaria* d'Accursius Florentinus et des sommaires de Bartolus de Saxoferrato et Angelus et Baldus de Ubaldis. (Col.: Venetiis: per Baptistam de Tortis, 1500), in-folio

Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 J.rom.f. 13 n,4

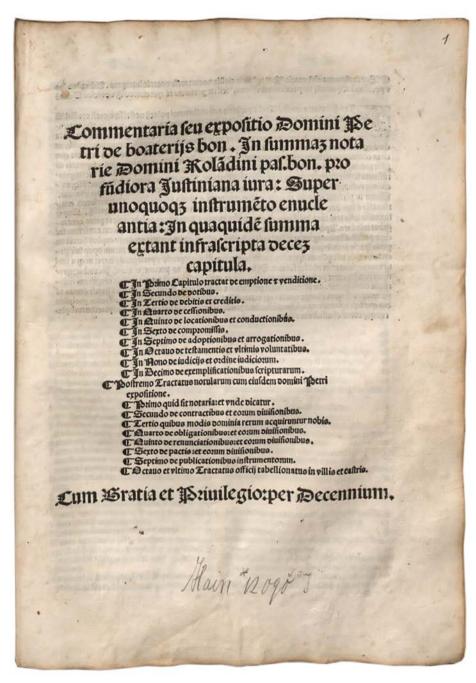
des Pays-Bas. Ces derniers utilisent depuis 1485 une mise en page 'étagée' et jouent sur la taille des caractères. 65 À Venise, seule l'édition de l'œuvre de Federico Petrucci imprimé en folio par Paganino I Paganini (†1538) en 1508, en a bénéficié.66 En effet, le titre Consilia apparaît en plus grands caractères gothiques que la seconde ligne, elle-même suivie du nom de l'auteur imprimé en plus petits caractères. De plus, cette mise en page est rehaussée par une initiale ornementale qui souligne la première lettre du titre.

La plupart des titres ne sont pas centrés et sont généralement imprimés dans le coin supérieur gauche de la page. Si le nom des auteurs est toujours indiqué, a contrario, les éditeurs et imprimeurs ne sont cités que dans 5% des cas. En règle générale, la page de titre ne sert qu'à aider le lecteur à identifier l'ouvrage. Pour les raisons mentionnées ci-dessus, cela n'est pas surprenant, car les pages de titre des livres juridiques font partie de la tradition médiévale et manuscrite. Par conséquent, les informations éditoriales restent toujours indiquées à la fin du livre, dans le colophon. Durant cette période, nous n'avons constaté qu'une seule exception: il s'agit d'une édition des Novellae constitutiones du Corpus iuris civilis [Ill. 5]. Le titre est composé du seul mot volumen associé au nom de l'éditeur; 'de Tortis' (Battista Torti, †1536). Même si les informations éditoriales sont apparues à Venise plus tôt qu'ailleurs en Europe, elles étaient encore rares au cours de la première décennie du xvIe siècle. 67

D'autres exceptions méritent d'être signalées. Seules deux pages de titres sont imprimées à l'encre rouge, mais cet élément n'est pas destiné à souligner une partie particulière du titre ou à mettre en exergue certains mots à des fins commerciales. Deux autres pages de titre mentionnent l'existence du privilège (cum privilegio). Enfin, la composition de la page de titre de la Summa artis notariae de Rolandino Passaggieri (Rolandinus de Passageriis, 1234–1300), édité par Giovanni De Gregori (Johannes de Gregoriis, 1482–1503) et Gregorio De Gregori (Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1496-1527) en octobre 1501,68 contient le sommaire du livre qui est imprimé sous le titre. Chaque chapitre se distingue par un pied de mouche. Pour indiquer aux lecteurs la présence d'un commentaire de Pietro de Boatieri (né en 1260) qui est l'argument commercial de cette édition, l'imprimeur joue sur des effets visuels. Il décale légèrement sur la gauche cette partie du sommaire créant ainsi une rupture dans la composition, ce qui lui permet d'isoler sur une seconde ligne le terme expositiones, attirant ainsi l'œil d'un potentiel client sur cet élément [Ill. 6].

Durant cette première période, la page de titre ne comporte aucune illustration. Ce facteur prouve que les éditeurs vénitiens étaient en retard sur les pratiques éditoriales allemandes et des Pays-Bas méridionaux.⁶⁹ Nous sommes à nouveau redevables à Ursula Rautenberg qui a démontré qu'aux alentours de 1500 en Italie, les pages de titre avec une gravure sur bois étaient réservées aux ouvrages populaires et en langue vernaculaire. Rien n'a changé jusqu'aux années 1520. En effet, à partir de 1522, les pages de titre des formats en in-folio intègrent de nouveaux éléments. Cette seconde période dure jusqu'en 1527.

- 65 Par convention de composition, la première ligne est imprimée avec des caractères plus grands que les lignes suivantes.
- 66 Federico Petrucci, Consilia & questiones Frederici de Senis. (Col.: Venetijs: per Paganinum de paganinis, 1508) (EDIT16 CNCE 64503).
- 67 Rautenberg, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts', 49-53.
- 68 Rolandinus de Passageriis, Summa artis notariae, cum expositione Petri de Boateriis, Venezia, Johannes de Gregoriis & Gregorius de Gregoriis, 31 octobre 1500, in-folio. ustc 991502.
- 69 Rautenberg, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts', 53-56.



III. 6 Page de titre des Summa artis notariae de Rolandinus de Passageriis. (Venetijs, per Johannem et Gregorium de Gregorijs fratres, 1500), in-folio Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 J.pract. 9-1





III. 7 Page de titre de Joannis Crotti de Monteferrato, Iuris utriusque docto, (Venetijs: per Philippum pincium, 1525), in-folio

Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 J.rom.m. 60#Beibd.1

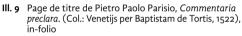
III. 8 Page de titre des Flores legum secundum ordine alphabeti, (Venetijs: per Guilielmum de Fontaneto, 1522), in-8

Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Jur.is. 205#Beibd.1

Elle se caractérise principalement par l'apparition des premières marques d'éditeurs ou d'imprimeurs. En 1525, la page de titre des Repetitiones [Ill. 7] de Giovanni Crotto (†1540) est la première de notre corpus à contenir une marque commerciale, celle de l'éditeur, Fillipo I Pinzi (fl. 1501–1530). Ce dernier point est assez surprenant. En effet, depuis 1481, les marques d'éditeurs apparaissent sur les pages de titre d'autres types d'œuvres vénitiennes. Les imprimeurs n'ont commencé à utiliser les marques qu'en 1492.70 Un éditeur comme Lucantonio Giunti (1457-1538) utilise sa célèbre marque à la fleur de lys florentine entourée des initiales 'L' et 'A' dès octobre 1590 dans le colophon, et l'inclut pour la première fois sur la page de titre d'un *Diurnale Romanum* en 1493.⁷¹ La fonction de ces marques était de permettre aux clients d'identifier facilement le centre de production, l'éditeur ou l'imprimeur, tout en étant un signe de qualité.72 Leur apparition tardive dans le domaine des livres de droit est donc discutable et mérite d'être approfondie.

Au cours de cette période, les éditeurs ont réalisé le pouvoir promotionnel des pages de titres et ont commencé à les utiliser comme affiches pour annoncer de nouveaux livres devant leurs boutiques et leurs présentoirs pendant les foires. Ces derniers n'hésitent pas à ajouter des illustrations et de riches cadres décoratifs ou allégoriques pour que les futurs clients comprennent immédiatement de sujet d'un livre.





Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Rw 465#



III. 10 Le même Battista Torti inclut sa marque dans la page de titre de cette autre édition des commentaires de Pietro Paolo Parisio publiée aussi en 1522: Commentaria in titulum de exceptionibus in secundo libro Decretalium. (Col.: Venetijs per Baptistam de Tortis, 1522), in-folio

Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Rw 465#

En 1522, Guglielmo da Fontaneto (1516–1550) illustre la page de titre d'une anthologie de lois, classées par ordre alphabétique. Chaque loi est accompagnée d'un commentaire. Ce livre est destiné aux professeurs et aux étudiants. En effet, le bandeau en bas de la page [Ill. 8] représente un professeur assis à sa chaire (au milieu de l'illustration) donnant un cours à un auditoire d'étudiants divisé en deux groupes.⁷³ L'un d'eux (à droite de l'illustration) prend des notes. De cette manière, le lectorat ciblé ne fait aucun doute. Pour ces mêmes raisons, Baptista de Tortis entoure les titres en caractère gothique de deux œuvres de Pietro Paolo Parisio (1473-1545) de cadres figuratifs composés d'éléments modulaires qui peuvent être assemblés différemment lorsqu'ils sont réutilisés sur d'autres pages de titre [Ills. 9-10]. On retrouve les motifs du professeur et de ses étudiants en bas de la page.

Au-dessus, une figure féminine, la justice, préside une assemblée constituée à gauche de figures du pape et de clercs (dont un cardinal), et à droite, de l'empereur suivi d'une cour de soldats et de laïcs. Sur les côtés, les portraits en médaillons d'illustres jurisconsultes

⁷⁰ Rautenberg, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts', 91-92.

⁷¹ Ibidem, 91-92.

⁷² Walsby, L'Imprimé en Europe occidentale, 60.

⁷³ Sur la figure du maître et de ses disciples voir: Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber & Paul Heitz, Die deutschen 'Accipies' und Magister cum Discipulis-Holzschnitte als Hilfsmittel zur Inkunabel-Bestimmung, Strassburg 1908 (repr. Kelh 1957).

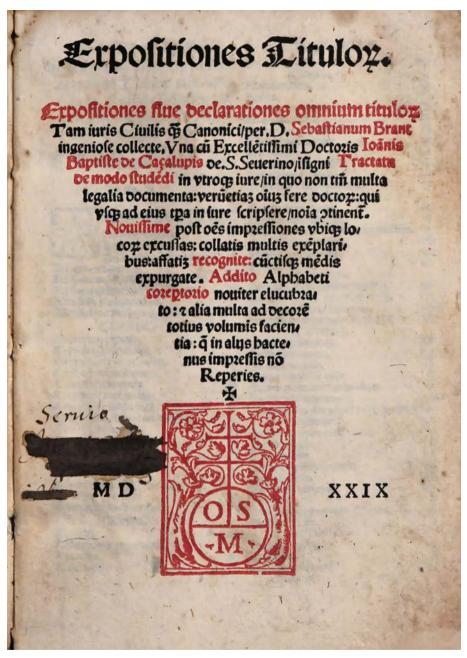
(Baldus de Ubaldi, Giasone del Maino, Bartholus de Saxoferato, entre autres) permettent aux auteurs 'de positionner leurs travaux sous les auspices des anciens docteurs qui faisaient autorité et dont ils rapportaient les opinions', comme l'a précisé Yves-Bernard Brissaud.74 L'Illustration 10 montre que l'éditeur a modifié le cadre et ajouté sa marque commerciale qu'il intègre dans le pupitre du maître. Ces portraits conventionnels, d'un aspect abstrait et médiéval, vont progressivement abandonner le recto de la page de titre et se déplacer vers le verso pour permettre l'insertion de portraits réalistes des auteurs comme le montre la gravure représentant Ippolito Riminaldi (1520-1589) au début de son commentaire du Digeste publié par Francesco Portinari (†1578) en 1570 [Ill. 11]. Toutes ces pages de titre sont imprimées à l'encre noire et ne contiennent aucune référence à l'année d'impression ni adresse.

Entre 1528 et 1540, les éditeurs abandonnent les cadres décoratifs et les illustrations au profit des marques commerciales et du rouge et noir utilisés à des fins publicitaires. L'affichage des dates en chiffres romains sur les pages de titre des livres de droit devient permanent après 1529. Cependant, aucun nom d'éditeur ou de centre de production n'a encore été mentionné.



III. 11a-c Hippolyti Riminaldi, Commentaria elegantissima in primam Digesti veteris partem, Venetijs, apud Franciscum de Portonarijs, 1570, in-folio. Page de titre (fol. a1 recto), portrait (fol. a1 verso) et dédicace (fol. a2 recto) Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.rom.c. 260

À partir de 1535, cette mention apparaît sur toutes les pages de titres des ouvrages de droit publiés par Ottaviano II Scoto (fl. 1533-1555). 75 De même, l'usage de l'encre rouge réapparaît aux alentours de 1528 au détriment des encadrements et des illustrations. Deux grandes dynasties d'éditeurs, les Giunti et les Scoto ont fourni des pages de titre imprimées en rouge et noir, mais toutes deux semblent avoir abandonné cette pratique au début des années 1540. Lucantonio I Giunta utilise le rouge pour faire ressortir le titre court et sa marque. L'éditeur a pleinement intégré les intérêts commerciaux de cette dernière. L'Illustration 12 permet de constater qu'en 1529, Ottaviano II Scoto, pour se différencier de ses concurrents, choisit de



III. 12 Sebastian Brant, Expositiones titulorum. (Col.: Venetijs: impe[n]sa heredu[m] Octaviani Scoti, ac sociorum, 1529), in-8 Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 999/Jur.228

- 74 Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 87.
- 75 Institutiones i. Civilis. Ultima editio Institutionum imperialium seu Elementorum divi Iustiniani imperatoris, omnium quae ad hanc usque diem editae sunt, emendatissima. (Col.: Venetijs, apud Ottavianum Scotum), 1535, in-8. EDIT16 CNCE 13467.

mettre en évidence en utilisant la couleur rouge des éléments commerciaux tels que le nom de l'auteur (Sebastian Brandt, 1457-1521), le genre du livre (tractatis de modo stude[n]di) et tout un vocabulaire publicitaire pour avertir le lecteur qu'il s'agit d'une nouvelle édition révisée et augmentée (nouissime, recognite, addito, etc.). Le plus souvent, l'encre rouge est utilisée pour souligner divers chapitres et autres éléments importants du livre.

Une nouvelle période (1540–1570) marque l'abandon de l'utilisation de l'encre rouge par les éditeurs vénitiens, à une époque où la production lyonnaise augmente et commence à dominer le marché des livres de jurisprudence. C'est un procédé coûteux qui nécessite deux passages sous la presse (un pour l'encre noire et un pour l'encre rouge), doublant le temps d'impression et ayant un impact important sur les coûts de production. Pour ces raisons, de 1540 à 1570, notre corpus n'inclut pas de telles page de titre. En revanche, après 1540, les caractères gothiques sont abandonnés sur toutes les pages de titre au profit des caractères romains et italiques. Les pages de titre sont uniformes, quel que soit le format utilisé: le titre ou le nom de l'auteur sont imprimés à partir de caractères typographiques d'une plus grande taille que le reste du texte, et toutes contiennent systématiquement la marque éditoriale. Les dates et le lieu d'impressions sont désormais indiqués. La plupart du temps, on remarque que le texte est imprimé sous la forme d'un triangle inversé, sans encadrements ni illustrations. Seules exceptions notables, les pages de titre des folios imprimés par Comin da Trino pour le compte de l'éditeur de la marque Al segno della Fontana et de l'Academia Veneta, ⁷⁶ méritent quelques précisions.



III. 13 Alexander de Nevo, Consilia. Venetijs, (Col.: apud Cominum de Tridino Montisferrati), 1560, in-folio Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.rom.m. 255#Beibd.2



III. 14 Girolamo Butigella, *In primam partem C. commentaria*. In Academia Veneta, 1558, in-folio Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.rom.c. 92

Par exemple, en 1560, la page de titre des Consilia d'Alexander de Nevo (†1484) présente une riche pièce de tête en haut de la page contenant plusieurs scènes allégoriques, dont le but est d'indiquer le genre de l'œuvre. La marque de l'éditeur est entourée d'un cartouche saisissant. Ces deux éléments décoratifs sont imprimés à partir de bois gravés [Ill. 13]. Seule l'Accademia Veneziana se distingue à cet égard en utilisant des plaques de cuivre pour imprimer ses marques, comme on le voit sur la page de titre de l'édition in-folio du texte de Girolamo Buttigella (1470–1515) publiée en 1558 [Ill. 14].

Contrairement aux pratiques du début du XVIe siècle, la présentation du titre des Consilia de Nevo semble être organisée de manière systématique, presque mathématique. Les éléments liés à l'œuvre (genre, titre, nom et fonction sociale de l'auteur) sont présentés sous la forme d'une coupe de sept lignes respectant de manière exemplaire les conventions concernant la taille des caractères qui décroît progressivement. La huitième ligne marque une rupture. En effet, la mention publicitaire 'nunc primum in lucem edita' (maintenant publié pour la première fois) est imprimée en majuscules issues d'un jeu de caractères de plus grandes tailles.

Enfin, un triangle inversé de trois lignes respectant les mêmes conventions typographiques met en évidence l'ajout d'un sommaire et d'un index alphabétique rédigés par un autre intervenant, Nicolò Pignolati (actif au XVIe siècle), ce dernier étant nommé dans la dernière ligne qui est la seule à être imprimée en italique. Comin da Trino fournit ici un parfait exemple de priorisation des informations sur une page de titre pour identifier tous les éléments qui caractérisent cette édition à des fins commerciales.

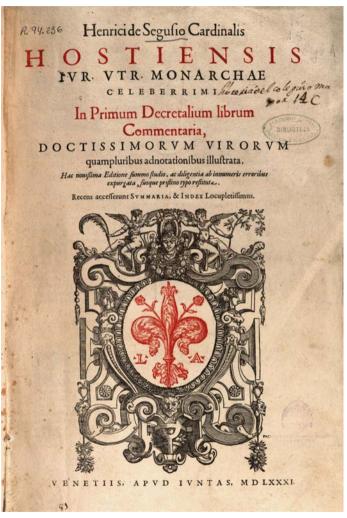
À partir de 1570, lorsque le marché des livres de droit lyonnais s'effondre, les éditeurs vénitiens réimpriment des pages de titre en rouge et noir, comme le montre l'édition des Institutiones en in-octavo, imprimée aux frais de Nicolò Bevilacqua (1554–1574) en 1574. De même, en 1581, Lucantonio II Giunti (1558–1601), reprend les codes visuels de son prédécesseur, soulignant en rouge certains éléments du titre du commentaire sur les décrétales d'Henricus de Segusio (1200?–1271) et en affichant sa marque en rouge dans un cadre ornemental [Ill. 15]. L'importance donnée à la marque éditoriale caractérise les pages de titre des éditions imprimées dans la décennie des années 1580.

Comme pour tous les centres de productions, les pages de titre des livres juridiques vénitiens suivent les évolutions et les tendances du marché. Si au début de l'imprimerie les éditeurs se contentent de reproduire simplement le manuscrit, ils se rendent vite compte que la page de titre joue un rôle commercial important. Il s'agit d'attirer le lecteur en mettant en évidence le nom de l'auteur et le genre de l'ouvrage grâce à un jeu de couleurs ou des illustrations. Comme l'a souligné Malcolm Walsby, l'utilisation de locutions qui mettent l'accent sur la nouveauté, donnent, l'impression d'avoir ainsi accès aux connaissances ou aux créations littéraires les plus récentes.77 L'importance croissante des tailles des marques d'éditeurs indique que ces derniers deviennent une 'figure incontournable' dans le monde du livre.

⁷⁶ Valeria Guarna, L'Accademia veneziana della Fama (1557–1561), storia, cultura e editoria, Manziana (Roma) 2018.

⁷⁷ Walsby, L'Imprimé en Europe occidentale, 62.

Enfin, l'utilisation de l'encre rouge, un procédé typographique particulier aux coûts de production importants, tant sur la première page que lorsqu'elle est utilisée tout au long du livre, ne garantit plus de profit face à la concurrence d'un autre centre de production. En l'absence de recherches sur le sujet, ces premiers résultats doivent être complétés. En les comparant à d'autres genres, il est plus facile de comprendre s'il s'agit d'un phénomène général ou s'il ne concerne que les livres de droit.



III. 15 Henricus de Segusio, In primum [-sextum] decretalium librum commentaria. Venetiis: apud luntas, 1581, in-folio Madrid, Biblioteca Complutense, 51.5.E.44.C.1 n.5

78 Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 87–88.

À Lyon, l'organisation de la page de titre a suivi la même évolution qu'à Venise, mais l'utilisation du rouge et du noir en permanence caractérise les éditions lyonnaises en format in-folio tout au long du XVIe siècle.

La Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon est à l'origine de ce phénomène. Les différents associés ont souhaité rendre leurs ouvrages immédiatement identifiables par les lecteurs en ayant recours à l'emploi systématique du rouge et du noir sur les pages de titre. Nous reviendrons plus longuement sur cette Compagnie. Cependant, la plupart des éditeurs lyonnais qui ont coopéré avec cette société non seulement partageaient les coûts de production de nombreux livres, mais avaient dans certains cas le droit d'apposer leur propre marque sur certains exemplaires. Ils n'ont pas hésité à utiliser les techniques commerciales de la Compagnie pour leurs propres éditions.

Les deux villes présentent de nombreuses similitudes. Comme l'a fait remarquer Yves-Bernard Brissaud, on retrouve dans de nombreuses pages de titre la figure du professeur enseignant devant un auditoire ainsi que la présence d'encadrements dans lesquels sont représentés les portraits conventionnels des grands auteurs juridiques. Ce type de page de titre est plus courant à Lyon, tout simplement parce que la production de livres de droit y est plus importante.78





III. 16 Franceschino Corti, Preclara commentaria in primam ac secundam Codicis partes. (Col.: Joannes moylin als de Cambray Lugduni excudebat), 1533, in-folio Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.rom.c. 123-1

III. 17 Dans cet exemple, les noms des jurisconsultes ont été imprimés en rouge dans l'espace dédié sous les portraits. Nicolaus de Tudeschis, Repertorium super lecturis Panormitani. Index aut si mauis repertorium. (Col.: Lugduni: in edibus Antonij du Ry, sumptibus Jacobisq. Francisci de Giucta Florentini: ac sociorum), 1527, in-folio

Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 J.can.u. 99 a-5,a.

Comme le montrent les Illustrations 16 et 17, les cadres gravés pouvaient passer d'un atelier à un autre. Selon le public visé et le genre de l'ouvrage, le cartouche pouvait rester muet ou l'éditeur pouvait y imprimer différents noms. Ainsi, un même cadre pouvait servir à illustrer non seulement la page de titre d'un commentaire de droit romain, mais aussi celle d'un ouvrage théologique. De facto, ces portraits conventionnels revêtaient tour à tour l'identité d'un juriste, d'un bénédictin ou des Pères de l'Église.79

Certaines illustrations semblent avoir perduré plus longtemps à Lyon qu'à Venise. En effet, de nombreuses pages de titre d'ouvrages de droit civil sont surmontées par un bandeau gravé contenant un portrait conventionnel de l'empereur, inspirés des représentations de Charlemagne qui circulaient depuis plusieurs siècles. Symbolisant ainsi l'autorité impériale, représenté assis sur son trône, il soulève une épée de sa main droite et tient un globe crucigère dans sa main gauche (représentation inversée au moment de reporter le dessin pour tailler les bois servant à la gravure). Les sept grands électeurs sont représentés par trois dignitaires ecclésiastiques à gauche de l'image et quatre princes laïcs à droite. Comme nous l'avons déjà évoqué, le droit romain est devenu le droit commun de l'empire, par conséquent la présence de ce motif en page de titre est utilisé par les éditeurs pour attirer une clientèle de juristes exerçants dans les différents territoires et villes libres de cette partie de l'Europe.

Lyon est également célèbre pour les premières éditions des écrits d'André Alciat. La page de titre du De verborum significatione, édité par Sébastien Gryphe (ou Gryphius, c. 1492-1556) en 1530 est le seul exemple qui inscrit un auteur dans le continuum des anciens poètes et philosophes de l'antiquité grecque et romaine plutôt que sous l'autorité des grands jurisconsultes qui l'ont précédé: Aristote, Socrate, Pline et Cicéron entre autres, mais aussi Homère entouré des neufs muses [Ill. 16]. Enfin, au début des années 1530, Vincent de Portonariis (†1547) et Jean Crespin (1520?-1572) utilisent des encadrements ornementaux représentant des motifs végétaux ou des putti supportant des éléments architecturaux.

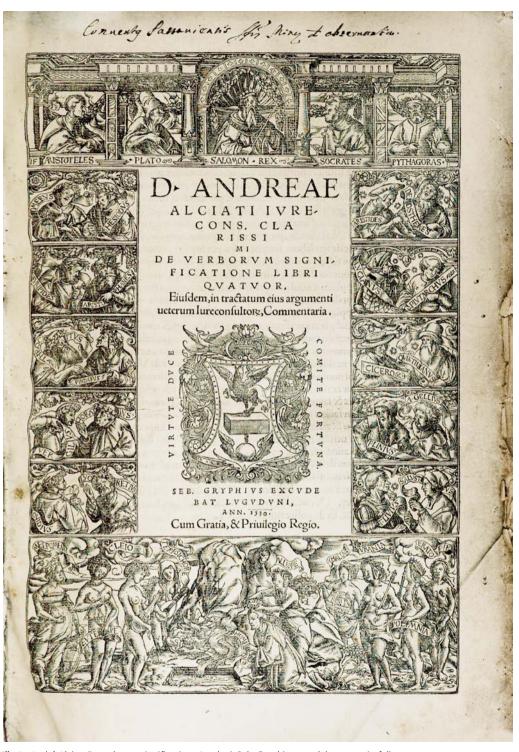
Conclusion de la deuxième partie

Cette première approche nous permet d'identifier de nombreuses caractéristiques et tendances dans la conception des livres juridiques et des pages de titre. Il serait opportun de les compléter par une analyse quantitative sur le long terme et d'effectuer une comparaison avec d'autres genres d'ouvrages. Cependant, les deux villes ont montré un certain degré de conservatisme dans le domaine des livres de droit. Cela ne semble pas être le cas lorsque l'on observe la composition et les pages de titres d'autres œuvres littéraires, scientifiques et religieuses.

79 Ibidem, 88.

80 L'inventaire confiscatoire d'Etienne Michel relatif à la Grande Compagne des Libraires daté du 27 décembre 1591, montre qu'un grand nombre de livres de droits de divers formats publiés avant 1550 existent toujours en stocks après 60 ans à compter de leur date de mise sur le marché. Des exemplaires des commentaires d'Alciat sur les

Pandectes et le Code publié par Jacques Giunta en 1536 et 1547 sont restés invendus jusqu'en 1591. Retranscrit par Ian Maclean, 'Murder, debt and retribution in the Italico-Franco-Spanish book trade: the Beraud-Michel-Ruiz affair, 1586-1591' dans Robin Myers, Michael Harris & Giles Mandelbrote (éds.), Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade, New Castle, DE 2006, 61-106.



III. 18 André Alciat, De verborvm significatione, Lvgdvni: Seb. Gryphivs excvdebat, 1530, in-folio Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.rom.m. 3 b

Les principaux éditeurs de livres de jurisprudence

Les livres de droit, imprimés en plusieurs volumes au format in-folio, souvent en rouge et noir, mobilisent des capitaux importants à court et à long terme. En effet, non seulement les éditeurs doivent disposer de liquidités pour couvrir l'ensemble des coûts de fabrication (achat de matières premières et salaires), mais ils doivent également supporter les dépenses d'exploitations courantes et avoir suffisamment de ressources pour vivre le reste de l'année. C'est ce que l'on nomme aujourd'hui le fonds de roulement. Or, le retour sur investissement généré par la vente de ces œuvres peut s'étaler sur des décennies.80

Pour ces raisons, les éditeurs se sont regroupés pour partager leurs investissements et limiter leur risque de perte, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Le Tableau 1 définit mieux le profil de l'éditeur de livres de droit. Se focaliser sur l'exemple des éditeurs lyonnais permet de comprendre le rôle et la place de leurs pairs vénitiens sur le marché du livre juridique.

Éditions				
Lyon		Venise		
Officine Giunta & héritiers	153	Officine Giordano I Ziletti	34	
Officine Sébastien Gryphe & héritiers	85	Al segno della Fontana	31	
Guillaume Rouillé	61	Girolamo Zenaro & C.	18	
Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon	31	Officine Lucantonio Giunta & héritiers	11	
Officine Jean de Tournes	31	Comin da Trino	8	
Officine Frellon	16	Domenico Guerra & Giovanni Battista Guerra & C. 8		
Officine Antoine Vincent & héritiers	16	Melchiorre I Sessa – héritiers	7	
Hugues de La Porte & Aymon de La Porte, héritiers	12	Nicolò Bevilacqua & C.	5	
Vincent de Portonariis	10	Francesco Bindoni & C.	5	
Thibaud Payen	6	Francesco Tramezino & Michele I Tramezino	5	
Jean Ausoult	4	Officine Valgrisi	5	
Thomas Bertheau	4	Giovanni Battista Somasco & fratelli	4	
Officine Senneton	4	Francesco De Franceschi & C.	3	
Benoît Bonyn	3	Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio & C.	3	
Denis de Harsy	3	Bartolomeo Rubini	3	
Jean Moylin	3	Ottaviano I Scoto – héritiers & C.	3	
Claude Servain	3	Societa dell'Aquila che si rinnova	3	

Tableau 1 Principaux éditeurs de livres de jurisprudence à Lyon et à Venise

Données générales

En effet, d'après le manuscrit M 296, dans la cité rhodanienne, 92% de la production est concentrée entre les mains des grandes dynasties de éditeurs, contre 8% pour les imprimeurs. Pourtant, un rapide coup d'œil sur ces derniers (par exemple Thibaud Payen, †1570, Jean Aussoult, actif au xv1e siècle, Denis de Harsy, actif au xv1e siècle) révèle qu'ils appartiennent à un réseau étroit de collaborateurs avec les grands éditeurs du secteur. Nous aborderons ce sujet plus tard. Concrètement, selon Plantin, trois dynasties représentent à elles seules 61% de la production: Giunta (31% soit 153 éditions), Gryphe (17% soit 85 éditions) et Rouillé (12% soit 61 éditions). Cependant, il convient d'attirer l'attention sur la Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon (7% soit 31 éditions) qui est sous-représentée. Depuis sa création, la Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon a adopté une méthode de travail qui rend difficile l'identification de toutes les œuvres publiées par cette dernière. En effet, selon les cas, les associés ont utilisé les presses de membres qui en possédaient ou sous-traitaient les travaux d'impression à diverses imprimeries. De fait, plusieurs volumes d'un même ouvrage ont pu être imprimés par des ateliers différents. Les bois, caractères typographiques et ornements divers sont passés sans difficulté d'un atelier à un autre, chacun prêtant aux imprimeurs ce dont ils pouvaient avoir besoin pour réaliser l'œuvre commune. La plupart du temps, la marque commerciale de la Compagnie ne figurant ni en page de titre, ni dans le colophon, seule une étude matérielle peut permettre d'identifier les ouvrages édités par l'entreprise lyonnaise. L'édition de recueils juridiques reste l'exception pour près des trois cinquièmes (39%) des éditeurs ou imprimeurs (un ou deux livres du genre au cours de leur carrière).

Pour mieux comprendre ce phénomène, il faut se tourner vers d'autres sources d'information. Les Archives municipales de Lyon disposent d'un grand nombre de documents fiscaux permettant de déterminer différents montants d'impôts en fonction de la richesse des habitants. Ces documents montrent la capacité financière des éditeurs de livres de droit au cours d'une année donnée. En effet, comme l'a montré Richard Gascon, les nommées professionnelles permettent de répartir la richesse entre différentes professions.81 Il s'agit de matrices fiscales construites à partir des actifs (mobiliers et immobiliers) d'un résident pour déterminer la part des impôts directs tels que la taille et les dotations royales. Les années 1545⁸² et 1568⁸³ ont attiré notre attention. Le dépouillement des nommées donne le Tableau 2.

⁸¹ Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvie siècle, I, 369ff. On trouvera une description de ces sources dans les annexes, 11, 887-899.

⁸² Archives Municipales de Lyon, cc - Impôts et comptabilité, côte cc/41.

⁸³ Archives Municipales de Lyon, cc - Impôts et comptabilité, côte cc/146.

	1545	1568
Les Sennetons	1500	
Jacques Giunta	800	
Luxembourg de Gabiano	600	3000
H. de la Porte	500	1000
J. de la Porte	400	
S. Gryphe	300	500
J. et F. Frellon	200	
R. Morin	100	
G. Rouillé	100	
V. de Portonariis	100	
Thibaud Payen	80	
G. Trechsel	80	
E. Maillot	50	
J. Moderne	40	
B. Arnoullet	36	
D. Darcy [Harsy]	36	
B. Bonyn	36	
Pierre Gallot	30	
J. Crespin (héritiers)	30	
J. Boucher	30	
O. Arnoullet	24	
M. Bonhomme	24	
J. De Tournes & héritiers	24	500
F. Faure	12	
G. Fexard (fondeur de lettres)	12	
E. de Pure (médecin)	200	
M. Paris (mercier)	300	
J. Glatard (drapier)	300	
J. Fanche (mercier)	400	

Tableau 2 Taxes payées par les libraires et imprimeurs en 1545 et 1568 en livres tournois

Dans le Tableau 2, nous trouvons de nombreux noms d'éditeurs et d'imprimeurs. Tout d'abord, on constate qu'il existe une véritable hiérarchie sociale entre les éditeurs et les imprimeurs. Le niveau d'imposition du premier groupe est le plus élevé des catégories socioprofessionnelles lyonnaises. En 1545, les estimations fiscales des éditeurs allaient de 100 livres tournois à 1500 livres tournois. Deux d'entre eux font partie des dix familles les plus riches de Lyon, selon les chiffres de Richard Gascon. Les Senneton sont enregistrés

dans les nommées comme marchands (et non pas comme libraires) et sont taxés à hauteur de 1500 livres tournois, tandis que les Giunti sont taxés 800 livres tournois. À un niveau légèrement inférieur, les Gabiano, taxés 600 livres tournois, Hugues de La Porte et son frère Jean (14..?-15..), respectivement taxés 500 et 400 livres tournois et Sébastien Gryphe, 300 livres tournois, témoignent d'une activité internationale. De même, les nommées de 1545 permettent de constater que Guillaume Rouillé, qui venait de démarrer son activité de libraire, possédait une fortune personnelle avant son mariage en 1544 avec Madeleine, la fille de Dominique de Portonariis (1520–1561). Cette alliance ne lui apporte pas de capital supplémentaire en raison de la situation précaire de son beau-père.84

Si les nommées de 1568 sont beaucoup moins complètes, elles soulignent néanmoins le succès de l'officine de Tournes. En effet, entre les deux années de références, le montant de l'estimation de ses impôts est passé de 24 à 500 livres tournois, soit une augmentation de près de 2000%! Les nombreux succès commerciaux de la firme (images de la Bible, livres d'emblèmes, entre autres) ont permis à Jean I de Tournes et à ses héritiers de passer du statut d'artisans ciblant un marché local en 1545 à celui de riches marchands possédant une réputation internationale en 1568.

Les mêmes observations s'appliquent à la richesse des Gabiano, qui a considérablement augmenté entre les deux périodes puisque l'estimation de la contribution fiscale de 1568 était fixée à 3000 tournois. Ces derniers, non inclus dans le Tableau 1, jouent un rôle important dans la production de livres juridique au niveau international, témoignant de l'émergence de solidarités entre les libraires d'origine italienne. Nous reviendrons sur ce dernier point.

À noter que pour le second groupe, à l'exception de Thibaud Payen et Gaspard Trechsel (actif de 1529 à 1549), imprimeurs-entrepreneurs (taxés 80 livres tournois en 1545), la contribution des imprimeurs sous-traitants ne dépasse pas les 24 livres tournois. Cela les soumet au même régime fiscal que la plupart des artisans lyonnais. Ce faible niveau de taxation autorise plusieurs constats. Tout d'abord, ils ne peuvent pas se permettre d'assumer eux-mêmes les coûts de production d'un ouvrage de droit, car ils ne possèdent pas les fonds nécessaires à l'achat des matières premières, dont le papier qui est indispensable à leur activité. De nombreux contrats du début du XVIe siècle attestent de la dépendance des imprimeurs vis-à-vis des éditeurs. Par exemple, le 4 mars 1504, un contrat passé entre 'Ayme de La Porte, marchant de Vienne et Loys Martin marchant libraire [...] de Lion [...] et honneste homme Jacques Saccon, imprimeur' pour l'impression de 1250 exemplaires des commentaires des Institutions d'Angelo Gambiglione (dit Angelus Aretinus, †1451) montre que 'les dicts De la Porte et Martin seront tenus et devront fornir tout et chescun le papier nécessaire pour imprimer les dicts livres'.85 Richard Gascon a justement souligné qu'il

⁸⁴ Si le mariage ne lui apporta pas plus de capitaux, il lui permit de bénéficier du réseau professionnel et commercial des Portonariis, ce qui facilita son accès aux marchés espagnol et italien. Voir à ce sujet: H.L. Baudrier & J. Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au xvie siècle, Paris 1964-1965 (12 vols), vol. 9, 21.

⁸⁵ Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 5.

existe un rapport de force entre les éditeurs qui fixent les prix et les imprimeurs qui sont obligés d'accepter les conditions au risque de perdre la commande. ⁸⁶ Jacques Giunta (Jacopo Giunta, 1486–1546) dispose d'un large réseau d'imprimeurs, il peut donc s'adresser au plus offrant. ⁸⁷ Certains de ses confrères n'hésitent pas à se tourner vers les imprimeurs genevois plus compétitifs et à sous-traiter les travaux d'impression. ⁸⁸

Pour ces raisons, comme le montre le Tableau 3, les imprimeurs, contrairement aux éditeurs, se retrouvent dans une position précaire, aux prises avec toutes les vicissitudes du temps et de la concurrence. En effet, selon les nommées de 1515, 89 1545 90 et 1571, 91 les éditeurs ont été largement épargnés par les événements politiques, religieux et sanitaires, et leur nombre est resté stable tout au long de cette longue période. Cela ne s'applique pas aux imprimeurs. Alors que la production de livres est en plein essor en 1545, les archives indiquent qu'il y avait 69 imprimeurs imposables, contre seulement 20 en 1515. En 1571 le nombre d'imprimeurs diminue. La reconquête de la ville par les catholiques et l'augmentation des salaires des compagnons déclenchent un exode massif des capitaux détenus par des éditeurs majoritairement protestants qui se réfugient à Genève.

Tableau 3 Nombre d'éditeurs et d'imprimeurs actifs à Lyon

	1545	1568	1571
Éditeurs	19	29	25
Imprimeurs	20	63	13

Publier un ouvrage juridique en plusieurs tomes représente donc un risque financier important pour les imprimeurs. Pour mieux comprendre le rôle de chaque groupe sur le marché du livre juridique lyonnais, intéressons-nous d'abord aux investisseurs/entrepreneurs-éditeurs.

Les éditeurs: l'exemple de la Compagnie des Libraires

Les nommées montrent que parmi les éditeurs opérant à Lyon, les grandes dynasties italiennes occupent une place prépondérante au sommet de la pyramide sociale. La plupart de ces familles viennent des régions frontalières et forment un véritable 'lobby piémontais'. En provenance d'Asti, Baldassare (ou Balthasard) I de Gabiano (†1517) s'installe à Lyon vers 1497 pour représenter la Compagnie d'Yvry, une société de librairie vénitienne fondée par son oncle Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano et les Aliprando. Arrivé à Lyon à la fin du xvie siècle, le turinois Vincenzo de Portonari (ou Vincent de Portonariis, actif en France à partir de 1506, mort en 1547) débute sa carrière comme serviteur de Baldassare I de Gabiano avant de commencer à publier sous son propre compte vers 1506. Originaire de Florence, Jacques Giunta s'installe sur les bords du Rhône en 1520 après s'être formé à Venise. Ces trois grandes dynasties d'éditeurs lyonnais ont regroupé leurs ressources au sein d'une puissante association aux allures de cartel dont l'objectif est de financer des

ouvrages de droit en plusieurs volumes souvent en grands formats. La première Compagnie des Libraires fondée en 1504 se renouvellera sous différentes formes tout au long du XVI^e siècle. En effet, deux études récentes de Ian Maclean et Jamie Cumby montrent qu'à partir du 19 février 1519, date de la fondation de la Compagnie des Textes et de la Compagnie des Lectures, 'sociétés connues par la suite sous le nom de Grande Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon,'96 cette dernière perdure jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle. Du point de vue du marché des livres de jurisprudence, elle occupe une position centrale autour de laquelle gravitent de nombreux libraires et imprimeurs. Jacques Giunta et Sébastien Gryphe, les plus importants éditeurs de livres de droit lyonnais, étaient membres de la Compagnie.

Le fonctionnement de ce consortium d'éditeurs est connu grâce à divers contrats. L'un des plus complets qui nous soit parvenu est conclu en 1559 devant le notaire Pierre Deschalles entre les frères Gabiano (Balthazard II, Henri et Barthelemy, fils de Luxembourg Gabiano), administrateurs de la Compagnie, Hugues de La Porte, Antoine I Vincent, Claude Senneton (†1570), ainsi que Guillaume Regnauld et Barthelemy Teste qui représentent tous deux une seule part. 97 Les cinq compagnons sont mentionnés comme 'marchans bourgeois citoyens du dict Lyon', agissent sans contraintes et fondent cette Compagnie pour dix ans. Le capital de départ est fixé à 20 000 livres tournois. Chaque compagnon apporte initialement la somme de 4000 livres tournois sous forme de 'deniers' et de 'papier blanc' et promet de fournir un capital supplémentaire pour couvrir des coûts de production ou d'éventuelles pertes.

À de très rares exceptions près,98 l'objectif de la Compagnie est de 'faire imprimer les livres de droit civil et canon, soit de grande marge et volume moyen ou petit'.99 La politique éditoriale appartient à chacun. S'il existe une clause de non-concurrence – ils n'ont pas le droit d'imprimer les livres de l'association sous leur propre nom dans un format 'in-folio en papier réal' ni à Lyon, ni dans un autre centre de production – ils sont aussi force de

- **86** Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvi^e siècle, 11, 631-637.
- 87 William Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon' dans Arnaldo Ganda, Elisa Grignani & Alberto Petrucciani (éds.), Libri, tipografi, biblioteche: ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 148), Firenze 1997, 169-192 (173).
- **88** Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvi^e siècle,
- 89 Archives Municipales de Lyon, cc Impôts et comptabilité, côte cc/321 et cc/323. Voir aussi Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvie siècle, 11, 628.
- 90 Archives Municipales de Lyon, cc Impôts et comptabilité, côte cc/40 et cc/41.
- 91 Archives Municipales de Lyon, cc Impôts et comptabilité, côte cc/150 et cc/152.
- 92 L'expression est d'Ilaria Andreoli, 'Impressions italiennes: imprimeurs, auteurs et livres italiens à Lyon au xvie siècle' dans Cahiers d'études italiennes, 27 (2018), §2 (DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/ cei.5167).

- 93 Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, VII, 1.
- 94 Ibidem, v. 395.
- 95 Andrea Ottone, 'L'attività editoriale dei Giunti nella Venezia del Cinquecento' dans Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica, 2 (2003), 43-80. Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, v1, 77.
- 96 Maclean, 'Concurrence ou collaboration?', 20; Jamie Cumby, 'Neither scholar nor printer: Luxembourg de Gabiano and the financial structure of merchant publishing in sixteenth-century Lyon' dans Shanti Graheli (éd.), Buying and selling. The business of books in early modern Europe, Leiden/Boston 2019,
- 97 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 33-48.
- 98 La Compagnie prévoit également d'imprimer les œuvres complètes de certains Pères de l'Église, comme Saint Chrysostome, Bernard, Ambroise, Jérôme et Saint Grégoire. Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 41.

proposition. En effet, tous les membres de la société sont tenus de soumettre 'livres nouveaux, copies nouvelles, augmentations adnotations, aditions et privilèges' à leurs pairs, qui se réservent le droit de les inclure ou non dans leur politique éditoriale. Si la réponse est positive, tous les frais (y compris le rachat de privilèges) seront remboursés par la structure. Ainsi, comme le montre cette clause du contrat, l'accent est mis sur la recherche de nouveautés, soulignant la nécessité d'être continuellement informé des tendances du marché et démontrant les capacités analytiques et prédictives des marchands du xvi siècle (c'est ce que l'on nomme aujourd'hui l'analyse prospective). Ces clauses du contrat entraînent deux remarques.

Tout d'abord, cette précision contractuelle du format et du papier utilisé permet de mieux cerner les objectifs de la Compagnie. En effet, à Lyon, le 'papier réal' est synonyme de qualité et ne désigne pas seulement un format comme on peut le constater en Italie. La nature du papier utilisé n'est pas un choix neutre et sans conséquences pour les éditeurs. Elle a effectivement un impact important sur les coûts de production et le rendu final du produit. Ainsi, cette mention particulière est une information précieuse quant à la politique éditoriale de l'entreprise et doit être précisée en se référant à d'autres sources. La période comprise entre 1573 et 1582 est bien documentée grâce aux nombreux contrats passés entre Simon Gault, marchand-papetier polyvalent lyonnais,100 et divers fabricants de papier d'Auvergne, du Beaujolais et du Dauphiné. Le papier le plus demandé par les éditeurs, qui semble définir la qualité courante, est le 'papier bastard' comme en témoigne, par exemple, une obligation souscrite le 23 août 1577 par Melchior Arnoullet (1520-1585) 'marchand libraire, citoien de Lyon' au profit de Simon Gault 'pour cause de vente et délivrance de vingt-six rames de papier bastard, propice à son metier de libraire'.101 Une rame de cette qualité pèse entre 12 et 14 livres (poids) et son prix de vente est en moyenne à 25 sols tournois. La rame de papier réal qualifié de 'petit grand' se vend entre 33 et 40 sols tournois et son poids avoisine les 24 livres. Plus le papier est épais, plus il est considéré comme 'beau, blanc et bien collé, plus le prix d'une rame de 500 feuilles est élevé. 102 Le papier plus épais convient mieux aux publications en grand format de haute qualité, tandis que le papier plus fin sera privilégié pour les formats transportables (in-octavo, in-sedecimo, in-vigesimoquarto) pour réduire l'épaisseur du livre. En conséquence, la Compagnie des Libraires s'est tournée vers la production de livres de luxe pour une clientèle fortunée, en choisissant des papiers de haute qualité qui peuvent augmenter les coûts de fabrication de 46% par rapport aux papiers moyens.103

Le prix de vente des livres est déterminé par 'iceux compaignons' qui doivent être au minimum quatre pour prendre cette décision. Les coûts de fabrication et le papier sont pris en compte. Plusieurs clauses du contrat s'appliquent aux stocks d'ouvrages après une évaluation financière. Les associés prennent en charge la gestion des stocks 'restants de vieilles compaignies' et verseront le produit de la vente à leurs anciens collègues. Un fonds de livres imprimés divisé en cinq parts égales assure une protection à chacun en cas de démission volontaire ou de décès de l'un des membres qui soulève la possibilité de litiges entre les héritiers. En cas de départ le compagnon achète sa part des tirages ou les laisse à la Compagnie jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient vendus.

Les questions de visibilité de la marque de la Compagnie sont également réglementées dans le contrat. En effet, 'pour tous et chascun des livres qui se imprimeront pour compte de la présente compaignie y aura et sera mise la marque du Lyon ou aultre s'il est advisé et dict par les dicts cinq compaignon'. Ainsi, l'application de la marque sur la page de titre n'est pas systématique et est laissée à l'appréciation des membres de l'association. Cette clause du contrat donne la possibilité d'imprimer leur propre marque en page de titre ou celles des imprimeurs avec lesquels ils ont collaboré. J.M. Dureau-Lapeyssonnie a souligné que de nombreux imprimeurs peuvent chacun travailler sur un volume d'un même ensemble et y appliquer leur propre marque.106

Les Gabiano sont contractuellement tenus de présenter un bilan et de déclarer annuellement toute perte ou tout gain. Dans ce dernier cas, les bénéfices sont répartis à parts égales entre les différents partenaires.

Jamie Cumby a répertorié 1500 éditions publiées par la Compagnie entre 1509 et 1562. 107 Ce nombre important indique que le marché du livre de droit à Lyon était un oligopole. Ce cartel d'éditeurs interdépendants ne le partageait qu'avec quelques pairs ou imprimeurs. Apparemment, il était très difficile de se faire accepter dans ce cercle restreint d'associés. Comme l'a souligné Baudrier, même Guillaume Rouillé qui a pourtant pris la succession de son beau-père, Dominique de Portonariis, n'a jamais été admis dans la Compagnie. 108 C'est en 1568 qu'il accélère la production de livre de droit. Une série d'événements politiques et d'émeutes religieuses qui durent plusieurs années précipitent le départ de nombreux membres protestants (Gabiano, Senneton) de la Compagnie vers Genève, entraînant son déclin. Alors que le marché devenait plus lucratif pour lui, Guillaume Rouillé se lance dans la production de somptueux livres juridiques in-folio et rachète quelques privilèges aux Senneton qui lui permettent d'introduire sur le marché du livre les différents ouvrages de d'André Tiraqueau et de Jacques Rébuffi (†1557).109 Pour arriver à ses fins, il utilise les

- 99 La politique éditoriale porte principalement sur des cours civils et canons avec ou sans glose, des traités (Consilia, traités sur des points spécifiques des corpus, etc.) et des œuvres complètes dans les deux droits (Opera omnia d'Alciat par exemple). Cf. Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 39-41.
- 100 Il élargit son activité en commerçant dans le domaine des grains, laines et textiles. Voir Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, v1, 33.
- 101 Archives départementales et métropolitaines de Lyon, Minutes et répertoires des notaires, Cozon, Jean, carnet 1577, côte 3E3818, fol. 354 recto. Cité par
- Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, v1, 44. 102 Le 14 juillet 1582 Barthélemy Arnoullet achète à Pierre Durant 100 rames de papier réal 'petit grand' pesant 24 livres et coutant 36 sols la rame 'beau, blanc et bien collé'. Cf. Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, IV, x. De même, le 25 novembre 1586, B. Arnoullet fait l'acquisition de 100 rames de papier royal et de papier réal 'petit grand' pesant '25 livres, bon, beau et bien collé' vendus respectivement 40 et 35 livres tournois la rame.

- 103 Plantin choisit lui-même le papier de la région lyonnaise pour des travaux destinés à une clientèle privilégiée, alors qu'il préfère s'approvisionner à Rouen et à Troyes en papiers ordinaires lorsqu'il s'adresse à une clientèle moins fortunée.
- 104 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 43: '[...] ou quatre d'iceulx en l'absence du cinquième'.
- 105 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 43.
- 106 Ibidem, 5.
- 107 Jamie Cumby, A publishing monopoly in learned Europe: the Compagnie des Libraires of Lyon, 1509-1562, thèse soutenue à l'Université de Saint Andrews en 2018 et sous embargo jusqu'au 6 novembre 2023. http://hdl.handle.net/10023/ 18110. Nous n'avons pas encore pris connaissance de sa recherche et espérons sa publication pro-
- 108 Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, 1x, 21. 109 Ibidem, IX, 22. Ces privilèges étaient auparavant accordés aux Senneton.

mêmes armes que la Compagnie et 'partage avec ses confrères un grand nombre de publications et se trouve lui-même au centre de nombreuses petites associations destinées à partager les risques commerciaux'. 110 Jusqu'à présent, la seule façon pour lui d'inclure des livre de droit dans sa politique éditoriale sans entrer directement en concurrence avec la Compagnie a été de jouer avec les formats, comme l'illustre la publication d'un Corpus iuris civilis en in-sedecimo, et de sélectionner des auteurs contemporains pour faire front aux membres de l'association qui privilégient les éditions des glossateurs italiens.¹¹¹ Cependant, comme l'a souligné Yves-Bernard Brissaud, 'Ce triomphe est [...] sans lendemain durable car la lutte se termine finalement par la faillite des successeurs de Rouillé et l'absorption, au XVIIe siècle, de leur fonds par la puissante Compagnie des Libraires'. 112

L'adhésion à la Compagnie des Libraires offre donc plusieurs avantages aux éditeurs. Comme l'a souligné William Pettas, une telle structure entrepreneuriale permet de répartir les investissements sur plusieurs éditions, minimisant le risque associé à la sortie d'un seul titre tout en augmentant les chances d'un retour sur investissement.113 Enfin, chaque membre pouvait ainsi bénéficier d'un important réseau de distribution.

Le réseau de la Compagnie des Libraires est présenté dans le Graphique en Appendix 1.114 Il représente le premier cercle de relations au départ de Lyon des membres les plus importants de la Compagnie des Libraires et de leurs héritiers: les Gabiano, les Giunti, les frères de La Porte, les Vincent, les Portonariis et les frères Senneton. Une liste préliminaire de 321 personnes a été obtenue à partir de diverses sources (actes notariés publiés ou non, lettres, nom de l'imprimeur figurant sur la page de titre ou le colophon, et sources secondaires). Le graphique est organisé géographiquement, chaque contact étant placé en fonction des coordonnées de longitude et de latitude de la ville dans laquelle il se trouve.

Le réseau de ces grandes dynasties de éditeurs est transnational. Le nœud le plus lointain est Constantinople, et le plus au nord est Londres. À l'est se trouvent différentes villes de Pologne (Cracovie) et de Hongrie (Esztergom). Le réseau local lyonnais est le plus important et représente 45% des contacts. Ce réseau se compose principalement d'éditeurs, de vendeurs, d'imprimeurs et comprend également quelques marchands intervenant dans d'autres domaines que le livre. Certains n'apparaissent que comme témoins d'actes notariés (ventes immobilières, signature de contrats) ou sont impliqués dans des procédures judiciaires, mais la plupart des interlocuteurs ont un lien commercial direct avec l'un des membres de la Compagnie. En sous-traitant l'impression de leurs ouvrages juridiques à de multiples prestataires parmi les imprimeurs, les associés ont permis à de nombreux ateliers d'être en activité et de générer de nombreux emplois selon la terminologie courante des affaires.

La répartition est la suivante: 62% des interlocuteurs sont situés dans l'aire commerciale française, 22% dans l'aire commerciale italienne et 9% dans l'aire commerciale espagnole. Le Saint Empire romain germanique et les Pays-Bas méridionaux rassemblent respectivement 4% et 2% des contacts, les aires commerciales polonaises, anglaises, hongroises et ottomanes, 1% du réseau. Cela ne signifie pas qu'il s'agit de réseaux secondaires. Un contact peut donner accès à un deuxième réseau de taille considérable. En effet, l'éditeur lyonnais, qui entretient des relations d'affaires étroites avec Christophe Plantin à Anvers, a pu élargir son réseau de distribution grâce à lui.



Carte 1 Répartitions des contacts en Europe

Dans le détail, Venise se classe en seconde position en rassemblant 8% des contacts. La cité lagunaire devance Paris (6%) et Toulouse (3,5%). Comme le montre la Carte 1, chacune des autres villes européennes représentent entre 1,6% et 2% des contacts. Cette carte confirme l'importance des villes qui organisent des foires du livre: Médina del Campo en Espagne ainsi que Francfort et Leipzig sur le territoire du Saint Empire. Sans surprise, les centres

- 110 Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 45.
- 111 Voir à ce sujet, Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, businessman and humanist' dans R.J. Schoeck (éd.), Editing sixteenth-century texts. Papers given at the editorial conference, University of Toronto, October, 1965, Toronto 1966, 72-112 (81-82).
- 112 Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 45.
- 113 Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon', 190.
- 114 Pour les détails, voir le pdf en ligne: www.bibliofielen.be.

universitaires sont ciblés par la Compagnie. Les associés lyonnais ont des contacts d'affaires dans des villes où d'importantes universités sont fondées et reconnues pour leur formation juridique, telles que Bologne, Sienne, Florence, Pise, Toulouse, Avignon, Orléans et Paris.

Au départ de Lyon, Luxembourg Gabiano et ses successeurs entretiennent le réseau le plus important (43%). En deuxième position se trouvent Jacques Giunta et ses héritiers (20%), suivis des familles Portonariis (13%), Vincent (13%), de La Porte (12%) et Senneton (8%). Quant à ces derniers, leur réseau est sans doute beaucoup plus étendu. En effet, seuls les documents d'archives correspondant à leurs activités d'éditeurs ont été pris en considération. Compte tenu de leurs contacts dans l'industrie textile où ils ont fait fortune, il conviendra de compléter ce graphique. En ce qui concerne les Giunti, un autre commentaire est approprié. Si l'on prend en compte l'ensemble du réseau de cette dynastie qui est présente, par exemple, en Italie, en Espagne et en France, celui-ci représente plus de 53% des contacts entre professionnels du livre. 115

Le Graphique en Appendix 1 montre également que la plupart des membres de ce réseau sont interconnectés. Depuis le début du xVI^e siècle, de nombreux contrats témoignent des efforts acharnés des libraires et des imprimeurs pour trouver de nouveaux canaux de distribution. À titre d'illustration, grâce aux recherches d'Angela Nuovo, les relations entre Giovanni Giolito, qui a fondé diverses librairies à Turin (1534–1538) et Pavie (1538–1539), et la seconde Compagnie des Libraires (1520–1542) montrent que de nombreux livres de jurisprudence ont atteint l'Italie par ce biais, comme l'atteste un accord biennal entre Giolito et Vincent de Portonariis en 1535. Ce dernier s'engage à envoyer 100 exemplaires de livres imprimés in-folio¹¹⁶ par la Compagnie dirigée par Jacques Giunta,¹¹⁷ à prix coûtant,¹¹⁸ en échange de 350 livres imprimés à Turin à hauteur du même montant.¹¹⁹ Selon Nuovo, ce type de contrat a permis aux deux partenaires de créer des conditions de distribution fiables basées sur le système d'échange.¹²⁰

Ultérieurement, Philippe Tinghi, administrateur de la société Giunta à Lyon, 'marchant florentinj demeurant à lyon soubz les priuilliegez dez foires', ¹²¹ signe plusieurs actes notariés devant le notaire Pierre Delaforest, ¹²² qui soulignent l'utilité d'un tel réseau non seulement pour faciliter l'écoulement des stocks et élargir la distribution d'œuvres diverses, mais aussi pour récupérer les résultats des ventes à l'étranger. En particulier, le 13 mars 1570 'Philippii a Tinghi gubernator administrator' agissant au nom de la compagnie des 'herediis Jacobi Juncta' donne une procuration ('obligationes') à un marchand florentin pour recouvrer les sommes dues aux frères Gabiano et à la société de Jacques Giunta non seulement auprès de divers débiteurs italiens, mais également auprès de l'université de Florence. ¹²³ Les minutes du même notaire contiennent de nombreuses reconnaissances de dettes, attestant des échanges importants entre la Compagnie lyonnaise et divers marchands espagnols et italiens. Par exemple, le 25 mai 1572, François Trinchel, marchand de Barcelone, confirme devoir la somme de 390 livres tournois à l'administrateur florentin qu'il prévoit de payer en deux versements pendant les foires de la Toussaint et de Pâques. ¹²⁴

Guillaume Rouillé, on l'a vu, n'a pu se faire admettre par la Compagnie des Libraires, a développé un réseau de distribution très rentable en Espagne grâce à ses liens familiaux

avec Vincent et Gaspard de Portonariis, qui se sont installés à Salamanque avec leur beaufrère Gaspard Trechsel.¹²⁵ Ceci est attesté par une procuration signée le 14 mars 1586 par l'entrepreneur lyonnais et Martin Yniguez habitant de Saragosse. Ce dernier est chargé de récupérer un total de 8062 écus d'or 46 sols 18 deniers auprès de plusieurs marchands de Saragosse. À l'époque, ce montant équivalait à 24 186 livres tournois et constituait une fortune considérable.126

Bien qu'ils ne figurent pas dans la liste des grands éditeurs de droit lyonnais, Luxembourg Gabiano (ou Lucimborgo) et ses héritiers jouent un rôle considérable sur ce marché, tout comme la société fondée par Jacques Giunta. Ils partagent leurs origines et un important réseau de distribution.

Le lobby italien: une délocalisation de la production vénitienne

De nombreuses similitudes jalonnent le parcours de Luxembourg de Gabiano (†1558) et de Jacques Giunta. Tous deux ont été mandatés à Lyon par leurs oncles, puissants éditeurs actifs à Venise. Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano envoie Luxembourg à Lyon en 1512 pour aider son frère Baldassare 1 de Gabiano qui dirige la Compagnie d'Yvry et une librairie qu'il a fondée à Lyon. Après la mort de Baldassare 1 en 1519, Luxembourg a pris la responsabilité des deux structures. La même année (ou 1520), Jacques Giunta s'installe dans la cité rhodanienne et dispose d'un capital de 2000 florins grâce à un partenariat signé avec son oncle Lucantonio Giunti, cette somme étant destinée à être dépensé durant les foires du livre à Lyon.127

Dès 1519, Luxembourg de Gabiano prend l'initiative de fonder une association vouée à la publication d'ouvrages juridiques de grand format. Parmi les compagnons se trouvent les Frères de La Porte et Senneton, Antoine I Vincent, Vincent I de Portonariis ainsi que Jacques Giunta. Il est probable que Sébastien Gryphe, décédé en 1536, et Antoine Gryphe (1527–1599) aient appartenu à cette Compagnie. En effet, plusieurs documents d'archives de la

- 115 Par exemple, le réseau de Luc'Antonio Giunti est connu grậce à l'étude d'Alberto Tenenti, 'Luc'Antonio Giunti il giovane, stampatore e mercante' dans Studi in onore di Armando Sapori, Milano 1957, 11, 1021-1060.
- 116 Angela Nuovo & Christian Coppens, I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del xvie secolo, Genève 2005, 42-43: 'libri grandi', voir note.
- 117 Nuovo & Coppens, I Giolito, 43: 'In compagnia cum Gionta'.
- 118 Nuovo & Coppens, I Giolito, 43: 'Per precio che costerano là a Lion per far stampare'.
- 119 Nuovo & Coppens, I Giolito, 43: 'al precio che costerano i libri grandi'.
- 120 Ibidem, 43.
- 121 Archives départementales et métropolitaines de Lyon, Minutes et répertoires des notaires, Pierre Delaforest.

- 122 Pierre Delaforest (1557-1605) était le notaire préféré des Italiens à Lyon. Il fut par exemple le notaire principal des Bonvisi, marchands banquiers qui travaillèrent à Lyon durant la seconde moitié du
- 123 Archives départementales et métropolitaines de Lyon, Minutes et répertoires des notaires, Pierre Delaforest.
- 124 Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, VI, 445.
- 125 Sur le réseau de distribution espagnol et les liens avec les éditeurs et imprimeurs lyonnais, on consultera: Marta De La Mano González. Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo xvi, Salamanca 1998.
- 126 Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, 1x, 105.
- 127 Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon', 171-172. Voir en particulier note 6.

Compagnie des Libraires (comptes administratifs et inventaires) relatifs à ces derniers indiquent l'existence de nombreux ouvrages juridiques édités par la marque au griffon.¹²⁸ Ainsi, à l'exception de Guillaume Rouillé et Jean I de Tournes, tous les éditeurs mentionnés dans le Graphique en Appendix 1 sont en contact direct avec la Compagnie des Libraires.

Concernant les Gabiano, les travaux incontournables d'Angela Nuovo mettent en lumière les liens entre le siège social vénitien à la succursale lyonnaise. 129 En effet, son analyse de sept lettres que Luxembourg a envoyé à son oncle entre 1522 et 1523 démontre que la structure lyonnaise dépend entièrement des décisions prises à Venise. Luxembourg devait se rendre chaque année au siège social pour rendre compte de sa gestion de la société.¹³⁰ L'organisation structurelle de ce groupe multinational sera détaillée ultérieurement. Luxembourg a pris soin de ne pas publier les nombreuses éditions qu'il a financées sous son propre nom, mais a laissé apparaître en page de titre le nom des imprimeurs français avec lesquels il sous-traite les travaux d'impression. En effet, d'un point de vue local et vénitien, la forme juridique d'une compagnie présentait deux avantages. Localement, les marchands italiens se heurtaient à l'hostilité des habitants de Lyon en raison des privilèges accordés aux marchands qui fréquentaient les foires.¹³¹ L'anonymat leur permettait de ne pas mettre en avant leur activité. Comme le soulignait Richard Gascon, le rattachement de ces succursales avec la maison mère devait être suffisamment flexibles.¹³² Par ailleurs, Gascon préfère décrire ces structures organisationnelles comme suit: '[des] maisons rattachées les unes aux autres par des liens familiaux'. 133 Ce type d'organisation n'a pas seulement ouvert des perspectives de diffusion à l'échelle de l'Europe, exigeant l'indépendance financière et juridique de chaque branche pour ne pas mettre en péril l'ensemble du réseau en cas de crise ou de procès, mais a également permis de maintenir 'les solidarités familiales et "nationale" qui [étaient] l'une des bases les plus solides de l'hégémonie italienne dans l'Europe des affaires'. 134 La succursale de Lyon a servi de point d'appui à Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano pour atteindre les marchés du nord de l'Europe avec ses reproductions de livres vénitiens. 135 Pour comprendre ce phénomène, Angela Nuovo a noté que les éditions publiées à Lyon par Luxembourg dupliquaient ou combinaient différents éléments d'éditions

- 128 Pour Baudrier, Sébastien Gryphe alors à Venise aurait été appelé par les membres de la Compagnie. Baudrier & Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, VIII, 14.
- Nuovo, The book trade, 71–80,165–170 et 313–314. Du même auteur, on consultera aussi: 'Selling books in the Italian Renaissance: the correspondence of Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (1522)' dans M. McLean, & S.K. Barker (éds.), International exchange in the early modern book world, Leiden 2016, 59–79. Voir en particulier 62 et 65–68.
- 130 Nuovo, 'Selling books in the Italian Renaissance', 65.
 131 Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvrº siècle,
 1, 291 et Nuovo, The book trade, 166–167.
- **132** Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvr siècle, 1, 281.
- 133 Ibidem, 1, 281.
- 134 Ibidem, 1, 281.

- 135 Nuovo, 'Selling books in the Italian Renaissance', 66.
- 136 Ibidem, 66. Voir aussi Angela Nuovo, 'Transferring humanism: the edition of Vitruvius by Lucimborgo de Gabiano (Lyon 1523)' dans Goran Proot et al. (éds.), Lux Librorum. Essays on books and history for Chris Coppens, Mechelen 2018, 17–37. Voir en particulier p. 22 et suivantes.
- 137 Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, VI, 437.
- 138 Ibidem, v1, 445.
- 139 Archives Municipales de Lyon, cc Impôts et comptabilité, côte cc/169: le 23 aout 1569, sans indication de provenance, 'xii quintaulx' de livres sont destinés au 'her[itier]s Jacques Jonte' (fol. 9 recto); le 3 septembre de cette même année, les 'Heritiers Jacques Juncta' reçoivent 8 'quintaulx [de] livres de Venise' (fol. 16 recto); 3 quintaux supplémentaires sont taxés le 24 septembre (fol. 22 verso).

vénitiennes déjà en circulation, sans référence directe au marché local.136 C'est dans cette optique que le siège vénitien à délocalisé une partie de sa production à Lyon. Cela affecte également les livres de jurisprudence, en particulier les grands formats publiés par la Compagnie des Libraires. Cette approche n'était pas propre aux Gabiano.

En effet, des documents ultérieurs semblent prouver que l'entreprise de Jacques Giunta était étroitement liée à l'entreprise vénitienne. Philippe Tinghi (†1580) qui gère les intérêts de l'officine Giunta à Lyon depuis 1555 est également associé à la société de Lucantonio Giunti à Venise. 137 En témoigne la procuration générale que l'industriel vénitien donne en son nom à l'administrateur lyonnais le 1^{er} avril 1572 pour gérer les affaires d'une société dont la raison sociale est 'Luc-Antoine Joncti et Cie'.138 Ces liens se concrétisent chaque année par les quintaux d'ouvrages qui transitent entre les deux sociétés. En provenance de Venise, le contrôle des subsides de 6 deniers par livre (poids), une taxe spéciale et exceptionnelle prélevée entre le 18 août et le 22 novembre 1569, destinée à lever 20 000 livres tournois pour le roi, permet de quantifier ponctuellement l'étendue des échanges commerciaux entre les deux firmes. Un total de 23 quintaux (2300 kilos) de livres en provenance de Venise sont envoyés aux héritiers de Jacques Giunta. 139



Graphique 7 Organigramme de la firme Gabiano

Paolo Veneziani, qui a analysé conjointement les testaments de Giovanni Bartolomeo et Luxembourg Gabiano, a décrit la structure pyramidale de la 'multinationale' Gabiano organisée sur plusieurs niveaux [Graphique 7]. 140 Il s'agit d'une société financière dont l'activité principale est l'édition. Le capital provient du commerce de la soie, des céréales et du papier d'une part et d'une activité de crédit d'autre part. La raison sociale de cette structure est la Società di Venezia dirigée par Giovanni Bartolomeo de Gabiano, Lorenzo Aliprandi et Luxembourg Gabiano. De cette société sont assujetties trois compagnies situées à Venise (Lorenzo Aliprandi & Cie.), à Anvers (Francesco Buonanome & Cie.) et à Lyon (Lucimburgo Gabiano & Cie). De ces dernières dépendent à leur tour différentes structures locales. Lyon exploitait une succursale à Avignon et une librairie à Lyon 'al segno della fontana', qui était l'enseigne de toutes les boutiques du groupe. Deux autres succursales à Londres et à Constantinople et une librairie du même nom dépendaient de Venise. Veneziani décrit avec justesse les avantages organisationnels uniques offerts par une telle structure comme 'la possibilité de coordonner la fabrication et la distribution de leurs produits entre les différents groupes' qui leur permettent de 'se présenter sur le marché du livre dans toute l'Europe avec un comportement hautement compétitif', 141 L'exploitation de 'ces synergies' se voit dans 'l'opportunité de faire imprimer' des imitations d'éditions aldines 'en italique sur le site de Lyon'. 142 De cette façon, ils ont pu échapper aux poursuites judiciaires, car les privilèges accordés à Aldo Manuzio (1449-1515) ne le protégeaient qu'à Venise. 143 De facto, ils pouvaient distribuer leurs 'reproductions' non seulement localement, mais également 'sur d'autres marchés par la branche vénitienne'. 44 Les livres juridiques participent à cette synergie, et l'organisation structurelle des différentes sociétés des Giunti a pu fonctionner de la même manière. La politique éditoriale était abordée globalement. Avec la délocalisation à Lyon de la production des volumes de droit en in-folio, les compagnies vénitiennes se concentraient sur les petits volumes et sur la publication de livres touchant d'autres genres comme la médecine pour les Gabiano et les livres d'offices et missels pour les Giunti.

¹⁴⁰ Paolo Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana' dans Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 74 (1999), 242-266.

¹⁴¹ Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana', 253.

¹⁴² Ibidem, 250.

¹⁴³ Comme l'a parfaitement souligné Angela Nuovo, [...] The Lyon (and Florence and Fano) replicas were indeed perfectly legal according to contemporary legislation because no privilege could be enforced beyond the boundaries of the state whose government had granted it. Only the pope could grant privileges that extended their prohibition across the whole of Christianity, but this was true only in theory: Aldus's repeated efforts to bring his italic typeface under papal protection had a doubtful effect'. Nuovo, 'Transferring humanism', 20.

¹⁴⁴ Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana', 250. À notre avis, il ne s'agit pas de copies pirates mais d'imitations. Sur ce sujet on consultera en priorité: Nuovo, The book trade, 72-73. Voir aussi David J. Shaw, 'The Lyons counterfeit of Aldus's Italic type: a new chronology' dans Denis V. Reidy (éd.), The Italian book 1465-1800. Studies presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th Birthday, London, 117-133.

¹⁴⁵ Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana', 253.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem, 264-265.

¹⁴⁷ Veneziani, 'Il libraio al segno della fontana', 264–265. 148 Paolo Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, Firenze 1962-

^{1963, 1/2 (}Venezia), 18.

¹⁴⁹ Rodolfo Savelli, 'Sulla stampa del Corpus iuris civilis nel Cinquecento. Standardizzazione, innovazioni, contaminazioni' dans Stefano Levati & Simona Mori (éds.), Une storia di rigore e di passione. Saggi per Livio Antonielli, Milano 2018, 123.

¹⁵⁰ PP, II, 726.

Dans ce contexte, la position des éditeurs vénitiens sur le marché des livres juridiques a acquis tout son sens. En regardant le Graphique 7, nous pouvons voir que les Gabiano dominent ce marché, même s'ils ne sont pas directement nommés. En effet, nous avons vu que la marque 'al segno della fontana' était celle de toutes leurs librairies locales. Vingt pourcent des livres de droit imprimés à Venise contiennent la marque à la fontaine sur la page de titre. Zaccaria Zenaro et ses héritiers qui ont dirigé cette librairie jusqu'en 1579, représentent 12% de part de marché dans ce domaine. Veneziani a donné l'exemple des Consilia de Pier Paolo Parisio, co-édités par Zaccaria Zenario et G.B. Gabiano à l'aide de capitaux extérieurs. 145 Concernant les exportations de Lyon vers la lagune, une facture d'une balle de 'libri de stampa de Lion' adressée le 1er avril 1559 à Zaccaria Zenaro 'libraro al la fontana' à Venise permet d'illustrer les interactions entre les deux villes. 146 En dehors de 6 bibles illustrées au format in-octavo, cette livraison de 326 volumes ne contient que des livres de droit, parmi lesquels se trouvent plus de 100 'consilia'. 147 De facto, les liens étroits entre les différentes entreprises des deux villes suggèrent une complémentarité de production plutôt qu'une situation de concurrence. En effet, les éditeurs vénitiens s'emparent du marché du livre de droit au début des années 1580 quand la Compagnie des Libraires perd sa place à la suite de la fuite de certains de ses membres à Genève et à des difficultés de commercialisation liées aux guerres de Religion. Plusieurs signes indiquent que ce changement est sur le point de commencer. S'il existe bien un lien familial entre les deux familles, les Zenaro s'éloignent des Gabiano à partir de 1579 en raison de leur appartenance au protestantisme. En effet, ce facteur pouvait nuire à la réputation des Zenaro. En outre, une nouvelle compagnie est fondée de 1584 à 1587 pour 'la stampa di opere giuridiche di grande mole' et regroupe les grands éditeurs de la lagune: Filippo di Bernardo Giunti, Francesco de Franceschi, Felice Valgrisi, Girolamo Scoto, Giovanni Varisco, Damiano et Girolamo Zenaro & fratelli et les héritiers de Melchiorre II Sessa. 148 Formellement, ils se positionnent dans la continuité de la production lyonnaise.

Par exemple, lorsque les vénitiens entreprennent la coûteuse production d'un nouveau Corpus iuris civilis au format in-quarto en 1569, ils se contentent de reproduire la version lyonnaise de Guillaume Rouillé. Rodolfo Savelli a étudié ce phénomène et a constaté que les rares Corpus imprimés en Italie jusqu'à la fin du siècle, quels que soit le format utilisé, reproduisent une édition lyonnaise, les éditeurs se contentant d'y ajouter de nouveaux index et annotations.149

Les vénitiens ne sont pas les seuls concernés. Ainsi, la domination des éditeurs lyonnais dans ce domaine a touché de nombreux centres de production européens, notamment ceux qui font régulièrement affaire avec la ville française. Par exemple, Christophe Plantin à Anvers envisage sa politique éditoriale internationalement. Cette dernière, pourtant variée, ne comprend que 23 ouvrages de droit, principalement de thèses de doctorat, à l'exception d'éditions des Corpus iuris civilis et Canonici. À titre d'illustration, le Corpus de droit civil qu'il publie au format in-octavo en 1567, montre qu'il s'est contenté de reproduire l'édition lyonnaise de Guillaume Rouillé, publiée quelques années plus tôt en 1561. 150

Un marché des grands textes juridiques inaccessible pour les imprimeurs-entrepreneurs et les imprimeurs-sous-traitants?

Comme nous l'avons évoqué, la présence de marques ou d'adresses d'imprimeurs en page de titre des différents volumes de livres juridiques est principalement liée à des contrats avec des éditeurs. Les difficultés inhérentes à ce marché le rendent-elles inaccessible aux imprimeurs disposant de moins de capitaux?

À partir de quelques documents conservés aux archives d'Avignon, on peut retracer l'évolution de l'association fondée en décembre 1544 entre Macé Bonhomme (1536–1569), Hector Penet (1533–1567) et Benoît Bonyn (actif 1523–1544), trois 'modestes artisans' ¹⁵¹ selon les mots de Baudrier, pour éditer 'l'interminable publication' des commentaires de Gilles Bellemère (1337–1407) portant 'super toto corpore juris Canonici' (sur tout le corpus canonique) ainsi que ceux de Geoffroy de Salignac 'super toto infortatio' (sur tout l'Inforciat). ¹⁵³

L'origine de ce projet est liée à une commande de l'université d'Avignon qui détient les manuscrits originaux des deux auteurs. Après défection d'un premier libraire, le primicier Jacques de Novarins formalise un accord avec les trois lyonnais le 10 décembre 1544. Ces derniers promettent de commencer à imprimer d'ici deux ans et à ne pas interrompre le travail. Cependant, les œuvres des deux auteurs sont impressionnantes. Il s'agit de les publier en in-folio et en plusieurs volumes. Pour terminer ce projet, cela suppose de posséder suffisamment de fonds pour l'acquisition du papier. Il semble que les trois partenaires aient réalisé l'importance de cette tâche et soit ont mal planifié le temps nécessaire à l'impression, soit ont mal évalué le capital nécessaire. Certainement pour ces raisons, dès 1545, les associés ont 'remys et cédé le droict et charges qu'ilz aviont d'imprimer lesd. livres' 154 aux frères Senneton. Un avenant au contrat d'origine du 3 novembre 1553 montre que même pour ces riches industriels, l'impression des commentaires de Gilles Bellemère était une tâche laborieuse et comportait de grands risques financiers. À cette date, 'une grande partie d'iccelles et délivré à lad. université jusques au nombre de neuf pièces ou volumes'. 55 Ces derniers se vendent mal en raison des '[...] guerres et la prolixité d'iceluy livre'. 156 Or, cette publication s'est avérée être un véritable gouffre financier, car 'pour les pièces jà imprimées' les Senneton ont déjà avancé un total de 'douze mille livres' et leur estimation pour 'ce que reste à imprimer' s'élève 'à trente-cinq mille livres'. 157 Par conséquent nous comprenons parfaitement qu'un imprimeur n'a pas la capacité financière d'assumer un investissement de 47 000 livres tournois. Même s'ils choisissent de s'associer, cette catégorie d'artisans ne peuvent se lancer dans une telle entreprise.

Cette dernière cause aussi des ennuis aux Senneton qui regrettent d'être impliqué dans cette aventure: '[...] il leur vouldroit mieux avoir perdu quatre ou cinqs mille livres que d'avoir entrepris lad. impression.' Par conséquent, ils ont donc demandé à l'université d'Avignon d'accepter de prolonger la période d'impression de six ans, car 'pour ne se pouvoir vendre lesd. livres et pour beaucoup d'autres raisons qu'ilz leur a faict entendre, ils subissent 'grand désavantaige, perde et dommaige' et se considèrent comme 'grandement lésés, intéressés et damnifiés.' Les 21 derniers tomes semblent n'avoir jamais vu le jour, même si l'université d'Avignon a bien prolongé le contrat.' Cet exemple démontre la lucidité des imprimeurs lyonnais sur les

problématiques propres à ce marché particulier. Le marché des livres de droit est avant tout une 'entreprise de libraires éditeurs spécialisés et de langue latine'. 160 Ceci explique la faible présence des imprimeurs-éditeurs et des imprimeurs artisans dans le Graphique 7. Les imprimeurs tirent surtout leur épingle du jeu de la pratique de la sous-traitance, comme le résume Yves-Bernard Brissaud:

L'activité des imprimeurs lyonnais les amenait également à collaborer avec divers éditeurs du royaume. En 1512, Jean de La Place imprime une édition des ordonnances royales de Louis XII pour le compte de Jean de Clauso, libraire à Toulouse (à l'adresse de Toulouse, mais en réalité à Lyon); Jacques Mareschal imprime en 1523 une autre édition des ordonnances royales à l'adresse de Clermont (ce qui a pu la faire passer pour le premier livre imprimé en ce lieu); le même J. Mareschal imprimant également pour Jean Petit, grand éditeur parisien, et ses associés, de nombreux ouvrages de jurisprudence, dont en 1521 un volumineux commentaire gothique des Décrétales en neuf volumes in-folio, etc.161

En contrepartie de leurs travaux d'impression, ils recevaient un certain nombre d'exemplaires et avaient le droit de placer leur marque d'imprimeur sur la page de titre.

Concurrence locale et internationale

Deux documents nous aident à mieux comprendre comment la concurrence est perçue localement et internationalement. Tout d'abord, une lettre écrite 'de la main du cousin Claude Regnault', pour le compte de Hugues de La Porte, adressée à Robert Estienne (1503– 1559) et datée du 23 février 1548, indique qu'avant d'entrer dans la Compagnie des Libraires, les frères Senneton étaient considérés comme des concurrents: '[...] quant à Seneton messires mes compaignons et moy sommes es[meuz] que vous nous escriptes tel propous, car nous sommes c[omme] soulles que pouves juger par la conccurence que le dict Seneton nous [fait] et non nous a luy'. 162 Il fallait être conciliant avec ces derniers pour éviter une 'guerre' des prix. Pour ce faire, la Compagnie a été obligée de 'bailler ses livres [les livres des Senneton] comme les baillons nous y sommes contraints', une condition nécessaire pour que 'les livres pussent demeurer aux pris accoustumes'. 163 À partir de là, nous pouvons avoir une meilleure idée de ce que pouvait représenter l'entrée des Senneton dans la Compagnie.

- 151 Baudrier & Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, x, 186.
- 152 Pierre Pansier, Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon du xıve siècle au xvıe siècle, Nieuwkoop 1966, 1, 54.
- 153 Arch. de Vaucluse, notaires, fonds Pons, D. 27, fol. 89 recto-verso. Cité par Pansier, Histoire du livre, III, pièces justificatives, 135.
- 154 Arch. de Vaucluse, notaires, fonds Pons, nº 926, fols 211 recto-216 verso. Cité par Pansier, Histoire du
- 155 Six volumes paraissent entre 1548 et 1549, trois en 1550. Cf. Pansier, Histoire du livre, 1, 56.
- 156 Arch. de Vaucluse, notaires, fonds Pons, nº 926, fols 211-216. Cité par Pansier, Histoire du livre, 111, 152.
- 157 Pansier, Histoire du livre, III, 152.
- 158 Ibidem, III, 154-155.
- 159 Ibidem, 1, 56.
- 160 Wagner, L'Édition juridique à Lyon, 69.
- 161 Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 46-47, voir note 28.
- 162 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 29.
- 163 Ibidem, 29.

Selon une lettre que Guillaume Rouillé fait parvenir à Christophe Plantin le 26 décembre 1565, l'imprimeur anversois a décidé de reproduire une de ses éditions commentées du *Corpus iuris civilis* initialement publiée en 1561. Ce projet gêne le lyonnais. En effet, ce dernier espère le faire changer d'avis, car il a déjà injecté des fonds et commencé à travailler sur une seconde édition, revue et complété par Jacques Cujas, chef de file du *mos gallicus*:

L'on m'a dict que vous voulez imprimer mes cours de Roussart in 8, je vous voudroys prier de vous déporter de cella pour la pareille, car vous avez assez d'autres choses a fayre. Je le dis pource que je fays une segonde edition, la où Monsieur Cujas met aussi la main, avec ledict Sr. Roussart, et faudra que je les imprime, car je y ay faict jà de la despence grande, sans cella, je ne me souciroys pas qui les imprimasse. Si vous me faictes ce plaisir, je vous en pouveray faire ung autre quelque autrefois. 164

Le projet de l'officine plantinienne concurrence donc directement celui de l'éditeur lyonnais. Les privilèges ne protégeaient les éditeurs que sur un territoire restreint, local ou national. Il existait de nombreux moyens de les contourner. Si Plantin se lance dans la fabrication d'un tel ouvrage, c'est qu'il est certain de récupérer l'essentiel du capital qu'il avait mobilisé pour cet important projet, en partie grâce à un accord avec l'imprimeur et libraire lyonnais Jean Mareschal (1510?–1590). Quatre-cent-soixante-et-un exemplaires lui sont destinés. Ces derniers transitent par la foire d'automne à Francfort en 1566 avant d'inonder le marché lyonnais. Sans doute Guillaume Rouillé a-t-il été informé de cette transaction qui, de toute évidence, a eu pour effet de saboter son programme éditorial.

Cet exemple montre que Plantin, en suivant attentivement l'évolution de l'offre européenne sur ce marché spécialisé, lorsque l'occasion se présente, peut tenter un coup éditorial dans un domaine plus risqué que dans ceux dans lesquels il a l'habitude d'investir. En effet, les humanités et la religion, secteur où il s'était fait une réputation avec sa célèbre Biblia Regia, sont plus porteurs aux Pays-Bas méridionaux.

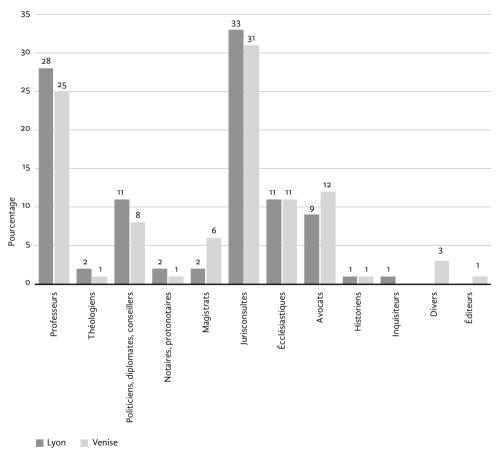
Les auteurs de livres de jurisprudence

Profil socio-culturel des auteurs de livres de jurisprudence

Hormis quelques ouvrages rares et publiés anonymement réservés aux notaires, les auteurs d'ouvrages juridiques sont clairement identifiés dans le titre ou le colophon. Cela permet une analyse socioprofessionnelle qui peut être réalisée à l'aide de différents dictionnaires biographiques des juristes de différentes nationalités. Plusieurs graphiques statistiques mettent en évidence les spécificités sociales et culturelles propres à chaque centre de production. Le nombre d'auteurs publiés à Lyon est de 254 contre 188 à Venise. Parmi ceux-ci seuls 18% se retrouvent communément édités dans les deux villes. Cela permet un premier constat. Il n'y a pas de concurrence frontale et directe à cet égard.

164 Max Rooses, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, **165** PP 727. Antwerpen: 1883–1920 (9 vols). Voir 1, no. 19.

Les auteurs exercent généralement plusieurs professions simultanément. Par exemple, Pierre de Belleperche (1250-1308) fut non seulement conseiller juridique et professeur de droit aux universités de Toulouse et d'Orléans, mais aussi évêque d'Auxerre, conseiller du roi de France, et d'importantes missions diplomatiques lui ont été confiées. À Lyon comme à Venise, un quart des auteurs voyagent sans hésitation à travers l'Europe, enseignant le droit civil et canonique dans les écoles et universités les plus prestigieuses. En effet, la plupart d'entre eux sont diplômés utroque jure (en l'un et l'autre droit). Comme le montrent les graphiques ci-dessous, la répartition entre les professeurs, les jurisconsultes et les ecclésiastiques est similaire dans les deux villes. Sans surprise, parmi les auteurs d'ouvrages de droit, la profession de jurisconsulte est la plus représentée (33% à Lyon, 31% à Venise).



Graphique 8 Répartition des professions des auteurs édités à Lyon et à Venise (livres juridiques)

Que signifiait 'jurisconsulte' au xvI¹e siècle? Le terme est complexe et possède des significations légèrement différentes selon les époques. Selon Antoine de Furetière (1619–1688) au xvIII¹e siècle, un jurisconsulte est un 'Sçavant en Droit, qui en a escrit, ou que l'on consulte sur l'interpétation des loix & des coustumes, sur les difficultez d'un proces.¹¹66 Cette définition, quoique tardive, nous amène à la conclusion qu'un jurisconsulte est à la fois un conseiller juridique et un exégète du droit. En effet, la redécouverte du droit romain a nécessité de nombreux ajustements afin de répondre au mieux aux besoins d'une société dont les sources du droit, qu'elles soient romaines ou coutumières, variaient selon les régions. Comme l'explique Jean-Louis Thireau:

[...] dans une société bien différente de celle de Rome, imprégnée par la religion chrétienne, modelée par la féodalité, transformée par l'essor du commerce, bien des règles étaient devenues caduques ou inadaptées, et qu'il fallait aussi les concilier avec d'autres sources du droit apparues dans un contexte marqué par le pluralisme juridique. Expliquer et commenter le droit romain, c'était nécessairement montrer en quoi il pouvait servir aux besoins du temps, en infléchir le sens pour l'adapter à ceux-ci, muer le droit ancien en un droit nouveau, souple et vivant.¹⁶⁷

Il s'agit d'un métier prestigieux où les notions de renommée et de réputation jouent un rôle fondamental sur les honoraires et l'élargissement de la clientèle. Comme le souligne André Alciat, cela n'a pas toujours été le cas. Au xv^e siècle la renommée de Giasone del Maino (1435–1519, jurisconsulte italien et professeur d'Alciat) changea la situation financière des jurisconsultes et rentabilisa leur activité:

Avant lui, les jurisconsultes touchaient trois, au plus quatre, petite pièce d'or; c'est lui, le premier, qui en reçut de ses clients cinquante, cent et plus, tant était puissante l'autorité de cet homme ouvrant la voie aux jeunes qui sortirent de la misère ancienne pour entrer dans la richesse et l'opulence.¹⁶⁸

Par conséquent, nous comprenons mieux pourquoi il était important de maintenir sa réputation et le rôle de faire-valoir qu'on put jouer leurs publications. Il n'est pas surprenant de trouver chez ces auteurs de nombreux traités, commentaires et *consilia* qui représentent, comme nous l'avons vu, l'un des pans les plus importants de la production éditoriale juridique tant à Lyon qu'en Vénétie. Publier un livre n'est pas seulement l'occasion pour un jurisconsulte de fournir un outil de travail à ses confrères et étudiants, mais aussi un moyen d'asseoir sa *fama* (réputation, renommée). Ce dernier point explique pourquoi de nombreux auteurs, dont Alciat lui-même, ont demandé à leurs imprimeurs de prendre en charge les erreurs qui se glissent dans leurs écrits ou ont cherché à détruire un manuscrit qui aurait pu nuire à leur réputation s'il venait à être publié. ¹⁶⁹ Il ne fait aucun doute que le jurisconsulte milanais a été profondément tenté par la réforme luthérienne, comme de nombreux juristes. Cacher ses convictions et le cas échéant, les nier publiquement, lui ont permis à la fin de sa vie d'obtenir des postes prestigieux dans diverses universités italiennes et de garder ses clients dans le but de maintenir son niveau de vie et sa réputation intacte.

Les professeurs constituent une part importante des auteurs (28% à Lyon, 25% à Venise). C'est une profession respectée qui offre des privilèges considérables. Ils représentent toutes les écoles et universités italiennes et françaises sans qu'aucune ne domine: Bologne, Pise, Pérouse, Montpellier, Toulouse, Orléans et Bourges forment la plupart des juristes. 170

Les professeurs reçoivent des salaires modestes et essaient en fait de compléter leurs revenus. Cela explique le rôle important des conseillers, clercs et magistrats à Lyon et à Venise. Les civilistes complètent leurs activités éducatives en servant les princes, les seigneurs ou les villes. Comme l'a souligné Jean-Marie Carbasse, 'beaucoup cumulent leurs fonctions d'enseignement avec des charges publiques: juges (municipaux, seigneuriaux, royaux), commissaires, conseillers du roi et même garde du sceau royal ou chancelier. 171 Pour ces raisons, de nombreux auteurs étaient également considérés comme d'habiles politiciens. Cela aboutit au XVI^e siècle à l'idée que le jurisconsulte est un homo politicus, c'està-dire un 'spécialiste incontesté non seulement de la science juridique, mais également de la science de la société et de son gouvernement, à laquelle la connaissance du droit induisait nécessairement'.172 Par conséquent, il est logique de trouver des politiciens, des diplomates et des ambassadeurs dans la liste des auteurs. Hors juges, Venise compte plus de magistrats (6%) que Lyon (2%), en raison de la présence de nombreux podestats, caractéristique italienne. En effet, depuis le XIIe siècle, de nombreuses villes de la péninsule se sont tournées vers des magistrats étrangers qui conservaient les pouvoirs exécutifs et judiciaires et étaient chargés de rétablir l'harmonie civique entre les différentes factions.

Les canonistes eux aussi tirent de lucratifs bénéfices de leurs activités et en profitent pour devenir évêques, cardinaux et même papes. Certains d'entre eux ont joué des rôles politiques de premier plan dans la tenue des différents conciles qui ont façonné l'histoire du christianisme. Il est rare de trouver un inquisiteur parmi les auteurs (1%).

Les praticiens (notaires, protonotaires, etc.) ne figurent pas souvent dans notre liste d'auteurs. Dans la hiérarchie sociale des juristes, ces professions apparaissent peu valorisées (seulement 2% à Lyon et 1% à Venise). Les emplois secondaires comprennent des théologiens, des historiens et même des ingénieurs militaires.

Comme nous pouvons le voir, dans la plupart des cas, les auteurs de livres de jurisprudence jouissaient d'un statut social et intellectuel indéniable. Nombreux sont les écrivains qui ont fait fortune en cumulant plusieurs rôles, qu'ils soient civilistes ou canonistes.

¹⁶⁶ Furetière, Dictionnaire universel, 11, 400.

¹⁶⁷ Jean-Louis Thireau, 'Jurisconsulte' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique,

¹⁶⁸ Gilles & Ourliac, 'La période post-classique', 347.

¹⁶⁹ Elisabeth Klecker, 'Des signes muets aux emblèmes chanteurs: les Emblemata d'Alciat et l'emblématique' dans Littérature, 145:1 (2007), 23-52 (24-26).

¹⁷⁰ À Paris, par exemple, il était interdit d'enseigner le droit civil en vertu de la décrétale Super speculam (1219) par crainte d'une désaffection des étudiants vis-à-vis du droit canonique, spécialité de l'enseignement parisien.

¹⁷¹ Jean-Marie Carbasse, 'Professeur à la faculté de droit' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 1243.

Les principaux auteurs de livres juridiques

Quelques exemples lyonnais et vénitiens

Les Tableaux 4 & 5 montrent les auteurs les plus publiés dans les deux centres de production. Cette liste tient compte des juristes ayant publié plusieurs œuvres. Ces derniers représentent un total de 38% des éditions référencées par Plantin pour la ville de Lyon, soit un total de 205 éditions. À Venise, ils totalisent 34% des émissions pour 91 éditions. À noter que chaque centre s'appuie sur sa propre base d'auteurs, à l'exception de l'extraordinaire figure d'André Tiraqueau (12 éditions à Lyon, 9 à Venise), nous reviendrons sur ce sujet plus tard.

Données générales

Concrètement, plus de la moitié (55 %) des auteurs lyonnais sont originaires de la péninsule italienne. Les auteurs français représentent 24% de part de marché, les allemands (10%), les espagnols (7%), les portugais et les auteurs originaires des Pays-Bas (2%). Beaucoup d'entre eux vivaient au XVIe siècle (49%), 20% entre la fin du XVe et le début du XVIe siècle. Les juristes qui officiaient au XVe siècle totalisent 12% des entrées du manuscrit. Enfin, les auteurs ayant été actifs entre le XIIº et le milieu du XVº siècle représentent 20% des publications. On constate que la plupart d'entre eux traitent de droit civil et coutumier (70%). Seize pourcent se concentrent sur le droit canonique, et 14% discutent des deux droits.

Le marché vénitien est dominé par les auteurs italiens (84%), suivis des français (7%) et des espagnols (4%), les autres nationalités étant anecdotiques (portugais et allemands représentent respectivement 2% des auteurs, les hollandais et les anglais, 1%). Dans la cité lagunaire, les éditeurs privilégient nettement les auteurs contemporains (76% dont 16% ont vécu aux xve et le xvie siècle). Un examen plus approfondi révèle que de nombreux auteurs ont commencé leur pratique après 1550 et ont continué à publier au début du XVII° siècle.¹⁷³ Il s'agit là d'une caractéristique propre à la production vénitienne. Les écoles et universités des cités italiennes ont joué un rôle capital dans la diffusion du droit romain, mais les auteurs les plus éminents des différents courants de commentaires sont peu représentés (15% au XVe siècle, 5% aux XIVe-XVe siècles, et respectivement 3% aux XIVe, XIIIe et XIIe siècles).

Cette répartition des auteurs entre Venise et Lyon témoigne d'une politique éditoriale coordonnée entre les maisons mères vénitiennes et les sociétés lyonnaises. Autour de cette organisation forte, d'autres éditeurs du secteur n'entrent pas en concurrence directe, mais pénètrent des créneaux vacants.

¹⁷² Jean-Louis Thireau, 'Jurisconsulte' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 879.

¹⁷³ C'est le cas par exemple de Giacomo Menochio (1532-1607) jurisconsulte, professeur et sénateur à Pavie et de Francesco Vivo (1532–1616), conseiller de Philippe II.

Auteurs des éditions lyonnaises	Occurence	Auteurs des éditions vénitiennes	Occurence
Andrea Alciati	25	Giovanni Battista Ziletti	11
Johannes Oldendorp	15	André Tiraqueau	9
Baldo degli Ubaldi	13	Benedetto Capra	5
André Tiraqueau	12	Girolamo Giganti	4
Jean Papon	10	Marco Mantova Benavides	4
Filippo Decio	8	Baldo degli Ubaldi	4
François Douaren	8	Matteo Afflitto	3
Ippolito Marsili	8	Ludovico Bolognini	3
Franceschino Corti	7	Egidio Bossi	3
Giovanni Pietro Ferrari	7	Gaspare Cavallini	3
François Hotman	7	Francesco Corte	3
Johann Ulrich Zasius	6	Onofrio Panvinio	3
Alberico da Rosate	5	Gabriele Saraina	3
Jean de Coras	5	Carlo Sigonio	3
Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva	5	Mariano il giovane Soccini	3
Giasone del Maino	5	Silvestro Aldobrandini	2
Étienne Forcadel	5	Claude de Battandier	2
Jean Gradi	5	Marcantonio Bianchi	2
Melchior Kling	5	Nicolas Bohier	2
Matteo Afflitto	4	Ippolito Bonacossa	2
Portius Azo	4	Girolamo Cagnolo	2
Andrea Barbazza	4	Tommaso Campeggi	2
Bartolo da Sassoferrato	4	Antonio Capece	2
Giovanni Battista Caccialupi	4	Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva	2
Bartolomeo Cipolla	4	Giovanni Crotto	2
Jerónimo Cucalón	4	Giuseppe Cumia	2
Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco	4	Charles Du Moulin	2
Dino del Mugello	4	Guillaume Durand	2
Jean Faure	4	Nicolaus Everardi	2
Raffaele Fulgosio	4	Agostino Ferentilli	2

 Tableaux 4 & 5
 Principaux auteurs de livres juridiques

La politique éditoriale de la Compagnie des Libraires et de son réseau local: lus Italicus, lus Gallicus et culture confessionnelle

En examinant l'inventaire des livres de la Compagnie des Libraires en date du 27 mars 1567,¹⁷⁴ nous constatons que 66 des auteurs publiés ont vécu avant le XVI^e siècle, 5% sont décédés avant 1530, et nous pouvons voir que seulement 21% étaient des juristes contemporains. Cette répartition suit la politique éditoriale définie par écrit dans deux contrats: le premier est daté du 1er janvier 1542, et le second, comme déjà mentionné, est signé par Hugues de La Porte, Claude Senneton, Guillaume Regnault, Antoine Vincent et les frères Gabiano le 4 mars 1560.175 Le délocalisation de la production de livres juridique à Lyon par la maison-mère vénitienne se traduit par la sélection des auteurs publiés par les différents membres de la Compagnie des Libraires. Tout d'abord, ils décident de privilégier les 'Cours civils et canons avec gloses et sans gloses' et de se concentrer sur la publication de 'toutes les œuvres de Bartholle, celle de Jason de Mayno [...], d'Abbas Parnomitanus, toutes et chascunes les œuvres de Balde et semblablement celles de Alexandre de Imolla^{2,176} Comme nous pouvons le constater, ce sont les principaux représentants de la méthode italienne d'enseignement du droit (Ius Italicus). Il est certain qu'une partie de ces œuvres est destinée à transiter par Venise et à atteindre les écoles et universités des villes italiennes. Comme l'a montré Christian Chêne, outre les différents corpus qui sous-tendent l'étude des deux droits, la base de l'enseignement repose sur les commentaires des docteurs les plus célèbres (Bartole, Balde, etc.), ce qui permet de déterminer une opinion commune sur des questions juridiques particulière, 'la communis opinio doctorum, celle des auteurs faisant le plus autorité.'77 En Italie, le succès de ces auteurs ne s'est pas démenti même au début du XVII^e siècle. En 1604, Annibali Roero décrit en détail le déroulement de ses études de droit. Concernant les livres de références encore en vigueur à l'époque, il liste tous les auteurs publiés par la Compagnie des Libraires. Il faut posséder les ouvrages de Giasone del Maino, écrit-il, mais aussi celle de Paolo di Castro qui 'spiege con tale facilità le leggi' (qui explique avec une telle facilité les lois). 178 Outre 'Abbate Panormitano', Decio et de nombreux autres, l'œuvre importante est celle de 'Bartolo' qui reste l'autorité suprême en cas de désaccord entre docteurs de toutes nations.¹⁷⁹ De même, à la fin du XVIII^e siècle en France, le dictionnaire d'Alberico de Rosate, écrit au XIVe siècle, est toujours avidement recherché 'avec empressement comme un livre très-necessaire'. La 'Pratique de Ferrarius' (XIIIe siècle) est considérée comme 'très-utile dans le Barreau' et 'souvent citée par les Docteurs, & fort estimée' même au siècle des Lumières.181

On note ensuite la présence de nombreuses Consilia qui, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, soutiennent dans leurs démarches de nombreux professionnels du droit, juges et avocats. Dans ce secteur, les auteurs antérieurs au XVIe siècle dominent. Même constat dans le domaine du droit canonique, avec par exemple, la présence des commentaires de Franciscus Zabarella (1360-1417) sur les Clémentines.

La Compagnie des Libraires se concentre ainsi sur la publication d'auteurs médiévaux et de la Renaissance, qui représentent différents courants de commentaires des deux corpus. La publication d'œuvres d'auteurs contemporains dans son catalogue n'apparaît pas comme

une priorité, et semble être déléguée à certains membres du réseau. En effet, la plupart des œuvres d'André Alciat, l'auteur le plus publié dans la cité rhodanienne, portent la marque de Sébastien Gryphe et de Jacques Giunta.

Alciat et les origines du lus Gallicus

Ce n'est pas un hasard si André Alciat est l'auteur lyonnais le plus publié de la première moitié du XVI^e siècle. Il le doit à sa réputation acquise dès sa jeunesse. Comme le notait Ian Maclean, il se 'voit associé aux plus grands juristes humanistes de son temps, Guillaume Budé et Ulrich Zasius' en raison de son approche novatrice du droit romain, le déchiffrant et l'expliquant à travers l'histoire, la philosophie, la littérature antique et la philologie. 182 En appliquant des méthodes éprouvées par les premiers humanistes comme Lorenzo Valla (1407–1547), en se présentant ouvertement comme disciple de Giasone del Maino (1435– 1519),183 et en enseignant à Bourges dans les années 1530, il contribue à un profond renouveau de la pensée juridique et à sa diffusion en France.

Le manuscrit M 296 répertorie au total 25 ouvrages d'Alciat imprimés entre 1529 et 1561, la plupart provenant des presses de deux officines, celle des Giunta (14) et des Gryphe (10). Les travaux de Raphaële Mouren permettent de comprendre que la production des livres du jurisconsulte se compose d'éditions de cours, de commentaires sur le digeste et le Corpus iuris civilis, de traités de droit canon, d'œuvres humanistes sur le droit (les Parerga et le De verborum significatione), ainsi que de conseils juridiques et pratiques.¹⁸⁴

Bien qu'il ait enseigné dans diverses universités italiennes vers la fin de sa carrière, il peut être surprenant que le м 296 ne mentionne aucune des éditions d'Alciat imprimées à Venise, même s'il est vrai que l'auteur n'a que peu retenu l'attention des éditeurs de la cité

- 174 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 49.
- 175 Ibidem, 33-48.
- 176 Ibidem, 39.
- 177 Christian Chêne, 'Enseignement du droit' dans Alland & Rials (dirs.), Dictionnaire de la culture juridique, 621.
- 178 Annibale Roero, Lo scolare dialoghi del sig. Annibale Roero L'angusto intento, Pavia: ad inst. di Gio. Battista Vismara, [1604], in-8 (USTC 4029787). Voir
- 179 'Le letture di Bartolo, il quale tutti gl'altri, meritamente precede, onde in alcuni paesi per statuto regio e stabilito, che oue sone discordanti le opinioni de'Dottori, preuaglia quella di Bartolo, come del maggiore di tutti gli altri', Roero, Lo scolare dialoghi, 14.
- **180** Pierre Taisand, Les vies des plus celebres jurisconsultes de toutes les nations: tant anciens que modernes, savoir, latins ou romains, françois, espagnols, italiens, allemans, anglois, hollandois, &c., Paris: Sevestre, 1737, in-4, 494.

- **181** Taisand, Les vies des plus celebres jurisconsultes, 251.
- 182 Ian Maclean, 'Les premiers ouvrages d'Alciat: les Annotationes in tres posteriores Codicis Iustiniani, et l'Opusculum quo graecae dictiones fere ubique in Digestis restituuntur (1515)' dans Anne Rolet & Stéphane Rolet (éds.), André Alciat (1492-1550): un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance, Turnhout 2013, 73–84 (73).
- 183 Dans son Parerga, il précise: 'Jason nous a fait trois grands dons; avant lui, si quelqu'un désirait étudier une question, il lui fallait, à cause de la confusion des anciens auteurs, se plonger dans de multiples volumes, y consacrer inutilement un temps considérable; c'est lui qui nous a délivré de cet ennui en ramassant dans un ordre parfait tous les avis et en triant avec une merveilleuse facilitée, l'opinion commune'. Parerga, v, 26, cité par Gilles & Ourliac, 'La période post-classique', 147.
- 184 Raphaële Mouren, 'André Alciat et les imprimeurs lyonnais' dans Rollet & Rollet (éds.), André Alciat, 259-272.
- 185 Ibidem, 271.

lagunaire. La trentaine d'éditions répertoriées dans la bibliographie en ligne des imprimés italiens du XVIe siècle, EDIT16, nous aide à comprendre ce phénomène. La production vénitienne d'Alciat est uniquement imprimée en format in-octavo. À ce titre, elle complète les ouvrages édités par Jacques Giunta et Sébastien Gryphe qui privilégient le format in-folio. De plus, si un livre comme le De verborum significatione n'a été imprimé à Lyon que du vivant d'Alciat, c'est probablement qu'il 'n'a [...] pas rencontré tout le succès [qu'il] méritait, et n'est pas devenu, à l'époque une œuvre majeure^{2,185}. Il est donc possible que les éditions lyonnaises suffisent à répondre aux demandes d'une grande partie de la clientèle européenne au même titre que la publication des Lectura super secunda parte ff. [digeste]. Il ne faut donc pas, à notre avis, considérer chacune de ces éditions comme 'une exclusivité lvonnaise'.186

Sébastien et Antoine Gryphe: droit et confession

Se classant au deuxième rang des auteurs lyonnais les plus publiés, ce qui peut surprendre, la présence de 15 ouvrages de Johannes Oldendorp (vers 1486-1567), publiées entre 1541 et 1567, est représentative de l'orientation prise par la production lyonnaise dans une période mouvementée de l'histoire de la ville et offre un moyen de contourner la censure vénitienne.

Originaire de Hambourg, Oldendorp était un professeur et juriste luthérien qui joua un rôle de premier plan dans l'établissement du protestantisme à Rostock, Lübeck et Cologne, et détenait le statut de syndic (Stadtsyndikus) dans ces trois villes. Il a terminé sa vie à Marbourg et a occupé les postes de professeur et de conseiller du Landgrave Philippe 1 de Hesse (1504–1567) pendant vingt ans. 187 Les livres d'Oldendorp publiés à Lyon proviennent principalement de l'officine de Sébastien Gryphe et se répartissent en trois catégories. Tout d'abord, deux ouvrages réservés aux étudiants sont directement influencés par Mélanchthon. En effet, des recueils de lieux communs ont été publiés en 1551 et 1555, 188 dont le but était de fournir une synthèse du droit. Auparavant, l'unique livre de l'auteur publié par Guillaume Rouillé en 1549, un dictionnaire encyclopédique juridique, s'adressait avant tout à une clientèle d'étudiants. 189 Viennent ensuite des traités de jurisprudences sur divers sujets tels que la famille, l'équité, l'autorité, le mariage et l'héritage. La plupart des livres de l'auteur imprimés à Lyon sont destinés aux magistrats. Ce sont des livres qui allient conseils et pratiques. Diverses rééditions de son recueil intitulé Actionum forensium progymnasmata

¹⁸⁶ Ibidem, 271.

¹⁸⁷ Ces éléments biographiques sont issus de l'article de Klaus Luig, 'Oldendorp, Johannes' dans Neue deutsche Biographie, 19 (1998), 514–515. En ligne: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118 736213.html. Voir aussi John Witte, Jr., Law and protestantism. The legal teachings of the Lutheran Réformation, Cambridge 2002, 154-157.

¹⁸⁸ Johann Oldendorp, Loci communes iuris civilis, Lugduni: apud Seb. Gryphium, 1551, in-8. USTC 150924; Johann Oldendorp, Topicorum legalium L, Lvgdvni: apvd Seb. Gryphivm, 1555, in-8. USTC 151920.

¹⁸⁹ Johannes Oldendorp et al., Lexicon iuris, seu Epitome definitionum et rerum, ex omnibus iis, Lugduni, apud G. Rouillium, 1549, in-8. USTC 154033.

en 1544, 1545, 1551 et 1566190 témoignent d'un succès de librairie. Celui-ci peut s'expliquer par la contribution d'Oldendorp à l'établissement 'de nouveaux modes de raisonnement juridique'. 191 Comme l'a souligné Mathias Schmoeckel, dans sa volonté d'établir des règles d'application du droit à tous les chrétiens, Oldendorp a mis en évidence que les juges protestants 'étaient liés par la conscience et donc par leur foi', et que 'toute interprétation était limitée par la volonté de Dieu'.192 Les juges protestants étaient ainsi guidés par le droit local, le droit commun et leur conscience, qui assuraient l'indépendance d'un jugement. 193

Il est donc compréhensible que ces nouvelles idées puissent attirer de nouveaux lecteurs lyonnais en quête d'une identité confessionnelle. En effet, comme nous l'avons évoqué dans notre étude sur le marché des livres d'emblèmes, les années 1540 à 1550 marquent une inflation des ouvrages protestants dans la cité rhodanienne. 194 Cette période correspond à la progression des idées calvinistes à Lyon et aboutit à une rivalité entre catholiques et calvinistes éloignant de plus en plus toute possibilité de réconciliation. La politique répressive menée contre les hérétiques par François 1er à partir des années 1540, puis par Henri II (1519–1559) au début des années 1550, oblige les éditeurs à s'adapter. Ces derniers se détournent des écrits de Martin Luther (1483-1546) et Jean Calvin (1509-1564) et cherchent par d'autres moyens à développer une sensibilité protestante. L'œuvre d'Oldendorp participe à ce mouvement et est reconnue comme telle par les autorités de censure: en réponse à ses positions sur le droit du mariage et à sa conception des relations entre l'État et l'Église, un nombre considérable de ses écrits a été mis à l'*Index romain*¹⁹⁵ et à l'*Index* de l'inquisition espagnole.196

Cependant, il est fort probable qu'un certain nombre de ces œuvres aient été amenées à Venise par contrebande. Les dates des éditions lyonnaises correspondent à une période durant laquelle la censure vénitienne se durcie, comme en témoigne, par exemple, une pétition des libraires de la ville en 1555. 197 Ils ont protesté contre la soumission d'un nouvel

- 190 Johann Oldendorp, Actionum forensium progymnasmata, interpretatio item, complectens universi juris cognitionem: quid cuique uel agendo persegui, vel excipiendo defendere liceat, ex bono et aequo, Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium, 1545 (col.: 1544), in-folio (USTC 149104); Johann Oldendorp, Actionum forensium progymnasmata interpretatio item complectens universi juris cognitionem quid cuique vel agendo persequi vel excipiendo defendere liceat, ex bono et aequo in classes septem distincta ob commodiorem usum, Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe 1545, in-8 (USTC 149265); Johann Oldendorp, Actionum forensium progymnasmata, interpretatio item, complectens universi juris cognitionem in classes septem postremo recognita et locupletata, Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe 1551, in-8 (USTC 150724); Johann Oldendorp, Actionvm forensivm progymnasmata in septem classes distincta, Lygdyni: apyd Antoniym Gryphivm, 1566, in-8 (USTC 158050).
- 191 Mathias Schmoeckel, 'Wat byllich unn recht ys (On Law and Equity)' dans Serge Dauchy et al. (éds.), The formation and transmission of Western legal culture. 150 books that made the law in the Age of Printing, Cham 2016, 73-76. Voir en particulier 75.
- 192 Schmoeckel, 'Wat byllich unn recht ys (On Law and Equity)', 75.
- 193 Luig, 'Oldendorp, Johannes', 515.
- 194 Renaud Milazzo, Le marché des livres d'emblème (1535–1750), Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, thèse en cours de publication.
- 195 Luig, 'Oldendorp, Johannes', 515.
- 196 Dans l'index de l'Inquisition espagnole de 1559 est inscrit l'Actionum forensium progymnasmata. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda (éd.), et al., Index de l'Inquisition espagnole: 1551, 1554, 1559, (Index des livres interdits, 5), Sherbrooke, Québec/Genève 1984,
- 197 Paul F. Grendler, The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian press, 1540-1605, Princeton 1977. Au sujet de la progression de l'Inquisition à Venise, voir le chapitre 3, 63-127.

index par l'Inquisition de la ville et citent un certain nombre d'auteurs qui, à leur avis, ne devraient pas y être inclus, car ce sont des 'autorités' opérant principalement dans les domaines du droit, de la médecine et de la philosophie. Cet index répertorie 13 œuvres de 'Joannes Oldendorpius'. 198 Il est envisageable qu'en confiant l'impression des différents titres de l'auteur aux Gryphe, ces derniers ont permis aux sièges vénitiens de contourner cette interdiction au même titre que la délocalisation à Lyon des reproductions des ouvrages d'Aldo Manuzio (voir supra).

En effet, Sébastien Gryphe est un membre actif du réseau de la Compagnie des Libraires. Au début de sa carrière, il imprimait de nombreux volumes pour ses membres, en utilisant les caractères gothiques qu'ils lui fournissaient. Selon Natalie Zemon Davis, il aurait acquis le statut de 'marchand-libraire' à la faveur d'un contrat avec Hugues de La Porte 'qui lui avance des fonds importants'. 199 La durée du contrat entre les deux marchands est de 20 ans. Pour cette raison, il n'est pas rare de trouver de nombreux ouvrages édités par Sébastien Gryphe et, après sa mort, par son fils Antoine Gryphe dans les comptes administratifs et les inventaires de la Compagnie.200 Ces relations étroites avec Hugues de La Porte et d'autres associés de la Compagnie des Libraires, lui ont assurément procuré des opportunités de ventes et une 'publicité' extraordinaire. Les nombreux ouvrages d'André Alciat qu'ils ont publié en sont la preuve.

Pour compléter leur offre locale, les Gryphe en ont profité pour publier presque exclusivement des œuvres d'écrivains luthériens. Les avocats et magistrats lyonnais protestants étaient sans aucun doute une cible clé et une manne financière lucrative.

Le positionnement de Jean 1 de Tournes dans ce marché

L'exemple des dix éditions de Jean Papon citées dans le manuscrit, illustre bien la position d'autres éditeurs face à l'adversité du lobbying italien. Ces ouvrages sont publiés exclusivement par Jean I de Tournes et ses successeurs. Neuf d'entre eux sont édités en français. Seuls les commentaires sur les coutumes bourbonnaises sont imprimés en latin.²⁰¹ Lieutenant général du bailliage du Forez et maître des requêtes ordinaires auprès de la reine Catherine de Médicis (1519-1589) à partir de 1560, Jean Papon est avant tout un praticien.²⁰² Parmi ses écrits figurent des recueils jugements parlementaires, mais surtout des ouvrages en langue vernaculaire destinés directement aux notaires, greffiers et secrétaires comme il le précise lui-même:

Je croy avoir obtenu par cest oeuvre que tout notaire, greffier & secrétaire, apres avoir veu, cognu & entendu ce qui est discouru, confessera que l'intelligence et cognoissance du droit luy estoit propre et nécessaire & que sans ce, tout ce qu'il fait est manque, hazardeux & plein de danger: là où au contraire, s'il est muny de ce qu'il luy faut touchant ce – l'intelligence du droit et donc ses propres ouvrages - il besongnera seurement, satisfera aux parties & son office en honneur & à sa décharge'.203

Les *Ars notariae*, sont en fait 'des livres de formules'. Le but de Jean Papon est de fournir aux professionnels du droit des outils adaptés à un usage quotidien, en utilisant une approche scientifique, ainsi que la sagesse juridique civile (la iuris civilis sapientia) tel qu'enseignée dans les universités.²⁰⁴ En ciblant un lectorat appartenant à cette catégorie socioprofessionnelle, Jean I de Tournes et ses héritiers pénètrent une niche qu'ils sont les seuls à exploiter. L'enjeu de son entreprise est non seulement de trouver un moyen d'accéder à ce marché du livre de jurisprudence dominé par le réseau de la Compagnie des Libraires, mais aussi d'éviter de suivre le même chemin que Guillaume Rouillé afin de ne pas se retrouver dans une situation de concurrence frontale. À cette fin, les de Tournes se réservent un domaine qui n'a que peu suscité l'intérêt de leurs pairs: les arts notariaux et des arrêts (jugements) de parlements. Comme l'a écrit Frédéric Barbier, il appartient aux éditeurs 'd'identifier et de s'attacher un nouveau public de lecteur'. 205 Par conséquent, la décision d'imprimer en langue vernaculaire et de commencer à publier des livres de droit dans un genre particulier est un choix stratégique. Comme l'a parfaitement démontré Yves-Bernard Brissaud, 'à défaut de pouvoir produire, faute de capacités financières et de diffusion, les grands textes juridiques d'intérêt national et international, les éditeurs locaux ont pu trouver le moyen, grâce à la coutume, de toucher directement le nombreux personnel des instances locales. De là, l'idée a pu venir à beaucoup de poursuivre dans cette voie et de se faire les éditeurs des auteurs qui fréquentaient leurs boutique'. 206 Ainsi, en entrant dans ce marché de niche laissé vacant par ses principaux concurrents, Jean 1 de Tournes pouvait donc espérer récupérer le capital nécessaire à la réalisation de ses ouvrages et même réaliser un bénéfice en cas de succès.

- 198 'De sententia, et re indicata; De successionibus ab intestato; De executoribus ultimarum voluntatum; De iure naturali, gentium, et civili; De usucapione; De jure singulari; De probationibus; In leges duodecim tabularum; Locos comunes actionum; Formulas libellandi; Formulas investigandi actiones; De iure, et equitate, et molte altre opere legali simili; Lexicon iuris, et de copia verborum, et rerum.' Le document est reproduit par Grendler, The Roman Inquisition, 298.
- 199 Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon' dans Roger Chartier, Henri-Jean Martin (éds.) & Jean-Pierre Vivet (coll.), Histoire de l'édition française. 1. Le livre conquérant. Du Moyen Age au milieu du xvIIe siècle, Paris 1982, 313.
- 200 Comme par exemple, dans le compte de gestion du 27 mars 1567. Cf. Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 49; ainsi que dans l'acte de confiscation daté de 1591 retranscrit par Maclean, 'Murder, debt and retribution', 61-106. Du même auteur on consultera l'excellente étude sur Sébastien Gryphe: 'Concurrence ou collaboration?' 15-32.

- 201 Jean Papon, In Burbonias consuetudines commentaria, Lugduni: apud Ioan. Tornaesium, [1550], in-folio (USTC 150576).
- 202 Laurent Pfister, 'Les trois Notaires de Jean Papon. une systématisation du droit' dans Mireille Delmas-Marty, Antoine Jeammaud & Olivier Leclerc (dirs.), Droit et humanisme. Autour de Jean Papon, juriste forézien, 65-111 (71).
- 203 Instrument, prologue, cité par Pfister, 'Les trois Notaires de Jean Papon', 76.
- 204 Pfister, 'Les trois Notaires de Jean Papon', 86.
- 205 Frédéric Barbier, 'L'Invention de l'imprimerie et l'économie des langues en Europe au xve siècle' dans Histoire et civilisation du livre, 4 (2008), 21-46 (29).
- 206 Brissaud, 'Pistes pour une histoire de l'édition juridique française', 54.

Complémentarité et concurrence vénitienne?

Nous avons déjà évoqué le positionnement de certains éditeurs vénitiens, mais l'analyse des auteurs les plus publiés semble confirmer que la production de la cité lagunaire est complémentaire de celle de la cité rhodanienne. Cependant, l'absence dans le manuscrit м 296 des publications de la Compagnia delli libri della Corona pose question.

Fondée le 18 avril 1539 sur les mêmes principes que la Compagnie des Libraires à Lyon, renouvelée le 10 novembre 1550, elle est dissoute en 1563. Des sommités de l'édition vénitienne forment un consortium. La tâche principale de Federico Torresano, Tommaso et Giovanni Maria Giunta, Ottaviano I et Girolamo Scoto, et Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, est de publier des ouvrages juridiques en grand format. On peut donc logiquement supposer que la Compagnia della Corona était en concurrence directe avec la Compagnie lyonnaise. Dans le détail cependant, la production italienne diffère quelque peu de la production rhodanienne.

Il y a beaucoup moins d'ouvrages connus que pour la Compagnie des Libraires: 71 éditions portant la marque de la compagnie italienne sont répertoriées dans la base de données EDIT16. Certes, ce chiffre est certainement sous-estimé. Peut-être, à l'instar de Lyon, les marques d'éditeurs ou de divers imprimeurs travaillant pour cette compagnie ont-elles été apposées sur la page de titre. En ce référant à cette liste, il est clair que leurs décisions éditoriales ne se limitaient qu'à un petit noyau d'auteurs anciens ayant vécu entre le XIIIe et le xve siècle: les plus célèbres représentants du Ius Italicus. Parmi eux, Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314-1357) totalise à lui seul 30% de la production. Giasone del Maino, Paolo di Castro et Alessandro Tartagni ont complété le catalogue. Considérée comme l'une des maisons d'édition les plus influentes selon des témoignages contemporains, 207 il ne fait aucun doute que la Compagnia della Corona a freiné la vente des livres de certains auteurs italiens publiés par la Compagnie des Libraires, mais que cette concurrence était limitée.

En effet, d'après l'inventaire des livres revenant à Hugues de La Porte et aux héritiers 'Junte' (Giunta) après division des livres de la compagnie réalisé le 28 juin 1569 à Lyon, il apparaît que seules les 'lectura' de Giasone del Maino, ont du mal à se vendre puisqu'il reste en stock à cette date 4500 'partite et volume diversi di Jasonis lettura'. 208 Ce nombre est élevé par rapport aux autres auteurs partagés par les deux compagnies. Par exemple, l'inventaire de Lyon montre qu'il ne reste en stock que 192 volumes 'perfetti' et 80 'imperfetti', d'un ouvrage de Bartolo da Sassoferrato. En règle générale, les stocks varient entre 18 et 650 exemplaires. Par conséquent, ce phénomène autour d'un des représentant les plus célèbres du Ius Italicus peut être lié à la concurrence de la compagnie italienne. Cependant, l'absence des publications de la Compagnia della Corona dans le manuscrit M 296 suggère que le lectorat ciblé est principalement celui des villes italiennes et espagnoles et non celui d'un lectorat international.

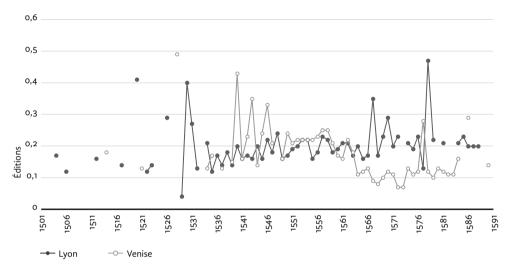
Du point de vue des recueils inscrits dans le manuscrit anversois, le jurisconsulte français André Tiraqueau occupe la seconde place (9 éditions), après Giovanni Battista Ziletti (11 éditions), éminent auteur vénitien et éditeur érudit. Les ouvrages qui ont rendu Tiraqueau célèbre ont été publiés entre 1551 et 1565. Francesco Lorenzini, par exemple, commercialise le De poenis temperandis, 209 une œuvre posthume, qui explore différentes manières de réduite ou de supprimer une condamnation. Mais c'est surtout l'officine Al segno della fontana, que l'on connaît déjà et qui a des liens étroits avec la ville du Rhône, qui intègre l'auteur français dans sa politique éditoriale. À Lyon, les frères Senneton sont les éditeurs d'André Tiraqueau. Divers privilèges les protègent 'iusques au terme de douze ans'. 210 Leur choix éditorial se limite au format in-folio. Le premier ouvrage du juriste francais qu'ils publient, le De poenis legum, date de 1559. La même année, ils rejoignent la Compagnie des Libraires. Par conséquent, toutes les éditions vénitiennes sont imprimées au format in-octavo afin de ne pas concurrencer directement les Senneton. Ce format portable permet de séduire une clientèle différente, généralement moins aisée, qui a accès à ces livres à des prix plus compétitifs. Un certain nombre d'exemplaires est destiné au marché lyonnais. L'utilisation de la marque vénitienne et le format choisi n'entravaient pas les ventes lyonnaises et permettaient de ménager la susceptibilité des Senneton.

PARTIE IV LE PRIX DES LIVRES DE JURISPRUDENCE

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, les prix de vente relevé par Plantin sont indiqués en monnaies de compte locales. À Lyon, la monnaie utilisée dans le manuscrit м 296 est la livre tournois, une livre correspondant à 20 sols divisés en 12 deniers. La plupart des éditeurs vénitiens affichent leurs prix en lire veneziane, soit 20 soldi divisés en 12 denari. Seuls les prix pratiqués par l'officine Giunta sont répertoriés en ducato veneziano divisé en 24 grossi. À des fins de comparaison, les séries de valeurs de prix ont été converties en unité de compte à teneur en métaux précieux. L'unité choisie est le gramme d'argent qui a l'avantage de neutraliser les processus de mutation des monnaies qui se sont produits au cours du XVI^e siècle. Les prix se réfèrent toujours à des livres de première main et non reliés, c'està-dire en blanc (in albis). Il s'agissait du 'prix de librairie,' ²¹¹ le prix de base utilisé pour toutes les négociations entre marchands sur place et lors des foires de Francfort ou de Lyon. Ce prix était considéré comme 'juste', 212 selon des sources économiques de l'époque. Les

- 207 Nuovo & Coppens, I Giolito, 86-90. Voir en particulier p. 89 le commentaire de Girolamo Ruscelli.
- 208 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 53-53.
- 209 André Tiraqueau, De poenis legum, ac consuetudinum, statutarumque temperandis, aut etiam remittendis et id quibus quotque ex causis. Accessit rerum, verborum, et sententiarum insignium locupletissimus index, Venetiis: ex officina Francisci Laurentini, de Turino, 1565, in-8 (USTC 859105; ЕМОРН 23705; permalien: http://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/ prices/23705).
- 210 André Tiraqueau, De poenis legum, ac consuetudinum, statutorumque temperandis [...], Lugduni: apud Claudium Sennetonium, 1559, in-folio (USTC 152637). Voir le verso de la page de titre (fol. *1 verso).
- 211 MPM, Arch. 726, fol. 135 recto.
- 212 Rooses, Correspondance, v, 269. Sur la notion de 'juste prix' voir: Raymond de Roover, 'The concept of the just price: theory and economic policy' dans The Journal of Economic History, 18:4 (1958), 418-434; Raymond de Roover, La pensée économique chez les scolastiques: doctrine et méthodes, Montréal/Paris 1971.

éditeurs se sont appuyés sur le nombre de feuilles utilisées pour imprimer un livre pour déterminer son prix. Ils établissaient la valeur monétaire d'une feuille imprimée en tenant compte de la qualité du papier, des caractères typographiques, de l'utilisation d'encres de différentes couleurs, de la présence de cadres décoratifs et d'illustrations uniquement s'ils avaient besoin de tailler une nouvelle plaque de bois ou de cuivre. De facto, une rame de papier de 500 feuilles de la même qualité avait une valeur marchande et servait de base de référence lors d'échanges de marchandises. Afin de pouvoir comparer les prix de n'importe quel type de livre, la moyenne des prix par feuille se réfère à tous les formats, car selon Plantin, 'les uns compensent les autres'. Cela donne une tendance unitaire stable pour des livres de différentes dimensions.



Comparaison du prix par feuille des livres de jurisprudence à Lyon et à Venise selon le M 296

Le Graphique 9 montre que le prix global par feuille varie de 0,1 gramme d'argent à 0,5 gramme d'argent. Les prix sont généralement dans la même fourchette à part quelques exceptions. Plus précisément, les éditeurs vénitiens ont mis en place une politique tarifaire plus élevée dans les années 1540-1548. En effet, en 1542, 1544 et 1546, le prix par feuille était supérieur à 0,3 gramme d'argent. Ce rythme de livre de droit vendus à des prix plus élevé une année sur deux est susceptible de correspondre aux flux d'inventaires des éditions antérieures. Pendant dix ans (1551-1561), les prix dans les deux villes suivent exactement la même tendance, puis de 1565 à 1585, sauf en 1578, les éditeurs vénitiens modifient leurs pratiques tarifaires et proposent des produits à un prix de librairie nettement inférieur.

Par exemple, à Venise, le prix de 0,49 gramme d'argent par feuille en 1528 correspond à une édition du Décret de Gratien en in-quarto, publié par l'officine Scoto, qui nécessite 189 feuilles par livre [Ill. 19].213 Scoto et ses héritiers ont fixé ce prix de vente en fonction de plusieurs critères: la qualité du papier, la composition complexe du texte principal entouré d'une glose abondante, l'insertion de plusieurs illustrations et l'utilisation de l'encre rouge, non seulement sur la page de titre, mais dans tout le livre. Du Moyen Âge au début des années 1530, la présentation systématique du décret empêche encore les éditeurs de s'éloigner du manuscrit (voir supra).





III. 19a & b Decretum Gratiani novissime post ceteras omnes impressiones, Venetiis: impressum est expensis heredum Octauiani Scoti, 1528, in-4. Page de titre et fol. vvv1 recto Copie numérisée par la Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Napoli

Lorsque les illustrations existent déjà, la raison pour laquelle l'impression en rouge et noir affecte le prix final est liée à la technique d'impression nécessitant deux passages sous la presse, d'abord le noir à l'aide de caches, puis le rouge. Comme on peut le voir dans une lettre que Plantin a envoyée à Jean de Molina le 7 juin 1567, cette technique compliquait la tâche des imprimeurs qui pour cette raison 'ne veulent faire par jour que 1000 de rouge et noir'.214 Un deuxième facteur qui explique le prix plus élevé est lié à la qualité du papier utilisé. Pour élargir leur clientèle, les éditeurs n'ont pas hésité à sortir deux versions d'un même titre, chacune imprimée sur des papiers de qualité différente. Ce processus a permis de cibler non seulement les clients aisés, mais aussi ceux qui ont moins de ressources. Comme l'explique Plantin, il réservait l'usage du papier ordinaire au lecteur 'qui n'est ni si cognoissant ou n'a le moyen d'y employer tant d'argent, ou bien qui ne se délectent pas à la belle marge du livre'.215

- 214 Rooses, Correspondance, I, no. 34.
- 215 Ibidem, I, no. 85.

²¹³ Gratianus, Bartolomaeus Brixiensis, Joannes Teutonicus et al.. Decretum Gratiani novissime post ceteras omnes impressiones: [...] una cum glossis Ioannis Theutonici et Bartholomaei Brixiensis [...] Tabulam etiam Ludouici Bolognini apposuimus, Venetiis: impressum est expensis heredum Octauiani Scoti, 1528, in-4 (EDIT16 14088, EMOBP 25120).

Après 1565, l'une des raisons pour lesquelles le prix des livres de droit vénitien a chuté était due au nombre croissant d'imprimeries en activité. Marino Zorzi donne les chiffres de 600 presses à imprimer actives au XVIe siècles dirigés par 157 imprimeurs connus. Malgré l'existence d'un créneau commercial, le produit devait être vendu, et dans cet environnement hautement concurrentiel, une solution était de maintenir le prix du livre le plus bas possible. Il ne s'agissait pas d'un phénomène propre aux livres de droit. Tous les livres imprimés à Venise ont été touchés par cette importante baisse de prix.

Compte tenu de la politique éditoriale précitée de la Compagnie des Libraires à Lyon, il est surprenant que la nouvelle édition du Corpus iuris canonici, publiée par Hugues de La Porte en 1578, soit l'un des livres dont le prix de vente par exemplaire est le plus élevé (0,68 gramme d'argent par feuille).216 L'achat de ce Corpus au format in-folio nécessite des moyens financiers considérables. En effet, il faut payer un total de 20 livres tournois (317 grammes d'argent). À titre de comparaison, pour le même prix, en 1578 on pouvait obtenir 181 kilos de viande de bœuf ou 1 baril de harengs à Lyon.217 Un maître-charpentier devait travailler 33 jours pour se le procurer et les ouvriers non qualifiés, 57 jours.²¹⁸ Ce dernier point confirme que la Compagnie des Libraires s'est spécialisée dans le domaine des livres de luxe.

Dans cette industrie à forte intensité de capital, pas une seule feuille imprimée n'est gaspillée. Il n'est pas rare que le M 296 contienne des prix différents pour une même édition. Il ne s'agit pas d'une erreur de Plantin, mais une preuve supplémentaire de la politique tarifaires des éditeurs. Pour illustrer nos propos, l'inventaire des livres revenant à Hugues de La Porte et aux héritiers de Jacques Giunta après la division de la Compagnie le 28 juin 1569 montre qu'un même titre était vendu à deux prix différents en raison de la qualité finale d'impression. Ainsi un exemplaire de l'Infortatium 'perfetti' affichait un prix unitaire de 4 livres et 43 sols contre 4 livres 30 sols lorsqu'il était 'imperfetti'. La différence est encore plus apparente pour les lourds volumes de Bartole imprimés en papier réal. Le livre est vendu 6 livres tournois dans sa version 'parfaite' et déprécié de 2 livres tournois dans sa version 'imparfaite' pour laquelle il affiche un prix de 4 livres tournois.219

Enfin, nous avons déjà constaté que si les événements politiques et sanitaires ralentissaient la production, a contrario, ils n'ont aucun effet apparent sur le prix par feuille des livres de jurisprudence. Si la grève des ouvriers typographes lyonnais (1539-1542) a eu peu d'effet sur les prix (on aperçoit un léger ralentissement dans la courbe des prix alors en progression, en 1540, 1542 et 1543), la peste de 1577 provoque une baisse immédiate du prix par feuille avant de repartir à la hausse l'année suivante. Cette constatation est moins prononcée lors de la peste de 1564: les prix ont légèrement diminué au cours des deux années suivantes. La raison de cette reprise rapide est triviale. La peste frappe plus les pauvres que les riches. Selon Angela Nuovo, en se positionnant du point de vue des libraires et des imprimeurs, '[ces] élites ont repris leur rôle dès que l'épidémie s'est calmée, sans entraîner de pertes dramatiques de compétences professionnelles'; par conséquent, du point de vue de la demande, la peste a eu un impact limité sur les produits de luxe.²²⁰ Le départ de nombreux imprimeurs en 1568 pour Genève et la Saint-Barthélemy lyonnaise en 1572 sont sans effet sur les prix (petites baisses sans conséquence).

Conclusion

Malgré l'absence de certaines éditions, le manuscrit M 296 permet de dégager les grandes tendances du marché du livre juridique à Venise et à Lyon. Grâce à ce document rare, on constate que Christophe Plantin, en exerçant une veille commerciale au niveau européen, avait une compréhension incroyablement précise des grandes tendances du marché international du livre. Un suivi attentif des marchés spécialisés et émergents en termes quantitatifs et géographiques, lui a permis de réaliser occasionnellement des 'coups éditoriaux'.

Il ressort de cette étude qu'il s'agit d'un marché complexe et spécialisé. Il se compose principalement d'ouvrages imprimés en grands formats et en plusieurs volumes, dont la production nécessite la mobilisation de capitaux considérables sur une longue période. La cible commerciale composée de professionnels du droit civil et canonique, c'est-à-dire des professeurs, d'étudiants ou de praticiens, doit débourser des sommes importantes pour acquérir ces volumes, positionnant ce marché dans le secteur du luxe. Ainsi, il faut des années, voire des décennies, pour écouler l'ensemble des exemplaires de certaines éditions. Bien sûr, comme dans d'autres domaines, les éditeurs ont rapidement diversifié leur production pour attirer de nouveaux publics moins aisés, en cherchant de nouveaux créneaux ou en privilégiant les supports portables (in-octavo, in-sedecimo).

Seuls les éditeurs disposant de suffisamment de liquidités peuvent recouvrer leurs fonds et réaliser un profit. Mais, pour atténuer les risques liés à ce marché exigeant, ces entrepreneurs se sont regroupés pour éviter bien des épreuves et s'appuient sur leurs réseaux familiaux et commerciaux.

Ainsi, cette analyse comparative entre les deux villes suggère que le marché des livres de droit, dont le centre névralgique est Lyon, est dominé par des dynasties de marchandslibraires, dont un nombre important est originaire du nord de l'Italie (Gabiano, Giunti, de Portonariis, etc.). Ils se sont installés dans la cité rhodanienne en disposant de fonds importants et travaillent de concert avec leurs pairs d'origines lyonnaises (Senneton, Vincent, de La Porte, etc.). Cependant, arrivant dans un climat hostile du fait des privilèges qui sont accordés aux étrangers lors des foires qui font l'envie des libraires et imprimeurs locaux, d'importantes solidarités se mettent en place au sein de cette communauté. Ils jouent un rôle moteur dans diverses compagnies et représentent également les intérêts des maisons mères vénitiennes.

²¹⁶ Corpus juris canonici – Corpus iuris canonici, Lugduni: ариd Hugoem à Porta, 1578, in-folio (Етовр 31978, USTC 125071).

²¹⁷ Selon les indices de prix donnés par Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvie siècle, 11, 922-925.

²¹⁸ Gascon, Grand commerce et vie urbaine au xvie siècle, 11, 930-932.

²¹⁹ Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, 'Recherche sur les grandes compagnies de libraires lyonnais', 52-53.

²²⁰ Nuovo, The book trade, 50.

Pour les vénitiens, la délocalisation de cette production et l'organisation économique entre les succursales permettent de réduire les risques inhérents à la fabrication de ce genre spécifiques et sans doute, de pouvoir se concentrer sur la production d'ouvrages tout aussi coûteux comme par exemple, les missels et bréviaires illustrés imprimés dans la cité lagunaire par la firme Giunti.

À Lyon, où les éditeurs sont souvent propriétaires des polices de caractères et fournissent la matière première, le papier, ils engagent des sous-traitants, les imprimeurs qui n'ont pas le capital nécessaire pour publier eux-mêmes ces livres impressionnants, en dehors de quelques tentatives qui n'aboutissent pas toujours.

Localement pour les éditeurs qui ne peuvent se faire accepter par ce consortium, la seule solution est de s'adapter et d'éviter une concurrence directe qui leur serait dévastatrice. Comme l'ont fait Guillaume Rouillé et Jean 1 de Tournes, c'est en s'engageant dans des niches laissées vacantes par la Compagnie des Libraires qu'ils peuvent envisager d'inclure les livres juridiques dans leur politique éditoriale. Toutefois, cela n'exclut pas l'existence de pratiques concurrentielles que les éditeurs pouvaient juger déloyales.

Loin d'être clos, les premiers résultats de cette étude demandent à être complétés ou, le cas échéant, révisés, en ouvrant cette étude à d'autres centres de production tels que Bâle, Genève, Francfort, Paris, etc. En effet, le manuscrit M 296 montre que Christophe Plantin a suivi avec attention l'évolution du marché du livre dans ces villes.

ANGELA NUOVO & FRANCESCA DE BATTISTI

The price of books in early modern Venice (1586-1600)

A statistical analysis



This chapter analyses a dataset of book prices drawn from a consistent group of Venetian sources.1 In the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century, about fifty publishers' catalogues were published in Italy, thirty-five of which, issued in Venice, included prices. All but two catalogues set prices in the same currency, Venetian lire,2 within a limited period of time, fifteen years, and circulated in the same form, printed materials. All of them pertain to firsthand, unbound books, still in the publishers' warehouses. Drawing from these Venetian catalogues, a total of 3,469 records were entered in the Early Modern Book Prices database, which can be easily queried online. About 88% of these prices were definitively identified with extant editions, thanks to both the precision of the sources and the excellent bibliographical coverage of sixteenth-century Italian editions, thus conferring very high reliability to our dataset.

In the Early Modern Book Prices database, all prices are expressed in *denari*,³ the minimum submultiple of Venetian lira, which we chose as general currency. This means that other currencies of non-Venetian sources were registered not only as such, but also converted into Venetian lire and grams of silver, a recalculation made on the best criteria

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- * Although the two authors have discussed the whole paper, Angela Nuovo wrote the text of the chapter, and Francesca De Battisti is responsible for the statistical analysis and graphs.
- 1 These catalogues were unearthed by Christian Coppens; see his article 'I cataloghi degli editori e dei librai in Italia (secoli xv-xv1)' in Bibliologia, 3 (2008), 107–124. The authors would also like to thank Professor Coppens for his generosity in sharing information about this topic from his study, Advertising
- the early printed book: a census of publishers' and booksellers' advertisements and catalogues till 1600, London (in preparation).
- 2 In fact, as we will see, the Giunti catalogues used a different Venetian currency, grossi and ducats, converted into Venetian lire in the database.
- 3 The lira di piccoli was divided into 20 soldi, and each soldo into 12 denari, so that 1 lira was worth 240 denari. See also the chapter by Francesco Ammannati in this volume.

possible but that must still be considered as indicative. In the case of the dataset discussed in this chapter, however, no conversion was needed.

Publishers' printed catalogues

This concentration of printed catalogues after decades of almost no extant example in Venice can be related to two main factors: first, a general factor connected to the shrinking printed production in Venice in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, caused by the growing success of foreign competitors in book markets; and a second factor more closely associated with the publishers of these catalogues that indicated the difficult generational shift in family business for some of the most important firms, which were soon to leave book production, like the Manuzio, Scoto, Giolito.

As for the Venetian book-trade crisis in this period, it can be approximately calculated from the data available in EDIT16. Almost 28,000 extant Venetian editions are known to have been published in the sixteenth century. Even without the possibility of including all lost editions in this calculation, and notwithstanding difficult years, the development of the book industry seems to have been continuous and progressive all through the century. Then, a major epidemic struck almost all of the major cities in the Republic of Venice and in Lombardy in 1575-1576, but the demographic recovery was rather swift, and the elite could return to their roles as soon as the epidemic had subsided, without bringing dramatic losses to those manufacturing sectors that worked especially for their needs, like the book industry. Therefore, professional skills crucial for the industry were not lost and the production soon resumed. Up to 1585, a remarkable growth was in place again, but soon after, in the early 1590s, another crisis (famine this time) hit the Republic. Production touched another low, and this happened in the period just when most of our printed catalogues were published. Another demographic crisis, certainly in combination with other events that affected Venetian publishers' activity, caused a decrease in sales.⁶ Resorting to the tool of printed catalogues was therefore an attempt to mitigate all these negative factors.

In the Early Modern Book Prices database, all 35 printed catalogues with prices known today are included: 24 by Aldo Manuzio the Younger, 4 by Giolito, 2 by the Giunti, 2 by Scoto, 1 by Damiano Zenaro and 1 by Niccolò Misserini. The fact that printed catalogues were an efficient tool to increase sales is proven by this concurrent surge of catalogues, an example of the usual competitive 'imitation game' of the publishing industry in the overcrowded area of Venice. 8

Following almost a century of activity in some cases, these catalogues listed what was still available, both as books which did not attract sufficient buyers and as books conceived since the beginning as long-sellers, printed with a horizon of sales of a few decades, like the multi-volume editions of the *Auctores*. Backlists did not simply mean unsaleable (or too slow-selling) stock; they represent a much more nuanced commercial proposal. These catalogues, therefore, are representative of the production and the pricing policy of almost all the big players in the Venetian market, allowing us to get a grasp of the market and its trends.

Scholars of printed catalogues have discussed the nature of the prices included, stating that the catalogues first of all targeted trade colleagues and wholesale booksellers.9 Printed book prices were thus book-trade prices. In Italy, booksellers, when they were required to demonstrate expertise in books evaluations, for instance, in the case of trials, used to refer to these prices as prices set in Venice and in Venetian lire, transport costs excluded, as opposed to prices for students, i.e., retail prices, students being the public par excellence for retailers, especially in university cities like Bologna and Padua.¹⁰ These prices would have been reduced once books were sold. For instance, when books were sold by a bookseller on behalf of a wholesaler/producer, the discount was registered in ledgers as tarra." Based on the surviving documentation about bookshop management, it seems that this discount could vary greatly, between 10% and 25% of book-trade prices.12 Book-trade prices are at the basis of the whole commercial chain and constitute the common ground for the business in Europe, as the practice of Christophe Plantin (c. 1520-1589) confirms.¹³

- 4 The conversion is discussed in Francesco Ammannati, 'Book prices and monetary issues in Renaissance Europe' in Giovanna Granata & Angela Nuovo (eds), Selling and collecting: printed book sale catalogues and private libraries in early modern Europe, Macerata 2018, 161-176. As of today, the database includes the following currencies: Carolus Guilders, Ducati napoletani, Livres tournois, Lira ferrarese, Frankfurt Gulden, Lira milanese di imperiali. For a description of the database, see Giliola Barbero et al., 'The database of the EMo-BookTrade project. A proposal to encode early modern book prices and privileges' in JLIS.it, 11:2 (May 2020), 108-132.
- 5 Numerous booksellers' catalogues were printed in Italy in the fifteenth century, but only the Manuzio family went on afterwards with this form of advertisement in the sixteenth century.
- 6 The real extent of the Venetian book-trade crisis is still a matter under investigation. The traditional connection established by previous scholarship between this phenomenon and the enforcement of the Indexes of Prohibited Books seems to undervalue the events with major economic and demographic impact that are mentioned in the text (Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Boston/Leiden 2013, 47-51).
- **7** See Appendix. List of catalogues with prices, printed in Venice from 1586 to 1600, at the end of this chapter.
- 8 It is likely that other printed catalogues were circulating at the time, but only manuscript copies remain. One possible example is De Franceschi's list in the catalogue of Bernardino Giunti, for which see Flavia Bruni, 'Peace at the Lily. The De Franceschi section in the catalogue of Bernardino Giunti' in Granata & Nuovo (eds), Selling and collecting, 265-281. In addition, many publishers prepared a list of books for sale in manuscript form on request of special clients. An example is the list of books probably put together by members of the Giunti family in 1568 for Pope Pius v, who was planning a new library in north Italy, near Alessandria. This list is also included in the Early Modern Book Prices database.

- 9 Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree & Graeme Kemp, 'Book trade catalogues: from bookselling tool to book historical source' in Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree & Graeme Kemp (eds), Book trade catalogues in early modern Europe, Leiden/Boston 2021, 3-32.
- 10 According to a bookseller's statement in a 1522 trial in Bologna, see Rita De Tata, Il commercio librario a Bologna tra xv e xvi secolo, Milano 2021, 130.
- 11 The old Italian word tarra, meaning discount, is an equivalent of the modern Italian tara, that is, tare. Tarra is the same as terra (soil), the two terms being used as synonyms: for instance, a vegetable sold by weight that was not clean and with a lot of soil had to be discounted to compensate for the extra weight: hence the tarra, as explained, among others, by Niccolò Tartaglia in his La prima parte del general trattato di nvmeri, et misvre, Venegia: Curtio Troiano de i Nauò, 1556, Lib. IV, Cap. VII, fol. 66 verso (CNCE 31550).
- 12 See, for instance, the ledger in which the bookseller Lodovico Avanzi recorded prices of books sold for Aldo Manuzio the Younger in his Venetian bookshop (Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, manuscript Vat.lat.7129, fols 53 recto-79: a final report of the number of books sold and the discounts applied at fols 71 verso-73 recto.) On this manuscript, see Giliola Barbero, 'Il ms. Vat. Lat. 7129 di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane: studio paleografico e codicologico al servizio della storia del libro' in La Bibliofilía, 121:3 (2019), 429-449.
- 13 'The 'book-trade price' is the base price serving as the departure point for all negotiations with his book-trade colleagues in Antwerp as well as at the Frankfurt Fairs, and more rarely with certain clients receiving reductions (because Plantin was above all a wholesale merchant)'; see Renaud Milazzo, 'The economic stakes in the choice of bibliographic format and paper in the publishing policy of Christophe Plantin (1555–1589)' in Goran Proot, Yann Sordet & Christophe Vellet (eds), A century of typographical excellence. Christophe Plantin & the Officina Plantiniana (1555–1655), Paris/Dilbeek 2020, 142-191 (146-150).

These catalogues give a snapshot of the change in the activity of those who were often the last members of the great Renaissance publishing dynasties. They prove that these businessmen were at that moment less interested in continuing their publishing initiatives, and more and more eager to liquidate as quickly as possible their assets in books accumulated over decades of activity. Whereas the first goal of this impressive series of catalogues was certainly to sell books to as large a public as possible, they remain consistent with their respective usual clientele: catalogues were printed in Latin or Italian according to the targeted market zones and publics.

Logically, the reason why a producer would print prices in his catalogues consisted in an effort to control discounts applied by retailers and to set sustained prices as points of departure of the actual sales. However, not only profitable and expensive books are listed for sale; printed materials costing 2 soldi and even 1 soldo are also included, indicating that the operation of stock inventory was conducted by booksellers in a very comprehensive way in order to clear every single bit of the printed stock.

The availability of a relevant dataset of almost 3,500 book prices related to a specific period of the trade in Venice allows us to outline a structure and conception of prices and the process of setting them.¹⁴ Pricing a printed book was first of all based on cost calculation and on adding a markup that could give place to a profit margin capable of paying costs while also earning a target profit. This is the simplest approach, the cost-plus pricing, and it was likely applied by the very first printers in Italy, such as Konrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz (fl. 1465–1473) in Rome.¹⁵ In the first decades, profit margins could be remarkably high. Certainly, it is impossible to deduce from prices the real costs of printing in the early modern period. Information about costs of production is too scattered across early modern Europe: as it is well known, only documents for Plantin are sufficient to calculate his costs of production (both fixed and variable).

The Early Modern Book Prices database was built using a data structure that mirrors the main factors which could lead a publisher to set a certain book price. In this database, material aspects of books, which are associated with higher costs, can be immediately detected. They include labour costs connected with more time-consuming activities, like printing in non-Latin types (Greek and Hebrew), printing in two colours, or in formats smaller than the octavo (8vo). Expensive additions, like copper engravings, stand out invariably as connected to higher prices, and to prices that remained stable over the course of many years. Much rarer is the possibility of knowing whether books were printed on special paper (high-quality paper, large paper, blue paper), unless the source itself stated this.

Therefore, it can be said that the Early Modern Book Prices database helps to detect variable costs. By means of a detailed study of Plantin's documents, it has been shown which variable costs influenced publishers' decisions. Generally, only direct costs of paper and labour were mentioned in printing contracts, while the structure of costs included, in reality, fixed costs as well, like factory overhead (fuel, candles, food for workers) and shipping charges, which became more and more relevant with the development of commercial networks, which were key to a successful business. Although unmentioned, these costs were well known to publishers. In fact, firms with higher fixed costs with many presses in operation and a rich typographical assortment already cast, like Plantin or Giunti, had an incentive to continue printing even when demand was weaker, with the goal of staying in the market with continuous production. Conversely, smaller firms with reduced fixed costs had an incentive to decrease or stop production in such circumstances.16

Whereas 'cost-plus' pricing was the starting point of the process for setting the price of a book, that process originated from the publisher's knowledge of costs and only reflected his viewpoint. In fact, the sum that customers were willing to pay for a product had less to do with its production costs and more to do with how much they valued the product that they were buying. Books were a special merchandise whose content could, on the one hand, cause the greatest impact and, on the other, depreciate or even suddenly be prohibited. While successful publishers were aware of what could attract buyers, they were frequently running risks when adding innovation. They were constantly looking for information about the public demand in different markets, adjusting their production accordingly and finding a way to determine a value-based price, that is, a price based not on cost but on value, or, how much the customer believed the book for sale was worth. This was the best strategy, provided that a publisher could make sure that the value to the customer was higher than his costs. In value-based pricing, the perceived value to customers is primarily based on how well the book is suited to their needs and desires. Therefore, setting a value-based price meant adapting the book to appeal to particular readers.

The most common solution in selling books at a value-based price targeted specific customers, having discovered new or at least not-too-crowded market zones; in addition to this strategy, investment in the trademark was crucial, as brands were the strongest tool available to publishers in establishing a link with their clientele and in conferring a plus to their production.¹⁷ Transforming a customer base into a community of readers was also crucial, for instance, by addressing dedications, prefaces and paratextual material in general with the goal of advertising the quality of the edition. Although relevant cultural motivations lie in the invention of publishers' marks or in the widespread use of epistles to readers as Aldus Manutius the Elder started so successfully to do,18 these strategies developed

- 14 Joran Proot has offered multiple examples of this sort of analysis, applied to sources from different European zones (Paris and Antwerp): see Goran Proot, 'Shifting price levels of books produced at the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp, 1580–1655' in Massimo Rospocher, Jeroen Salman & Hannu Salmi (eds), Crossing borders, crossing cultures: popular print in Europe (1450-1900), Berlin 2019, 89-108; Goran Proot, 'The pricing policy of the Officina Plantiniana, 1580-1655' in Dirk Imhof et al. (eds), Balthasar Moretus and the passion of publishing, Kontich 2018, 32–44; Goran Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues (Paris 1541–1552): a statistical analysis' in Granata & Nuovo (eds), Selling and collecting, 177–209. See also the work of Renaud Milazzo quoted in note 13.
- 15 Martin Davies, 'Two book-lists of Sweynheym and Pannartz' in Libri tipografi biblioteche: ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo, Firenze 1997, 1,

- 25-53. For an in-depth analysis of economic aspects of the book market in Florence and Bologna in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Giovanni Bonifati, Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato: sistemi di mercato a Bologna e a Firenze agli albori del capitalismo, Torino 2008.
- 16 Mark McConnell, 'Publishing risk and cost incentives in early modern printing: an examination of Christopher Plantin's operations' in Nina Lamal & J. Christopher Warner (eds), Christophe Plantin 1520–2020. Studies of the Officina Plantiniana at the quincentennial of Plantin's birth, Antwerp 2021, 129-182 (special issue of The Golden Compasses = De Gulden Passer, 98:2 [2020]).
- 17 Nuovo, The book trade, ch. 5 ('Marks and branches').
- 18 Tiziana Plebani (ed.), Aldo al lettore. Viaggio intorno al mondo del libro e della stampa in occasione del v centenario della morte di Aldo Manuzio, Milano 2016.

massively exactly because they were effective in book marketing. Differentiating editions was one of the commonest and less risky strategies used by competitors to exploit a text in high demand while proposing it again with different features. Even a modest textual addition (a commentary, an unpublished group of letters or sonnets as an appendix at the end of the main text, for instance), if advertised and even boasted about on the title page, could supersede previous editions of the same text and permit the newly published one to sell at a higher price. A set of woodcuts, surely not expensive in Venice, greatly allured readers at both ends of the market (elite and popular) and allowed an old text to enjoy a renewed life. This sort of investment was done all the more when a series of editions of the same text with the same set of illustrations was planned (as seen in cases of Italian literature works, like those of Dante, Boccaccio, Ariosto, ...) or when there was a special financial support for their production from outside the firm. Changing the physical aspect of a book by reducing its format was from early on the commonest way to differentiate books, provided the publishers were able to sell it as a positive innovation and not simply a way to cut costs.

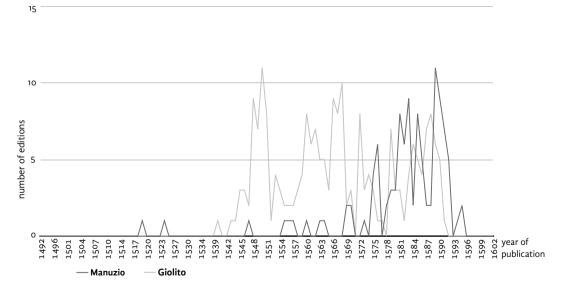
The corpus

As already observed, the corpus includes 24 catalogues printed by Aldo Manuzio the Younger, 4 by the Giolito family, 2 by the Giunti, 2 by the Scoto, 1 each by Damiano Zenaro and Niccolò Misserini. The first three publishers in our dataset are particularly relevant because the Manuzio, Giolito and Giunti families had long been the three most important business dynasties in Italy. Together, they represented more than 20 percent of all Italian book production, and they determined and gave form to three different genres, namely, the humanistic book, the vernacular book, and the Latin book for professionals: liturgical, law, medicine and, in general, academic editions. In addition, the Scoto and Zenaro catalogues are highly representative of Venetian book production in different sectors.

- 19 Copies of the 1503 and 1513 catalogues with manuscript annotations of prices survive, see Neil Harris, 'Aldo Manuzio, il libro e la moneta' in Plebani (ed.), Aldo al lettore, 79-110; Neil Harris, 'Aldus and the making of the myth (or what did Aldus really do?)' in Mario Infelise (ed.), Aldo Manuzio: la costruzione del mito = Aldus Manutius: the making of the myth, Venice 2016, 346-385.
- 20 The Venetian publisher Marco Ginammi (1590-1654) revived the use of publishing a list of available books at the end of his volumes, starting in 1622, but he avoided adding prices.
- 21 Manassi was the manager of the printing shop from 1577; when Aldo left Venice in 1583, he became responsible for the whole firm. For their relationship, see Emilio Russo, 'Un contratto nel registro di bottega di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane' in Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia, 69 (1999), 5-20, and
- Idem, 'Manuzio, Aldo, il Giovane' in Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, 69 (2007), 245-250. (https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/ Manuzio,-Aldo,-il-Giovane/; all online sources last consulted 6 November 2022). For the demise of the family, see Angela Nuovo, 'The end of the Manutius dynasty, 1597' in Jill Kraye & Paolo Sachet (eds), The afterlife of Aldus: posthumous fame, collectors and the book trade, London 2018, 45-78.
- 22 A comparison of three of Aldo the Younger's catalogues appears in Rudolf Hirsch, 'The art of selling books: notes on three Aldus catalogues, 1586-1592' in Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia, 1 (1948-1949), 83-101.
- 23 Only one of them, published in 1592, was a broadsheet, an independent publication.

Manuzio

The case of the Manuzio catalogues is the most unusual in Venice. The founder of the family, Aldus Manutius the Elder (c. 1450–1515), acquired unprecedented prestige throughout Europe for his outstanding Greek productions and for a series of successful innovations in the area of format, book illustration, and typefaces. He started publishing catalogues of his production in 1498 with a broadsheet that contained detailed descriptions of each book's content and its price. Two other catalogues followed in his lifetime (1503 and 1513), both without printed prices. 9 After 1515, a few catalogues were sporadically published by his heirs, but prices were never included. Whereas humanistic books remained the stronghold of the firm, Greek production was soon abandoned altogether. When the firm was in the hands of the nephew, Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547-1597), the publication of book lists for sale suddenly reappeared in a most systematic way, according to a formula which seems to have been completely new at the time and not followed by any other Venetian publisher until the following century.20 Aldo, or rather Niccolò Manassi, who was the Venetian manager of his firm with a peculiar flair for commerce,21 printed the list of available books as part of regular publications, prices included, with the title, Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si ritrovano al presente or nella libreria di Venetia [Fig. 1].²² In this way, we have today a corpus of 24 catalogues printed before the end of the sixteenth century, which means a total of 1,683 prices processed in our database.23 Naturally, these prices refer many times to the same editions, still available over time, mostly keeping the same quote. The distribution of the editions advertised by Manuzio in chronological order is shown in Graph 1.



Graph 1 Distribution of the editions advertised in the catalogues of Manuzio and Giolito

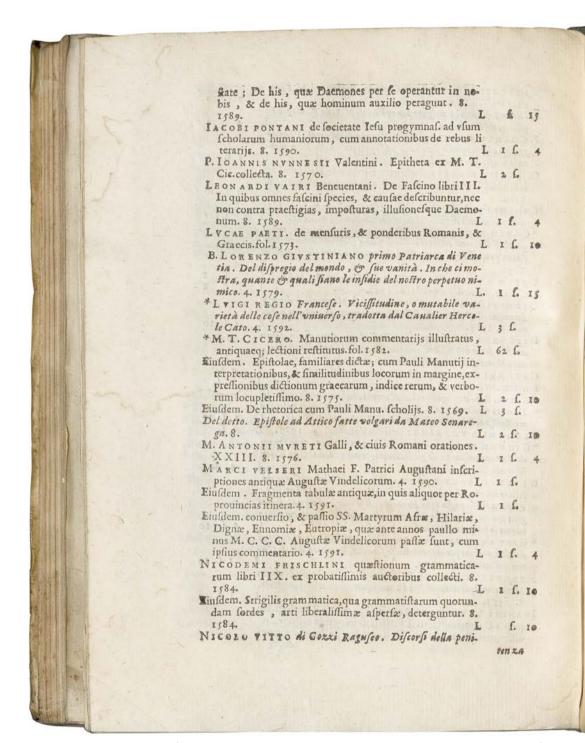


Fig. 1 Catalogue of Aldo Manuzio (from V. Pribojevic, Della origine et successi de gli Slavi oratione, 1595, fol. a7 verso—a8 recto)
Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 13593-5

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Giolito

The Giolito family adopted a policy of marketing books by means of printed catalogues in 1587, quite late in the history of this successful business family, and contemporaneously with Aldo Manuzio's catalogues. The firm appeared in Trino, Monferrato, the hometown of the founder of the family, Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari (active 1503-1539), who printed mainly law books in Latin. After his death, the firm moved to Venice under the direction of his son Gabriele (active 1536-1578), who started a brilliant career and soon managed to conquer a dominant role in the already very large and crowded market of books in Italian. Gabriele, whose production almost completely excluded books in Latin, achieved the greatest impact in the Italian market, first in the field of secular literature and thereafter, in parallel with the affirmation of the Counter-Reformation, in the field of devotional literature and history. Printed catalogues of books for sale began to be published about ten years after the death of Gabriele. The heirs of Gabriele Giolito (Gabriele's son and nephews) retained the traditional pattern of printed catalogues, both in the form of broadsheets and brochures. The Giolito catalogues have been by far the most studied, and they have all been published with a commentary, so that we can already rely on an in-depth analysis of content and prices; besides their general catalogues, their publication of the first specialised list of books in vernacular, the Libri spirituali, was remarkably innovative.24 The most relevant of these catalogues is nevertheless the last one, *Indice copioso*, published as a booklet by the heirs of the firm in 1592, with the clear intent to liquidate the entire stock of remaining copies [Fig. 2]. More than five hundred book prices in our database come from the Giolito catalogues. The distribution of the editions advertised by Giolito in chronological order is shown in Graph 1.

Giunti

The Giunti owned the most prominent publishing firm in Italy in the early modern era.²⁵ Originally from Florence, this merchant family entrusted Luc'Antonio as early as 1477 with the foundation of a business in Venice that would soon become a flourishing activity in the book business. Although Venice was the centre of their affairs and responsible for an

- 24 Angela Nuovo & Christian Coppens, I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del xvi secolo, Geneva 2005, esp. 451-566; Giliola Barbero, 'Ordinary and extraordinary prices in the Giolito Libri spirituali sales list' in Granata & Nuovo (eds), Selling and collecting, 211-264: the list is dated by Barbero to 1589. The catalogue edited by Giovanna Granata ('Un elenco di vendita di libri dei Giolito conservato nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Cagliari', part I, in La Bibliofilía, 119:2 (2017), 269–288, part 11, in La Bibliofilía, 119:3 (2017), 379-416) is not included in this analysis because its attribution to the Giolito firm is questionable.
- 25 For the book production of the Giunti in Venice, see Paolo Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, Firenze 1962-1963, 2 vols. For a brief sketch of the family's economic activity, see Andrea Ottone, 'L'attività editoriale dei Giunti nella Venezia del Cinquecento' in Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica, 2 (2003), 43-80. On the business operations of Luc'Antonio Giunti the Younger, see Alberto Tenenti, 'Luc'Antonio Giunti il giovane stampatore e mercante' in Studi in onore di Armando Sapori, Milano [1957], 2 vols, 1, 1023-1060. Very helpful are the entries devoted to various family members in the Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, and in Marco Menato (ed.), Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento, 11 'G', Trieste 2020, 131-157.

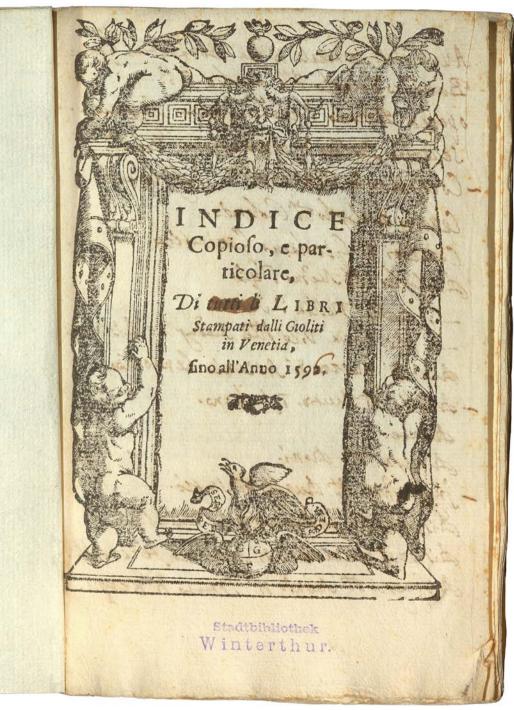


Fig. 2 Title page of the catalogue of the Giolito, 1592 (corrected by hand in 1596) Bibliothek Winterthur, Sch_354/20

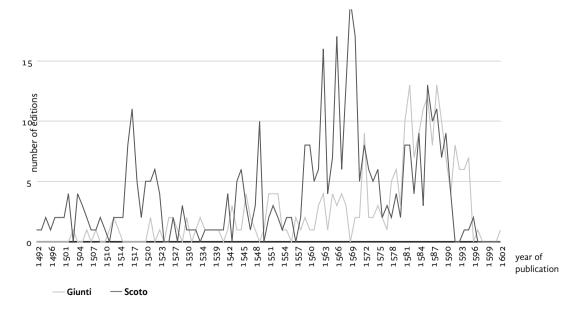
outstanding output of book production, both quantitatively and qualitatively, they maintained entrepreneurial activities in their hometown. They also branched out quite early in Lyon, Rome and in Spain. When their two known sale catalogues of books with prices were printed (1591 and 1595), the owner and manager of the firm was Luc'Antonio the Younger (1540-1602), who was probably the most successful member of the family and performed an intense mercantile activity across Catholic Europe, trading in many different goods (jewels, woven materials, skins, sugar and others) as well as books. The core of the Giunti book business was the most profitable sector of the market, i.e., prayer books, liturgical books, learned books in Latin and, to a much lesser degree, vernacular books. Their commercial network was one of the most developed in Europe because the branches were soon given the independence to develop local partnerships and associations in order to enhance production and distribution. The copies of catalogues extant today seem to have been used within a bookkeeping context, probably by the Giunti themselves. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Giunti, too, felt the need to market their books via printed catalogues. Two of them, which are included in this survey, were produced in the form of broadsheets and contain a total of 650 editions with prices. A crucial feature of these catalogues is that prices are not expressed in Venetian lire, like all others published in that city, but rather in a different Venetian currency, grossi and ducats (a ducat was worth 24 grossi). This happened not only in these specific sources but also in commercial documents and lists of shipping from other cities,26 and in the catalogue of Bernardino Giunti, where many prices of Giunti books were recorded.²⁷ Again, this attests to the Giunti's predominance in the market, not only on the Italian peninsula but also in other areas, such as Lyon or Salamanca, especially in some specific sectors of production. In any event, editions included in these two catalogues are all printed by the home office in Venice. The distribution of the editions advertised by Giunti in chronological order is shown in Graph 2.

Scoto

Two catalogues of the corpus are connected to the Scoto family (or Scotto, or Scoti), one from 1591 and the other from 1596; the latter is dedicated exclusively to music editions.²⁸ The founder of the family business was Ottaviano Scoto I, a native of Monza (near Milan)

- 26 De Tata, Il commercio librario a Bologna, 142.
- 27 See the chapter by Andrea Ottone in this volume.
- 28 Franco Pignatti & Laura Daniela Quadrelli, 'Scoto (Scotto, Scotti) Ottaviano' in Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, 91 (2018), 634-638 (https://www. treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/Scoto-(Scotto,-Scotti)-Ottaviano/); Carlo Volpati, 'Gli Scotti di Monza tipografi-editori in Venezia' in Archivio storico lombardo, 59 (1932), 365-382; Claudio Sartori, 'La famiglia degli editori Scotto' in Acta musicologica, 36 (1964), 19-30; Oscar Mischiati, Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798, Firenze 1984, 99-106; Jane A. Bernstein, Music printing in Renaissance Venice: the Scotto Press (1539-1572), New York 1998.
- 29 Mary Kay Duggan, Italian music incunabula: printers and type, Berkeley 1992, 102-105.
- 30 In this same volume, see the chapter by Alessandra Panzanelli.
- 31 Rather unusually, in his request for an extension of his privilege in 1514, Ottaviano Petrucci explained that he was compelled to resort to the great means of Amadio Scoto 'merchant of books' in order to be able to start printing his music books that required large capital, which he, being poor did not possess; see Stanley Boorman, Ottaviano Petrucci: catalogue raisonné, New York 2006, 10, 1150.
- 32 Angela Nuovo, 'Una lettera di Michele Tramezzino a Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (1522)' in La Bibliofilía, 115 (2013), 147-156.

and from an ancient merchant family active in the wool trade. He came to Venice in 1475, and his activity was characterised by an extensive participation in partnerships, which led him to abandon the printing business in favour of pure publishing and commercial initiatives. His rich production of university texts was distributed, thanks to a large commercial network that certainly included the University of Pavia and the city of Valencia in Spain. He was one of the first publishers in Italy to develop an interest in music printing with movable types.29 Upon his death (1498), the enterprise was carried out by some of his numerous heirs, among whom Amadio (†1535) stands out for his remarkable skills. He must have been the director of the business, given that he was the beneficiary of all privileges granted to the firm from 1500 onwards. He entered more decidedly in the law books sector, participating in the company of the Torti brothers (together with Luc'Antonio Giunti, Giorgio Arrivabene and Antonio Moretto), who dominated the Venetian market of legal books for many years.³⁰ Amadio acted as a financial partner of the great printer of mensural music Ottaviano Petrucci, so that the family name continued to invest in music printing.31 Under his direction, the expansion of the family business certainly grew, as evidenced by the existence of a branch of the company in Rome, from at least 1522.32 After Amadio, it was the turn of Girolamo Scoto (†1572) to display a large and intense activity with almost 850 editions over the course of forty years, half of which were of music (being a composer himself). He was responsible for a process of modernisation of the printing house, which was one of the most conservative in the Venetian market: he adopted a new mark and started to use smaller formats and roman/italic typefaces (the Scoto printed in black letter until the 1540s) while he was still publishing large volumes of philosophy, medicine, and theology in black letter and in two columns. In the 1540s the firm branched out at least in



Graph 2 Distribution of the editions advertised in the catalogues of Giunti and Scoto

Naples, Siena and Bologna. Girolamo's prestige was indisputable in various environments: in 1548, Conrad Gesner dedicated the eighteenth book of his *Pandecta* on civic philosophy to him.33 In 1571, Girolamo Scoto was elected first *priore* of the guild of printers and booksellers in Venice.

The activity of Girolamo Scoto gives us the opportunity to underline, notwithstanding occasional tensions and conflicts, that the big players of the Venetian printing sector were accustomed to collaborating, formally and informally. Among the formal collaborations, members of the Scoto family joined a variety of partnerships for the publication of law books. Girolamo, in particular, was a member of the Company of the Crown, which also included the Giunti, Gabriele Giolito and Federico Torresano,34 and later a member of the Societas Aquilae (1571–1608), the most important Venetian company for publishing law books in the sixteenth century, led by Luc'Antonio Giunti.35 The close social ties among publishers, also in the form of intermarriages and godparenthoods, were one of the crucial factors that helped the sector to develop successfully. When Girolamo died, his nephew Melchiorre Scoto, who had collaborated with his uncle for many years, inherited the firm and always signed his books with the formula 'herede di Girolamo Scoto'. Still able to publish around 390 editions in forty years, he preferred to concentrate even more on music, seeing that three-quarters of his output consisted of music, a field where the Scoto brand had reached considerable prestige. And it is Melchiorre who published the two printed catalogues (1591 and 1596) that are included in our corpus. These dates are meaningful, as from 1592 until 1596 Melchiorre's output decreased dramatically, having only a brief revival afterwards. Thus, the need to liquidate assets is particularly evident in this case. The distribution of the editions advertised by Scoto in chronological order is presented in Graph 2.

Zenaro

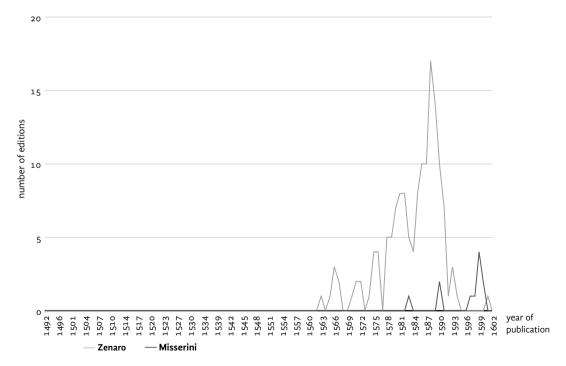
In comparison with the abovementioned publishers, Damiano Zenaro (†1604) was a newcomer in Venice. Originally from the paper district of Salò, on the Lake of Garda, he started as a bookseller in Venice in 1546 at the sign of the Salamander and published about 320 editions from 1563 to 1603.36 From the 1560s, he was closely tied to Paolo Manuzio, whose printing shop in Venice he managed, together with Domenico Basa when Paolo moved to Rome. He took part in a number of consortia for publishing law books, among which was the abovementioned Societas Aquilae. His network was extensive, and it included the cities of Milan,

- 33 Conrad Gesner, Pandectarym sive Partitionum uniuersalium [...] libri xxı, Tiqvri: excvdebat Christophorvs Froschouerus, 1548, fol. 311r (fol. Gq1 recto).
- 34 Nuovo & Coppens, I Giolito e la stampa, 86-91.
- 35 Nuovo, The book trade, 59-61 and 65-67.
- 36 Patrizia Bravetti, 'Damiano Zenaro: editore e libraio del Cinquecento' in Simonetta Pelusi & Alessandro Scarsella (eds), Humanistica Marciana. Saggi offerti a Marino Zorzi, Milano 2008, 127–132.
- 37 De Tata, Il commercio librario a Bologna, 147.
- 38 Paul F. Grendler, The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian press 1540-1605, Princeton 1977, 122, 167; Nuovo, The book trade, 289.
- 39 This information can be drawn from the account books of a Florentine bookseller, Piero di Giuliano Morosi, as analysed by Paul Gehl, "Mancha uno alfabeto intero": recording defective book shipments in Counter-Reformation Florence' in Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 93:3 (1999), 316-58. See also Grendler, The Roman Inquisition, 173.

Pavia, Cremona, Piacenza, Ferrara, Bologna (where he probably had his own branch),37 Brescia and Messina. He was an active international bookseller, given that in 1581 some bales of books coming from the Frankfurt Fair and belonging to him were sequestered in the Lombard city of Como. He was warned and punished by the Holy Office on different occasions,38 He also had agents and correspondent booksellers in a few Spanish cities. When he died in 1604, the books that he had in his shop and warehouse were inventoried and evaluated at 9,000 ducats. His printed catalogue from 1591 accounts for about 50% of his production, mainly in the fields of law and religion. The distribution of the editions advertised by Zenaro in chronological order is shown in Graph 3.

Misserini

Niccolò Misserini was active as a publisher from 1589 to 1635, with an output of about 140 editions. In 1601-1602, he was elected priore of the guild of printers and booksellers in Venice. He was active in partnership with the Giunti and specialised in liturgical books in extremely small formats. Towards the end of the century, he was increasingly important as a supplier of breviaries and other prayer books, sometimes even infringing on existing privileges and occasionally in competition with the Giunti.³⁹ Regrettably, his activity has aroused little attention until today. However, an informed official such as the priore of the Venetian guild of printers Andrea Zuliani in the seventeenth century did not hesitate to mention Misserini at the same level of the Giunti as representatives of the wealthy and



Graph 3 Distribution of the editions advertised in the catalogues of Zenaro and Misserini

successful publishing houses flourishing in the golden age of printing in Venice.⁴⁰ The distribution of the editions advertised by Misserini in chronological order is presented in Graph 3.

Refining the dataset

The corpus of almost 3,500 book prices includes a relevant number of duplications. To begin with, the 24 catalogues by Manuzio display the same edition in multiple instances with the same price.⁴¹ These have been deduplicated and removed from the dataset. Only the first appearance of every price was kept, deemed as the original price set in the specific moment of the publication (or at least, the first appearance in a printed catalogue of a price of an earlier edition still available in the shop). In fact, the Manuzio catalogues show mostly newly published books and, in a few cases, even book announcements of editions that would be published in the following year. All in all, Manuzio's catalogues advertised an early example of books in print, while all the other catalogues include mainly (but not only) backlog or unsold older editions.

The two Giunti catalogues, printed in 1591 and 1595, almost completely overlap. In this case, too, we retained the 1591 prices in the dataset, adding only the few editions printed from 1591 to 1595, and therefore listed only in the 1595 catalogue.

The singularities of the Giolito catalogues, published between 1587 and 1592, have posed more complex issues. The firm's four catalogues, although chronologically close, cannot be easily cumulated or deduplicated in the same dataset. The book prices do not follow the same pattern of seriality as those by Manuzio. The three earlier catalogues are published in the form of a broadsheet, probably for specific occasions like book fairs, with a limited list of publications, while the last one, the Indice copioso of 1592 is a booklet, listing many more books with much more detailed descriptions. In addition, the broadsheets can be dated to the period when the firm was in the hands of Giovanni II (son of Gabriele) and Giovanni Paolo Giolito, whereas the brochure was a much more engaging and thought-over marketing initiative, realised after the untimely death of Giovanni II by the last heirs, whose clear intention was to leave the book business altogether. This is reflected, and therefore explained, in the different pricing policies chosen by the two different managements. It has already been observed that the 1592 Indice copioso attests to an unusual increase in prices: most prices were raised by 17%, while only 4 of the previously advertised prices were devaluated by 20%.42 Whereas one would expect a depreciation of the Giolito editions over time, the opposite trajectory shows a strong engagement in sustaining prices as much as possible while investing time and money to publish a product of higher bibliographic quality in comparison not only to previous Giolito catalogues but also to all Venetian catalogues of the period. For all these reasons, only the prices taken from the 1592 Indice copioso have been included in our analysis.

One more consideration needs to be put forward. As already observed, in the EMo-BookTrade database, prices are registered both as total prices and prices per sheet. A sheet

was the standard working unit in printing shops, as many printing contracts show. Visualizing and assessing books as sets of printed sheets, and not as leaves or pages, was the rule not only for printers and publishers; scholars and collectors also referred to books in the same way, as the Bibliotheca universalis (1545) by Conrad Gesner authoritatively shows. This is connected to the fact that books were distributed and sold, business to business, mostly in loose sheets, and bindings would have been applied according to the buyer's needs, tastes and means.⁴³ Scaling down the price of an edition into price per sheet is a crucial process, as the sheet is the only invariable unit that can enable a meaningful comparison among book prices, regardless of format.

The price per sheet, therefore, is essential in our analysis, even if the nominal price of each copy for sale can teach an interesting lesson. However, the price-per-sheet calculation could not be performed on the entire corpus. Prices per sheet are determined by bibliographic formats, but only within the limits of the *routine* printing process, which included what can be defined as a plain book in the most frequent bibliographic formats (folio, quarto, octavo), printed in black ink and a normal type size in the Latin alphabet. 44 As we will see, different factors can increase the standard price, often in connection to higher production costs, but the price increase caused by extremely small formats attested in our dataset, like 64mo and 96mo, is totally off the charts. These miniature editions are exceptional but represented a stronghold in the catalogue of Niccolò Misserini, whose specialised output was based on this sort of prayer book in 24mo, 32mo, 64mo and even 96mo.⁴⁵ Religious texts in very small formats have a long history: they were produced as manuscripts before the invention of printing and, consequently, had seldom been produced in Venice since the 1470s (both in 16mo and 32mo). Predictably, their output in printing shops intensified during the Counter-Reformation as a personal devotional object, which the believers would be able to hold comfortably in their hands throughout the day. In Misserini's list, for instance, we find a Seven psalms in 96mo, perhaps used as a sort of amulet or pendant for ladies, and not surprisingly, there is no surviving copy. Time-consuming production of editions of this sort needed exceptionally skilled workers, causing prices per sheet to spike disproportionately.

- 40 Zuliani's report, written in 1660, has been published in Paolo Ulvioni, 'Stampatori e librai a Venezia nel Seicento' in Archivio Veneto, 108 (1977), 93-124.
- 41 The few fluctuations registered in some catalogues can be considered occasional mistakes in typeset-
- 42 Christian Coppens, who unearthed the previously unknown Giolito broadsheets and published the Indice copioso with an ample commentary, was the first scholar to acknowledge such atypical price dynamics; see Christian Coppens, 'I cataloghi di vendita dei Giolito' in Nuovo & Coppens, I Giolito e la stampa, 453-566. Giliola Barbero pushed the analysis further and published the Giolito list of Libri spirituali (1589) with commentary in her article 'Ordinary and extraordinary prices'.
- 43 We have countless evidence that printed materials were distributed in loose sheets, as shown by the
- number of requests to reintegrate parts of books (sheets or entire guires) sent by booksellers to wholesalers. Retail bindings and pre-bindings seem to be more common in specific contexts. The process of applying a binding to a newly purchased book could take a long time, as attested to by many unbound books in private collections. For instance, a whole section of unbound books from the library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli was still kept in this form by the Duchess Nicoletta Grillo, tutor of his last heir, Galeazzo Francesco Pinelli, years after the death of the owner; see Anna Maria Raugei, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca, Geneva 2018, 117-122.
- 44 Proot, 'Shifting price levels', 93-95.
- 45 Anne C. Bromer & Julian I. Edison, Miniature books: 4,000 years of tiny treasures, New York 2007.

The price per sheet of this edition in 96mo reached a value up to 85 times higher than the most expensive book in a standard format. The same can be said for another religious Misserini edition in 64mo, whose price per sheet reached a value up to 43 times higher than the most expensive book in a standard format. Thus, price-per-sheet analysis, normally the best methodology to assess and compare prices, cannot be applied in the case of Venetian productions of extreme formats. While these prices, as outliers, would have been excluded from the dataset in any event,⁴⁶ understanding which types of printed materials constituted a category of their own in this period remains instructive. Following these considerations, the dataset has been reduced to 1,299 book prices.

Publication date of the editions on sale

As already observed, the corpus of the editions listed in these printed catalogues comes from different firms. Most of them had been active for more than one century, whereas others were in the field for a much shorter period. It is therefore to be expected that many old books were put on sale by publishers who, in some cases, were withdrawing from the industry. We have already seen the dates of the books put on sale by each publisher. If we take into consideration the whole dataset, according to the absolute frequency distribution, per year, we obtain Graph 4.

We can see that some of our printed catalogues put on sale include incunabula, but the data for the first fifty years of this scheme are too dispersed. Data start to become more significant with productions in the 1540s. As the year 1545 marks an important turn with the issue of the law that ruled for the first time on the authors' position in the privilege system, which caused a surge of privileges and new editions, we can zoom the graph to the period 1545–1595, when most of the observations are available [Graph 5].

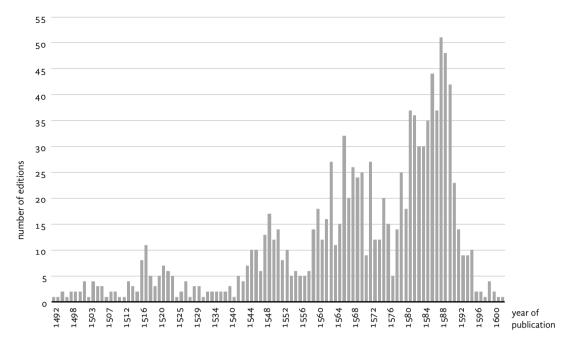
We can observe, with some exceptions, that production is constantly growing. Fifty percent of the advertised editions were published in the period 1575–1600, making our dataset very significant not only for the back stock but also for recently published books. The 1591 catalogue by Scoto advertised mostly backlog: the fifteen oldest editions in the dataset are recorded in this list.

The following graph gives an overview of all editions, according to different publishers' catalogues distributed over time [Graph 6]. Most of the price data come from 1591 and 1592, and in general from the 1590s.

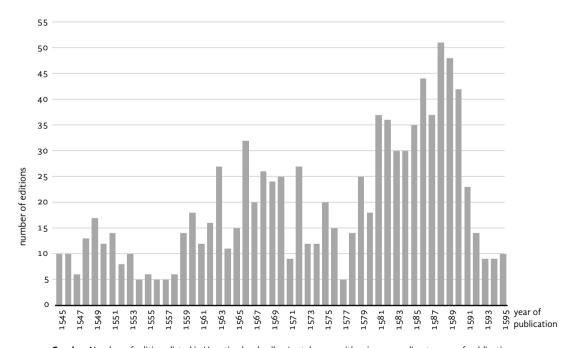
Are older books less expensive than newly published ones? Here, the best answer that we can find lies in the analysis of the price per sheet in chronological order. For each year, the value corresponds to the mean price, all sources considered [Graph 7].

The fluctuation in the first part of the curve cannot be taken as representative of the price of books published before the 1540s because the dataset is too limited. However, starting from the books published in 1545, it is clear that mean prices constantly increase.

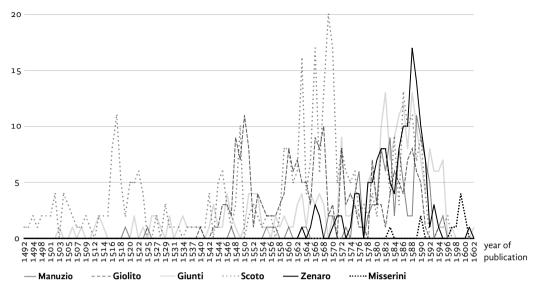
46 The same has been done for books for which the price per sheet is less than 5 denari lire Veneziane (hereafter: Ly).



Graph 4 Number of editions listed in Venetian booksellers' catalogues with prices according to year of publication



Graph 5 Number of editions listed in Venetian booksellers' catalogues with prices according to year of publication 1545-1595



Graph 6 Distribution of the editions advertised in Venetian booksellers' catalogues with prices

Whereas inflation certainly played a role, it is evident that the 'newness' factor influenced the prices ever more consistently. When we focus only on the period 1545–1595, Graph 8 gives a clearer result, presenting a slight but steady growth of the price per sheet.

Statistical analysis of book prices

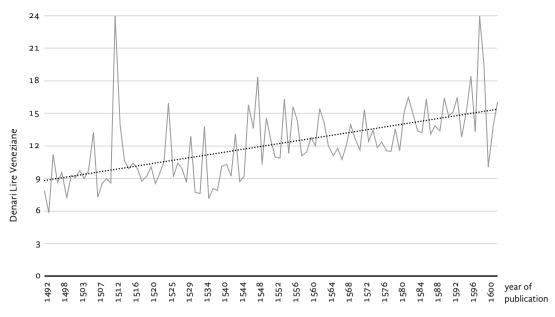
An overall analysis of the dataset as a corpus of 1,299 book prices reveals that the price per copy ranges between 12 and 17,860 denari.⁴⁷ The mean price is about 960 denari, with a standard deviation of about 1,785 denari. In fact, an overwhelming majority of book prices (1,249) do not exceed the sum of 5,000 denari, which corresponds to about 21 lire. The range of price per sheet goes from a minimum of 5.23 to a maximum of 70 denari per sheet. The mean is 13.53, with a standard deviation of 7.12.

We can start a more detailed analysis by focusing on individual factors that influenced book prices, factors that have been differentiated and highlighted in the processing of data in our database. This will prove useful in order to grasp the possible influence of certain labour costs on price setting.

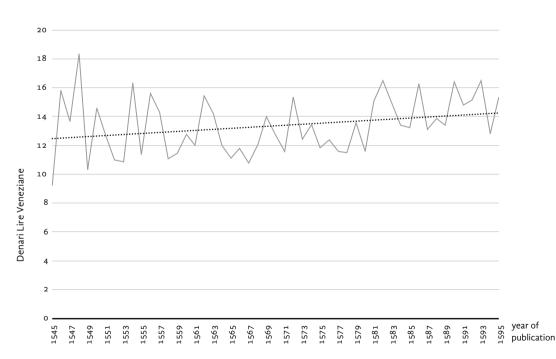
The language of texts is the first factor. It points in the simplest way to different sorts of texts and different groups of readers. We can observe only the difference between Latin and

47 The price of 17,860 denari corresponds to the high sum of about 12 ducats, which was the price of the 1587 eight-volume edition of the Repetitiones on canon law by Quintiliano Mandosi, published and put on sale by the Giunti (EDIT16 CNCE 27720).

number of editions



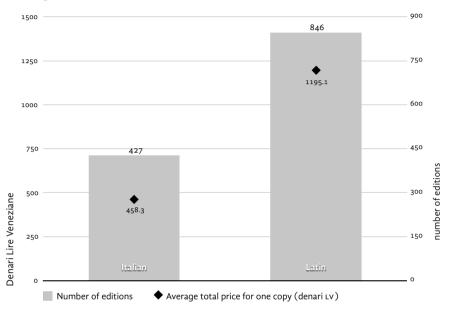
Graph 7 Average price per sheet in denari Lire Veneziane



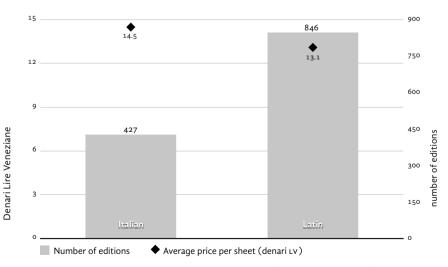
Graph 8 Average price per sheet in denari Lire Veneziane, 1545–1595

Italian. In our dataset, just four editions in Greek (plus two bilingual, Latin and Greek) and certainly no Hebrew editions are included: no relevant production in these two languages appeared in Venice at that time.48

The following analysis will make clear the different results that can be attained using the price-per-copy vs price-per-sheet approach. In both cases, Graphs 9 and 10 display mean prices.



Graph 9 Italian vs. Latin editions: average price for one copy (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions

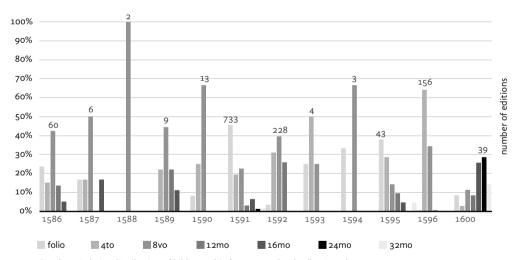


Graph 10 Italian vs. Latin editions: average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions

The two columns in Graph 9 show the absolute number of editions in Italian and in Latin, respectively; the black diamonds mark the mean price per copy. The mean price of individual books in Latin (which consisted mainly of academic and learned books, usually more voluminous than books in the vernacular) was more than double the price of books in Italian. Italian editions were much less expensive. Since the dawn of printing, Italy, and Venice in particular, had significant production in the vernacular; this production corresponded increasingly to books in smaller bibliographic formats and in fewer sheets.⁴⁹ But when we switch the analysis to price per sheet, the result is quite different, showing that editions in Italian were more expensive in terms of price per sheet [Graph 10].

The average price per sheet of editions in Italian is 14.47 denari, while editions in Latin cost 13.07 denari per sheet. This means that, although the unitarian price was higher for Latin volumes, publishers succeeded in making Italian editions more profitable in comparison.

Another straightforward but revealing indicator is linked to the format of books, that is, from the viewpoint of production, how many times a sheet of paper was folded, and the related number of leaves/pages produced with each printing sheet. It is obvious that whereas printing in smaller formats would reduce the cost of paper, it would have been accompanied by an increasingly difficult and time-consuming process of typesetting and imposition. Graph 11 represents the relative distribution of format according to the dates of the catalogues in our dataset.



Graph 11 Relative distribution of bibliographic formats per booksellers' catalogue

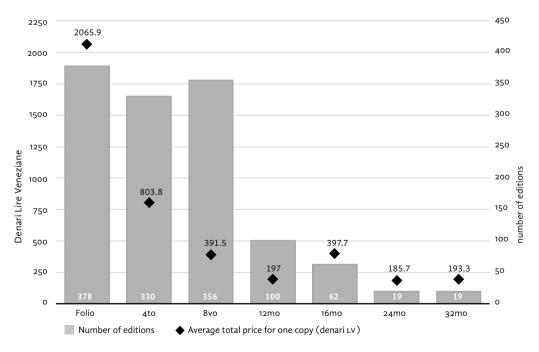
⁴⁸ The number of editions in other modern languages is negligible: only two editions are in French.

⁴⁹ According to EDIT16, the number of octavos editions in Venice is ten times higher than the number of folio editions.

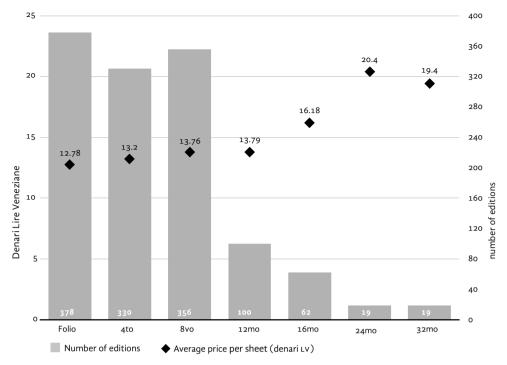
In 1591 and 1592, fourteen catalogues were published, so there exist significantly more data for those years: 733 prices for 1591 and 228 for 1592. The effect of the types of catalogues published in those years is mirrored in the results: in 1591, the folio format recurs in almost 50% of the observations due to the catalogues of the Giunti, Zenaro and Scoto, which are full of learned books in Latin, whereas octavo editions are a little more than 20%. In the following year, however, the publication of the Giolito catalogue leads to a reverse situation. Now, 40% of the books are in octavo, followed by 30% of the books in quarto and 25% in duodecimo (12mo), while the percentage of folio editions is negligible. In 1596, almost all data come from the Scoto catalogue of books of music, and this is why the quarto reaches more than 60% of the observations, but this is actually the oblong quarto, the commonest format for musical works.

Regarding the effects of format change in the book trade, the process of reducing the book sizes was one of the most successful ways to establish value-based prices. Whereas the series of octavos of Aldus Manutius was the first successful experiment of classics of Italian, Latin and Greek literature and was able to make an unprecedented impact when published in a smaller format, his innovation did not lead to a reduction in price in the short term – on the contrary. It was a differentiation that led rather to value-based prices because readers proved eager to buy the new elegant, refined, pocket aldines.⁵⁰

In our Venetian sources from the last quarter of the century, the process of reducing book formats was still going on, although the traditional formats represented the bulk of books for sale. Graph 12 shows the prices of individual copies (total price per copy).



Graph 12 Bibliographic formats: average price for one copy (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions



Graph 13 Bibliographic formats: average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions

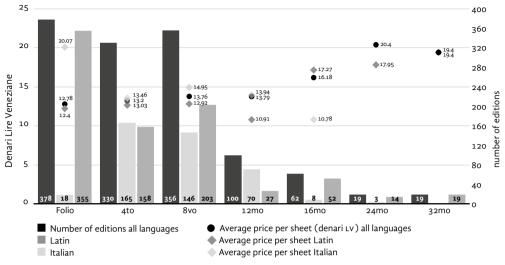
It is a largely predictable outcome: folio books, including several multivolume editions, were much more expensive than quartos, approximately two and a half times as much, five times more expensive than octavos, and ten times more expensive than duodecimo. For the smallest formats (16mo, 24mo and 32mo), we have a limited number of observations; still, at least for 16mo, there seems to be a trend of overpricing this format with respect to 12mo and 24mo.⁵¹ However, the graph of price per sheet reveals a quite different situation [Graph 13].

Here, the cheapest formats were folios. For voluminous folio books, it would be infeasible to charge a high price per sheet. Prices per sheet progressively registered a slight increase for quarto, octavo and duodecimo. Much higher prices per sheet characterised the smallest formats: 16mo, 24mo and 32mo: in all these cases, however, the low number of available data limits their reliability.

What these prices can tell us about the different clientele whom they targeted can be inferred from a graph that combines formats with languages [Graph 14]. The total quantity of editions is in the black column, editions in Italian are in light grey and editions in Latin

⁵⁰ Harris, 'Aldo Manuzio', 106-110.

⁵¹ This is certainly connected to the fact that books of prayers constituted the largest component within the subset of books in 16mo format.



Graph 14 Average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions according to bibliographic formats and language

are in grey. The price per sheet is displayed by black dots for all editions, and separately for Italian editions (in light grey) and Latin editions (in grey).

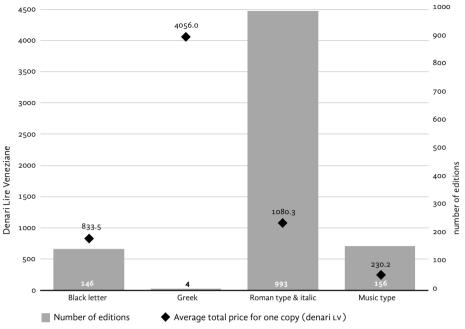
With regard to folios, we notice that editions in Italian are exceptional: the very high price per sheet in this category is a result of illustrations, as will be explained below. The overwhelming majority of folios in Latin contained everything we would expect: law, philosophy and theology books, sometimes in multivolume editions, namely, materials that only sporadically were proposed to private customers but rather targeted institutions, for instance, the many educational institutions and religious orders on the rise in the period. Quartos present a very balanced situation, with almost no difference between Italian and Latin: they cost the same. The Latin octavos were more numerous but less expensive than the Italian ones: for a long time, octavos were the standard format of textual reading in the vernacular in Italy and, as such, the most popular format whose demand remained high. The same happened with duodecimo books: the Italian books were 28% more expensive than the Latin ones.⁵² This is quite interesting because the duodecimo format clearly accentuated the trend of octavos, where Italian was more expensive than Latin.

The growing affirmation of the duodecimo in the market of Italian books seems to have been the innovative process set in motion in the final decades of the sixteenth century. Of course, the duodecimo had been extensively used for decades for *Officia* and other prayer books, but in the last quarter of the century this format started to be used for different texts. Besides public worship, the duodecimo appears essentially in two instances in our dataset: the first and foremost is represented by texts of devotional literature, produced in the vernacular by the Giolito firm in great numbers; the second, no less innovative and successful, is mostly represented by contemporary literature.⁵³ In this sector, Gabriele Giolito was the real innovator who started as early as the ¹⁵⁵0s to produce duodecimo editions of Italian

literary texts (ranging from the classics, like Petrarch, to contemporary authors, like Anton Francesco Doni) as the final stage of a chain of editions, which often began with quartos, continued with popular octavos and were then repurposed and renewed in duodecimo, a format which appeared more fashionable.54 However, the clear protagonist of the duodecimo fashion was the most important Italian author of this period: Torquato Tasso (1544-1595). Taking into consideration the entire series of about two hundred Tasso editions, printed all over Italy from 1580 to the end of the century, 36 were in octavo, 67 in quarto, and a remarkable majority of 85 were in duodecimo, including editions of his long poem, Gerusalemme liberata.55 In this series of Tasso duodecimo editions, Aldo Manuzio the Younger plays a pivotal role. Printing in duodecimo was therefore a way to propose a new pocket-book format to the reader of Italian poetry, which, at the time, could look more elegant and/or more functional, and for this reason, it could be sold at a higher price per sheet. This is also evident considering the success of the duodecimo in the increased production of new forms of poetry during the following century: idylls and pastoral poems.

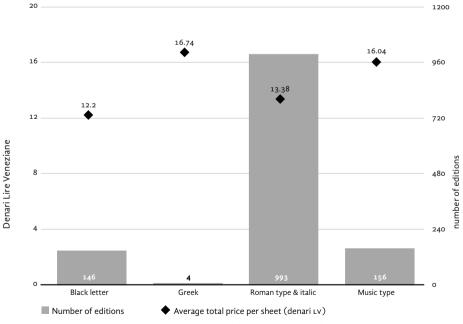
Other factors that have proved useful in analysing prices are: typefaces, illustrations, colour printing and different qualities of papers.⁵⁶ Not all of them apply to our dataset, unfortunately, and therefore, a real analysis can be conducted only for typefaces. The vast majority of these editions are printed in Latin types, roman and italics being the commonest types in use in all printing shops; only four prices connected to editions printed in Greek are included in our dataset. The era when Venice could print Greek books for the rest of Europe had become, by the end of the century, only a memory. Moreover, several editions combine different types: editions in black letter also include roman and italic types; editions in Latin include occasional words in Greek; liturgical books in black letter can include roman types and music (normally printed from woodcuts) and so on. In all these cases, the main text type used is considered. Additionally, we can analyse the role played by another specific type in the price strategy, thanks to a good number of editions in our pool of data: music types. Our dataset consists primarily of books printed in plain roman and italic types (76.5%); only 11.2% are printed in black letter and 12% in music types. Greek books account for only 0.3%. This situation leads to Graph 15, showing the prices of individual copies for typefaces.

- 52 To keep data consistent, we removed an outlier from the set of the duodecimo Latin editions. For information about the edition connected to this price, see below 'The most expensive editions in Venice'.
- 53 Included in the subset is another genre on the rise, comedies and other works for theatre, which are scarcely represented in our dataset.
- 54 Francesca Cerri, 'I Pistolotti amorosi: studio per un'edizione critica' in Giorgio Masi (ed.), 'Una soma di libri'. L'edizione delle opere di Anton Francesco Doni, Firenze 2008, 121-154. For the best physical appearance, duodecimo volumes rarely exceeded 200 leaves: in fact, the very long text of Ariosto's Furioso was severely cut when printed in that format; see Enrica Pace, 'Aspetti tipografico-
- editoriali di un best-seller del secolo xvi: l'Orlando Furioso' in Schifanoia, 3 (1987), 103-114.
- 55 Angela Nuovo, Le prime edizioni della Gerusalemme Liberata (1580-1581)' in Alberto Petrucciani et al. (eds), Libri, biblioteche e società. Studi per Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Macerata 2020, 141-159.
- 56 Logically, there is no mention in these lists of copies printed on parchment or blue paper, as this kind of production was geared to clients outside the regular market.



Graph 15 Type family: average price for one copy (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions

In addition, Graph 16 holds prices per sheet according to different typefaces.



Graph 16 Type family: average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions

Books in roman/italic types, which Venice printed massively for the whole peninsula and beyond, are characterised by a very high price for individual copies and rather an average price per sheet, certainly not high but not low either. The few prices connected to Greek books in our dataset behave consistently: they were both very expensive as volumes and very expensive when we consider the price per sheet. However, data are so scarce that a qualitative analysis would work better. The presence of the Greek Galen printed by the Manutius firm in 1525, the most expensive project ever undertaken by the firm and sold at a very high price at the time of its publication, markedly increases the results of the prices of Greek books in our pool of data.57

Prices of books printed in black letter (11.2% in our dataset) tell us clearly how the market of these books had shifted. Although prices per copy placed books in black letter just below books in roman and italics, because these were often bulk volumes of philosophy and theology, prices per sheet indicate that these books had lost their attractiveness in the Venetian market. Some of the oldest editions in this group of catalogues are precisely books in black letter printed in the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century, mainly sold by Scoto.

Music printing required such a different technique, staff and organisation that it had to be performed only by specialised printing shops. We are dealing here with editions of lay and sacred music, accompanied by texts, offered to the market by the Scoto firm, mostly published by Melchiorre Scoto, with the addition of a few titles by other printers.58 Whereas it would be easy to expect music printing to be more costly than printing verbal texts, our graphs display a different reality. In terms of price per copy, the Scoto music editions were the least expensive books on the market, about one fifth of plain Latin/Italian texts in roman and italic types, but their price per sheet was 20% higher. We can justify the limited price of single books by the fact that these editions were normally very thin and included few sheets; in this way, songs, Neapolitans and madrigals were truly within reach of a large public of musicians and singers, both professional and amateurs. In addition, the prices of music books included in the Scoto 1596 catalogue seem to be quite low in comparison with prices of music books printed in the first half of the sixteenth century and recorded in the EMoBookTrade database.⁵⁹ There could be a specific reason for this phenomenon. According to Mary Lewis and Jane Bernstein, Venetian printers in the mid-sixteenth century apparently employed a special kind of tool for their music publications: a wooden inner frame containing indentations or grooves that held each line of music type in place.

⁵⁷ Galenus, Galeni Librorum pars prima [-quinta], [Venice: heirs of Aldus Manutius the Elder and Andrea Torresano the Elder], 1525, 5 vols in folio (EDIT16 CNCE 20152). Lorenzo Perilli, 'A risky enterprise: the Aldine edition of Galen, the failures of the editors, and the shadow of Erasmus of Rotterdam' in Early Science and Medicine, 17 (2012), 446-466; Paul Potter, 'The editiones principes of Galen and Hippocrates and their relationship' in Klaus-Dietrich

Fischer, Diethard Nickel & Paul Potter (eds), Text and transmission: studies in ancient medicine and its transmission presented to Jutta Kollesch, Leiden 1998, 243-261.

⁵⁸ Bernstein, Music printing, 52, and ch. 5.

⁵⁹ For instance, editions from the inventory of Antonio Sivieri's bookshop in Ferrara, drawn up in 1550, that was rich in music materials.

This resulted in the remarkably consistent alignment of music staves from one page to another, not only within a given music edition but in all editions using the same music font. Scoto employed this special mechanism in his earliest music editions of 1539, while Antonio Gardano began to use it around 1543.60 In this way, production could proceed swiftly, and the price of single copies could be kept lower than before, thereby launching this genre to a greater public. However, even if the buying public was unaware of it, these items were actually among the most expensive in terms of price per sheet and constituted a very profitable production.

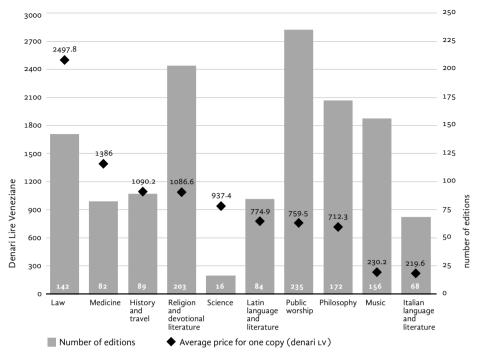
An analysis of the relationship between price and content of the books can also be performed. Our pool of data is sufficiently varied, representing major intellectual interests of the day. By applying a simplified Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) to indicate the subject matter of editions to our data, we chose to highlight certain sectors of book production that could provide more clues about changes in the sixteenth-century Venetian book trade. To this goal, we treated the large subject of religion, ranging from theology to collections of sermons and devotional literature in the vernacular, as separate from the public worship sector, which includes missals, breviaries and other religious service books. The latter represented a specific publishing area with its own characteristics (for instance, the need for a double impression in order to print in two colours) as well as a growing impact on the market. A more nuanced picture of Venetian book prices in relation to different subjects can be obtained by looking first at total prices of individual books and then at prices per sheet of editions.

Graph 17 provides clear information about the most voluminous editions, that is, the most expensive editions for sale. Not surprisingly, law still occupies the priciest corner of the market, with a remarkable mean price per copy of almost 2,500 denari, followed by medicine, history and religion: these subjects are all connected with a mean price per copy above 1,000 denari. Under 1,000 denari, we find in this order: science (but with a relatively small number of observations), Latin language and literature, public worship, philosophy and, at a great distance, music and Italian language and literature. At either end, a law book cost about ten times the price of an Italian book of literature, which on average cost about 220 denari, less than 1 lira.

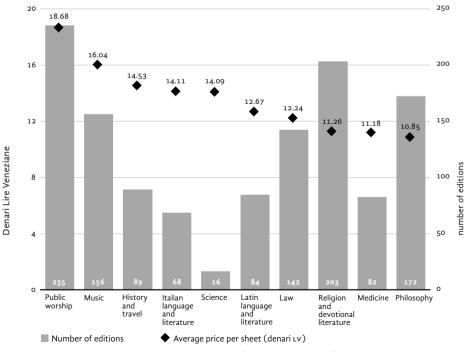
However, studying book prices as prices of individual books regardless of their many differences proves especially misleading in this analysis because prices per sheet tell a completely different story.

In Graph 18, displaying prices per sheet, we find a situation almost at odds with the preceding one. Public worship was the sector in which we found top prices (almost 19 denari per sheet). Just above, music books confirm their noteworthy price per sheet (16.04), followed by history (14.53) and Italian books (14.11), which were the least expensive ones in terms of

60 Bernstein, Music printing, 58. Mary S. Lewis, Antonio Gardano, Venetian music printer, 1538-1569: a descriptive bibliography and historical study, New York/London 1988-1997, 3 vols, 1, 64-66.



Graph 17 Subject matter: average price for one copy (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions



Graph 18 Subject matter: average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions

price per copy. All the other subjects are comprised of between 12.67 and 10.85 denari per sheet, beginning with Latin literature books, followed in order by law, religion, medicine and philosophy. The priciest subjects, public worship and music publications, were both specialised sectors whose production needed technical skills and extraordinary investments: in both cases, competitors were few and prices could be kept high.

Price strategies of Venetian publishers

Venetian publishers lived and operated in a city where competition was aggressive but was in some ways compensated by the protection provided by the Republic through the privilege system. The Serenissima built a massive corpus of about 5,300 concessions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to support the local industry and avoid that competition, although harsh and sometimes unfair, did not become destructive.⁶¹ The major Venetian firms had succeeded through the activity of several generations to develop brands by which they cultivated ties with a definite customer base, keeping control of specific market zones. Humanistic books (increasingly in combination with books in Italian) printed by the Manuzio, vernacular books (literature, history and devotional literature) printed by the Giolito, and academic and religious service books printed by the Giunti were the staples of the Venetian industry. The Scoto were publishing as many university textbooks as the Giunti, but they altogether avoided entering the market of public worship. They compensated for this with a large production of music editions. And while Zenaro had a mixed production with a prevalence of law books, Misserini started his activity as Giunti's satellite firm and remained in the business of miniature books of prayer.

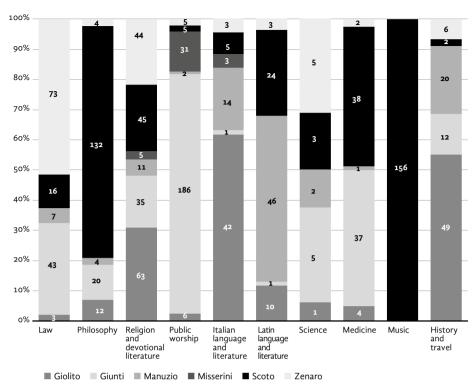
Graph 19 visualises the division of market zones, in percentages and according to subjects; note that subjects are different in terms of the number of editions included, and some are much more populated than others. The number of editions per subject is different and is reported in the graph in order to highlight both absolute and relative information.

We can see, for instance, that all 156 music editions come from Scoto, a firm that also predominates in the subjects of philosophy and, together with Giunti, in medicine. Almost 80% of public worship editions (186 of 235) are due to Giunti. Giolito's share of Italian editions reaches 60%, very close to the share of Manuzio's Latin editions, which is 55%. Zenaro published 51% of the law editions.

We can measure how expensive, on average, the books published by the different publishers were by comparing average prices, both in terms of price per copy and price per sheet.62

⁶¹ All Venetian privileges granted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are included in the database Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice, available at https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/ frontend. See also: Erika Squassina, Privilegi librari ed edizioni privilegiate nella Repubblica di Venezia (1527–1565), Milano 2022, and the chapter by the same author in this volume.

⁶² In the following two graphs, Misserini data are too limited to allow a reliable evaluation.



Graph 19 Distribution amongst booksellers' catalogues according to subject matter. Nominal values in the bars.

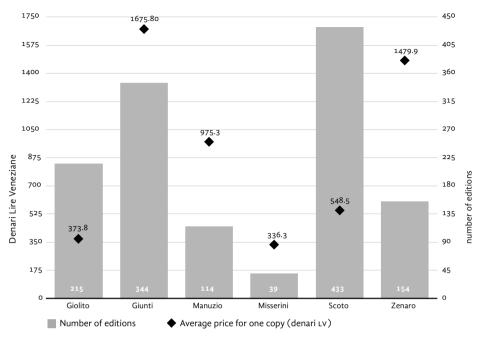
Graph 20 closely shows what could be a contemporary buyer's experience. A client in a bookshop in Venice, who was familiar with individual books for sale, would have fully known the general landscape of prices: the bulky Giunti books were placed at the highest end of the market; Aldo Manuzio was still keeping his prices relatively high, while the Giolito editions were truly in reach of most buyers.

Prices per sheet follow the same pattern [Graph 21]. While selling the most voluminous books on the market, Giunti was still able to keep the price per sheet remarkably higher than all competitors - except for Misserini. Only Manuzio was able to keep pace with Giunti's high prices per sheet, while Giolito and especially Scoto had to sell their books more cheaply.

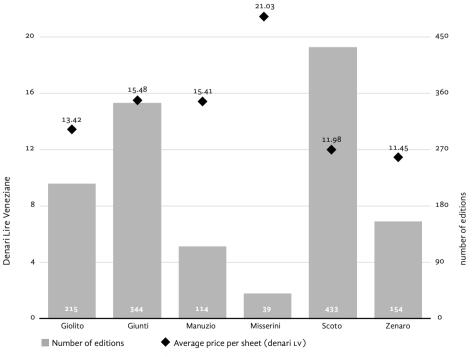
A more refined way to analyse the distribution of data involves box plots, 63 which allows us to show both the variability and the skewness of data and to compare distributions by different publishers.

63 In descriptive statistics, a box plot is a type of chart often used in explanatory data analysis. Box plots visually show the distribution of numerical data and skewness by displaying the data quartiles (or percentiles) and averages. Box plots are useful because they show the dispersion of a dataset. When the median is in the middle of the box, and the 'whiskers' are about the same on both sides of

the box, then the distribution is symmetric. When the median is closer to the bottom of the box, and if the whisker is shorter on the lower end of the box, then the distribution is positively skewed (skewed right). When the median is closer to the top of the box, and if the whisker is shorter on the upper end of the box, then the distribution is negatively skewed (skewed left).

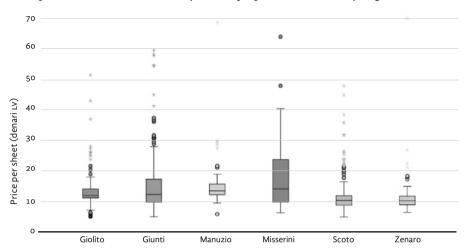


Graph 20 Average price for one copy (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions according to booksellers' catalogue

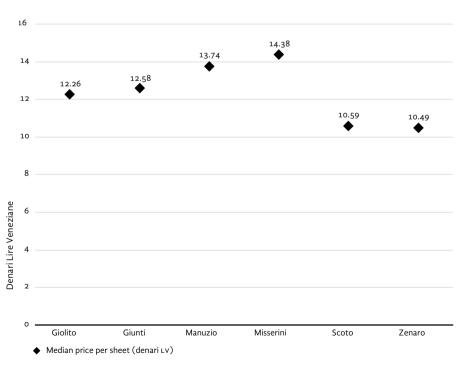


Graph 21 Average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) and number of editions according to booksellers' catalogue

The prices per sheet are represented on the vertical axis, and the median price per sheet is shown by the black horizontal line in the box. The median value divides the overall distribution of prices (from the minimum to the maximum) in two parts: half lower and half higher than the median. The basic feature of the median price compared to the average price is that it is not affected by a small proportion of extremely large or small values.



Graph 22 Box plot of average prices per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) of Venetian publishers



Graph 23 Average price per sheet (denari Lire Veneziane) according to booksellers' catalogue: median values

Different box lengths reflect the different distribution of the central 50% of the data within each subset: the longer the box, the more dispersed the data, and inversely, the smaller (or more compact) the box, the less dispersed the data. For instance, the box of Misserini, whose catalogues provide only 39 prices for our analysis, is very long because it highlights a great variability of prices [Graph 22]. All distributions are positively skewed, due to the presence of outliers on their upper side.

The smallest variability of prices is displayed by the Zenaro and Giolito catalogues. The distribution for the Giunti prices is far from the others, exhibiting a stronger positive skewness, with a long tail of high prices and a greater variability. These characteristics justify the results found in the previous graph for the average price per sheet. Most simply, we can also represent median prices of Venetian publishers as in Graph 23.

While all median prices are lower than the mean ones, ⁶⁴ we see that Manuzio's median price is the top one, followed by Giunti's price. Giolito's median price comes third, like his mean price, but the difference from Giunti's price is much reduced. The highest median price of Manuzio's catalogues is certainly connected to the fact that they advertised mainly newly published books.

We can infer that the three main dynasties of the Italian book trade continued to defend their prominent position on the market, where their choice of texts, their innovation applied to various book features, the value of their publisher's device, that is, their brand, and their vast output, allowed their books to occupy the highest level of the market.

The most expensive editions in Venice

Statistical analysis of book prices leads us to face some facts and figures of the book trade in an objective, quantitative way. Qualitative analysis is always revealing though, and individual cases can be better addressed using the findings of statistical analysis as a general backdrop. In our set of data, many peculiar cases attract attention, but analysing the most expensive editions is especially revealing. We refer to the price per sheet, of course, because the most expensive prices per copy are invariably connected to multivolume editions. Increasing the price per sheet is a much more hidden way to raise prices on buyers.

Two editions in our dataset deserve special consideration. Outliers excluded, the most expensive edition with a price of 70.02 denari per sheet is Livio Sanuto's *Geografia* ⁶⁵ [Fig. 3].

[24], 146, [12] fols, double plates; folio (EDIT16, CNCE 39608; USTC 854899). Giuseppe Gullino, 'Sanudo, Livio' in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 90 (2017), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/livio-sanudo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

⁶⁴ Misserini's prices are as usual based on few observations and therefore are not representative.

⁶⁵ Livio Sanudo, Geografia [...] distinta in x11 libri. Ne' quali, oltra l'esplicatione di molti luoghi di Tolomeo, e della bussola, e dell'aguglia; si dichiarano le provincie, popoli, regni, città; porti, monti, fiumi, laghi, e costumi dell'Africa. Con x11 tauole di essa Africa in dissegno di rame. Aggiuntivi de più tre indici da M. Giovan Carlo Saraceni. Vinegia: Damiano Zenaro, 1588.

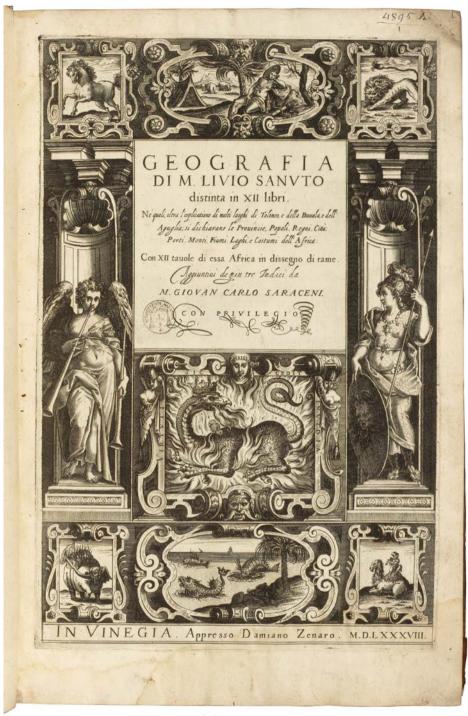


Fig. 3 Title page of Livio Sanuto, Geografia [...] distinta in XII libri, Vinegia: appresso Damiano Zenaro, 1588 Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2° 4895 A

Sanuto (1520-1576), a man of letters and a geographer who had the opportunity to study mathematics and cosmography in Germany, was a scholar whose exceptional skills were so much acknowledged that in 1560 he was admitted to the Accademia Veneziana (1557–1561). He spent four years (1570-1574) building a large terrestrial globe with the help of his brother Giulio, who was a chalcographer.66 Sanuto, who can be defined as the last of the great Venetian geographers, died young, so his Geographia was published posthumously with twelve beautiful double-page engraved maps representing Africa that were created by his brother. This edition was much sought after and soon became part of many erudite collections.⁶⁷ It was also presented at the Frankfurt Fairs [Fig. 4].⁶⁸



Fig. 4 Sanudo, Geografia, Vinegia: appresso Damiano Zenaro, 1588: table 10 Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2° 4895 A

Very close to the Geografia's price per sheet is that of a Manuzio edition from 1581, the Officium B.M.V.: a volume in duodecimo, costing 68.57 denari per sheet. 69 This edition seems to have been strategic in the firm's production and marked a renewed interest in the increasingly competitive trade of religious service books, the same category for which Aldo's father, Paolo Manuzio, had enjoyed the papal universal privilege a few decades earlier.70 To understand this initiative better, we need to recall briefly the context in which it took place. The revision of liturgical texts, set in motion by a decision of the Council of Trent, caused

the newly authorised versions to be used to the exclusion of all preceding ones. In this way, a massive demand for these books in all Catholic countries was suddenly created, a need that the holder of the papal universal privileges, Paolo Manuzio, could never have managed to satisfy in a short time. His subsequent cession of privileges to third parties via subcontracts set off negotiations and kindled the business ambitions of the major European bookmen, Plantin and the Giunti among them.⁷¹ Moreover, Plantin envisaged a way to distinguish part of his production of liturgical editions from that of his competitors by illustrating them with copper engravings. As it has been thoroughly reconstructed, liturgical and prayer books printed by Plantin with such illustrations were strategic in the outstanding expansion of his firm in the years 1572-1576.72 The successful production of thousands of copies of these books in various formats with engraved illustrations resulted from many factors: Plantin was able to establish fruitful relationships with excellent engravers working in Antwerp, gather a collection of plates in various formats to maximise its potential use, and especially foresee and create a market for his new, richly illustrated and much more expensive versions of religious service books. Only in the Spanish domains, where his prestige was growing thanks to the immense undertaking of the Polyglot Bible, was he able to sell about 10,000 copies of his illustrated missals, breviaries and books of hours.73 Plantin was simultaneously printing the same texts with woodcut illustrations, so that different publics could buy his editions during a period of exceptional demand; the price of a book with copper engravings was approximately double that of ordinary copies of the same text with woodcuts.74

The Italian clientele, too, was very attracted to these luxury books, which were mainly imported by two Milanese booksellers, Giovanni Antonio degli Antoni and the Tini brothers (Francesco and Simone). Venetian bookmen, however, did not follow Plantin's successful steps and did not publish missals or breviaries with engraved illustrations in the 1570s, nor later; the reason why this happened 'remains a mystery'.75 This is particularly true in the case of the Giunti, who were the dominant actors in the production of liturgical and prayer books for a long time in Italy, often in partnership with other bookmen. For unknown reasons, Venetian publishers preferred not to enter into competition with Plantin in this field.

- 66 The only surviving specimen of this work is held by the Museo Correr in Venice. The diameter's globe is 68.5 cm; see Michael Bury, Giulio Sanuto. A Venetian engraver of the sixteenth century, Edinburgh
- 67 Concerning the book as a collectible item, see Francesca Ambrosini, Paesi e mari ignoti. America e colonialismo europeo nella cultura veneziana (secoli xvi-xvii), Venezia 1982, 19-21.
- 68 Nikolaus Basse & Georg Willer, Collectio in unum corpus omnium librorum [...] qui in nundini Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564 usque ad nundinas autumnales anni 1592 [...] editi, venales extiterunt, Francofvrti: Nicolai Bassaei, 1592, 4to, 111, 52 (USTC 623058).
- 69 Officium B. Mariae Virginis nuper reformatum: & Pii v: Pont: Max. iussu editum, Venetiis: Aldo Manuzio, 1576, reprinted in 1581, [24], 562, [2] p.; ill., plates, in 12mo (EDIT16, CNCE 79915, not in USTC).
- 70 Francesco Barberi, Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561–1570): con documenti inediti, Roma 1986. The only reformed text that Aldo Manuzio never ceased to publish over the years was the Catechismo (in Italian).
- 71 Nuovo, The book trade, 249-257.
- 72 Karen L. Bowen & Dirk Imhof, Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe, Cambridge 2008.
- 73 Ibidem, 154.
- 74 Ibidem, 159.
- **75** Ibidem, 171.



Fig. 5 Officium B. Mariae Virginis, Ven.: apud Aldum, 1576 (first issue): title page Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, B 1657 (159 × 82 mm)

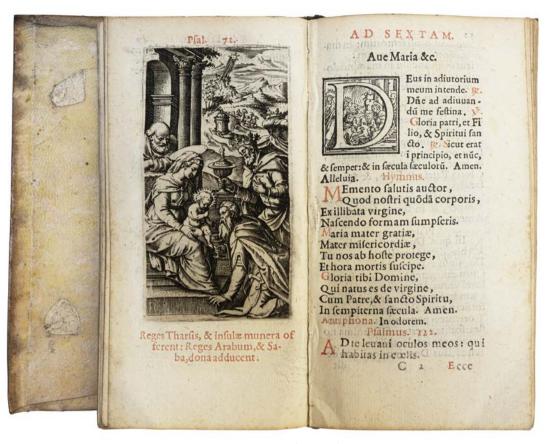


Fig. 6 Officium B. Mariae Virginis, Ven.: apud Aldum, 1576 (first issue): fol. C1 verso-C2 recto Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, B 1657

Only one exception is known today. The Officium B.M.V. of Aldo Manuzio seems to have been the only occasional competing initiative [Fig. 5-6]. This edition includes woodcut illustrations in the calendar section and a series of 45 full-page engraved illustrations in the body of the text, created by various engravers, among whom the well known artist Gaspare Osello or Uselli from Cittadella (in Latin, Gaspar ab Avibus), who signed the frontispiece representing the fifteen mysteries of the rosary in medallions. Osello's work as an author of artistic prints and in particular of the series of 74 etched portraits of members of the House of Austria (first edition 1557) is well known, while his activity for numerous Venetian publishers remains to be reconstructed.⁷⁶ Whereas the idea of complementing this text with engravings

76 Giuseppe Straliotto, Gaspar ab Avibus incisore cittadellese del xvi secolo, Cittadella 2000; Stefania Seccareccia, 'Gaspare Osello. Contribuiti per un catalogo' in Grafica d'arte, 27 (1996), 7–17; Eadem, 'La serie delle Austriacae gentis Imagines di Gaspare Osello, prima parte' in Rassegna di studi e di notizie, 22 (1998), 403–420; 'seconda parte' in Rassegna di studi e di notizie, 23 (1999), 179-222. For a general picture, see Gert Jan van der Sman, 'Print publishing in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century' in Print Quarterly, 17:3 (2000), 235-247. certainly came to Aldo Manuzio from Plantin's numerous editions of books of hours, the latter's editions did not serve as direct models because Manuzio's edition displays relevant differences in the selection of the accompanying text and in the choice of images. It is worth noticing that this edition with engraved illustrations, the earliest known imitation of Plantin's books of hours, was published just three years after the start of Plantin's extensive production of such books.



Fig. 7 Officium B. Mariae Virginis, Venetiis: apud Aldum, 1581 (second issue): fol. C6 recto By permission of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Aldine Collection 18614.

Aldo Manuzio's Officium B.M.V. is known in two different versions. Five years after the princeps in 1576,77 the book was completely reworked, using the same materials, and this is the edition actually put on sale in his printed catalogues.78 The 1581 edition is a more problematic product. On the one hand, it is made in such a way as to resemble more closely a Plantin's book of hours by introducing the ruler box on every page (but the result is not neat) and by inserting text in the box, further complicating the printing process. On the other hand, after presumably selling all copies from the 1576 edition, the second edition was made with the same plates, some of which looked evidently worn [Fig. 7].

Finally, what was the reception of this book? Only guesswork is possible, based on some clues. We can imagine that Manuzio launched the innovative but risky initiative in order to gain a share of the profitable but challenging market of prayer books with engraved illustrations where the new aesthetic created by Plantin was the benchmark. Aldo's investment must have been relevant. We can infer that the 1576 print run had been entirely sold in about five years, which was probably encouraging, given the decision to republish

it in 1581, exploiting the same materials. However, perhaps because the second was not truly an accomplished production, copies of this Officium remained unsold during the whole period under examination here, and beyond. The nominal price remained the same during the nearly 40 years that the edition was available, which means that it lost value according to the inflation rate.

The story of Aldo Manuzio's Officium and its dubious outcome may provide some clues about the reasons for which the Giunti did not attempt to produce this kind of prayer book with engravings. The Giunti would have been perfectly informed about the edition and its

fate, not only because no secret was possible in the overcrowded city of Venice, but specifically because Aldo was married to Francesca Lucrezia Giunti, Tommaso Giunti's illegitimate daughter and the cousin of Luc'Antonio the Younger. Thus, Manuzio's Officium remained for a long time nothing more than an experiment in Venice. As already observed, the Giunti and their partners preferred to carry on their customary production of prayer books with woodcut illustrations, a field where they were in a prominent position for more than a century.

Conclusions

Studying book prices means finding a further way to explore the economy of the publishing sector in one of the most competitive cities in Europe. The publication of so many printed catalogues in fifteen years undoubtedly marks a critical moment. The slower sale of stocks speaks of a progressive saturation of the book market, an excess of supply over demand. Book prices from these catalogues constituted a reliable and consistent array of current prices in Venice. More research is needed, and this is also possible thanks to the EMoBookTrade database that allows us to verify in other sources whether and how these printed prices succeeded in becoming reference prices in diverse and faraway contexts.

For instance, the most expensive book in our pool of data, the Geografia by Livio Sanudo was evaluated at a bit more than one third (price per sheet 26.26 denari) of the price set by its producer Zenaro (price per sheet 70.02 denari) in the inventory drawn eighteen years later (1609) of the private library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.⁷⁹ In a more general examination, the printed catalogue published in 1601 by Gaspare Bindoni on his way back from the Frankfurt Fair displays the remarkable mean price of 29.54 denari of all 588 imported editions, more than double the mean price in Venice, according to our sources (13.53).80 These considerations help to understand the demand and offer conditions of the book market in that period, although no generalisation is advisable.

All in all, we can conclude that Venetian publishers set higher prices per sheet for texts in Italian than in Latin, for smaller formats than the larger ones, for special typefaces (e.g., music) than for roman/italic, and for books of prayers than any other subject of the period. Only exceptional factors (also in combination with each other) caused a real spike in price per sheet: the use of engraved illustrations, new content (particularly in special areas, like

⁷⁷ The only copy known of this first issue is in Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, B 1657.

⁷⁸ The only copy known of this second issue is in Manchester, John Rylands Library, Aldine Collection

⁷⁹ Index librorum Bibliothecae Pinellae (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS B 3119 suss.). We wish to thank Anna Maria Raugei for having generously given us access to her unpublished edition of this document, whose data have been processed in the Early Modern Book Prices database.

⁸⁰ Catalogo de i libri della Fiera di Franchfort passata di settembre мрсі. Di Gasparo Bindoni libraro in Bologna, 1601. The catalogue has been published with commentary by Ian MacLean, Episodes in the life of the early modern learned book, Leiden/Boston 2021, 138-211, who generously allowed us to process price data in the Early Modern Book Prices database.

geography, architecture and medicine), and the exclusive permission to publish the reformed religious service books. In fact, Officia, missals, breviaries and religious service books represented the most profitable sector of the market in this period because they were in the greatest demand exactly when their production was restricted by the pope's need to exercise control over the reformed texts. Moreover, every expensive edition was invariably protected by a Venetian privilege.

Thanks to the statistical analysis, we can now ascertain what was the average price of a printed book produced by some of the most influential Venetian publishers in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Certainly, this is not simply in terms of what was the 'average' price of a book. 81 We have demonstrated that prices of individual books are not the ideal starting point to determine the 'average' price of a book. Only price-per-sheet calculation gives a reliable picture. In addition, we are now able not only to focus on the mean price per sheet but also to enrich this calculation with another element: the median price per sheet of each publisher. The publisher's mean and median prices per sheet confirm a tight range of about 4 denari, not shifting much according to the different publishers. This allows us to conclude that prices on the Venetian market were remarkably consistent. Notwithstanding the dissimilarities among the different publishers, none of them could charge their goods beyond a limited range of quotations except in a very few cases. Contrary to other administrations, the Venetian authorities decided not to control (or try to reduce) prices, even when editions enjoyed a temporary monopoly, thanks to a privilege. Rather, they let prices be set in a process free from impositions. And, as we have seen from the data, the system worked remarkably well.

Manuzio and Giolito catalogues that we have worked on. Grendler thought that these prices were 'retail prices' and analysed Giolito's catalogues by relating them only to book formats.

⁸¹ This has long been an investigated issue in the history of the book. 'The average price per books was between 1 and 2 lire' wrote Paul Grendler (The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605, Princeton 1977, 12-14), referring to the same

List of catalogues with prices, printed in Venice **Appendix** from 1586 to 1600

Aldo Manuzio the Younger

- 1 'I libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Armandus de Bellovisu, Declaratio difficilium terminorum theologiae, philosophiae atque logicae, 1586
- 2 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo che si trovano al presente' in Juan Huarte de San Juan, Essame de gl'ingegni de gl'huomini, 1586
- 3 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Jean Bodin, Demonomania de gli stregoni, cioè furori, et malie de' demoni, col mezo de gli huomini, 1587
- 4 'I libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in G. Iulius Caesar, Commentarii, 1588
- 5 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Savino Bobali, Rime amorose, e pastorali, et satire, 1589
- 6 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Jean Bodin, Demonomania de gli stregoni, cioè furori, et malie de' demoni, col mezo de gli huomini, 1589
- 7 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Leonardo Vairo, De fascino libri tres, 1589
- 8 'Libri di Stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Juan Huarte de San Juan, Essame de gl'ingegni de gl'huomini per apprender le scienze, 1590
- 9 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Aldo Manuzio, Epitome orthographiae, 1590
- 10 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Angelo Rocca, Osservationi intorno alle bellezze della lingua latina, 1590
- 11 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Marcus Welser, Inscriptiones antiquae Augustae, 1590
- 12 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Charles Estienne, Agricoltura nuova et casa di villa, 1591
- 13 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Niccolò Vito di Gozze, Dello stato delle republiche secondo la mente di Aristotele, 1591
- 14 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Marcus Welser, Conversio et passio ss. martyrum Afrae, Hilariae, Dignae, Eunomiae, Eutropiae, 1591
- 15 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Marcus Welser, Fragmenta tabulae antiquae, 1591
- 16 Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella libraria di Venetia, CIO IO XCII, 1592
- 17 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella libreria di Venetia CIO IO XCII' in Cornelio Bellanda, Viaggio spirituale nel quale facendosi passaggio da questa vita mortale si ascende alla celeste, 1592
- 18 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella libraria di Venetia CIO IO XCII' in Jean Bodin, Demonomania de gli stregoni, cioè furori, et malie de' demoni, col mezo de gli huomini, 1592

- 19 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che si trovano al presente' in Paolo Manuzio, In epistolas M. Tullii Ciceronis quae familiares vocantur commentarius, 1592
- 20'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, che hora si ritrovano nella libraria di Venetia del CIO IO XCII' in T. Livius, Historiarum ab urbe condita libri qui extant xxxv, 1592
- 21 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella libraria di Venetia CIO IO XCII' in Louis Le Roy, Della vicissitudine o mutabile varietà delle cose nell'universo libri XII, 1592
- 22 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella libraria di Venetia, м. D. хсіv' in Francesco Bellinato, Discorso di Cosmografia, 1595
- 23 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella Libraria di Venetia, CIO IO XO IV' in Aldo Manuzio, Eleganze insieme con la copia della lingua toscana, e latina, 1594
- 24 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella Libraria di Venetia, м. р. хсу' in Vinko Pribojevic, Della origine et successi de gli Slavi oratione, 1595
- 25 'Libri di stampa d'Aldo, nella Libraria di Venetia, CIO IO XCVII' in Sophocles, Elektra tragedia, 1598.

Giolito, heirs of Gabriele

- 26 Libri di stampa de' Gioliti [A], 1587
- 27 Libri di stampa de' Gioliti [B], 1587
- 28 Libri spirituali di stampa de' Gioliti, 1589
- 29 Indice copioso e particolare di tutti li libri stampati dalli Gioliti in Venetia fino all'anno M.D.XCII, 1592

Scoto, heir of Girolamo [Melchiorre]

- 30 Index librorum omnium tam ad principales scientias, nempe theologiam, philosophiam et iuris utriusque peritiam, quam ad quascunque alias artes et facultates cuiuscunque generis pertinentium, qui ad annum usque praesentem MDXCI editi extant, atque habentur penes haeredem Hieronymi Scottii, 1591
- 31 Indice de' libri di musica stampati dalli magnifici Scoti, cioè quelli che sino al presente anno 1596 si ritrovano, 1596

Luc'Antonio Giunti the Younger

- 32 Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima Iuntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCI impressi nunc etiam existunt, 1591
- 33 Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima Iuntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi [...] unc etiam existunt, 1595

Damiano Zenaro

34 Libri stampati dal magnifico Damian Zenaro sino al MDXCI in Venetia: cioè tutti quelli, che si ritrova al presente, con il suo manco prezzo a contanti, 1591

Niccolò Misserini

35 Libri di stampa di Nicolò Misserini che si ritrovano al presente 1600, 1600.

FRANCESCO AMMANNATI

Notes on Venetian monetary history from the medieval to the early modern era



Sales catalogues of Venetian booksellers in the early modern age listed a price for each title, conventionally expressed in lire, but one might come across other currencies, such as ducati and grossi, or even a combination of several monetary species. What did this mean in concrete terms? What relationship existed among the figures noted in these catalogues, in the account books of the merchants and the coins that materially circulated in the Venetian marketplace? The following remarks certainly do not aspire to summarize a centuries-long debate on the nature of money, its extrinsic and intrinsic features and its function in an economic system, all the more so in an era such as the ancien régime: precisely the changes that occurred in these aspects are some of the indicators marking significant differences with contemporary times. This chapter is meant to set a few definitions and possibly eliminate some ambiguities that often accompany the study of monetary aspects in the history of economic phenomena.1

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1 The following concise annotations are elaborations based on studies of the history of money in Western Europe in general and the Venetian Republic in particular. Among the most significant and useful for reference are: Carlo M. Cipolla, 'Studi di storia della moneta. 1. I movimenti dei cambi in Italia dal secolo XIII al XV' in Studi nelle scienze giuridiche e sociali pubblicati dall'Istituto di esercitazioni presso la Facoltà di Giurisprudenza, Università di Pavia, 29 (1948), 31–239; Idem, Moneta e civiltà mediterranea, Venezia 1957; Idem, Money, prices and civili-

zation in the Mediterranean world, New York 1967; Idem, Le avventure della lira, Bologna 1975; Giulio Mandich, 'Formule monetarie veneziane del periodo 1619–1650' in Studi in onore di Armando Sapori, Milano-Varese 1957, 11, 1143-1183; Richard A. Goldthwaite & Giulio Mandich, Studi sulla moneta fiorentina (secoli xIII-xVI), Firenze 1994; Ugo Tucci, 'Convertibilità e copertura metallica della moneta del Banco Giro veneziano' in Studi veneziani, 15 (1973), 349-448; Idem, Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento veneziano, Bologna 1981; Aldo de

Some concepts of money

Conventionally, currency can be defined in three ways, or rather, it serves three essential functions: it is a medium of exchange, a standard measure of value (or unit of account) and a store of value. These functions are conceptually separable, depending on the object used as currency: prior to the widespread introduction of coinage, the adoption of metal objects having uniform size and weight guaranteed by an issuing authority, these functions could be fulfilled by the most disparate objects (livestock, tools of various types, grain and so on). The main feature for a means of payment to be a proper medium of exchange is its widespread acceptance within a community, whether by force of law or custom. The initial spread of metal coins seems to be traced precisely to the growing establishment, in ancient times, of administrative entities structured as kingdoms or 'polis': these 'objects' enabled them to collect taxes and generally impose payments on their subordinates with greater ease. The function of facilitator in trade would emerge and become fundamental only later.

Some scholars consider that the essential quality of money is being adopted as a means of payment, whereas for others its function as a standard of value is decisive. From both points of view, precious metals immediately proved to be the most suitable monetary medium, given their far greater potential to measure the magnitude of economic acts than other materials. In practice, as well as in the analysis of economic reality, it is common to confuse or fail to separate these two properties of money, not least because the most widespread means of payment generally also became standards of value. However, it is important again to bear in mind that these are two quite distinct concepts, both theoretically and historically.

During the Middle Ages, it was customs and laws that determined which means of payment were so common as to function as a medium of exchange: metal coins were the primary means of payment, and the authorities determined which varieties were legal tender within their area of jurisdiction. Other means of payment could also be legal tender: for example, and especially in the most significant commercial marketplaces, such as Venice, debtors could satisfy their obligations with transfers from their accounts held by professional bankers or, where present, by specific public institutions.

In those times the 'money' circulating from hand to hand was in many cases distinct from the 'currency' in which prices were recorded. The value of the metal coins that were used in payments was expressed in denominations that were not shown on the coins themselves: they were in fact evaluated using money of account, which incidentally, as we shall see, did not have a correspondence to the name of the coins that were materially exchanged. The key feature of all the monetary areas of Europe was, ultimately, the dissociation be-

Maddalena, Moneta e mercato nel '500: la rivoluzione dei prezzi, Firenze 1973; John F. Chown, A history of money from AD 800, London/New York 1996; Alan M. Stahl, Zecca. The mint of Venice in the Middle Ages, Baltimore, MD 2000; Thomas J. Sargent & François R. Velde, The big problem of

small change, Princeton, NJ/Oxford 2002; Pierre Vilar, Oro e moneta nella storia, 1450–1920, Bari 1971.

tween hard cash (means of payment) and the unit of account (the specific instrument for measuring prices within a given area of sovereignty). Moreover, coins circulated through regions and across boundaries, whereas territorial units of account were not directly convertible into one another.

A money of account, therefore, has its main purpose in measuring value, making calculations and keeping accounts, rather than being an actual means of payment. Its non-reference to something visible or tangible led Carlo Cipolla to refer to it as 'ghost money', a fortunate expression being able to express at once the exception to this general rule: just as a ghost is a shadow of a past existence, in some circumstances a currency with the same denomination could perform the functions of both money of account and cash money, as we shall see in the case of the Venetian ducato. Generally speaking, however, people of the past reasoned in terms of value of metal coins, expressing it in money of account (which had no equivalent in specific sonante): it is no coincidence that the vast majority of records of an economic nature, even accounting ones, only sporadically mention the various types of metal coin used in payments. Economic historians and numismatists can co-exist without ever meeting during their respective research activity!

Nor should its legal function be forgotten; a money of account was a measure of the value of obligations, debts and credits, which could be translated through some mechanism (a law or practice, but also decisions made between individual traders) into minted coins. So, again, a money of account also measured the value of these other minted coins, consisting mainly of copper, silver and gold pieces. A businessman paid close attention to the currency with which he acknowledged a debt or acquired a credit, and the actual coin with which he had to pay the debt or could collect the credit. The money of account also served to guarantee stability to the monetary system on a market flooded with coins that underwent incessant devaluations in terms of fineness or were made up of different precious metals whose value ratio fluctuated continuously.

We then come to a further logical step, the role of money in the formulation of a price. The latter can be considered an expression, indicating the amount of money that must be given in return for tangible or intangible goods traded on the market. In this specific sense, price is thus the exchange rationale in an advanced economy, relying on an instrument suitable for measuring values and accepted by market participants: money. Its general character in relation to any other commodity is to be a representative term for labour; the monetary unit is, therefore, a unitary measure of labour that is quantitatively reflected in individual commodities, thus performing an evaluative function. Between the monetary unit and the unit of labour there is a proportional correlation: quantity of money - which expresses the value of the good – and quantity of labour required to obtain that quantity of money.

But if the price of an object is expressed in a certain amount of money of account, this tells us nothing more than that it costs some multiple of the unit of value. If it is not identified, this figure or price means nothing. It is as if today we were indicating a price without specifying the currency. An item may cost 50 dollars or 50 euros or 50 yuan: obviously, there is a big difference in the three cases. It is, therefore, not possible to compare pure figures from one financial account to another or from one country to another without

knowing the currency used and the proportion between the different currencies used in the accounts. To make comparisons over time and space of investments, capital, profits and so on, what is fundamental is the real value of the currency being compared, i.e., its purchasing power on the market. This can be calculated in various ways, but generally it requires the creation of a set of reference goods (a 'basket') with their prices to be related to a certain amount of money. In this way, it is possible to observe changes in the purchasing power of the currency in which these prices are expressed.

The origin of the European monetary system

In order to identify the passages that led to the coexistence in early modern Europe of a multitude of currencies having legal tender within a specific monetary area and to understand how all these concepts materialised in the monetary systems in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is perhaps necessary to take a step back. First of all, these systems had inherited all the external characteristics of those of the previous centuries, which in turn had derived their features, *ab origine*, from the so-called Carolingian reform.

At the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne had developed a monetary reform which was imposed on all the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. This reform foresaw a silver monometallism by setting up a single legal-tender currency, the *denarius*, obtained by dividing a silver pound (about 410 grams, 950/1000 fine) into 240 units. In decimal terms, every coin theoretically weighed 1.76 grams. A monetary system relying on only one coin, with no multiples or fractions, was very primitive, but it was suitable for the low level of transaction in early medieval times. When transactions and prices of hundreds or thousands of *denari* were required, non-coined multiples were used: the *soldo* worth 12 *denari*, the *lira* worth 20 *soldi* or 240 *denari* corresponding to the original silver pound. A weight unit had become a monetary unit. The *lira*, which would go on to enjoy great success over the following thousand years throughout the Christian West, being the basis of the monetary system for most of Europe, was thus born as a non-existent coin.

With the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, control over minting passed to local authorities (feudal lords, communes, etc.), each adopting a different weight, size and, above all, standard of fineness for their own *denari*. The consequence was that the following centuries were characterised by a slow but inexorable and generalised debasement of coinage. The silver content of the *denaro* saw a progressive reduction: the *lira* and the *soldo* followed the same path, fragmenting the monetary landscape of Europe, and of Italy, in particular. With the erosion in the value of the *denaro* (240 *denari* came to represent everywhere a weight less than a pound), the *lira*-coin ceased to be equal to the *lira*-weight and 'the ghost had begun its life, independent from the real being from which it had taken its name', to cite Cipolla again. It also began to multiply in variety depending on the minting area (*lira* of 240 Florentine *denari*, *lira* of 240 *denari* of Lucca, *lira* of 240 Venetian *denari*, and so forth).

The economic development of Western Europe, dating from the first century after the year 1000, brought as an obvious consequence the increase in the number of business

transactions, for which the denaro, which was now debased everywhere, seemed less and less suitable. At the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, different coins with a unitary value higher than the denaro began to be struck, even employing more valuable precious metals, such as gold: thus, for example, in 1172, Genoa began minting a silver coin with the value of 4 Genoese denari. Florence and Rome soon followed the Genoese example. Slightly later, Venice began to strike a piece worth 26 denari. In 1252, Florence coined the golden florin equivalent to 240 denari. In Genoa, at the same time, a piece of gold equivalent to about 120 local denari, i.e., half a lira, was created.

The use of more than one metal raised problems referred to collectively as 'tri-metallism', but are more conveniently divided into the two separate problems of 'bi-metallism' (the relationship between silver and gold) and 'small change' (the role of the so-called 'black' coins).

Contemporaries began to emphasize the distinction between these 'big' (grossi) coins and the old 'small ones' (piccoli): the latter, represented by the ever lighter and debased denaro, were destined for circulation in local markets as a means of payment in retail sales, wage settlement and small credit transactions. The 'big' (silver or gold) coins were used instead in transnational, commercial and financial operations. The problem was that, throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, the monetary authorities were unable to maintain stable exchange rates between the 'small' and 'big' coins, leaving the former at the mercy of the inflationary forces, which, by contrast, only superficially affected the latter. Two dynamics were at work, as already noted: debasement and the need to alter the value of currencies in order to maintain the fluctuating gold-silver ratio (over which the government had no control, as it was determined by the international market for precious metals as commodities).

Instead of harmonizing themselves into an organic monetary system, they then formed two distinct ones, with specific areas of social and economic circulation. Within a few years, for example, the golden ducat of Venice, which was worth 576 denari in Venice in 1284, rose to 1488 in 1500; in 1252, the golden florin of 240 Florentine denari was valued at 1680 denari in 1500. Given these conditions of instability, the 'big' coin could not function as a multiple of the 'small' one.

The solution generally adopted by the businessmen in keeping their accounts was to keep alive the 'old ghosts', lira and soldo. For accounting purposes, it was necessary to have a differentiated unit system, but it was also essential to have a fixed relationship between the units. The impossibility of ensuring a stable ratio between the various metal coins obliged people to continue to use ghost units, inherently stable by definition, to measure their value.

The large metal coins (gold florins or ducats) in several Italian monetary areas (Milan, Venice, Genoa, Florence) maintained a firm connection with the small ones for a good part of the fourteenth century, so they also began to be used as a unit of account, as multiples of the denaro.

But when this stability began to waver around 1400 and the gold coin resumed its upward trajectory, it, too, turned into a pure money of account. For example, in the state of Milan at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the florin of account had a value of 384 denari, while the minted one, for example in 1445, was worth 768 Milanese denari.

The terms *lira* and *soldo* had therefore a universally identical meaning (240 and 12 *denari*, with a different value depending on the monetary area, but with an internally fixed ratio), while the 'big' units of account were worth many *denari* depending on the place.

The anchoring of the monetary unit of account to a material specimen implied that all prices expressed in ideal money corresponded to a certain amount of real currency 'of reference. The economic and social consequences differed, depending on whether the system of account was based on a 'stable' currency or, on the contrary, on a 'floating' currency: in the first case, those claiming credits and enjoying rents were obviously favoured; in the second case, it was debtors and entrepreneurs who benefited. Especially from the sixteenth century onwards, the anchoring of account currencies to the 'small' currency strengthened; the latter increasingly deteriorated until it became, in some areas, 'conventional currency', or token currency, i.e., not representative of the precious metal it contained. The bond between the account system and the increasingly weak reference currencies led, in the long run, to an obvious consequence: the ideal monetary unit of account depreciated, while the prices of 'strong' currencies and the prices of goods and services, expressed in the reference money of account, rose. Hence, a series of alterations in the money market threatened the integrity of the economic and social fabric: the ruling classes, with their wealth tied up in the more advanced sectors of the economy, had a strong interest in the progressive increase in the value of gold, the international currency par excellence in the market, while the lower classes, due to the ever-higher price of the strong currency, saw an erosion of their ability to buy gold coins.

The Venetian monetary system from the Middle Ages to the early modern era

How did all the issues illustrated thus far play out in early modern Venice?

Here, too, it will be necessary to keep the discussion of money of account, with its role as a measure of value, quite separate from the examination of actual, i.e., minted, coins and their surrogates, such as *partite di banco* (bank transfers).

Venice, as mentioned above, shared the Carolingian monetary system with Western Europe, adopting the now familiar *lira/soldo/denaro* subdivision. The city's prominent role in the transnational trade soon led it to introduce improvements to the rudimentary system that it had inherited: the earliest and most important advance was the minting of the silver *grosso* (1202), by which a heavier and finer coin was introduced to replace the *denaro*, which had deteriorated greatly from its original value, differed in weight or fineness, and was uncomfortable to handle. This new coin, initially worth 26 *denari*, was soon preferred in transactions stretching over long distances of time and place. Since it was difficult to make calculations with the *grosso* by using the other currencies employed up to then, and since the gap between the silver content of the *grosso* and the *denaro* soon increased, a new *lira* was created, which had the *grosso* as its basis and unit. Both minted coins (*grosso* and *denaro*) were thus the basis of a different money of account.

After the introduction of the grosso, the term lira (not coined money) could have two meanings: the lira di piccoli corresponded to an abstract mass of silver equal to that contained in 240 denari piccoli, while the lira di grossi was equal to a mass of silver contained in 240 grossi. As the small denari varied in weight and intrinsic value, whereas the grossi remained for a long time always the same, this new lira of greater, always constant value was preferred by the State, by the great commerce and in all those negotiations in which it was important to keep exact memory of the given content of silver; on the contrary, the everyday trade and the small commerce usually used the lira di piccoli and its more convenient and more popular subdivision. The ratio between one lira di grossi and one lira di piccoli naturally corresponded to that between the grosso and the denaro piccolo, so that the former *lira* was originally worth 26 of the latter. A problem emerged when the quantity of piccoli contained in a grosso rose, thereby increasing the amount of lira di piccoli needed to obtain a *lira di grossi* in exchange. The latter soared in 1270 to 28 and in 1282 to 32 *lire di* piccoli; as the amount of lira di piccoli increased, it decreased in terms of intrinsic value.

This money of account, the lira di grossi, was of obvious use for large transactions, and instead of being supplanted by the future gold ducato (introduced in 1284 with a value of 18 grossi), it remained in force, eventually shifting its base currency from the silver grosso to the gold ducato.

The ratio between the lira di piccoli and the ducato varied over the centuries, until it reached 124 soldi di piccoli in 1455, i.e., 6 lire and 4 soldi ($6 \times 20 + 4 = 124$ soldi). The golden ducato remained fixed at this rate for more than forty years in the second half of the fifteenth century, but when, in 1517, its value started to rise again, people considered the ducato of 124 soldi as an abstract unit of account that had nothing to do with the coined golden ducato, which was progressively increasing in value.

In short, a new unit of account was born, the ducato corrente, normally used as the upper value on the scale. The ducato corrente remained unchanged in its value of 6 lire and 4 soldi until the fall of the Republic (1797). This *ducato* also had its own subdivisions, corresponding to 24 grossi, each of which was subdivided into 32 parts (piccoli, of the ducato): 1 ducato = grossi 24 = piccoli 768.

This unit was preferred in bookkeeping by those involved in large-scale trading and financial activity. In the treatise of Andrea Metrà, Il Mentore perfetto de' negozianti, compiled at the end of the eighteenth century,2 it was still explicitly stated: 'In Venice and throughout the State of this Republic, account books are kept in lire of 20 soldi, the soldo of 12 denari; bankers and wholesale merchants then keep their accounts in ducats of 24 grossi'.3 A striking example in the book-trade context is given by the Giunti firm, which in its catalogues, but also in other commercial documents, expressed prices and values in *ducati* and *grossi*,

- 2 Andrea Metrà, Il Mentore perfetto de' negozianti, ovvero Guida sicura de' medesimi, ed istruzione, per rendere ad essi più agevoli, e meno incerte le loro speculazioni, Trieste: Wage, Fleis e Comp., 1793-1797, 5 vols.
- 3 'A Venezia ed in tutto lo Stato di questa Repubblica si tengono i libri e conti in lire da 20 soldi, il soldo da 12 denari; i banchieri e negozianti all'ingrosso poi tengono la loro scrittura in ducati da 24 grossi', cf. Metrà, Il Mentore perfetto de' negozianti, v, 406.

thus demonstrating its international openness and leading role in the local and long-distance markets.

However, the ducato also acquired an important multiple, used for convenience in major amounts, consisting of the lira di 10 ducati, or again lira di grossi, which had the typical subdivisions of the lira: 20 soldi, each of 12 denari (of the lira di grossi). This denaro was divided, in turn, into 32 parts (piccoli, of the lira di grossi). These monies did not exist in material terms and were called grossi a oro, piccoli a oro, to distinguish them from the lira di piccoli of the same name. The lira di grossi was thus ultimately the greater multiple of the lira di piccoli: one lira di grossi corresponded to 62 lira di piccoli.

With the introduction of the ducato corrente, the Venetian system of money of account developed according to this outline:

1 ducato	= 24 grossi (of 32 dena	ri) = 768 denari					
1 ducato corrente = 6 lire 4 soldi di piccoli = 124 soldi di piccoli							
1 lira di grossi	= 20 soldi di grossi	= 240 denari di grossi					
	= 10 ducati correnti	= 62 lire di piccoli = 1240 soldi di piccoli					

To make this jumbled system of reference all the more complex, even before briefly examining the different kinds of coins that materially circulated in the Venetian marketplace during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it should be emphasised that the lira di piccoli, the ducato and the lira di grossi took on different meanings depending on whether they expressed values in moneta di Zecca (Mint money), in moneta corrente (current money) or in moneta di banco (bank money). It follows that there existed, therefore, lire di piccoli (of 240 piccoli), ducati (of 6 lire 4 soldi), lire di grossi (of 10 ducati) in moneta di Zecca, in moneta corrente, in moneta di banco. The meaning of this specification is the consequence of the choice of the type of actual currency into which the account values were to be translated.

The moneta di Zecca, the 'good money' by definition, was that used by public authorities to express the official values of the gold and silver coinage minted in Venice or the assimilated foreign one. It was also used to set the amount of taxes or other debts payable to the State and to express the purchase prices of silver used by the Mint. In the case of payments expressed in moneta di Zecca to be made in cash, the permitted metal coins had to comply with a strict set of parameters with respect to weight and title.

The moneta corrente was mainly used in transactions between retailers and wholesale traders. It essentially expressed the prices of all circulating metal coins, goods and services, and monetary obligations incurred as a result of ordinary business operations. Public authorities could also use it to express official values by adopting a less rigid measure than the moneta di Zecca.

The moneta di banco, bank money that was a widespread substitute for minted coin in Venice, traditionally represented a credit to one of the local bankers that could be turned to the benefit of another account. The bankers could be private, so the transfer operation, or scritta, had a fiduciary character and required the consent of the recipient and had to be based on a real deposit of the payer in actual money. Different is the case, which interests us here, of a partita from a public bank, whether it was the so-called Banco della Piazza di Rialto (created in 1587) or the later Banco Giro (1619). This is not the place to emphasise the differences between the partite of the two banks.4 What is important here is that the giro between partite, the system of crediting and debiting accounts belonging to different operators was protected and guaranteed by the State, so that transactions were carried out in good-quality currency of the right weight. Since these partite were used in payments resulting from exchange transactions, purchases of goods, and so on, the moneta di banco was also used by public institutions and private merchants to express the value of the resulting obligations (either at their onset or later by translating a value previously expressed in moneta corrente).

The values expressed in moneta di Zecca, corrente and di banco, therefore, had to be distinguished by the quality and quantity of the metal coins into which they were convertible: as a matter of fact, a mismatch between what was expected and what actually happened in everyday business was very frequent, so much so that the moneta di banco or di Zecca could be translated into lower quality metal coins, while good gold or silver coins could be handled by referring to moneta corrente. Thus, the choice of the best and worst currencies depended less on the money of account in which values were expressed and more on the economic sectors in which these transactions took place: in large-scale trade, obligations were met in gold or fine silver coinage, whereas in small-scale trade, more ordinary silver species circulated.

To conclude, here follows a quick overview - certainly not exhaustive - of the main coins to be found in the Venetian marketplace in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We can say that among those coins struck by its Mint, the most relevant was the *ducato*, or zecchino, obtained by cutting 68 ¼ coins from a mark of pure gold (about 238 grams). Half or quarter zecchini of the same quality were also coined, while the Venetian gold doppia (struck in accordance with the Spanish, Genoese and Florentine gold coins delle buone stampe, which also existed in 'half' size, mezza) had a lower fineness.

As for silver coins, a distinction must be made between 'fine' (fini) and 'coarse' (grosse) ones. The former, generally made from a mark of about 94.7% pure silver (the residual was copper), were represented by the scudo (also present in fractions such as the half, quarter, eighth, sixteenth scudo) and by the ducatone (with its half and quarter). The 'coarse' silver coins were minted from a mark of silver having a purity just above 52.25% and were called lirona or lirazza, or da vinti (i.e., 20 soldi). Other silver coins of similar low alloy were the grassetto, its half the gazzetta, just as the soldino was half gazzetta.

4 If both partite represented the credit that a merchant held, they nevertheless had a different origin, partly different discipline, and often also a different degree of convertibility. The former was reserved

for the specific functions of the old private bankers - di scritta - while the latter was assigned the management of financial relations between the State and the several suppliers.

Finally, the soldone, its half the bezzo, and the bagattino: the first two were small coins containing less than 5% silver, while the last was obtained by cutting 500 pieces from a mark of pure copper.

In short, the Venetian example, which is representative not only of the Italian reality but also of the entire West, describes in vivid colours a complex, stratified and, when observed by adopting today's logic, a confusing and chaotic system for measuring values. One wonders how both economic operators and ordinary people were able to disentangle themselves in such a mess. This essay has at least attempted to illustrate the historical process that led to such a situation: further consideration would require a deeper reflection on the adoption of a rational mentality, which in the long run led to the abandonment or to the reformulation of certain practices. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that such a system was able to fulfil and satisfy the needs of calculation and evaluation in the most advanced economies for an apparently incredible number of centuries.

ANDREA OTTONE

Renaissance publishers, market risks and empirical methods of assessment

A revised interpretation of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti's 1600-1643 catalogue



Bernardo (c. 1550-c. 1627), son of Bernardo Giunti (1517-1551), was a minor figure in a publishing dynasty that had established a dominant position not only in the Italian book market but also in Catholic Europe throughout the sixteenth century. Florentine in origin, the Giunti were able to climb the ranks of the European publishing business by setting up a well-thought-out distribution network. With branches in France and Spain, the barycentre of the firm was Venice, whereas Florence remained its ideal homeland, in spite of the unsettled fortune that the Florentine branch experienced through the years. This chapter focuses on the life of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti and on the work believed to be his greatest legacy: a thick and dense manuscript bibliographic catalogue. Its ambiguities will be investigated to see how early modern bookdealers handled the intricacies of an increasingly competitive market.

Attempts and failures: a short biography of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti

Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti was born in Florence in about 1550.1 The tenure of the Florentine branch by his father Bernardo di Filippo (1487–1551) was characterised by a slight financial decline. As his heirs never failed to complain, Bernardo had brought the family's finances into a difficult situation, and moreover, he left numerous offspring to deal with it. In addition to two daughters, Arcangela (fl. c. 1561) and Isabella (fl. c. 1561),2 Bernardo left

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- 1 William A. Pettas, The Giunti of Florence: a Renaissance printing and publishing family. A history of the Florentine firm and a catalogue of the editions, New Castle, DE 2013, 169.
- 2 Archivo di Stato di Firenze (henceforth: ASF), Notarile antecosimiano, b. 9300, Francesco Giordani, atti, 1560-1562, fol. 17 verso. By 1560 Arcangela was said to have become a nun, and Isabella married.

five adult sons, Filippo II (1533–1601), Iacopo (1534–1591), Luca (also known as Lucas, 1534– 1584), Giulio (or Julio, 1549-1619) and the youngest Bernardo (c. 1550-c. 1627). Business generated by the local firm could not support the whole family. A power struggle emerged in 1560 when Luca, Giulio and Bernardo claimed an active role in the publishing house. The issue was resolved by arbitration, which largely favoured Filippo and Iacopo, who remained sole managers of the Florentine branch.3 The three younger brothers were left with the choice of perpetuating the family diaspora, which incidentally caused the Giunti to be so well represented in the larger continental book market. Luca migrated to Spain, where his presence in Salamanca is documented from 1566. There, Luca experienced a negative change in fortune and died soon after. Giulio also moved to Spain around 1570 and later established his activities in Madrid, adding yet another Iberian hub to the broader family network.4 Bernardo di Bernardo, now in his twenties, relocated instead to Venice, where he presumably could work in synergy with the well-established firm of Lucantonio Giunti 11 (1542-1602).5

The power struggle among the five Florentine siblings is itself a sign that Bernardo's career did not have an easy start. In Florence, he seemed to be the unwelcomed part of a declining firm that could not sustain so many components. Furthermore, Bernardo's choice to relocate to Venice may be a sign that Florence's publishing scene was less than a sparkling one, or at least not appealing to Bernardo's entrepreneurial ambitions. In many ways, Bernardo's later career was not a history of success either.

Bernard's move to Venice was supported by an accomandita partnership that he contracted in 1580 with his elder brother Iacopo, who was also acting on behalf of Filippo. The accomandita was likely the financial agreement that substantiated the publishing initiative arranged under the name of Bernardo Giunti & fratelli (and brothers).7 Accomandite did not require a symmetrical investment in the partnership; in fact, past examples of such associations among members of the Giunti family saw well-off members of the clan taking the role of the accomandanti who invested substantially larger shares in the association than the accomandatario (general partner). Thus, the richer investors implicitly asserted their weight in the association while freeing the general partner to devise the entrepreneurial strategy to bring profit to the society.8 How much Bernardo invested in the accomandita is unknown. We know, however, that his brother Iacopo committed 1,500 Florentine ducats.9 Six years after he signed with this association, Iacopo regretted his choice once he learned of the poor conditions of Bernardo's finances. On 6 November 1586, Iacopo wrote from Venice to his Florentine acquaintance and likely collaborator Giovanni Venturi (fl. c. 1586). The tone of the letter was fairly alarming. While in Venice, Iacopo discovered that Bernardo's business there was moving slowly, and Iacopo started to fear that his own investment would not be forthcoming anytime soon, and would thus make him insolvent before his own creditors. Iacopo manifested his intention to resolve the issue by obliging Bernardo to mortgage his own 'assets and quotas' (effetti e portioni) and to allow Iacopo to receive sufficient funding to meet his debt obligations in support of Bernardo's endeavours in Venice. These assets were mainly connected to a company concerned with the printing

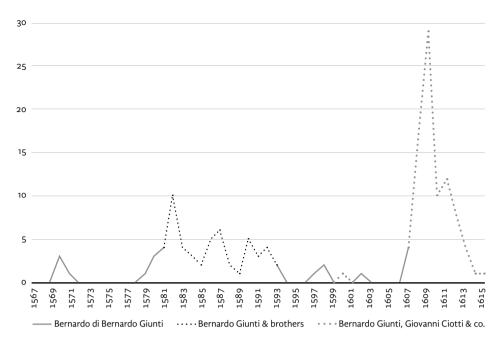
of law books (likely the Societas Aquilae Renovantis),10 which was 'his most lively profit' ('la più viva cosa che abbi'), but it also included stocks of unsold books in Venice, Bologna, Perugia and Florence, along with a number of insolvent debtors. In asking Venturi to manage the business in Florence for him, he recommended not telling a certain 'ser Raffaello' (likely a notary), since he did not want to 'go hitting the tambourine in the aviary' ('andar col cembalo in colombaia'), thus scaring away his Florentine creditors.11

Bernardo's financial problems manifested quite early. One year after he had entered in association with Iacopo in the attempt to stabilise his presence in the publishing arena, Bernardo seemed already unable to cope with creditors. Two promissory notes, dated 1 July 1580, show that he had considerable debts with a Paduan gentleman named Francesco Bonaldi (fl. c. 1580), then mentally incapacitated ('mentecapto'). On that date, summoned by Francesco's assigned guardian, namely his son Giovanni (fl. c. 1580), Bernardo admitted owing a debt of 3,240 ducats to Francesco. This was the result of a series of loans contracted on three different occasions: 1,200 ducats received in mid-May 1580; 1,500 borrowed a month later; and 540 received on an unspecified date, likely no earlier than the summer of 1579. In the promissory notes, Bernardo swore to extinguish his debt in separate instalments in 1583: 1,500 on 12 May 1583; 1,200 on 15 June. The remaining 540 ducats were to be paid in three annual instalments, also by 1583. Bernardo's financial liability must not have been sufficient if Lucantonio Giunti had to step in and formally cover for him. Despite his outstanding debts with Francesco Bonaldi, Bernardo had little problem in receiving an additional 300 ducats from him on the same day when he signed those promissory notes, thereby reaching a total debt of 3,540 ducats to Francesco Bonaldi. 12

Bernardo used Francesco's capital quite extensively during the year 1580, encountering little resistance from the family. This should not be surprising because his uncle Lucantonio had been entrusted by the Bonaldi family to function as Francesco's co-guardian, along

- 3 Pettas, The Giunti of Florence: a Renaissance printing and publishing family, 86.
- 4 William A. Pettas, A history & bibliography of the Giunti (Junta) printing family in Spain 1526–1628, New Castle, DE 2004, 46-51.
- 5 Paolo Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, Firenze 1963, 11, 447. All the dates pertaining to members of the Giunti family are derived from the meticulous genealogy found in Pettas, The Giunti of Florence: a Renaissance printing and publishing family, 167-
- 6 Decio Decia & Renato Delfiol, I Giunti, tipografi, editori di Firenze, Firenze 1978, 11, 22.
- **7** EDIT16, CNCT 663.
- 8 One example would be the accomandita that Lucantonio Giunti I (1457-1538) signed in 1517 with Giuntino Giunti. On this occasion Lucantonio participated with 27,153 ducats, whereas Giuntino invested only 5,000. The accomandita is published in William A. Pettas, The Giunti of Florence: merchant publishers of the sixteenth century; with a checklist of all the books and documents published by the Giunti in Florence from 1497 to 1570, and

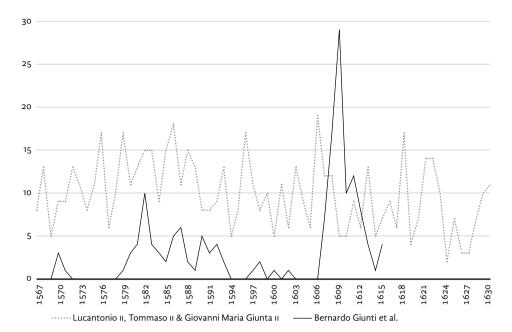
- with the texts of twenty-nine documents, from 1427 to the eighteenth century, San Francisco, CA 1980,
- 9 Decia & Delfiol, I Giunti, 11, 22.
- 10 On the Societas Aquilae Renovantis, see EDIT16, CNCT 90; Ian Maclean, Episodes in the life of the early modern learned book, Leiden/Boston MA 2021, 93-98; and Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Leiden/Boston MA 2013, 65-67.
- 11 Decia & Delfiol, I Giunti, 11, 23.
- 12 Archivo di Stato di Venezia (henceforth: ASVe), Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, busta 337, n. 38 (two documents dated 1 July 1580). For the sake of proper reference, it should be mentioned how another creditor of Francesco, Giovanni Paolo di Andrea, a merchant mainly interested in textiles, owed 740 ducats, which he promised to hand in within six months, without further delay. To assure his punctuality, Andrea made a secure deposit of company shares worth 75 lira; see ibidem (document dated 7 March 1580).



Graph 1 Diachronic graph of known surviving editions carrying Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti's name Source: Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, II, 459–486, 490–521.

with Francesco's son Giovanni from at least 30 June 1579. Lucantonio must have been on fairly good terms with the family, and likely his fame as a successful publisher and businessman must have seemed a guaranty. The good relationship with the Bonaldi family must have started to deteriorate by the end of December 1580, when Francesco Bonaldi's son Girolamo (fl. c. 1580) removed the guardianship from his brother Giovanni and from Lucantonio Giunti, holding it for himself alone. By 4 March 1581 the relationship with Lucantonio worsened because Girolamo had earned an injunction from the tribunal to force Lucantonio to return a number of accounting records removed from his father's archive. By then Girolamo was openly accusing Lucantonio Giunti of fraudulent manipulations. Lucantonio unlikely that Girolamo's great disappointment was also caused by Lucantonio's relaxed attitude in using Francesco Bonaldi's assets to finance the dubious investments of Bernardo Giunti, thus allowing him comfortable terms of restitution.

Proper handling of debts was an essential element of the European publishing business.¹⁵ Several of the small-scale publishers likely struggled to make ends meet, and Bernardo was indeed a small-scale publisher in the Venetian arena. His modest financial performance was in fact mirrored by his unimpressive publishing output, at least based on the number of known surviving editions that carry his name [Graph 1]. Quantitatively speaking, his output seemed intermittent and overall incomparable to that of Lucantonio Giunti and his two heirs (Tommaso II, 1582–1618, and Giovanni Maria II, dates unknown), during the same years of Bernardo's activity in Venice.¹⁶ The peak of his production came in two instances: when he published books in association with his two brothers, and while



Graph 2 Diachronic comparison between Bernardo di Bernardo's output and the output of the major Giunti's firm of Venice (held By Lucantonio Giunti II and, from 1601, by his two sons Tommaso II and Giovanni Maria 11). The data are based on known survivals

Source: Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, 11, 23-204, 241-306, 333-369, 459-486, 490-521

in partnership with Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1564-1635), a Sienese publisher with a wellestablished position in Venice and a consistent network of ultramontane dealers, particularly in Frankfurt.¹⁷ Other than that, his output could often lean to zero and pause for years.

References to his financial problems during his years of partnership with Iacopo and Filippo Giunti II reveal that even a somewhat steady publishing rate cannot count as evidence of a wealthy condition. It all depended on whether Bernardo's publishing choices

- 13 Ibidem, n. 27 and 60.
- 14 Ibidem, n. 38.
- 15 Lucas Burkart, 'Early book printing and venture capital in the age of debt: the case of Michel Wenssler's Basel printing shop (1472–1491)' in Shanti Graheli (ed.), Buying and selling. The business of books in early modern Europe, Leiden/Boston MA 2019, 23-54. At the time, the profession with a considerable number of financial interests could prove risky, as shown by the turbid circumstances that brought on the assassination of Lyonese bookman Symphorien Beraud in 1586. The episode is recounted in Ian Maclean, Learning and the market place: essays in the history of the early modern book, Leiden/Boston, MA 2009, 227-272.
- 16 Quantitative comparisons of this kind are often based on survivals, as it is the case for Figs 1 and 2. Basing quantitative analysis on survivals may fail to comprise lost editions or not yet catalogued surviving copies. The data used in the referenced
- graphs, though originating from the same source (Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, 11), as well as the bulk of survivals that data are based upon, have been subjected to similar phenomenology in terms of preservation and data retrieval, hence making the overall data set consistent and inner comparisons reliable. On the matter of data consistency of a bibliographic data set, see Flavia Bruni & Andrew Pettegree (eds), Lost books: reconstructing the print world of pre-industrial Europe, Leiden/Boston, MA 2016.
- 17 Ian Maclean, 'Ciotti and Plantin: Italy, Antwerp and the Frankfurt Book Fair in autumn 1587' in La Bibliofilía, 115 (2013), 135–146; Ian Maclean, Episodes, 80-86. Ciotti's frequent attendance at the Frankfurt Fair, at least until 1603, can be comfortably traced using the following directory: Gustav Schwetschke, Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis, Halle 1850-1877.

would meet market demand. Qualitatively speaking, his publishing portfolio fit the profile of an unambitious publisher. He was primarily publishing in the vernacular, thus limiting his distribution radius mainly to the peninsular market. He often published small formats, hence targeting medium-to-low budget customers [Table 1]. His signature products were chiefly vernacular translations of classic authors, which was his publishing model during the partnership with his brothers Iacopo and Filippo, or inexpensive theatre plays or poetry, which he mainly produced in association with Ciotti. Neither publishing endeavour required substantial capital, and neither opened a large-scale transnational market where most of the risks arose but also most of the earnings.

Regardless of his scarce publishing achievement and dubious financial success, at least limited to his initial decade of activity, Bernardo Giunti still carried a valuable name at a time when kinship counted. Being a Giunti must have given him reputation and access to valuable networks in the book dealers' community. This may explain why he was repeatedly elected to a representative role in the Venetian printers' guild.¹⁸

Aside from his political visibility and his presence in the market for some forty years, Bernardo Giunti was not set to leave an important cultural or professional legacy. His name, however, is linked to a manuscript volume whose relevance will be emphasised in the following pages as the most impressive trace of his professional activity.

Genres		Format		Languages	
Vernacular literature	48	Folio	35	Italian	103
Devotion	29	Quarto	60	Latin	49
Moral theology	16	Octavo	20		
Higher education	30	Duodecimo	31		
Classics	12	Sextodecimo	6		
Tracts	11				
Liturgy	6				

Table 1 Representation of Bernardo di Bernardo's output by genres, bibliographic format and languages. Data are based on known surviving editions.

Source: Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, 11, 459-486, 490-521.

Basic facts about the manuscript Collection *170/622

Ownership, authorship, and users of the codex

The manuscript Collection *170/622 is currently held in the Department of Special Collections in the Charles E. Young Research Library of the University of California, Los Angeles, under the label Giunta Publishing House Stockbook, as named by Martin Lowry in 1991.19 Composed of 309 leaves, the codex is bound in a contemporary limp dark-leather wrapper, adorned with blind-tooled geometrical designs. Two extensions on the long margins protect the numerous fore-edge leather tabs functioning as search aids.20

It is well known that the volume originates within the wide network of the Giunti publishing house. Cut and pasted samples of the family's device, the Florentine lily, are in proud display on the front and back pastedown. Most of the core information about the manuscript is to be found at fol. 4 recto. It carries a date 'first of March 1600' ('primo marzo 1600'), which was no other than New Year's Day, according to the Venetian calendar. Although overruled by the Gregorian calendar of 1582, the Venetian dating method must still have been familiar to the Venetian merchant who initiated the codex, hence it is likely that the day and month, but not the year, are a fictitious indication of a starting date for the manuscript. The identity of the merchant behind the codex is soon revealed right below the date: 'This book belongs to me, Bernardino Giunti, bookseller in Venice' ('Questo libro si è di mi, Bernardino Giunti libraro in Venetia'). A few ramifications emerge from this autograph subscription. Firstly, it allows us to identify the handwriting of the person who claimed property over the manuscript. Martin Lowry rightly argues that this hand is compatible with one of the three distinguishable hands that composed the bulk of information contained in the manuscript.21 A conclusive statement, however, may be difficult because Bernardo's declaredly autograph heading employs a visibly enhanced graphic elegance than any hand found later in the volume. Yet, some distinct graphic features of the two scripts display strong similarities. Martin Lowry has already identified the owner as Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti, disambiguating the owner's identity from that of Bernardo di Filippo Giunti II (1585–1648), who was also active in Venice in the second half of the seventeenth century and who often went by the nickname Bernardino.22

The presence of multiple hands reveals that ownership and authorship, at least of single entries or blocks of entries, are not symmetrical elements. The manuscript's internal chronology, which will be detailed later, suggests that it probably outlived its original owner, hence proving that its content appealed to a plurality of users. In at least one instance, the

- 18 For Bernardo Giunti's active role in the Venetian quild, see Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, 11, 452-455.
- 19 Martin Lowry, Book prices in Renaissance Venice: the stockbook of Bernardo Giunti, Los Angeles, CA 1991.
- 20 A high-quality digitized copy has generously been made available online by the holding institution and can be accessed at https://digital.library.ucla. edu/catalog/xpb9j200zz-89112 (last accessed on 6 December 2022).
- 21 Lowry, Book prices, 18-19.
- 22 Lowry, Book prices, 16; Camerini, Annali dei Giunti, 11, 448. To date, information regarding Bernardo di Filippo Giunti is minimal. It is known that he was born in Florence on 3 January 1585 (Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore di Firenze, Registri Battesimali, R. 17, fol. 63 verso). This means that he was fifteen years old when the 'stockbook' started to be used, hence reducing the likelihood that he may have been the owner of the manuscript volume. His publishing activity in Florence is documented (Decia & Delfiol, I Giunti, 11, 167–183), whereas his activities in Venice are difficult to distinguish from

those of Bernardo di Bernardo. His presence in the Serenissima, however, is confirmed by 1634 when his name is unequivocally recorded in the minutes of the Guild as the 'son and heir of former sir Filippo Gionta' ('figlio et erede del q[ondam] signor Filippo Gionta'): ASV, Arti, b. 163, Atti, vol. 3, fol. 90. Bernardo Giunti is mentioned as an active bookdealer of Venice in 1643 (Mario Infelise, 'Chi stampava i primi libretti d'opera (Venezia 1637-1645)?' in Francesca Nepori, Fiammetta Sabba, & Paolo Tinti (eds), Itinerari del libro nella storia: per Anna Giulia Cavagna a trent'anni dalla prima lezione, Bologna 2018, 159). This is unlikely to have been Bernardo di Bernardo, who by that time must have reached some ninety-three years of age. Bernardo di Filippo died in Florence on 23 July 1648 (Decia & Delfiol, I Giunti, 11, 166), leaving a will, which proves a decent financial standing (ASF, Notarile moderno, 16812, ser Angiolo Varchi, testamenti, 1645–1655, fols 4 recto-7 recto; partially published in Decia & Delfiol, I Giunti, 11, 29-30).

manuscript does refer to an ideal plurality when inviting users to 'turn over' the page ('voltate'), also compatible with the use of a formal 'you.'23 The use of a formal tone was in fact a typical feature of commercial communication, which surely also fashioned the style employed in the manuscript owned and largely authored by Bernardo Giunti. If multiple users were the recipients of the information, it must be pointed out that this information may have made little sense to those who were not active in the book trade. Hence, the manuscript was by its own nature made only for a select few.

Data: quantity, form, and quality

'This book belongs to me, Bernardino Giunti, bookseller in Venice', writes its owner. What Bernardo does not tell posterity is the book's purpose. The undeclared nature of the manuscript, along with its manifold ambiguities, call for further analysis. The manuscript consists of a large bibliographic catalogue with approximately 11,000 entries. The density of entries per page varies according to categories, which will be later clarified. The quality of data per entry varies, despite an attempted consistency on the part of the scribes. At their most complete, entries would look as follows: 'Epistolae di Tullij. In 8°, Griffo, C. 33, L. 1.4.'24 The sequence of data provides all relevant information: author, title, bibliographic format, publisher, number of printing sheets and price (1 Venetian lire and 4 soldi). In most cases, information regarding language and publisher is missing from the listings and, as common in Renaissance catalogues, author or title may complement each other when either is recognized as iconic to the reading audience (e.g., 'Calepinus' stands for the widely used Latin dictionary authored by Ambrogio Calepino (c. 1435-c. 1509) or 'Epistolae familiares' to identify the known work by Cicero). This ideal consistency is not constant, however; the element most often missing is price. Prices in Bernardo's catalogue are a relevant presence, but unlikely the most important one. A gross estimation makes prices present in little more than 50% of the entries. In fact, the price per edition is an element that tends to disappear from the manuscript's later entries, which is an interesting aspect that will be highlighted further on when the manuscript's inner chronology and the process of adding data will be examined. When the price is not present in the entry, the information regarding the number of printing sheets is instead most often available, approximately 90% of the time. 25 This is another factor that deserves attention later in the conclusions. Entries, albeit rarely, can look as sketchy as this: 'Trattato del spirito santo' or even 'Fortunato', to which its provenance, Brescia, is provided in the heading of the list.²⁶ Summarizing these observations to make better use of them later, one would be compelled to maintain that the manuscript chiefly stored qualitative information concerning the listed editions. However, and this should not be disregarded, the mere existence of a given title associated to its provenance was a sufficient criterion to fit the inscrutable selective logic lying behind the purpose of Bernardo Giunti's catalogue.

Inner organisation of data

Another clear-cut notion regarding this codex is that data are not merely organised in a linear sequence; rather, they are placed into sections with consistent overlapping information. There are three distinct sections in the manuscript. The first one, counting a total of 132 leaves, organises data by literary genres. The genres listed are humanities (19 leaves), philosophy (21), theology (23), medicine (19), law (25), Greek and Hebrew (10), and liturgy (14). The taxonomy closely mirrors that used in a sale catalogue published by Lucantonio Giunti in 1591, which divides listings by the following genres: humanities, philosophy, theology, medicine, astronomy, Greek works, civil law, canon law, ecclesiastical works and vernacular works.²⁷ These categories served the purpose of a commercial taxonomy rather than an epistemological one, in that they identified categories of potential purchasers among students, scholars and professionals. The small differences found between Lucantonio Giunti's printed catalogue and Bernardo's manuscript consist of a nuanced hierarchical reorganisation of the various categories: Bernardo postpones the Greek works and associates them with another learned language, Hebrew, which Lucantonio had no interest listing in his catalogue, since he was not known for dealing in Hebrew literature. In all fairness, neither was Bernardo, who in fact includes solely Greek books in a section meant for both. Furthermore, Bernardo shows no interest in compiling a section dedicated to astrological works, unlike Lucantonio. Bernardo also merges canon and civil law under a single heading, law. Vernacular literature, the nearest thing to present-day's leisure reading, closed the largely scholarly catalogue of Lucantonio.

Interestingly, vernacular literature in Bernardo's manuscript was conceived of as a logical overlap between the first category of genres, and the second section of books by provenance, beginning with 'Vernacular books printed in Venice.'28 This is an important part for Bernardo, who reserves 39 leaves of the codex to it; the remainder of this section organises data by provenance and occupies another 132 leaves. There, listings fall under subcategories, by city or by country of print and, in the case of Venice alone, a further subcategory lists

- 23 Charles E. Young Research Library of the University of California, Los Angeles (henceforth, YRL), Collection *170/622, fol. 158 recto, col. b. I would like to express my profound gratitude to the personnel of the YRL's Department of Special Collection for the kind assistance that they provided during my stay at their institution. I am equally grateful to the Center for Early Global Studies for granting me the Ahmanson Research Fellowships which allowed me to finance my research in Los Angeles in 2018.
- 24 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 11 recto, col. a, item 19. The available data make it possible to match the entry with Marcus Tullius Cicero, Epistolae familiares, Venetiis: apud Ioannem Gryphium, 1596; see EDIT16, CNCE 12505.
- 25 The greatest consistency can be found in ibidem, fols 206 recto-248 recto. Here, the indication on the number of printing sheets or gatherings is sporadic. This portion of the catalogue consists of a cohesive section that will be described later.
- 26 Ibidem, fol. 266 recto, col. b, respectively item 1 and 7.
- 27 Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCI [Venice: Lucantonio Giunti 11, 1591]. The list was reprinted with some variation in 1595.
- 28 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 137 recto.

editions by publisher.²⁹ Again, this reveals that, for Bernardo Giunti's purpose in compiling this manuscript, information pertaining to Venice had a major role. Aside from Venice, the whole Italian peninsula occupied a special place in Bernardo's set of informative priorities.³⁰ This is shown by the choice of using manuscript pagination for the provenance section dedicated to publishers active in Italy (fols 248 recto-267 verso display a sequence from 1 to 38 placed at the upper right of each side).

The nature and use of the third section of the manuscript (fols 269 recto-306 verso) remain unclear. It is comprised of two separate subsections, respectively fols 269 recto-287 verso and 288 recto-306 verso, where listings are organised alphabetically with fore-edge letter tabs to guide searches. Distinctive elements of the two subsections are that the first lists relatively voluminous and pricey folio editions, whereas the second is devoted entirely to editions of Bernardo Giunti and Giovanni Battista Ciotti together or Ciotti alone. Occasionally, listings belong to the Societas Veneta, a joint venture in which Ciotti was a prominent stockholder. What places the two sections in common is an enhanced organisation of the information on prices. These are almost always declared for each entry and in multiple formats: 'ordinary, net, in ducats, cash' ('ordinari, netti, a ducato, contanti'). The data display overall a cleaner organisation. Information is placed in a tabular format, following lines carved in the paper by an edged tool, and corrections or integration are very episodic. More frequent than for the rest of the manuscript are indications of the year of publication. Internal evidence suggests that this portion of the manuscript was written in or after 1608. This, one must remember, is the year when the quantitative output of Bernardo Giunti's editorial production spiked upward. Interestingly, 1608 is also the year when Bernardo Giunti and Giovanni Battista Ciotti published a joint sale catalogue.31 An overlap of information between this catalogue and fols 288 recto-306 verso is obvious; however, a direct derivation of this section from the said printed catalogue remains to this day dubious. 32

- 29 The publishers listed are: Manuzio (family), Barezzo Barezzi and Mattia Colosino, Meietti (family), Sebastiano Combi, Giovanni Battista Ciotti, al segno della Fontana (EDIT16, CNCT 186), Sessa (family), Giolito (family), Giovanni Gueriglio, Societas Aquilae Renovantis, Compagnia Minima (EDIT16, CNCT 698), Somasco (family), Giorgio Varisco together with Marco Varisco, Bernardo Giunti, Bernardo Basa, Giovanni Battista Bertoni, Cornelio Arrivabene, Francesco Bariletti, Evangelista Deuchino, together with Giovanni Battista Pulciani, Fioravante Prati, Giacomo Vincenzi, Gioacchino Brugnolo, Girolamo Porro, Salicato (family), Zoppino (family), Galignani (family), Bonfadino (family), Alessandro Vecchi, Pietro Ricciardi, Angellieri (family), Girolamo Polo, Bertano (family), Imberti (family), Farris (family), Andrea Muschio, Nicolini da Sabbio (family), Niccolò Polo, Ugolino (family), Guerra (family), Zaltieri (family), Lucio Spineda, Niccolò Moretti. For the listings of this group of publishers, see YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 249 recto-266 verso.
- 30 The cities listed are: Bologna, Cremona, Ferrara (ibidem, fol. 264 recto), Verona, Milan (fol. 264 verso), Naples, Padua (fol. 265 recto), Pavia, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua (fol. 265 verso), Treviso, Vicenza, Verona, Urbino (fol. 266 recto), Messina, Brescia (fol. 266 verso), Turin (fols 267 recto-268
- 31 Catalogus librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi luntae, Io. Bapt. Ciotti, et sociorum, Venetiis
- 32 A single clue suggests that the copyist based those records on direct scrutiny of Ciotti's actual stock. The following record provides a faint clue: 'Filli de Sciro. In 12, C. 6 1/2, L. -.8' (YRL, Collection *170/ 622, fol. 293 recto, item 2). The sheet count indicated in the item matches a 1607 edition that carries Ciotti's name alone (see https://opac.sbn.it/ bid/LO1E000732), but it does not match an issue dated the same year that also carries Bernardo Giunti's name on the title page (see https://opac. sbn.it/bid/UBOE023717).

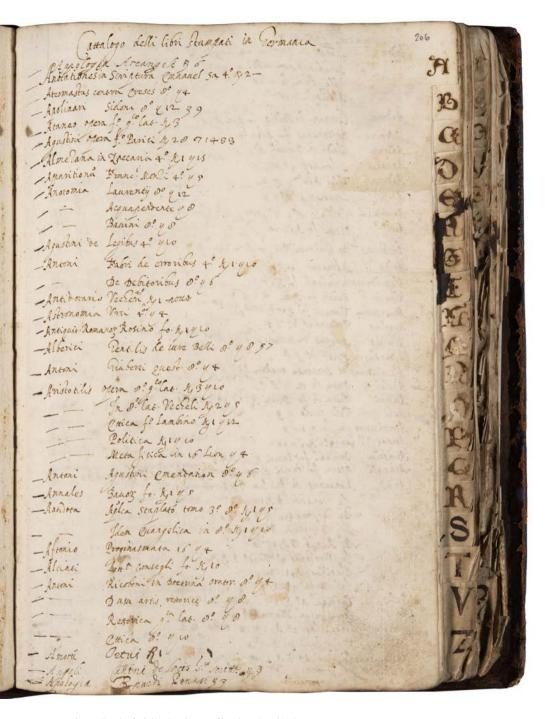


Fig. 1 First leaf of the 'Catalogue of books printed in Germany' Collection *170/622, fol 206. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA

Search aids

Another device to allow prompt navigation in the magnitude of information contained in the manuscript are parchment-made fore-edge tabs, which are used to identify relevant sections, such as literary genres, cities, geographical areas or printers. Not all such tags have survived and not all tags are legible, evidence of consistent use rather than just the inclemency of time. It is likely that fingers repeatedly sliding through the tags have caused the progressive blurring of handwritten words and that the pulling on the tags to open the book at a section of interest has weakened the joints causing later losses. Within each main category where data were deemed to be quantitatively relevant, letter tabs facilitate alphabetical browsing of data. This is clearly the case for all literary genres in the volume. However, two instances of provenance - Germany and the imprints by Francesco de Franceschi - are very interesting exceptions (respectively fols 206 recto-248 recto and fols 186 recto-205 verso) [Fig. 1]. Like the category tags, there are signs of usage with the alphabetic tabs which suggest frequent sliding of fingers over the alphabetic directory. Within each alphabetic section, entries are grouped in independent parts, ordered by decreasing format size: reale, folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo and smaller formats. Format groupings are visibly a preset of the page, prepared progressively to host new entries when the occasion requires; this is suggested by gaps or inversely by crowding of data that requires the placement of text in different columns, occasionally improvised where space allows. The dynamism of data entered over time finds clues in the presence of different handwriting or different instances of writing by the same hands on the same page. Additionally, for frequently produced items for which frequent implementation was expected, the scribe had systematically placed a line meant to replace the author's name or the title in order to save time [Figs. 1 and 2].

The use of fore-edge tabs experienced an evolution over time. Several tabs used to subdivide the three main categories were added while the data entry process was in progress. This was surely the case for the tabs protruding on the versos of fols 247–268, which identified individual publishers active on the Italian peninsula. There, tabs frequently overlap with text, eventually causing the partial loss of information. The instance proposed in Fig. 3 pertains to an entry '[...] Sansovino. C. 58 ½', which can be matched with a 1603 edition, thereby revealing that the practise of adding tabs continued to that date or later.³³ This evidence confirms how Bernardo Giunti was perfecting his tool and refining his method, thus showing that the implementation of speedy ways to browse a growing mass of data was a core feature of his manuscript.

³³ YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 261 verso, col. a, item 3 (the entry is located in the section 'Librai diversi de Venetia' / 'Alessandro de Vecchi'); the matching edition is: Francesco Sansovino, Cento novelle, Venetia: appresso Alessandro de Vecchi, 1603, see http://id.sbn.it/bid/VEAE003904.

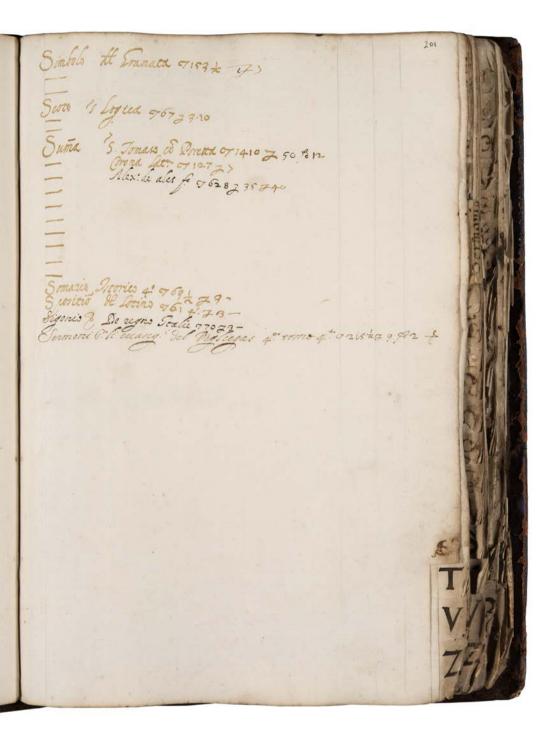


Fig. 2 Sample of the section 'Catalogue of the books owned by Francesco de' Franceschi, Senese' Collection *170/622, fol. 201. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA



Fig. 3 Sample of the section 'Booksellers of Venice'

Collection *170/622, 261 verso. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA

Internal chronology

The 'stockbook' was an object in continuous evolution. Its inner chronology stretched over forty years, at least to 1643. Indicative of this are the entries found at fol. 138 verso, with reference to items 28 to 40, where the former refers to a 1623 edition, and the latter to one of 1643. Instances like these, albeit not often as consistent, can be found scattered throughout the volume. Rather, bursts of data-entry practices are visible. The first visible influx of data is between 1600 and 1604. A second burst in data entry happened during the period 1608–1610, though mainly limited to folios 269 recto–306 verso. Data were surely entered in later years, albeit their incidence decelerates between the 1610s and 1640s; the accumulation of data for these years is scattered through the volume and does not reveal a clear pattern and purpose as in the previous two instances. The period between 1600 and 1604 is in fact constitutive for the whole volume and pertains to most of the catalogue's information. As mentioned, listings at folios 288 recto–306 were entered during or after 1608 (most of the entries are datable between 1608 and 1610 with fewer entries drafted later).

To assess the possible timeline during which data were accumulated in the manuscript a multidimensional approach is required. One must consider the continuity of graphic elements, such as the juxtaposition of different scripts within various sections and on single leaves in those sections; the juxtaposition of diverse instances of the same handwriting at different moments (often shown by the different intensity of the pen stroke); and the

arrangement of text on the page and the general interpretation of the available space (with particular reference to visible postliminary filling of interlinear spaces). However, the primary device in navigating the chronology of data is matching listings with printed editions: this helps to clarify the chronological extremes of the listings and helps to define a terminus ante quem for whole blocks of data.

Puzzling elements

The first confusing element that should catch scholars' attention when thinking of Bernardo Giunti's own catalogue in terms of an inventory of books in stock is the complete lack of quantities. This is the most consistent element in the whole manuscript: none of the listings provides information on the number of copies available of a given edition. Common surveys of early modern inventories show that they were all about quantities. A rich example among sixteenth-century Venetian inventories is found in the archival repository of the Giudici di Petizion, a magistracy that, among other things, was invested in assigning wardships to orphans or incapacitated citizens who had some movable or immovable properties to be managed. To avoid rapacious mismanagement by guardians, the Giudici would initiate the process by ordering a notarized inventory of the ward's belongings. An example of how goods would be described in such contexts is the following:

Juanne's shirts, twelve	n.º	12
Linen sheets, five pairs, used	n.º	5
Fabric sheets, four five pairs, used	n.º	5
Face towels, four	n.º	4 ³⁵

Clearly, this example, among countless others, emphasized the quantity of shirts, sheets or towels owned by Juanne, to the point that the quantity appeared twice, spelled out and in numerals, likely to avoid fraudulent manipulations. We know nothing of, say, the colour of Juanne's shirt. Qualitative features may appear to differentiate a set of items, such as in the case of bed sheets, either in linen or fabric. For an inventory, it makes sense to be light in describing the inventoried commodities. In fact, why indulge in too many qualitative details when the objects could be easily located 'in the bedroom' or 'on the porch' on a defined

³⁴ Collection *170/622, fol. 138 verso, item 28 reads, 'Anfiteatro del Doglioni. 4°, rame, C. 180' and can be matched with Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni, Anfiteatro di Europa, Venetia: Giacomo Sarzina, 1623, see http://id.sbn.it/bid/viaeo01486; Collection *170/622, fol. 138 verso, item 40, the last one on the page, reads, 'Avvento sacro di Serafino Leggi. 4°, C. 108 1/2 [...]' which matches Serafino Leggi, Avvento sacro con i Santi correnti, Venetia: Giunti, 1643, see http://id.sbn.it/bid/um1E001310.

^{35 &#}x27;Camisie del signor Juanne, dodese, n.º 12 | Linzioli de lin, para cinque, usadi, p.a, n.º 5 | Linzuoli de stopei, para quattro cinque, usadi, n.º 5 [...] Fazuoli da viso, quatro n.º 4.' See ASV, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, b. 341, n. 45 (Giovanni Badoer; 3 August 1597).

date '20 October 1591?'36 Book inventories made no exception in this regard. When a stock of printed books had to be inventoried to preserve their integrity in a specific period of time, qualitative features merged with quantitative to achieve a single purpose, which was to record the number of instances of a given commodity in a given place and time.³⁷

Bernardo Giunti's so-called 'stockbook' follows a very different logic. To disregard quantity was a sensible choice for a source that had an active life of over forty years, a span of time when the bookseller's stock likely experienced considerable change, if business was profitable. Unlike common inventories of the time, Bernardo's manuscript was also descriptive when circumstances allowed, providing multiple types of information to the reader:

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[Breviario]. In 16, s. Barbara, in legno, L. 3.–. Idem. In 16, detto, rame, Miserino, L. 6. [Breviario]. In 16, a doi tempi, in legno, Miserino, L. 3.10. Idem detto. In 16, rame, L. 6.4.<sup>38</sup>
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Title, format, quality of the imprinted images (i.e., relief or intaglio), publisher, variation in the content³⁹ and a mention of a devotional icon placed on the title page (i.e., Saint Barbara). Each of these elements is consistent with the criteria of differentiating commodities that could be observed in a standard inventory. However, the listings, which are more heavily descriptive, probably refer to books that Bernardo was less likely to have before his eyes while itemising them in his manuscript inventory.

The strong likelihood that Bernardo, or one of his collaborators, was not working with copy in hand is suggested by the lack of one sensitive element, that is, the number of printing sheets, as the above example shows. Printing sheets, as has been stressed, are a fairly consistent element in the catalogue, and for good reason, as will be suggested later. Hence, the absence of an important element may arouse suspicion. The easiest way to retrieve such information was via a direct observation of the object, especially considering that book-dealers would often handle unbound editions, 40 which made the count even easier. However, the above example, and many more present in the catalogue, are rich in other qualitative information; would that not also be a clue for a process of storing information via direct observation? The plot thickens if one considers that the lack of crucial information, such as the sheet count, often coincides with richly descriptive entries, such as the ones above.

A somewhat counterintuitive hypothesis would be the following. What if some items were so richly descriptive precisely because they were intended to be evocative to a user who had no direct contact with the merchandise described? In other words, was the purpose behind an extensive description such as '[Breviary]. In 16mo, St Barbara, wood, L. 3' an advertisement? Advertisement tools of the Cinquecento book trade were primarily printed book sales catalogues, such as that found in Fig. 4. Their purpose was to evoke an

³⁶ Ibidem, n. 50 (Giovanni Badoer).

³⁷ Several such inventories have been studied in Nuovo, The book trade, 347–387, and two reproductions are shown at pages 382 and 384.

³⁸ YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 124 recto.

³⁹ In the specific case of a Catholic service book, such as the Breviary, 'a doi tempi' referred to the interplay between the book's content and the Catholic liturgical calendar.

⁴⁰ Nuovo, The book trade, 389.

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Fig. 4 Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCI impressi nunc etiam existuntexistunt. [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti II, 1591]

Biblioteca Comunale Augusta di Perugia, Stampati, Ald 558(8

idea of the advertised product in the mind of potential purchasers around Europe; hence, a description of quality and alluring hints to content were key. Prices were equally important, if not decisive, to orient purchases of one instead of another edition of the same work. The number of printing sheets was evidently not part of the advertising plan. Perhaps too specialized as information, or a malicious mind might even think they would be too useful to a competitor, who could compute the cost-price ratio and calculate profit margins and devise a consequent strategy. Likely, this information interested some book-trade experts, as they would make note of them in their own copies of printed catalogues (see Fig. 5).41 The commercial implication of these note-taking exercises will hopefully be clarified at the end of this contribution; the purpose in mentioning them now is to clarify how they were part of a commercial practice that evaded the initial purpose of sales catalogues.

Libri Theologiæ.			
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S. Antonini Archiep. Flor. fumma Theologie in 4.99	3	8	12
S Bernard, Flores in 8.		8	4
S.Bernardini Senensis omnia opera in 4. 7333 80	2	8	12
Bartholomæus Torres de Trinitate in summam			
fancti Thomæ in 4.		8	10
Cornelius Mussus Episcopus Bitontinus in Epi-		â	
ftolas ad Romanos in 4. 788 - 99		8	18
De Hiftoria Digina in 4 39		8	14
Comment divert Navarra in		8	8
S. Ioannis Chrisostomi opera omnia in 4. 7645 80	4		
lacobi Naclantis Epi Clodiesis opera omnia in f. 89	I	8	20
Martyrologium Rom.in 16. 719		8	3
Pauli Grifaldi, Decif. fidei Catholica in 4 89		8	16
Pij Bentiuolij Compendium Theologia fancti		•	
Thomæ Aquinatis in 8.		8	7
Prima secunda partis summa Theologia sancti			
Thoma cum Gaierano in fol.		8	16
Summa Theologia fancti Thoma Aquinatis cum		- 5	
elucidationib. formalib. Seraphini Capponi a			
Porrecta, plurimifq; alijs addit. exornata in 4. 280	6	8)	760
——Idem in fol. noua. ——— əp		8	
S. Thomæ Aquinatis Comment. in Apoc. in fol. 89		8	6
Thomæ de Chempis opuscula in 16. 89		8	4
Tertia pars summæ Theologiæ sancti Thomæ cu			
Gaierano in fol. — 99		8	18
Testamentum nouum in 8.		3	6
		8	4
¹ -4. ──₩	2	8	3
Vio Gaietani in pfalm. in fol 87	t	8	

Fig. 5 Detail of the Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima Iuntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi nunc etiam existunt. [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti II, 1591] Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, Z233.G44G 448i 1595

It seems, therefore, that Bernardo Giunti was compiling an ideal catalogue based on filtered information obtained from a selection of existing stock. This hypothesis acquires a further level of likelihood when considering that part of the dataset found in Bernardo's manuscript catalogue did in fact derive from known printed sales catalogues. Indeed, more than two hundred entries listed under the tab 'Turin' (fols 267 recto-268 recto) were copied from an undated catalogue published by Giovanni Domenico Tarino (fl. 1579-1616), a publisher and bookseller active in Turin.42 When and how the catalogue information entered Bernardo's manuscript is very interesting. Although undated, internal evidence shows that Tarino's catalogue must have been published around 1609 or little later, hence a time when the data-entry practice of Bernardo's catalogue was well advanced. There must have hardly been any space to fit a fresh and relevant set of data with a coherent geographical provenance, such as Turin. Such imprints were not previously represented in Bernardo's catalogue. To accommodate the new set of data, the copyists pasted two loose sheets of paper, which were, I presume, previously compiled. This is evident from the two leaves' slightly smaller size compared to the bound manuscript. A second and extremely interesting factor is that, in order to glue the two loose leaves properly, Bernardo (or whoever on his behalf) used a fragment of Tarino's printed catalogue, which carried the inscription, 'List of books of Gio. Domenico Tarino, printed in Turin, and their own prices, with the remark that 12 Grossi equals one florin, and 10 grossi of a florin equals one golden Scudo of Italy.'43 Clearly, it was advantageous to preserve the useful information on the exchange rates. Likewise, it implies that Bernardo Giunti owned at least one copy of Tarino's printed catalogue and that he could freely mutilate and use it as auxiliary material for his manuscript project. But then, why not paste in the printed catalogue directly? The very choice of expending effort in copying a printed page by hand into a series of manuscript pages strongly expresses certain advantages of handwritten entries. Manuscripts are intrinsically easier to adjust to the specific purposes of their owners. In fact, data are rigorously copied from Tarino's printed catalogue, yet slightly rearranged and integrated when possible. Entries could shift alphabetic position in the sequence, following a mnemonic arrangement of the title/author system that better suited the user. Most importantly, spaces could be added to integrate data with other information. The whole manuscript, as it will be shown later, was conceived as a work in progress that would suit the user for years to come.

- 41 Fig. 4 comes from the collection of Prospero Podiani, humanist and avid collector who likely used sales catalogues to build his own collection. He clearly had no use for specialised information, such as sheet counts. The broadsheet illustrated in Fig. 5 probably belonged to the Giunti circles, possibly Bernardo Giunti himself. For a book dealer, however, sheet counts were vital information, when available.
- 42 Lista de libri di Gio. Domenico Tarino, Stampati in Torino. Con il prezzo loro auertendo che grossi 12. fanno vn fiorino, & fiorini 10. grossi 6. fanno uno vn scudo d'oro in oro d'Italia. [Turin, Giovanni Domenico Tarino, by or after 1609]. I owe much gratitude to Christian Coppens and Angela Nuovo who generously shared this source with me with perfect timing, i.e., immediately after my study of fols 267 recto-268 recto of Collection *170/622, hence unlocking much of my understanding of Bernardo Giunti's manuscript.
- 43 See Lista de libri di Gio. Domenico Tarino.

The same can be said for the catalogue published by Lucantonio Giunti in 1591 (reprinted in 1595).44 The entries do not occupy a specific section of Bernardo's manuscript volume but are instead mostly scattered in the genre section. 45 The copyists are, however, selective: they transcribed only those entries of interest and occasionally modified entries with additional information, such as the number of printing sheets, or with newer information, such as recent prices. At times, content-based information was disregarded, probably because the manuscript was not intended as a broad advertisement tool. For example, an entry found in Lucantonio Giunti's 1595 printed catalogue reads, 'Hippocratis Opera omnia Greca & Latina, cum annotationibus Hieronimi Mercurialis. In folio D. 3, G. 12, C. 306', whereas Bernardo's manuscript catalogue omits Mercuriale's commentaries: 'Ipocrate Omnia opera greco e latina. Folio, C. 306, D. 3.12.⁴⁶

Other than such relevant examples, the transfer from printed to manuscript bibliographic data seems faithful to the original information:

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[Lucantonio Giunti's 1595 printed catalogue:]
Antiphonarium Rom. In duas partes diuisum. Real., D. 6, G. 12
Antiphonarium Rom. Cum signo solis. Real., D. 2, G. 12
Breuiarium Rom. Cum signo solis. In fol. D. 3.
Breviarium Rom. Cum signo S. Stephani. In 4°, D. 1, S. 4.
Breviarium Rom. Cum signo S. Thomae. In 4, D. 1.47
[Bernardo Giunti's 1600–1643 manuscript catalogue:]
Antifonario romano. Real., Zio,48 C. 374, D. 6., G. 12.
[Antifonario] rom. Real, sole, C. 100, D. 2.12.49
[...]
[Breviario] Romano, sol. Folio, Zio, D. 3.-.
[Breviario] Santo Stefano. 4°, C. 626, D. 1.3.
[Breviario] Romano, Santo Thommaso. 4°, C. 600, D. 1.-.50
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The copyists apparently disregarded content details, but diligently noted material features; the manuscript catalogue thus had an enhanced technical and commercial purpose specifically directed to expert merchants rather than a general audience. A further comparison can be made between the way the manuscript catalogue absorbs data derived from the Giunti 1595 printed catalogue and those derived from Giovanni Domenico Tarino (post 1609). If the former dataset is approached dialectically, the Tarino dataset is acquired word by word. The double standard should not be surprising, as quite intuitively, the scribe was familiar with the Venetian imprints advertised by Lucantonio Giunti, as it is possible that many of them were in Bernardo's warehouse or not difficult to consult for price and commercial value in the shop held by members of his own family, namely Lucantonio or later by his two sons, Tommaso II, and Giovanni Maria II.

Another example of such a copycat practice towards printed sales catalogues circulating in northern Italy and particularly in Venice concerns the 1600 catalogue of Niccolò Misserini

(fl 1589–1635).⁵¹ Also interesting is how Bernardo Giunti may have inspected other publishers' warehouses to compile his bibliographic catalogue. Clues of this practice can be found at folios 186 recto-205 verso. The very heading of this section is at odds with the idea of Collection *170/622 listing Bernardo's own books. This in fact reads 'Books owned by Francesco de Franceschi, Sienese' ('Libri che a Francesco de Franceschi, Senese').52 Why would Bernardo list somebody else's books in his own inventory?

Clearly, the practice of incorporating entries from external resources conflicts with the notion that Bernardo's catalogue functioned as an inventory of books in stock. Another troublesome piece of evidence, however, comes from the internal geography of the catalogue. The compilers put much effort in organising data by provenance, and this section indeed seemed to occupy a special place in the heart of the users, so much so that they perfected search aids, such as additional tags and unique pagination. Thus, the layout was important in this abstruse catalogue. It is an irresistible temptation to compare the internal arrangement of Bernardo Giunti's catalogue with the family's business network, which had been maintained with so much effort for decades.53 One would expect that Bernardo's stock,

- 44 Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum мрхсі impressi nunc etiam existunt [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti 11, 1591], and Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi nunc etiam existunt [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti 11, 1595] (published in Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Building an up-to-date library. Prospero Podiani's use of booksellers's catalogues, with special reference to law books' in JLIS.it, 9 (2018), 99). The only known copy of the 1595 reprint is held at YRL (shelf mark z233.G44G 448i 1595).
- 46 Ibidem, fol. 77 recto; the matching edition displays Mercuriale's comments scattered throughout the text, hence making it impossible to infer the commentaries in the single copies. This eliminates the option that the catalogue described a copy without Mercuriale's comments. For the matching edition, see Hippocrates, Hippocratis coi Opera quae extant, graece et latine, veterum codicum collatione restituta, novo ordine in quattuor classes digesta, interpretationis latinae emendatione et scholiis illustrata a Hieron. Mercuriali foroliviensi,

Venetiis: industria ac sumptibus luntarum, 1588,

EDIT16, CNCE 22546; the sheet count can be found

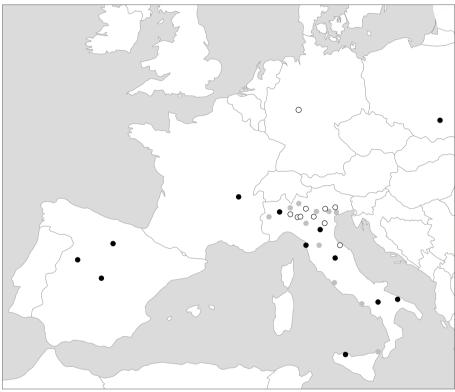
45 YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 5 recto-165 verso.

- in he Early Modern Book Prices database, no. 10919. 47 The entry can be found in the Giunti 1591 catalogue (e.g., Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Stampati, Ald 558(8), as well as in the 1595 reprint (Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum мрхсі impressi nunc etiam existunt [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti 11, 1595], fol. 1 recto, col. b) which is presumably the one that Bernardino had in hand.
- 48 'Zio' is undoubtedly a reference to the Giunti's device, The Lily (Giglio), which in Venetian parlance became Zio. I owe this notion to Angela Nuovo.

- 49 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 123 recto.
- 50 Ibidem, fol. 124 recto.
- 51 Bodleian Library, Broxbourne, Broxb. 97.10 (7). I owe this notion to Giliola Barbero. An example of the dialectic alignment of data can be the following: from the Misserini 1600 printed catalogue: 'Breviario, in 4°, tre Magi, disteso L. 7. Idem [Breviario], in 8°, Sant'Andrea, disteso L. 4. Idem [Breviario], in 16°, Santa Barbara, disteso L. 3. Idem [Breviario], in 16°, detto [Santa Barbara], in rame L. 6. Idem [Breviario], in 16° a doi tempi L. 3 s. 10.' Giliola Barbero transcribed and matched for the EMo Book Prices database (https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/prices, last consulted 21 July 2023). From Bernardino's stockbook: 'Breviario. In 4to, Miserino, L. 7, tre maggi, C. 117. [Breviario]. In 8°, s. Andrea disteso, L. 4.-. [Breviario]. In 16, s. Barbara, in legno, L. 3.-. [Breviario], idem. In 16, detto, rame, Miserino, L. 6. [Breviario]. In 16, a doi tempi, in legno, Miserino, L. 3.10' (YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 124).
- 52 This section of the manuscript has been thoroughly scrutinised by Flavia Bruni, who first brought the phrase's questionable meaning to my attention. For her elaboration on this portion of the manuscript, see Flavia Bruni, 'Peace at the Lily. The de Franceschi section in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti' in JLIS.it, 9 (2018), 265-279 (DOI: https:// doi.org/10.4403/jlis.it-12468).
- 53 Andrea Ottone, 'The Giunta's publishing and distributing network and their supply to the European academic market' in Matteo Valleriani & Andrea Ottone (eds), Publishing Sacrobosco's De sphaera in early modern Europe. Modes of material and scientific exchange, Cham 2022, 255-288 (DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86600-6).

and therefore his 'stockbook', would fairly reflect the structure of the family's network. Except it does not, and in some very significant ways.

The map below compares the geographical distribution of the Giunti's branches throughout Europe compared to the catalogue's internal organisation [Map 1].



Map 1 Map comparing the internal geography of ms. Collection *170/622 with the known commercial network put in place by the Giunti family until the mid-seventeenth century. Black dots represent the known direct franchise or proxy agent of the Giunti family; white dots indicate the printing centres that have direct mention in Collection *170/622; grey dots indicate overlaps between the two mentioned elements.

Black dots identify the print centres where the Giunti had either a family member active in the book business or a proxy agent.⁵⁴ With some nuances, this may have represented the overall array of activities open to a minor Giunti figure like Bernardino before he had entered into full partnership with Giovanni Battista Ciotti, a largely capable publisher with outstanding international connections. White dots indicate print centres that found mention in the provenance data in Bernardo Giunti's catalogue. Grey dots indicate places where the two mentioned categories overlap.

The infrequent overlaps between the Giunti's commercial network and Bernardo manuscript catalogue are clearly visible. Aside from some obvious overlaps (i.e., Milan, Padua, Rome and Venice), justified by the relevant publishing output of these cities, most of the

proxy centres are not represented in the by-provenance organisation of Bernardo's catalogue. What is striking, however, are the mismatches regarding relevant European publishing hubs. Madrid was not among these, as Spain was overall hardly an influential import market for Italian traders. Although, in all fairness, Bernardo sent his own son Tommaso there to practise the family trade under the supervision of Bernardo's own brother Giulio (Julio de Junta), until his death in 1619. Then Tommaso operated alone until 1624.55 Notwithstanding the lack of interest in Iberian books for Italian traders, it is equally hard to suppose that Iberian books were of absolutely no interest to Bernardo's own supply. Florence, Bernardo's native city and where his two brothers were still active, is indeed represented in Bernardo's own catalogue, although it is marginalised in a section which itemises Florentine imprints alongside Rome's.⁵⁶ What should raise suspicion, however, is the fact that his brother's name and other family members were not spotlighted in Bernardo's bibliographic directory. A lack of information on his own family's production is hard to believe, since they boasted of their own stock of 13,685 editions in a printed catalogue in 1604.57

Most confusing about Bernardo's catalogue, if it is considered the Giunti's publishing house stockbook, is the absence of Lyon in the spotlight of the geographical organisation of data. There, the Giunti had a family member since 1520 and maintained an active presence until the beginning of the seventeenth century, albeit not as prominent after the death in 1546 of the first branch holder Iacopo Giunti (Jacques Giunta, 1478–1528).58 Jacques's placement in Lyon was clearly an effort to establish business dealings with the whole of France, including Paris, which also finds no representation in the maniacal data management of Bernardo's bibliographic directory. 59

- 54 The network of proxy agents indicated in the map pertains exclusively to that which was put in place by Lucantonio Giunti II; this was impressively reconstructed in Alberto Tenenti, 'Luc'Antonio Giunti il giovane, stampatore e mercante' in Studi in onore di Armando Sapori, Milano 1957, 11, 1023-1060
- 55 On Tommaso's activity in Madrid, see Marco Santoro, I Giunta a Madrid: Vicende e Documenti, Pisa 2013, doc. no. 83 onward, especially no. 84 that reveals active trading between the Madrid branch and the Bernardo Giunti-Giovanni Battista Ciotti
- 56 'Catalogue of books of Rome and Florence' (Catalogo de' libri di Roma et Fiorenza): YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 166 recto-185 verso. This section alternated entries for Rome on the recto and Florentine editions on the verso of each leaf. This system is, however, unstable: e.g., fols 169 recto and 171 recto switch to Florentine imprints.
- 57 Catalogus librorum qui in Iunctarum bibliotheca Philippi haeredum Florentiae prostant, (Florence: [heirs of Filippo Giunti], 1604). See Nuovo, The book trade, 70, and Alfredo Serrai, 'Cataloghi tipografici, editoriali, di librai' in Alfredo Serrai, Storia della bibliografia, Roma 1993, IV, 34-35. On the Giunti 1604 catalogue, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, The economy of Renaissance Florence, Baltimore, MD 2009, 400.
- 58 On Jacques de Giunti and his legacy, see William Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon' in Arnaldo Ganda, Elisa Grignani & Alberto Petrucciani (eds), Libri tipografi biblioteche: ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo, Parma/Firenze 1997, I, 169-192.
- 59 To be fair, this does not mean that Parisian or Lyon editions find no place in the manuscript; in fact, they are episodically mentioned in the 'Catalogue of books printed in Germany' (Catalogo delli libri stampati in Germania, YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 206 recto-248 recto), but they clearly occupied no special place in the data-retrieving practice for which the manuscript catalogue was devised, and indeed no tab or dedicated section was created for the purpose, unlike the marginal centres of Vicenza or Messina.

Ultimately, in terms of the provenance of its listings, the 'stockbook' presents several paradoxes, two of which need special emphasis. Firstly, if it were Bernardo's own stock inventory, we would expect a considerable number of his own imprints prior to 1600. But his own name, which does appear in the manuscript, is associated with no more than sixteen entries. 60 Secondly, if the listings reflected Bernardo's own assortment in shop, this would translate into a deadly burden for a book dealer in terms of storage costs of highly deteriorating unbound books if staidly held in stock for over forty years. The large quantity of books listed, one may argue, is more compatible with a high-capacity firm such as that operated by Lucantonio II. This probably explains why, to this day, the manuscript is still labelled as Giunti's publishing house stockbook. However, a third paradox then emerges. When it came to their own acquisitions, why would the Giunti of Venice disregard their best assets in Europe in terms of production and supply? Why, in fact, is Lyon and the whole of France so poorly represented, in light of the fact that the Giunti of Venice, in the person of Lucantonio I, put effort and resources in building an integrated transnational network to circulate merchandise? Lastly, why is there so much attention on the German market, a market zone in which the Giunti never showed much direct interest?⁶¹ Resolving these paradoxes will be the undertaking of the next section.

An alternative hypothesis

One look at the map that visualises the data organisation of the catalogue by provenance reveals a key factor [Map 1]. The greatest density of data concentrates in the North Italian region, particularly the northeastern part of Italy. This was, for instance, the area of interest of a medium-sized book dealer active in the book-city of Venice, like Bernardo Giunti. The scope of his dataset was useful in obtaining a pulse of his own market of reference and in monitoring the work of his direct competitors. The information that Bernardo and his associates so tirelessly accumulated for years was particularly beneficial in determining which literary works already occupied his market of interest, their material features and their market value. Competition, in sum, may be the key in unpacking the ambiguities of the manuscript.

When one embraces this interpretative view, many pieces come together. For example, the whole practice of looking at other booksellers' stocks makes much sense. To build one's own dataset of circulating merchandise, one would more easily start with his direct circle of friends, allies and family. Such was the case of Francesco de Franceschi, who collaborated with Bernardo Giunti in the Societas Aquilae Renovantis. 62 In this new framework, the presence of de Franceschi's holdings among Bernardo Giunti's listings reveals itself as a way to share commercial information in the best interest of both. This sort of friendly 'insider trading', in fact, saved both from engaging in unwilling competition.

Along the same lines, it made sense to scrutinize recently published catalogues, that is, not more than ten years old. There, a careful eye could catch fresh editions or even some enthusiastically announced yet still unfinished publishing projects. This was certainly the

case for the sale catalogues published by Lucantonio Giunti in 1595.63 The editions presumably would still be sitting on booksellers' shelves or be showcased in private collections when Bernardo started compiling his dataset. Copies were eventually read by owners or loaned to friends. They may even have lately entered the second-hand market if they were deemed poor collectables yet still valuable sources of useful knowledge. In sum, in one way or another, the editions may have recently satisfied market appetite and were no longer viewed as good business. Likewise, book catalogues would carry information on old shackles that would not sell for decades, hence providing a clear warning against them. ⁶⁴ But, in the case of the 1595 Giunti catalogue, Lucantonio Giunti was still family to Bernardo. Therefore, the information captured in his catalogue could presumably be confirmed by a look at his actual stock. This may explain why Bernardo was more selective in taking notes of Lucantonio's latest sales catalogue. Quite the opposite would be the case for the catalogue of Giovanni Domenico Tarino, whose stock may have been too far out of reach in Turin. Thus, it was much easier for Bernardo to have Tarino's printed catalogue copied faithfully. Perhaps for similar reasons, Misserini's 1600 catalogue was also copied entirely. Although Misserini's stock could be mostly found in Venice, a direct collaboration between Nicolò Misserini and Bernardo Giunti is not known. In fact, evidence shows that Misserini was not on very good terms with the Giunti family, hence forms of information-sharing may have been unfeasible.65

Even gaps, ever-present in the manuscript, acquire a special meaning. For example, a whole blank page in Bernardo's catalogue carries the label 'Gatta', Italian for cat. 66 A cat holding a mouse in its mouth was the insignia of the Sessa family. Sessa's imprints are listed in the genre-based section of the manuscript and at fol. 253 recto of the provenance section.

- 60 Ibidem, fol. 258 recto.
- 61 The Giunti, in fact, showed more interest in larger nation-states, such as Spain and France, where cohesive jurisdictions (e.g., privilege systems) and internal trading routes would guarantee a smoother circulation of goods. Germany, with its fragmented territory, must have seemed like a more unstable circuit; this choice proved even more valuable when the Reformation broke out and confessionalism further complicated the institutional fragmentation of German-speaking lands.
- 62 For the organigram of the Societas, see EDIT16, CNCT 90.
- 63 Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi. There, for example, one could find entries referring to editions published in the very year that the catalogue was printed (e.g., fol. 1 recto, col. a, item 50 and 94; fol. 1 recto, col. b, item 13, 25 and 61; fol. 1 recto, col. c, item 9, 40 and 61). At times, however, unpublished editions were also announced, such is the case for all entries that did not yet carry a price (which clearly could not be set until a cost assessment would allow calculating the margin). Examples are fol. 1 recto, col. a, item 41; fol. 1 recto, col. b, item 12 and 23, which all refer

- to 1596 editions except for fol. 1 recto, col. b, item 12 which refers to a 1595 edition, likely too recent to assess the cost/margin ratio or to evaluate the transnational market value or else finished shortly after the catalogue was issued.
- 64 One excellent example is that of Ptolemy's Almagestum advertised in the Giunti 1595 catalogue (Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima Iuntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi, fol. 1 recto, col. a, item 55), which is also mentioned in Collection *170/622 (fol. 5 recto, item 1). Both entries refer to Claudius Ptolemaeus, Almagestum seu magnae constructionis mathematicae opus, In vrbe Veneta: Luceantonii lunta officina aere proprio, ac typis excussa, horoscopante Iovia stella in calce febru. [...], 1528 (folio), a work that had sat on the Giunti's stacks for more than seventy years until Bernardo placed it in his own catalogue.
- 65 Andrea Ottone, 'Il privilegio del Messale riformato. Roma e Venezia fra censura espurgatoria e tensioni commerciali' in Erika Squassina & Andrea Ottone (eds), Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento, Milano 2019, 299, 305-306.
- **66** YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 253 recto.

All considered, the blank 'Gatta' page looks like a planned data-entry project that was never carried out. Similarly, in Bernardo's catalogue – planned but never completed – single entries are numerous. Such is the frequent occurrence of horizontal dashes placed in long rows under popular titles (see Figs. 1 and 2). These titles were expected to recur in the data-acquisition process carried out by the compilers. Hence, small dashes sped up the process by saving copyists the effort of repeating information, i.e., author and/or title. Frequently, however, these were left hanging with no practical use, simply because no use was found for them while the dataset was growing. Presumably, if Bernardo Giunti's catalogue had been based on existing stock, compilers would have been better off in assessing the number of entries they were expected to compile; thus, the often-extensive sequences of unused lines would have been shorter, saving precious space in the manuscript. Inversely, the manuscript was set to manage a dynamic, and likely virtual mass of objects worthy of notice. Such must have been the flux of new and old editions circulating within the slice of the book market that Bernardo Giunti was scrutinizing from 1600 onward.

However, the hypothesis of Bernardo Giunti's catalogue being a searchable base of data devised to investigate the North Italian market finds one relevant contradiction in the presence of the forty-three densely written pages of 'Books printed in Germany'. This was no marginal set of data for him. Not only did this section occupy a considerable portion of the catalogue, but also the letter side tabs show that this section was set up for frequent browsing. But why would Bernardo want to know so much about a market for which the Giunti always showed a scarce interest?

It is worth considering that, in the eyes of a Venetian merchant, Germany was never far away. This goes well beyond the fact that Venice was the crossroads between Italy and Mitteleuropa and that part of Venetian territory bordered German-speaking lands. A simple look at Venice's topography may be revelatory. Any visitor heading these days to San Marco from the northwest part of town will probably want to stop at the Rialto Bridge. Crossing the Grand Canal, they will find a majestic building on their left-hand side worthy of a stopover. The place is still known these days as the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, namely, the Germans' Warehouse. Germans were important players in the Venetian trade just as the Rialto is central to the city plan. Not to mention the large German community of students (German Nation) who attended the nearby University of Padua. ⁶⁷ For a merchant and bookseller like Bernardo, the Rialto was the place where a great part of his dealings occurred. 68 Arguably, like many Venetians, Bernardo Giunti was well acquainted with the presence of ultramontane merchants (not necessarily German in the current sense). Even more so than his new business partner, Giovanni Battista Ciotti was a frequent attendee of the Frankfurt Fair since 1587. Ciotti's repeated visits to Frankfurt and the German traders visiting Venice's city centre played a dual role. On the one hand, they could likely convey the bibliographic information about ultramontane editions that Bernardo needed to fill up the significant part of his bibliographic directory. On the other hand, both the proxy contact that Ciotti provided with the German book trade and the direct contact that Bernardo very likely had with German traders in Venice generated the need for Bernardo to acquire a detailed knowledge of the German market. For Bernardo, identifying '[b]ooks printed in Germany'

meant knowing which books German traders were not so eager to acquire from Venetian traders when visiting each other's lands. Knowing what Germans would not buy from a seller was key in determining which products could instead be offered, or at a better price. Clearly, however, the whole German market could not possibly be encapsulated in just forty-three leaves, albeit densely written. A selection must have been necessary for Bernardo's catalogue.

Although a clear-cut answer cannot be offered regarding the selection process, there are plausible explanations. One hypothesis, as for the rest of his dataset, Bernardo's choice was in good balance between what data he could possibly acquire and what data he actually needed for his predictive assessments. It is worth considering that no place could be better for a Venetian book dealer than the Frankfurt Fair in order to feel the pulse of the transalpine market in terms of novelties.⁶⁹ That the German section of the so-called stockbook could reflect books on display at the fair remains a working, yet promising, hypothesis. It would, for instance, explain why the heading of the section ('Books printed in Germany') lied so bluntly to its reader while also including listings from Lyon, Paris and Antwerp (although the latter was still formally part of the Habsburg Netherlands). In all likelihood, this can be explained by considering how Bernardo Giunti had repurposed this section of the catalogue while it was evolving. Hence, the section that he may have considered using exclusively to store information on German imprints became something more useful to his undertaking. Thus, this portion of the catalogue became progressively a directory of relevant books influencing the German market. Another hypothesis may be that the heading of this section was simply motivated by the way subalpine culture loosely defined the lands across the Alps. Neither interpretation, however, has much impact on the general proposition of this chapter.

- 67 On the presence of German students at the University of Padua, see Paul Grendler, The universities of the Italian Renaissance, Baltimore, MD 2002, 191-195. German bookdealers would profit from the considerable presence of German students in Padua, catering to them with editions published in their own lands: see Nuovo, The book trade, 190-
- 68 In his 1564 will, Tommaso Giunti, while rehashing the tragic events that contributed in damaging his finances, including a financial default that his firm had suffered in 1553, lamented that most of it was linked to the failure of the Rialto dealings ('fallimento per li negocij de Rialto', ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 210, Angelo da Canal, n. 527); for Tommaso Giunti's published will, see Paolo Camerini, 'Il testamento di Tommaso Giunti' in Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di scienze e lettere di Padova, 43 (1927), 191–210. The term 'negocij' employed by Tommaso is ambiguous. In Italian, it can mean both shop and trade; but in the right context it can also
- mean 'trick'. In the context provided by Tommaso in his will, it is quite clear that he meant both trade and trick (he in fact voices his frustration for the instrumental way his creditors asked him to solve all debts at once). The Rialto for a bookdealer, like Tommaso and later Bernardo Giunti, represented the marketplace where books were traded, but, most importantly, where the financial resources, such as money lending and joint ventures, were found.
- 69 The criterium of novelty was a requirement for being listed in the Frankfurt Fair catalogue, although publishers often found ways to repurpose old wine in new skin: see Maclean, Episodes,
- **70** YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 138 recto, col. a, item
- 71 The matching edition is likely Torquato Tasso, Aminta fauola boscareccia, Vinegia: presso Daniel Bisuccio, 1603, 12mo. See: http://id.sbn.it/bid/ URBE028908.

Lastly, if one embraces the hypothesis that Bernardo's manuscript catalogue was a repository of information useful for business planning, then one further ambiguity unfolds. At times, entries have the layout of a cluster of multiple data. For example:

Aminta del Tasso. 12, C. 3. In 24, C. 11/2. In 12 novo, C. 3.70

The cluster could be disaggregated as follow:

- 1 Torquato Tasso's Aminta, in 12mo format, printed on 3 sheets of paper.⁷¹
- 2 Torquato Tasso's Aminta, in 24mo format, printed on 1.5 sheets of paper.⁷²
- 3 Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, in 12mo format, new, printed on 3 sheets of paper.⁷³

In the code employed in Bernardo's catalogue, users would be informed that the first recorded listing of Tasso's Aminta published with a relevant spare of raw material (previous editions employed no fewer than 3.5 printing sheets) was compared to a 24mo edition, which reduced the sheet count by half. Then a third edition, in duodecimo like the first one was also printed on three sheets, the only difference being that this one was 'new' ('nov[a]'). Countless similar examples found in the manuscript confirm that, in Bernardo's parlance, 'new' was used in relative terms to indicate a more recent edition than the one being compared (hence, it was not used to distinguish a second-hand from a brand-new book).74 The horizontal disposition of this cluster shows its comparative intention. From the specific editorial formula of the line, the user would know that a small-format edition of Tasso's pastoral drama, printed at a low cost and offered at a low price, had already hit the Venetian market three times.⁷⁵ Would it have been worth trying a fourth?

Linear comparisons among different editions, such as the one above, are far from rare in Bernardo's manuscript and almost always display a chronological order from older to newer. At times, this chronological sequence is made more explicit, as in the following example:

Galeno, Opera. Folio, Zio, 8ª edit., C. 1233, L. 60, D. 10.-. 9ª editione, C. 1273.76

Here, the linear chronology is revealed by the announced sequence of the two editions, i.e., the eighth and ninth editions of Galen's corpus. In sum, a sequence like this served the purpose of flagging pernicious redundancies in the publishing market, thus helping commercial planning, which, it was argued, was the strongest purpose for which Bernardo Giunti's catalogue was probably devised.

Fluctuating prices, consolidated values

One last issue is worth discussing before making some conclusive statements, the frequent but not always consistent indication of prices and printing sheets in Bernardo Giunti's catalogue. As mentioned, prices were a less constant presence than the sheet count. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the practice of systematising prices loses momentum

with the passage of time. In fact, the oldest entries found in the catalogue's first section (books by genre) were more often priced than the later entries that carried a fairly consistent indication of the number of printing sheets. This may reveal that Bernardo's interest in prices decreased as time passed; a few years into his data-entry practice, perhaps he realized that the expected longevity of his catalogue would have coped poorly with the fluctuation of prices. However, editions carried more secure information about their intrinsic value, which was linked to the quantity of sheets of paper employed in the printing job. As mentioned, printing sheets were a general indicator of the effort expressed in terms of raw material employed and the amount of labour applied to complete a print run.

In the long run, sheet counts per item must have been more efficient information than prices. Even more so if one considers that barter occupied a considerable part of the commercial transactions among publishers and bookdealers. Books were in fact exchanged based on their consolidated value, expressed by the quantity of paper employed. Especially in the scope of trading at transnational venues, such as book fairs, swapping merchandise was perceived as a less complicated transaction.⁷⁷

Recording the material features and specific characteristics of certain titles was the primary aim of Bernardo Giunti's bibliographic catalogue. This does not mean that Bernardo was not interested in building a standard system to regulate his pricing strategies. Rather, he proved to be fully aware that, in devising his commercial strategy, he had to consider several elements, time being one of them.

- 72 The identification of this listing remains difficult. Aminta was part of the 24mo edition of Battista Guarini, Il Pastor fido. Tragicomedia pastorale, Roma: appresso Michele Hercole, [c.1600], 24mo. See: http://id.sbn.it/bid/LO1E022120. The undated Rome edition, however, presents a further difficulty by being in a section explicitly dedicated to Venetian vernacular books. It is possible that a 24mo edition of 1.5 printing sheets is lost or was merged into miscellaneous works, such as the one
- 73 The matching edition is likely Torquato Tasso, Aminta favola boscareccia, Venetia: appresso Giorgio Valentini, 1620, 12mo, see http://id.sbn.it/bid/ LO1E025129.
- 74 An example may be YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 10 verso: 'Epiteta Textoris. 4°, Q. 3, C. 24, L. 2.10, C. 107' [matching a 1572 edition of Jean Tixier, Epithetorum: EDIT16, CNCE 33561]. 'Nova C. 109' [matching a 1608 edition, see http://id.sbn.it/bid/ TO0E077685]. 'Nova, Sarzina, 119 1/2' [matching a 1617 edition published by Giacomo Sarzina, see http://id.sbn.it/bid/umcE016035]. 'C. 124' [matching with a 1630 edition, see http://id.sbn. it/bid/PARE019957]. All four matches are confirmed by the coinciding number of printing sheets. For all seventeenth-century editions, the sheet count was derived from the collation formula.
- 75 Interestingly, this section of the manuscript focuses on Venetian vernacular imprints (Catalogo delli

- libri stampati in Venetia volgari, YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 137 recto). Equally interesting is the fact that the entry's literary genre (small format, short and inexpensive lyric literature) is the genre in which Bernardo Giunti and Giovanni Battista Ciotti would specialise during their partnership.
- 76 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 76 recto.
- 77 I owe this notion to Ian Maclean, who generously shared it with me as food for thought, while I wrestled to formulate an argument on this matter. Professor Maclean's description of this interesting commercial dynamic can be found in his Episodes, 50-51. Furthermore, a consequence of the progressive commodification of printed literature was the trend of pricing printed books by gatherings. This is particularly visible in the 1605 sales cataloque of Onofrio Farri, Libri che al presente si ritrova nel magazen di Onofrio Farri in Venetia del 1605, Venezia: Onofrio Farri, 1605 (single sheet); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxbourne, Broxb. 97.10 (14); USTC 4038239. This catalogue, rather than grouping items by genre following the general pattern in the sixteenth century of gathering diverse literary works together by the value assigned per gathering: e.g., 'Books worth ten liras per gathering [...] Books in 12mo worth ten liras per gathering [...] Books worth twelve liras per gathering' ('Libri a lire dieci la risma [...] Libri in 12 a lire dieci la risma [...] Libri a lire dodeci la risma'). I owe this notion to Angela Nuovo.

Conclusions

This chapter has proposed a revised interpretation of a manuscript, whose identity has been misunderstood and, to some extent, underestimated. My journey into the intricacies of ms. Collection *170/622, however, was not just a mere exercise of codicological erudition. Rather, this essay would like to draw the readers' attention to the following implications.

My research has emphasised the series of failures that characterised Bernardo Giunti's modest career before the year 1600, the year in which he started compiling his impressive catalogue. These failures should be compared to the relative success that his publishing output would otherwise suggest while in association with the very experienced and enterprising publisher Giovanni Battista Ciotti, whose collaboration had started by the year 1600. A greater output could have resulted in greater earnings, but nothing is certain about this. Certainly, a greater output for a publisher resulted in greater responsibilities. Bernardo Giunti's increased output could be due to an augmented capital accumulation, or to a greater access to larger lines of credit (which in the world of Renaissance publishing could eventually mean the same thing). Following this reasoning, one may argue that the period 1604-1608 is the modest culmination of Bernardo Giunti's career as a publisher (see Graph 1). It is likely that this period had an even longer tale in terms of retailing activities, propelled by the augmented stock that he gathered in those years and that he needed to exhaust. Ms. Collection *170/600, I argue, is the testimony of how Bernardo Giunti came prepared to the task. Part of his homework involved compiling sufficient information on the market to which he wanted to cater. This was done to avoid already saturated markets. And this he did with the aid of a quill, a bound volume, a good deal of diligence and a system that was likely common in the circle of expert bookdealers to which he was born and raised.

The wider implications of this narrative, however, are far heavier to embrace. If one accepts that Bernardo Giunti's manuscript was some sort of analogue database built to facilitate market research, then some further ramifications emerge. These reveal the sophisticated commercial awareness that Renaissance merchants, and particularly bookdealers, seemed to possess. One may go as far as to imply that, albeit only at an empirical level, Renaissance and Baroque publishers were already thinking about concepts such as market volatility, market saturation, market risks and market opportunities. These concepts will become commonplace in the classic economy some two centuries later, but to some extent they seem to have had embryonic predecessors. To Bernardo Giunti, the Smithian invisible hand was in fact a visible force that he could quantitatively assess by looking at existing shops and warehouses. All he needed to do was to visit the premises of his colleagues and friends or extract useful commercial information from the advertisement catalogues and lists of books for sale. It shall be stressed that the transfer from empirical approach to theoretical elaboration may have never happened while Bernardo was alive, or at least it does not emerge from the available sources. What sources prove instead is that publishers were pioneering the rising art of bibliographic systematisation and were often consulted by scholars and authorities to gather expert state-of-the-art opinions regarding single or multiple disciplines.⁷⁸

This leads us to consider whether the technical expedient employed by Bernardo Giunti was well known and practised elsewhere. Certainly, he was unlikely the initiator of this practice. Christophe Plantin (c. 1520-1589) had been doing something very similar in Antwerp from the 1570s to 1590s. 79 Hypotheses on the ways that Bernardo Giunti acquired this useful knowledge must remain speculative, given current evidence in hand. He could have learned it while working with Lucantonio, by far a better-established publisher. Alternatively, he could have learned the practice from ultramontane publishers like Plantin, either directly or via secondary acquaintances, for instance, from his business associate Giovanni Battista Ciotti. Ultimately, if one adheres entirely to the available evidence, the only similar operational catalogue was compiled in Antwerp thirty years earlier. The Frankfurt Fair would have been a good place to observe advanced commercial practices of the innovative northern merchants who were gaining dominance over the European book market.80 Of the two hypotheses, the second is the one suggested by evidence, albeit only faintly so. However, it is important to note that large publishing firms, like that of Lucantonio Giunti and Christophe Plantin, could not survive in an increasingly competitive market without conducting multidimensional planning that also considered currently circulating merchandise in their market of interest. The idea that big firms commonly owned and used bibliographic registers, such as the one compiled by Bernardo, borders on common sense.

Yet, the use of such commercial tools was not clearly mentioned in the planned training of European merchants. Could it be then a peculiarity of the book world? To some extent, the world of printed books was the most fertile environment for computational practices of this kind to come about. The print industry (or proto industry) was exposed to high pressure. Publishing endeavours were costly and the failure in planning an edition could have disastrous consequences for all people involved if the market later proved to be incapable of absorbing the proper number of copies that would at least cover expenses.

- 78 The Giunti themselves were among such experts. When, in 1568, Pope Pius V wished to create a new library near Alessandria, Italy, he consulted his Venetian nuncio, Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, who in turn consulted the Giunti in Venice, asking them to compile a comprehensive list of appropriate books for the pope's library. They obliged, compiling a list of 372 entries, specifying provenance, formats and prices. The list is preserved in the Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Venezia 10. On the genesis of this list, see Ugo Rozzo, 'La biblioteca ideale del nunzio Facchinetti' in Biblioteche italiane del Cinquecento tra Riforma e Controriforma, Udine 1994, 191-234, and Nuovo, The book trade, 300. A critical edition, prepared by Giliola Barbero, is available in the EMo Book Prices database.
- 79 Christophe Plantin's own manuscript register is preserved at the Museum Plantin-Moretus (shelf mark M 296). For detailed accounts on this manuscript, see Renaud Milazzo, 'Les enjeux écono-
- migues du choix du format et du papier dans la politique éditoriale de Christophe Plantin (1555-1589)' = 'The economic stakes in the choice of bibliographic format and paper in the publishing policy of Christophe Plantin (1555–1589)' in Goran Proot. Yann Sordet & Christophe Vellet (eds), A century of typographical excellence. Christophe Plantin and the Officina Plantiniana (1555–1655) = Un siècle d'excellence typographique. Christophe Plantin and son officine (1555-1655), Paris/Dilbeek 2020, 142-191; Renaud Milazzo, 'In the mind of a publisher. Establishing the price of emblem books in Antwerp in the sixteenth century' in The Golden Compasses, 98:2 (2020), 183-202.
- 80 Bernardo Giunti's visit to the Frankfurt Fair is documented in 1570 (Schwetschke, Codex nundinarius, 7), the same year that he moved to Venice to start his publishing career. Christophe Plantin's own bibliographic register was not initiated until 1572 or later (Milazzo, 'Les enjeux économiques', 150).

Furthermore, publishers were working at the core of the information revolution that characterised the Renaissance, hence they were also experimenting with new opportunities that enhanced communication provided. For instance, the perception of an ongoing competition among publishers was amplified by sale catalogues and title pages themselves, for both provided information about what other producers were pursuing. Book sale catalogues were not the only type of catalogues in circulation at the time; other merchants in premodern times were working on similar advertisement tools.81 Admittedly though, books differed from all other commodities in circulation in premodern Europe in that they carried very useful information on their producers, site and year of production. They also carried qualitative and quantitative features that were expected to be valid for a good part or for the whole print run (such was the advantage of a quasi-standardised mode of production, like the one deployed by the print industry). All these elements allowed precise chrono-geographical and material computational practices. To my knowledge, the textile industry, for example, did not allow the same level of record keeping. The world of early modern publishers was exposed to the right tension between necessities and opportunities that normally triggered innovative practices.

This analysis has been framed within the context of competition. If competition was the propeller of the dynamics described here, one might argue that commercial computational devices, such as ms. Collection *170/622, probably had very little aggressive tone to it. Quite the opposite, bibliographic directories of this kind, albeit probably confidential in nature, served a collective cause. They were likely meant as a conflict-solving, or better yet, a conflict-avoiding trick that prevented publishers from engaging in destructive competition. State This is also suggested by the fact that Bernardo may have worked out some of his data while going through the stacks of his own colleagues. Hence, on both a regional and a transnational level, the practice of keeping records of someone else's production may have even been perceived as fair play.

- 81 A survey on the matter is provided by John J. McCusker & Cora Gravesteijn, The beginnings of commercial and financial journalism: the commodity price currents, exchange rate currents, and money currents of early modern Europe, Amsterdam 1992.
- 82 I owe this idea to Ann Blair and to the thought-provoking question she asked during a conference held at UCLA in 2019 (International conference, Merchants, artisans and literati: the book market in Renaissance Europe, Los Angeles, 1-2 March 2019). I would also like to take the opportunity to share my immense gratitude to Joran Proot. He has been the prime inspiration for my revised approach to ms. Collection *170/622. During a team meeting held in the context of the EMoBookTrade project, the careful terminology that he used to present a source from the Plantin-Moretus archive (i.e., ms. м 296) generated many of my doubts that the manuscript had been a mere inventory of books in stock. My sincere thanks to him for a practical lesson on the benefit of both teamwork and terminological accuracy.

ERIKA SQUASSINA

The protection of the printing industry in Venice (1560-1580)



In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the need to expand the production of local goods to satisfy increased international demand stimulated the Republic of Venice to seek systems capable of attracting artisans and inventors, foreigners in particular, who were willing to bring new technologies into the city.1 To achieve this, an elaborate system to protect inventions and innovations was created. The first Patent Act in the world was enacted in 1474 in Venice. Promoting and protecting innovations became the key element of an economic strategy aiming to cover an ever-wider market area.

The Patent Act, passed on 19 March 1474, established that anyone willing to obtain a legal protection over their right to exploit financially a relevant technical innovation could petition the state office of the Provveditori di Comun.² When granted, the patent would last ten years. Patent infringement would cause offenders to pay a fine of 100 ducats. All inventions produced in violation of the patent's stipulation had to be destroyed. It is worth noting that, according to the law stipulated in 1474, duration and penalties were established as standard and predetermined criteria. The importance attributed to this statute lies in its broad and general character.³ The law did not introduce new principles, but codified existing general customs about the granting of patent rights for innovations. Like other Italian

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- 1 The immigration of foreign (i.e., not Venetian and not subjects of the Republic) inventors and craftsmen played an important role in the economic growth and in the life of Venice. In fact, the creation of new industries and productions largely depended on the introduction and diffusion of new techniques by immigrant artisans and on the importation of capital and entrepreneurial skills. About this, see Roberto Berveglieri, Inventori stranieri a Venezia (1474–1788). Importazione di tecnologia e circolazione di tecnici artigiani inventori, Venezia 1995.
- 2 For the text of this statute and further discussion, see Venetian statute on industrial brevets (1474), in Lionel Bently & Martin Kretschmer (eds), Primary sources on copyright (1450-1900), www.copyrighthistory.org (all online sources last consulted 12 September 2022).
- 3 The significance of the 1474 statute also lies in the fact that it focuses on protecting and rewarding individual inventors, in contrast to the monopolies reserved for guilds that were concerned with the effective control of the market, as opposed to providing reward or compensation for innovation. In

states during the fifteenth century, Venice had issued individual patents and monopolies in the years prior to 1474.⁴ For example, in 1444, Antonius Marini, a French artisan, obtained the exclusive right from the Republic of Venice to build flour mills operating without water. Some years later, in 1460, another foreigner, engineer Guilelmo Lombardus, was granted a patent for a heater which saved the dyers half the fuel consumed by traditional stoves. In 1469, German printer Johann von Speyer (1420–1470) obtained a privilege because he had introduced a new method of book production in Venice.⁵ Alongside the statutory protection established in 1474, there were, therefore, customary protections in Venice that varied in accordance to the specific characteristics of each sector. Customary protection was based on private stipulations, called privileges (from the Latin *privata lex*). The institution granting them was primarily the Senate, which, given its unconditional power, could establish the duration and the sanctions of each granted patent on a case-by-case basis. This way, the Senate could customise each granted protection and promote certain innovations over others.

This aspect of the Venetian customary system has been recently examined by Stefania Fusco to show that a protection tailored to the specific characteristics of each invention would be a fairer choice than a unitary regulation which does not consider differences, as in contemporary patent law.6 Fusco compares the current US patent system with the Venetian one of the Renaissance, focusing on the decision-making power of the Senate to understand what kind of incentives were provided (in terms of durations and sanctions) to protect different technologies and inventions. This system, which was widely used by the Republic of Venice, promoted the technological development in all the artisan and proto-industrial sectors. The inventions involved many activities and productive sectors, including different types of mills, drainage machines, embankment techniques and sea defences, reclamation and canal excavation projects, chemical procedures for the production of glass and new dyes, tools and looms to improve the quality of fabrics, experiments for agricultural and fish farming, musical instruments and much more. In particular, Fusco has identified and analysed 155 patents issued by the Senate between 1560 and 15808 for different technical innovations pertaining to agriculture (for example, a new method to fertilise fields), construction (a new machine to transport sand, a new instrument to heat limestone ...), energy (such as a new and more efficient mill), food (a new machine to sift flour or a new machine to grind meat), chemistry (for example, a new pesticide for worms or a new facial oil), textile (a new method to print fabric with gold and silver and a new frame to make silk), water (such as a new method to dig channels).9 By focusing on the duration and penalties for patent infringement, where longer terms of duration and higher penalties were indicative of a greater interest of the Senate towards the proposed innovation, Fusco proves a marked interest of the Republic toward sectors such as energy and water, arguably two strategic assets for a state, particularly the latter, given the complicated urban setting of Venice. In order to protect the lagoon, the Republic constantly needed the most advanced knowledge in the field of embankment engineering, especially in the technique of hydraulic pumps that were used to widen and maintain the canals. The technologies that allowed the exploitation of hydraulic power (used, for instance, to operate the mills)

the Venetian economy, many types of products could typically be produced and sold only by artisan and merchant guilds. Ordinary citizens could not, for instance, practice wool working, glassmaking, or shipbuilding without the blessing of one of the appropriate guilds. Any invention created by their members or anybody outside the guilds were subject to the effective monopoly rights of the guilds, such that the guilds enjoyed the exclusive ability to practice these inventions in their relevant artisanal domains. In this context, the patent system was an important exception to the guilds' monopolies, especially for the non-quild members (particularly foreigners) who were able to sell products and practice methods that were otherwise within the sole province of the guilds. See Joanna Kostylo, 'From gunpowder to print: the common origins of copyright and patent' in Ronan Deazley et al. (eds), Privilege and property. Essays on the history of copyright, Cambridge 2010, 21-50 (here 39). On the relationship between the patent system and guilds, see also Stefano Comino, Alberto Galasso & Clara Graziano, 'The diffusion of new institutions: evidence from Renaissance Venice's patent system' in National Bureau of Economic Research working paper (2017), https://www.nber. org/papers/w24118; Ted Sichelman & Sean O'Connor, 'Patents as promoters of competition: the guild origins of patent law in the Venetian Republic' in San Diego Law Review, 49 (2012), 1267–1282 (here 1272), https://digitalcommons.law.uw.edu/ faculty-articles/201.

- 4 Florence, for example, granted a three-year privilege to Filippo Brunelleschi in 1421 for the development of a new type of boat that would haul loads of marble along the waterways of the Florentine state. Another example is offered by Ferrara which granted to a group of weavers a five-year privilege in 1462 to produce silk cloth; see Francesco Ammannati, 'I privilegi come strumento di politica economica nell'Italia della prima età moderna' in Erika Squassina & Andrea Ottone (eds), Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento, Milano 2019, 21; Luca Molà, 'Stato e impresa: privilegi per l'introduzione di nuove arti e brevetti' in Philippe Braunstein & Luca Molà (eds), Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa, III: Produzione e tecniche, Treviso/Costabissara 2007; Idem, The silk industry of Renaissance Venice, Baltimore, мр/London 2000, 33; Frank D. Prager & Gustina Scaglia, Brunelleschi. Studies of his technology and inventions, Cambridge, MA 1970; Frank D. Prager, 'Brunelleschi Patent' in Journal of the Patent Office Society, 28 (1946), 109-135.
- 5 See Craig Nard & Andrew P. Morriss, 'Constitutionalizing patents: from Venice to Philadelphia' in Faculty Publications, 587 (2006), 223-321, https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/faculty_ publications/587; Luca Molà, 'Il mercato delle innovazioni nell'Italia del Rinascimento' in Mathieu Arnoux & Pierre Monnet (eds), Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale, 1250–1650, Roma 2004, 215-250; Helmut Schippel, La storia delle

- privative industriali nella Venezia del '400, Venezia 1989; Giulio Mandich, 'Primi riconoscimenti veneziani di un diritto di privativa agli inventori' in Rivista di diritto industriale, 7 (1958), 101-155; Idem, Venetian patents (1450–1550)' in Journal of the Patent and Trademark Office Society, 30 (1948), 166–189; Idem, 'Le privative industriali veneziane (1450-1550)' in Rivista del diritto industriale. 34:1 (1936). 511-547.
- **6** Stefania Fusco, 'Lessons from the past: the Venetian Republic's tailoring of patent protection to the characteristics of the invention' in Northwestern Journal of Technology and Intellectual Property, 301 (2020), 301-348, https://scholarlycommons.law. northwestern.edu/njtip/vol17/iss3/1.
- 7 On the economic role of privileges in the early modern Republic of Venice, with a focus on markets and manufactures, see Andrea Caracausi, Giovanni Favero & Paola Lanaro, 'A political economy? Some preliminary thoughts on economic privileges in early modern Venice' in Guillaume Garner (ed.), Die Ökonomie des Privilegs, Westeuropa 16.–19. Jahrhundert. L'économie du privilège, Europe occidentale xvie-xixe siècles, Frankfurt am Main 2016, 365-395.
- 8 For Fusco, the decision to focus on this period was driven, in part, by the fact that the majority of the preserved documentation in the years 1560–1580 relating to the request and issue of industrial patents was produced by various magistracies. In fact, in her study she examined the Senate's registry and files (filze), the Provveditori di Commun's scritture and atti (in which copies of the patent applications and the result of this department's investigations were filed, which helped to fill possible gaps in the filze's documentation), and the Collegio's registry, series Risposte di dentro (in which the original patent applications were kept). In particular, the problem concerned the storage of the documentation produced by the Provveditori di Commun because it is very incomplete, except in the years 1562–1577. Fusco focuses her analysis on 20 years, between 1560 and 1580, because the customary patent system in this period had reached its maturity (but this is not true for the Venetian book privileges which reached their maturity around the 1540s), and at the same time, the economy of the Republic had completed its transformation and had turned into a production economy. Therefore, says Fusco, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Venetian customary system operated in a strong economic and political environment; it had the benefit of almost 150 years of experience and had remained unaffected by the uncertainties and complications that characterized the Republic's subsequent period of decline.
- 9 There is an additional category called 'Other', which includes innovations belonging to the following industries: entertainment, musical instruments, home supply, and other manufacturing. Due to the generic nature of this category, I do not take it into consideration in the comparative analyses carried out in this chapter.

were also important: the lack of slope of Venetian waters, resulting from the physical condition of the territory, meant that the mills had to resort to particular technical devices to work. Many engineers designed machines for digging canals or for using hydraulic power, creating solutions and machinery that would benefit the economy and the state revenue. 10

Using Fusco's categories, this chapter proposes a comparative analysis with book privileges and draws some conclusions. Although her research is detailed and very interesting, Fusco's study does not touch upon patents granted in favour of the printing sector, which indisputably played a key role in the Venetian economy.11 A mere quantitative comparison shows that book privileges actually require a separate treatment. In fact, in the same twenty years considered in Fusco's research, the number of book privileges granted by the Venetian Senate and reported in the relative registers totalled more than a thousand, that is, more than six times the number of patents known to be granted by the Republic to other strategic sectors.12

The resolutions of the Senate, which included book privileges, were recorded in the appropriate registers of the constitutional body. These registers are now preserved in the State Archives of Venice in the section Senato - Deliberazioni Terra. However, it seems that not all book privileges were reported in the archival series. Besides the book privileges granted

- 10 About this subject, see Roberto Berveglieri, Le vie di Venezia. Canali lagunari e rii a Venezia: inventori, brevetti, tecnologia e legislazione nei secoli xIII–XVIII, Sommacampagna 1999.
- 11 On the role played by the book privileges system in Venice, see Erika Squassina, 'I privilegi librari a Venezia (1469-1545) in Squassina & Ottone (eds), Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento, 331-399; Idem, 'Die Autoren im System der Venezianischen Druckprivilegien (1469–1545)' in Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung, 31 (2017), 43-51; Idem, 'Authors and the system of publishers' privileges in Venice (1469– 1545)' in Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 91 (2016), 42–74.
- 12 The number of book privileges was higher than the number of privileges granted to other sectors even in previous years. According to the calculations of Giulio Mandich, about 170 industrial patents were granted from 1515 to 1559, but in the same period the issued book privileges numbered more than 2,100. See Mandich, 'Privilegi per novità industriali', 33-34.
- 13 In 1580, the guild of printers and booksellers of Venice established that whoever among its members wanted to print a new work had to give notice to the prior of the guild, thus obtaining the privilege for ten years. This rule represented a change in the system of privileges, albeit more in form than in substance because it did not actually lead to a decrease in the requests for privileges to the Senate in the short term. The data reveal that the number of concessions granted by the Senate were in line with past numbers, at least until 1590.
- Furthermore, there are no obvious differences observed from the previous years with regard to the nature of the books, in the sense that the Senate continued to grant privileges for works of varying size or value as long as they were new. In other words, it seems that, even after 1580, the Senate exercised its power to grant privileges under the conditions it deemed appropriate. On the guild of printers and booksellers in Venice, see Antonio Manno, I mestieri di Venezia. Storia, arte e devozione delle corporazioni dal xIII al XVIII secolo, Cittadella 2010, 11, 196-199; Laura Carnelos, 'La corporazione e gli esterni: stampatori e librai a Venezia tra norma e contraffazione (secoli xvi-xviii)' in Società e Storia, 130 (2010), 657-688; Marino Zorzi, 'La produzione e la circolazione del libro' in Gino Benzoni & Gaetano Cozzi (eds), Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, vII: La Venezia Barocca, Roma 1998, 921-985 (in particular 925-928); Horatio F. Brown, The Venetian printing press. An historical study based upon documents for the most part hitherto unpublished, London 1891, 83-91.
- 14 The privilege could be requested by anyone who owned an unpublished work, regardless of whether it was the author or the printer who intended to print it because ownership was not yet recognized as a self-evident right in this period.

between 1560 and 1580 and found in the registers of Senato Terra, at least another 120 privileges must be added, according to what emerges from a cross-analysis among the registers and the privileged editions published in Venice in that period. Nevertheless, in most editions, there is only a reference to the granted privilege without further information about the duration and the sanctions in case of infringement. For that reason, the privileges reported in the editions are excluded from this chapter. Likewise, petitions sent to the Senate asking for individual privileges are not considered because the Senate could reject the request for a privilege or accept it but under different conditions than the ones requested (usually reducing the duration and changing the fine and its allocation). For the purpose of this chapter, therefore, the registers of Senato Terra are the most reliable and comprehensive sources.

The high number of book privileges granted between 1560 and 158013 fits into a complex historical context for the Venetian book trade. Around this time, the growing weight of national and transnational competition in the book industry, the repressive action of the ecclesiastical censorship, and the plague epidemic in Italy – to name only a few detrimental factors - spread uncertainty within the Venetian book sector. In order to help and protect an important productive sector of its economy in a difficult period, the Republic of Venice provided more incentives than in the past.

Given this picture, what kind of incentives did the Republic adopt to attract new capital and support for the printing industry in a period of serious crisis? Moreover, who benefited from these incentives? And lastly, what degree of relevance did the printing industry maintain in comparison to other strategic sectors of the time?

To answer these questions, this chapter focuses on the Venetian book privilege system. For this purpose, an in-depth analysis was conducted of 1,016 privileges granted by the Senate of the Republic of Venice, taking into account elements such as the temporal extent of the granted privileges and sanctions established to punish potential infringements.

Applications and models of book privileges

To obtain a Venetian book privilege, the petitioner would apply to the Senate. The procedure was initiated by a petition (supplica) from the supplicant, the content of which was often incorporated into the concession itself. Applicants could be bookmen, authors or their heirs, or even owners of unpublished works. This last category included those people who did not have an active role in the creation or printing of a work; they only owned a manuscript copy that they placed in the hands of a printer. They were, therefore, neither authors nor printers, but eventually investors of a specific edition. 14 The supplications were generally addressed to the prince (doge) or Signoria (the supreme body of government of the Republic), but the real deliberative body was always the Senate. Some petitions could be made by, or could be accompanied by the endorsement of, a well-connected patron. Typically, the concession was condensed into a few lines that stated the result of the ballot. In fact, the privileges were granted only if they obtained a two-thirds majority in the Senate.

During the period from 1560 to 1580, it was customary to include references to a variety of requests made by different petitioners in one decree in the interest of simplifying a very frequent bureaucratic procedure. In these cases, the concessions often included a brief and schematic description of the object involved that nearly always closely followed the text of the petition or request. Furthermore, the concession statements often made specific reference to compliance with current law to the subject of publication.

The formulation used in the privileges was simple. It was often introduced by an opening sentence which indicated the nature of the act (concession) and the deliberating authority (variously referred to as the Senate, Council or Pregadi).¹⁵ Then, the documents reported the name of the beneficiary, the object (work) of the concession, and the duration of the privilege. The content of the privileges forbade third parties from printing, selling, offering for sale or importing the work (or hiring others to engage in these activities) without the express permission of the privilege holder, his grantees, his heirs or successors in title. Next came a statement about the sanctions against anyone who broke with these prohibitions, which could consist in the confiscation of works printed, sold or imported illegally, and/or in the payment of a fine. Sometimes, the names of councillors who signed the concessions were listed.

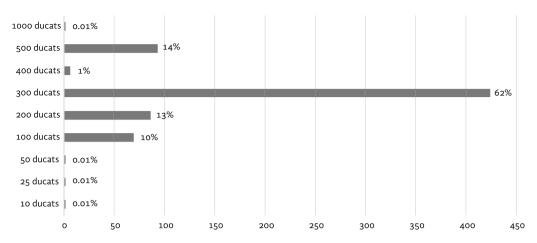
First incentive: the weight of penalties for potential infringements

In case of infringement of a book privilege, the Senate, as a rule, assigned a pecuniary sanction and imposed the confiscation of all infringing copies. Of the 1,016 granted privileges examined, 900 declare penalties, while this specific information is omitted from the rest. Based on the available data, we learn that the Senate adopted a wide range of sanctions. In 72% of the cases, the penalty corresponded to a flat fee, and in 28% of the cases, the Senate assigned a progressive fine based on the number of detected unauthorized copies.

Here, the focus is on the flat fee-based penalties because they were the most frequently used. The distribution of the flat fee-based penalties is reported in Graph 1, which reveals that fines of 100 ducats were applied in 10% of the cases: as mentioned above, it was the standard amount dictated by the law passed in 1474 on the matter of industrial brevets (proto-patents). Furthermore, in 13% of the cases, the overall sanction was equal to 200 ducats, in 14% of the cases, it was 500 ducats, and in 62% of the cases, it equalled 300 ducats.

^{15 &#}x27;Che per autorità di questo consiglio sia concesso a...' ('By the authority of this council [let it] be granted to...'). See the privilege dated 9 September 1560, published in the Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice database (https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/ db/public/frontend), id 2441.

¹⁶ Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de medica materia, Venetiis, ex officina Valgrisiana, 1565, 2°, EDIT16 39013 and USTC 841574.



Graph 1 Distribution of flat fee penalties (1560–1580)

In a few other cases, the Senate established fines ranging from 10 to 400 ducats, whereas in only one case, the fine was set at 1,000 ducats. One thousand ducats were set in case of infringement of the privilege granted to Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501-1578) for his commentary on Dioscorides in the edition published by Vincenzo Valgrisi in 1565.16 This work had several editions and was hugely popular in the scholarly world, becoming an essential manual in the studies of botany and pharmacopoeia. Compared to previous editions, the 1565 edition offered a completely new set of illustrations, consisting of a thousand woodcuts. The beauty of its graphics, which probably prevailed over the scholarly value of the text, contributed to its status as a classic in natural science, destined to be a success on the European market.¹⁷ Its wide circulation led Mattioli and his publisher to seek international protection, resulting in their obtaining several privileges. As shown by the 1565 edition, in which the texts of the privileges were printed, the author obtained - in addition to the privilege granted by the Venetian Senate on 22 February 1565 - the privilege for his work from the pope, the king of France, the duke of Florence, and Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, to whom the book was dedicated. The Emperor contributed to the costs of the edition, in particular for the woodcuts.18 Such a high penalty was exceptional – only a few

17 See Ilaria Andreoli, 'A voi gran lodi e allo stampatore gran quadagno. Vincenzo Valgrisi stampatore e libraio del Dioscoride del Mattioli' in Duilio Contin & Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi (eds), I discorsi di P.A. Mattioli. L'esemplare dipinto da Gherardo Cibo: eccellenza di arte e scienza del Cinquecento, Sansepolcro 2015, 69-85; Alain Touwaide, 'Botany and humanism in the Renaissance: background, interaction, contradiction' in Studies in the History of Art, 69 (2008), 32-61; Ilaria Andreoli, "Ex officina erasmiana". Vincenzo Valgrisi e l'illustrazione del libro tra Venezia e Lione alla metà del '500', Lyon/

Venezia 2006 (dissertation), 195-199; Tiziana Pesenti, 'Il "Dioscoride" di Pier Andrea Mattioli e l'editoria botanica' in Decio Gioseffi et al. (eds), Trattati di prospettiva, architettura militare, idraulica e altre discipline, Vicenza 1985, 61-103. On Mattioli's biography and works, see also Sara Ferri (ed.), Pietro Andrea Mattioli. Siena 1501-Trento 1578. La vita, le opere: con l'identificazione delle piante, Ponte San Giovanni 1997.

18 The Venetian privilege mentions the Emperor with the following words: 'Che in gratificazione della Cesarea Maestà, et del Serenissimo Arciduca previous cases are known.¹⁹ It was probably set by the Senate precisely because of the support that Mattioli enjoyed at the imperial court. The exceptional nature of this fine can be traced back to the potential best-seller status of Mattioli's book, so attractive for Venetian printers that only an exemplary penalty was an effective deterrent to counterfeiting. However, considering all applied penalties, the average is 287 ducats [Table 1].

Sectors	Average penalty (in ducats)
Food	403.13
Water	361.83
Construction	340.63
Energy	308.33
Chemistry	300.00
Printing press	287.22
Agriculture	270.00
Textile	247.22

Table 1 Average penalty by sector (1560–1580)

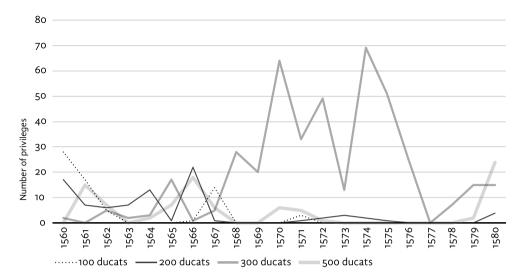
Using the above table, we can try to situate the printing-press sector in the context of all the other sectors that were strategic for Venice, not only in terms of its economic standing but also in terms of its management of everyday needs.²⁰ This quali-quantitative approach allows us to place the printing press in the list of the Republic of Venice's priorities as follows: the printing industry sits between the chemical sector and the agricultural sector. In the first two positions, with an average of 403 and 361 ducats respectively, are the food and water industries.

Following the evolution of flat fee-based fines on a chronological basis, it can be noticed how fines of 100 ducats, which is the standard set by the 1474 legislation, rapidly lost ground. Furthermore, whereas fines set for book-privilege infringements fluctuated on values ranging from 200 to 500 ducats in the 1560s, the fine of 300 ducats seems to become a standard for book privileges in the 1570s. The drastic decline that takes place after 1575 finds its explanation in the eruption of the plague in Venice, with a consequent lock on the publishing trade, as well as on other industries [Graph 2].21

Ferdinando, suo fratello, sia per autorità di questo conseglio concesso all'eccellente domino Pietro Andrea Mattioli, che altri che lui, o chi haverà causa da lui, non possi per lo spatio di anni vinti prossimi venturi stampare il Dioscoride' ('That in gratitude of the Cesarean Majesty, and to the Most Serene Archduke Ferdinand, his brother, let it be granted by authority of this Council to the excellent Lord Pietro Andrea Mattioli, that no one other than he, or whoever has his consent, shall print Dioscorides's works for the next twenty years'). The term gratificazione seems to imply that the legal protection was also due to the author as a recognition of (and

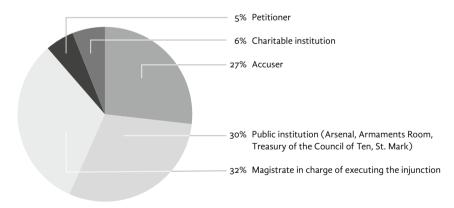
reward for) the expenses incurred by his patron. For the text of the privilege, see the database Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice, id 2658.

19 Those are the sanctions set for the translation of Ptolemy's Geography by Venetian patrician Paolo Canal, the first and the third edition of Orlando Furioso by Ludovico Ariosto, and the minor works of Ariosto. The administrative authorities received requests for similar sanctions, but they were accepted only in exceptional cases. For example, in 1562, Vincenzo Valgrisi requested a fine of 1,000 ducats in case of infringement of his privilege for the complete works of Galen. However, the Senate



Graph 2 Trend of penalties

It was customarily established that the fine set for book-privilege infringements would be divided among three different recipients (although sometimes there were two or four). They were usually: the magistrate in charge of executing the injunction (32% of cases); one public institution, often the Arsenal (30% of cases);²² the accuser (27% of cases); one charitable institution (6% of cases); and finally, the petitioner (5% of cases) [Graph 3].



Graph 3 Beneficiaries of penalties

decided that, in the case of counterfeiting or illicit possession, the copies had to be confiscated, and a fine of 10 ducats per book had to be applied. For the privileges of Paolo Canal, see Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice, id 475. For the privilege of Vincenzo Valgrisi, see Early Modern Book Privileges in

Venice, id 2582 and 2583. For the privileges of Ludovico Ariosto, see Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice, id 717, id 893, id 1014–1015. See also Erika Squassina, 'La protezione del Furioso: Ariosto e il sistema dei privilegi in Italia' in Bibliothecae.it, 6:1 (2017), 9-38.

Let us expand on the surprisingly low percentage (5%) of the cases in which book privileges explicitly mentioned grantees as the recipients of a portion of the established fine (whoever they may have been, for instance, the author or the publisher). It has to be specified that grantees were at times named as standard recipients of all sequestered copies (23% of recorded cases). Sequestered copies could be turned into a profit, but that was not yet a secured earning because copies had to be sold first. It was, however, an indirect earning that those petitioners and grantees (authors and publishers) were more likely to be willing and able to translate into profit. Petitioners were hardly ever included among the recipients of a pecuniary compensation because their real incentive for requesting book privileges consisted in the legal protection received and the consequent profit earned from obtaining a dominant position in the commercialization of a specific product. In other words, book privileges were indisputably an attractive asset, aside from direct pecuniary compensations.

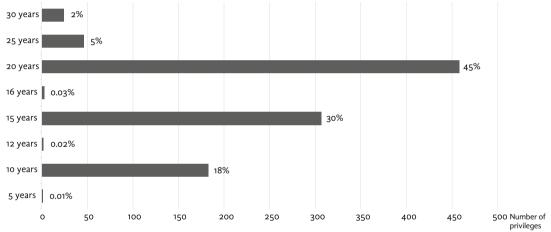
The total number of cases in which the Senate decided to include confiscated copies among the set compensations is 30%. In 23% of the cases, as previously mentioned, the recipient of confiscated copies was the grantee. In the other 7% of the cases, the confiscated copies would again be split among all parties involved (denouncers, magistrates and so forth). Only in six recorded cases did the Senate explicitly impose the destruction of all counterfeit copies, as envisaged by the law of 1474. This detail should not be overlooked since it shows a growing interest by authorities in cashing out every bit of the sanction rather than applying the symbolically stronger and more effective punishment of destroying the illegal copies. Such nuances in the Venetian legislation on book privileges may be the only faint and epiphenomenal trace of a dynamic that otherwise does not surface explicitly from records. The allocation of compensations through sanctions becomes more complicated over time, with more entities requiring a part of the compensation. This may mean that infringement was sometimes committed and sanctions had been consequently applied.

- 20 The values of the industrial sectors, other than the printing press, come from Fusco, 'Lessons from the Past', 331.
- 21 To make the graph easier to read, the sanctions of 10, 25, 50, 400 and 1,000 ducats are omitted because they were sporadically applied.
- 22 It is not surprising that part of the sanction was destined for the Arsenal because it was the heart of the Venetian naval industry and played a key role in making the Republic a major military and trading power. The activity of the Arsenal was in fact focused almost exclusively on the naval military, that is, shipbuilding, equipping, maintaining and repairing galleys and ships, including the production of manufactured goods and materials. The Arsenal was designed to win wars, guarantee state security, and protect trade routes. Financing the shipyard and the Venetian navy was, therefore, useful and advantageous to those who worked in the printing industry because most of the transport, both of raw materials (such as paper) and
- finished goods (printed books), took place by sea. From this point of view, it is understandable how the beneficiaries of book privileges felt it was their duty to contribute to the maintenance of a public institution such as the Arsenal. See Paola Lanaro & Christophe Austry (eds), L'Arsenale di Venezia. Da grande complesso industriale a risorsa patrimoniale, Venezia 2020; Mauro Bondioli, 'The Arsenal of Venice and the art of building ships' in Carlo Beltrame (ed.), Boats, ships and shipyards, Oxford 2003, 222-227; Robert C. Davis, Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal. Workers and workplace in the preindustrial city, Baltimore, MD/London 1991; Giorgio Bellavitis, L'arsenale di Venezia. Storia di una grande struttura urbana, Venezia 1983; Frederic C. Lane, Venetian ships and shipbuilders of the Renaissance, Baltimore, MD 1934.
- 23 The values of the industrial sectors, other than the printing press, come from Fusco, 'Lessons from the past', 329.

Second incentive: privilege duration

In any event, the Senate's ability to decide the duration of the privilege is probably the key element in this analysis because it illustrates that the Venetian government had the power to control the level of incentives offered to the printing-press sector. In this period, the Senate granted book privileges with a duration between 5 and 30 years.

Graph 4 details the distribution of the duration set by the Senate for all privileges. Specifically, it reveals that the Senate would most frequently grant privileges for a duration of 15 and 20 years (75% of the cases) between 1560 and 1580. It is clearly very far from the standard duration of 10 years set back in the 1474 law, a standard duration that was also absorbed into the book privileges system in the beginning and maintained for some decades. What happened to cause the Republic to nearly double the duration of book privileges? This will be discussed later.

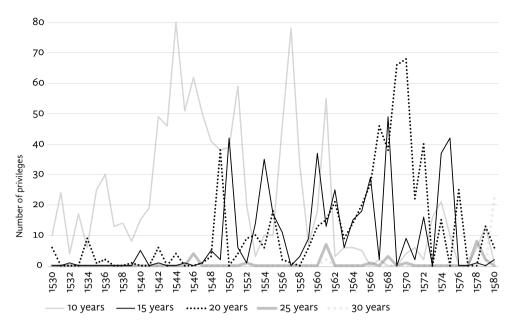


Graph 4 Distribution of terms (1560-1580)

On average, the duration of book privileges granted between 1560 and 1580 was 16 years. If the average duration of patents granted to other sectors are compared, we can see that the printing industry occupies the last position [Table 2].23

Sectors	Average duration of privileges (in years)
Water	28.57
Energy	28.08
Food	23.89
Agriculture	23.57
Chemistry	22.50
Construction	21.88
Textile	21.67
Printing press	16.63

Table 2 Average numbers of duration of privileges per sector (1560–1580)



Graph 5 Trend of the duration of privileges (1530-1580)

This may appear to be a discouraging factor, especially for book historians. Yet, despite the relatively high costs to produce a print run, they could hardly compete with the investments required to produce a new type of mill (see the category food), or a new method to dig channels (water), or a mud-digging machine (construction). The motivating factor here could be, all considered, that the book industry was still the sector capable of faster turnaround time to regain expenses and accumulate some profit. However, the fact that the duration of privileges lengthened as the sixteenth century progressed should be noted.

The evolution of terms of duration of Venetian book privileges shows that the ten-year standard remained dominant only until 1560, or little thereafter [Graph 5].²⁴ Peaks of 15 and 20 years in duration are sporadically emerging from 1549. This small group of long-term privileges consists mainly of concessions granted to Gabriele Giolito (fl. 1536–1578) and Michele Tramezino (fl. 1539–1579), both publishers of considerable relevance in the Venetian community.²⁵ Giolito and Tramezino were among the first publishers to specialise almost entirely in contemporary Italian literature, written by unknown or little-known authors.²⁶ This may probably justify the Senate's choice in granting them longer privileges than the customary standard of ten years, perhaps an acknowledgement that they took a higher risk in the context of a smaller market. Regarding the reasons that brought these two publishers to petition for a longer period than usual, we can only offer conjectures, but it is indisputable that these two publishers became aware of a market change before other publishers. In fact, the diachronic graph makes no secret that the 15–20 year-long duration for book privileges would become the new standard in the period 1560–1580, when durations could sporadically stretch even to 25 or 30 years.

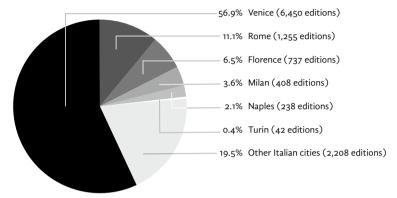
A possible explanation for this increase in the standard duration of book privileges can be found in the new setting in which the Republic, the Venetian economy, and the Italian book trade operated during the second half of the sixteenth century. This period was in fact not at all favourable for the Republic. Between 1570 and 1573, the Republic was thoroughly busy fighting the Ottoman Empire to defend its dominion over Cyprus, which, after a costly war, Venice lost. In this context, political and economic energies were channelled away from trade, including the book trade. In 1575, Venice was hit by a severe wave of the black plague. It is not necessary to stress how pandemics could hurt the economy, and, directly and indirectly, the plague shocked the book trade as well. However, it is possible that the plague represented a commercial opportunity for other Italian publishing centres. In fact, it seems that some of them quickly took advantage. As Table 3 shows, Florence, Milan and Turin increased their publishing production during the time of the plague.²⁷ Between 1575 and 1579, the number of Venetian editions dropped, coming close to the combined number of editions printed in other Italian publishing centres, such as Rome, Florence, Milan, Naples and Turin.

	Venice	Total others centres	Rome	Florence	Milan	Naples	Turin
1560–1564	377	192	97	56	24	12	3
1565–1569	397	236	115	73	24	17	7
1570-1574	408	288	106	120	28	23	11
1575-1579	308	304	67	135	53	20	29

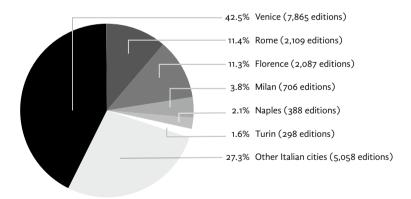
Table 3 Average number of annual editions per five-year period in five Italian publishing centres²⁸

- 24 To make the graph easier to read, the durations of 5, 12 and 16 years are omitted because they were sporadically applied. The duration of 25 years, although rarely applied, is retained because it is significant for my point about the increase of the duration in the years 1560-1580.
- 25 On Gabriele Giolito, see Angela Nuovo & Christian Coppens, I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del xvi secolo, Geneva 2005. On Michele Tramezino, see Angela Nuovo, 'Una lettera di Michele Tramezino a Giovanni Bartolomeo Gabiano (1522)' in La Bibliofilía, 115:1 (2013), 147-156; Gennaro Tallini, 'Tradizione familiare e politiche editoriali nella produzione a stampa dei Tramezino editori a Venezia (1536-1592)' in Studi veneziani, 59 (2010), 1243-1268; Alberto Tinto, Annali tipografici dei Tramezzino, Venezia 1966; Pier Silverio Leicht, 'L'editore veneziano Michele Tramezzino e i suoi privilegi' in Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari, Firenze 1952, 357–367.
- 26 Their orientation was also reflected in the privileges requested, mainly concerning Italian editions. Although there are also privileges granted for Latin editions, it is noted that, in the course of their activity, Giolito and Tramezino requested privileges to protect vernacular works in 96% and in 78% of cases respectively.
- 27 In the same years, Roman and Neapolitan production decreased somewhat. For Rome, this decrease could be a late consequence of the abandonment of the city by Paolo Manuzio. In 1570, upon his departure, only a diminished Popolo Romano press, two other presses of moderate size (the heirs of Antonio Blado and the Accolti family), and a handful of minuscule publishers carried on. Also, in Naples, there was a smaller number of publishers active in the city between 1575 and 1579 than in the previous five years. Laws restricting press freedom, frequent religious trials, and fear of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in the Kingdom may have spurred a temporary exodus of Neapolitan printers. Paul F. Grendler, The Roman inquisition and the Venetian press, 1540— 1605, Princeton, NJ 1977, 228-230; Pietro Manzi, Editori tipografi e librai napoletani a Venezia nel secolo xvi, Firenze 1975.
- 28 The average of the editions published in the main printing centres of the Italian peninsula was calculated from the annual production of each city, taking the data from EDIT16. More reliable conclusions could result from a calculation of print runs (and not editions) printed in every city, but unfortunately these data are not available.

It is clear that none of these cities could compete individually with Venice in terms of quantity, but all together they produced a number of editions that indeed competed with Venetian production, causing Venice to lose its dominance over the printed book market in Italy. Venice was still the foremost printing centre, but the situation was changing with an increasing weight toward other centres. If, on one hand, the Italian printing production was growing, on the other hand, Venice's relative share of the whole book market was shrinking. Between 1539 and 1559, almost 60% of the editions published in Italy came from Venice, but in the years 1560–1580 this number dropped to 43% [Graphs 6 & 7].



Graph 6 Book market allocation in Italy (1539-1559)



Graph 7 Book market allocation in Italy (1560–1580)

The Italian centres competed mainly in the field of vernacular publishing, aimed at the national public, with the exception of Rome where Latin texts remained quite predictably of central interest for local printers. In the years 1560–1580, printers in cities like Milan and Florence increased the printing of works written in Italian, 29 taking a significant portion of this market away from Venice.³⁰ In the same years, with the help of exclusive papal privileges, Rome increased its publishing production, competing especially with Venice (but not exclusively) in the field of religion. Papal privileges provided two important advantages. On one hand, there was an economic advantage, since they ensured the whole Italian market to the privilege holders. On the other hand, they offered a commercial guarantee because they were the most authoritative recognition of the orthodoxy of a text, therefore, ensuring its doctrinal approval.31 The wide range of action for papal privileges, along with the support and the financial resources provided by the Roman Curia, made Rome a pole of attraction for printers. Among them was Paolo Manuzio (1512–1574), who left Venice in 1561 to direct the Stamperia del popolo romano,³² In 1572, the printer Nicolò Bevilacqua (fl. 1554–1574), who had learned the art of printing from Manuzio, left Venice, too. Perhaps looking for a less competitive market and therefore greater opportunities for growth, he moved to Turin where he found the financial support and various incentives from Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy (r. 1553–1580).33 In 1559, printer Francesco Marcolini (fl. 1534–1559) also left Venice, leaving his printing house to Bevilacqua.34 These cases show how the situation was changing: the charm of Venice was gradually obscured by the rise of new poles of attraction in Italy and in the rest of Europe. In fact, Venice was also losing market areas in favour of other European centres, such as Antwerp, Basel, Frankfurt, Lyons and Paris.

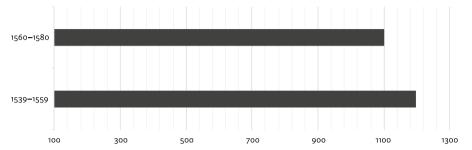
As if that were not enough, ever since 1559, the book trade had started feeling the growing pressure of the Counter Reformation in the form of book censorship. Although the first Index of prohibited books dates from 1559, it has been argued that the longer lasting and more effective Roman Index of the Cinquecento was the one from 1564. The rising pressure

- 29 Florence increased the publishing production of vernacular works by 187% compared to the previous twenty years (1539-1559), whereas Milan had an increase of 95%.
- 30 In those years, 40% of the publishing production of Venice consisted of vernacular works.
- 31 On papal privileges, see Jane C. Ginsburg, 'Protoproprietà letteraria ed artistica: i privilegi di stampa papali nel xvi secolo' in Squassina & Ottone (eds), Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento, 103-287. For the English version, see Ginsburg, 'Proto-property in literary and artistic works: sixteenth-century papal printing privileges' in Isabella Alexander & H. Tomás Gomez-Arostegui, Research handbook on the history of copyright law, Cheltenham/Northampton [2016], 237-267 (https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783472406).
- 32 Paolo Sachet, 'Publishing for the popes: the Roman Curia and the use of printing (1527–1555), Leiden 2020; Idem, 'A humanist printer moves from Venice to Rome: the curial patronage of Paolo Manuzio' in

- Cristina Dondi et al. (eds), La stampa romana nella città dei papi e in Europa, Città del Vaticano 2016, 217-233; Idem, Publishing for the popes: the cultural policy of the Catholic Church towards printing in sixteenth-century Rome, London 2015 (dissertation), in particular 173-215; Francesco Barberi, Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del popolo romano (1561-1570), Roma 1942.
- 33 Andrea Merlotti, 'Librai, stampatori e potere a Torino nel secondo Cinquecento' in Giuseppe Ricuperati (ed.), Storia di Torino, Torino 1997, III, 571-81; Alfredo Cioni, 'Bevilacqua Niccolò' in Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, Roma 1967, available online https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ nicolo-bevilacqua_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.
- 34 In 1559, Francesco Marcolini left Venice and moved to Verona, where he probably died the same year. See Un giardino per le arti: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, la vita, l'opera, il catalogo, Convegno internazionale di studi (Forlì 11-13 ottobre 2007), Forlì 2007.

of Catholic censorship definitely created an infertile environment for the book trade in Italy in general, and in Venice in particular (in light of the leadership that the Venetian printing press had over the rest of the peninsula).⁵⁵

Despite the difficulties, the Venetian printing press did not collapse. The number of privileges granted, and consequently the number of new (or substantially revised) editions published, is an indicator that the production of original works remained high, with a drop of only 8% compared to the previous 20 years (1539–1559) [Graph 8].



Graph 8 Book privileges granted between 1539-1559 and between 1560-1580

The print runs of these new editions are unknown, but the number of new editions does not show a drastic decline (with the exception of the plague years, when both the number of editions and privileges collapsed). Undoubtedly, production dynamics were also affected by the series of catastrophic events that hit Venice in such a short lapse of years. However, with an eye to the lengthening duration of book privileges in Venice over time, this sequence of calamities seemed to have had an important impact on distribution dynamics. With the deterioration of the local economy and the increasingly strong rivalry among Italian and European competitors, it became progressively difficult for Venetian publishers to exhaust their new stocks, hence the need for a longer legal protection, such as that one provided by book privileges. This is a significant clue that a systemic crisis had started biting the Venetian book market at large.

Conclusions

The higher risk of failure, combined with the difficulties of the period, generated the need to promote and support the printing industry more carefully. One of the strengths of the privilege system put in place by the Venetian Senate was the setting of incentives (duration and sanctions) on a case-by-case basis. This allowed the Senate a level of legal dynamism which granted a higher flexibility to contingencies. This was, for instance, the basic advantage of a private law system (*privata lex*) over a statutory law (like that of 1474 from which my narrative began).

With reference to pecuniary sanctions, the Senate had to ensure that the set amount would be sufficient to satisfy all the recipients involved. As mentioned above, these may

comprise not only the grantee or the denouncer, but also independent institutions (i.e., Venetian magistracies) that had nothing to suffer from the infringement of a book privilege. This mobility in the allocation of rewards generated by pecuniary sanctions has also been pointed out to be indirect evidence that the privilege system did generate sanctions and indirect incomes, setting aside the fact that the prime function of the sanctions was to cover the costs of policing infringements and enforcing the privilege.

However, sanctions were not the direct incentive that caused petitioners to apply for a book privilege. Rather, this was the position of temporary monopoly granted by privileges. Thus, in the privilege system, the parameter that most interested petitioners and grantees was duration. For its part, the Senate used this incentive to encourage authors and publishers to produce new works, thus stimulating the local book industry and making it more competitive on the basis of quality. Another reason behind the progressive adoption of longer durations of privilege was the Senate's aim to curb the ongoing contraction of the Venetian printing community. By allocating longer privileges, the Republic wished to discourage local printers from emigrating. This way, in spite of the printing industry being put to the test in the years 1560–1580, the production of new publications in Venice remained constant compared to previous decades.

As highlighted by Claudio Povolo, the Venetian patricians considered the level of arbitrariness of customary law a point of honour for the Republic's legislative structure.³⁶ Conversely, the tradition of statutory law seemed hardly to adapt to the dynamism of contingencies. That of privileges is perhaps one of the examples of how the private law applied by the Senate was considered in the economic field to be the most flexible tool for managing an unpredictable factor, such as the market.

- 35 The bibliography on this topic is vast. For an overview, see Giliola Fragnito, Rinascimento perduto. La letteratura italiana sotto gli occhi dei censori, Bologna 2019; Vittorio Frajese, Nascita dell'Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma, Brescia 2006; Giliola Fragnito (ed.), Church, censorship and culture in early modern Italy, Cambridge 2011; Idem, 'In questo vasto mare de libri prohibiti et sospesi tra tanti scogli di varietà et controversie: la censura ecclesiastica tra la fine del Cinquecento e i primi del Seicento' in Cristina Stango (ed.), Censura ecclesiastica e cultura politica in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento, Atti del convegno (5 marzo 1999), Firenze 2001, 1-35; Idem, 'Aspetti e problemi della censura espurgatoria' in L'inquisizione e gli storici. Un cantiere aperto, Roma 2000, 161-178; Idem, 'La censura libraria tra Congregazione dell'Indice, Congregazione dell'Inquisizione e Maestro del Sacro Palazzo (1571-1596)' in Ugo Rozzo (ed.), La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo xvi, Udine 1997, 163-175; Andrea Del Col,
- 'L'Inquisizione romana e il potere politico nella repubblica di Venezia (1540-1560)' in Critica storica, 28 (1991), 189–250; Grendler, *The Roman inquisition* and the Venetian press. An interesting study on the censorship effects on the Venetian printing industry is currently being conducted by Stefano Comino, Alberto Galasso and Clara Graziano. Their article is still unpublished but a discussion paper is now available. See Comino, Galasso & Graziano, 'Censorship, industry structure, and creativity: evidence from the Catholic inquisition in Renaissance Venice', CEPR Discussion Paper 16028, (2021), https://cepr.org/active/publications/discussion_ papers/dp.php?dpno=16028.
- 36 Claudio Povolo, 'Un sistema giuridico repubblicano: Venezia e il suo Stato territoriale (secoli xv-xvIII)' in Italo Birocchi & Antonello Mattone (eds), Il diritto patrio tra diritto comune e codificazione (secoli xvixix), Atti del convegno internazionale (Alghero, 4-6 novembre 2004), Roma 2006, 297-353.



DIANE E. BOOTON

An analysis of book prices in Paris The first bookseller's catalogue of Simon de Colines, c. 1540



One of the earliest known Parisian booksellers' catalogues with prices was the book list of Simon de Colines, celebrated typographer and punchcutter in the sixteenth-century local book trade. His six-leaf catalogue dating about 1540 - the first of his three surviving catalogues - presents 392 short descriptive entries, of which 323 (83%) display prices; the entries are categorized in twenty-two sections pertaining to a broad spectrum of subjects, including sacred, historical, rhetorical, philosophy and medicine. By identifying known editions on his book list, we will be able to ascertain the chronological range of his offered publications and analyse wholesale selling prices relative to price per print sheet, bibliographic format and language, thereby presenting comparative data on material aspects to broaden our knowledge of trends in the early modern book trade in Paris.

Colines's first catalogue is numbered among the twenty-five known printed Paris booksellers' catalogues with prices in a twenty-year period, from c. 1540 to 1562, and presents a comparison to the contemporary and first book catalogue published by Robert Estienne, son of Henri Estienne (†1520) and stepson of Colines. In examining editions on offer in both catalogues, some overlap can be discerned against a greater degree of divergence in stock, which may reflect subject specialisation agreed upon by the two publishers. Yet, the overlapping titles, the majority of which Estienne sold for less, may also hint at familial friction, at least in the earlier years of collaboration.

Dr. Diane E. Booton specializes in the history of manuscripts and printed books in late medieval and early modern Europe, with a focus on production, market and provenance, and cultural transmission. Past publications include Manuscripts, market and the transition to print in late medieval Brittany (2010) and Publishing networks in France in the early era of print, c. 1450-1550 (2018). She serves on the editorial board of The Golden Compasses.

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The following abbreviations are used: Bibliographie des éditions parisiennes du 16e siècle = BP16; Universal Short Title Catalogue = ustc. Colines's catalogue does not explicitly identify the currency, but it is assumed to be livres tournois, the common currency in Paris at the time. The livre tournois (I.) equaled 20 sous (sols, s.);

1 s. equaled 12 deniers (d.).

So much has been published about Simon de Colines's career and typographic achievements that only a summary need be offered below. A description follows of his first catalogue, which has not been hitherto subject to a detailed examination, as well as a methodological discussion regarding the identification of editions from printed bibliographies, online databases and library catalogues. After the elimination of doubtful identifications or editions with incomplete bibliographic information, a reliable dataset was created for analysis and examination of correlating material and economic costs. We turn thereafter to a discussion of Henri Estienne's backlist as it appears in Colines's catalogue and the overlapping editions in Robert Estienne's first published catalogue. By itself, Colines's catalogue presents an economic snapshot, or at least the wholesale quoted value, of his books for sale; in comparison to Estienne's contemporary catalogue, it exhibits a distinctive marketing strategy within the Estienne-Colines family of publishers.

A quarter century of publishing

The professional career of Simon de Colines (1480?–1546) as publisher and punchcutter has long been appreciated, in particular, for book design and graceful fonts.¹ The first mention of Simon de Colines appears on 2 October 1520, the date recording his receipt of a royal privilege to print Jean de Montholon's *Promptuarium divini iuris & utriusque humani*, completed in the Parisian shop of Henri Estienne on rue St.-Jean-de-Beauvais at the sign of St. John the Baptist. Colines's privilege implies a working relationship of some duration with Estienne, whose last known work with his name alone dates from 24 July 1520, thus establishing the probable range of the latter's date of death. Colines married the widow, Guyonne Viart (previously widow of publisher Jean Higman) at the end of that same year

- 1 For biographical information, see Michael Maittaire, Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine, Hagae-Comitum: apud Isaacum Vaillant, 1719–1741, 11, 396-405; Philippe Renouard, Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines, 1520–1546, avec une notice biographique, Paris 1894, 439-474; Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer in Fred Schreiber, Simon de Colines. An annotated catalogue of 230 examples of his press, 1520-1546, Provo, UT 1995, xii-xliii (French), xlv-Ixxxiv (English translation); Kay Amert, 'Intertwining strengths: Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne' in Book History, 8 (2005), 1-20; Kay Amert, The Scythe and the Rabbit: Simon de Colines and the culture of the book in Renaissance Paris, Robert Bringhurst (ed.), Rochester, NY 2012; H.D.L. Vervliet, The palaeotypography of the French Renaissance. Selected papers on sixteenth-century typefaces, Leiden 2008, 1, 63-96.
- 2 For Robert Estienne, see A.-A. Renouard, Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne, ou Histoire de la famille des Estienne et de ses éditions, Paris 1843 (2nd ed.), 283–347; Fred Schreiber, The Estiennes: an annotated catalogue of 300 highlights of their various presses, New York, NY 1982. Robert Estienne's catalogues, which are available on the EMoBookTrade website, have been extensively analysed by Goran Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues (Paris 1541–1552): a statistical analysis' in JLIS.it, 9/2 (2018), 193–222.
- 3 Veyrin-Forrer in Schreiber, Simon de Colines, lii: The marriage of Robert Estienne and division of assets 'put an end to a collaboration that had not been totally without friction'. Amert, The Scythe and the Rabbit, 2: some historians describe them as 'rivals in the context of fonts', citing Nicolas Barker, 'The Aldine roman in Paris, 1530–1534' in The Library, 29 (1974), 5–20 (8).
- 4 For the brothers' biographical details, see Renouard, *Annales*, 348–362.
- 5 Veyrin-Forrer in Schreiber, Simon de Colines, xlv.

and completed editions begun during his lifetime with an acknowledging subscription (ex officina Henrici Stephani et successoris ejus Simonis Colinæi). Along with the shop and marriage came children, some of whom would collaborate closely with Colines: from the Higman union were Geneviève, who married printer-bookseller Regnault Chaudière, and Damien, bookseller, and from Estienne were four young children, Nicole, who later married a prosecutor at the court of Châtelet, and three sons, François, Robert and Charles, who would continue to train with Colines and become initiated into the book trade.

In the early spring of 1526, Colines and Guyonne left half of the house and shared the printing stock with Robert and established a new shop near the Collège de Beauvais at the sign of the Golden Sun, where its first book was printed on 18 May 1526. Colines retained the back-list of Henri Estienne and reprinted many of these editions over the years. Robert became not only publisher-bookseller but also lexicographer, knowledgeable of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.² Whether Simon de Colines and his stepson Robert Estienne were collaborators or competitors has divided book historians.3 Certainly, both were interested in publishing Bibles and Latin classics, yet historians have underscored distinctions, particularly in book formats that reflected choices linked to their intended audience of readers with the suggested divergence or accommodation in their marketing strategies. It has also been observed that the differences became less pronounced around 1540, that is, in the later years of Colines's career, perhaps alluding to his intention of naming Estienne as his successor. Their earliest booksellers' catalogues, dating c. 1540–1541, both overlap and differ in revelatory details, which may not ultimately decide the debate regarding their relationship and indeed may add further complexity.

Colines's collaboration with his other stepsons, printer-bookseller-physician Charles (†1564) and bookseller François (†1553) developed after 1537, relationships reflected in his catalogue that lists many of their titles. Two years later, Colines left his shop at the Golden Sun in lease to bookseller Regnault Chaudière (†1554?), who had married his stepdaughter Geneviève (Higman), and established yet another firm at Saint-Marcel at the sign of the Four Evangelists, where Regnault's son Claude assisted him. His later years experienced greater collaboration in the selling and printing of books, which is reflected in the editions identified in his c. 1540 catalogue; his collaborators included Louis Blaubloom (Cyanæus), Geoffroy Tory, Galliot du Pré, Nicolas Billequo, Guillaume de Bossozel and Jean Loys, in addition to his earlier collaborators Antoine Augereau and Jacques Nyverd. Sometime in 1546, the year of Colines's death, his last firm was closed, and Regnault and Claude Chaudière assumed his printing activities with his printing stock at the sign of the Golden Sun.

In some twenty-seven years of professional activity, Simon de Colines produced more than 750 publications.5

Catalogue description

Simon de Colines's first known bookseller's catalogue, titled *ELENCHUS LIBRORUM tum græcorum tum latinorum quos Colinæus suis typis excudit*, is printed in roman type over six unnumbered leaves in one signature, marked A, in duodecimo long format (BP16 110161, Fig. 1). The catalogue has been noted in bibliographies, but only its title page has been reproduced in the literature; recently, however, a digital version has been made available online. No date appears on the catalogue, but historians usually date it to c. 1540. A closer look at its listed editions, however, suggests a date in 1541 when some editions were likely in production or at least planned. For example, *Biblia magno volumine* (USTC 140119; BP16 110115), which is listed in the catalogue without a price, was completed in October 1541. *Arithmetica practica* by Oronce Fine (USTC 140334; BP16 110704) is also listed without a price; it was reprinted by Colines in 1542, following his earlier edition of 1535. A publication date of 1541 would also reflect a major change in Colines's professional career, a year in which he and his wife ceded their half of the house in the rue St.-Jean-de-Beauvais to Robert Estienne.

The catalogue is generally ordered by subject matter. The titles are sharply abbreviated with a few underlined in manuscript by an unknown hand; the majority have prices, and one price was added by hand. Corresponding to Colines's position as *libraire juré* to the University of Paris, a position that followed in the footsteps of Henri Estienne, many subjects pertain to the interests of faculty and students: classical literature, philosophy, theology, mathematics and medicine. The latter two subjects required complex tables and diagrams, as well as specialist editors to review technical information for a competent edition; besides these requirements, the limited market audience meant that Colines was among the few publishers who had the ability and means to produce these editions. Medicine predominated on Colines's list, offering a series of Latin and Greek editions of Galen. Certain recent authors are also highlighted in separate catalogue sections, namely, the mathematician and astronomer Oronce Fine (six editions), the theologian and mathematician Josse Clichthove (fifteen editions) and the humanist and theologian Desiderius Erasmus (fifteen editions).

In some section headings, the catalogue specifies the editions' bibliographic formats, for instance, 'Galeni opera maiori forma'. The formats are described as *maiori*, *mediocri*, *minori*, and *minima forma*, corresponding respectively to folio, quarto (4to), octavo (8vo), sedecimo (16mo) formats, as matched to identifying editions.

The lowest priced editions printed by Colines and listed in his catalogue are two octavo editions of eight leaves, that is, one print sheet priced at 2 d.: Baptista Mantuanus's *Elegia de morte contemnenda*, printed in 1527 (USTC 181063; BP16 105522) and Cato's *Disticha*, printed in 1541 (USTC 195043; BP16 110165). The time span of fourteen years did not affect pricing. His most expensive item was a folio edition of 510 leaves offered at 50 s., requiring 255 print sheets at a price of 2.35 d. per sheet: Jean Ruel's *De natura stirpium libri tres*, printed in 1536 (USTC 147052; BP16 108149). His catalogue also lists an edition more expensive than any of his own: Colines offered the quarto edition of *Prothomathesis* by Oronce Fine,

printed in Paris by Gérard Morrhy and Jean Pierre in 1532, at 60 s.; the edition contained numerous mathematical diagrams over its 210 leaves and required 52.5 print sheets, costing 13.71 d. per sheet. This glimpse of price comparisons demonstrates the vast economic differences in printing editions of uncomplicated Latin prose versus others with complex tables and diagrams.

Whereas Latin predominates as language among the catalogue titles, there are also editions in Greek, Hebrew, French and Spanish. Notwithstanding Latin texts with occasional Greek or Greek citations in the margins, Colines also published full bilingual texts in Latin and Greek, e.g., Isocrates's Sermo admonitorius ad Demonicum ad Nicoclem Oratio of 1529 (USTC 184884; BP16 106005) and Joachim Périon's Ek Timaiou tmēma to tō Kikerōnos peri pantos biblio symphonoun of 1540 (USTC 206688; BP16 109943), as well as editions completely in Greek, dating primarily from 1528 to 1530, although a couple significant editions date later. The year 1528 is significant in his career, for it marks the appearance of Colines's new Greek or saint-augustine typeface.10 Greek titles appear mostly under the section 'Græci', but others are listed under sacred literature, philosophy and medicine. Apart from

- 6 The catalogue's book block measures 149 × 87 mm, with some pages cropped to 72 mm in width; text block measures 131 × 51 mm; 20 lines measure 59-60 mm. The measure does not correspond to type identified by Vervliet and Amert. The sole surviving copy is held at Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, HOO/BBLGR-III 120 in a parchment-bound (choir book leaf) Sammelband also containing two other booksellers' catalogues: Index librorum omnium, Quos suis typis excudit Christianus Wechelus, published by Chrétien Wechel, 1543 (12 ff.) and Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, partim nati, partim restituti & excusi by Robert Estienne, c. 1541. The Colines catalogue has two damaged pages, apparently by mice. Provenance: German physician and naturalist Johann Jacob Baier (1677-1735); German botanist Christoph Jacob Trew (1695-1769); his book collection went to the University of Altdorf (1578-1809); transferred to Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen; book stamp of Königliche Bayerische Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen ('K.B. Univ. Bibliothek Erlangen'). Two other copies are noted in the bibliography: one formerly in the collection of A.-A. Renouard, Catalogue de la bibliothèque d'un amateur, avec notes bibliographiques, critiques et littéraires, Paris 1819, IV, 240, no. 3416 (1); and the other formerly at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale but lost apparently during or in the aftermath of the flood in Florence in 1966, see Christian Coppens, 'A census of publishers' and booksellers' catalogues up to 1600: some provisional conclusions' in The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 102 (2008), 557-567 (565).
- 7 Digital version available at https://nbn-resolving. org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-bv011202092-1 (all digital sources last consulted 22 September 2022). For bibliography, see A.-A. Renouard, Catalogue de la

- bibliothèque d'un amateur, IV, 240; his sale, Cataloque d'une précieuse collection de livres, manuscrits, autographes, dessins et gravures composant actuellement la bibliothèque de M. A.A.R., Paris 1853, sale, Paris, 21 Nov.-18 Dec. 1854, p. 345, no. 3416 (1). Mentioned by Ph. Renouard, Bibliographie, 417, noting A.-A. Renouard's copy but not its examination. The above authors are cited by Henri Omont, 'Catalogue des éditions françaises de Denys Janot, libraire parisien (1529-1545)' in Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, 25 (1898), 271–296 (273–274); Günter Richter, 'Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkatalogen in den Akten der Kaiserlichen Bücherkommission' in Elisabeth Geck & Guido Pressler (eds), Festschrift für Josef Benzing zum sechzigsten Geburtstag 4. Februar 1964, Wiesbaden 1964, 317-372 (359); Christian Coppens, 'Sixteenth-century octavo publishers' catalogues mainly from the Omont collection' in De Gulden Passer, 70 (1992), 5-34 (14); Coppens, 'A census', 565; Christian Coppens, Advertising the early printed book: a census of publishers' and booksellers' advertisements and catalogues till 1600, London: Bibliographical Society, in preparation, no. 222.
- 8 Veyrer-Forrer in Schreiber, Simon de Colines, Ixi. The spelling of Oronce Fine's name follows Dictionnaire de biographie française, Roman D'Armat et al. (eds), Paris 1933-2018, XIII, cols 1370-1371.
- **9** The Estienne-Colines group competed for market domination of mathematic editions in Paris with a publishing group headed by Jean Loys; see Allisar Levy, 'Une production hors normes à Paris au début du xvie siècle: les livres mathématiques (1480–1550)' in Histoire et civilisation du livre, 16 (2020), 165–178 (170–173).
- 10 Vervliet, The palaeotypography of the French Renaissance, no. 28.

his editions of Greek grammar and classical authors, three of Galen's works in Greek appear in this catalogue: Peri ouron biblion. Peri euchymias kai kakochymias, Peri bdellon kai katasxasmou (USTC 184775; BP16 105670); Peri euporiston biblion (USTC 184996; BP16 106309); Pros Patrophilon. Peri syntaxeōs iatrikēs (USTC 184776; BP16 105671). A bit later in date is the Greek New Testament, Hē Kainē Diathēkē (USTC 185380; BP16 107422), which is considered to have been the first one printed in France; it is printed in Colines's second font, thought to have been provided by Antoine Augereau.11

Two editions noted in the catalogue contain some Hebrew. First, his 24mo undated edition of Erasmus's Familiarium colloquiorum (USTC 206805; BP16 106943), without price, follows his earlier edition of 9 February 1526 (n.s. 1527; BP16 105381). This edition had been prohibited by the Theology Faculty on 16 May 1526. The editions employed Sephardi Hebrew.¹² Second, his Biblia sacra [...] Adiecta est in fine Hebraicarum, Graecarum, caeterarumque, printed for Galliot du Pré in October-November 1541, employs Hebrew, Greek and Latin in roman (USTC 140119; BP16 110115).13

Apart from one bilingual Latin-French edition in the sacred literature section - Vocabulaire du psaultier by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples of 1529 (USTC 8413; BP16 106013) – all French editions appear in the grammar section, including three editions published in 1537: Plutarch's moral treatise on how to tell a flatterer from friend in Antoine Du Saix's translation from the Latin version established by Erasmus (USTC 24250; BP16 108635); the latter's treatises on how to instruct children in Pierre Saliat's translation (USTC 12895; BP16 108500); and [Pseudo]-Sallust's invective against Cicero, considered a rhetorical school exercise, again translated by Pierre Saliat (USTC 23501; BP16 108672). The remaining French editions were authored by those in Colines's family circle and published 1539–1540: Robert Estienne's L'Accord de la langue francoise avec la latine (USTC 55899; BP16 109775); La Maniere de tourner en langue françoise les verbes actifz, passifz, gerondifz, supins et participes (USTC 55897; BP16 109779); La Maniere de tourner toutes especes de noms latins en nostre langue francoyse (USTC 38046; BP16 109781); and Les Principes & premiers elementz de la langue latine, attributed to François Estienne (USTC 79326) or Claude Chaudière (BP16 109222).14 Colines's only Spanish-language edition of 1532 appears in the catalogue as well: Cebes of Thebes' Tabula, translated by the physician Juan Martinez Poblacion (USTC 352833; BP16 106893).15

- 11 Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Antoine Augereau, graveur de lettres, imprimeur et libraire parisien (†1534) in Veyrin-Forrer, La lettre et le texte. Trente années de recherches sur l'histoire du livre, Paris 1987, 3-50
- 12 Marie-Thérèse Lenger (ed.), Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas, Bruxelles 1964-1975, 11, 523-524, where the use of Greek, but not Hebrew, is mentioned in the description. See Lyse Schwarzfuchs, Le livre hébreu à Paris au xvie siècle, Paris 2004, no. 23, and Lyse Schwarzfuchs & William Kemp, 'Érasme et l'hébreu à Lyon' in La Bibliofilía, 118:2 (2016), 251-264 (257 n. 23).
- 13 Martine Delaveau & Denise Hillard, Bibles imprimées du xve au xvIIIe siècle conservées à Paris, Paris 2002, no. 844; Schwarzfuchs, Le livre hébreu, no. 120.
- 14 Ph. Renouard, Bibliographie, 315, attributes Les Principes to Chaudière, whereas the library catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale, Bibliothèque Mazarine and British Library attribute it to
- 15 P.O. Kristeller, Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries: annotated lists and guides, Washington, DC 1960-2016, VI, 2. See http://www.catalogustranslationum.org/PDFs/ volumeo6/vo6 pscebes.pdf.

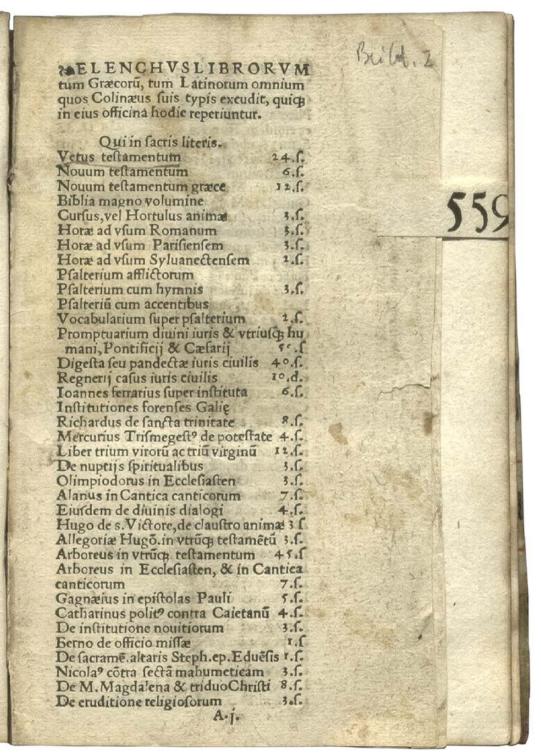


Fig. 1. Simon de Colines's first known bookseller's catalogue, ELENCHUS LIBRORUM tum græcorum tum latinorum quos Colinæus suis typis excudit, [c. 1540] Image Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, ноо/ввься-ии 120 (149 × 87 mm)

Curiosities and backlist of Henri Estienne

Besides these linguistic specialities, three editions in the catalogue present special interest: an illustrated book of hours, a mathematical treatise published outside his immediate circle and an anatomical work, many years in the making.

Colines, being foremost a printer for the University of Paris, did not specialise in devotional books of hours; only three for the liturgical use of Rome, Paris and Senlis appear in his earliest catalogue, and only the Rome hours was reprinted during his career. Indeed, the latter listed in the catalogue was likely his 1527 octavo edition, a reprise of the 1524/25 quarto edition designed by and published with humanist Geoffroy Tory (†1533), whose profusely illustrated edition of classicizing woodcuts, possibly after the designs of Jean Lécuyer, broke with the genre's gothic tradition (BP16 105410).16 Tory's graphic innovations were recognized and protected in the royal privilege printed within the edition. Described by Kay Amert as 'an experiment in modernization' for Colines's lighter roman typeface and woodcut initials, the editions took advantage of a vacuum in liturgical book production created after the deaths of prominent publishers of the genre, among whom were Antoine Vérard (†1512), Simon Vostre and Philippe Pigouchet (both active to about 1518) and Thielman Kerver (†1522).¹⁷ The listing of the Rome hours in all of his three catalogues suggests that it did not sell quickly; nonetheless, Colines would later produce two new and more expensive Horae Romanum editions in quarto and octavo formats that appeared in his third catalogue of c. 1546.

In 1542, Simon de Colines published French mathematician and cartographer Oronce Fine's Arithmetica practica, a revision of his 1535 edition.18 The editions were based on Fine's first section of his larger opus, *Protomathesis*, concerning arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and astronomical instruments, which was first published (impensis) by Gérard Morrhy and

- 16 Stéphanie Deprouw et al. (eds), Geoffroy Tory. Imprimeur de François ^{er}. Graphiste avant la lettre, Paris 2011, 34-40,46-47; Stéphanie Deprouw-Augustin, 'L'Illustration des livres d'heures de Tory' in Rémi Jimenes, with the collaboration of Robert Tranchida & Colette Puynège-Batard (eds), Geoffroy Tory de Bourges. Humanisme et arts du livre à la Renaissance, Bourges 2019, 72-77; Anna Baydova, 'Le décor des Heures de Geoffroy Tory' in Rémi Jimenes, Geoffroy Tory de Bourges, 78-79.
- 17 Amert, The Scythe and the Rabbit, 167-173; Ph. Renouard, Bibliographie, 65, 98-99; Auguste Bernard, Geofroy Tory, peintre et graveur, premier imprimeur royal, réformateur de l'orthographe et de typographie sous François Ier, Paris 1865 (2nd ed.), 120-129, 136-138, but see reproductions of borders in English ed. Geofroy Tory: painter and engraver; first royal printer: reformer of orthography and typography under François I. An account of his life and works, trans. George B. Ives, Cambridge, MA 1909, 101-122.
- 18 USTC 146838 and 140334. Ph. Renouard, Bibliographie, 246-247, 357-358; Schreiber, Simon de Colines, nos 133, 188. More generally, see Alexander Marr (ed.), The worlds of Oronce Fine. Mathematics, instruments and print in Renaissance France, Donington 2009.
- 19 Ph. Renouard, Bibliographie, 409-410; Veyrin-Forrer in Schreiber, Simon de Colines, Ixvi, no. 222; Pierre Huard & Mirko Drazen Grmek, L'œuvre de Charles Estienne et l'école anatomique parisienne, Paris 1965; Hélène Cazes, 'Translation as editorial mediation: Charles Estienne's experiments with the dissemination of knowledge' in Renaissance Studies, 29:1 (2015), 36-54.
- 20 During the preparation of this chapter, we did not yet have accurate information on the edition of Colloquiorum familiarum (1532), and therefore this book was considered a fifth outlier and not included in our calculations. In the end, the physical description allowed a recalculation of the cost to 3 d. per sheet, which would still have brought the edition within the limits of the dataset. The statistical impact is negligible.

Jean Pierre in 1532 (USTC 138121). Colines's folio edition was listed without a price in this catalogue, suggesting that the work was then in press. It would be published with a headpiece designed and signed by Fine, together with mathematical tables and diagrams, and offered for 6 s. in his later catalogues. As an apparent exception to Colines's usual practice, Fine's larger work *Protomathesis* – an edition printed by publishers outside his family group or his usual collaborators - was offered in the catalogue for 60 s., as previously mentioned. Perhaps Colines no longer needed the larger edition and was trying to sell a copy or two; Protomathesis appeared again in Colines's second catalogue, offered at the equivalent price of 3 l.

The listing of Anotomia [sic] corporis humani cum figuris, without a price, hints at the difficult publishing history of Charles Estienne's De dissectione partium corporis humani libri tres (USTC 149331).19 The work was begun perhaps as early as 1530 and planned with woodcuts engraved by Geoffroy Tory, Jean Jollat, and Estienne de la Rivière, but a lawsuit interrupted the printing in 1539. The folio edition containing 62 full-page and 101 small woodcuts was finally completed in 1545 and offered at the significant price of 45 s.

Analysis of Simon de Colines's earliest catalogue

The EMoBookTrade database permits the following analysis of the average price per print sheet for the entire data set, as well as the average price per sheet for language, bibliographic format and the age of editions. During an early analysis, however, it was clear that these large categories failed to tell the whole story, thereby leading to further study as well as additional caveats. In some cases, Robert Estienne's data have been useful for comparative purposes. It may be worth remembering that prices offered in booksellers' catalogues refer to unbound editions; the prices never reflect the additional cost of bindings. Another important consideration to recall concerns the definition of an edition as a marketable unit in the sixteenth century that may not equate with what modern-day bibliographers identify as an edition entry in a library catalogue or database.

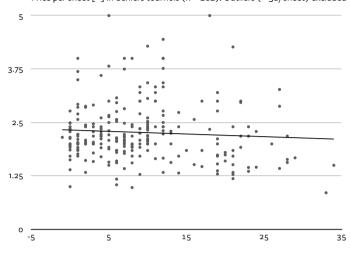
There are 392 short descriptive entries in Simon de Colines's bookseller catalogue of c. 1540-1541, of which 323 entries (83%) display prices. The identification of many titles has been possible with the search of online databases (USTC or BP16) or library catalogues or published catalogues (Renouard and Schreiber). After the elimination of doubtful identifications or editions with incomplete bibliographic information, a reliable dataset of 262 entries was created for analysis.

The Colines dataset excludes four titles deemed 'outliers' because they priced above 5 d. per sheet, namely, in order of appearance within the catalogue:20

- (fol. A2 recto, 3) Oronce Fine, Quadrans astrolabicus, a folio edition printed in 1534 of eighteen leaves offered at 9 s. 6 d., resulting in 12.67 d. per print sheet.
- (fol. A2 recto, 5) Oronce Fine, Protomathesis (Paris: impensis Gérard Morrhy and Jean Pierre, 1532), as mentioned above was offered at 60 s., that is, 13.7 d. per print sheet.

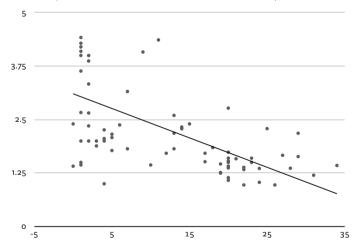
Colines c. 1540

Price per sheet $[\bullet]$ in deniers tournois (n = 262). Outliers (> 5d/sheet) excluded



Estienne 1541

Price per sheet $[\bullet]$ in deniers tournois (n = 81). Outliers (> 5d/sheet) excluded



Graph 1 & 2 Price per sheet by age of editions in the booksellers' catalogues of Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne (c. 1540–1541).

The x-axis indicates the age of the editions at the time of the catalogue's publication.

- (fol. A2 verso, 24) Cicero, Epistolarum ad Brutum liber, an octavo edition printed in 1540 of eighteen leaves, offered at 1 s., or 5.33 d. per print sheet.
- (fol. A4 recto, 12) Joachim Périon, Ek Timaiou tmēma to tō Kikerōnos peri pantos bibliō symphonoun (excudebat Jean Loys apud Simon de Colines), a quarto edition printed in 1540 of twenty-four leaves, which at an offered price of 12 s. resulted in the price of 24 d. per sheet. This amount is well above the average price per sheet of 3.69 d. for Colines's other six Greek-language editions.

The comparative data for Robert Estienne's 1541 bookseller catalogue is derived from the published analysis of Goran Proot.²¹ Estienne's quarto catalogue of eight leaves, entitled, Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, partim nati, partim restituti & excusi, contains 222 entries, of which 166 (about 75%) were identifiable, and of these, 121 entries had reliable data and bibliographic information necessary for analysis. The relatively small data sample, however, requires some caution.

The overall average price per print sheet differs relatively little between the publishers: 2.27 d. for Colines and 2.21 d. for Estienne. That analysis, however, hides differences in the age of editions, bibliographic format and language.

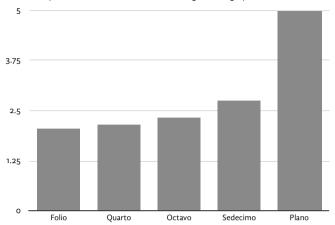
When prices per print sheet as represented by the editions for sale in the booksellers' catalogues of Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne are analysed over time, from the most recent to the oldest editions, the data show that the more recent editions had a higher price per print sheet, that is, the more recent editions were more expensive to produce than the older ones [Graph 1-2]. The economic trend may perhaps reflect rising living costs, wages, or inflation at the time. 22 There is a striking obvious difference between the two catalogues: the trend line declines slightly and gradually for editions in Colines's catalogue, whereas the trend in Estienne's catalogue drops sharply from a higher to a lower rate.

The oldest editions in both catalogues were published by Henri Estienne, even while his son Robert and his colleague Simon de Colines assisted during some of the later years. Colines inherited a substantial backlist of editions after Henri's death in 1520. Thirty-two of his editions appear in Colines's catalogue some twenty years later; of these, fourteen editions were also offered by Robert. A comparison of edition prices shows that four editions were offered at the same price; however, for the other ten editions, Robert undercut Colines's price from 9 to 58 percent, perhaps contributing to the precipitous decline in price seen in the graph. The underselling market strategy might also demonstrate a degree of competition between the two publishers.

The above analysis of the impact of age on the price per sheet for editions offered in their catalogues does not distinguish the possible factor of the editions' bibliographic format. Differentiating bibliographic format in the two catalogues reveals other characteristics [Graph 3].

²¹ Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' 22 Ibidem, 221. catalogues', 197, 205.

Colines c. 1540 Price per sheet in deniers tournois according to bibliographic format (n = 262)



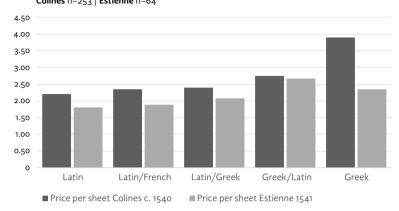
Graph 3 Price per sheet by bibliographic format in the bookseller's catalogue of Simon de Colines (c. 1540)

With the exception of the plano format, ²³ the average price per sheet in Colines's catalogue increased as the editions decreased in format, that is, the largest folio format was priced at 2.07 d. per sheet whereas the smallest sedecimo format was priced at 2.75 d. per sheet. This trend in bibliographic format, however, does not carry over in the same way in Estienne's catalogue, where folio editions were priced on average at 1.88 d. per sheet, rising to 2.35 d. for quarto, dropping to 2.15 d. for octavo, and skyrocketing to 4.52 d. for the small sedecimo. The latter price, however, may be skewed because he offered only two editions in sedecimo in his 1541 catalogue. Indeed, the bibliographic format in itself does not reveal the effects of languages and typeface on the price per print sheet.

A summary glance at the language editions offered in the two catalogues indicates several clear differences: only Colines offered French and Spanish-language editions, and only Robert Estienne offered all Hebrew-language editions. Leaving aside these language editions, the following analysis examines editions in five categories: Latin, Latin/French, Latin/Greek, Greek/Latin and Greek only; in mixed language editions, the first language predominates [Graph 4]. Overall, the editions offered in Colines's catalogue became more expensive as calculated by price per sheet as the editions became more complex linguistically. The Latin editions at 2.21 d. per sheet rose in price for Latin/French (2.35 d.) and Latin/Greek (2.40 d.) editions, whereas his Greek/Latin editions (2.75 d.) and all Greek editions (3.90 d.) per sheet were significantly more expensive. The same pricing trend is nearly true also with those same languages offered in Estienne's catalogue; the notable difference is his all-Greek edition (2.35 d.) offered for less per sheet than his Greek/Latin edition (2.67 d.),

²³ Six medical placards authored by Jacques Dubois and printed in 1535 (BP16 107871).

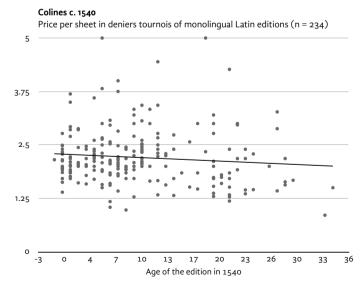
Price per sheet by language in deniers tournois Colines n=253 | Estienne n=64



Graph 4 Price per sheet by language in the booksellers' catalogues of Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne (c. 1540-1541)

but Robert Estienne offered only one edition in each language category, thereby showing the inconclusiveness of the data.

The majority of editions in Colines's catalogue were published in Latin (234 of 262 in our subset for analysis), which offers an opportunity to examine price per sheet relative to the age of editions of monolingual editions. The trend of this subset generally mirrors the overall analysis of all editions offered for sale, as observed above, that is, the more recent editions were more expensive than older editions [Graph 5].



Graph 5 Price per sheet of monolingual Latin editions in the bookseller's catalogue of Simon de Colines (c. 1540)

Older Latin-only editions drop slightly lower to 1.99 d. per sheet, but the difference is relatively minimal compared to the general trend observed in Graph 1. It is important to underscore again, however, that some monolingual Latin editions incorporated illustrations, which are not taken into account here. Future analysis of the economic impact of woodcut and intaglio illustrations on the price per sheet of Parisian editions would nuance our understanding of the book trade, but that analysis must wait another day.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the analysis of book prices in Simon de Colines's earliest extant catalogue of c. 1540-1541 shows trends and permits certain conclusions, which confirm earlier analyses and conclusions presented by team members of the sixteenth-century book trade in Paris. The analysis here shows that recent editions in Colines's catalogue were offered at a higher price per print sheet relative to earlier editions; this could well indicate that recent editions were more expensive to produce.

Furthermore, Colines's smallest format – sedecimo – cost more than the larger octavo, quarto, and folio editions, perhaps reflecting the greater time required and the more complicated imposition of smaller type.²⁴ This conclusion leaves aside the plano edition, an obvious exception to his regular production of editions and to all other editions offered for sale in this catalogue.

Given the small dataset in the two catalogues published by Colines and Robert Estienne, however, the analysis on the basis of language or typeface must be considered provisional. The average price per print sheet for editions in the Latin alphabets in roman or italic type were comparable in the two catalogues.

As mentioned above, another limitation to the price analysis here regards other bibliographic aspects not taken into consideration, such as choice of paper, subject matter, the use of both red and black colour in printing, woodcuts or intaglio illustrations, all of which could greatly influence printing costs.

The books listed in the two booksellers' catalogues of Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne present 'a quoted value of a book as a public point of reference'25 and offer clues to their pricing policy for wholesale commerce and ultimately their desired market of readers. Whereas booksellers' catalogues may have originally been considered of ephemeral importance, it is fortuitous that many were retained, whether by retailers or by customers, and that some were even annotated or underlined as in the Erlangen copy. As more booksellers' catalogues are studied and analysed, they will serve as an important means to further our understanding of the early modern book trade.

- 24 Robert Estienne's sedecimo format was more expensive than his other bibliographic formats when considered across his nine catalogues; see Proot, 'Prices in Robert Estienne's booksellers' catalogues', 215.
- 25 Christian Coppens & Angela Nuovo, 'Printed catalogues of booksellers as a source for the history of the book trade' in JLIS.it, 9/2 (2018), 166-178 (173).

Deciphering the Antoni/De Franceschi partnership in Milan (c. 1588–1591)

Some preliminary observations



Large-scale commercial bookselling in early modern Italy compelled merchants to sell their wares aggressively and creatively. They confronted a problem not unlike what present-day publishers face (notwithstanding internet sales and mass advertising): finding enough customers and retail outlets for mass-produced objects. Late Renaissance booksellers addressed this problem in multiple ways: they set up branch offices and created commercial networks, both national and transnational, advertised in catalogues, sold at fairs, hired itinerant salesmen, repackaged books in attractive formats, and extended credit to more and more customers. They also created partnerships in order to share risk, raise capital and conduct business from multiple shops in diverse cities. Frequently, these associations involved the publication and sales of deluxe, high-priced volumes, typically liturgical and legal texts. The largest publishing partnership from late sixteenth-century Italy, the Societas Aquilae, for example, brought together no fewer than fourteen printers/booksellers (most of them Venetian) who invested thirty thousand Venetian ducats for the publication of law books in 1571.1

This essay discusses the creation of a bookselling partnership hitherto unknown to scholars of the early modern Italian book trade. In 1588, the Venetian publisher Francesco de Franceschi (fl. 1558-1599) entered into a partnership with the Milanese bookseller/

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- * I would like to acknowledge the support of the John and Marie Noble Endowment for Historical Research at the University of Nevada, Reno.
 - In this essay, I use the following abbreviations: ASM = Archivio di Stato, Milano; ASV = Archivio di Stato, Venezia; FN = fondo notarile; f = filza; EDIT16 = Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del xvi secolo; ustc = Universal Short Title Catalogue; DBI = Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, Roma 1960-2020; DTEI = Marco Menato, Ennio Sandal & Giuseppina Zappella (eds), Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani (Il Cinquecento), Milano 1997.
- 1 On partnerships in the early modern Italian book trade, see Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Leiden/Boston 2015, 53-67.

publisher Giovanni Antonino degli Antoni (active 1554–1590)² for the purpose of selling a large quantity of books from a shop in Milan. When Antoni passed away in 1590, the heirs to his estate dissolved the partnership; subsequently Franceschi sold his share of the books – the overwhelming majority of which were published in Venice – to other local book merchants. Franceschi's legal representative in Milan finalized the terms of the sale in 1592 in a contract that includes a detailed inventory of the books written out on 32 leaves of paper. The list records around 8,750 books organized by format size and whether the texts were bound (*legati*) or unbound in sheets (*sciolti*). It is, to my knowledge, the single largest documented collection of a Venetian bookseller's stock for sale on the Milanese market during the sixteenth century. As such, it offers an exceptional look at Franceschi's business and sales strategy in the context of his partnership with Antoni.

Background

Like other highly successful publishers who operated out of late sixteenth-century Venice, Francesco de Franceschi 'Senese' established mature commercial networks throughout Italy by aggressively extending his business activities into cities up and down the peninsula. His myriad publishing ventures in Bergamo, Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Pavia, Verona, and Siena are all well documented in the EDIT16 database.³ It is highly likely – even in the absence of documentary evidence – that he either partnered with local merchants or installed his own *operatori* in those cities to manage and sell his stocks of books from warehouses and shops. From 1561 to 1599, Franceschi published no fewer than 307 editions, specializing in scientific, legal and technical subjects, i.e., medicine, mathematics, physics, military science, astronomy, and law.4 Many of these editions are conspicuous in the stocks of books sold by Franceschi in Milan from 1588 to 1591.

Archival evidence of business activity between Giovanni Antonino degli Antoni and Franceschi prior to 1588 is scarce. Nonetheless, it is hard not to imagine that these two had conducted business at some point during the 1580s, if not earlier. The Antoni firm had deep roots in the Venetian book industry. Prior to settling down in Milan in 1553, Giovanni Antonio degli Antoni 'da Sabbio' (†1583), the founder of the firm, had conducted business with his father (Antonino) in the San Giuliano parish in Venice, where Franceschi would set up a store in 1560. In 1552, the Venetian publisher Melchiorre Sessa (active 1505–1555) had made Antoni his procuratore in Milan.5 The following year Antoni entered into a fiveyear partnership with Caterina Resta, who recently had become a widow of the bookseller Pietro Antonio Sessa (a nephew of Melchiorre Sessa), to manage Sessa's erstwhile shop al segno del Leone and share the profits with Caterina's son.6 By 1558 Antoni had taken full control of the bookshop and changed his own publishing device and shop sign to that of the Gryphon.7 Matrimonial alliances also solidified Antoni's business connections with Venetian bookmen. In 1556, he married Benedetta Somasco, the eldest daughter of Vincenzo Somasco, a publisher/bookseller who had recently moved his publishing operation from Pavia to Venice; and in 1568, Antoni arranged for the marriage of his nephew

(Giovanni Antonio) to Somasco's youngest daughter, Clara. In 1580, Antoni appointed Giovanni Battista Somasco (active 1562–1592), a relative of Vincenzo, to be his procuratore in Venice to collect debts from the bookseller Bartolomeo Carampello (active 1578–1616), who had purchased books and paper from Antoni.8 Carampello, as we shall see below, was Franceschi's operatore in Milan after the partnership with Antoni's nephew was dissolved.

Three years before his death in 1583, Antoni the Elder estimated the net worth of the business to be just over 152,000 lire milanese.9 Of that amount, 101,000 lire comprised Antoni's stocks of books and related supplies in Milan. A much smaller amount, 15,800 lire, included bills of exchange as well as books sold by the firm outside Milan, presumably in branch stores, perhaps one in Venice. The remaining value - some 32,512 lire or twenty percent - included credits outstanding, most of which were owed by the firm's customers in Milan. At Antoni's request, the wooden sign of the Gryphon, the family's personal trademark that adorned its shops in Milan, would remain with the business, above all with a large bookstore located under the Arengario near (by 1593) the Bank of St. Ambrose in the Piazza dei Mercanti, the central commercial square. It was most likely in this store, or possibly in one that Franceschi had already established his own business in Milan, where they conducted their business.

- 2 Son of Lodovico degli Antoni and likely a nephew or cousin of the founder of the family business, Giovanni Antonio degli Antoni 'da Sabbio' (active in Milan from c. 1552-1583); see entry by R. Gallotti, Antoni, Giovanni Antonio senior, Giovanni Antonio junior e Giovanni Antonino in DTEI, I (A-F), 35–37; Ennio Sandal, 'Croniche di un mestiere' in Ennio Sandal (ed.), Il mestier de le stamparie e i libri: le vicende e i percorsi dei tipografi di Sabbio Chiese tra Cinque e Seicento e l'opera dei Nicolini, Brescia 2002, 9-82, esp. 54-60.
- 3 DTEI, I (A-F), entry on Francesco de Franceschi by Marcello Brusegan, 450-452. A native of Siena, Franceschi is often described as 'Franceschi Senese.'
- 4 Subjects which also appear in an inventory of 173 books sent by Franceschi from Venice to the printer/ bookseller Giovanni Battista Da Ponte in Milan in 1563, on which see Kevin M. Stevens, 'Venetian invoices as a source for understanding the commercial book trade' in Lisa Pon & Craig Kallendorf (eds), The books of Venice – Il libro veneziano, New Castle, DE 2008, 275-300, esp. 284-285, 300. For an analysis of books printed by the Franceschi firm recorded in the 'stockbook' (1600) of Bernardo II Giunti, see Flavia Bruni, 'Peace at the Lily. The De Franceschi section in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti,' in Giovanna Granata & Angelo Nuovo (eds), Selling & collecting: printed book sale catalogues and private libraries in early modern Europe, Macerata 2018, 265–281. See also the discussion of this manuscript by Andrea Ottone in this volume.

- 5 ASV, FN, Marc'Antonio Cavagnis, Busta 3256, 12 January 1552.
- 6 ASM, FN, Giuseppe Porro, f. 11961, 3 March and 30 March 1553.
- 7 EDIT16 49939. In 1558, Antoni purchased from Andrea Opicini, a local stationer, the latter's shop sign - a Gryphon - which thereafter became the intellectual property, as well as the shop sign and publisher's device, of the Milanese descendants of Antoni until 1603, when the family sold its central store and the sign of the Gryphon to Giacomo Antonio Somasco; see Kevin M. Stevens & Paul F. Gehl, 'The eye of commerce: visual literacy among the makers of books in Italy' in Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew & Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, The art market in Italy (15th–17th centuries), Ferrara 2003, 273-381, esp. 275.
- 8 ASM, FN, Paolo Solaro, f. 13280, 3 June 1580.
- 9 ASM, FN, Paolo Solaro, f. 13280, 19 November 1580.

The Antoni/Franceschi Partnership

Antoni the Elder's cousin, Giovanni Antonino degli Antoni, and Francesco de Franceschi launched their partnership in 1588. On 7 May of that year, Franceschi appointed Giovanni Battista Ciotti (c. 1561-after 1625), a Venetian bookseller and also of Senese origin, to be his legal representative in Milan. 10 By this date, as I mentioned above, Franceschi was running a bookshop in Milan al segno della Pace in the central commercial square, so presumably he was counting on Ciotti to collect debts from customers of that shop and perhaps also take an active role in the company's business partnership with Antoni. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate the original partnership agreement between Antoni and Franceschi, which would provide important information regarding sales, how profits would be divided, procedures for stocking and inventory control, as well as details regarding limits on extending credit, purchasing books from third parties, and in-house binding practices. In any event, two days after Antoni's death on 8 September 1590," an inventory was made of his household belongings, including a declaration of the current investment in books made by each partner - totaling the large sum of 24,521 lire for each one. The document makes clear that the partnership had been operating from one shop.¹² Franceschi himself may have come to Milan after Antoni's death to help settle his accounts; in fact, one 'Francesco Senese', aged 45, is listed in 1590 as living in the parish of San Fermo.¹³

On 18 January 1591, Franceschi and the heirs to Antoni's estate dissolved the partnership. Ten days later, Franceschi sold his share of the books remaining in the former company to the Milanese merchants Giovanni Pietro and Ordanero Limonta. In a handwritten statement, the brothers pledged their own property as collateral for the purchase of the books, valued at 12,500 lire, and promised to pay that sum in full within five years. However, the transaction dragged on for another year, when finally on 2 September 1592 Franceschi's new *procuratore* in Milan, the Venetian bookseller/publisher Bartolomeo Carampello, negotiated with the Limonta a reduced sales price of 10,000 lire and accepted from them a down payment of 1,000 lire. The brothers agreed to pay that sum every six months until the transaction was paid in full. Clearly, they were capitalizing on a situation where Franceschi could not continue selling this merchandise in Milan and was willing to sell it at a steep discount. An inventory of the books written out on 32 leaves of paper survives neatly folded inside the notarial contract.

- 11 ASM, FN, Popolazione, Busta 103, 8 September 1590.
- 12 ASM, FN, Agostino Silla, f. 18463, 26 October 1590, 'Capitale di botega apreziato per libri a prezzi corretti 24,521 lire; Item nella medesma botega di libreria gli ha Francesco di Franceschi di Venetia in sua portione in tanta mercantia di libraria a prezzi corretti la soma de ... 24,521 lire.'
- **13** Archivio Storico Diocesano, Milano, Visite Pastorali, S. Alessandro, xx1, f. 9 (San Fermo).
- 14 ASM, FN, Agostino Silla, f. 18463, 18 January 1591.
- 15 ASM, FN, Agostino Silla, f. 18464, 28 January 1591. The Limonta's involvement in the Milanese book trade in 1587 is suggested in a contract in which

¹⁰ ASV, FN, Antonio Callegarini, Busta 3124, 7 May 1580. On Giovanni Battista Ciotti, see DTEI, I (A-F), entry by Agostino Contò, 293–295, as well as Massimo Firpo, 'Ciotti, Giovan Battista' in DBI, 15 (1981), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovannibattista-ciotti_(Dizionario-Biografico); Valentina Lepri, 'Johann Wechel, Giovan Battista Ciotti e le ultime edizioni di Bruno' in Rinascimento, 48 (2008), 367–388; Dennis E. Rhodes, Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1562–1627?): publisher extraordinary in Venice, Venice 2013; lan Maclean, 'Ciotti and Plantin: Italy, Antwerp and the Frankfurt book fair in Autumn 1587' in La Bibliofilía, 115:1 (2013) 135–146.

Franceschi's inventory: some observations

The inventory records approximately 8,750 books arranged by format size (folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, sedecimo), whether the text was bound (legato) or unbound in loose sheets (sciolto) and, most interesting, whether it was found in bottega or in casa. [Fig. 1] Other categories carry specific descriptions, such as libri rotti in casa (damaged books in the house), libri vecchi stampati (old books), libri usati (second-hand books), libretti in cartone (schoolbooks bound in cardboard) and rossi e neri legati (bound works of liturgy and devotion printed in red and black). Angela Nuovo's extensive research of Italian bookshops from this period has shown that books were often arranged on shelves according to the format size, with large folios displayed on upper shelves and smaller formats arranged below in descending order, with the smallest on the bottom shelf.18 The designation in casa indicates that a fraction of the books - by my calculation 2,470 books or about thirty percent of the stock – were stored in rental space, presumably in a house in the parish of San Michele al Gallo, where Carampello had taken up residence. The remaining seventy percent (6,280 books) were found either in Antoni's large shop or in Franceschi's shop al segno della Pace. Of the total number of books in stock, 6,164 or approximately seventy percent were unbound, with the remaining thirty percent (2,586) already given a binding. Nearly forty percent of these (990) were folios and quartos as well as a smaller fraction (265 or ten percent) of duodecimos and seidecimos. Much the largest number of bound books (1,257 or fifty percent) were small octavos - some of Franceschi's least expensive stock. Most of the bound books are described as in botega and thus ready for a quick sale. No doubt Franceschi and Antoni provided a robust binding service for their customers.

The compiler of the inventory followed a uniform method for recording the bibliographic and physical features of each volume, since the purpose of redacting the list was to provide both the seller and the buyers an accurate description of the merchandise. Unfortunately, the price for each book was not recorded, perhaps because the Limonta and Franceschi had previously settled on a sales price for the entire stock. Entries commonly include the number of copies of the text followed by the first or last name of the author and/ or the title of the book (often abbreviated) followed by the format; much less often, the place of publication or condition of the text was added, especially if the book was damaged or old or incomplete and published outside Venice. The most common number of copies

Ordanero Limonta stood witness to a rent payment to the bookseller Francesco Tini; see ASM, FN, Francesco Bernardo Magni, f. 19476, 5 May 1587. In 1553, Giovanni Pietro Limonta, obviously an entrepreneur (if he is the same individual), was granted a privilege to have on his premises any quantity of gold, silver and silk cloth, and mixed silk wares to be worked into fabrics after the fashion of those made in the Morea; see E.P. Jacobsen, 'The gold, silver, and silk trades in sixteenth century Milan' in The Economic Journal, 6 (1896), 626; Stefano D'Amico, Spanish Milan: a city within the Empire, 1535-1706, New York 2012, 63. In the next

- century, Giovanni Pietro was a minor publisher who worked with the printer Giacomo Maria da Meda; see Caterina Santoro, 'Tipografi milanesi nel xvII secolo' in Amor librorum: bibliographic and other essays: a tribute to Abraham Horodisch on his sixtieth birthday, Zürich/Amsterdam 1958, 336-337.
- 16 ASM, FN, Agostino Silla, f. 18465, 2 September 1592.
- 17 The inventory was drawn up on 17 July 1592, six weeks before the final date of sale, suggesting that the parties to the agreement had been in negotiation during that time.
- 18 Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, chapter 10, esp. 377.



Fig. 1 Detail from Francesco de Franceschi's Inventory of books Archivio di Stato, Milan, Notarile, f. 18465, 2 September 1592

for each text is one, but not surprisingly, several titles have two or more. In one section described as Libretti in cartone, for example, one finds 50 copies of abbachini (commercial literacy texts) and 68 copies of libretti diversi. Popular works of prayer and devotion are recorded in large numbers: 140 copies of the Office of the Madonna described as vecchio and sold in small octavo and duodecimo formats; and 32 octavo copies of the Sette Salmi published in Piacenza. Other entries indicate a sales strategy where Franceschi had purchased stock in quantity from local booksellers (most notably Giacomo Piccaglia) on behalf of the partnership, including 130 quarto copies of Gabriele Alessandri's Adversus haereticos (Piccaglia, 1588), 54 quarto copies of St. Maximus's De duabus Christi voluntatibus (Piccaglia, 1588), 23 quarto copies of Francesco Panigarola's Dichiaratione delle lamentationi di Gieremia (Piccaglia and Antoni, 1586) and 34 copies of Paolo Paravicino's treatise on the medicinal benefits of baths located in the *Valtellina*, a thin quarto printed in Milan by Giovanni Antonio Castiglione in 1545, described by the compiler as de termis, vecchio, rotto in casa.¹⁹

Scanning the inventory, one is impressed by the extraordinary selection of titles recorded - legal, liturgical, devotional, historical, political, medical, educational, literary, astrological, musical, and so on. While it documents a sizable number of Franceschi's own publications, as well as several titles published in Antwerp, Basel, Cologne, Frankfurt, Lyon, Piacenza, and Rome, the list overwhelmingly consists of Venetian imprints purchased by him and his associates over the past three decades. Such titles were rarely, if ever published in Milan, so literate Milanese had to seek them out in the larger bookstores, above all in the Antoni's store at the Sign of the Gryphon.20 Since this essay is intended as an introduction to Franceschi's inventory, I have not attempted to categorize all of the book titles by subject field, nor have I tried to identify each entry with a short-title description. What follows are my own broad-stroke impressions of the inventory stock as it relates to the company's business strategy.

Franceschi specialized in legal publishing, so it is not surprising to find hundreds of folio- and quarto-sized copies covering all points of civil, criminal and canon law. These texts were in high demand among Milan's judges, jurists, notaries, governmental and church officials, professors and their students. Among the most expensive texts in his stock, they also fetched the largest profits. Several, indeed, had been published by Franceschi in Venice, including those by Giovanni De Amicis (Consilia, 1577), Pietro d'Ancarano (Consilia sive iuris responsa, 1574), Tiberio Deciani (Tractatus criminalis, 1590), Desiderio Guidoni (Consilia sive responsa, 1587), Jacopo Macchelli (Patrociniorum forensium ..., 1572), Giacomo Menochio (De arbitrariis quaestionibus et causis iudicum, 1590), Quintiliano Mandosi (Praxis signaturae gratiae D. Quintillian Mandosii i.c..., 1581), Rolandino de' Passaggeri (Summa totius artis notariae..., 1588), Serafino Serafini (Tractatus de privilegiis iuramenti..., 1586), Ottavio Simoncelli (Tractatus de decretis [...] in contractibus minorum, 1584), Alfonso

¹⁹ Pietro Paolo Paravicino, De Masinensium, et Burmiensium, thermarum hactenus incognitarum situ, natura, et miraculis [...] epistola desideratissima, Mediolani: excusa per Io. Antonium Castillioneum, 1545; 4to (EDIT16 47251).

²⁰ On which see the important work of Paola Arrigoni, Il mercato del libro nella Milano di Frederico Borromeo (1595-1631), Universita degli Studi Udine (tesi di dottarato di ricerca, ciclo xxv. Rel. Angela Maria Nuovo, 2012-2013).

Villagut (*Practica criminalis canonica*, 1585, and his *Tractatus de usuris*..., 1589). The large number of legal texts in this stock raises, moreover, an intriguing question regarding the company's business practice. Insofar as the Antoni firm also sold law books in quantity from its stores in Milan and presumably from the same shop with Franceschi, how did the partners reconcile sales of overlapping stock so as to minimize competition between themselves and maintain a good business relationship? One possible solution - which addresses how Franceschi and Antoni might have conducted all sales – is that they divided equally (or in a manner agreeable to both) all profits regardless of who owned the book. And as an incentive to speed up the return on their investment, they might have paid a shop factor (Ciotti, for example) a commission on every text sold, typically ten percent or less depending on the format size and type of book.21

The inventory also betrays a strategy of appealing to niche markets. One of these was music. Until the 1580s, Milan remained a minor center for musical publishing compared to the large output of music texts in Venice, whose presses dominated this field. Franceschi never published polyphonic music (only music theory), but judging from an inventory of 173 books sent by him to Milan in 1563 that includes eighteen different editions of musical texts (Madrigali, motetti, canzoni, messe and mascherate), it is clear that he actively purchased this genre in Venice for resale in cities throughout Italy. Milan proved no exception. The compiler of the inventory recorded '508 copie de libri de musica' without bothering to identify a title or the author, presumably because the texts were more easily identifiable than others in the store. By the late 1580s, the company's main competition for the retail sale of music books in Milan was the Tini family, who also conducted business from a shop in the main commercial square. Much of their output consisted of reprints of Venetian editions, and they also imported music texts from Venice and minor publishing centers for resale in the city.22

The Franceschi/Antoni company catered as well to a much smaller market for texts published in Spanish. Milan's Spanish community accounted for a small fraction of the city's residents, which included primarily the Spanish governor and other representatives of the Spanish crown, their entourage, and a personal guard of 200 soldiers; and a larger community of soldiers and their families (as many as 2,000 men and women) lodged inside the

- 21 Nuovo, The book trade, 89-92; Kevin M. Stevens, 'Selling books on commission: two studies from Milan (1594) and Pavia (1598)' in Bibliologia, 3 (2008), 125-143.
- 22 Iain Fenlon, Music and culture in late Renaissance Italy, Oxford 2002, 83-92. On the Tini family, see Kevin Stevens, 'Printing and politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary press of Milan', in Nicola Raponi & Angelo Turchini (eds), Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo, Milano 1992, 97-133; Marina Toffetti, 'Tini' in Dві, 95 (2019), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ tini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Iain Fenlon, 'Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596' in Rivista italiana di musicologia, 12 (1977), 231-251.
- 23 D'Amico, Spanish Milan, 136, 138.
- 24 According to the EDIT16 database. Arrigoni, Il mercato del libro, 87-89, discusses thirteen titles of Spanish texts recorded in the Antoni store in 1603. An overview of publishing Spanish books in Cinquecento Venice is provided by Augustus Pallotta, 'Venetian printers and Spanish literature in sixteenth-century Italy' in Comparative Literature, 43:1 (Winter, 1991), 20-42.



Fig. 2 Detail of Spanish books (bound and unbound) Archivio di Stato, Milan, Notarile, f. 18465, 2 September 1592

walls of the Sforza Castle.23 With a relatively small number of Spanish readers in the city, it is unsurprising that Milanese printers issued only seventeen editions of Spanish works from 1550-1590.24 In 1592, Franceschi had in stock 44 copies of 33 titles of Spanish texts, 11 of these bound (legati) and the rest (33) stored in loose sheets (sciolti). [Fig. 2] Rather than write out each title in Spanish, however, the compiler of the list recorded each one in Italian, presumably because he wanted to be consistent in recording each and every entry in the Italian language. The titles encompass a variety of subjects and interests: chivalric romances, histories and chronicles, religious works, popular literature, comedies, and texts of current events. Not a few of these texts show that Franceschi was selling older stock

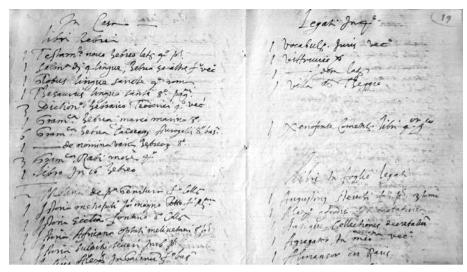


Fig. 3 Detail of Hebrew books

Archivio di Stato, Milan, Notarile, f. 18465, 2 September 1592

published in Venice and elsewhere (including Spain) from the 1520s through midcentury. The largest number of copies for any one title (seven) belonged to the Spanish Jesuit Gaspar de Loarte, whose *Remedios contra il pecado dela carne* ... was published in Milan by Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte in 1581. 26

Also noteworthy among Franceschi's stocks of books is a section described as Libri Hebrei, which records nineteen copies of Hebrew texts stored in the house rented by the partnership. [Fig. 3] The markets for these texts were very small indeed. During the last half of the sixteenth century, Jews living in the State of Milan - estimated to be no more than 890 in 1590 - fell victim to a deteriorating political and religious climate, leading to their expulsion in 1597.27 The repressive measures taken by the Spanish authorities toward Jewish book production, including expurgation and destruction of Hebrew books, as well as confiscation of goods and financial punishment for holders of unauthorized or objectional Hebrew texts, irreparably damaged Hebrew publishing throughout Lombardy, especially in Milan.²⁸ Such was not the case, after 1563, in Venice, whose government – with notable exceptions 29 – was generally tolerant of Hebrew publishing. Franceschi himself never published Hebrew books but surely bought and sold them on the Venetian market before coming to Milan and launching the partnership with Antoni. Of the 21 copies in his possession, eleven were Hebrew grammars, including one octavo copy by Marco Marini (1541-1594),30 a Hebraist and interpreter for the Venetian Republic; three quarto copies by Rabi mose; 31 six copies of a Hebrew grammar published in Basel, and one octavo grammar described as 'de nomine varie hebreorm'. In addition, Franceschi stocked three Hebrew dictionaries described as 'vecchi', one Thesaurus, a large folio volume of psalms printed in four languages ('di 4 lingue, hebrea et altre'), a bilingual copy of the New Testament in Hebrew and Latin, and a sedecimo text vaguely described as 'libro in 16 Hebreo'. Elsewhere in the inventory, the compiler noted two quarto copies of Hebrew Bibles ('biblie hebree') already bound and also kept in the house, purposely away from the watchful eyes of local Inquisitors who would have confiscated them, since they were banned on all Papal Indexes of Prohibited Books since 1559. It seems likely that many, if not all of these texts – an example of Jewish-Christian collaborative publishing - were intended for a small clientele of literate Christians who cultivated an interest in Hebrew language and literature.32

Other documentary evidence provides further insight into the company's practice regarding sales. When Franceschi and Antoni's heirs dissolved the partnership on 18 January 1591, there remained the thorny issue of settling the company's debts and credits outstanding during the past two years. Franceschi himself had extended 980 lire in credit to 45 different individuals, each credit ranging from 16 soldi to as much as 150 lire.³³ Notable among the book-buying customers were Giovanni Battista Visconti (150 lire), Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560-1618) (45 lire), Count Alessandro da Rho (1560-1623) (19 lire), the physician/author Ludovico Settala (1552-1633) (23 lire); the physician/author Giovanni Battista Selvatico (1550–1621) (110 lire), the notaries Achille Premenugo (31 lire) and Giovanni Battista Crivelli (12 lire), and the Venetian publisher/bookseller Barezzo Barezzi (c. 1560-1643) (103 lire). Many of these loans, moreover, belonged to local priests and high-ranking members of the Church - too many to mention here. Clearly, then, Franceschi (and no doubt Antoni as well) was extending credit to a variety of customers from diverse social and professional backgrounds with different literary tastes. Such a strategy allowed the company to ratchet up the overall volume of sales and encourage repeat business, a calculation that was essential to the cost (and risk) of conducting a business on a large scale.

- **25** E.g. Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabularium Nebrissense* ex Latino in Siciliensem & Hispaniensem denuo traductum, Venetijs: impressum per Bernardinum Benalium Bergomensem [...], 1520; folio (EDIT16 32568); Primaleon. Los tres libros del muy esforçado cauallero Primaleon et Polendos su hermano hijos del emperador palmerin de Oliva, Venezia, por Gioganni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio a las espesas de Giovanni Battista Pederzano, 1534; folio (USTC 337939); Hystoria del emp[er]ador Carlo magno y de los doze pares de Francia, y de la cruda batalla que vuo Oliueros con Fierabras, (col.:) Seuilla: por Juan Cro[m]berger, 1534; folio (USTC 349910); Salamanca: por Juan de Junta, 1544; folio (USTC 340707); Don Alvaro de Luna, La coronica de don Avaro de Luna, (col.:) Milano, por Juan Antonio de Castellono impressor, 1546; folio (EDIT16 13363); Juan Boscan Almogaver, Las obras de Boscan y algvnas de Garcilasso de la Vega repartidas en gvatro libros, Venitia: en casa de Gabriel Gilito de Ferrariis y svs Hermanos, 1553; 12mo (USTC 347072); Bernardim Ribeiro, Hystoria de Menina y Moca, Ferrara: [Abraham Olschki,] 1554; 8vo (EDIT16 79547).
- 26 EDIT16 78359. Franceschi also had in stock three copies of another Spanish text published by Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte in 1576, Maximilliano Calvi's Del tractado de la hermosvra y del amor; folio (USTC 342776).

- 27 Germano Maifreda, 'The Jews: Institutions, economy and society' in A companion to late medieval and early modern Milan, Leiden/Boston 2015, 395-400.
- 28 EDIT16 shows not a single Hebrew text published in sixteenth-century Milan, and only one text published in 1559 by a Jew, Vitale Sacerdoti; see EDIT16
- 29 Episodes of censorship, seizures and burnings of Hebrew texts in the late 1560s in Venice are discussed by Paul F. Grendler, The Roman inquisition and the Venetian press, 1540–1605, Princeton 1977, 140-145.
- 30 Probably his Hortus Eden. Grammatica lingua sanctae, Venetiis: ex officina Ioannis Degarae, Giovanni de Gara, 1585; 8vo; EDIT16 23085.
- 31 Possibly a reference to Rabbi Moses Kimhi (†1190), a grammarian and biblical exegete whose grammar was published by the Petri firm in Basel in 1536; USTC 660335.
- 32 My thanks to Pawel Maciejko for his advice on this
- 33 According to two documents: ASM, FN, Agostino Silla, f. 18463, 18 January 1591 and Agostino Silla, f. 18465, 2 September 1592.

Conclusion

While the inventory of Francesco de Franceschi's books compiled in early 1592 offers a snapshot of his investment after the closing of his partnership with Antoni, it cannot provide a picture of his initial investment in 1588, and thus, it cannot present a dynamic view of the business over time. Without further archival evidence, moreover, the nature and extent of each partner's role in the company must remain speculative. Even with this limitation, the substantial size and scope of Franceschi's stock-in-trade indicates a complex operation involving skilled workers at all levels of operation. One overarching question lingers: what did both Franceschi and Antoni stand to gain, besides profits from sales, from a partnership designed to sell thousands of their own books from a single shop in the commercial heart of Milan? Beyond the most obvious of these (expanding the potential customer base; eliminating or reducing expensive shipping costs and fees; using the shop as a source of business information and advertisement), the partnership – and this is especially true for Franceschi – allowed the latter and his operatori to maintain a finger on the pulse of Milan's book consumers, making it easier for them to identify changes in consumer demand and satisfy more quickly the variable tastes of readers. This is particularly relevant considering that by the late sixteenth century, the explosion of print had led to larger, more diverse and more sophisticated readers who wanted (and were more curious about) a wider variety of titles which Milanese publishers could not satisfy. Franceschi, then, filled this void with an extraordinary selection of titles published from his own presses and from other Venetian publishers. Thus, we should think of Franceschi's business in the context of his partnership with Antoni as a smaller version of the Venetian book industry writ large, a 'large commercial emporium' (to use the words of Angela Nuovo) that utterly dominated the book trade in sixteenth-century Italy.

MARIA ALESSANDRA PANZANELLI FRATONI

Torti, Giunta & Co.

A full programme of publishing legal editions (Venice 1507)



'Per mazor utilitade nostra e reputatione del mestier'

In 1882, after having published the bulk of the documentation that he intended to present to the community of scholars engaged in the history of printing, Rinaldo Fulin (1824–1884) returned to his work and added two more documents, newly discovered, for he thought that they deserved the attention of scholars.2 The two documents would be added to the known collection of privileges granted to printers and publishers by the Senate of the Republic. They were indeed different, but very important: first, there was the register of the bookshop run by Antonio Moretto (before 1450–1518) at Padua that consisted of a long list of books with their prices, and second, the contract written in 1507 affirming the foundation of a company composed of Battista and Silvestro Torti (both c. 1460-c. 1540), Lucantonio Giunta (1457-1538), Giorgio Arrivabene (1483-1515), Amadio Scoto (†1535), and Antonio Moretto to publish legal texts. This chapter focuses on the latter contract, which is well known to book historians but still awaits a thorough analysis. The privileges originally made known by Fulin are now perfectly searchable through the database developed within the EmoBookTrade project and have been analysed in several publications.3 As for the 'diario' of Antonio Moretto, it is the object of a recent book.4

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- 1 Rinaldo Fulin, 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in Archivio Veneto, 12 (1882), 84-212.
- 2 Rinaldo Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in Archivio Veneto, 12 (1882), 390-405.
- 3 For the database and related publications, see https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/ pages/aboutprivileges. Most interesting is the collection of essays published by Erika Squassina & Andrea Ottone (eds), Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento, Milano 2019; see http://ojs.francoangeli.it/ omp/index.php/oa/catalog/book/430 (all online sources last consulted on 5 March 2023).
- 4 Ester Camilla Peric, Vendere libri a Padova nel 1480. Il Quaderneto di Antonio Moretto. Saggio introduttivo di Neil Harris, Udine 2020.

This chapter provides a critical edition of the text of the contract, of which two versions exist, the original document and a copy, and apparently only the former was considered by Fulin.⁵ A translation in English is included here to enable anyone to understand the original text written in the vernacular of Venice. An introductory commentary on the contract will focus on its most relevant information about some major subjects pertaining to the history of printing. This includes: (1) the profile of the company and the various roles of the partners; (2) supply, choice, and quality of paper; (3) and most interestingly, the planning of a catalogue specialised in legal texts and its selected authors and texts.

The documents

The famous contract, which mentions some of the most important firms active in Venice, was drawn up when the Serenissima was the capital of the book trade in Europe. It is found today (in double copy, as explained below) in a collection which seems to have been preserved totally by chance. Indeed, the documents are no longer part of an archive, as made explicit by the Italian title of the series to which they belong: 'Miscellany of documents not belonging to any archive. Yet, the series is not a small one: the contract is found in folder no. 32, together with many other papers. How and when the series was formed cannot be explored here, for it deserves a separate study.6

Another purpose of this chapter is to provide a description, as complete as possible, of the documents, including material aspects to which no one has previously paid much attention. As mentioned, both versions of the document are preserved together, wrapped in a light grey sheet of paper, on which a summary was written, likely in the nineteenth century, by the person who created the series: 'Contract for a company 25 June 1507 between the brothers De Torti and Arrivabene for printing some works (2 copies)?

It is worth noting that the archivist, or whoever wrote the note, did not identify all those involved in the company but specified that two copies were preserved. More precisely, the copies consist of the original document (final version of the contract, complete with formalities, A in the edition) and a copy of it (B); both seem to be written by the same hand, that of Silvestro Torti, as identified in the text. However, one can see that the text in B was traced in a more cursive manner; more important, the signatures in A were autograph (essential for the document to be valid), whereas in B, they were copied by the same writer. Interestingly, the textual layout in the copy appears to be more elegant, with two wide margins that are not in the original; they were used for annotations, like 'nota bene' and pointing hands, by one of the partners, who also added a long note on the back of the document related to one of the editions.8 The writing style is closer to that of Lucantonio Giunta than that of any other partner, whose styles are shown by the autograph signatures in A, apart from Battista Torti, who did not sign because the two brothers were acting as one person (in solidum). More research might confirm the identification of the hand with that of Lucantonio, whose major role in the initiative is revealed in more detail. It is not surprising that he required his own copy of the contract, an opportunity explicitly foreseen there.

From the point of view of the document's formalities (as analysed by the study of diplomatics, the scholarly discipline focused on the creation and form of documents, especially medieval ones), it falls into the category of scritta (from Latin scriptum), the word being taken directly from documents that merchants or artisans composed about their relationships with business partners, without recourse to the professional service of a notary. The inscription on the back of A reads, 'Scrito de l'acordo fato cum ser Luchantonio e compagni [...]', which acknowledges the major role played by Lucantonio Giunta. Merchants, being illiterate, that is, ignorant of Latin, used their own language, and since the thirteenth century, when this practice emerged, they had produced a number of documents, especially in towns with well-developed trade.9

The validity and officiality of the document were verified by the signatures, which had to include autographs of all involved, as it is in A, where we see the signatures of Lucantonio Giunta, Amadio Scoto, Giorgio Arrivabene and Antonio Moretto, along with that of Silvestro Torti who wrote the entire text. As for Battista, it has already been pointed out that his signature was absent because the brothers were acting in solidum, as stated at the beginning of the contract; on the other hand, and again by contract, only Battista's name and device would be printed on all the editions published by the company.

- 5 My thanks to Antonio Olivieri and Laura Pani for their advice in interpreting the original document. I would also like to thank Angela Nuovo and Joran Proot for inviting me to work on this interesting subject.
- 6 The series consists of 37 folders ('buste'), preserving documents created from the late thirteenth to early nineteenth century which cannot be traced back with certainty to any archives; it was formed in the nineteenth century; see Andrea Da Mosto, L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico, Roma 1940, 11, 261; Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani, Roma 1981-1994, IV, 1129. An introductory insight on the series is also provided in: Richard MacKenney, 'Letters from the Venetian Archive' in Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 72 (1990), 133-143.
- 7 'Contratto sociale 25 giugno 1507 fra i fratelli De Torti ed Arrivabene per la stampa di alcune opere (copie due)'.
- 8 The note is very informative, for it refers to 600 copies of 'Soncini' printed on royal paper and to their distribution among Lucantonio Giunta (120 copies), Amadio Scoto (120), Antonio Moretto (25) and a certain Zandomenego (Giandomenico), a physician who had received 30 copies instead (on behalf?) of the printers. Soncini (that is, Sozzini, as explained in the paragraph in question) was one of the authors mentioned in the editorial plan, and it is worth noting that, in the copy, a pointing hand was added next to the list to highlight Soncini's name, likely in relation to the note. My sincere gratitude to Laura Pani for her great help in reading and comprehending the note and its content.
- 9 Merchants also developed their own writing style, the 'mercantesca'. On this, see Armando Petrucci, 'I documenti privati come fonte per lo studio dell'alfabetismo e della cultura scritta' in Armando Petrucci, Scrittura, documentazione, memoria, Dieci scritti e un inedito, 1963-2009, con una premessa di Attilio Bartoli Langeli, Roma 2019, 75-92 (originally published in: Paolo Brezzi & Egmont Lee (eds), Gli atti privati nel tardo medioevo: fonti per la storia sociale. Atti del convegno organizzato dall'Istituto di Studi romani, dall'Università di Calgary e dal Centro accademico canadese in Italia (Roma, 16–18 giugno 1980), Roma 1984, 251–266); Attilio Bartoli Langeli, La scrittura dell'italiano, Bologna 2000, 41–76. In some places texts written by the merchants seem to have been used as drafts by the notaries. I have personally observed another variant in documents from the late fifteenth century: the notary would include the original version in the fair copy, so as to frame the vernacular text with the formulary sections of the document written in Latin. Cf. Alessandra Panzanelli, La stampa a Perugia nel Rinascimento. Dai tipografi tedeschi agli editori locali, Milano 2020, 27–30.

The Torti and the new company

Since the early days of their activity (early 1480s), Battista and Silvestro Torti devoted a great part of their production to legal texts, and during the 1490s, they were among the main players in publishing legal texts in Venice (at the time, therefore, in the world).¹⁰ In 1484, three years after their earliest publication, the name of Battista Torti appeared for the first time to 'sign' editions of a legal text.¹¹ From then and until the end of the fifteenth century, the name of Battista Torti appeared on 111 editions of legal texts, more than any other printer in Italy (see, e.g. p. 99, Fig. 5). In the overall production of legal texts in Europe, only Peter Schoeffer (1425–1503) and Johannes Siber published more, 146 and 114 editions, respectively; yet, one must consider that Schoeffer also printed numerous single-sheet documents whereas Torti only published volumes. As for Siber, his name appears explicitly in only fifteen editions, all the others being attributed to him. In contrast, not only did Battista Torti put his name on almost all the firm's editions (109), but the family name was also soon included in the very title of primary texts: *Digestum Vetus de Tortis* and *Sextus et Clementinae de Tortis* are printed in red ink on the first recto of the two editions printed in 1494, a practice continued in later years.¹²

Some editions were published in partnership with other printers-publishers: immediately after the two editions mentioned above, a third volume of decretals, those of Gregory IX, were realised with the celebrated bookseller Francesco de' Madiis (fl. 1484–1488) in 1484.¹³ Occasional joint ventures were put in place to publish specific editions, for instance, with Bernardino Benali (c. 1458–1543), Paganino Paganini (c. 1483–1538) or Giorgio Arrivabene.¹⁴ At the beginning of the new century, around 1502, Torti and Arrivabene partnered with Francesco Cartolari (c. 1462–c. 1543), the bookseller and publisher in Perugia who was planning the ambitious programme of publishing the *opera omnia* of the two most important jurists of the fourteenth century, Bartolo da Sassoferrato and Baldo degli Ubaldi – also citizens of Perugia – in addition to the works of other contemporary jurists.¹⁵

Therefore, the initiative of a joint venture with the purpose of fulfilling a well-thought-out editorial plan to publish all the most important legal texts was the result of long experience in the field and good market knowledge; we will return to this ambitious plan below. The two brothers possessed sufficient entrepreneurship to develop a partnership, in which they involved some of the most important players active in Venice at the time, such as Lucantonio Giunta and Amadio Scoto, the heir of Ottaviano (1440–1498).¹⁶

Lucantonio Giunta and Ottaviano Scoto had already published tens of editions, beginning in the 1480s, with a production focused on liturgical books, classical texts, medicine, philosophy and theology. Only Scoto had published editions of legal texts but very few – one edition of Justinian's *Institutiones* and various editions of *Vocabularius utriusque iuris*. By entering partnership with the Torti, both Giunta and Scoto would now cover a very important section of book production. The Torti, for their part, would strengthen their role; they would have more funds and reduce competition in Venice, thereby reinforcing their business to face an ever-active challenge coming from foreign competitors, especially from Lyon.

Reading between the lines of the contract and analysing its physical production reveals that the Torti and Giunta were the main players in the initiative. The full title (or one should say the summary) written on the back of the document's original version was previously mentioned as evidence of Giunta's role. A full reading provides more information: 'Scrito de l'acordo fato cum ser Luchantonio e compagni di stampar in compagnia soa de continuo cum torculi 4 per ani 5, cum li pacti e compagni come in questo scrito appar'. Lucantonio Giunta must be considered the main partner, who was also acting on behalf of his own company. In my opinion, the agreement had been previously discussed between the two brothers (acting as one person) and Giunta; all others came afterwards.

The assets of the company were divided into four parts: Giunta and Scoto would enter the company for one quarter each; the Torti brothers and Arrivabene for a quarter together (1/8 each). The last (fourth) quarter would belong to a partner who was still to be identified, as they wrote in the first lines of the document; by the end of the text, he had been found: Antonio Moretto. This leads us to believe that the *scripta* was meant to testify not only to the current will of the partners but also the process of the company's genesis, which might have taken time before it welcomed Moretto.17

- 10 Battista and Silvestro Torti were not from Venice: very little is known about their origin, but a note added to a colophon reveals that they were rooted in Nicastro (today Lamezia Terme, southern Italy); see Luca Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista' in Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, 96 (2019), 394– 396.
- 11 The texts were: an edition of the Constitutiones Clementinae (promulgated by Clemens v, ISTC icoo737500) and the so-called Liber Sextus (decretalium) of Boniface VIII (ISTC iboo997500), both dated 6 November 1484.
- 12 ISTC ibo1007000 and ij00551000; analytical descriptions can be read in the TEXT-inc database (http:// textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/) and soon also in IVS Commune online (https://www.iuscommuneonline.unito.it/). An overview of the legal editions printed in the fifteenth century, including a focus on the role played by the Torti, is provided in Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century. With a focus on Corpus iuris civilis and the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato' in Cristina Dondi (ed.), Printing r-evolution and society. Fifty years that changed Europe, Venezia 2020, see http://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-332-8/
- 13 ISTC ig00458000, dated 7 September 1484 (folio, 278 leaves, 139 sheets; GW 11471).
- 14 An overview of the Torti partner list is also provided in the Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke, where the Torti are identified as Workshop 53 (https:// tw.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/ofoo74).

- 15 In 1502, Francesco Cartolari bought the full stock belonging to the Torti in Perugia where they were running their business since the late 1480s; Alessandra Panzanelli, La stampa a Perugia nel Rinascimento. Dai tipografi tedeschi agli editori locali, Milano 2020, chapter 5 (especially 110-120). See also Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista',
- 16 William Pettas has published extensively on Giunta; see his works listed in: Alfonso Ricca, 'Giunta' in Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento, Pisa 2014, 495-503; Andrea Ottone, 'L'attività editoriale dei Giunti nella Venezia del Cinquecento' in Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica, 2 (2003), 43-80.
- 17 Rooted in the land of Brescia (where he was born around 1450), Antonio Moretto moved to the Republic of Venice (in particular to Padua and Venice) from the early 1470s and became very active in the book trade, as a bookseller, editor, and publisher. He does not ever seem to have had a printing shop of his own; instead, he ably chose the initiatives to promote and fund, as shown by his wealth at the beginning of the sixteenth century (more than 12,000 ducats). The most recent information on Moretto is provided by Peric, Vendere libri a Padova nel Quattrocento, especially 106-113. In addressing the joint venture of 1507, Peric underlines the absence of an in-depth analysis of the document and the contract, which, in her opinion, is due to the problematic identification of the company's editions. On Moretto, see also Pietro Scardilli, 'Moretto, Antonio' in Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento, Pisa 2014, 713-714.

The duties of the partners were described with precision: the Torti and Arrivabene would oversee the printing, that is, each 'partner' would be responsible for two presses; the expenses would be shared proportionally among the partners. The production could be enlarged by putting more presses to work, if desired by the partners, but the Torti and Arrivabene had to be informed with due notice.

The company was intended to last for five years with the aim of printing books on paper in the largest format (imperial or royal paper) and of very good quality. Once the printing was done, or even before, no partner was permitted to print the same works in the same format, nor in partnership with others, before the contract's expiration in five years' time or before the sale of all copies printed by the company.

The selling price was established as 1 ducat for 30–35 gatherings of 5 sheets (quinterni) for works printed only in black ink; they would try to sell it at a higher price for the good of the company and to enhance the prestige of the category, writing: 'per mazor utilitade nostra e reputatione del mestier.'18 The copies were to be stored in a warehouse, accessible to all partners, and the revenues of the sales would belong to the company, but each partner would receive 5% of what he sold. The expenses were to be divided according to the shares; in specifying the nature of the expenses, the intellectual side of the work, including the acquisition of the manuscripts and the editing, was mentioned in the first place, followed by the cost of the paper.

Paper and printing: size, quality, and cost

As with all other expenses, the cost of the paper was divided among partners; yet, its purchase fell to the Torti and Arrivabene who had to receive funds in advance, at least by a month. They also agreed to take responsibility for substituting bad sheets and recovering the missing ones.19 Moreover, it was specified that they would add more paper on behalf of the company for an amount of 4% of the whole; the purpose of this was not specified in the contract, but

- 18 The latter expression reveals such a vivid sentiment of pride in belonging to the category of book professionals that it was chosen as the opening quote to this chapter.
- 19 In the document, the word 'cernaglie' is used to mean the sheets that needed to be changed; the term could also be translated as cording quires (see Philippe Gaskell, A new introduction to bibliography, Oxford 1972, 59; Joseph Moxon, Mechanick exercises or, the Doctrine of handy-works applied to the Art of Printing. The second volumne, London: printed for Joseph Moxon on the west-side of Fleet-ditch, at the sign of Atlas, 1683, 352-353).
- 20 The subject has been analysed by Angela Nuovo in Angela Nuovo & Christian Coppens. I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del xvi secolo, Genève 2005, 46-47, footnote 113.
- 21 Today, San Martino Buon Albergo; see: Sergio Spiazzi, San Martino delle Carthere. Storia delle attività industriali lungo il fiume Fibbio negli antichi territori di Montorio San Martino Buon Albergo e Marcellise,

- San Martino Buon Albergo 2006. The Italian 'cartiere' means paper mills.
- 22 Respectively, the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search) and Edizioni Italiani del xvi secolo.
- 23 Regarding privileges, the most up-to-date bibliography is provided by the EMoBookTrade project, which dedicates a major research line to the edition of the original documents published in Venice that are now made available through the database, Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice (henceforth EBPV): https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/ public/frontend/index. The first edition of such documents was provided by Rinaldo Fulin in 1882: indeed, his last essay included the document on the foundation of the Giunta, Torti & Co. which forms the object of the present chapter. Reference to Fulin's edition is already in the database and therefore is not repeated here; privileges are referenced here by their identification number in the database, preceded by 'id.'

it was likely to replace sheets accidentally ruined during the printing process.²⁰ And yet, if those sheets ended up being sufficient for producing complete copies, those would be distributed among the partners pro rata, like the rest of the production.

As for the quality of the paper, it was written that they would only buy paper produced from the mills of San Martino in Veronese, likely identified with a village later known as San Martino delle Cartiere, located along the river Fibbio, near Verona.²¹ For such paper, they would pay up to 20 lire per bale of five reams or else paper of the same quality should the 'Veronese' not be available.

Together with the cost of paper, printing costs were explained, indicating that it would cost the same to print 800 sheets in black as to buy the sheets (that is, 20 lire per bale), whereas printing 600 sheets would cost 7 ducats per bale of paper (the price included the cost of paper and manufacture). It was foreseen that the partners could increase the number of sheets to print during the edition, provided they were ready to pay accordingly.

These details clarify the profile of the company where different roles were played by Giunta, Scoto, Moretto, on one side, and the Torti brothers and Arrivabene, on the other; the latter would oversee operations related to the production ('l'imprexa de stampar'), the other three being involved as funders and distributors. Most important, the process of decision-making was clearly established.

The editorial plan

The core information provided by this document is the list of works that the partners were willing to publish; such a selection of texts is also evidence of what was perceived as the most relevant in the field of law. It also clarifies that a group of partners was responsible for many editions, on which only Battista Torti's mark is found (and therefore only his name is identified in library catalogues). More important, anyone familiar with legal texts will easily acknowledge the ambitious nature of the editorial plan conceived by the Torti, Giunta & Co. Indeed, the relatively short list of authors hid the thousands of sheets to be printed, for it included the two great collections of legal texts promulgated by the two major authorities (emperor and pope), each consisting of four or five large-format volumes and hundreds of leaves. These collections were followed by the opera omnia of the most important jurists from the late Middle Ages, including long commentaries to the various parts of the two corpora iuris, plus collections of other minor works, such as the consilia.

The following paragraphs will serve as a commentary on the editorial plan by clarifying the authors and texts mentioned or implied by the brief quotations with the aim of identifying the published editions. The descriptions found in library catalogues and online databases, such as the ISTC and EDIT16,22 will help in identification; very important is the series of privileges requested by the company members and associated with the mentioned works. A reference to such privileges will be part of the identification process; it will also add information regarding the actual publishing organisation to confirm who was responsible for dealing with public authorities.23

A search for privileges obtained by each partner provides us with interesting results, as shown in the following table.

	Battista Torti	Silvestro Torti	Giorgio Arrivabene	Lucantonio Giunta	Amadio Scoto	Antonio Moretto
1493			1 (70)			
1494		2 (55–56)				
1498	5 (116–120)	5 (116–120)				10 (253–262)
1500					5 (524–528)	
1501						7 (339–345)
1514	12 (682–693, 2047)	12 (682–693, 2047)				
1516	8 (718–725)	8 (718–725)				
1522				1 (803)		
1530				3 (933-935)		
1531					3 (952-954)	
1535				1 (1027)		
	25	27	1	5	8	17

Table 1 Overview of privileges obtained by all members of the company (document ID numbers from the database of Book Privileges in Venice appear in parentheses)

Whether the privileges were obtained for the editions printed by the company is revealed by a more in-depth analysis of each item in the editorial plan. Yet, even a glance at the list of editions as identified in the database already provides informative data, starting with the number and timing of the resolutions. All but two privileges obtained by Battista and Silvestro were related to editions of legal texts, whereas Giunta or Scoto requested none; Moretto, on the other hand, applied for privileges in relation to legal texts but only for two early editions in 1498 (works of Giasone del Maino and Bartolomeo Socini) Arrivabene did likewise in applying for a repertorium iuris. It is also worth noting that Battista and Silvestro acted as a company when applying for privileges, apart from the first time, when only Silvestro requested one (1494); the editions always had the mark of his brother Battista.

'Texti de raxon civile' and 'Texti de raxon chanonica'. 'Texts of civil law' and 'texts of canon law. The first two lines of the editorial plan clearly referred to the basic texts of the ius commune - the legal system of medieval Europe. During the sixteenth century, the two collections of texts were identified with the collective titles of Corpus iuris civilis and Corpus iuris canonici, but other titles were used in reference to parts of the collections during the Middle Ages and still at the time of the foundation of the Torti, Giunti & Co. Indeed, the arrangement of the texts, especially those of civil law, was the result of work by medieval jurists in the course of five hundred years. The general subject is explained in every

textbook of legal history,²⁴ but a summary is needed here to clarify what the new partners referred to as they planned their publications.

The core of the civil law texts was formed by the Digestum (collection of classical doctrine), the Codex (imperial constitutions), the Novellae (new constitutions), and the *Institutiones* (a kind of law textbook), published by Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Starting in the eleventh century, the study of those texts at universities resulted in the rearrangement of parts and sections which were later reflected in early printed editions (the University of Bologna was founded precisely to organise high-level studies of jurisprudence).25 The Digestum (50 books) was divided into three parts; Digestum vetus (books 1-24.2), Digestum infortiatum (24.3-38), and Digestum novum (39-50), the Justinian Code (12 books) was divided into two parts: Codex Iustinianus only included books 1-9, whereas books 10–12 were entitled Tres ultimi libri Codicis. Moreover, the latter were usually bound with Constitutiones novellae, and Institutiones to form what was called Volumen (or Volumen parvum). Sometimes the Volumen also included the collection of medieval laws pertaining to feuds (Libri feudorum) and to constitutions promulgated by medieval emperors (such as Fredericus 1 and 11).26

The physical arrangement of the book was even standardised: books were bound in different colours, according to the subject of the texts, as testified also by legal humanists, such as Sebastian Brant – better known to historians for his Ship of fools.²⁷ Brant wrote an introduction to the study of civil law, in which he explained that the laws were arranged into parts, divided in sections (those shown above) to introduce the rationale for the binding. The Digestum vetus was dedicated to the most ancient laws dealing with natural and pure matters, and therefore was bound in white leather. The second part was called *Infortiatum* because - he wrote - it vigorously concerned inheritance and therefore it was bound in black. The third section, *Novum*, was devoted to crimes, and thus, it was bound in red. The second book (Codex) contained fresh new matter, and therefore, it was bound in green. As for the Volumen, because it was made up of various parts (Imperial Institutions; the last three books of the Code, the nine collections of new constitutions, and the tenth and

- 24 Manlio Bellomo, The common legal past of Europe, 1000-1800, translated from the 2nd ed. by Lydia Cochrane, Washington, DC 1995; Harry Dondorp & Eltjo J.H. Schrage, 'The sources of medieval learned law' in John W. Cairns & Paul J. Du Plessis (eds), The creation of the lus Commune: from casus to regula, Edinburgh 2010, 7-56 (doi:10.3366/ edinburgh/9780748638970.003.0011); Serge Dauchy et al. (eds), The formation and transmission of Western legal culture. 150 books that made the law in the age of printing, Cham 2016, 9–19.
- 25 In addition, during the Middle Ages, texts were transmitted with jurists' interpretations; individual glossae were eventually arranged by Accursius into a Magna Glossa, which became standard but continually supplemented until early modern

- 26 Dondorp & Schrage, 'The sources of medieval learned law'.
- 27 Das Narrenschiff, a traditional, satirical allegory reinterpreted by Sebastian Brant, who produced a celebrated version made famous by a series of lively woodcuts, some of which were realised by Albrecht Dürer. Most famous is the woodcut representing the scholar reading at the lectern, glasses on his nose, surrounded by books. The first edition was printed at Basel in 1494 (ISTC ibo10 80000), followed by 26 other editions by the end of the fifteenth century (http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/bsb00036978/image_12).

eleventh collections, that is, feudal laws and *constitutiones extravagantes*) and treated different subjects, including taxes and crimes, it was bound in both red and green.²⁸

As for canon law, the basic component was the *Decretum Gratiani*, a compilation of canons aimed to provide a consistent corpus completed by Gratian around 1140. With time, the pontiffs promulgated further decretals, and in the late Middle Ages, the corpus included: Gratian's *Decretum*, the decretals of Gregory IX (*Liber Extra*, thirteenth century), the constitutions of Clement v (*Constitutiones Clementinae*), the collection of decretals by Boniface VIII (*Liber Sextus*), and the *Extravagantes* by John XXII, all added during the fourteenth century. Only in the second half of the sixteenth century were those parts published as a whole (the *Corpus iuris canonici*), by order of Gregory XIII; until then, all parts were printed separately, under the name of their main author or institutional author (Gratian, Gregory IX, etc.).

Both compilations of civil and canon law formed the basis for the study of jurisprudence, along with texts by jurists who provided their authoritative interpretation; among the most important interpreters were those listed in the editorial plan drawn up by Silvestro Torti. The engagement of the brothers with the printing of law in the fifteenth century has been commented on above; one only needs to recall that the name of Battista is found on 39 editions of parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and on 26 editions of parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, the earliest editions being printed in 1484.²⁹ Between 1501 and 1506, the Torti printed different parts of both compilations: eight editions of various parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, starting with *Instituta de Tortis*, and six editions of parts of *Corpus iuris canonici*.³⁰

Three parts of the *Corpus* of civil law were published with the date 1507 (*Digestum vetus de Tortis*, *Digestum novum de Tortis*, and *Volumen de Tortis*), the *Volumen* having been printed on 1 July, just a few days after the company's foundation.³¹ Other editions appeared the year after and several more over time, until 1515.³² As for canon law texts, one edition of the *Decretales* and another of the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* have so far been identified, both printed in 1512.³³

'Abbati'. This expression must refer to copies of works of the so-called *Abbas Panormitanus*, that is, Niccolò Tedeschi (Nicolaus de' Tudeschis; Catania, 1386–Palermo, 1445), one of the most celebrated canonists of his time. His works were printed in 65 editions in the fifteenth century, and 93 editions are known, printed up to 1507. The name and mark of Battista Torti are found in three editions printed in the 1490s, the last one of which was the commentary on the five books of the Decretals for which his brother Silvestro had obtained the privilege in 1494.³⁴ Battista Torti again published Tedeschi's commentaries on the books of Decretals between 1502 and 1504,³⁵ before the privilege expired. After the company's foundation, the Torti returned to Tedeschi's works only in 1518, when he again printed the various commentary volumes.³⁶ In the meantime, he had obtained another privilege, which he and his brother Silvestro had applied for in 1514. Interestingly, they had applied in relation to two groups of works: along with Tedeschi's commentaries on canon law, there were those of Alexander de Imola on civil law; the two authors were also mentioned one after the other in the 1507 document.³⁷

'Alexandri omnia opera'. Alessandro Tartagni (Alexander de Imola; Imola, 1423/24-Bologna, 1477).38 One of the most famous and prolific jurists of his time, he taught at Padua and Bologna. Among other works, he wrote commentaries on parts of the Corpus iuris civilis and additions to the works by Bartolus de Saxoferrato and by Baldus de Ubaldis; an impressive number of editions of his works were published, starting early in the fifteenth century, including 86 editions printed in various cities and by different printers, but not one by the Torti (or at least not one that is preserved today). Their name, however, already appeared in an edition of Tartagni's commentary on the Justinian Code, printed in 1501.39 Thereafter, the Torti did not print any further edition of Tartagni's works until the second volume of his Consilia in 1510; The Torti's workshop printed other volumes in the following years, until the 1520s; altogether, thirteen editions printed by Torti are known today, twelve of which were printed after 1507 (not including the editions of Bartolus's works with additions by Tartagni).40

- 28 'Libri legum principaliter tres reperiuntur. Digestorum siue pandectarum primus appellatus [...] Et continet hic liber digestorum tres partes principales [...] qui comprehenduntur in ff. veteri, infortiato et nouo. [...] Vetus ff. tractat principaliter de his que vetustiori iure, puta a iure naturali origine sumpserunt [...] propter istam puritatem et simplicitatem veteris iuris quale in ff. ve. continetur: liber iste veteris ff. solet alba pelle puroque cooperto tegi. Secunda pars ff. est digestum infortiatum appellata eo forte leges circa hereditates [...] Et propterea solet nigra pelle vestiri, quia de causis hereditariis et bonis defunctorum tractat [...]. Tertia pars ff. appellatur digestum nouum [...] Tractans de criminibus et delictis et eorum penis, et ideo rubea et sanguinolenta veste induitur. Secundus liber legum est Codex [...] Et est iste liber nouior et recentior [...] ideo florida et viridi veste induitur. Tertius liber legum est volumen continens in se primo institutiones imperiales. Secundo tres libros ultimos codicis, hoc est decimum, undecimum et duodecimum [...] Tertio continet volumen nouem collationes autenticorum. Quarto consuetudines feudorum, qui collatio decima appellatur. Adduntur et hodie quedam extrauagantes, qui collatio xi solet appellari et ab ista congerie et conuolutione variorum librorum hic liber volumen appellatus est. Et quia partem codicis et nouarum constitutionum partim etiam quasdam penales et fiscales sanctiones continet et in nonnullis locis penam transgressoribus irrogat. Iccirco bipartita veste viridi puta et rubea coloratus incedit.' Sebastian Brant, Expositiones omnium titulorum legalium, Basilea: Michael Furter per Andreas Helmut, 1490 (ISTC ibo1078000, a2v-3r).
- 29 On the Torti's engagement with printing the law, see Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista'; on fifteenth-century editions of the Corpus iuris civilis, including the role played by Battista Torti, see Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', passim.
- **30** Respectively, EDIT16 CNCE 014114, 014099, 014100, 014101, 014102, 014109, 014115, 032715; 013364, 014093, 014095, 013366, 013402, 071755 and SBN IT\ICCU\RAVE\077165.
- 31 EDIT16 CNCE 014110; Digestum vetus and Digestum novum are identified as CNCE 071749 and 071757, respectively.
- 32 SBN IT\ICCU\AREE\000138; EDIT16 CNCE 013463, 014103, 014104, 014105, 014111, 014116, 041862.
- 33 SBN IT\ICCU\TSAE\031804 and IT\ICCU\CNCE\ 014097.
- 34 EBPV id 55.
- 35 SBN IT\ICCU\RAVE\073394; IT\ICCU\RAVE\ 073395; IT\ICCU\RAVE\073397; IT\ICCU\RAVE\ 073398.
- **36** EDIT16 CNCE 034819; 034821; 067521; 067693. On the Abbas, see Orazio Condorelli, 'Niccolò Tedeschi' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani (xII-xx secolo), Italo Birocchi et al. (dir.), Maria Luisa Carlino et al. (eds), Bologna 2103, 1426-1429.
- 37 '[...] le opere de misser Alexandro da Imola in raxon civil, et de li Abbati in raxon canonica [...]' Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio 17, fol. 85 recto (EBPV id 682-693, 2047).
- 38 Andrea Padovani, 'Tartagni, Alessandro' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 1942–1944.
- 39 EDIT16 CNCE 034805.
- **40** EDIT16 CNCE 034805, 034812, 034865; SBN IT\ ICCU\UM1E\001288; IT\ICCU\URBE\024412, IT\ ICCU\UMCE\025419, IT\ICCU\UMCE\025413, IT\ ICCU\UMCE\025503, IT\ICCU\UM1E\020084, IT\ICCU\BVEE\063222, IT\ICCU\UM1E\020082, IT\ICCU\BVEE\063223, IT\ICCU\CNCE\075581.

'Speculum iuris cum repertorio'. The Speculum iuris (or iudiciale) is the most relevant work in the field of law by the French canonist and theologian Guillaume Durand (Guillermus Durandus, or Durante; Puymisson, 1230-Rome, 1296). The reference to a repertorium leaves room for interpretation: indeed, it could be read as another work of the same author (the Repertorium aureum iuris canonici). Most likely, however, it refers to the Inventarium Speculi, written by Bérenger Frédol (†1312), often published under the title of Repertorium Speculi. Several editions of the Speculum were published together with a repertorium in the fifteenth century and two of them by Torti.⁴¹ Three more editions have been found so far, which were published by Torti after 1507; in 1512, 1516, and 1518.42 Very few copies are known of the 1512 edition, and they are apparently incomplete, so we cannot ascertain whether they had also the repertorium whereas the editions printed in 1516 and 1518 certainly had it.

Moreover, they contained works by medieval authors - such as Bartolomeo da Brescia (Brescia, †1258), Giovanni d'Andrea (Bologna, †1348) and Baldo degli Ubaldi (Pavia, †1400) which are also often found in manuscripts of the Speculum, plus additions by a modern author, Bernardino Landriani (Milan, dates unknown), who did a lot of work in editing the texts of the most relevant jurists of the Middle Ages, as shown also in following paragraphs.

'Aretini omnia opera'. 'Aretinus' is Angelo Gambiglioni (Angelus de Gambilionibus, Angelus de Aretio; Arezzo, late fourteenth century-Bologna, 1461).43 Battista Torti printed three editions of his two commentaries on the Institutiones and his celebrated treatise De maleficiis between 1486 and 1494.44 No later Torti editions are known; it is worth noting, however, that his later edition was used as an exemplar in Lyon to print others.⁴⁵

'Angeli omnia opera'. Likely this must be identified with Angelus de Ubaldis, the brother of Baldus (Perugia, 1327-Florence, 1407); however, it could also be his nephew, also named Angelus (Perugia c. 1400–1490), the two being presented in publication with no distinction. 46 In 1504, the Torti printed a commentary on the *Digestum novum* by Angelus;⁴⁷ thereafter, Angelus de Ubaldis only appeared in other authors' works printed by Torti, such as Bartolus's commentary on the last three books of Justinian's Code.

'Bartoli omnia opera'. Bartolo da Sassoferrato (Bartolus de Sasoferrato; Sassoferrato, 1313/14-Perugia, 1357/58) is the most distinguished jurist of the late Middle Ages. He wrote commentaries on all parts of the Digest and Code and several treatises on individual matters worthy of special attention; he also provided ground-breaking legal interpretations that made him a point of reference for a long time. About 200 editions of his works were published in the fifteenth century, of which 22 were issued with the mark of Battista Torti, starting in 1490.48 More than 600 editions of Bartolus's works printed during the sixteenth century are known today. Among the earliest, the most innovative entailed the editorial care of the Milanese jurist Bernardino Landriani, whose name is frequently found in editions printed by the Torti. Moreover, Landriani appears to have applied three times for the privilege of publishing several works, most of which were printed by Torti, or, interestingly,

by Arrivabene.⁴⁹ In 1496, Landriani obtained the decennial privilege for the works of Bartolus (as well as a 'Speculum') on which he had been working for a long time. It is worth noting that Landriani, while applying for the privileges along with his own work, mentioned additions made by Alessandro Tartagni to Bartolus's works.50 Four editions were printed by Battista Torti after 1496, but almost all previous ones had the additions by Tartagni, and in 1495, the name of Landriani was made explicit in prefatory letters.⁵¹ Between 1499 and 1500, Torti again printed nearly all commentaries by Bartolus on parts of the corpus, and in 1500, he twice printed the same work (Bartolus, Super secunda parte Infortiati), one of which also had the apostillae of another jurist, Andrea Barbazza, 52 perhaps to differentiate his editions from those of the competitors located either in Venice and elsewhere.53 Between 1504 and 1506, Torti again produced editions of Bartolus's commentaries on all parts of the Corpus iuris civilis,54 with additions by Barbazza, as well as those by Benedetto Vadi (a contemporary jurist whose name is found in several modern editions of legal texts).55 Two years after the company's foundation, the Torti started printing Bartolus's Opera omnia, which was completed in 1516 when the two brothers applied for a new privilege to print 'li texti canonici et Bartholi'. In 1509, five volumes were printed (commentaries to the Code and part of the Digest); by 1512, all commentaries to the Digest were published, followed in 1516 by the commentaries to the Tribus ultimis libris Codicis and

- 41 Printed respectively in 1493/94 and 1499 (ISTC idoo452000 and idoo453000). On the authors: Franck Roumy, 'Durand (Durant, Durandi), Guillaume' in Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, x11e-xxe siècle, Patrick Arabeyre et al. (eds), Paris 2015, 381-383; Michèle Bégou-Davia, 'Bérenger Frédol' in Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, 451-452.
- 42 EDIT16 CNCE 051506, 017899, 051508. A privilege obtained by Torti in 1516 has been associated with the edition printed in 1518 (EBPV id 720).
- 43 Paola Maffei, 'Gambiglioni, Angelo' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 939-941.
- **44** ISTC ig00051800, ig00052000, ig00063000.
- 45 Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista'.
- 46 Thomas Woelki, 'Ubaldi, Angelo di Francesco degli' and 'Ubaldi, Angelo di Alessandro di Angelo degli' in Dizionario biografico degli italiani, 97 (2020), 285-288 and 281-285.
- 47 CNCE 074506.
- 48 Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', 107-130, 171-197.
- 49 Ferdinando Treggiari, 'Sulle edizioni dei "Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato' in Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Comune, 27 (2016), 159-184; Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', 125-128.
- 50 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 14, fol. 148 verso (EBPV id 153).

- 51 ISTC iboo213000 and iboo214000 (both printed on the same day; on these circumstances, see Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', 98). For other editions, see ISTC iboo189600, iboo197000, iboo197700, iboo204000, iboo204300, iboo209000, iboo210000, ib00220000, ib00220400, ib00223000, iboo223400, iboo225700, iboo225800, ib00228000, ib00228500, ib00236500, ib00237300, ib00241600, ib00242100, ib00242200.
- 52 Andrea Barbazza (Messina, 1410-Bologna, 1479), professor of canon law, was among the most renown and best well-paid author during his era. As a colleague of Tartagni at the University of Bologna for some years, he mainly wrote on canon law, but also did some work on Bartolus's commentar-
- 53 Especially in Lyon, where Johannes Siber was printing Bartolus's works on the basis of Venetian edi-
- **54** EDIT16 CNCE 004328-004331, 004333, 004334, 004336, 004338, 004339, 004344, 004346, 004347, 004349.
- 55 Because the privilege obtained by Landriani was still valid, it suggests that he was either involved in the operation or had died in the meantime (that is, after 1502, when he reapplied for a privilege for the
- 56 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 18, fol. 45 recto (EBPV id 718).

the Authenticum (the latter is considered today of dubious attribution).⁵⁷ A few years later, Battista Torti (and likely all his partners) introduced a truly new publication of Bartolus's works: the new edition was enriched by the work of the great scholar Thomas Diplovatatius (Tommaso Diplovataccio or Diplovatazio, 1468-1541), who augmented the collection with a number of carefully edited texts. The first volumes were printed in 1520, and the edition was completed in 1529.58 Some volumes would be reissued, occasionally with the same mark, but also as an anonymous edition marked with the lion ('al Leone').59

'Baldi omnia opera'. Baldo degli Ubaldi (Baldus de Ubaldis; Perugia, 1327–Pavia, 1400) was the most successful jurist among the pupils of Bartolus. Together, their names ('Bartoli e Baldi') were long equated with the writing of laws and with law books.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, Baldus's works were printed much less frequently in the fifteenth century than those of his master's: 75 printed editions before 1501 are known today. Among these, the Torti printed two editions in 1496 and 1500 that contain commentaries on the first nine books of the Codex;61 the Torti intended to print all of Baldus's commentaries, as shown by the request for the privilege presented by Silvestro Torti in 1494. It was the first time that the Torti had applied for a privilege to print all commentaries on the Decretals by Niccolò Tedeschi and all commentaries by Baldo: 'omnes lecturas Panormitae super Decretale, nec non omnes lecturas Baldi'.62 The Torti did not apparently reprint Baldus's works before the foundation of the company, whereas many editions were published by others in Venice, including Giorgio Arrivabene who printed his commentaries on two parts of the Digest (Digestum vetus and Infortiatum) between 1504 and 1507.63 It is worth noting that he completed the work by publishing the commentary on the Digestum novum in 1511.64 Other printers made larger investments in printing Baldus's works during that period, and Filippo Pinzi (c. 1460–1546) particularly distinguished himself in doing so.

'Socini omnia opera'. Almost certainly, this refers to Bartolomeo Socini (Soccini, Sozzini; Bartholomaeus Socinus; Siena, 1436–Siena, 1507), although Socinus could refer to Mariano Socini, the Elder (1397-1467). Both chronological and bibliographical evidence, however, identifies Bartolomeo, a jurist who also worked at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici. In the fifteenth century, 36 editions of his works were printed, but none by Torti. It is worth noting, however, that a privilege for printing Socini's works, along with those of Giasone del Maino, was requested by Antonio Moretto in 1498, although no related editions are preserved today;65 conversely, copies are preserved of one edition of a collection of consilia (by Mariano and Bartolomeo together), printed by Giorgio Arrivabene in 1502.66 Nevertheless, we must recall the note written on the draft of the 1507 contract, which records 600 copies of a 'Soncini' printed, warehoused, and distributed among the partners. Today, one extant edition can be identified with Socini's: a collection of commentaries and a tabula, bearing Torti's device and printed in 1524.67

'Bertachini'. Giovanni Bertachini (Bertacchini; Fermo, b. c. 1448). Graduated in Padua, Bertacchini oversaw public offices for many years; he was made advocatus concistorialis by Pope Sixtus IV, to whom he dedicated his Repertorium iuris, the most renown text among his works. The Repertorium was conceived as a type of encyclopaedia of law, in which he arranged themes alphabetically to summarise the related doctrine, to which he added examples from individual cases.⁶⁸ Bertacchini also wrote two treatises, one of which concerned taxes (De gabellis, tributis et vectigalibus), printed by Battista Torti in 1489, whereas one edition of the Repertorium was printed by Giorgio Arrivabene, who reprinted it in 1501.⁶⁹ No editions are known to have been printed by Torti after 1507, but others printed Bertacchini's Repertorium, such as Paganino Paganini and Filippo Pinzi.

'Felini omnia opera'. Felino Sandei (Felino Maria Sandeo; Felinus Sandeus; Felina, 1444-Rome, 1503). Graduated in Ferrara, he taught there for a few years before moving to Pisa, having been invited by Lorenzo de' Medici. He was a clergyman, specialised in canon law. In the 1480s, Sandei moved to Rome to enter the curia. In 1499, he became bishop of Lucca, and he bequeathed his important private collection to the canon of the cathedral.⁷⁰ In the fifteenth century, more than 40 editions were printed of his works, commentaries on tituli of the Decretals, mostly at Milan and Pavia (only two editions were issued in Venice). As for the partners who planned to print his opera omnia, Giorgio Arrivabene published one edition of his *commentaria* in 1512.⁷¹ In 1529, Battista Torti finally printed the commentaries of Sandei on the Decretals in four volumes.72

'Iasonis omnia opera'. Giasone del Maino (Jason de Mayno; Pesaro, 1435-Pavia, 1519) was the youngest among the authors mentioned in the editorial plan and was still alive when it was drawn up. He was one of the most influential jurists of his time, professor of civil law mainly at the University of Pavia; Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449-1492) also invited him to

- **57** EDIT16 CNCE 004336, 004338, 004339, 004344, 004346, 004347, 004349, 004350. According to Antonella Sattin, who has analysed the sixteenth-century editions of Bartolus's works printed in Venice, the volumes printed between 1509 and 1516 were new impressions of the edition produced in 1504-1506, apart from one volume (Codex, first half), which was just a reissue. Sattin does not provide evidence for this statement (rather, she analyses and compares the Torti editions with the anonymous edition 'al segno del Leone' to show how the latter was in fact only a re-issue of the former). Antonella Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia: le edizioni veneziani del Cinquecento' in Ferdinando Treggiari (ed.), Conversazioni bartoliane, in ricordo di Severino Caprioli, Sassoferrato 2018, 145-163, here: 153-154, 164.
- **58** EDIT16 CNCE 004353-004356; 004358-004363; 042884; 077654.
- 59 Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia', 149-152, 157, and 164.

- 60 The entry on Baldus in the national biographical dictionary is recent and updated: Treggiari, 'Sulle edizioni dei "Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato'.
- 61 ISTC iu00015000 and iu00016500.
- 62 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 14, fol. 108 recto (EBPV id 56).
- 63 EDIT16 CNCE 029889; 029891.
- **64** SBN IT\ICCU\RMLE\016342.
- 65 'I Socino et Jason, cum molte et nove additione'; Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 14, fol. 186 recto (EBPV id 254).
- 66 EDIT16 CNCE 064175.
- **67** T\ICCU\UM1E\012364 and EDIT16 CNCE 034870.
- 68 Mario Caravale, 'Bertachini (Bertacchini), Giovanni' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 233-
- 69 Respectively, ISTC iboo496000; iboo500000; EDIT16 CNCE 061048.
- 70 Mario Montorzi, 'Sandei, Felino' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 1781-1783.
- **71** EDIT16 CNCE 059695.
- 72 EDIT16 CNCE 034877.

teach at Pisa. He wrote commentaries on all parts of the corpus, and he also published the many speeches he gave as civil servant and public orator. About 50 editions of his works were published in the fifteenth century, with 20 printed in Venice alone, but none by Torti or his partners (the editions were primarily printed by Bernardino Benali and Bernardino Stagnino [c. 1450-1540]). However, in 1506, Giorgio Arrivabene printed an edition of Maino's commentary on the Institutiones; more importantly, Battista Torti printed the collection of commentaries in three parts in 1513.73

'Pauli de Castro omnia opera'. Paolo di Castro (Paulus de Castro; Castro 1360/62-Padua 1441). A pupil of Baldo degli Ubaldi, he studied first at Perugia, before moving to Pavia and then to Avignon, where he graduated in 1385. He was deeply involved in politics. In 1401, he was invited to Florence where he taught until 1424, when he went to Bologna and then to Padua in 1429, where he spent his remaining professional life. Alessandro Tartagni was among his pupils. He wrote commentaries on various parts of the Corpus iuris civilis and a considerable number of consilia. He was one of the most appreciated jurists in the first half of the fifteenth century.74 About 50 editions of his works were printed before 1501, one of which was printed in 1486 by Giorgio Arrivabene and Paganino Paganini,75 the only edition involving someone from the future company. Battista Torti printed two editions of Castro's works about 20 years after the company's foundation: two volumes of the commentaries on the Codex were printed in 1525–1527 and two volumes on the Digestum novum in 1527.76

'Saliceti omnia opera'. Bartolomeo da Saliceto (Bologna, †1411). He taught civil law at Bologna, Padua and Ferrara, often pushed to move for political reasons.77 He wrote on parts of the Corpus iuris civilis, especially the Codex, of which about twelve editions were printed in the fifteenth century, although only two were produced in Venice and none by Torti or by Arrivabene. The latter, however, printed the commentaries on the *Codex*, in three volumes, in 1503.⁷⁸ No editions printed by Torti are known (or preserved) today.

Conclusions

The editorial plan, agreed to by Battista and Silvestro Torti, Lucantonio Giunta and the other partners in 1507, was as ambitious as one could imagine: the main texts of law and the works of nearly all the important jurists from late Middle Ages to their own times. The plan, however, had not been improvised; it was conceived by the partners to enhance production and confront competition in a risky and challenging field. The printer-publishers in the partnership were able to conceive of such a programme because they had experience in all major aspects, from collection of texts to business management. The Torti were particularly strong in the field of legal texts; the Giunta excelled in religious texts, especially liturgy, yet their products also stood out for their quality and beauty due to the wise use of decorative apparatuses, such as woodcut initials, frames, vignettes.79 Thus, one cannot avoid mentioning the frontispiece with an ornate woodcut border found on several editions printed with

Torti's mark that seems to exemplify the plan established in 1507 (compare, e.g., p. 103, Fig. 10); indeed, it has been written that this frontispiece is a perfect representation of the plan, with portraits of all authors named in the list, and that it was used in all editions printed by the partnership.80 As a matter of fact, however, the frontispiece only includes some of the authors named in the plan, along with others who were not mentioned at all.81 Moreover, it was not apparently used in all editions printed by the partnership; a systematic census of editions is needed, but one can already see that some editions of works listed in the plan and printed with Torti's mark after 1507 do not have this frontispiece. 82 More generally, when we attempt to identify all the editions that were actually produced by the partnership, as carried out in this chapter, we see that not all the texts were printed in due time, that is, in the five years that the company planned to exist; most were printed but much later. Some editions could now be completely lost, despite the volumes' size and thickness, which makes the research more complex.

More research is therefore needed, but information is already available or can be retrieved through a systematic exploration of the documents which lead us to a better understanding of the work organisation put in place by the partners of the 1507 company. First, the two copies of the document testifying to its foundation is full of details, either expressed or found by reading between the lines, which might form the object of further analysis. Certainly, one can widen the research by further exploring the collaborations of the partners with others in order to clarify whether the agreement of 1507 was in fact a renewal of existing collaborations.

From this point of view, the systematic edition of the privileges obtained by the partners, which is now available through the Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice, provides information that will greatly improve our ability to reconstruct the broader business context. Indeed, from this analysis, we can already infer that the editorial plan conceived by Torti, Giunta & Co. must be judged in relation to both earlier and later productions. A precise census of the editions that can be traced to the plan of 1507 will be the next research step, for which a critical edition of the founding document will provide a solid basis.

- 73 Respectively, EDIT16 CNCE 016633 and CNCE 038059; 038061; 038063.
- 74 Ennio Cortese, 'Paolo di (da) Castro' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 1505–1507.
- 75 ISTC ip00173000.
- **76** EDIT16 CNCE 072423, 066794.
- 77 Giuseppe Speciale, 'Bartolomeo da Saliceto' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 185–187.
- 78 EDIT16 CNCE 004492.
- 79 On this: Lilian Armstrong, 'Venetian and Florentine Renaissance woodcuts for Bibles, liturgical books, and devotional books' in Daniel DeSimone (ed.), A heavenly craft. The woodcut in early printed books. Illustrated books purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald at the sale of the library of C.W. Dyson Perrins, New York/Washington, DC 2004, 25-45.
- 80 Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia', 154-155.
- 81 The frontispiece presents explicitly ten authors, one above the other in the marginal sections of the
- frame with their name; only six of them are the same listed in the 1507 plan, they are: Niccolò Tedeschi ('ABBAS'), Bartolo da Sassoferrato ('BARTHOLVS'), Baldo degli Ubaldi ('BALDVS'), Alessandro Tartagni ('ALEXANDER'), Paolo di Castro ('P. DE CASTRO'), Giasone del Maino ('IASON'). There is no portrait of: Guillaume Durand, Angelo Gambiglioni, Bartolomeo Soccini, Giovanni Bertacchini, Felino Sandei, Bartolomeo da Saliceto, On the other hand, these are the authors included in the frontispiece who were not in the list: Giovanni da Imola ('10. DE IMOLA'), Antonio da Budrio ('A. DE BYTRIO'), the card. Francesco Zabarella ('C. ZABARELLA') and Giovanni d'Andrea ('10. ANDREE').
- 82 This is the case, for example, of the editions of the works of Giasone del Maino, printed in 1512-1513 (CNCE 38059, 38061, 38063), just to mention a few.

Com chaine de die a de la florenta accine maria: Bai beatha e Bilicette brideli di una millidar d'endampe de Com chaine de die a de la florenta accine maria: Bai beatha e Bilicette brideli di una millidar d'endampe de Companio controle de la florenta de la florenta de la parce de parce de publicame controle de la florenta de la floren Common alor piaco y contribució ogniciono da rata como de Afre deto dindustr en de tompo or accombigo of A witerto & niemo de ampago M haber believes de Amparte in sel forma zoe real of proper as alderno to le trompatte : ne facille render. En compité le sing um de la vide monte per anom fon tote to favour compete de render dite ope de la compaté : son form de payer admari content tule the one de la compaté d'relation da vides : pate par le la prime de payer admari content tule the one de la compaté d'relation da vides : pate par le la min ite pob da report et allo firmo la vide to faire de la compate de la compate de la compate de la content de alderne de de la compate de la content de alderne de la compate de la compate de la content de la compate de la content de la compate de la compate de la content de la content de la content de la compate de la content de la con almoy la you that of thank in dith company longs orlenning to de la mager the de dith companie I som volume of pas ded render dik ope latterith in negro fole for de dar gukrni heta in troibiary al during e pui anova latingthe Amiger par le lara per de promotor valitade ma exeputatione de meter and venendoire eller to sonorrenta da per templar de alguna de die irre epe le li julia muerre le par Bo & damazor ye de compas parera. o Xu despiratife laqual mazor pe Remienda Bo & puy e maneto Parimo priapi in lope.

Ledrummedo amoura de due ope le lubrario a voider p un monte e meterti in uno mayazmo totas allas p
nome de tuti din ampari ded qual dadauno volendo babra la lan diane: duerta luna da lubra de
pagur el la ognimio p la rata loa : e cost come le andara Hampanto la Francia la gintom le dabramo
a portar in delo magazmo: et in lo render des labri: dadauno de compagni babra cing p conto de tras I'm tit le pope & andarano in comprar epemplari: correger: far triule: e tuto alt pope printe.
Ala utilitade dele ope le mienda agni cola appoc de tuto la compagi dadanne planata alun pertorna
tem d'enreche de comprar le dante e date da dita compagi a noi bublo. Educate e signi M: e
quello le mienda dandom de comprare dite compagi le divari cadacino, li vata la ce que dardom Tompre le dimari in auantige de la darta de vois insperaumit trate : anoupolhamo pui amodoment promoder at belognosmo . E des drink le habiano asion de quella da & mortio de Sonspoi : e fonder Altemper de le contratorite notide a torge de quelle faglio.

Fig. 1 First page of the agreement between Torti, Giunta and partners

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b. 32, original A

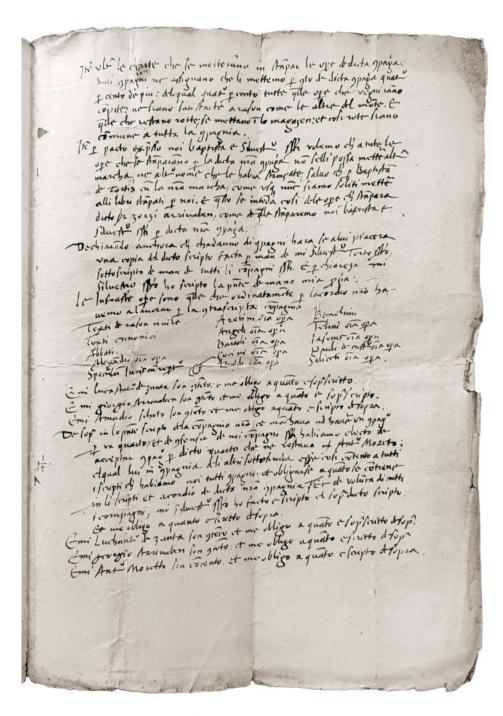


Fig. 2 The editorial plan (Ibidem, copy B). Courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia

Appendix Critical edition and translation of the document

General observation and transcription criteria

Initials of personal names are capitalised; they appear in several variants which are reproduced in the transcription, whereas, in the English translation, they are normalised according to the form in use in the most authoritative reference works (such as the EDIT16). The use of u/v is standardised and punctuation is modernised, including accents and apostrophes (e.g., 'p[er] che' is transcribed as 'perché'; 'laltro' as 'l'altro'); usual abbreviations, such as the straight line – *titulus* – above m/n, and the p abbreviations, p[er] or p[ro], have been silently expanded; the abbreviation 'ss.to' or 'ss.ti', is resolved as 'soprascrito' and 'soprascriti', like when the word is written out in full (whereas in Fulin transcribed as 'sopra scritto'). Line breaks and paragraph endings found in the original document are marked respectively by a single vertical line (|) and by double vertical lines (||).

This edition does not aim to provide a definitive basis for a study of the language, rather it is meant to enhance the readability of the text. Nonetheless, spelling variations, which can be seen in the copy (B) and compared to the original (A), have been reproduced in the apparatus to serve future research. Indeed, they may reflect two different Italian vernaculars in that only the original document reproduces the pronunciation spoken in Venice; the copy has variants possibly due to the different origins of the partners: the Torti were from the south, and the Giunta from Tuscany. Along with such variants, the critical apparatus includes marginal notes and marks added by a second hand in B; the final longer note in B is fully provided in the edition and translated. To avoid an overwhelming apparatus, only versions found in B or in Fulin that vary from A are recorded; in addition, variants found in the same line or close to each other are recorded in the same note, separated by a semicolon. Sentences are numbered to help the reader in following text and translation.

Venezia, 1507, giugno 25

Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b. 32; two sheets, unnumbered, kept together with a folded sheet of paper, on the top of which the following title was likely written in the nineteenth century: 'Contratto sociale 25 giugno 1507 fra i fratelli De Torti ed Arrivabene per la stampa di alcune opere (copie due)'.

A: original; 1 sheet (300 \times 440 mm), folded in two (2 leaves); watermark on the first leaf, anchor in circle, a star on the upper part (75×40 mm); distance between the chain lines: 25/28 mm. Writing style: diplomatic minuscule. A hole in the centre of the leaves may be evidence that the document was preserved in a 'filza' (documents threaded together, one over the other, on a long metal pin).

B: simple copy; 1 sheet (323 \times 450 mm), folded in two (2 leaves); watermark on the first leaf, upside down, a complicated long, abstract figure, made up of three parts (possibly a flower on the upper side; roughly 140×40 mm). Writing style: diplomatic minuscule, similar to that of A, but written in a cursive manner; a different cursive minuscule was used by another hand to write the marginal notes and the final, longer one, as well as pointing hands (maniculae). The layout differs from the original, for the wide margins are left blank in the copy and used for adding annotations. Interestingly, the writer of B wished to reproduce the structure of the text faithfully by reproducing line breaks or, alternatively, adding paragraph marks.

Edition: Rinaldo Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in Archivio Veneto, 12 (1882), based on A (no description of the documents), 401-405.

Bibliography: Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti', 393-394; Brian Richardson, Printing, writers and readers in Renaissance Italy, Cambridge 1999, 33; Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Leiden/Boston 2013, 56; Antonella Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia: le edizioni veneziani del Cinquecento' in Ferdinando Treggiari (ed.), Conversazioni bartoliane, in ricordo di Severino Caprioli, Sassoferrato 2018, 154; Ester Camilla Peric, Vendere libri a Padova nel 1480. Il Quaderneto di Antonio Moretto. Saggio introduttivo di Neil Harris, Udine 2020, 52.

- [2] Cum el nome de Dio e de la gloriosa vergine Maria.
- [3] Noi Batista e Silvestro fradeli² di Torti in solidum, ser Luchantonio³ de | Gionta, ser Amadio Schoto e ser Zorzi Arivaben⁴ dito Parente, habiamo contrato⁵ una compagnia insieme de stampar in charta | real overo imperial tute le infrascrite⁴ opere, quale sarano notade² a tergo dil⁵ presente scrito.⁵ [4] Et oltra queste notade, altre opere | ancora,¹o come ala zornata parerà a proposito de dita nostra compagnia.¹¹
- [5] Nele qual tute opere, dito ser Luchantonio¹² li entra per un | quarto, ser Amadio Schoto¹³ per un altro quarto, e noi Batista e Silvestro soprascriti, e dito ser Zorzi Arivaben¹³, per un¹⁵ altro quarto, zoè | la mitade¹⁶ de dito quarto a noi Batista e Silvestro, l'altra mitade a dito ser Zorzi Arivaben. [6] Et¹¬ perchè ne restarà un altro | quarto, al qual se vorà¹⁶ compagno, per questo se dechiara che siamo contenti tuor un altro compagno,¹⁶ o vero do²ơ compagni | participi in dito²¹ quarto; compagni però che siano grati et electi per la mazor parte de la compagnia: che essendo persone non | piacesseno a diti²² compagni non se habiano a tuor per modo alchuno.²³
- [7] E volemo dita compagnia habia durar²⁴ per ani [sic] | cinque²⁵ e lavorar de continuo, cum torculi quatro a conto de dita compagnia.²⁶ [8] E chadauno²⁷ di compagni habia a proveder | ala zornata secondo la portion a lui spectante²ፆ per quello quarto o mezo quarto del qual sarà entrato in dita compagnia.²⁰
- [9] E | l'imprexa di far stampar per dita³⁰ compagnia sara per el³¹ presente nostro acordo di Batista e Silvestro fradeli³² soprascriti e di ser Zorzi | Arivaben sopranominato,³³ zoè diti Torti cum do torculi,³⁴ e dito ser Zorzi cum altri torculi do.³⁵
- [10] Et se acadesse che dita | compagnia volesse se lavorasse cum più torculi, ³⁶ siamo contenti noi Torti soprascriti, e ser Zorzi Arivaben, ³⁷ havendo il commodo, | lavorar a lor piacer, ³⁸ contribuendo ogni uno a la rata, ³⁹ come di sopra è dito, dandoni però el ⁴⁰ tempo in avantazo che si ⁴¹ | possiamo metter a ⁴² ordine di poter lavorar.

- 1 A: Venex.a; B: Ven.a.
- 2 B: fradelli.
- 3 B: Luca Ant.o.
- 4 B: Arrivaben.
- 5 B: contracto.
- 6 B: Imperiale tutte le infras.te.
- **7** B: seranno notate; scripto.
- 8 Fulin: del.
- 9 B: scripto.
- 10 B: ultra queste notate altre opere anchora.
- 11 B: alla; dicta.

- 12 B: tutte opere; Luca Antonio; additional note in the left margin: ser Lucantonio per ½ ser Amadio ¼; similarly, in the right margin, in one line, one over the other and grouped together by curly brackets: Bapt.a | Silvest.o} Torti | Zorzi Arrivaben} ¼.
- 13 B: Schotto.
- 14 B: Arrivaben.
- 15 B: uno.
- 16 B: mita.
- 17 B: mita; dicto; Arrivaben; Et.
- 18 B: vorra.
- 19 B: Pointing hand in the left margin.

- [1] Jesus, Mary, 1507, June 25th, in Venice
- [2] In the name of God and the glorious Virgin Mary.
- [3] We, Battista and Silvestro, brothers Torti, representing one party; ser Luca Antonio de Giunta; ser Amadio Scoto and ser Giorgio Arrivabene, also known as 'Parente', have formed a partnership with the goal to print, on royal or imperial paper all the works listed below, which will be mentioned on the back of the present document. [4] And in addition to those listed, also other works, according to day-by-day wishes of our said partnership.
- [5] For [the production of] all those works, the mentioned ser Lucantonio will enter [the partnership] for one quarter, ser Amadio Scoto for another quarter and we, Battista and Silvestro [together] with the said ser Giorgio Arrivabene for another quarter, that is to say, half quarter for us, Battista and Silvestro, the other half [of a quarter] to ser Giorgio Arrivabene. [6] And because there will remain another quarter open for a future member of the partnership, about this we declare that we would be happy to admit another partner, or perhaps two partners, sharing this quarter; such partners, though, have to be welcome and elected by the majority of the partnership; indeed, people not liked by the partners will not be admitted in any way.
- [7] And we want the said partnership to last five years, and to work continuously with four presses on the account of said partnership. [8] And each partner will have to contribute to the needs of the day according to his share, that is, for the quarter or half quarter for which he will have joined this partnership.
- [9] And the undertaking of printing by the said partnership will result from the present agreement between Battista and Silvestro, the aforementioned brothers, and the aforementioned Giorgio Arrivabene; that is to say, the Torti [brothers] with two presses and the said Giorgio with two more presses.
- [10] And in case the partnership would like to operate with more presses, we, the aforementioned Torti [brothers] and ser Giorgio Arrivabene would be happy to do so, if we have the opportunity to work accordingly, each one contributing according to his share mentioned before, provided we will be given enough time in advance, so that we can organise the work.

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20 B: doi.
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31 B: sera per il.
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²¹ B: dicto.

²² B: dicti.

²³ B: alcuno.

²⁴ B: a durar.

²⁵ B: anni, repeated in the left margin: per anni 5.

²⁶ B: torcoli; dicta.

²⁷ B: cadaun. In the left margin: quisque portionem impendat.

²⁸ B: alla; luy.

²⁹ B: sera; dicta. *In the left margin:* stampatori.

³⁰ B: impresa de; dicta.

³² B: Baptista e Silvestro fradelli.

³³ B: e de Zorzi Arrivaben.

³⁴ B: dicti Torti cum doi torcoli.

³⁵ B: dicto ser Zorzi cum doi altri torcoli.

³⁶ B: accadesse; dicta; torcoli.

³⁷ B: Arrivaben.

³⁸ B: loro piacere.

³⁹ B: ratta; dicto.

⁴⁰ B: il.

⁴¹ B: se.

⁴² B: in.

- [11] E stampate che sarano dite opere notade, overo non ancora⁴³ stampate, | volemo che niuno di compagni soprascriti habia libertade di⁴⁴ stamparle in tal forma, zoè real et imperial; ne participar | cum alchuno⁴⁵ che le stampasse, né facesse vender, fin compiti li cinque ani del acordio nostro. [12] E più ancora fin tanto | che sarano⁴⁶ compite de vender dite opere de la compagnia, soto pena di pagar a dinari⁴⁷ contanti tutte quelle opere de | la compagnia che restasseno da vender, per quello precio li sarà sta posto da i compagni,⁴⁸ et per quello saranno⁴⁹ sta vendute fin a quello zorno. ||
- [13] Dechiarando ancora che alchuno de diti⁵⁰ compagni non possa vender né ceder né metter in locho suo alchuno | altro per la parte soa che harà in dita compagnia, senza consentimento de la mazor parte de diti compagni.⁵¹ ||
- [14] Item volemo che'l precio del vender dite⁵² opere lavorate in negro solo sia de dar quinterni trenta in trentacinque al duchato;⁵³ | [15] e più ancora sostinerle a mazor precio, se sarà po<ssibile>,⁵⁴ per mazor utilitade⁵⁵ nostra e reputatione del mestier.⁵⁶
- [16] Ma | venendoni essere fata concorrentia⁵⁷ da poi stampate, ad alchuna de dite nostre opere, ⁵⁸ se li habia mutar el⁵⁹ precio | secondo che alla mazor parte di compagni parerà; o vero despartirle, la qual mazor parte se intenda secundo che più e mancho | sarano⁶⁰ participi in l'opera. ||
- [17] Dechiarando ancora⁶¹ che dite opere se habiano a vender per un monte, e mettersi in uno magazino, tolto affito per | nome de tuti i diti compagni, del qual chadauno⁶² volendo habia la sua chiave: diversa l'una da l'altra; e | pagar el fito ogniuno per la rata soa;⁶³ [18] e così come se andarà stampando, e facendosi li quinterni, se habiano | a portar in dito magazino.⁶⁴ [19] Et in lo vender diti libri chadauno⁶⁵ di compagni habia cinque per cento de tuti quelli ch'èl vendarà.⁶⁶ ||
- [20] Item tute le spexe che andarano⁶⁷ in comprar exemplari, correger, far tavole, e tute altre spexe pertinenti | ala utilitade de le opere, se intenda ogni cosa a spexe de tuta la compagnia, chadauno per la rata a lui spectante.⁶⁸ ||
- [21] Item el carregho de comprar le charte è dato da dita compagnia a noi Batista⁶⁹ e Silvestro e ser Zorzi soprascriti; [22] e | questo se intenda dandoni de continuo diti compagni li denari chadauno per la rata soa.⁷⁰ [23] Et più dandoni | sempre li denari in avantazo de la charta de uno mexe avanti trato,⁷¹ a ciò possiamo più commodamente | proveder al bisogno nostro.

- 43 B: seranno dicte opere notade; anchora.
- **44** B: de.
- 45 B: alcuno.
- **46** B: anchora; anni; seranno.
- 47 B: sotto; de pagar a denari.
- 48 B: sera sta posto da li compagni.
- 49 B: li seranno.
- 50 B: anchora che alcuno de dicti.
- **51** B: loco; alcuno; dicta; dicti. A pointing hand, in the right margin, serves to highlight the whole paragraph.
- 52 B: dicte.
- 53 B: ducato.
- **54** B: Sustenirle; on B the word possibile cannot be read in full because of a hole at the centre of the leaf.
- 55 B: utilita.
- **56** B: reputation. *Additional note in the left margin*: pretium pro quinterni 30 in quinterni 35 al ducato et più substinerli.
- 57 B: venendone. Note in the margin: Sed si concurrentia fiat. On B, fol. 1 recto ends here.

- [11] And once the works listed below are printed, or even not yet printed, we want that none of the aforementioned partners will have the right to print them in that format, that is, on 'real' or on 'imperial' paper, or to collaborate with anyone else who would print them or who would sell them, before the five years of our agreement have lapsed. [12] And longer, until all said books have been sold, under cash payment for all remaining copies at the price set by the partnership and for which they will have been sold up to that day.
- [13] We also declare that none of the named partners may sell or transfer the share that he will hold in this partnership, nor can he be replaced by someone else, without the consent of the majority of this partnership.
- [14] *Item*, we want that the selling price of the said works printed in black ink only would be set at 30 to 35 quinternions for a ducat. [15] And even to maintain a higher price, if that would be possible, to our benefit and the reputation of the trade.
- [16] But if it happens that a competitor would publish some of our said works, we will have to change our price according to the wish of the majority of the partners or to distribute among them according to the rate of participation in the edition of each partner.
- [17] We also declare that the cited works have to be sold wholesale and that they have to be kept in a warehouse rented in the name of all partners, each one of whom who wants will have his own key [to the warehouse], a different one for everyone; and all members will pay [a part of] the rent according to his share. [18] And just as the quinternions will be printed, they will have to be brought to the said warehouse.
- [19] And as for the sales of those books, each partner will have five percent of [the income on] all the books that are sold.
- [20] *Item*, all expenses related to the acquisition of exemplars, to correction, to the creation of tables, and all other expenses pertaining to the benefit of the works, are meant as expenses of the whole partnership, for each member according to his share.
- [21] *Item*, the task of purchasing paper is entrusted by the said partnership to us, Battista and Silvestro, and ser Giorgio mentioned above. [22] And it is intended that the partners will continually provide the money for it, each according to his share. [23] Moreover, the money for the paper must be given in advance, so that we can meet our needs more comfortably.
- 58 B: ad alcuna de dicte nostre opere.
- 59 B: il.
- 60 B: siano.
- 61 B: anchora; in left margin pointing hand and: Vender per un monte.
- 62 B: magazeno; tolto afficto per nome de tutti i dicti compagni; caduno.
- 63 B: e pagar el ficto ogniuno per la ratta sua.
- 64 B: fazendosi li quinterni, se habiano portar; dicto.
- 65 B: dicti; chadaun.

- 66 B: tutti quelli ch'el venderà. In the left margin: 5 per 100 chi venderà.
- **67** B: tutte le spese che andaranno.
- 68 B: tutte; spese; tutta; chadaun; parte; luy.
- **69** B: tutte; spese; pertinente; tutta; chadaun; parte; luy. In the left margin: spese e charte.
- **70** B: chadaun per la ratta soa.
- 71 B: mese; tracto.

[24] E dite⁷² charte se habiano a tuor di quella da S. Martin di Veronexe⁷³ e spender | fino a lire vinti de pizoli de la balla⁷⁴ de risme cinque l'una.

[25] E non possendo lor tenerne forniti,⁷⁵ se ne facia | far in altro luogho, spendando [sic] fin a lire vinti come s'è dito de sopra,⁷⁶ aciò se habia charta più equivalente | di bontade alla Veronexa che a noi sarà possibile e⁷⁷ altro tanto se intenda per la stampadura⁷⁸ del lavorar | in negro solo: e questo lavorando charte octocento⁷⁹. [26] E lavorando charte seycento⁸⁰ siamo d'acordo noi compagni soprascriti | ne sia dato ducati sete⁸¹ de la balla, computando la charta e manifatura⁸². [27] Et el carregho de far chambiar⁸³ le | cernaglie e manchamento de charte cum li chartari sia de noi Batista e Silvestro fradeli, et di ser Zorzi Arivaben.⁸⁴ ||

[28] Dechiarando che la mazor parte di compagni habia ad elezer⁸⁵ se più o mancho numero de libri se harà a stampar | de la soma notada⁸⁶ de sopra, satisfacendo sempre a la rata de la spexa⁸⁷ a ciò non habiamo a patir dano noi | compagni alli quali è dato l'imprexa⁸⁸ de stampar; [29] e dita⁸⁹ mazor parte di compagni harà elezer le opere che se harano⁹⁰ | a stampar delle contrascrite notade a tergo di⁹¹ questo foglio. ||

[fol. 1 verso] [30] Item de le opere che se lavorarano⁹² in rosso e negro, siamo d'acordo⁹³ noi
Torti e ser Zorzi⁹⁴ soprascriti, ne sia dato duc. dexe⁹⁵ | de la balla computando la
charta e manifatura per diti duc. dexe;⁹⁶ [31] e questo se intenda de le opere
lavorade in rosso | e negro in charta imperial,⁹⁷ la qual charta imperial se intenda
di quella sorta⁹⁸ che noi Torti havemo stampato li | texti chanonici⁹⁹ de la charta

fata a S. Martin in Veronexe li mexi¹⁰⁰ passati.

[32] E lavorando in rosso e negro in charta | real comuna, 101 siamo d'acordo ne sia dato duc. nove grossi quatro de la balla computando la charta e manifatura. 102 ||

[33] Item, oltra le charte che se metarano in stampar le opere de dita compagnia diti¹º³ compagni ne assignano che li metemo per | conto de dita¹º⁴ compagnia quatro per cento de più, dele qual quatro per cento tute quelle opere che vegnirano¹º⁵ compite ne siano | satisfate a raxon¹º⁶ come le altre del monte. [34] E quelle che restano rotte, se metano in lo magazino¹º⁷ et così rote | siano comune a tuta¹º⁶ la compagnia. ||

[35] Item per pacto expresso noi Batista¹ºº e Silvestro soprascriti volemo che a tute le opere che se stamparano per la dita¹ºº nostra | compagnia non se li possa meter¹º altra marcha né altro nome che le habia stampate, salvo che per Batistam¹º² | de Tortis cum la nostra marcha, come usque nunc siamo soliti meter ali¹¹³ libri stampati per noi; [36] e questo se intenda | così de le opere che stamparà dito ser Zorzi Arrivaben, come de quelle che stamparemo noi Batista¹¹⁴ e Silvestro | soprascriti per ditta nostra compagnia. ||

- 72 B: dicte.
- 73 B: de quella da S. Martin de Veronese.
- **74** B: 20 de pizoli la balla.
- 75 B: tenirne forniti.
- 76 B: e dicto de sopra.
- 77 B: Veronese; sera; et.
- 78 B: stampatura.
- **79** B: 800.
- **80** B: 600.
- 81 B: sette.
- 82 B: manufactura.

- 83 B: carrigo; cambiar.
- 84 B: fradelli; de; Arrivaben.
- **85** B: elezere.
- **86** B: haverà; della summa notata.
- 87 B: alla ratta della spesa.
- 88 B: danno; impresa.
- 89 B: dicta.
- 90 B: harà a ellezer; haranno.
- 91 B: contrascripte notate; de.
- 92 B: delle opere che se lavoraranno.
- 93 B: et; siamo d'acordio.

[24] And the paper must be that of Saint Martin of Verona and must be paid up to twenty 'lire de pizzoli' for a bale of five reams.

[25] And if they are not able to provide it, have it done elsewhere, at a price of up to twenty lire [de pizzoli] as stated above, so as to get paper of the same quality as that of Verona, if it is possible; and likewise, let it be for printing in black only: and this by working 800 sheets. [26] And for printing six hundred sheets, the partners agree on a price of seven ducats per bale, which includes the paper and the work. [27] And the task of having bad sheets and missing sheets replaced by the papermakers will be for us, the brothers Battista and Silvestro, and ser Giorgio Arrivabene.

[28] We declare that the partnership majority has the right to decide whether to print more or fewer copies of the books than the number stated above, always bearing the costs, pro rata, so as not to inflict damage on the partners entrusted with the task of printing. [29] And it is the aforementioned majority of the partners who will select the works to be printed from the list on the back of this leaf.

[30] *Item*, about the works to be printed in red and black, we, the aforementioned Torti and ser Giorgio Arrivabene agree that they will receive 10 ducats per bale, the sum including paper and manufacture. [31] And this is what we intend for works in red and black on imperial paper, which is intended to be of the same kind that we, the Torti, have used to print the texts of canon law on paper manufactured at Saint Martin of Verona in the past months.

[32] And for working in red and black on royal paper, we agree to receive 9 ducats 4 grossi per bale, reckoning the paper and work.

[33] *Item*, in addition to the paper that will be used to print the works of the said partnership, the said partners decide that we [that is, Torti and Arrivabene] add four percent on behalf of the partnership, yet all complete works that will be produced with this four percent will be managed pro rata like all the others in the warehouse. [34] And those [sheets] which end up being damaged must be kept in the warehouse, and damaged, they will be common property of the whole partnership.

[35] Item, by express agreement, we, the aforementioned Battista and Silvestro, want that all works printed for our partnership will bear no other printer's device or name except 'per Baptistam de Tortis' with our device, as we have been accustomed to do on all books printed by us. [36] And this is intended for the works that will be printed by the said ser Giorgio Arrivabene, as well as those printed by us, Battista and Silvestro aforementioned, for the said partnership.

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94 B: Arrivaben.
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105 B: tutte; vegniranno.
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⁹⁵ B: 10.

⁹⁶ B: et manufactura; dicti; 10.

⁹⁷ B: delle; imperiale.

⁹⁸ B: de quella sorte.

⁹⁹ B: canonici.

¹⁰⁰ B: facta; Veronese; mesi.

¹⁰¹ B: reale communa.

¹⁰² B: manufactura; end of text on B, fol. 1 verso.

¹⁰³ B: ult.a; metteranno; dicta.

¹⁰⁴ B: dicti; mettemo; dicta.

¹⁰⁶ B: satisfacte a rason.

¹⁰⁷ B: mettano in lo magazen.

¹⁰⁸ B: commune a tutta.

¹⁰⁹ B: Baptista.

¹¹⁰ B: stamparanno per la dicta.

¹¹¹ B: selli possa metter.

¹¹² B: Baptistam.

¹¹³ B: metter alli.

¹¹⁴ B: dicto; quelle stamparemo; Baptista.

¹¹⁵ B: di.

[37] Dechiarando anchora che chadauno de li¹¹⁵ compagni harà, se a lui piacerà, una copia del dito scrito fata | per mano¹¹⁶ de mi Silvestro Torto¹¹⁷ soprascrito, sotoscripta de mano de tuti¹¹⁸ li compagni soprascriti.¹¹⁹ [38] E per chiareza | mi Silvestro soprascrito¹²⁰ ho scrito¹²¹ la presente de mano mia propria.

[39] Le infrascrite opere sono quelle che ordinatamente per l'acordio nostro havemo a lavorar per la | contrascrita¹²² compagnia nostra. ||

[40a]	[40b]	[4oc]
Texti de raxon civile 123	Aretini omnia opera	Berthachini ¹²⁷
Texti de raxon chanonicha124	Angeli omnia opera	Felini omnia opera
Abbati ¹²⁵	Bartoli omnia opera	Iasonis omnia opera
Alexandri omnia opera	Baldi omnia opera	Pauli de Castro omnia opera
Speculum iuris cum repertorio	Socini omnia opera126	Saliceti omnia opera

- [41] E mi Luchantonio di Zunta¹²⁸ son contento e me obrigo¹²⁹ a quanto è sopra scritto. ||
- [42] E mi Giorgio Arrivaben sono contento et me obligo a quanto he scrito de sopra.130 |
- [43] E mi Amadio Schoto sono¹³¹ contento et me obligo a quanto è scripto de sopra. ||
- [44] De sopra in lo presente scrito¹³² de la compagnia nostra ce manchava ad haver un compagno per un quarto.133 [45] e134 de consensu de noi compagni soprascriti¹³⁵ habiamo electo de acetar compagno per dito¹³⁶ quarto che ne restava | messer Antonio Moreto; el qual lui in compagnia deli altri sotoscriverà essere così contento a tuti i scriti | che habiamo noi tuti¹³⁷ compagni e obligarsi a quanto se contiene in li scriti et acordo de dita nostra compagnia. 138
- [46] E de voluntà di tuti compagni, 139 mi Silvestro soprascrito ho fato e scrito el sopradito scrito et me obligo | a quanto è scrito¹⁴⁰ de sopra. ||
- [47] E mi Luchantonio de Zunta son contento et me obrigo¹⁴¹ a quanto è soprascritto de sopra. ||
- [48] E mi Giorgio Arrivaben sono contento et me obligo a quanto è scritto de sopra.
- [49] E mi Antonio Moreto¹⁴² son contento et me obligo a quanto è scripto de sopra. ||
- 116 B: dicto scripto facta per man.
- 117 Fulin: Torti.
- 118 B: sottoscripta de man de tutti.
- 119 Sic in A; abbreviated ssti in B.
- 120 Fulin: sopranominato.
- **121** B: scripto.
- **122** B: contrascripta compagnia; nostra is leftout in B.
- **123** B: razon.

- 124 B: Texti canonici.
- 125 B: Abbati; A: Abbatis, the final s having being crossed
- 126 B: Baldi comes after Socini; the latter is also highlighted by a pointing hand, likely in relation to the note on the back of the document, where indeed 600 copies of 'Socini' are mentioned.
- 127 B: Bertachini.

[37] We also declare that each partner will have, if he wishes, a copy of this document written by me, the aforementioned Silvestro Torti, signed by hand by all the aforementioned partners. [38] And for clarity, I, the aforementioned Silvestro, have written the present copy by my own hand.

[39] The works listed below are those that we have to carry out properly for our partnership as a result of our agreement:

[40a]	[40b]	[40c]
Texts of civil law	Aretini omnia opera	Bertachini
Texts of canon law	Angeli omnia opera	Felini omnia opera
Abbot's	Bartoli omnia opera	Iasonis omnia opera
Alexandri omnia opera	Baldi omnia opera	Pauli de Castro omnia opera
Speculum iuris cum repertorio	Socini omnia opera	Saliceti omnia opera

- [41] And I, Lucantonio Giunta, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [42] And I, Giorgio Arrivabene, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [43] And I, Amadio Scoto, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [44] Above in the present document of our partnership, [it is stated] that a partner is wanted for a quarter share. [45] And by consensus, we, the aforementioned partners have decided to accept ser Antonio Moretto; for the remaining quarter share, he will sign in the presence of the others that he will agree with all that is written, just as we, all the partners, did and that he will commit to what is written and agree with our partnership.
- [46] And by the will of all members of our partnership, I, the aforementioned Silvestro, have made and written the document and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [47] And I, Lucantonio Giunta, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [48] And I, Giorgio Arrivabene, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [49] And I, Antonio Moretto, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.

- **128** B: Luca Ant.o.
- 129 B: obligo.
- 130 B: è soprascripto.
- 131 B: Amadio; son.
- 132 B: scripto.
- 133 B: In left margin: per 1/4.
- 134 B: et.
- 135 Sic on A; still abbreviated ssti in B.

- 136 B: acceptar; dicto.
- 137 B: tutti; scripti tutti; et.
- 138 B: scripti; acordio; dicta.
- 139 B: Et de voluntà di tutti i compagni.
- **140** B: facto e scripto el sopradicto scripto; scripto.
- **141** B: obligo.
- 142 B: Moretto.

[Only on A, fol. 4 verso] [50] Scrito de l'acordio fato cum ser Luchantonio e compagni di stampar in compagnia soa de continuo cum torculi 4 per ani 5, cum li pacti e compagni come in questo scrito appar.

[Only on B, fol. 4 verso, second hand] [51] Som quinterni 49, fol. unum

a quinterni 35 al duc. val. ad minus duc. 11/2 l'uno

[52] Soncini fo facto e compidi nº 600 in cartha real. E missi tuti concorditer in

Deinde postremo in un magazen de ser Luca Antonio de communi consensu, De le quali quote tre ha hauto ser Luca Antonio videlicet

nº 105 vel circa deinde 15 nº 105 vel circa deinde 15 Ser Amadio Scoto

Misser mastro Zandomenego medico in logo di stampatori

nº 15 deinde altri 15 Ser Antonio Moreto nº x deinde 15 summa 295

[53] Reliquum che sunt 305 vel circa salvo errore son in magazen de ser Lucantonio Nota che de expensis factis in dicto volumine nulla potest moveri controversia.

[Below, centre of the leaf, same hand] [54] 1507, 25 Jun.

Pacta Societatis

[Only on B] [50] Written text of the agreement made with ser Lucantonio and partners for printing, in partnership with him, continuously with four presses for five years, according to the conditions and together with the partners as they appear in this document.

[Only on A] [51] They are quinternions 49, one folio [priced] 35 quinternions for one ducat, the value is at least 1 and ½ ducat each

> [52] 'Soncini' was made and completed no. 600 in royal paper. They have been brought, by common consensus, to a warehouse.

Then finally in a warehouse of ser Lucantonio, still by common consensus Of them, three shares received ser Lucantonio, that is,

no. 105 or circa, and then 15 Ser Amadio Scoto no. 105 or circa, and then 15

Master Doctor Zandomenego, instead [on behalf?]

of the printers no. 15, then further 15 Ser Antonio Moreto no. 10, then 15 Sum 295

[53] The remaining [copies], which are 305, or about, apart from errors, are in a warehouse of ser Lucantonio

Note that no legal dispute can be started concerning the expenses made in this volume.

[Below, centre of the leaf, same hand]

[54] 1507, 25 June

Contract of the Partnership

Index nominum



Accademia Veneziana 105, 184 Accolti (family/firm) 247n27 Accursius 77, 287n25 Afflitto, Matteo 133 Al segno della Fontana 104, 110, 123-125, 141, 2121129 Alciato (Alciat, Alciati), Andrea (André) 80, 81n30, 83, 88, 95, 108, 108n80, 130, 133, 135-136, 138 Aldobrandini, Silvestro 133 Alessandri, Gabriele 273 Alfani, Bernardino 58-59, 66 Aliprandi, Lorenzo 123-124 Aliprando (firm) 114 Alvarottus, Jacobus 57, 66 Ambrosius (saint) 115n98 Amicis, Giovanni De 273 Ammannati, Francesco 10, 147n3 Ancarano, Pietro d' 273 Andrea, Giovanni Paolo di 205n12 Angellieri (family/firm) 2121120 Anguissola, Pietro Antonio 59, 66 Antoni, Giovanni Antonino degli 267 Antoni, Giovanni Antonio degli (da Sabbio) 185, 268-269, 269n2, 269n7, 270-271, 274, 274n24, 277-288 Antoni, Lodovico degli 269n2 Apiarius, Samuel 34, 35n34 Aretinus, Angelus 113, 290, 295n81, 306-307 Ariosto, Ludovico 152, 173n54, 242110 Aristotle 108 Armand de Bellevue 191 Arnoullet, Barthélemy 112, 1170102

Arrivabene, Cornelio 212n29 Arrivabene, Giorgio 11, 159, 279-286, 291-294, 299-307 Asinius, Johannes 59, 66 Augereau, Antoine 255, 258 Ausoult, Jean 110-111 Avanzi, Lodovico 149n12 Ayrault, Pierre 59, 66 Azo, Portius 133

Badoer, Giovanni 217n35, 2181136 Balbi, Gottfredo Lanfranco 52 Balde, see Ubaldi, Baldo degli Balduin, Clemens 36, 36n43 Barbazza, Andrea 133, 291, 291n52 Barbier, Frédéric 139 Barezzi, Barezzo 212n29, 277 Bariletti, Francesco 212n29 Baronius, Caesar 59 Bartolo da Sassoferrato (Bartole, Bartolus) 79, 102, 133-134, 1351179, 140, 144, 282, 289-292, 293n57, 293n6o, 295n81, 306-307 Basa, Bernardo 212n29 Basa, Domenico 160 Bassée, Nikolaus 49-50 Battandier, Claude de 133 Battisti, Francesca De 9 Baudrier, Henri Louis 70n4, 117, 126 Baum, Dietrich 36, 36n46, 37 Bellanda, Cornelio 191 Bellemère, Gilles 126 Bellerus, Joannes 34 Bellinato, Francesco 192 Belloni, Niccolò 57, 66 Bellovisu, Armandus de, see Armand de Bellevue Benali, Bernardino 282, 294 Bernardo Giunti & fratelli 204, 206 Bernardo Giunti, Giovanni Giotti & Co. 206 Bernardus (saint) 115n98 Bertachini, Giovanni 293, 295n81, 306-307 Bertano (family/firm) 212n29 Bertheau, Thomas 110 Bertoni, Giovanni Battista 2121129 Bevilacqua, Nicolò (& Co) 105, 110, 249

Bianchi, Marcantonio 95, 133 Billequo, Nicolas 255 Bindoni, Agostino 73 Bindoni, Francesco (& Co) 110 Bindoni, Gaspare junior 189, 189n80 Bindoni, Gaspare senior 34, 42 Birckmann, Arnold 36 Blado, Antonio, heirs of 247n27 Blaubloom, Louis (Cyanæus) 255 Boatieri, Pietro de 98 Robali Savino 101 Boccaccio, Giovanni 152 Bodin, Jean 191 Boerius, Nicolaus 66 Bohier, Nicolas 57, 133 Bolognini, Ludovico 133 Bonacossa, Ippolito 133 Bonaldi, Francesco 205-206 Bonaldi, Giovanni 206 Bonaldi, Girolamo 206 Bonamone, F. & Co 123 Bonfadino (family/firm) 2121129 Bonhomme, Macé 112, 126 Boniface VIII (Pope) 77-78, 283n11, 288 Bonyn, Benoît 110, 112, 126 Booton, Diane E. 8, 17n12 Borsati, Francesco 54n136, 55 Bossi, Egidio 133 Bossozel, Guillaume de 255 Boucher, J. 112 Bran(d)t, Sebastian 104, 287, 287n27 Braubach, Peter 35, 38 Braubach, Peter (heirs) 35 Brederode, Pieter Cornelis van 54 Brescia, Bartolomeo da 92, 290 Brissaud, Yves-Bernard 88, 102, 107, 118, 127, 139 Brisson, Barnabé 54 Brugnolo, Gioacchino 212n29 Brunelleschi, Filippo 237n4 Bruner, Michel 39n49 Bruni, Alberto 57, 66 Bruni, Flavia 223n52 Budé, Guillaume 135 Budrio, Antonio da 295n81 Buonanome, Francesco & Co 124

Buttigella, Girolamo 105

Caesar, Gaius Julius 191 Cagnolo, Girolamo 133 Caimocks, Cornelius 35n29 Calenius, Gerwin 45 Calepino, Ambrogio 210 Calvi, Maximilliano 277n26 Calvin, John 137 Campeggi, Tommaso 133 Canal, Paolo 242n19 Capece, Antonio 133 Capra, Benedetto 133 Carampello, Bartolomeo 269-271 Carbasse, Jean-Marie 131 Cartolari, Francesco 282, Castiglione, Giovanni Antonio Castro, Paolo di 134, 140, 294, 295n81, 306-307 Cato 256 Cavallini, Gaspare 133 Cebes of Thebes 258 Cefali, Giovanni 52, 53n130, 65n152 Charlemagne (Emperor) 108, 196 Chasseneuz, Barthélemy de 57 Chaudière, Claude 258 Chaudière, Regnault 255 Chêne, Christian 134 Cholinus, Maternus 45 Chrysostomus (saint) 115n98 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 108, 210, 211n24, 258, 261 Ciotti, Giovanni Battista 207-208, 212, 212129, 224, 228, 232-233, 270, 270n10, 274 Cipolla, Bartolomeo 133 Clauso, Jean de 127 Clement v (Pope) 78, 288 Clichthove, Josse 256 Colines, Simon de 253-266 Colosino, Mattia 212n29 Combi, Sebastiano 212n29 Compagnia (delli libri) della Corona 140 Compagnia Minima 212n29 Compagnie d'Yvry 114, 121 Compagnie des Lectures 115 Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon 74, 107, 110-111, 114-118, 120-123, 125, 127, 134, 138-141, 144, 146

Caccialupi, Giovanni Battista

Arnoullet, Mechior 116

Arnoullet, O. 112

Compagnie des Textes 115 Company of the Crown 160 Contò, Agostino 270110 Coras, Jean de 133 Corsier, Jean 57, 80 Corte, Francesco 133 Corti, Franceschino 133 Covarrubias y Leyva, Diego de 133 Crespin, Jean 108 Crespin, Jean (heirs) 112 Crivelli, Giovanni Battista 277 Crotto, Giovanni 100, 133 Cucalón, Jerónimo 133 Cujas, Jacques 91, 128 Cumby, Jamie 115, 117 Cumia, Giuseppe 133

Dack, Heinrich 50-51, 53-54, 63, 65 Dante Alighieri 152 Deciani, Tiberio 273 Decio, Filippo 133-134 Delaforest, Pierre 120 Deschalles, Pierre 115 Deuchino, Evangelista 212n29 Díaz de Luco, Juan Bernal 133 Diplovatatius, Thomas 292 Doglioni, Giovanni Nicolò 217n34 Doneau, Hugues 80 Doni, Anton Francesco 173 Dorotheus of Beirut 77 Douaren, François 133 Du Moulin, Charles 91, 133 Du Pré, Galliot 255, 258 Du Puis, Jacques 34 Du Saix, Antoine 258 Duarenus, Franciscus 80 Dubois, Alain 85n45 Dubois, Jacques 264n22 Dumoulin, Charles 80 Durand, Guillaume 133, 290, 295n81 Durant, Pierre 117n102 Dureau-Lapeyssonnie, J.M. 117 Dürer, Albrecht 287n27

Egenolff, Christian senior 30, 36n39, 42, 48 Egenolff, Christian senior (heirs) 28, 42-43 Egmont, Cornelis van 7, 9 Erasmus, Desiderius 256, 258 Estienne (family/firm) 254, 257n9

Estienne, Charles 191, 255, 261 Estienne, François 255, 258, 258n14 Estienne, Henri 16, 253-256, 260, 263 Estienne, Nicole 255 Estienne, Robert 1 38, 46, 53, 127, 253, 255-256, 257n6, 258, 261-266 Everardi, Nicolaus 133 Facchinetti, Giovanni Antonio 233n78 Fanche, I. 112 Farri, Domenico 73 Farri, Onofrio 231n77 Farris (family/firm) 212n29 Faure, F 112 Faure, Jean 133 Ferdinand 1 (Holy Roman Emperor) 241, 242n18 Ferentilli, Agostino 133 Ferrari, Giovanni Pietro 66, 133-134 Fexard, G. 112 Feverabend, Carl Sigmund 58 Feyerabend, Johann 43, 50, 54 Feverabend, Sigmund 9, 27-67 Fine, Oronce 256, 260-261 Fischer, Peter 50-51, 53-54, 63, 65 Foillet, Jacques (Jacob) senior 29, 60-62 Fontaneto, Guglielmo da 101 Forcadel, Étienne 133 Franceschi, Francesco de 9, 110, 125, 149n8, 214-215, 223, 226, 267-269, 26914, 270, 270n12, 271-275, 277, 277n26, 278 Francesco Senese 270

Furetière, Antoine de 130 Gabiano (brothers/firm) 113, 115, 117-118, 120, 122-125, 134, 145

François 1 (King of France)

Frédol, Bérenger 290

Freher, Marquard 52

Frellon (firm) 110

Frellon, J. & F. 112

284n23, 298

Fulgosio, Raffaele 133

Fulin, Rinaldo 279-280,

83, 137

Gabiano, Baldassare (Balthasard) 1 de 114, 121 Gabiano, Balthazard II 115 Gabiano, Barthélémy de 84, 115 Gabiano, Giovanni Bartolomeo 114, 121-125, 247n25 Gabiano, Henri de 84, 115 Gabiano, Luxembourg (heirs) 121 Gabiano, Luxembourg (Lucimborgo) (de) (& Co) 112, 115, 120-124 Galen 175, 230, 242n19, 256, 258 Galignani (family/firm) 212n29 Gallot, Pierre 112 Gambiglione, Angelo, see Aretinus Garatis, Martinus de 59, 66 Gardano, Antonio 176 Gascon, Richard 85, 111-113, 122 Gault, Simon 116 Gesner, Conrad 160, 163 Giandomenico, see Zandomenego Giganti, Girolamo 133 Ginammi, Marco 152n20 Giolito (family/firm) 148, 152-153, 156, 156n24, 157, 162, 163n42, 166, 170, 172, 178-182, 190n81, 212n29 Giolito de Ferrari (de' Ferrari). see Giolito Giolito, Gabriele 140, 156, 160, 172, 246, 247n25-26 Giolito, Gabriele (heirs) 156, 192 Giolito, Giovanni I 82, 120, Giolito, Giovanni II 162 Giolito, Giovanni Paolo 162 Giunta, see Giunti Giunti (family/firm) 9, 74n17, 102, 110-111, 113, 118, 120, 123-124, 135, 141, 145-147, 147n2, 148, 149n8, 151-152, 156-162, 166, 166n47, 170, 178-182, 185, 188-189, 199, 203-204, 205n5, 207-209, 217n34, 221n41, 222, 223n48, 224, 225n57, 226-228, 230, 233n78, 279, 283, 283n23,

285-286, 294-296

Giunti (heirs) 110, 140

Giunti, Arcangela 203 Giunti, Bernardino, see Giunti, Bernardo 11 Giunti, Bernardo (son), see Giunti, Bernardo 11 Giunti, Bernardo di Bernardo, see Giunti, Bernardo 11 Giunti, Bernardo di Filippo 11 ('Bernardino') 209, 209n22 Giunti, Bernardo 1 203 Giunti, Bernardo II 149n8, 158, 203-209, 209n22, 210-212, 212n29, 213-221, 221n41, 222-225, 225n55, 226-227, 227n61, 227n64, 228-229, 229n68, 230-231, 231n75, 232-234, 269n4 Giunti, Filippo di Bernardo, see Giunti, Filippo 11 Giunti, Filippo 11 125, 204, 207-208 Giunti, Francesca Lucrezia Giunti, Giovanni Maria 140, 206-207, 222 Giunti, Giulio (Julio) 204, 225 Giunti, Giuntino 205n8 Giunti, Iacopo (Jacques) 71n4, 74, 108n80, 112, 114-115, 120-121, 123, 135-136, 204, 207-208, 225, 225n58 Giunti, Iacopo (Jacques) (heirs) 120, 122n128, 144 Giunti, Isabella 203 Giunti, Luc'Antonio (Lucantonio) 1 100, 121, 121n115, 123, 205n8, 225n54, 226, 227n64 Giunti, Luc'Antonio (Lucantonio) II 158, 160, 189, 192, 204-206 211, 222, 223n44, 226-227, 233 Giunti, Luc'Antonio 1 (firm/heirs) 110 Giunti, Luca (Lucas) 204 Giunti, Tommaso 140, 189 Giunti, Tommaso II 206-207, 222, 229n68 Glatard, J. 112 Godefroy, Denis 51, 54 Gomez, Antonio 56, 65 Gradi, Jean 133 Grammatica, Thomas 57, 66 Grande Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon 115

Granmeister, Hans 36, 36n43 Gratian 77, 91-92, 142, 288 Gregori, Giovanni De 98 Gregori, Gregorio De 98 Gregorius (saint) 115n98 Gregory IX (Pope) 77, 282, 288 Gregory XIII (Pope) 288 Griffio, Giovanni II 210, 211n24 Grillo, Nicoletta 163n43 Gryphe (family/firm) 111, 135, 138 Gryphe, Antoine 121, 136, 138

Gryphius (Gryphe), Sebastian (Sébastien) 38, 95, 108, 112-113, 115, 121, 1221128, 135-136, 138 Gryphius (Gryphe), Sebastian (Sébastien) (heirs) 110 Guarini, Battista 231n72 Guarinus, Thomas 34 Gueriglio, Giovanni 212n29

Guerra, Domenico & Giovanni Battista & Co 110 Guido Papa 56, 59-60, 65 Guidoni, Desiderio 273 Gülfferich, Margarethe 31n19 Gutenberg, Johannes 8

Guerra (family/firm) 212n29

Hadrian (Roman Emperor) 77n21 Han, Katharina, widow of Weigand 31n19 Han, Weigand 31 Han, Weigand (heirs) 31, 31n19 Han, Weigand (mother) 31119 Harder, Michel (Michael) 28, 35, 36n39 Harsy, Denis de 110-112 Hawks, Catherina A. 80

Henri de Suze 105

Henry VII (Holy Roman Emperor) 77 Hercole, Michele 231n72 Herwagen, Johann (heirs) 34 Hieronymus (saint) 115n98 Higman, Damien 255 Higman, Geneviève 255 Higman, Jean 254-255 Hippocrates 222, 223n46 Homer 108 Honorat, Barthélémy 84 Honorat, Sébastien 84

Henri II (King of France) 137

Hotman, François 133 Huarte de San Juan, Juan 191 Hüter, Simon 32, 34, 37, 43

Imbert, Jean 91 Imberti (family/firm) 212n29 Imola, Alessandro (Alexander de), see Tartagni, Alessandro Imola, Giovanni, see Nicolétti Isocrate 257

Joannes Andreae (Giovanni d'Andrea) 290, 295n81 Jode, Gerard de 34, 35n29 John XXII (Pope) 78, 288 Jollat, Jean 261 Jostock, Ingeborg 84 Justinian I (Eastern Roman Emperor) 51, 69, 77, 282, 287

Kerver, Thielman 260 Kimhi, (Rabbi) Moses 277n31 Kling, Melchior 133

La Place, Jean de 127 La Porte, Avme de 113 La Porte, de (brothers) 118, 121 La Porte, de (firm) 120, 145 La Porte, Hugues de 88, 93, 112-113, 115, 127, 134, 138, 140, 144 La Porte, Hugues de & Aymon (heirs) 110 La Porte, Jean de 112-113 Landriani, Bernardino 290-291, 291n55 Le Roy, Louis 192 Lécuyer, Jean 260 Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques 258 Leggi, Serafino 217n34 Limbach, Saskia 9, 17n10 Limonta (brothers) 271 Limonta, Giovanni Pietro 271n15 Limonta, Ordanero 270-271, 271n15 Livius (Livy), Titus 50, 192 Loarte, Gaspar de (sj) 276 Loffredo, Sigismondo 58-59, 66 Lombardus, Guilelmo 236 López de Palacios Rubios, Juan 54 Lorenzini, Francesco 140

Louis XII (King of France) 127

Loys, Jean 255, 257n9, 261 Ludovisi, Giuseppe 54n136 Lufft, Hans 39 Luther, Martin 30, 37-38, 137

Macchelli, Jacopo 273 Maclean, Ian 90, 115, 135 Madiis, Francesco de' 282 Magnifico, Lorenzo il 293 Maillot, E. 112 Maino, Giasone del 102, 130, 133-135, 1351183, 140, 286, 292-293, 295n81, 306-307 Manassi, Niccolò 152n21, 153 Mandelli Giacomo (Jacobus) 59, 66 Mandosi, Quintillano 166n47, 273 Mantova Benavides, Marco 133 Mantuanus, Baptista 256

Manutius (firm) 175 Manutius (Manuzio) (family/firm) 149n5, 178-182, 184, 190n81, 212n29 Manutius (Manuzio), Aldus (Aldo) junior 148, 149112, 152-154, 156, 162, 166,

173, 185n69, 186-189, 191-192 Manutius (Manuzio), Aldus (Aldo) senior 124, 138, 151, 153, 170, 175n57 Manutius (Manuzio), Paolo 160, 184-185, 192, 247n27, 249 Maranta, Roberto 57, 66 Marcolini, Francesco 249 Marechal, Jacques 127

Marsili, Ippolito 133 Martin, Henri-Jean 85 Martin, Loys 113 Martinez Poblacion, Juan 258 Mascardi, Giuseppe 56, 65 Masuerus, Joannes Antonius

Marechal, Jean 128 Marini, Marco 276

57, 66 Matthaeis, Antonius de 59, 66 Mattioli, Pietro Andrea 240n16, 241-242, 242n18 Mauritius, Johannes 57, 66 Maximus (saint) 273 Mayno, Jason de 134

Meda, Giacomo Maria da Medici, Lorenzo de' 292-293 Médicis, Catherine de 138 Meietti (family/firm) 212n29 Melanchthon, Philip 136 Menochio, Giacomo 132n173,

Mercuriale, Girolamo 222, 223n46 Metrà, Andrea 199 Michel, Etienne 108n80 Milazzo, Renaud 9, 41 Milis, Iohannes Nicolaus de 57, 66 Mille de Souvigny, Jean 91 Misserini, Niccolò 148, 152,

161-163, 166, 178-182, 192,

Moderne, J. 112 Modius, Franciscus 57 Molina, Jean de 143 Montholon, Jean de 254 Moretti, Niccolò 212n29 Moretto, Antonio 11, 159,

218, 222, 2231151, 227

279, 281, 281n8, 283, 283n17, 285-286, 292, 306-309 Moretus, Balthasar I 7, 17 Moretus, Balthasar II 17 Moretus, Jan 1 7, 17, 23, 26, 59 Moretus, Jan 11 7

Morin, R. 112 Morosi, Piero di Giuliano 16on39 Morrhy, Gérard 257, 260-261

Mouren, Raphaële 135 Moylin, Jean 110 Mugello, Dino del 133 Munro, John 14-15 Muschio, Andrea 212n29

Navarre, Marguerite de 83 Nevo, Alexander de 105 Nicolétti, Giovanni (Imola) 80, 295n81 Nicolini da Sabbio (family/firm) 212n29 Novarins, Jacques de 126 Nuovo, Angela 8-9, 82, 96, 120, 122, 1241143, 144, 271, 278 Nutius, Martinus 1 16 Nyverd, Jacques 255

Officina Henricpetrina (Basel, firm) 46 Officina Plantiniana (Antwerp, firm) 9-10, 13-17, 20-25, 151n14

Oldendorp, Johannes 88, 133, 136-138 Opicini, Andrea 269n7 Oselli, see Uselli Ottone, Andrea 9, 158n27, 269n4 Ovidius Naso, Publius 50

Paganini, Paganino I 98, 282, 293-294 Pallmann, Heinrich 27 Panigarola, Francesco 273 Pannartz, Arnold 150, 151n15 Panormitanus, see Tedeschi Panvinio, Onofrio 133 Panzanelli Fratoni, Maria Alessandra 11, 158n30 Papon, Jean 91, 133, 138-139 Paravicino, Paolo 273 Paris, M. 112 Parisio, Pietro (Pier) Paolo 101, 125 Passagieri, Rolandino 98 Payen, Thibaud 110-113 Pazzaglini, Peter R. 80 Pellegrin, Elisabeth 92 Penet, Hector 126 Périon, Joachim 257, 261 Petit, Jean 127 Petrarcha, Francesco 173 Petrucci, Federico 98 Petrucci, Ottaviano 158n31, 159 Petrus de Bellapertica (Pierre de Belleperche) 57, 66, 79, 129 Petrus, Johannes 57 Pettas, William 118 Pfister, Laurent 91 Philibert, Emmanuel (Duke of Savoy) 249 Philip I (Landgrave of Hesse) 136 Philip II (King of Spain) 1321173 Piccaglia, Giacomo 273 Pierre, Jean 257, 260-261 Pietro, Giovanni 270 Pignolati, Nicolò 105 Pigouchet, Philippe 260 Pinelli, Galeazzo Francesco 163n43 Pinelli, Gian Vincenzo

163n43, 189

Pinzi, Filippo I 100, 292-293

Pius v (Pope) 149n8 Plantin, Christophe 7, 9-10, 14, 16-17, 23-24, 34, 41-42, 69, 71-74, 74117, 75-76, 78, 80, 84, 91, 111, 1171103, 118, 125-126, 128, 132, 141-146, 149, 149113, 150-151, 185, 188, 233, 233179-80 Plinius the Elder 108 Plutarch 258 Podiani, Prospiero 221n41 Polo, Girolamo 212n29 Polo, Niccolò 212n29 Ponte, Paolo Gottardo Da 276, 277n26 Porro, Girolamo 212n29 Portinari (Portinaro), Francesco 102 Portonariis (firm) 108, 110, 112, 118, 120-121, 145 Portonariis (Portonari), Vincenzo (Vincent) de 108, 110, 112, 114, 120-121 Portonariis, Dominique de 113, 117 Portonariis, Gaspard de 121 Praetis, Simon de 59, 66 Prati, Fioravante 212n29 Premenugo, Achille 277 Preto, Paolo 83 Prévost, Xavier 71n7 Pribojevic, Vinko 154, 192 Proot, Joran (olim Goran) 10, 59, 95n61, 263 Ptolemy, Claudius 227n64, 242n19 Pulciani, Giovanni Battista 212N29 Pure, E. de 112 Puteo, Paris de 59, 66 Rab, Georg (Jorg) 31, 43-44 Rampazetto, Antonio 73 Rasch, Johann 30 Rautenberg, Ursula 96, 98 Rebart, Thomas 43 Rébuffi, Jacques 117 Regnault, Claude 127 Regnault, Guillaume 115, 134

Resta, Caterina 268

Reulos, Michel 70

Rho, Alessandro da (Count) 277

Ricciardi, Pietro 212n29

Rihel, Jeronimus 39n49

Rivière, Estienne de la 261 Rivière, Jeanne 721111 Rocca, Angelo 191 Roero, Annibali 134 Romond, Wilhelm von (widow) 321124 Roper, Amelie 52 Rosate, Alberico de 133-134 Rouillé (family/firm) 111 Rouillé (heirs) 118 Rouillé, Guillaume 91, 110, 112-113, 117, 120, 122, 125, 128, 136, 139, 146 Rouillé, Madeleine, wife of Guillaume 113 Roussart, Louis 128 Rubini, Bartolomeo 110 Ruel, Jean 256

Sabbio, Domenico Nicolini da

& Co 110

Saccon, Jacques 113 Sacerdoti, Vitale 277n28 Saliat, Pierre 258 Salicato (family/firm) 212n29 Salicato, Altobello 73, 212n29 Saliceto, Bartolomeo da 294, 295n81, 306-307 Salignac, Geoffroy de 126 Sallust (Pseudo) 258 Sandei, Felino 293, 306-307 Sansovino, Francesco 214n33 Sanuto (Sanudo), Livio 182-184, 189 Sanuto, Giulio 184 Saraina, Gabriele 133 Sarmiento de Mendoza, Francisco 50 Sarzina, Giacomo 217n34, Sassoferrato (Saxoferrato), see Bartolo da Sassoferrato Sattin, Antonella 293n57 Savelli, Rodolfo 125 Schenck, Hans 39n49 Schmidt, Peter 43-44 Schmoeckel, Mathias 137 Schoeffer (Schöffer), Peter senior 38, 282 Scholliers, Étienne 16 Scoto (and heirs/family/firm) 102, 142, 148, 152, 158-160, 164, 166, 170, 175-176, 178-182, 283, 285-286

Scoto, Amadio (Amadeo, Amedeo) 11, 158n31, 159, 279, 281, 281n8, 282, 285-286, 300-301, 306-309 Scoto, Girolamo 125, 140, 159-160 Scoto, Girolamo (heirs) 192 Scoto, Melchiorre 160, 175, 192 Scoto, Ottaviano I 110, 140, 158, 282 Scoto, Ottaviano 1 (heirs & Co) 110 Scoto, Ottaviano II 102 Segusio, Henricus de, see Henri de Suze Selfisch, Samuel 37, 48, 40n106 Selvatico, Giovanni Battista 277 Senneton (brothers) 74, 118, 126-127, 141 Senneton (firm) 110, 112, 117, 117n109, 118, 120-121, 145 Senneton, Claude 84, 115, 126, 134, 141 Serafini, Serafino 273 Servain, Claude 110 Sessa (family/firm) 212n29, Sessa, Melchiorre 1 73, 268 Sessa, Melchiorre 1 (heirs) 110, 125 Sessa, Melchiorre II (heirs) 125 Sessa, Pietro Antonio 268 Settala, Ludovico, 277 Sfondrati, Paolo Emilio (Cardinal) 277 Siber, Johannes 282, 291n53 Sichard, Johannes 38, 48, 54 Sigonio, Carlo 133 Silvius, Willem 34 Simoncelli, Ottavio 273 Sivieri, Antonio 175n59 Sixtus IV (Pope) 78, 293 Soccini, Bartolomeo 295n81 Soccini, Mariano il giovane 133 Societa dell'Aquila 110, 267 Società di Venezia 123-124 Societas Aquilae Renovantis 160, 205, 110, 212n29, 226 Societas Veneta 212 Socini, see Sozzini Socrates 108

Somasco (family/firm) 212n29 Somasco, Benedetta 268 Somasco, Giacomo Antonio 260n7 Somasco, Giovanni Battista (& brothers) 110, 268 Somasco, Vincenzo 268-269 Sophocles 192 Sordet, Yann 93 Sozzini (Socini) 281n8 Sozzini, Bartolomeo (Socinus, Bartholomaeus) 286, 292, 306-307 Sozzini, Mariano senior (Socinus, Marianus) 58, 292 Speyer, Johann von 236 Spineda, Lucio 212n29 Squassina, Erika 11, 178n61 Stagnino, Bernardino 294 Stamperia del popolo romano 249 Stevens, Kevin M. 9 Sweynheim (Sweynheym),

Konrad 150, 151n15

Tarino, Giovanni Domenico 221-222, 227 Tartagni, Alessandro (Alexander, Alessandro) (ab) (Imola) 134, 140, 288-289, 289n37, 291, 291n52, 294, 295n81, 306-307 Tasso, Torquato 173, 229171, 230, 231n73 Tedeschi, Niccolò (Abbas Panormitanus) 80, 134, 288, 292, 295n81, 306-307 Terence 50 Teste, Barthelemy 115 Teutonicus, Johannes 92 Theophilus Antecessor 77 Thireau, Jean-Louis 130 Tinghi, Philippe 120, 123 Tini (brothers) 185 Tini (family) 274n22 Tini, Francesco 185, 271n15 Tini, Simone 185 Tiraqueau, André 51-52, 88, 117, 132-133, 140-141 Tixier, Jean 231n74 Torquemada, Jean de 80 Torresano, Andrea, the Elder 175**n**57 Torresano, Federico 140, 160

Torti (brothers Battista & Silvestro) 11, 159, 279, 280-283, 283110, 283112, 283114, 283115, 2841123, 284-286, 288-289, 289129, 290-291, 294, 300-305 Torti (family) 298 Torti (firm) 282-284, 286, 292, 295-296 Torti, Battista (de Tortis) 11, 98, 101, 159, 279-282, 283n10, 285-286, 288, 290-294, 300-305 Torti, Silvestro (firm) 279 Tory, Geoffroy 255, 260-261 Tournes, Jean de (firm/heirs) 110, 112-113, 139 Tournes, Jean 1 de 90-91, 113, 122, 138-139, 146 Tournes, Jean 11 de 84, 113 Tramez(z)ino, Michele 158n32, 246, 247n25-26 Tramezino, Francesco & Michele I 110 Trechsel, Gaspard 80, 112-113, 121 Tribonian 77 Trinchel, François 120 Trino, Comin da 95, 104-105, 110

Ubaldi(s), Angelus de (Angelo degli) 58n141, 59, 66, 97, 290, 306-307 Ubaldi(s), Baldus de (Baldo degli) 58, 79, 97, 102, 133-134, 282, 289-290, 292, 294, 296n81, 306-307 Ugolino (family/firm) 212n29 Uselli (Oselli), Gaspare 187

Vadi, Benedetto 291 Vairo, Leonardo 191 Valentini, Giorgio 231n73 Valgrisi (firm) 110 Valgrisi, Felice 125 Valgrisi, Vincenzo 240n16, 241, 242n19 Valla, Lorenzo 135 Varisco, Giorgio 212n29 Varisco, Giovanni 125 Varisco, Marco 212n29 Vázquez Menchaca, Fernando 50, 57, 66

Vecchi, Alessandro (de) 212n29, 214n33 Veneziani, Paolo 124-125 Venturi, Giovanni 204 Vérard, Antoine 260 Viart, Guyonne 254-255 Villagut, Alfonso 273-274 Vincent (firm) 118, 120, 145 Vincent, Antoine 134 Vincent, Antoine (heirs/firm) 110, 118, 120-121, 145 Vincent, Antoine 1 84, 115, 121, 134 Vincent, Barthélemy 84 Vincenzi, Giacomo 212n29 Visconti, Giovanni Battista 277 Visconti, Pietro Giorgio 52 Vito di Gozze, Niccolò 191 Vivo, Francesco 132n173 Voerda, Nicasius de 57, 66 Voet, Leon 20 Vostre, Simon 260

Wagner, Olivier 70n4 Walsby, Malcolm 74, 105 Wechel, Andreas 34, 49 Wechel, Chrétien 257n6 Wechselberger, Laban 38 Wee, Herman van der 14 Welser, Marcus 191 Wildeshausen, see Teutonicus Willer, Georg 36-38, 44, 46, 49, 52, 185n58 Württemberg, Christoph of (Duke) 40-41, 41n72

Yniguez, Martin 121

Zabarella, Franciscus (Cardinal) 134, 295n81 Zaltieri (family/firm) 212n29 Zandomenego (Giandomenico) 281n8, 308-309 Zasius, Johann Ulrich 133, 135 Zeittler, Peter 38 Zemon Davis, Natalie 83n38, 138 Zenaro (family/firm) 125 Zenaro, Damiano 125, 148, 152, 160-161, 166, 170, 178-184, 189, 192 Zenaro, Girolamo & Co 110, 125 Zenaro, Zaccaria 125 Zenaro, Zaccaria (heirs) 125

Ziletti, Giordano I (firm) 110 Ziletti, Giovanni Battista 133, 140 Zimmermann, Jost 39n49 Zio, see Giunti Zöpfl, David 30 Zoppino (family/firm) 212n29 Zorzi, Marino 144 Zuliani, Andrea 161, 163n40

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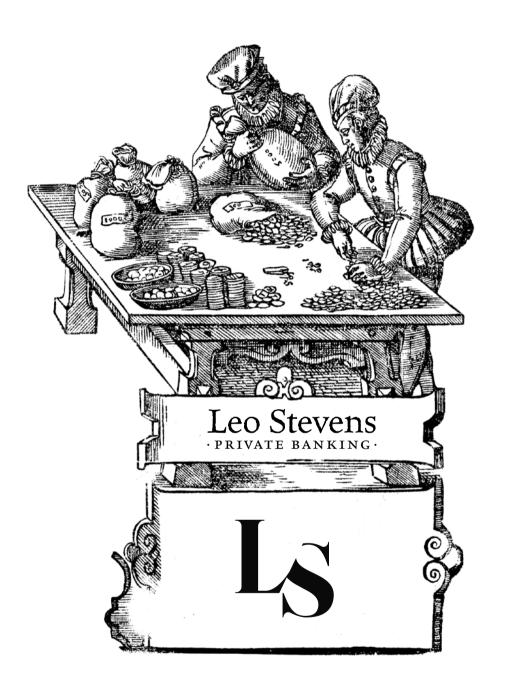
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In this issue

- 7 Angela Nuovo, Joran Proot & Diane E. Booton Early modern book prices lost and found
- 12 List of abbreviations
- 13 Francesco Ammannati & Joran Proot
 Book prices from the Officina Plantiniana in a comparative perspective (1586–1631)
- 27 Saskia Limbach Sales and trading in Frankfurt · Feyerabend's prices in perspective (1565–1597)
- 69 Renaud Milazzo Le marché des livres juridiques à Lyon et à Venise au xv1^e siècle
- 147 Angela Nuovo & Francesca De Battisti
 The price of books in early modern Venice (1586 1600) · A statistical analysis
- 193 Francesco Ammannati
 Notes on Venetian monetary history from the medieval to the early modern era
- 203 Andrea Ottone
 Renaissance publishers, market risks and empirical methods of assessment
 A revised interpretation of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti's 1600–1643 catalogue
- 235 Erika Squassina
 The protection of the printing industry in Venice (1560 1580)
- 253 Diane E. Booton
 An analysis of book prices in Paris · The first bookseller's catalogue of Simon de Colines, c. 1540
- 267 Kevin M. Stevens
 Deciphering the Antoni/De Franceschi partnership in Milan (c. 1588–1591)
 Some preliminary observations
- 279 Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni
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- 315 Colophon



