
Sellers and Purchasers: Markets, Distribution, and Collection-Building

Early modern publishers, by their own account, had a hard time of it, having to deal with unsold copies of expensively produced editions, small returns for a number of years on the outlay on production, the depreciating value of stocks, the high charges for storage, the costs of transport and danger of loss of stock in transit, the commission to be paid on money-changing, the failure of clients to pay their bills: all of this leading to chronic problems of cash flow, which threatened the continued running of their businesses.

In the early years of the century, the Koberger firm of Nuremberg had already bewailed the absence of purchasers with ready money at the fairs they attended.¹ This problem bedevilled the Plantin presses, one of the largest publishers in Europe in the latter years of the century, who invested heavily in visits to Frankfurt, and declared an average of over twenty books at each book fair between 1580 and 1620. My own point of departure in this chapter lies in the Archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, where their struggles to keep afloat are recorded. In the spring of 1571, the envoy of Christophe Plantin, Jan I Moretus, had just married the daughter of his employer for whom he had been working for a number of years, and he was sent to act on the firm's behalf to the Frankfurt fair, which he had visited before, but perhaps not with the same burden of commercial responsibility.² He kept a daily notebook (a "carnet"), which he later transposed into a fair copy ("cahier"). Where both of these survive, it can be seen that the fair copy does not coincide exactly

with the carnet, and disguises the rough-and-ready negotiations which underlie the sanitised figures found in the cahiers.³

The carnets reveal much about the real transactions of the fair. There is a lot of imprecision in the sums of money stated, and approximation in the computing of accounts; one finds settlement of debt in the form of books rather than cash, or a mixture of the two, and not infrequent use of letters of credit. Nowhere is there mention of the religious affiliation of those with whom Moretus dealt. His various trading partners—some Catholics, some protestants of various persuasions—were there as trading partners, nothing more. They came from France, Geneva, Germany, and Italy. As yet, there was no representative from England. In nearly every case, they were publishers or booksellers; very little was sold to individual purchasers at the fair, although certain German librarians and university professors were required to attend.⁴ One particular entry caught my attention:

Over the last few fairs I have not settled my account with Pietro Longhi, and I find that I owe him about 28 or 30 florins in books. Please note: he has played a trick on me at the last fair, in that I gave him 40 écus in cash for a copy of the works of Tostatus, which he said I would soon receive, as the bale was on its way and would be in Antwerp on my return from Frankfurt. He even gave me a note of the books which were packed with the same Works in the same bale; the bill for this is copied into the Cahier I wrote for the last fair. But up to now I have received nothing, and have written to Venice more than fifteen times to have news of the said bale. Longhi has never sent a single word in reply. So I want him to give me back the 40 écus, to which he should add a good rate of interest for all the loss and shame that I have had in having promised [to deliver the said works], seeing that I did not think for a moment that I would find myself so completely gulled in this way.⁵

Several points might be made about this entry:

- (1) Pietro Longo or Longhi was an Italian bookseller and (briefly) a speculative publisher of legal works; he was a frequent visitor from the 1560s to the Frankfurt fair, was closely connected to various prominent protestant publishers such as Pietro Perna (in whose house he learnt German) and André Wechel, and was a key figure in the transfer of books of all kinds (including banned protestant theology) from northern Europe to Venice. He was arrested by the Inquisition in Venice in late 1587 and executed there in early 1588, probably for his heretical beliefs rather than his illicit importations.⁶

- (2) The edition of Alphonsus Tostatus is something of a mystery. I have mentioned above (page 62) the folio edition in 30 volumes of 1596, produced in Venice at horrendous expense; the only previous edition was also a multi-volume set, published between 1507 and 1530. It is somewhat surprising that an edition of this venerable age could command the price suggested by Moretus's note; most books declined quite sharply in value over time. This would suggest that rare books commanded a considerable premium. But it is also possible that Longhi had caught wind of the project to publish Tostatus, and rashly promised to deliver the as-yet unpublished text.⁷ It is not rare to find projects of editions being spoken of many years before their execution.
- (3) Moretus refers to the shame he feels toward a client whom he has let down. As I shall show below, publishers were not only drawn into bookselling as a result of the methods of exchange prevalent at the fair; they were also buying agents, either speculatively by attempting to predict the requirements of customers, or directly, being commissioned to procure given books.
- (4) The key issue here is one of trust in commercial transactions. Moretus did not draw up a contract with Longhi; he therefore has to add here that he wants to impose interest payments on him. His only weapon against Longhi is the latter's fear of loss of reputation, which would affect his transactions at the fair. The other notable feature of this paragraph is the fact that Moretus admits to a debt to Longhi of 28 *or* 30 florins in the form of books. I shall come back to this imprecision later on, and what it might reveal about the mentality which dominated the profession of publisher.

The Plantin firm kept accounts of debts for more than a decade before writing them off. In some cases, the non-payment was due to the deferral of settlement to the next fair: the Scottish publisher Andro Hart seems to have attended the fair only once, incurring a debt of 8 florins which he never reappeared to settle. It remained in the Plantin books from 1593 to 1615.⁸ We may compare Moretus's handling of Longhi's debt to that meted out to Etienne Michel of Lyon about twenty years later. He had chosen to bid a considerable sum (over 23,000 francs) for the stock of his deceased partner Symphorien Beraud, knowing that he would have to recover debts from all over southern Europe, and realize sales on the stock held in Lyon and Medina del Campo, while at the same time continuing

to act as a entrepreneurial publisher and attend book fairs. His creditors initially trusted him, then employed a bounty hunter to pursue him, and finally enlisted the support of one of the richest Spanish merchants, Simon Ruiz of Medina, through whose agency he was eventually arrested. The enforced valuation of the stock he had purchased from Beraud's estate revealed its value to be less than a quarter of his debt. What is perhaps most puzzling about this story is the optimistic attitude of Michel, who was a seasoned campaigner in publishing, which led him to bid so high a figure for Beraud's stock.⁹

Marketing Practices: The Hansa Model and the Branch Model

It is traditional to divide the sales process in the continental book trade into three forms: the fair; the factor (under which figure is subsumed disposal of stock through booksellers established in a single location); and the itinerant seller of books (who sold more than just popular vernacular materials or religious propaganda).¹⁰ These categories are not mutually exclusive; nor do they exactly reflect the distinction between international, local, and regional trade, but there is an analogy to be made.¹¹ I am dealing here only with learned books (and I have excluded schoolbooks, legal and administrative proclamations, and liturgical texts, which can be taken to be staples for the monopolists who operated in these fields). The questions that arise are the following: Was the market for such books necessarily international, or at least transregional, and could publishers survive only if they had access to this wider market? Was it a unified market, or did it operate in different ways in different places? For example, why did Paris, a major producer of prestigious books in this period, not follow the same pattern as Lyon, or Antwerp, or Basel, or Cologne, or Mainz, or Frankfurt, except during the period 1600–1620? Did Italian publishing need northern European outlets? Was the market equally open to all the confessional interests operating in world of Latin books? Or to put it a different way, how far did the marketing, sales, and distribution of these books affect the transmission of knowledge at this time? I shall first examine the two models of sales and distribution: the Hansa model and the branch system, the former predominantly northern European, the latter Italian, although there is clearly much interpenetration of the models, whose common features I shall briefly outline; I shall then look at the distinctive features of these models, the zoning of the market; second-hand selling and purchasing, and finally aids to collection-building at the end of my period.

Two models of marketing practice among book producers and sellers emerged in the early modern period. The Hansa model is one by which merchants traveled with their goods to fairs and other outlets, sold to other wholesale merchants, kept factors and warehouses in fair cities, sited their headquarters in a centre on a prominent trade route with good local artisanal resources, and licensed itinerant salesmen (“Buchführer”) to sell their goods. An early example of this is afforded by the firm of Koberger, who were based in Nuremberg, but had strong trade connections with Basel, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Lyon, Paris, and Venice. Those who embraced this model of trade relied on being able to dispose of a high percentage of their new books at the first fair following their publication.¹² The branch system, calqued on Italian banks and the practice of wool and silk merchants, grew up in Italy where there was not the same number of important fairs, where the population distribution was different, and where the urban centres were already acclimatised to the presence of shops, some of which were branches of far-distant manufacturing enterprises. The Italian trade in books was dominated from the beginning by Venice. Barter between wholesalers of books was common, and largely conducted *a risma*, that is, by the ream; where there was not the possibility of barter, books were sold *a precio* or for a unit price. Sales to retail booksellers were either made outright with discounts, or on commission. This latter procedure is to be distinguished from sale or return (what in Roman law is referred to as *contractus aestimatorius*), and usually stipulates a given period for sales to be effected; it leaves the wholesaler with the financial risk. As a result of the drawbacks to this system, wholesalers began to establish branches in major cities identified by their printer’s marks used as shop signs. They had more control over these branches, they received returns more rapidly from them, and they could use them to make informed judgements about the potential for local sales. Publishers who were adept at this organization were the Giunti, the Manutius house, and two expatriate family houses in Lyon, the de Gabiano and Portonari. Their arrangements with their local managers were often complex and turbulent.¹³ The two systems—Hansa and branch—are of course not mutually exclusive; some northern and some Italian firms—Froben, the Giunti—resorted to both methods, as did most of the members of the Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon.¹⁴ Publishers who did not travel to the fairs might also use a colleague as a selling agent there: this was done by Sebastian Gryphius of Lyon, who employed Andreas Cratander of Basel at the Frankfurt fair in this role.¹⁵ In cases where publishers acted also as booksellers, they were able both to dispose of stock through

the Hansa system and conduct trade in it by exchanges with other booksellers: this is what Simon Millanges did in Bordeaux. His network of outlets extended throughout the centre and south of France, and included publishers in Lyon, Cahors, and Poitiers through whom he acquired stock for sale in Bordeaux.¹⁶ Such arrangements could cross confessional divides, as in the case of the dealings between Jacob Stoer of Geneva and Jan I Moretus in Antwerp.¹⁷

Stocks

The two models shared the common requirement that very large stocks had to be held in warehouses or distributed by the publisher to retail outlets.¹⁸ By convention, the value of stocks declines with their age; in the case of learned books, this decline was exacerbated also by the tendency of publishers to issue new “improved” editions of standard works. Very soon, such stocks became partially unsaleable or very difficult to sell. By 1602 the Plantin firm was dividing its Frankfurt warehouse and shop stocks into two categories: “minus vendibiles” or “non vendibiles,” and “vendibiliores.”¹⁹ When one of the Lyon Giunti family wanted to realize the illiquid capital she held in the form of books in 1577, she had to offer them to a selling agent both on sale and return and at a 12 percent discount.²⁰ The size of stocks routinely held by publishers of learned books was impressively large. The Beraud inventory (only a small proportion of all the stock held by the Grande Compagnie des Libraires of Lyon) records in 1591 a stock of three million printed sheets extending back over seventy years; at his death, Sigmund Feyerabend held at least 16,000 books in his store; Gotthard Vögelin’s Frankfurt warehouse stock, sold off by the ream to Clemens Schleich of the Wechel presses in 1625, was immense and very varied. Booksellers also held very large stocks.²¹ When, having received a considerable gift by legacy in 1612, the University of Rostock wanted to set itself up with a library on the model of Leiden, which had already published its catalogue in 1595, it was able simply to buy most of the desired books from the local bookseller Johann Hallervord.²² Even in provincial Italian fairs such as Lanciano, or in northern Spanish cities such as Burgos, the holdings of firms such as the Giunti were very considerable, as were the inventories of their shops (making such inventories became a requirement of the Council of Trent and other jurisdictions.²³ Other examples of vast stocks are afforded by Etienne Toulouze and Simon Millanges of Bordeaux, and Cornelis Claez of Amsterdam.²⁴ The commercial ratio-

CATALOGVS
LIBRORVM
• Qui in
IVNCTARVM
BIBLIOTHECA
PHILIPPI HÆREDVM
Florentiæ prostant.



Inc. Killing 8.

FLORENTIAE
MDCIV.

6.1 The title page of the 1604 catalogue of the Giunti bookshop in Florence.
Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: shelfmark 8°Σ27.

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nale behind these stocks must have been that the publisher should be in a position to satisfy the needs of his customers, to maintain his credibility in the field of learning, and to engage in barter. The Giunti shop in Florence issued a catalogue in 1604 which lists 15,000 or so titles, many of them (one may presume) in more than one copy.

These include no less than 160 law books with the title *Consilia* and a further 75 *Decisiones*; Bodley's Library in Oxford had been actively collecting works with these titles from the beginning of the century, but by 1620 had only acquired 44 of the former and 33 of the latter genre.²⁵ Such stocks as the Giunti's were predicated on high volumes of sales, as were the multiple copies of new editions transported (in the case of the Hansa model) by publishers to the Frankfurt fairs. Oporinus, for example, took 60 bales (i.e., 300,000 printed sheets) to the fair of 1557; his warehouse contained ten times this number at his death in 1563.²⁶ By his purchase of the Vögelin stock in 1625, Schleich found himself with a formidable number of learned books on his hands: this reveals the inbuilt tendency not so much to bankruptcy in the trade as to chronic oversupply of stock. Schleich clearly thought that he could benefit from such an acquisition, but as the market conditions worsened toward the end of the 1620s, it must have been a millstone round his neck. His partner Daniel Aubry blamed the failure of their commercial enterprise on the effects of the Thirty Years' War (principally the billeting of troops), but their vast illiquid assets could not have helped their financial situation.²⁷ Another figure who was similarly acquisitive, Peter Kopf, the employer of Goldast, went bankrupt in 1633, probably from a similar act of overreaching himself and a similar drying up of sales.²⁸

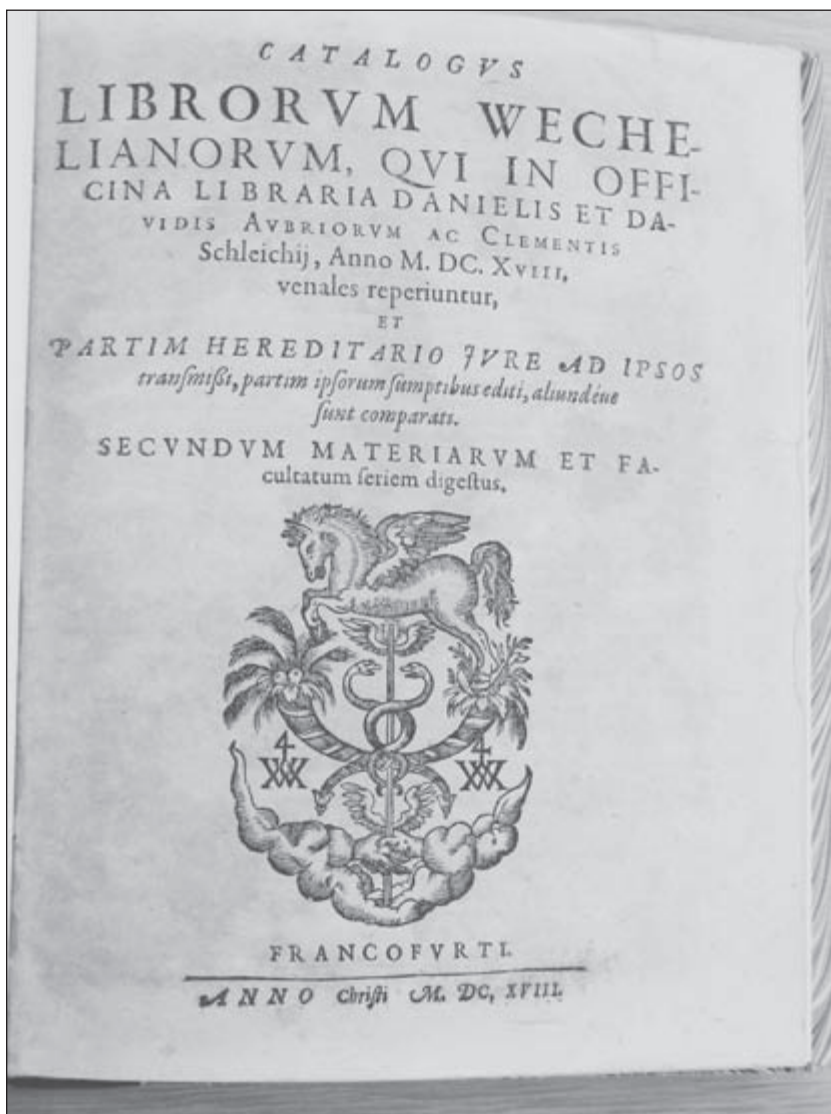
Sale or Return

The system of sale or return, or goods on approval, and the use of catalogues, was common also to both systems. It has been argued that the credit trade acted as a stimulus to further purchasing (on credit) by the recipient, as the risk remained with the publisher or wholesaler.²⁹ Sale or return is a marked feature of the branch system, and although it was probably governed by contract (the return the books within a specified number of years, in perfect condition), its clauses were seldom exactly respected.³⁰ When Beraud's executors in Lyon (where the branch system was practiced by the members of the Grande Compagnie with Italian connections) tried, initially through his surviving partner Etienne Michel,

to recover either books on approval or money in lieu from a long list of Italian provincial booksellers, they encountered very great difficulties.³¹ Books were also returned in bulk by booksellers who made purchases at the Frankfurt fair, such as Georg Willer, sometimes with a comment revealing his clients' adverse reactions (of a historian of the German wars whom Oporinus had published, he wrote that his "intricate and obscure style" had put off purchasers).³² Plantin accepted the commission of transporting the numismatic books by the self-payer Hubert Goltzius to the Frankfurt fair in 1558 on the basis of sale and return; the firm also occasionally sent books on approval to some of its clients.³³ Perhaps the most surprising case is provided by Pietro Perna, who in 1559 sent some books to Boniface Amerbach with the comment, "I hope that they interest you: you may keep them if you like, or even buy them."³⁴ A similar comment is made by Giovanni Baptista Ciotti in 160, just before he sent his foreign-books catalogue to the Duke of Urbino, in which he asked the Duke's desiderata to be marked up. The catalogue contains no prices, and no money is mentioned. Presumably Ciotti was hoping either for a gratuity of approximately the right size, or perhaps payment in kind through some specific favours for himself or a member of his family.³⁵ I shall return below to the mentality this reveals.

Publishers' and Booksellers' Catalogues and Lists

Both publishers at the fairs and booksellers in the branch system (whose catalogues are considered separately below) produced catalogues. These are first attested in the fifteenth century, and by the end of the sixteenth had become quite sophisticated as means of advertisement.³⁶ Such catalogues were distributed both as broadsheets and in the form of pamphlets. The broadsheets (*nomenclaturae*) could be used as advertisements on stalls in fairs; the pamphlet form (usually octavo, but found also in quarto) was more often sent to potential clients.³⁷ Both varied considerably in content and layout, but the majority listed more than just the most recently published volumes. Some of these catalogues distinguish in-house publications, and books that have either been bought in or exchanged (as does the Oporinus catalogue of 1552).³⁸ Most were arranged not alphabetically but by genre, no doubt to assist the potential purchaser. It is extremely rare to find any reference either to the year of publication or the price: the former omission allows for the reissuing of unsuccessful books, and the latter avoids the embarrassment of stating



6.2 The title page of the Wechel presses' catalogue of 1618.
Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Broxb. 106.

variable discounts, which certainly were a feature of negotiations at the fairs.³⁹ The first catalogue to include all the elements we would now expect—author, title, imprint, date, number of pages, price—was that issued by the Wittenberg bookseller Samuel Selfsch in 1608.⁴⁰

Many catalogues included a fairly complete back list including books inherited from previous owners of the presses; sometimes they recorded the results of barter as well as speculative bookselling. Books no longer available that were printed by the house in question might also be included, and marked with an asterisk. Here one can surmise that a strong statement is being made about the prestige of the house in question as measured by its past achievements, and perhaps also a warning that any privilege associated with the work would be asserted in future.⁴¹ Some catalogues followed the order of categories (and languages) laid down in the book fair catalogues, that is, the precedence of subjects in universities: Latin theology, law, medicine, history, the liberal arts, followed by extra-curricular subjects, vernacular books, and those in languages other than German. Most others gave prominence to the specialties of the press in question: such was the case for Nicolas Bassée, Johann Gymnich of Cologne, and Zacharias Palthen of Frankfurt, all of whom concentrate on legal publications.⁴² A well-documented set of examples of such lists is provided by the Wechel presses, which I have already mentioned. As well as the manuscript catalogue submitted by André Wechel to the Imperial Book Commission in 1579, the printed lists of 1594, 1602, and 1618 survive.

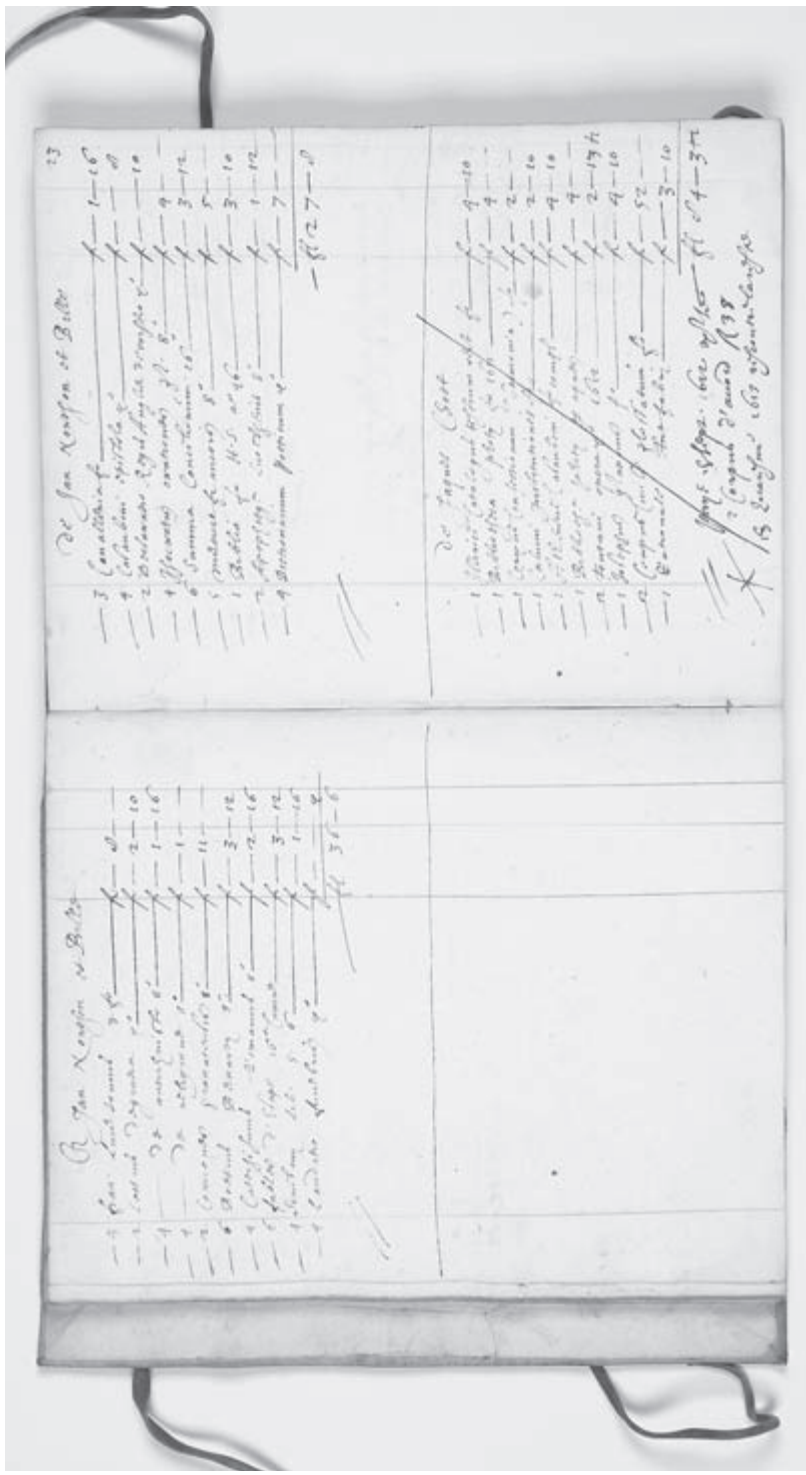
The number of entries increased from 190 to 523 in this time. More or less all the titles listed in the catalogue of 1594 were available in 1618, as well as some Wechel publications dating from the 1560s which were not declared in 1594. The order of entries changed in 1618 to conform to that of the book fair; in earlier catalogues the innovative textbooks of Greek grammar, logic, and rhetoric, the prestigious editions of the classics, the collection of historical documents begun in 1575, and the writings of Ramus were given pride of place. The 1594 catalogue is a *nomenclatura* (for a similar example, see above, figure 2.2). Such a broadsheet might be accompanied by sample pages from the first gathering, as an additional advertisement.⁴³

From Barter (“Tauschhandel”) to Gift

Both in the branch system and in the Hansa system, barter (known in German as “Tauschhandel”) was common.⁴⁴ Its principles were set

down in Roman Law (C 4. 64 *De rerum permutacione*).⁴⁵ In its strictest form, it was made printed sheet for printed sheet. Johannes Eck, the theology professor of Ingolstadt, is an early example of a commercially shrewd author who defended the unpopular proposition that it was legitimate to put out capital for interest, and looked for an eightfold profit on the books he published. He arranged in 1518 an exchange with the Viennese publisher Lucas Alantsee of sixteen of Eck's *Adversus philosophos* (304 sheets) against ten of the same author's *Diarium* [or *Disputatio Viennae habita*] (300 sheets) which had been printed by Johann Miller in Augsburg.⁴⁶ There was a less precise measure of exchange "per modum cambii," whereby a wholesale batch of books was exchanged for others; in the early years of the sixteenth century, Anton Koberger dispatched an agent to Venice with 300 copies of the biblical *Glossa* for exchange in this way.⁴⁷ Sometimes the books for exchange were given a value and marked up as a credit in the accounts. This is how Christopher Plantin had dealings with his Lyon colleague Guillaume Roville.⁴⁸ Sometimes the books for exchange were the result of previous bartering with other publishers (as in the case of Plantin and Thomas Guarin of Basel), and were not the product of the publisher's own presses, and might even include prohibited books in Catholic Antwerp, or even just returned stock.⁴⁹ There are many examples of this in the Plantin archives. It was one way in which the English book trade, which did not have much in the way of native wares to barter, was able to engage in continental trade. One Plantin-Moretus cahier records on the same page an exchange in 1612/1613 between John Norton and John Bill and the Plantin presses, and a cash transaction with Jacques Chouet of Geneva which it is pertinent here to discuss in detail.

The Chouet entry has nothing on the facing page, indicating that there was no exchange of books: two subsequent additional notes confirm this, with the comments "paid in part September 1612 [i.e., the autumn fair]: agreed a price of 38 fl. for the Corpus [Juris] Civilis [i.e., a 33 percent discount from the figure of 52 fl. given in the list above]" and [in another hand] "Lent [Fair] 1613 paid the remainder".⁵⁰ Together with a number of humanist editions and law books, the books bought by the Plantin presses include two high-profile prohibited works by protestants: Flacius Illyricus's *Catalogus testium veritatis* and Calvin's *Institutiones religionis Christianae*, confirming the house's willingness to put commerce before ideology. Above this entry, there is an exchange of titles with John Norton of London, leaving a credit of 9 florins for the Plantin press to carry forward. Only two works (by Isaac Casaubon



6.3 The account sheets from the Plantin presses covering their dealings with John Norton and Jacques Chouet of 1612-1613. Courtesy of Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.

and James I and VI) are from Norton's own presses. Three titles were printed in Geneva, and possibly acquired in a previous act of barter: the *Summa conciliorum* (Hevidius, various dates), Isocrates's *Epistolae* (Crespin, 1609), and *Dictionarium poeticum* (Stoer, 1609). There is one copy of the presumably rare prohibited *Biblia* printed by Robert Estienne in Paris in 1546 (probably sought after for its record of textual variants in the margins), five of a French newssheet (Richer's *Mercure françois* of 1611), and two copies of Lycosthenes's *Apophthegmata*, presumably in the edition printed at Cologne by Lazarus Zetzner in 1611. The three copies of a folio *Cavalleria* is the Danzig edition of 1610 of Alessandro Massario Malatesta's *Compendio dell'heroica arte di Cavalleria*, which is a slim volume, and explains the very low price for a book of that format.⁵¹ It seems likely that Norton stored these books at Frankfurt, rather than bringing them with him from England. This page from a set of accounts reveals a number of features of exchanges: they could be just books, or just money, or a mixture; they involved discounts agreed relatively informally by the parties; the books exchanged do not all always come from one source, and are not necessarily recent printings. It is worthy of note that exchanges between publishers constitute the vast majority of transactions at the fair; individual purchasers account for no more than 10–15 percent of the total sales.⁵²

The effect of the negotiations was twofold. First, books themselves became currency, as debts were settled by provision of printed sheets. This was convenient, because at international markets the economy was imperfectly monetarised through its multiplicity of currencies. In all transactions concerning money-changing, a loss was made, as happened to Christopher Plantin, who in 1586 agreed sales to the value of 200 florins, but as a result of money changing only received in the end 178 florins.⁵³ The holding of immense stocks now becomes more explicable: these represent capital for exchange, and act as a sort of bank account or currency in the form of printed sheets. The second effect of "Tauschhandel" is more radical. Because exchanges were taking place across the board, publishers returned home with a large number of titles not printed by them, all in relatively small numbers. In their catalogues they often record separately books that they themselves have published, books they have bought from other publishers, and books they have exchanged.⁵⁴ This transformed them willy-nilly into retailers. It also made them agents of the transmission of knowledge who acted rather as if they were the bees of the republic of letters, transporting

scholarly pollen from flower to flower. While it seems that care was taken by some Catholic publishers after 1564 to avoid returning home with heretical books or books by condemned authors, this was not always done, and one can detect even in the Plantin house the presence of protestant theology; in their case, however, it was always possible to send those books on to the protestant wing of the family, Raphelengius, in Leiden.⁵⁵ When “Tauschhandel” ceased to be a general practice (after the Thirty Years’ War), one of the consequences for countries that were still on the periphery of the book market, such as England, was that their less prominent or less well-connected scholars received less publicity. Whereas English divines such as Whitaker, Sutcliffe, and Perkins were well known before 1620 because of their exposure to the market through exchange, their successors in the 1670s did not achieve the same degree of fame.⁵⁶

A possible contributory factor in the collapse of the Frankfurt book market around 1630 was the decline in “Tauschhandel.” The Plantin presses had already reduced their use of this means of transaction to about 12 percent of their turnover some twenty years earlier, whereas it had been much higher in the middle years of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷ It is also claimed that the Dutch booksellers who became active in the Frankfurt market after 1600 refused to engage in “Tauschhandel,” which effectively limited the possibilities of exchange at the fair. Non-engagement with market practices of this kind would also have had a negative effect on the ease of scholarly transmission that was fostered by the process of barter.⁵⁸ It is difficult to determine the reasons behind such a refusal. It may reveal that the Dutch publishing houses did not wish to import books printed elsewhere because they saw no demand for them, given how well-stocked the bookshops around them were, or because they themselves intended to supply printed copy of the same works. In the first case, two related factors cannot be ruled out: the first, that publishers such as the Elzeviers had correctly identified a saturated market in which further production of anything other than staples was commercially unviable; the second, that the trade in second-hand books was becoming more efficient. This would fit well with the particular mercantile conditions of the Low Countries, which saw the rise of the book auction at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ It may also be linked to the preferences of the growing Dutch banking industry.⁶⁰

Barter is at the basis of a quite different form of exchange, in which no explicit account is made of the value of the items exchanged, but both sides of the exchange are represented as gifts. A great deal has been

written about the gift culture of early modern Europe. Its extreme forms are found in the cases where books are distributed as free gifts. Noel Malcolm has kindly provided me with an example of 1654, in which an English author invited all his friends and acquaintances simply to ask for a copy of his book.⁶¹ As in the case of the famous slogan “*et amicorum*” found on bindings and book plates, and inscribed on title pages, gifts of books can be used to establish reciprocal networks of allegiances and deliberately uncomputed indebtedness. This is, of course, reminiscent of the aristocratic anti-mercantile culture we have met already in the case of Goldast. It exemplifies what has been called in other contexts an “ethos of mutual obligation,” which is a feature of the republic of letters in its various guises at this time.⁶² It might remind us also of other practices we have encountered: the imprecision of the accounts of publishers, which facilitated exchanges; their almost casual supply of books to colleagues on sale or return; and the open-endedness of the republic of letters, in which the gift of knowledge is both specific to its immediate recipient and also an offering to other, unseen and unknown, beneficiaries.⁶³ My favourite case of incommensurable exchange is that between the bibliophile Lutheran Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, the co-founder of the famous library at Wolfenbüttel, and the pious Catholic Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, through the mediation of August’s agent in Augsburg, Philipp Hainhofer. August wanted books; Wilhelm wanted relics, and knew that those residing in the churches of northern Lutheran territories, where they were now no longer objects of veneration, might be released against other favours. In the period 1613 to 1617, August arranged the transfer from his territories of the following: one-half of the arm of a saint, the knife used in Christ’s circumcision, three skulls, and the whole body of a saintly virgin (which seems to have pleased Duke Wilhelm the most), against an unspecified number of books, of which the majority were probably from presses in Spain and Italy and unobtainable through the book fairs.⁶⁴

The Fair: Rhythm, Catalogues, Novelty

I have already said something about the Frankfurt fair, that place “like a Noah’s Ark full of clean and unclean animals,” as the Catholic writer Richard Verstegan called it in 1618. Thomas Coryate, an English visitor in 1611, described it as the greatest concentration of learned books he had ever seen.⁶⁵ It was the earliest fair to attract foreign as well as German booksellers in numbers. By the middle of the sixteenth century, it was

one of three fairs in Germany which attracted booksellers, the other two being Strasbourg and Leipzig. Strasbourg did not issue composite catalogues, and so much less is known about the books made available for on sale there. Leipzig issued catalogues from 1594 onward, and it is generally supposed that Leipzig overtook Frankfurt as the preeminent fair for the book trade in the first decade of the seventeenth century, but this is true only of the vernacular production in the period we are considering.⁶⁶ It is, however, the case that much of the trade with northern and eastern Europe was mainly conducted out of the Saxon city. Other important fairs were held at Medina del Campo and Lyon, where the fair took place twice and four times a year, respectively, and the same freedoms pertained as in Frankfurt with regard to import and export tolls, usury, money-changing, and legal regulation. In Italy, only Lanciano, Recanati, Foligno, and Naples attracted booksellers in any numbers. There were fairs in Venice, but as the saying had it, there was an all-year fair there which made the specific times of the specific fairs less significant.⁶⁷ Whether an unspoken pact made it possible for merchants to attend a number of fairs in sequence is not altogether clear: during the months in which travel was possible, such a sequence does seem to occur in two market zones (Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Leipzig, and Basel: Medina del Campo and Lyon).⁶⁸

The volume of trade in books and paper of the Frankfurt fair by the end of the century was considerable, although it initially represented only about one-twelfth of all the mercantile activity at the fair.⁶⁹ In the spring of 1579, for example, Plantin shipped six barrels of books containing 67 titles and 5,212 copies to Frankfurt; he was able to sell or otherwise dispose of two-thirds of these by the end of the fair.⁷⁰ Among his and his successors' most important clients were the Willers of Augsburg, whose sphere of activity as booksellers ranged over a wide swathe of southern Germany, and who regularly bought about a tenth of Plantin's books on offer.⁷¹ Other surviving accounts support the presumption that the level of trade was high. I have already mentioned Oporinus's sixty bales of books transported to the fair in 1557; the resident Frankfurt figure of Sigmund Feyerabend did 2,627 guilders of business in 1566.⁷² The international nature of the visitors can be gauged from Schwetschke's records. In 1569, for example, the fair was visited by three Venetian publishers, four from Lyon, and several Genevans. By 1609 there were still very few Venetians (although the one who came represented a consortium of printers), but there were twenty-two publishers from Paris, and six from Lyon.⁷³ The price of books was regulated at

the fair by the City Council; but it was exceedingly difficult to police, as transport and other costs could be added, and books sold to important clients or agents at variable rates of discount.⁷⁴ This helps explain the absence of any prices from published catalogues and *nomenclaturae*.

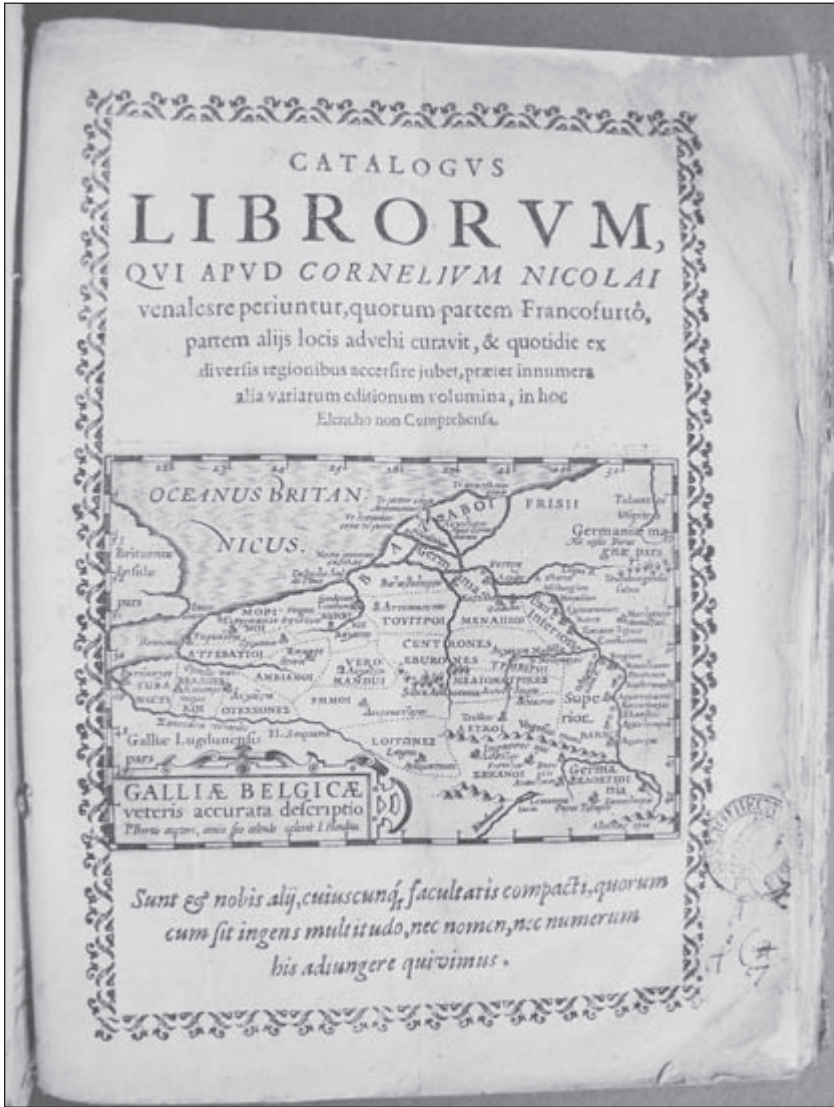
Several further points about the fair catalogues need to be made here. It is likely that they were compiled in the first few days of the fair, and it is not difficult to demonstrate that they were not very reliable guides to the books on offer.⁷⁵ Not all of these were recorded; the *nomenclaturae* on the stalls indicated other potential purchases available through the warehouses maintained at Frankfurt by the major foreign publishers. After about 1570 the fair catalogues concentrated on new declarations, as the wording on their title pages indicate; they also listed in an appendix the books which were due to be available at future fairs, some of which might have been advertised before their production had been completed by the distribution of the mock-up of the first gathering.⁷⁶ Such declarations were clearly intended as a preemptive strike against pirating and unauthorised printing. The twice-yearly rhythm of the fair determined the settlement dates between publishers, and had a clear effect on learned disputes. It dominated any polemical exchange, whether religious or scientific; witness the Calvin–Pighius exchanges, those between Heinz Buscher and Johannes Piscator, those concerning Georg am Wald and alchemy, and those concerning the affair of the golden tooth in 1595–1597.⁷⁷ It caused certain publications to lack proper apparatus, as in the case of Casaubon’s Polybius of 1617, or to be finished in a scrappy way, as happened to Corvinus’s publication of Georg Sohn’s works in 1591.⁷⁸

Distribution by Retail Sales, Colportage, and Individual Scholars

Publishers could of course dispose of multiple copies outside the fairs: Julianne Simpson’s recent study of the sales of the Plantin polyglot affords one good example of this.⁷⁹ The branch system, and the supply of books to retail booksellers in given zones, also had the consequence that multiples of most books were provided as stock. From the beginnings of the book market, the setting up of branches, either by individual publishers or consortia, was practised: by 1515, for example, Basel had outlets in both Lyon and Paris.⁸⁰ One might quote as later examples of this practice the Plantin branch in Paris run by Plantin’s son-in-law Gilles Beys (until Plantin was forced through financial hardship to sell it to Michel Sonnius

in 1577) and the Leiden operation run by Frans Raphelengius, who as a protestant could act as a useful imprint for certain books, and an agent for others that the Catholic outlet in Antwerp could not be seen to handle. Plantin and his successors were very active as distributors of their books to the retail trade in northern France and the southern Netherlands.⁸¹ André Wechel set up outlets in Prague and Vienna which were run by his eventual sons-in-law and heirs Claude de Marne and Jean Aubry.⁸² As Angela Nuovo has shown, this is the dominant means of distribution in Italy. When Vincenzo Valgrisi was interrogated by the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy in 1559, he admitted to having bookshops in Bologna, Macerata, Padua, Foligno, Recanati, Lanciano, and Frankfurt, although it is likely that in the latter four cases, these were temporary stalls operating only during the fairs. The Giunti and Giolito families also had multiple outlets.⁸³ In Frankfurt, the resident booksellers Nikolas Roth, Johann Stein, and Johann Spiess stocked books on behalf of publishers in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg, which they could sell outside the periods of the fair.⁸⁴ The Willer bookshop in Augsburg was so well stocked that it was preferred to the Frankfurt book fair itself as a source of books by some southern German booksellers.⁸⁵

It might be argued that the credit extended to the retail business by publishing houses was a stimulus to the acquisition of further stock by such outlets, and promoted a more efficient transmission of learned books. For cities where only citizens could sell books between fairs, publishers from elsewhere found agents among their number. The first great Frankfurt bookseller who devoted himself entirely to the retail trade was Paul Brachfeldt, who prided himself on the extent of his holdings, and advertised his services in the fair catalogue of spring 1597, offering to send books to scholars to save them from unnecessary journeys.⁸⁶ We have already met in various contexts another such enterprising bookseller, Peter Kopf, who got into trouble in Leipzig in the 1590s by trying to sell books there outside the fair dates.⁸⁷ Publishers could also have direct arrangements with local booksellers, as did the Plantin presses. Indeed, after 1609 the balance of their trade shifted from the Frankfurt fairs to this local distribution.⁸⁸ The Low Countries had a number of well-stocked outlets, which had the lowest level of interference from the confessional pressures which were felt in much of Europe, and stocked theology of all persuasions. Two might here be mentioned: that in Emden, whose stock was catalogued in 1567, and the Amsterdam shop of Cornelis Claesz, whose extensive catalogue of 1604 was said to list only a fraction of his total stock.⁸⁹



6.4 The title page of Cornelis Claesz's bookshop catalogue of 1604.
 Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: shelfmark 4° C 57 (1) Art.

Such bookshops were often regulated with respect to the price they could charge for books: the Elzevier in Amsterdam were allowed to charge only a small mark-up on the price set by the fair authorities in Frankfurt, as was Hans Gruppenbach in Tübingen.⁹⁰ I have already mentioned the Giunti bookshop in Florence, with its 15,000 titles. In the same year as that catalogue was issued (1604), the heirs of Guillaume Roville also produced one in Lyon, listing about a third the number of entries.⁹¹ Both of these contain legal, medical, and natural-philosophical books which figured in the Roman Index, but no protestant theology. The Giunti interestingly also claimed in the preface to their catalogue to be no more than “semidocti,” thus disavowing any responsibility for the Latin titles in the bookshop. They portray themselves as not full members of the world of learning, but merely its servants in locating, acquiring, and stocking desiderata for scholars.⁹² This is not the impression given in northern Europe by Cornelis Claez of Amsterdam or Paul Brachfeldt of Frankfurt in the same decade; neither was modest about his own expertise. The difference may well be a reflection of the presence or absence of the Inquisition. The instruction issued by this body in the period 1597–1603 to Italian religious houses, requiring them to supply complete inventories of their libraries, may have prompted Italian bookshops to comply with the much earlier Tridentine order to make lists of their stock available to local ecclesiastical authorities, and that in turn may have encouraged bookshops abroad to do the same.⁹³

Below the level of distribution of the bookshop lies the less easily mapped area of “colportage” and initiatives taken by publishers and scholars on each other’s behalf. The contemporary term “Buchführer” covers both bookshop owners and itinerant salesmen, who were active throughout Europe. Those attending the book fairs could also be distributors at this less formal level.⁹⁴ Publishers such as Plantin and Simon Goulart were often sent to the book fairs with specific commissions; and we have seen that Pietro Perna was happy to send out books to prospective clients on approval, based on their assumed interests.⁹⁵ Goulart made purchases on behalf of Sebastian Schobinger in this way in 1618, and Claude Dupuy and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli also acted as speculative agents for each other in the distant markets of Paris and Venice, using the good offices of printers attending the fair to ensure that the books were delivered.⁹⁶ The catalogues of books from outside Italy produced by Ciotti and Meietti constitute also a rather exalted form of *colportage*. In both cases, this was associated with personal risk: Ciotti

suffered imprisonment for importing German books in 1599, and Meietti was excommunicated during the Venice Interdict of 1606–1607 partly on the grounds of his involvement with northern Europe.⁹⁷

Bookshops and Sociability

A feature of bookshops, as of publishers' houses in Paris, Frankfurt, and Antwerp, was their use as places of sociability. The wares on offer were able to be read by visitors, making the shop a sort of public library. Angela Nuovo has recorded the meetings of churchmen, nobles, scholars, and academicians in Rome, where in a relaxed and unhierarchical environment, free discussion was able to take place.⁹⁸ From Georg Willer's account of reader reaction to one of Oporinus's publications, we may deduce that the same occurred in Augsburg, and Henri II Estienne's essay on the Frankfurt fair says that it was the case there also.⁹⁹ It is difficult to measure the effect of this sort of social space on the development of the republic of letters, but one may assume that it was not negligible. One feature of bookshops which has already been noted led to their use as libraries, namely the exceptionally high stocks carried by booksellers, and their pride in their holdings. I have already mentioned Brachfeldt in Frankfurt; Claesz in Amsterdam; the Giunti in Florence; Millanges and Etienne Toulouze in Bordeaux. In Paris and Lyon, the situation may have been somewhat different, especially after the events of 1572, which saw the persecution and in some cases assassination of prominent protestant booksellers and publishers. It seems unlikely that thereafter bookshops continued to act as meeting places; and it may be no coincidence that the emergence of scholarly assemblies in private libraries and studies dates from around this period. The one surviving near-contemporary image of a bookselling is that by Abraham Bosse dating from 1630, showing bookshops in the Galerie du Palais in Paris as meeting places for fops.¹⁰⁰

The Second-Hand Market: Book Auctions

One might expect, given the evidence of long survival of books and market saturation from the early part of the sixteenth century, that an efficient second-hand market would have developed and that the effect of such books on the market for new publications would attract comment from publishers, which it does not. One must distinguish here

between rare books, which were often known about only through being seen in scholars' libraries, and books of not recent date, the details of which were known through such instruments as *nomenclaturae* and which were often presumed to be available through the publishers listing them, even though published as much as fifty years earlier. Rare books, such as the work on Anglo-Saxon laws seen by Lingelsheim in Freher's library in the 1600s, often were unobtainable and had to be borrowed from their owners.¹⁰¹ Goldast let Freher know the titles of the rare books he was able to acquire, such as a 1506 work on Saxon law published in Cracow, or a 1477 work on feudal law published in Venice.¹⁰² He does not say how he acquired these, but it is to be presumed that they were on sale somewhere among the vast book stocks available for purchase in Frankfurt. In Paris it may have been relatively easy to find one's way to such books if one was a member of the scholarly community, as one or two guides to libraries had appeared (notably that by Robert Constantin), as well as the invaluable Gessner and its continuations.¹⁰³ Perhaps such instruments allowed Jacques-Auguste de Thou to know about the edition by the Parisian printer Josse Bade of William of Ockham of 1496 (see above, page 33). In Johann Crato von Krafftheim's letters, and in the set of medical letters entitled *Cista medica* that appeared in 1626, there are other indications of data about rare books being exchanged, and by the final part of the century, specialist bibliographies began to appear, which are discussed below.¹⁰⁴ It is not clear, however, at what point books became collectable because of their age. "Livre viel" is not a complimentary term in the inventory of the holdings of Symphorien Beraud (it betokens poor saleability); a generation later, black letter or gothic printing was said by Naudé to put off modern scholars.¹⁰⁵ When bookshops in Italy were sold up, their contents were liquidated by the ream.¹⁰⁶ But there are hints elsewhere that antiquarian collecting and the pursuit of rarities extended beyond the market for manuscripts.¹⁰⁷

An indication that a work on sale is second-hand was that it was offered already bound, as nearly all new books were sold unbound at this time.¹⁰⁸ Angela Nuovo records such stocks in Italian bookshops, and in the inventory of the late Sigmund Feyerabend's stock, there are 600 bound folio works of law, which may well have been second-hand.¹⁰⁹ In university towns such as Oxford and Cambridge, there are inventories of the libraries of deceased fellows, and a few clues as to the manner of disposal of the libraries of such scholars.¹¹⁰ In some universities, the private libraries of professors were sold or auctioned in the institution

itself after their death.¹¹¹ Other collections came to be heard of through less official means, and bids made for them. The itinerant bibliophile Giovanni Bonifacio got wind of the disposal of the library of two pastors in Lörrach near Basel, and sent the executors a note on which he recorded his desiderata, and the sums he was prepared to pay.¹¹² Earlier, a Spaniard with the name Casidoro de Reyna bought up the library of the deceased Johannes Oporinus in 1568, and shipped it to Frankfurt, where he managed to sell it off after some initial difficulties.¹¹³ Angela Nuovo and Kevin Stevens have written about the disposal of Pinelli's library and that of the jurist Omobone Redenaschi in the first decade of the seventeenth century in Italy, but such cases are not very often recorded.¹¹⁴ Gabriel Naudé recommends second-hand purchasing to aspirant book collectors in the 1620s.¹¹⁵ It seems quite common for whole libraries to be sought and acquired in this period: the municipal authorities of Augsburg did this, as did the Elector palatinate (from Ulrich Fugger); Naudé makes a point of recommending it as a strategy of acquisition.¹¹⁶ The Earl of Arundel set out to do the same with part of Willibald Pirckheimer's library in the 1630s, but his ploy of trying to reduce the price by referring to old editions as unappealing did not work.¹¹⁷ As for auctions, these do not seem to antedate the last decade of the sixteenth century, and they were initially a uniquely Dutch phenomenon.¹¹⁸

Market Zones

The evidence from library holdings shows that publishers of identical or similar texts operated successfully in certain relatively well-defined zones. Zoning occurs in both the Hansa and the branch models; the branch model, however, was marked by an earlier grasp of wide distribution as the means of achieving an international sale, as is shown by Martin Lowry's study of the Strozzi network.¹¹⁹ Lazzaro de' Sourdi managed to distribute books to Salamanca, Lyon, Pavia, Bologna, Rimini, Ancona, Naples, Ferrara, Rome, Lisbon, and the fair cities of Lanciano and Recanati; this and similar cases—the Giolito, Sessa, and Zenaro houses—are detailed by Angela Nuovo.¹²⁰ Printing for a more limited zone was clearly a profitable strategy too. An example which shows this is afforded by Guinther von Andernach's *Institutiones anatomicae*, which first appeared in Paris in 1536, and thereafter in Venice in 1538, Basel in 1539, Wittenberg in 1585, and Padua in 1590. The textbook that replaced it, written by Caspar Bauhin, enjoyed a similar

peregrination through international publishing houses or presses serving university cities. It began in Bern in 1604, it passed successively to Basel in 1609, Wittenberg in 1611, Basel again in 1615, and finally Frankfurt in 1616. Another book itinerary which reveals the zoning of the market is that of the popular law anthology entitled *Communes opiniones doctorum* produced by Franciscus Vivius of L'Aquila. First published in Perugia in 1565 in octavo, it was reprinted twice in Venice in 1566, in both Lyon and Venice (an enlarged edition with other works, both with the same printer's mark) in 1567, in Frankfurt in 1568–1569 (also with other works), and in folio in L'Aquila (probably a commemorative edition) in 1582. This last edition did not sell, and was reissued in Rome in 1588, and in L'Aquila in 1589. A final edition appeared in Frankfurt in 1611.

The zoning of the market can also be seen from the dedication written by the philosopher Giulio Pace, then living in Frankfurt in the house of Johann Wechel, to the works of his ex-tutor the Paduan logician Jacopo Zabarella, a living author whose work was a commercial success for Roberto Meietti in Italy, and whom Jean Mareschal of Heidelberg (passing himself off as a Lyonnais, so as not to alienate potential purchasers from Catholic countries) had commissioned Wechel to reprint.¹²¹ In his dedication, Pace states that Jean Mareschal faced two problems: locating one of the scarce copies of the printed edition to be found north of the Alps, and assessing the reaction of Meietti to the plan for a new edition. In the second case, he declares to Zabarella:

There is no need to fear that the publisher Meietti would complain about the appearance of this edition, which has been brought out not for financial gain but for the public good; his character and probity are known to me; he is more likely to see himself as having been helped by Mareschal in the task of disseminating your excellent doctrine, for he will be able to sell his copies in Italy and neighbouring places. Nor will there be any harm to him through the fact that copies of another edition are on sale in German lands, which few copies of his own edition reach.¹²²

Somewhat later, an edition of this kind was described as “editio Germanica,” as in the case of de Thou’s *Historiae sui temporis* of 1609 discussed in Chapter 2, or in André Du Laurens’s *Opera anatomica* of 1595 reprinted from the Lyon edition of 1593 by Wilhelm Antonius of Hanau for the Frankfurt bookseller Peter Fischer.

Pace’s letter’s claim—that Italian books did not penetrate the northern European market well—may suggest that an international sale was not necessary for the survival of printers such as Meietti, but a

counter-indication is the establishment of the *Societas Veneta*—the exporting consortium—a representative of which traveled regularly to the Frankfurt fair in the 1590s and 1600s.¹²³ Venice may have achieved a certain market share through such efforts as these: Rome, it appears, did not. I have already mentioned the different fortunes of the editions of Cesare Baronio's *Annals* by the Vatican and the Plantin presses. Other testimony, such as that of the Würzburg professor Adriaan van Roomen, highlights the relative ease of transferring books from the north to Venice, and the difficulty of doing so to Rome in the same period (the 1590s). In the end, van Roomen had to rely on the services of a colleague to achieve this.¹²⁴ Others also had to rely on colleagues to secure books from sources such as Bologna or Spain in the same way.¹²⁵ This evidence of the difficulty of transmission is paralleled by signs that the reverse also applies, that is, that northern editions of legal and medical works failed to find their way into Italian libraries; but it would be wrong to infer from this that such books were not known about, or not obtainable, given a certain amount of perseverance and some obliging contacts.¹²⁶ An indication of the poor penetration of books from northern presses around 1600 is to be found in the inventories of Italian religious houses that the Roman Inquisition required them to supply in the period 1597–1603.¹²⁷

I have already discussed the practice of unauthorised reprinting. Here I am more interested in the ways in which different publishers achieved sales in different parts of Europe. Two fault lines appear in the map of European zones: that determined by trade, and that determined by confessionalisation. The most striking instance of the first is that which separates the Paris trade from the rest of Europe. The religious wars affected the printing and exportation of books, notably in the periods 1562–1569 and 1572–1589, as did the turmoil suffered in the second half of the century by conflict on the eastern border of France, which interfered with the passage of merchandise. The effects of the St. Bartholomew's massacre of August 1572 were especially severe in respect of protestant printers in Paris and Lyon. Some publishers fled these cities, and for some time after that date Jacques Du Puis was the only Parisian still to put in an appearance at the Frankfurt fair. These downturns had deleterious local effects on trade as well: this can be inferred from the greater number of shared editions, and the closing down of Paris branches by foreign publishers such as Plantin.¹²⁸ The absence of a local fair at which books were sold in numbers did not help imports. But other evidence—this time concerning export—suggests that a contributory factor was the

ability of Parisian publishers of learned books to sell enough in the capital and at small French fairs for them not to have to seek outlets in foreign markets.¹²⁹ Near-simultaneous Paris and Lyon imprints of the same work suggest that the markets worked successfully in parallel.¹³⁰ It is striking that in the case of medicine, innovative Parisian authors such as Martin Akakia and Jacques Dubois were reprinted in, not exported, to Italy in the 1550s, through the initiative of Vincent Vaugris, who became the naturalised Italian Valgrisi. In the 1560s, several works by the Montpellier doctor Guillaume Rondelet were reprinted in Venice and Padua, as well as enjoying printing in Antwerp, Paris, and Lyon.¹³¹ Very few Parisian books in relative terms in the period 1570–1620 were advertised at the Frankfurt fair.¹³² It seems also that Bodley and his agents obtained their Parisian imprints from different commercial circuits than the dominant German ones.¹³³ All this makes Paris an exception to the general trade practices of the late Renaissance.

Other indications of zoning come from the practice of unauthorised reprinting for a local market as opposed to the fairs. Basel was both the target of such reprinting outside its normal distribution networks, and an agent of such activity. Sebastian Gryphius thought in 1552 that he could profit from his contacts in France, Italy, and Spain to reprint successfully Rafaele Maffei Volaterrano's *Commentariorum urbanorum libri* that had previously appeared in Basel editions on 1530 and 1544. Michael Isingrin for his part chose in 1551 to reprint the *Epitome omnium Galeni operum* which had previously appeared in Venice in 1548. In the 1550s, the Paris publisher Guillaume Cavellat reprinted two scientific books by Hartmann Beyer and Erasmus Reinhold that had previously been produced in Wittenberg, and one by Johann Scheubel that had appeared in Basel.¹³⁴ Later, printers in Cologne targeted their colleagues the Plantin presses in a similar way.¹³⁵ There are humbler examples of such localised reprinting, as, for example, in Erfurt in the 1580s.¹³⁶

Of French provincial centres, only Bordeaux and Lyon seem to have aspired to more than local sales, the former through the entrepreneurial Simon Millanges, who engaged in the printing of humanist texts but rarely advertised his titles at the book fairs.¹³⁷ Lyon, on the other hand, was frequently represented there. Its publishers were major exporters of law books in the sixteenth century, sharing the lucrative market with Venice by collaboration, that is, by pacts of non-competition with regard to certain modern authors, or, in the case of the multi-volume texts

of Roman and canon law, by sticking to market zones, or engaging different editors to produce substantially different editions. From the evidence of surviving libraries of the appropriate period, it would seem that Lyon fared much better than Venice in various zones, in particular in Iberia, where there were substantial warehouses of Lyon books at Medina del Campo and Salamanca, in northern Europe, and in those parts of Italy under Spanish rule, such as Naples.¹³⁸

The second fault-line, that due to confessionalisation, is also quite easily charted. The most important divide here is that which separates Italy and Iberia from northern Europe. Spain and Portugal did not participate directly in the international market, and importing was made difficult after 1559. But after that date in Italy, there were determined attempts to import books from northern Europe. Giovanni Battista Ciotti and Roberto Meietti both produced printed catalogues in 1602 uniquely devoted to such books, which include a great deal of learned publication, and one or two prohibited scholars in the fields of humanism, law, and medicine, but no protestant theology.¹³⁹ At the same time, two of Justus Lipsius's correspondents in Italy, Andrea Chiocci and Sebastiano Macei, complained of the inactivity of Italian publishers and booksellers in this regard.¹⁴⁰ Plantin's exports to Italy in 1566 were tiny in respect of Germany, France, and England. Angela Nuovo has pointed out that none of the major learned publishers of the north had branches in Italy, but it is difficult to see how this could have occurred except in the case of the Catholic Plantin, who noted the very high transport costs of books to the south of the Alps, and seemed disinclined to develop his trade there except through the Frankfurt fairs.¹⁴¹ Wechel, on the other hand, thought that his Italian sales were good (certainly better than in France or Spain), suggesting that the transfer of non-theological material was not too problematic in his time.¹⁴² Those who wanted to find Italian outlets had to use safer Catholic cities, such as Cologne, on the imprint of books, or disguise their origin, as do the Geneva printers of humanist material, and the "Lugdunensis" Jean Mareschal (see above, page 129).¹⁴³ Venice achieved good sales in Augsburg, and during the time of the operation of the *Societas Veneta* (an exporting association which used the good offices of publisher-booksellers, such as Ciotti, who knew the northern market well), it achieved good sales also in the north; but these were eclipsed by the entrepreneurial publishers of Basel and Frankfurt.¹⁴⁴ Rome hardly figures in the Frankfurt sales catalogues at all. It is not clear how far the Italian trade suffered from the dearth of exporting; but Angela Nuovo and Ennio Sandal have charted the

1	816	2	11
1	311	4	11
1	081	7	11
1	611	7	11
1	121	7	11
1	811	7	11
1	211	7	11
1	211	7	11
1	114	7	11
1	311	7	11
1	1511	7	11
1	110	7	11
1	511	7	11
1	611	7	11
1	115	7	11
1	1121	7	11
1	115	7	11
1	115	7	11
1	1211	7	11
1	118	7	11
1	511	7	11
1	110	7	11
1	311	7	11
1	411	7	11
1	116	7	11
1	114	7	11
1	181	7	11
1	1741	7	11

6.5 The account sheets covering the dealings between the Plantin presses and Giovanni Battista Ciotti in 1587. Courtesy of Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.

downturn in trade after the 1580s, which may indicate that, like the Swiss and German publishers, it needed an international market to survive.¹⁴⁵ It is also not clear whether Italian paper and books were more expensive than those in the north. Ciotti's practice of using printers such as Johann Wechel suggests that it was, but this may also reflect either their willingness to use cheaper paper or his ambition to achieve a German as well as Italian sale. His "Tauschhandel" with Plantin in 1587 reveals that his purchases cost 174 florins (which were offset against the 45 florins-worth of books Plantin acquired), and that in return for mainly humanist texts and editions, he supplied mainly Italian vernacular literature, not Latin books.¹⁴⁶

Peripheries: England and the Frankfurt Fair

It is instructive to look at the English printer-publishers whose engagement with the continental book trade reveals their initial ignorance of its operation, and their gradual coming to terms with its practices.¹⁴⁷ The generation of English humanists of the early sixteenth century all understood that publication on the continent was necessary for them to make an international impact, and apart from one or two isolated ventures, they did not attempt to find local publishers for their works.¹⁴⁸ In terms of trade, links with Frankfurt were strengthened during the residence in London of the Huguenot bookseller Robert Cambier between 1569 and 1580. The first phase of the involvement of English publishers in the fair is marked by the London printer John Wolfe's incursion into the Frankfurt book market. This began in 1581 and lasted until he ceased printing on his own behalf in 1591. The London, Oxford, and Cambridge markets for scholarly books in Latin appear to have been quite small. Wolfe needed the sales in Frankfurt to remain in business, and was shrewd enough to have some very saleable authors attractive for their notoriety in the shape of Niccolò Machivelli and Pietro Aretino. There is no evidence that Wolfe engaged in "Tauschhandel," but perhaps he did not need to, as he could count on a sale of authors who had been subject to prohibition in various parts of Europe. The second phase of engagement with the market involved the Oxford University printer Joseph Barnes, who published a number of English authors of Latin works from the late 1580s onward. Given the small uptake to be expected at home, Barnes was almost certainly counting on sales on the continent of two Oxford authors, John Case and Alberico Gentili, but he fell foul of aggressive competition. He knew that he had protection

for his publications in England, but could not control the continental, especially the German, trade, who were able to reprint speculatively all of the works issuing from his presses, notably those of John Case, in which they perceived a potential profit. Case was an assiduous commentator on the elements of the Aristotelian corpus that were taught throughout Europe as part of the arts course. Barnes began publishing his works and sending them to the Frankfurt fair, probably because the Oxford market was too narrow to support a reasonable print run. Barnes does not seem, however, to have been aware of the practice of “Tauschhandel” which oiled the wheels of the publishing industry by dispensing with the need for settling in ready money. Barnes’s failure to profit from his dealings with the fair may thus have arisen in part at least from his view of it as a place of sale but not of exchange. He may not have realized that hardheaded and unscrupulous local publishers kept an eye out for likely best-sellers to university markets that were not protected by law in Germany. As a result, all of Case’s principal works, from the *Summa veteris interpretum in universam dialecticam Aristotelis* of 1584 onward, suffered unauthorised reprinting by Frankfurt or Hanau printers. Barnes’s trade was severely compromised by this, but he did not always give up the fight. In 1592 he himself reprinted Case’s *Summa veterum interpretum* after Johann Wechel of Frankfurt had produced it in 1589, and did so again in 1598 after Nicolas Bassée of Frankfurt produced a new edition of 1593. This did not, however, deter his German rivals. Wilhelm Antonius reprinted Case’s *Thesaurus oeconomiae* in 1598, after Barnes had produced its first edition in 1597. It is worthy of note that the Antonius edition, and not that of Barnes, figured in the printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library in 1605, suggesting that Barnes was subject to the competition of Frankfurt even on his home ground.

The third phase in the activities of English printers in Frankfurt can be dated from the mid-1590s and continued until the decline of that market around 1630. It was inaugurated by the London stationers George Bishop and John Norton. The latter was joined later by his factor and successor John Bill, whose involvement with the fair lasted intermittently from 1612 to his death in 1630.¹⁴⁹ From 1600 onward, Bishop and Norton were selling their books for themselves and other London publishers through the stall or shop of the Frankfurt bookseller Peter Kopf, and “apud Wilhelmum Anton[ium].” There are clear signs of the commercial acumen which was lacking in the case of Barnes: these publishers engaged in barter, although the books they supplied

were not in the main English printings. Among the few native products which did well in this category were William Gilbert's *De magnete* of 1600 and the various works of King James I and VI. Surviving documents in the Plantin-Moretus Archives in Antwerp show that Norton bought books from Plantin from 1594 onward, and that Plantin bought books on a small scale from Norton, presumably when they were both present at the Frankfurt fair.¹⁵⁰ The Plantin connection seems to have been a very important stepping-stone to English involvement with the fair. England itself was important enough a market for him to have an agent (who was possibly also a relation), called Ascanius de Renialme, based permanently in London.¹⁵¹ In January 1616, the Stationers' Company set up their "Latin Stock," which accumulated continental publications up to 1628. John Bill, who sold his own stock of continental books to the Company in 1621, printed his own version of the Frankfurt book catalogue for distribution in London from 1617 onward. The Stationers' Company took over from him when the two stocks were merged in 1621, and continued until 1627, when the project came to an end.¹⁵²

Collection-Building and Bibliography

It seems probable (although it is difficult to establish this except from anecdotal evidence) that one of the major reasons for the creation of an international market for learned books was the need to satisfy the demands of the widespread community of collectors of such books, whether private or institutional. From the Plantin records, it has been surmised that the average press run for any book was between 1,000 and 1,500, and the break-even figure for sales over two or three years was about 600 (breaking even here meaning a figure sufficient to allow the publisher to remain solvent).¹⁵³ The size of the scholarly purchasing community rich enough to buy books in Europe has, to my knowledge, never been quantified, but it would seem that this community was large enough to support a sale of this order. However, the fact that the same texts in all the major faculties (philosophy, theology, law, medicine), not to speak of humanism and history, were repeatedly published in new editions put some strain on purchasers in the market. Girolamo Cardano, for one, declared that he had impoverished himself buying books, and the same appears to have been true of Melchior Goldast (see above, pages 22–23).¹⁵⁴ As well as the scholar-purchasers, we must consider also the bibliophiles, the buyers on behalf of academic and religious

institutions, and perhaps also the speculators in books. How did they find out about past editions? How good was their knowledge of the current market? And what could they know about forthcoming publications? These are questions which relate not only to the sellers of books, but to the transmission of knowledge, which is one of the major concerns of this study. They can be given only indicative and cursory treatment here.

The most straightforward issue is that concerning information about forthcoming publications. One of the most efficient ways of learning about these was through the exchange of letters between scholars, and their interaction with publishers. I have mentioned the case of Casaubon's edition of Polybius, which was known to be imminent for several years before its appearance in 1610. Even confessional rivals got wind of each other's publishing plans in this way, as the Goldast correspondence reveals.¹⁵⁵ Fair catalogues had a section containing the titles of books due to be available at the next fair. Publishers attending the fairs, such as the Plantin presses, were often aware of their colleagues' publishing plans for several years in advance. This led sometimes to pleas between colleagues to desist with a given edition in order to allow the same text that was already on the point of completion to be marketed.¹⁵⁶ Simultaneous editions continued to occur in cases where such information either was not available or was ignored (two examples are the *Opera* of Arnau, in 1585 and 1586, and the textbooks of Bartholomäus Keckermann, in 1613 and 1614).¹⁵⁷

Acquisitions of new and older editions from the stocks of publishers and booksellers were made by private individuals and institutions. Bibliophilia—the desire to collect books as material objects and not just for the knowledge they contained—motivated some purchasers, to the scorn of those aspiring to promote the idea of a scholarly library, such as Gabriel Naudé.¹⁵⁸ Bibliophilia was a feature of the scribal age, not just among the elite. Tiziana Pezenti described the doctor Giovanni Marcanova, whose library in 1467 numbered 521 books, as a medical bibliophile.¹⁵⁹ In the first part of the sixteenth century, perhaps the most assiduous and discriminating collector of books was Fernando Colón, whose massive library amounted to over 15,000 volumes acquired from all over Europe.¹⁶⁰ Purchasing books as investments for possible resale also seems to have been practised in the sixteenth century: Jeremias Martius's catalogue of his books of 1572 may well reflect such a strategy.¹⁶¹ It may be the case that Ulrich Fugger's purchasing of books was also in part motivated by the possibility of resale.¹⁶² There were

also institutional and religious motives for collection-building. The idea of assembling libraries was one of the early preoccupations of Luther. In his open letter to the mayors of city councils written in 1524, he set down recommendations for Christian schools which were to be furnished with certain books taken from religious houses which had agreed to undergo reform, and prescribed the role of librarian in respect of making inventories, organizing the books into classes, determining who had access to them, and establishing rules for borrowing.¹⁶³ These libraries often acquired materials beyond the Christian: the example of Hanover shows both that cities were willing to fund and house these collections, and that they came to possess learned humanist materials in spite of Luther's doubts about them.¹⁶⁴ In the confessional age which followed this initiative, all denominations sponsored institutions that acquired libraries, many of which either already possessed large scholarly collections across the disciplinary spectrum or set about acquiring one.

Three problems had to be addressed by those involved in setting up such libraries: how to find out what was available, whether to apply a principle of selection on scholarly principles or on ideological grounds, and how to organise the books they acquired. An early and very important example of a municipal library with scholarly pretensions and a strategy of organization is that of Zürich. In the 1530s, the humanist Conrad Pellikan, who had cut his teeth as a corrector and complier of indexes for the printer Christoph Froschauer, was instrumental in making its municipal collection accessible by a triple index (alphabetical by author, shelf-lists, and by subject groupings under commonplaces).¹⁶⁵ His initiative paved the way for the greatest and most ambitious catalogue of books, Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, which appeared first in 1545. It listed 5,000 authors (both published and unpublished) and 30,000 titles (by 1578, its revised edition was to contain three times this number).¹⁶⁶ Three years later it came out in the form of Pandects which were organised by subject.¹⁶⁷ Where the *Bibliotheca* is programmatically non-selective, the Pandects are selective. They distribute topics by university disciplines (theology, law, the arts course: only medicine, Gessner's own speciality, is omitted, although he subsequently managed to publish several subdivisions of this in different works) and the humanist fields of history and poetry. Many sections of the Pandects were dedicated to leading publishers, whose back lists were included. In the 1540s, Gessner himself had compiled a list in the form of an octavo booklet for the local publisher Christoph Froschauer to accompany

him to the Frankfurt fair, and his enquiries of Parisian and Basel printers may have sparked the renewed vogue for published catalogues which proliferated around this time.¹⁶⁸ The subsequent editions of Gessner's work greatly increased the number of entries, and made it possible through assiduous gap-filling for scholars to discover the existence of prior editions of both medieval and ancient writers. When Conrad Rittershausen wanted to work on the medieval writer Salvianus, he was presumably able to know about previous editions by using bibliographies such as those of Gessner and his continuators.¹⁶⁹ In this way bibliography clearly contributed to the development of critical studies. Rittershausen and others also knew about the contents of the greatest libraries of the time, whether public or private. In Fischart's satirical *Catalogus Catalogorum perpetuo durabilis* of 1593, a number of such libraries are listed, including those of the Palatinate, the dukes of Bavaria in Munich, the Imperial Library in Vienna, the Fuggers, and Heinrich Rantzau.¹⁷⁰

Gessner's initiative set the agenda for later bibliographies, and stimulated their production, as it had for publishers' catalogues. These and the book fair catalogues were to be used extensively by collection-builders of all kinds in the coming decades. I have already discussed the fair catalogues, introduced in 1564 on the initiative of the Augsburg bookseller Georg Willer. These soon established themselves, even in Catholic Italy, as a means of finding out about the latest publications.¹⁷¹ The culmination of these catalogues is found in the union versions: that produced in 1592 by the publisher and bookseller Nicolas Bassée, covering the years 1564 to 1591, followed by Henning Grosse's catalogue of the Leipzig declarations from 1593 to 1600, and Joannes Clessius's catalogue covering the period 1500 to 1602, financed by the Frankfurt bookseller Peter Kopf, whom we have already met.¹⁷² These efforts were, however, eclipsed by the most comprehensive work of all, in terms of accumulation, in the sophistication of its subject classification, and in ease of reference: Georg Draut's *Bibliotheca classica*, which appeared first in 1610–1611, and subsequently in 1625, about which I have already spoken. There is strong evidence that Draut was used as a finding list.¹⁷³ In it, the Renaissance aspiration to encyclopedism (a closed if incomplete corpus of knowledge) is still evident.

In Draut's bibliography, reference can be found to many other *Bibliothecae*, by discipline, religious order, library, town, and country.¹⁷⁴ These fall into two distinct classes. The first are those, like Gessner and Draut, which aspire to be comprehensive and unselective; the second

are selective. Some of these contain references to unpublished works they have heard about, such as Bartolomaeus Eustachius's much-vaunted but unpublished anatomical pictures, which Georg Schenck von Grafenberg mentions in 1609, giving the source of his information (they were eventually published in 1714).¹⁷⁵ The selective bibliographies were mainly Catholic, such as those by Sixtus Senensis and the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, and were as much concerned to preserve the piety of the reader as to promote his knowledge of a given field of learning.¹⁷⁶ There were also more technical guides to authors which prescribe an order of reading of their works.¹⁷⁷ Somewhat later, union catalogues of libraries in given places are produced: Jacopo Filippo Tomasini's *Bibliotheca patavina* of 1639 for Padua is the first of these, followed by Louis Jacob's *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques* of 1644, which deals in turn with most major European cities.¹⁷⁸

The shrewdest guide to collection-building is Gabriel Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* of 1627. Here the encyclopaedic aspiration of the previous century gave way to an acknowledgement that the field of knowledge was open-ended, and that one of the duties of a librarian was to recover lost scholarly or scientific monuments and to make available to the public in the most convenient form the books assembled in a given library. Naudé scorns those who are obsessed as collectors with rarity and beauty, and lays great stress on the "service et utilité que l'on peut recevoir."¹⁷⁹ Like Gessner, Naudé lays stress on the author axis, and justifies the pursuit of the Nachlass of innovative authors in the hope that their unpublished materials would contain their most audacious thought.¹⁸⁰ He does not seek to develop a perfect taxonomy of books, but is content to use existing categories well known to potential readers. His enterprise is specifically non-sectarian. It is the duty of librarians to be dispassionate about the materials over which they preside, at the same time as exercising good judgement ("juger sainement et sans passions de toutes choses").¹⁸¹ For that reason, he advocates the collection of not only heretical books, but also unfashionable medieval medicine and science, and heterodox moderns such as Bernardo Telesio, Francesco Patrizi, Theophrastus Paracelsus, William Gilbert, and Petrus Severinus. He also believed that it was important to chart the history of disciplines, in order the better to understand their present state, and to keep alive the memory of past schools of thought through which present error might be eliminated, empirical knowledge preserved, and polemical exchanges settled. Such an approach naturally leads to a breaking down of strict disciplinary boundaries and the development of new

disciplines. Naudé is clear that his work was produced for an unknown constituency of readers, even if they are not yet so unspecified as to constitute a “public.”¹⁸²

The acquisition of books by private individuals needed the bibliographical tools I have just discussed. It was also much aided by the exchanges of information in the nascent republic of letters. I have already alluded to the fact that Claude Dupuy and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli also acted as speculative agents for each other in the distant markets of Paris and Venice. Pinelli was an avid collector of books and manuscripts, and used any catalogues he could obtain to check on gaps in his library and desiderata. His collection included the catalogues of books donated to public institutions in Venice by Cardinal Bessarion and others, the library lists of his contemporary bibliophiles, and the catalogues of natural philosophers, physicians, and mathematicians around him.¹⁸³ Venice was a city with a long history of book acquisition in both new and older subjects: humanism, history and geography, botany and anatomy, natural history, and the traditional higher disciplines. Pinelli built on that culture, and benefited from the latest news about books in Paris sent to him by Dupuy. This was how he heard about the imminent publication of the botanical work of Jacques Dalechamps and the Paris edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and obtained advice about the best edition of Pliny.¹⁸⁴ He also learned about Frankfurt declarations from his connections with the fair. There are likely to be many such examples of exchange of information about new publications in the surviving correspondence of members of the republic of letters at this time, which crossed even the most difficult frontiers and ensured the transmission of scholarship.¹⁸⁵

The Market and the Transmission of Knowledge

The questions that I asked at the beginning of this chapter can now be addressed. Is the market for learned books necessarily international or at least transregional, and can publishers only survive if they have access to this wider market? The evidence from England suggests very strongly that this is the case. The only clear counter-example I can think of is Paris, which seems (at least during its periods of political and religious stability) to have sufficient outlets for its wares not to have to engage very fully with the European markets. It is true that a large number of Parisian publishers were attending the fairs in the early years of the seventeenth century, but they each made very few declarations, and

there is not much evidence from the modern location of books that they made significant sales in Germany and further east. In the case of England, it seems that the purchase of books printed in Paris was undertaken separately from those imported from the Frankfurt fair. Spain may also be self-sufficient (by necessity) as a market, but I have found little data on the prosperity of Spanish publishers, nor on the scale of their operations after 1559.¹⁸⁶ The case of Italy is more difficult. The existence of a consortium at the end of the sixteenth century shows both the need to spread costs and the desire to find a market for Italian books. At the same time, the importation of books from the north was hampered by the activities of the Inquisition. Both the booksellers and publishers who attempted to do this ran into difficulties with the authorities, and neither seems to have made their fortune by undertaking this risky task. From this, I believe it possible to affirm that the market is not unified, but operates in different ways in different places.

How far did the marketing, sales, and distribution of these books affect the transmission of knowledge at this time, and the ability of those who wished to do so to build up comprehensive collections of scholarly materials? Books were more easily accessible in some parts of the European world than others, but it seems that a determined purchaser could learn about new works of scholarship through fair catalogues and more informal contacts in the republic of letters, and in many cases acquire those that they wanted. Publishers spread such knowledge throughout Europe through their support of new authors, but also as an unintended consequence of their trade practices. In seeking to protect a work with a privilege, they advertised the fact that they thought it to be potentially profitable, which in turn acted as an unwitting encouragement to those who specialised in unauthorised reprinting. Barter at the fairs ensured the transfer of goods from one market zone to another, and back stocks not only acted as reservoirs of exchangeable books but also ensured the survival of scholarship over decades and even half centuries.

A different consideration is the delay suffered by the parts of Europe less favoured by efficient trade routes in the delivery of new scholarly books. One estimate suggests that there was an average lapse of five to seven years in the case of the delivery of northern European and Italian books to clients in Spain. But given the inefficiency of the systems in place to prevent the ingress of prohibited material, this seems to me to be an excessive claim.¹⁸⁷ Scholars of Italian thought have made much of the impoverishment of Italian intellectual life through the operation

of censorship and of the various indexes. This may be true to some extent, but Paul Grendler and others have shown that smuggling was rife, and that new publications from Frankfurt were relatively easy to obtain.¹⁸⁸ I doubt, therefore, whether it was the deprivation of northern European books which caused the alleged decline in intellectual vigour in Spain and Italy (as the frontiers, even into Spain, were very porous). It would seem more likely that the active repression of thinking outside the limits set by the Catholic Church and the threat of interrogation by the Inquisition deterred scholars more than their being deprived (which they were in many cases not) of books by innovative thinkers from beyond the Alps.

The speed of correspondence between scholars from Paris to Venice, and from Frankfurt throughout the book-buying world, was not slow, as we have seen from the examples of Du Puy, Pinelli, and Goldast; nor was delivery time of books to clients.¹⁸⁹ But some destinations were more difficult to reach, Rome being one of these, according to Adriaan von Roomen.¹⁹⁰ It is true that the physician Leonhard Schmaus complained about the time it took to obtain books in Salzburg in 1519; but by the 1530s this problem seems to have been largely overcome.¹⁹¹ The Augsburg doctor Achilles Pirmin Gasser, then living in Lindau, which was as far from trade routes as was Salzburg, recorded the date he received all the books he bought and their cost on the title page. From this it transpires that he obtained his copies mostly within a year of publication, not only from Germany but from France and the southern Netherlands as well.¹⁹² It is therefore difficult to attribute deprivation of intellectual stimulus to the early modern scholarly world either to location or to repressive measures.¹⁹³

The question of information about new publications and books already published poses rather different problems of transmission. By the early years of the seventeenth century, publishers, booksellers, and bibliographers had learned how to communicate efficiently what they had to offer the world of scholarship. This was the culmination of a process that had begun with Gessner in the 1540s. Scholars and librarians became accustomed to seek out catalogues of various kinds in which to look for desiderata, and were sufficiently in touch with the scholarly world to know what might be found in the most famous public libraries of Europe. The second-hand market clearly operated before the advent of auctions, albeit somewhat mysteriously.

There is a further noteworthy dimension to the relationship between the authors, publishers, sellers, and readers of books. At given moments

and places in the sixteenth century, humanist publishers, authors, and purchasers all belonged to the same community and subscribed to the same ideals of learning, which linked them to a gift culture and a moral purpose. In this way, the purchasing communities were not clients but colleagues of the authors and publishers. This community consisted of both humanists and professional groups such as lawyers and doctors; the latter groups were more obviously served in their social and political functions by publishers than the former. The scholarly ideals of all three groups (authors, publishers, readers) meant that any improvement in textual or historical accuracy overrode the economic convenience of accepting a nearly perfect edition through the happy coincidence of the interests of scholarship and commerce. But at the same time as authors demanded that their better texts, histories, and grammars be published in the name of truth, they were conniving in a culture of built-in obsolescence *avant la lettre*. From this came also the infiltration of the culture of the gift into the mercantile world of the printing industry, which led in turn to the sense of betrayal in Goldast and his colleagues, who looked upon the likes of Schönwetter and Kopf as mere merchants, and no doubt looked back on the generations of Aldus, Froben, and Estienne with nostalgia. Critics of late humanism, like Montaigne and Fischart, come to describe the sense of betrayal as potentially hypocritical on the part of scholars and the practice of republication commercially unsustainable on the part of publishers. A point had to come when the economic system represented by the cult of scholarly improvement and perfection could no longer sustain the cycle of renewal. That is the subject of the next chapter.