

Andrea Ottone



*Renaissance publishers,
market risks and empirical
methods of assessment*

A revised interpretation of
Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti's
1600 – 1643 catalogue

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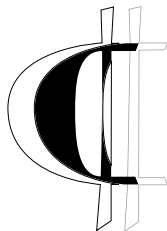
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COMPETITION IN THE EUROPEAN BOOK MARKET

Prices and privileges (fifteenth–seventeenth centuries)

Edited by
ANGELA NUOVO · JORAN PROOT · DIANE E. BOOTON



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List of abbreviations

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

ANDREA OTTONE

Renaissance publishers, market risks and empirical methods of assessment

A revised interpretation of Bernardo
di Bernardo Giunti's 1600–1643 catalogue



Bernardo (c. 1550–c. 1627), son of Bernardo Giunti (1517–1551), was a minor figure in a publishing dynasty that had established a dominant position not only in the Italian book market but also in Catholic Europe throughout the sixteenth century. Florentine in origin, the Giunti were able to climb the ranks of the European publishing business by setting up a well-thought-out distribution network. With branches in France and Spain, the barycentre of the firm was Venice, whereas Florence remained its ideal homeland, in spite of the unsettled fortune that the Florentine branch experienced through the years. This chapter focuses on the life of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti and on the work believed to be his greatest legacy: a thick and dense manuscript bibliographic catalogue. Its ambiguities will be investigated to see how early modern bookdealers handled the intricacies of an increasingly competitive market.

Attempts and failures: a short biography of Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti

Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti was born in Florence in about 1550.¹ The tenure of the Florentine branch by his father Bernardo di Filippo (1487–1551) was characterised by a slight financial decline. As his heirs never failed to complain, Bernardo had brought the family's finances into a difficult situation, and moreover, he left numerous offspring to deal with it. In addition to two daughters, Arcangela (fl. c. 1561) and Isabella (fl. c. 1561),² Bernardo left

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¹ William A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: a Renaissance printing and publishing family. A history of the Florentine firm and a catalogue of the editions*, New Castle, DE 2013, 169.

² Archivio di Stato di Firenze (henceforth: ASF), Notarile antecosimiano, b. 9300, Francesco Giordani, atti, 1560–1562, fol. 17 verso. By 1560 Arcangela was said to have become a nun, and Isabella married.

five adult sons, Filippo II (1533–1601), Iacopo (1534–1591), Luca (also known as Lucas, 1534–1584), Giulio (or Julio, 1549–1619) and the youngest Bernardo (c. 1550–c. 1627). Business generated by the local firm could not support the whole family. A power struggle emerged in 1560 when Luca, Giulio and Bernardo claimed an active role in the publishing house. The issue was resolved by arbitration, which largely favoured Filippo and Iacopo, who remained sole managers of the Florentine branch.³ The three younger brothers were left with the choice of perpetuating the family diaspora, which incidentally caused the Giunti to be so well represented in the larger continental book market. Luca migrated to Spain, where his presence in Salamanca is documented from 1566. There, Luca experienced a negative change in fortune and died soon after. Giulio also moved to Spain around 1570 and later established his activities in Madrid, adding yet another Iberian hub to the broader family network.⁴ Bernardo di Bernardo, now in his twenties, relocated instead to Venice, where he presumably could work in synergy with the well-established firm of Lucantonio Giunti II (1542–1602).⁵

The power struggle among the five Florentine siblings is itself a sign that Bernardo's career did not have an easy start. In Florence, he seemed to be the unwelcomed part of a declining firm that could not sustain so many components. Furthermore, Bernardo's choice to relocate to Venice may be a sign that Florence's publishing scene was less than a sparkling one, or at least not appealing to Bernardo's entrepreneurial ambitions. In many ways, Bernardo's later career was not a history of success either.

Bernardo's move to Venice was supported by an *accomandita* partnership that he contracted in 1580 with his elder brother Iacopo, who was also acting on behalf of Filippo.⁶ The *accomandita* was likely the financial agreement that substantiated the publishing initiative arranged under the name of *Bernardo Giunti & fratelli* (and brothers).⁷ *Accomandite* did not require a symmetrical investment in the partnership; in fact, past examples of such associations among members of the Giunti family saw well-off members of the clan taking the role of the *accomandanti* who invested substantially larger shares in the association than the *accomandatario* (general partner). Thus, the richer investors implicitly asserted their weight in the association while freeing the general partner to devise the entrepreneurial strategy to bring profit to the society.⁸ How much Bernardo invested in the *accomandita* is unknown. We know, however, that his brother Iacopo committed 1,500 Florentine ducats.⁹ Six years after he signed with this association, Iacopo regretted his choice once he learned of the poor conditions of Bernardo's finances. On 6 November 1586, Iacopo wrote from Venice to his Florentine acquaintance and likely collaborator Giovanni Venturi (fl. c. 1586). The tone of the letter was fairly alarming. While in Venice, Iacopo discovered that Bernardo's business there was moving slowly, and Iacopo started to fear that his own investment would not be forthcoming anytime soon, and would thus make him insolvent before his own creditors. Iacopo manifested his intention to resolve the issue by obliging Bernardo to mortgage his own 'assets and quotas' (*effetti e portioni*) and to allow Iacopo to receive sufficient funding to meet his debt obligations in support of Bernardo's endeavours in Venice. These assets were mainly connected to a company concerned with the printing

of law books (likely the *Societas Aquilae Renovantis*),¹⁰ which was ‘his most lively profit’ (*‘la più viva cosa che abbi’*), but it also included stocks of unsold books in Venice, Bologna, Perugia and Florence, along with a number of insolvent debtors. In asking Venturi to manage the business in Florence for him, he recommended not telling a certain ‘ser Raffaello’ (likely a notary), since he did not want to ‘go hitting the tambourine in the aviary’ (*‘andar col cembalo in colombaia’*), thus scaring away his Florentine creditors.¹¹

Bernardo’s financial problems manifested quite early. One year after he had entered in association with Iacopo in the attempt to stabilise his presence in the publishing arena, Bernardo seemed already unable to cope with creditors. Two promissory notes, dated 1 July 1580, show that he had considerable debts with a Paduan gentleman named Francesco Bonaldi (fl. c. 1580), then mentally incapacitated (*‘mentecapto’*). On that date, summoned by Francesco’s assigned guardian, namely his son Giovanni (fl. c. 1580), Bernardo admitted owing a debt of 3,240 ducats to Francesco. This was the result of a series of loans contracted on three different occasions: 1,200 ducats received in mid-May 1580; 1,500 borrowed a month later; and 540 received on an unspecified date, likely no earlier than the summer of 1579. In the promissory notes, Bernardo swore to extinguish his debt in separate instalments in 1583: 1,500 on 12 May 1583; 1,200 on 15 June. The remaining 540 ducats were to be paid in three annual instalments, also by 1583. Bernardo’s financial liability must not have been sufficient if Lucantonio Giunti had to step in and formally cover for him. Despite his outstanding debts with Francesco Bonaldi, Bernardo had little problem in receiving an additional 300 ducats from him on the same day when he signed those promissory notes, thereby reaching a total debt of 3,540 ducats to Francesco Bonaldi.¹²

Bernardo used Francesco’s capital quite extensively during the year 1580, encountering little resistance from the family. This should not be surprising because his uncle Lucantonio had been entrusted by the Bonaldi family to function as Francesco’s co-guardian, along

3 Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: a Renaissance printing and publishing family*, 86.

4 William A. Pettas, *A history & bibliography of the Giunti (Junta) printing family in Spain 1526–1628*, New Castle, DE 2004, 46–51.

5 Paolo Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, Firenze 1963, II, 447. All the dates pertaining to members of the Giunti family are derived from the meticulous genealogy found in Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: a Renaissance printing and publishing family*, 167–173.

6 Decio Decia & Renato Delfiol, *I Giunti, tipografi, editori di Firenze*, Firenze 1978, II, 22.

7 EDIT16, CNCT 663.

8 One example would be the *accomandita* that Lucantonio Giunti I (1457–1538) signed in 1517 with Giuntino Giunti. On this occasion Lucantonio participated with 27,153 ducats, whereas Giuntino invested only 5,000. The *accomandita* is published in William A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: merchant publishers of the sixteenth century; with a checklist of all the books and documents published by the Giunti in Florence from 1497 to 1570, and*

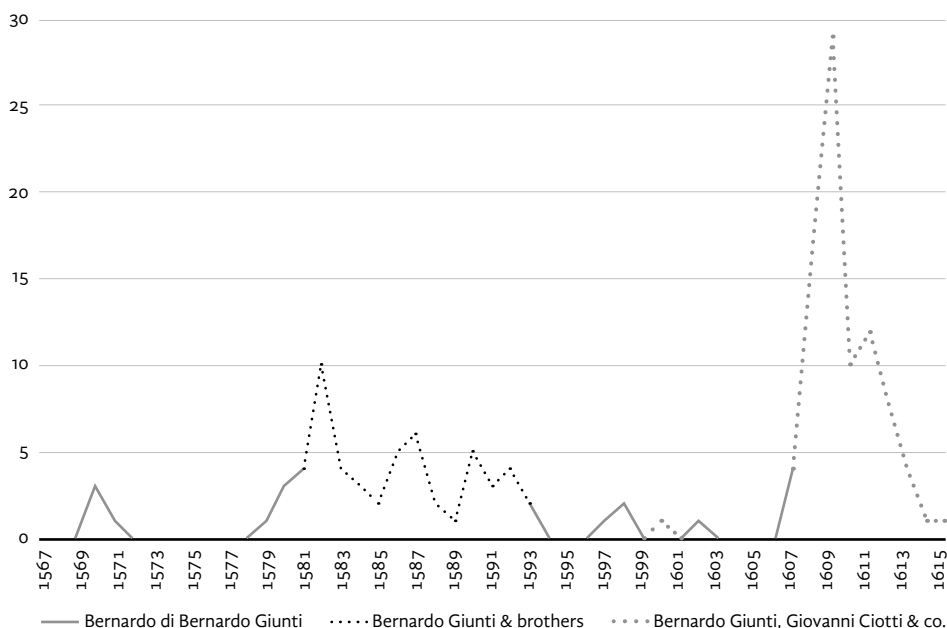
with the texts of twenty-nine documents, from 1427 to the eighteenth century, San Francisco, CA 1980, 304–308.

9 Decia & Delfiol, *I Giunti*, II, 22.

10 On the *Societas Aquilae Renovantis*, see EDIT16, CNCT 90; Ian Maclean, *Episodes in the life of the early modern learned book*, Leiden/Boston MA 2021, 93–98; and Angela Nuovo, *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden/Boston MA 2013, 65–67.

11 Decia & Delfiol, *I Giunti*, II, 23.

12 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth: ASVE), Giudici di Petizione, Inventari, busta 337, n. 38 (two documents dated 1 July 1580). For the sake of proper reference, it should be mentioned how another creditor of Francesco, Giovanni Paolo di Andrea, a merchant mainly interested in textiles, owed 740 ducats, which he promised to hand in within six months, without further delay. To assure his punctuality, Andrea made a secure deposit of company shares worth 75 *lira*; see *ibidem* (document dated 7 March 1580).

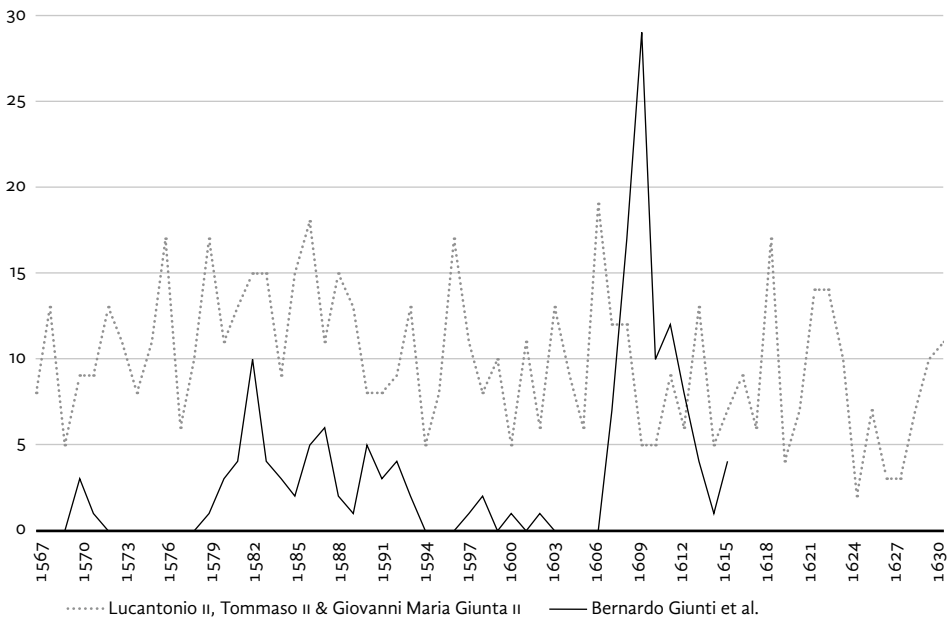


Graph 1 Diachronic graph of known surviving editions carrying Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti's name

Source: Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II, 459–486, 490–521.

with Francesco's son Giovanni from at least 30 June 1579. Lucantonio must have been on fairly good terms with the family, and likely his fame as a successful publisher and businessman must have seemed a guaranty. The good relationship with the Bonaldi family must have started to deteriorate by the end of December 1580, when Francesco Bonaldi's son Girolamo (fl. c. 1580) removed the guardianship from his brother Giovanni and from Lucantonio Giunti, holding it for himself alone.¹³ By 4 March 1581 the relationship with Lucantonio worsened because Girolamo had earned an injunction from the tribunal to force Lucantonio to return a number of accounting records removed from his father's archive. By then Girolamo was openly accusing Lucantonio Giunti of fraudulent manipulations.¹⁴ It is not unlikely that Girolamo's great disappointment was also caused by Lucantonio's relaxed attitude in using Francesco Bonaldi's assets to finance the dubious investments of Bernardo Giunti, thus allowing him comfortable terms of restitution.

Proper handling of debts was an essential element of the European publishing business.¹⁵ Several of the small-scale publishers likely struggled to make ends meet, and Bernardo was indeed a small-scale publisher in the Venetian arena. His modest financial performance was in fact mirrored by his unimpressive publishing output, at least based on the number of known surviving editions that carry his name [Graph 1]. Quantitatively speaking, his output seemed intermittent and overall incomparable to that of Lucantonio Giunti and his two heirs (Tommaso II, 1582–1618, and Giovanni Maria II, dates unknown), during the same years of Bernardo's activity in Venice.¹⁶ The peak of his production came in two instances: when he published books in association with his two brothers, and while



Graph 2 Diachronic comparison between Bernardo di Bernardo's output and the output of the major Giunti's firm of Venice (held By Lucantonio Giunti II and, from 1601, by his two sons Tommaso II and Giovanni Maria II). The data are based on known survivals

Source: Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II, 23–204, 241–306, 333–369, 459–486, 490–521

in partnership with Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1564–1635), a Siense publisher with a well-established position in Venice and a consistent network of ultramontane dealers, particularly in Frankfurt.¹⁷ Other than that, his output could often lean to zero and pause for years.

References to his financial problems during his years of partnership with Iacopo and Filippo Giunti II reveal that even a somewhat steady publishing rate cannot count as evidence of a wealthy condition. It all depended on whether Bernardo's publishing choices

¹³ *Ibidem*, n. 27 and 60.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, n. 38.

¹⁵ Lucas Burkart, 'Early book printing and venture capital in the age of debt: the case of Michel Wensler's Basel printing shop (1472–1491)' in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and selling. The business of books in early modern Europe*, Leiden/Boston MA 2019, 23–54. At the time, the profession with a considerable number of financial interests could prove risky, as shown by the turbid circumstances that brought on the assassination of Lyonese bookman Symphorien Beraud in 1586. The episode is recounted in Ian Maclean, *Learning and the market place: essays in the history of the early modern book*, Leiden/Boston, MA 2009, 227–272.

¹⁶ Quantitative comparisons of this kind are often based on survivals, as it is the case for Figs 1 and 2. Basing quantitative analysis on survivals may fail to comprise lost editions or not yet catalogued surviving copies. The data used in the referenced

graphs, though originating from the same source (Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II), as well as the bulk of survivals that data are based upon, have been subjected to similar phenomenology in terms of preservation and data retrieval, hence making the overall data set consistent and inner comparisons reliable. On the matter of data consistency of a bibliographic data set, see Flavia Bruni & Andrew Pettegree (eds), *Lost books: reconstructing the print world of pre-industrial Europe*, Leiden/Boston, MA 2016.

¹⁷ Ian Maclean, 'Ciotti and Plantin: Italy, Antwerp and the Frankfurt Book Fair in autumn 1587' in *La Bibliofilia*, 115 (2013), 135–146; Ian Maclean, *Episodes*, 80–86. Ciotti's frequent attendance at the Frankfurt Fair, at least until 1603, can be comfortably traced using the following directory: Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis*, Halle 1850–1877.

would meet market demand. Qualitatively speaking, his publishing portfolio fit the profile of an unambitious publisher. He was primarily publishing in the vernacular, thus limiting his distribution radius mainly to the peninsular market. He often published small formats, hence targeting medium-to-low budget customers [Table 1]. His signature products were chiefly vernacular translations of classic authors, which was his publishing model during the partnership with his brothers Iacopo and Filippo, or inexpensive theatre plays or poetry, which he mainly produced in association with Ciotti. Neither publishing endeavour required substantial capital, and neither opened a large-scale transnational market where most of the risks arose but also most of the earnings.

Regardless of his scarce publishing achievement and dubious financial success, at least limited to his initial decade of activity, Bernardo Giunti still carried a valuable name at a time when kinship counted. Being a Giunti must have given him reputation and access to valuable networks in the book dealers' community. This may explain why he was repeatedly elected to a representative role in the Venetian printers' guild.¹⁸

Aside from his political visibility and his presence in the market for some forty years, Bernardo Giunti was not set to leave an important cultural or professional legacy. His name, however, is linked to a manuscript volume whose relevance will be emphasised in the following pages as the most impressive trace of his professional activity.

Genres		Format		Languages	
Vernacular literature	48	Folio	35	Italian	103
Devotion	29	Quarto	60	Latin	49
Moral theology	16	Octavo	20		
Higher education	30	Duodecimo	31		
Classics	12	Sextodecimo	6		
Tracts	11				
Liturgy	6				

Table 1 Representation of Bernardo di Bernardo's output by genres, bibliographic format and languages. Data are based on known surviving editions.

Source: Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II, 459–486, 490–521.

Basic facts about the manuscript *Collection *170/622*

Ownership, authorship, and users of the codex

The manuscript *Collection *170/622* is currently held in the Department of Special Collections in the Charles E. Young Research Library of the University of California, Los Angeles, under the label *Giunta Publishing House Stockbook*, as named by Martin Lowry in 1991.¹⁹ Composed of 309 leaves, the codex is bound in a contemporary limp dark-leather wrapper, adorned with blind-tooled geometrical designs. Two extensions on the long margins protect the numerous fore-edge leather tabs functioning as search aids.²⁰

It is well known that the volume originates within the wide network of the Giunti publishing house. Cut and pasted samples of the family's device, the Florentine lily, are in proud display on the front and back pastedown. Most of the core information about the manuscript is to be found at fol. 4 recto. It carries a date 'first of March 1600' (*'primo marzo 1600'*), which was no other than New Year's Day, according to the Venetian calendar. Although overruled by the Gregorian calendar of 1582, the Venetian dating method must still have been familiar to the Venetian merchant who initiated the codex, hence it is likely that the day and month, but not the year, are a fictitious indication of a starting date for the manuscript. The identity of the merchant behind the codex is soon revealed right below the date: 'This book belongs to me, Bernardino Giunti, bookseller in Venice' (*'Questo libro si è di mi, Bernardino Giunti libraro in Venetia'*). A few ramifications emerge from this autograph subscription. Firstly, it allows us to identify the handwriting of the person who claimed property over the manuscript. Martin Lowry rightly argues that this hand is compatible with one of the three distinguishable hands that composed the bulk of information contained in the manuscript.²¹ A conclusive statement, however, may be difficult because Bernardo's declaredly autograph heading employs a visibly enhanced graphic elegance than any hand found later in the volume. Yet, some distinct graphic features of the two scripts display strong similarities. Martin Lowry has already identified the owner as Bernardo di Bernardo Giunti, disambiguating the owner's identity from that of Bernardo di Filippo Giunti II (1585–1648), who was also active in Venice in the second half of the seventeenth century and who often went by the nickname Bernardino.²²

The presence of multiple hands reveals that ownership and authorship, at least of single entries or blocks of entries, are not symmetrical elements. The manuscript's internal chronology, which will be detailed later, suggests that it probably outlived its original owner, hence proving that its content appealed to a plurality of users. In at least one instance, the

18 For Bernardo Giunti's active role in the Venetian guild, see Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II, 452–455.

19 Martin Lowry, *Book prices in Renaissance Venice: the stockbook of Bernardo Giunti*, Los Angeles, CA 1991.

20 A high-quality digitized copy has generously been made available online by the holding institution and can be accessed at <https://digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/xpb9j200zz-89112> (last accessed on 6 December 2022).

21 Lowry, *Book prices*, 18–19.

22 Lowry, *Book prices*, 16; Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II, 448. To date, information regarding Bernardo di Filippo Giunti is minimal. It is known that he was born in Florence on 3 January 1585 (Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore di Firenze, Registri Battesimali, R. 17, fol. 63 verso). This means that he was fifteen years old when the 'stockbook' started to be used, hence reducing the likelihood that he may have been the owner of the manuscript volume. His publishing activity in Florence is documented (Decia & Delfiol, *I Giunti*, II, 167–183), whereas his activities in Venice are difficult to distinguish from

those of Bernardo di Bernardo. His presence in the Serenissima, however, is confirmed by 1634 when his name is unequivocally recorded in the minutes of the Guild as the 'son and heir of former sir Filippo Gionta' (*'figlio et erede del q[ondam] signor Filippo Gionta'*): ASV, Arti, b. 163, Atti, vol. 3, fol. 90. Bernardo Giunti is mentioned as an active bookdealer of Venice in 1643 (Mario Infelise, 'Chi stampava i primi libretti d'opera (Venezia 1637–1645)?' in Francesca Nepori, Fiammetta Sabba, & Paolo Tinti (eds), *Itinerari del libro nella storia: per Anna Giulia Cavagna a trent'anni dalla prima lezione*, Bologna 2018, 159). This is unlikely to have been Bernardo di Bernardo, who by that time must have reached some ninety-three years of age. Bernardo di Filippo died in Florence on 23 July 1648 (Decia & Delfiol, *I Giunti*, II, 166), leaving a will, which proves a decent financial standing (ASF, Notarile moderno, 16812, ser Angiolo Varchi, testamenti, 1645–1655, fols 4 recto–7 recto; partially published in Decia & Delfiol, *I Giunti*, II, 29–30).

manuscript does refer to an ideal plurality when inviting users to ‘turn over’ the page (*‘voltate’*), also compatible with the use of a formal ‘you.’²³ The use of a formal tone was in fact a typical feature of commercial communication, which surely also fashioned the style employed in the manuscript owned and largely authored by Bernardo Giunti. If multiple users were the recipients of the information, it must be pointed out that this information may have made little sense to those who were not active in the book trade. Hence, the manuscript was by its own nature made only for a select few.

Data: quantity, form, and quality

‘This book belongs to me, Bernardino Giunti, bookseller in Venice,’ writes its owner. What Bernardo does not tell posterity is the book’s purpose. The undeclared nature of the manuscript, along with its manifold ambiguities, call for further analysis. The manuscript consists of a large bibliographic catalogue with approximately 11,000 entries. The density of entries per page varies according to categories, which will be later clarified. The quality of data per entry varies, despite an attempted consistency on the part of the scribes. At their most complete, entries would look as follows: ‘Epistolae di Tullij. In 8°, Griffio, C. 33, L. 1.4.’²⁴ The sequence of data provides all relevant information: author, title, bibliographic format, publisher, number of printing sheets and price (1 Venetian *lire* and 4 *soldi*). In most cases, information regarding language and publisher is missing from the listings and, as common in Renaissance catalogues, author or title may complement each other when either is recognized as iconic to the reading audience (e.g., ‘Calepinus’ stands for the widely used Latin dictionary authored by Ambrogio Calepino (c. 1435–c. 1509) or ‘Epistolae familiares’ to identify the known work by Cicero). This ideal consistency is not constant, however; the element most often missing is price. Prices in Bernardo’s catalogue are a relevant presence, but unlikely the most important one. A gross estimation makes prices present in little more than 50% of the entries. In fact, the price per edition is an element that tends to disappear from the manuscript’s later entries, which is an interesting aspect that will be highlighted further on when the manuscript’s inner chronology and the process of adding data will be examined. When the price is not present in the entry, the information regarding the number of printing sheets is instead most often available, approximately 90% of the time.²⁵ This is another factor that deserves attention later in the conclusions. Entries, albeit rarely, can look as sketchy as this: ‘Trattato del spirito santo’ or even ‘Fortunato’, to which its provenance, Brescia, is provided in the heading of the list.²⁶ Summarizing these observations to make better use of them later, one would be compelled to maintain that the manuscript chiefly stored qualitative information concerning the listed editions. However, and this should not be disregarded, the mere existence of a given title associated to its provenance was a sufficient criterion to fit the inscrutable selective logic lying behind the purpose of Bernardo Giunti’s catalogue.

Inner organisation of data

Another clear-cut notion regarding this codex is that data are not merely organised in a linear sequence; rather, they are placed into sections with consistent overlapping information. There are three distinct sections in the manuscript. The first one, counting a total of 132 leaves, organises data by literary genres. The genres listed are humanities (19 leaves), philosophy (21), theology (23), medicine (19), law (25), Greek and Hebrew (10), and liturgy (14). The taxonomy closely mirrors that used in a sale catalogue published by Lucantonio Giunti in 1591, which divides listings by the following genres: humanities, philosophy, theology, medicine, astronomy, Greek works, civil law, canon law, ecclesiastical works and vernacular works.²⁷ These categories served the purpose of a commercial taxonomy rather than an epistemological one, in that they identified categories of potential purchasers among students, scholars and professionals. The small differences found between Lucantonio Giunti's printed catalogue and Bernardo's manuscript consist of a nuanced hierarchical reorganisation of the various categories: Bernardo postpones the Greek works and associates them with another learned language, Hebrew, which Lucantonio had no interest listing in his catalogue, since he was not known for dealing in Hebrew literature. In all fairness, neither was Bernardo, who in fact includes solely Greek books in a section meant for both. Furthermore, Bernardo shows no interest in compiling a section dedicated to astrological works, unlike Lucantonio. Bernardo also merges canon and civil law under a single heading, law. Vernacular literature, the nearest thing to present-day's leisure reading, closed the largely scholarly catalogue of Lucantonio.

Interestingly, vernacular literature in Bernardo's manuscript was conceived of as a logical overlap between the first category of genres, and the second section of books by provenance, beginning with 'Vernacular books printed in Venice.'²⁸ This is an important part for Bernardo, who reserves 39 leaves of the codex to it; the remainder of this section organises data by provenance and occupies another 132 leaves. There, listings fall under subcategories, by city or by country of print and, in the case of Venice alone, a further subcategory lists

23 Charles E. Young Research Library of the University of California, Los Angeles (henceforth, YRL), Collection *170/622, fol. 158 recto, col. b. I would like to express my profound gratitude to the personnel of the YRL's Department of Special Collection for the kind assistance that they provided during my stay at their institution. I am equally grateful to the Center for Early Global Studies for granting me the Ahmanson Research Fellowships which allowed me to finance my research in Los Angeles in 2018.

24 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 11 recto, col. a, item 19. The available data make it possible to match the entry with Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae familiares*, Venetiis: apud Ioannem Gryphium, 1596; see EDIT16, CNCE 12505.

25 The greatest consistency can be found in *ibidem*, fols 206 recto–248 recto. Here, the indication on the number of printing sheets or gatherings is sporadic. This portion of the catalogue consists of a cohesive section that will be described later.

26 *Ibidem*, fol. 266 recto, col. b, respectively item 1 and 7.

27 *Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDCXI* [Venice: Lucantonio Giunti II, 1591]. The list was reprinted with some variation in 1595.

28 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 137 recto.

editions by publisher.²⁹ Again, this reveals that, for Bernardo Giunti's purpose in compiling this manuscript, information pertaining to Venice had a major role. Aside from Venice, the whole Italian peninsula occupied a special place in Bernardo's set of informative priorities.³⁰ This is shown by the choice of using manuscript pagination for the provenance section dedicated to publishers active in Italy (fols 248 recto–267 verso display a sequence from 1 to 38 placed at the upper right of each side).

The nature and use of the third section of the manuscript (fols 269 recto–306 verso) remain unclear. It is comprised of two separate subsections, respectively fols 269 recto–287 verso and 288 recto–306 verso, where listings are organised alphabetically with fore-edge letter tabs to guide searches. Distinctive elements of the two subsections are that the first lists relatively voluminous and pricey folio editions, whereas the second is devoted entirely to editions of Bernardo Giunti and Giovanni Battista Ciotti together or Ciotti alone. Occasionally, listings belong to the *Societas Veneta*, a joint venture in which Ciotti was a prominent stockholder. What places the two sections in common is an enhanced organisation of the information on prices. These are almost always declared for each entry and in multiple formats: 'ordinary, net, in ducats, cash' (*ordinari, netti, a ducato, contanti*'). The data display overall a cleaner organisation. Information is placed in a tabular format, following lines carved in the paper by an edged tool, and corrections or integration are very episodic. More frequent than for the rest of the manuscript are indications of the year of publication. Internal evidence suggests that this portion of the manuscript was written in or after 1608. This, one must remember, is the year when the quantitative output of Bernardo Giunti's editorial production spiked upward. Interestingly, 1608 is also the year when Bernardo Giunti and Giovanni Battista Ciotti published a joint sale catalogue.³¹ An overlap of information between this catalogue and fols 288 recto–306 verso is obvious; however, a direct derivation of this section from the said printed catalogue remains to this day dubious.³²

29 The publishers listed are: Manuzio (family), Barezzo Barezzi and Mattia Colosino, Meietti (family), Sebastiano Combi, Giovanni Battista Ciotti, al segno della Fontana (EDIT16, CNCT 186), Sessa (family), Giolito (family), Giovanni Gueriglio, Societas Aquilae Renovantis, Compagnia Minima (EDIT16, CNCT 698), Somasco (family), Giorgio Varisco together with Marco Varisco, Bernardo Giunti, Bernardo Basa, Giovanni Battista Bertoni, Cornelio Arrivabene, Francesco Bariletti, Evangelista Deuchino, together with Giovanni Battista Pulciani, Fioravante Prati, Giacomo Vincenzi, Giocchino Brugnolo, Girolamo Porro, Salicato (family), Zoppino (family), Galignani (family), Bonfadino (family), Alessandro Vecchi, Pietro Ricciardi, Angellieri (family), Girolamo Polo, Bertano (family), Imberti (family), Farris (family), Andrea Muschio, Nicolini da Sabbio (family), Niccolò Polo, Ugolino (family), Guerra (family), Zaltieri (family), Lucio Spineda, Niccolò Moretti. For the listings of this group of publishers, see YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 249 recto–266 verso.

30 The cities listed are: Bologna, Cremona, Ferrara (ibidem, fol. 264 recto), Verona, Milan (fol. 264 verso), Naples, Padua (fol. 265 verso), Pavia, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua (fol. 265 verso), Treviso, Vicenza, Verona, Urbino (fol. 266 recto), Messina, Brescia (fol. 266 verso), Turin (fols 267 recto–268 verso).

31 *Catalogus librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae, Io. Bapt. Ciotti, et sociorum, Venetiis 1608.*

32 A single clue suggests that the copyist based those records on direct scrutiny of Ciotti's actual stock. The following record provides a faint clue: 'Filli de Sciro. In 12, C. 6 1/2, L. -.8' (YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 293 recto, item 2). The sheet count indicated in the item matches a 1607 edition that carries Ciotti's name alone (see <https://opac.sbn.it/bid/LO1E000732>), but it does not match an issue dated the same year that also carries Bernardo Giunti's name on the title page (see <https://opac.sbn.it/bid/UB0E023717>).

Catalogo delli libri Stampati in Germania

- Aristoteles in scriptura Chamael sa 4. 172-
- Astronatus coram Corses 8° 44
- Astilianu sicuti 8° 42 39
- Aures opera fo. 9. lac. 43
- Augustini opera fo. Benci 420 71483
- Almedana in Speculo 4° 41 415
- Ananiana Franci. Moli 4° 44 9
- Anonima Laurentij 8° 42
- - Aquapendente 4 8
- - Bivini 8° 4 8
- Apudori de Legibus 4° 410
- Anconi Tabo de omnibus 4° 41 410
- - De debitoribus 8° 4 8
- Anidonio Vicedi 41 410
- Astronomia Vici 4° 44
- Antiqui Romarog Rosino fo. 41 410
- Albanici Periculis de iure Belli 8° 4 8 77
- Anconi Quibeni quest. 8° 44
- Aristotilis opera 8° 9. lac. 43 410
- - In 8. lac. Vicedi 41 410
- - Caica fo. Laabino 41 410
- - Politica 41 410
- - Meta fisica in 16 lion 44
- Anconi Augustini Emendation 8° 4 8
- Annales Saaz fo. 41 410
- Anthoni Biblia scriptata tomo 3° 8° 41 410
- - Opera Evangelica in 8° 41 410
- Afonico Propinamata 15 44
- Alinari Quat consiglio fo. 410
- Anoni Ricordi in breuina omni. 8° 44
- - Quam artis. reuonia 8° 4 8
- - Retonica 9. lac. 8° 4 8
- - Etica 8° 4 10
- Anoni Petrus 8°
- Anapli Albini de locis 12. mitt. 44
- Anologia B. pado. Conati 44

A
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Fig. 1 First leaf of the 'Catalogue of books printed in Germany' Collection *170/622, fol 206. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA

Search aids

Another device to allow prompt navigation in the magnitude of information contained in the manuscript are parchment-made fore-edge tabs, which are used to identify relevant sections, such as literary genres, cities, geographical areas or printers. Not all such tags have survived and not all tags are legible, evidence of consistent use rather than just the inclemency of time. It is likely that fingers repeatedly sliding through the tags have caused the progressive blurring of handwritten words and that the pulling on the tags to open the book at a section of interest has weakened the joints causing later losses. Within each main category where data were deemed to be quantitatively relevant, letter tabs facilitate alphabetical browsing of data. This is clearly the case for all literary genres in the volume. However, two instances of provenance – Germany and the imprints by Francesco de Franceschi – are very interesting exceptions (respectively fols 206 recto–248 recto and fols 186 recto–205 verso) [Fig. 1]. Like the category tags, there are signs of usage with the alphabetic tabs which suggest frequent sliding of fingers over the alphabetic directory. Within each alphabetic section, entries are grouped in independent parts, ordered by decreasing format size: reale, folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo and smaller formats. Format groupings are visibly a preset of the page, prepared progressively to host new entries when the occasion requires; this is suggested by gaps or inversely by crowding of data that requires the placement of text in different columns, occasionally improvised where space allows. The dynamism of data entered over time finds clues in the presence of different handwriting or different instances of writing by the same hands on the same page. Additionally, for frequently produced items for which frequent implementation was expected, the scribe had systematically placed a line meant to replace the author's name or the title in order to save time [Figs. 1 and 2].

The use of fore-edge tabs experienced an evolution over time. Several tabs used to subdivide the three main categories were added while the data entry process was in progress. This was surely the case for the tabs protruding on the versos of fols 247–268, which identified individual publishers active on the Italian peninsula. There, tabs frequently overlap with text, eventually causing the partial loss of information. The instance proposed in Fig. 3 pertains to an entry '[...] Sansovino. C. 58 ½', which can be matched with a 1603 edition, thereby revealing that the practise of adding tabs continued to that date or later.³³ This evidence confirms how Bernardo Giunti was perfecting his tool and refining his method, thus showing that the implementation of speedy ways to browse a growing mass of data was a core feature of his manuscript.

33 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 261 verso, col. a, item 3 (the entry is located in the section 'Librai diversi de Venetia' / 'Alessandro de Vecchi'); the matching edition is: Francesco Sansovino, *Cento novelle*, Venetia: appresso Alessandro de Vecchi, 1603, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/VEAE003904>.

Simbola *de Emanata* 7157¹/₂ 73

Sarco *de Logica* 7672710

Suma *S. Tomas ad Primitia* 71410 750 712
Opera lxx 712727
Alex. de ales ff 7628235740

Smaria *de iuris* 7691 79
de iuris 761 773

Signis *De regno Italia* 77022

Seomori *C. de iuris* *del P. de Casar* 77000 77212 772

T
V
Z

Fig. 2 Sample of the section 'Catalogue of the books owned by Francesco de' Franceschi, Senese' Collection *170/622, fol. 201. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA

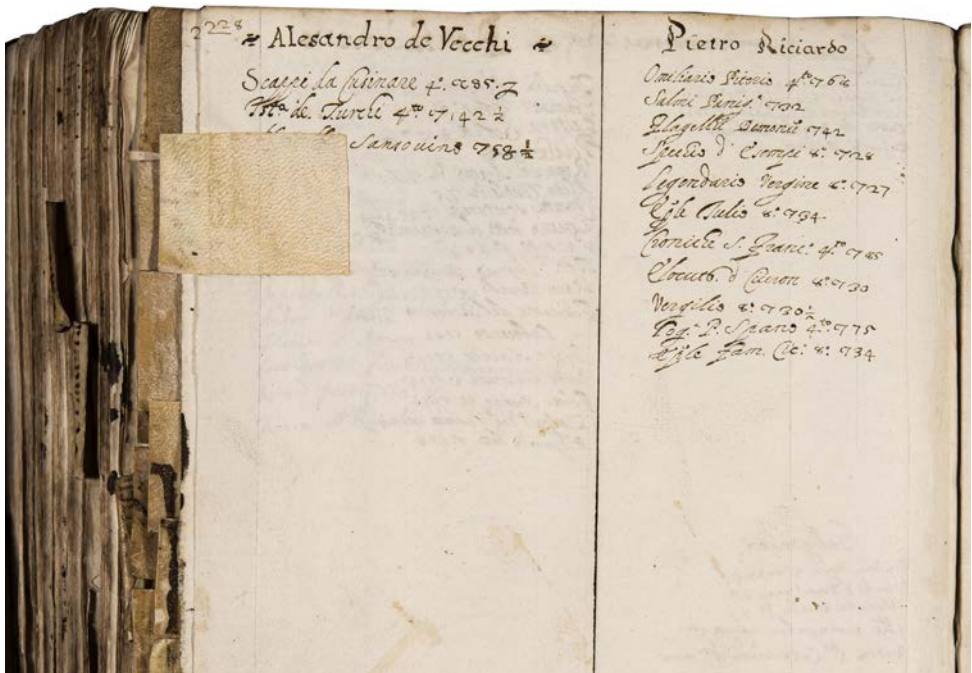


Fig. 3 Sample of the section 'Booksellers of Venice'
Collection *170/622, 261 verso. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA

Internal chronology

The 'stockbook' was an object in continuous evolution. Its inner chronology stretched over forty years, at least to 1643. Indicative of this are the entries found at fol. 138 verso, with reference to items 28 to 40, where the former refers to a 1623 edition, and the latter to one of 1643.³⁴ Instances like these, albeit not often as consistent, can be found scattered throughout the volume. Rather, bursts of data-entry practices are visible. The first visible influx of data is between 1600 and 1604. A second burst in data entry happened during the period 1608–1610, though mainly limited to folios 269 recto–306 verso. Data were surely entered in later years, albeit their incidence decelerates between the 1610s and 1640s; the accumulation of data for these years is scattered through the volume and does not reveal a clear pattern and purpose as in the previous two instances. The period between 1600 and 1604 is in fact constitutive for the whole volume and pertains to most of the catalogue's information. As mentioned, listings at folios 288 recto–306 were entered during or after 1608 (most of the entries are datable between 1608 and 1610 with fewer entries drafted later).

To assess the possible timeline during which data were accumulated in the manuscript a multidimensional approach is required. One must consider the continuity of graphic elements, such as the juxtaposition of different scripts within various sections and on single leaves in those sections; the juxtaposition of diverse instances of the same handwriting at different moments (often shown by the different intensity of the pen stroke); and the

arrangement of text on the page and the general interpretation of the available space (with particular reference to visible postliminary filling of interlinear spaces). However, the primary device in navigating the chronology of data is matching listings with printed editions: this helps to clarify the chronological extremes of the listings and helps to define a *terminus ante quem* for whole blocks of data.

Puzzling elements

The first confusing element that should catch scholars' attention when thinking of Bernardo Giunti's own catalogue in terms of an inventory of books in stock is the complete lack of quantities. This is the most consistent element in the whole manuscript: none of the listings provides information on the number of copies available of a given edition. Common surveys of early modern inventories show that they were all about quantities. A rich example among sixteenth-century Venetian inventories is found in the archival repository of the Giudici di Petizion, a magistracy that, among other things, was invested in assigning wardships to orphans or incapacitated citizens who had some movable or immovable properties to be managed. To avoid rapacious mismanagement by guardians, the Giudici would initiate the process by ordering a notarized inventory of the ward's belongings. An example of how goods would be described in such contexts is the following:

Juanne's shirts, twelve n.º 12
 Linen sheets, five pairs, used n.º 5
 Fabric sheets, ~~four~~ five pairs, used n.º 5
 Face towels, four n.º 4³⁵

Clearly, this example, among countless others, emphasized the quantity of shirts, sheets or towels owned by Juanne, to the point that the quantity appeared twice, spelled out and in numerals, likely to avoid fraudulent manipulations. We know nothing of, say, the colour of Juanne's shirt. Qualitative features may appear to differentiate a set of items, such as in the case of bed sheets, either in linen or fabric. For an inventory, it makes sense to be light in describing the inventoried commodities. In fact, why indulge in too many qualitative details when the objects could be easily located 'in the bedroom' or 'on the porch' on a defined

34 Collection *170/622, fol. 138 verso, item 28 reads, 'Anfiteatro del Dogliioni. 4º, rame, C. 180' and can be matched with Giovanni Nicolò Dogliioni, *Anfiteatro di Europa*, Venetia: Giacomo Sarzina, 1623, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/v11AE001486>; Collection *170/622, fol. 138 verso, item 40, the last one on the page, reads, 'Avvento sacro di Serafino Leggi. 4º, C. 108 ½ [...] ' which matches Serafino Leggi, *Avvento sacro con i Santi correnti*, Venetia: Giunti, 1643, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/UM1E001310>.

35 'Camisie del signor Juanne, dodese, n.º 12 | Linzioli de lin, para cinque, usadi, p.a, n.º 5 | Linzuoli de stopei, para ~~quattro~~ cinque, usadi, n.º 5 [...] Fazuoli da viso, quatro n.º 4.' See Asv, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, b. 341, n. 45 (Giovanni Badoer; 3 August 1597).

date '20 October 1591?'³⁶ Book inventories made no exception in this regard. When a stock of printed books had to be inventoried to preserve their integrity in a specific period of time, qualitative features merged with quantitative to achieve a single purpose, which was to record the number of instances of a given commodity in a given place and time.³⁷

Bernardo Giunti's so-called 'stockbook' follows a very different logic. To disregard quantity was a sensible choice for a source that had an active life of over forty years, a span of time when the bookseller's stock likely experienced considerable change, if business was profitable. Unlike common inventories of the time, Bernardo's manuscript was also descriptive when circumstances allowed, providing multiple types of information to the reader:

[Breviario]. In 16, s. Barbara, in legno, L. 3.–.

Idem. In 16, detto, rame, Miserino, L. 6.

[Breviario]. In 16, a doi tempi, in legno, Miserino, L. 3.10.

Idem detto. In 16, rame, L. 6.4.³⁸

Title, format, quality of the imprinted images (i.e., relief or intaglio), publisher, variation in the content³⁹ and a mention of a devotional icon placed on the title page (i.e., Saint Barbara). Each of these elements is consistent with the criteria of differentiating commodities that could be observed in a standard inventory. However, the listings, which are more heavily descriptive, probably refer to books that Bernardo was less likely to have before his eyes while itemising them in his manuscript inventory.

The strong likelihood that Bernardo, or one of his collaborators, was not working with copy in hand is suggested by the lack of one sensitive element, that is, the number of printing sheets, as the above example shows. Printing sheets, as has been stressed, are a fairly consistent element in the catalogue, and for good reason, as will be suggested later. Hence, the absence of an important element may arouse suspicion. The easiest way to retrieve such information was via a direct observation of the object, especially considering that book-dealers would often handle unbound editions,⁴⁰ which made the count even easier. However, the above example, and many more present in the catalogue, are rich in other qualitative information; would that not also be a clue for a process of storing information via direct observation? The plot thickens if one considers that the lack of crucial information, such as the sheet count, often coincides with richly descriptive entries, such as the ones above.

A somewhat counterintuitive hypothesis would be the following. What if some items were so richly descriptive precisely because they were intended to be evocative to a user who had no direct contact with the merchandise described? In other words, was the purpose behind an extensive description such as '[Breviary]. In 16mo, St Barbara, wood, L. 3' an advertisement? Advertisement tools of the Cinquecento book trade were primarily printed book sales catalogues, such as that found in Fig. 4. Their purpose was to evoke an

36 Ibidem, n. 50 (Giovanni Badoer).

37 Several such inventories have been studied in Nuovo, *The book trade*, 347–387, and two reproductions are shown at pages 382 and 384.

38 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 124 recto.

39 In the specific case of a Catholic service book, such as the Breviary, 'a doi tempi' referred to the interplay between the book's content and the Catholic liturgical calendar.

40 Nuovo, *The book trade*, 389.

idea of the advertised product in the mind of potential purchasers around Europe; hence, a description of quality and alluring hints to content were key. Prices were equally important, if not decisive, to orient purchases of one instead of another edition of the same work. The number of printing sheets was evidently not part of the advertising plan. Perhaps too specialized as information, or a malicious mind might even think they would be too useful to a competitor, who could compute the cost-price ratio and calculate profit margins and devise a consequent strategy. Likely, this information interested some book-trade experts, as they would make note of them in their own copies of printed catalogues (see Fig. 5).⁴¹ The commercial implication of these note-taking exercises will hopefully be clarified at the end of this contribution; the purpose in mentioning them now is to clarify how they were part of a commercial practice that evaded the initial purpose of sales catalogues.

Libri Theologiae.			
S. Augustini opera omnia in 4.	—	8p	6
S. Antonini Archiep. Flor. summa Theologiae in 4.	7451	8p	3 2) 12
S. Bernard. Flores in 8.	—	8p	2) 4
S. Bernardini Senensis omnia opera in 4.	7333	8p	2 2) 12
Bartholomæus Torres de Trinitate in summam sancti Thomæ in 4.	—	8p	2) 10
Cornelius Mussus Episcopus Bitontinus in Epistolas ad Romanos in 4.	788	—	2) 18
— De Historia Divina in 4.	—	—	2) 14
Comment. diuers. Nauarra in 4.	—	—	2) 8
S. Ioannis Chrysostomi opera omnia in 4.	7645	—	4
Iacobi Naclantis Epi Clodiensis opera omnia in f.	—	8p	1 2) 20
Martyrologium Rom. in 16.	719	—	2) 3
Pauli Grifaldi, Decif. fidei Catholicæ in 4.	—	—	2) 16
Pij Bentiuolij Compendium Theologiae sancti Thomæ Aquinatis in 8.	—	—	2) 7
Prima secundæ partis summæ Theologiae sancti Thomæ cum Gaetano in fol.	—	—	2) 16
Summa Theologiae sancti Thomæ Aquinatis cum elucidationib. formalib. Seraphini Capponi a Porrecta, plurimisq; alijs addit. exornata in 4.	7600	—	6 2) 760
— Idem in fol. noua.	—	—	2) 6
S. Thomæ Aquinatis Comment. in Apoc. in fol.	—	—	2) 4
Thomæ de Chempis opuscula in 16.	—	—	2) 4
Tertia pars summæ Theologiae sancti Thomæ cū Gaetano in fol.	—	—	2) 18
Testamentum nouum in 8.	—	—	2) 6
— in 16.	—	—	2) 4
— in 4.	—	—	2) 3
Vio Gaietani in psalm. in fol.	—	—	1 2)

Fig. 5 Detail of the *Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi nunc etiam existunt*. [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti II, 1591]

Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, Z233.G44G 448i 1595

It seems, therefore, that Bernardo Giunti was compiling an ideal catalogue based on filtered information obtained from a selection of existing stock. This hypothesis acquires a further level of likelihood when considering that part of the dataset found in Bernardo's manuscript catalogue did in fact derive from known printed sales catalogues. Indeed, more than two hundred entries listed under the tab 'Turin' (fols 267 recto–268 recto) were copied from an undated catalogue published by Giovanni Domenico Tarino (fl. 1579–1616), a publisher and bookseller active in Turin.⁴² When and how the catalogue information entered Bernardo's manuscript is very interesting. Although undated, internal evidence shows that Tarino's catalogue must have been published around 1609 or little later, hence a time when the data-entry practice of Bernardo's catalogue was well advanced. There must have hardly been any space to fit a fresh and relevant set of data with a coherent geographical provenance, such as Turin. Such imprints were not previously represented in Bernardo's catalogue. To accommodate the new set of data, the copyists pasted two loose sheets of paper, which were, I presume, previously compiled. This is evident from the two leaves' slightly smaller size compared to the bound manuscript. A second and extremely interesting factor is that, in order to glue the two loose leaves properly, Bernardo (or whoever on his behalf) used a fragment of Tarino's printed catalogue, which carried the inscription, 'List of books of Gio. Domenico Tarino, printed in Turin, and their own prices, with the remark that 12 Grossi equals one florin, and 10 grossi of a florin equals one golden Scudo of Italy.'⁴³ Clearly, it was advantageous to preserve the useful information on the exchange rates. Likewise, it implies that Bernardo Giunti owned at least one copy of Tarino's printed catalogue and that he could freely mutilate and use it as auxiliary material for his manuscript project. But then, why not paste in the printed catalogue directly? The very choice of expending effort in copying a printed page by hand into a series of manuscript pages strongly expresses certain advantages of handwritten entries. Manuscripts are intrinsically easier to adjust to the specific purposes of their owners. In fact, data are rigorously copied from Tarino's printed catalogue, yet slightly rearranged and integrated when possible. Entries could shift alphabetic position in the sequence, following a mnemonic arrangement of the title/author system that better suited the user. Most importantly, spaces could be added to integrate data with other information. The whole manuscript, as it will be shown later, was conceived as a work in progress that would suit the user for years to come.

41 Fig. 4 comes from the collection of Prospero Podiani, humanist and avid collector who likely used sales catalogues to build his own collection. He clearly had no use for specialised information, such as sheet counts. The broadsheet illustrated in Fig. 5 probably belonged to the Giunti circles, possibly Bernardo Giunti himself. For a book dealer, however, sheet counts were vital information, when available.

42 *Lista de libri di Gio. Domenico Tarino, Stampati in Torino. Con il prezzo loro auertendo che grossi 12. fanno vn fiorino, & fiorini 10. grossi 6. fanno uno vn scudo d'oro in oro d'Italia.* [Turin, Giovanni Domenico Tarino, by or after 1609]. I owe much gratitude to Christian Coppens and Angela Nuovo who generously shared this source with me with perfect timing, i.e., immediately after my study of fols 267 recto–268 recto of Collection *170/622, hence unlocking much of my understanding of Bernardo Giunti's manuscript.

43 See *Lista de libri di Gio. Domenico Tarino*.

The same can be said for the catalogue published by Lucantonio Giunti in 1591 (reprinted in 1595).⁴⁴ The entries do not occupy a specific section of Bernardo's manuscript volume but are instead mostly scattered in the genre section.⁴⁵ The copyists are, however, selective: they transcribed only those entries of interest and occasionally modified entries with additional information, such as the number of printing sheets, or with newer information, such as recent prices. At times, content-based information was disregarded, probably because the manuscript was not intended as a broad advertisement tool. For example, an entry found in Lucantonio Giunti's 1595 printed catalogue reads, 'Hippocratis Opera omnia Greca & Latina, cum annotationibus Hieronimi Mercurialis. In folio D. 3, G. 12, C. 306', whereas Bernardo's manuscript catalogue omits Mercuriale's commentaries: 'Ipocrate Omnia opera greco e latina. Folio, C. 306, D. 3.12.'⁴⁶

Other than such relevant examples, the transfer from printed to manuscript bibliographic data seems faithful to the original information:

[Lucantonio Giunti's 1595 printed catalogue:]

- Antiphonarium Rom. In duas partes diuisum. Real., D. 6, G. 12
- Antiphonarium Rom. Cum signo solis. Real., D. 2, G. 12
- Breuiarium Rom. Cum signo solis. In fol. D. 3.
- Breviarium Rom. Cum signo S. Stephani. In 4°, D. 1, S. 4.
- Breviarium Rom. Cum signo S. Thomae. In 4, D. 1.⁴⁷

[Bernardo Giunti's 1600–1643 manuscript catalogue:]

- Antifonario romano. Real., Zio,⁴⁸ C. 374, D. 6., G. 12.
- [Antifonario] rom. Real, sole, C. 100, D. 2.12.⁴⁹
- [...]
- [Breviario] Romano, sol. Folio, Zio, D. 3.-.
- [Breviario] Santo Stefano. 4°, C. 626, D. 1.3.
- [Breviario] Romano, Santo Thommaso. 4°, C. 600, D. 1.-.⁵⁰

The copyists apparently disregarded content details, but diligently noted material features; the manuscript catalogue thus had an enhanced technical and commercial purpose specifically directed to expert merchants rather than a general audience. A further comparison can be made between the way the manuscript catalogue absorbs data derived from the Giunti 1595 printed catalogue and those derived from Giovanni Domenico Tarino (post 1609). If the former dataset is approached dialectically, the Tarino dataset is acquired word by word. The double standard should not be surprising, as quite intuitively, the scribe was familiar with the Venetian imprints advertised by Lucantonio Giunti, as it is possible that many of them were in Bernardo's warehouse or not difficult to consult for price and commercial value in the shop held by members of his own family, namely Lucantonio or later by his two sons, Tommaso II, and Giovanni Maria II.

Another example of such a copycat practice towards printed sales catalogues circulating in northern Italy and particularly in Venice concerns the 1600 catalogue of Niccolò Misserini

(fl 1589–1635).⁵¹ Also interesting is how Bernardo Giunti may have inspected other publishers' warehouses to compile his bibliographic catalogue. Clues of this practice can be found at folios 186 recto–205 verso. The very heading of this section is at odds with the idea of Collection *170/622 listing Bernardo's own books. This in fact reads 'Books owned by Francesco de Franceschi, Senese' (*Libri che a Francesco de Franceschi, Senese*').⁵² Why would Bernardo list somebody else's books in his own inventory?

Clearly, the practice of incorporating entries from external resources conflicts with the notion that Bernardo's catalogue functioned as an inventory of books in stock. Another troublesome piece of evidence, however, comes from the internal geography of the catalogue. The compilers put much effort in organising data by provenance, and this section indeed seemed to occupy a special place in the heart of the users, so much so that they perfected search aids, such as additional tags and unique pagination. Thus, the layout was important in this abstruse catalogue. It is an irresistible temptation to compare the internal arrangement of Bernardo Giunti's catalogue with the family's business network, which had been maintained with so much effort for decades.⁵³ One would expect that Bernardo's stock,

- 44 *Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCI impressi nunc etiam existunt* [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti II, 1591], and *Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi nunc etiam existunt* [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti II, 1595] (published in Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Building an up-to-date library. Prospero Podiani's use of book-sellers's catalogues, with special reference to law books' in *JLIS.it*, 9 (2018), 99). The only known copy of the 1595 reprint is held at YRL (shelf mark Z233.G44G 448i 1595).
- 45 YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 5 recto–165 verso.
- 46 *Ibidem*, fol. 77 recto; the matching edition displays Mercuriale's comments scattered throughout the text, hence making it impossible to infer the commentaries in the single copies. This eliminates the option that the catalogue described a copy without Mercuriale's comments. For the matching edition, see Hippocrates, *Hippocratis coi Opera quae extant, graece et latine, veterum codicum collatione restituta, novo ordine in quattuor classes digesta, interpretationis latinae emendatione et scholiis illustrata a Hieron. Mercuriali forliviensi*, Venetiis: industria ac sumptibus luntarum, 1588, ED1T16, CNCE 22546; the sheet count can be found in the Early Modern Book Prices database, no. 10919.
- 47 The entry can be found in the Giunti 1591 catalogue (e.g., Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Stampati, Ald 558(8)), as well as in the 1595 reprint (*Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCI impressi nunc etiam existunt* [Venice, Lucantonio Giunti II, 1595], fol. 1 recto, col. b) which is presumably the one that Bernardino had in hand.
- 48 'Zio' is undoubtedly a reference to the Giunti's device, The Lily (Giglio), which in Venetian parlance became Zio. I owe this notion to Angela Nuovo.
- 49 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 123 recto.
- 50 *Ibidem*, fol. 124 recto.
- 51 Bodleian Library, Broxbourne, Broxb. 97.10 (7). I owe this notion to Giliola Barbero. An example of the dialectic alignment of data can be the following: from the Misserini 1600 printed catalogue: 'Breviario, in 4^o, tre Magi, disteso L. 7. Idem [Breviario], in 8^o, Sant'Andrea, disteso L. 4. Idem [Breviario], in 16^o, Santa Barbara, disteso L. 3. Idem [Breviario], in 16^o, detto [Santa Barbara], in rame L. 6. Idem [Breviario], in 16^o a doi tempi L. 3 s. 10.' Giliola Barbero transcribed and matched for the EMO Book Prices database (<https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/prices>, last consulted 21 July 2023). From Bernardino's stockbook: 'Breviario. In 4to, Miserino, L. 7, tre maggi, C. 117. [Breviario]. In 8^o, s. Andrea disteso, L. 4.-. [Breviario]. In 16, s. Barbara, in legno, L. 3.-. [Breviario], idem. In 16, detto, rame, Miserino, L. 6. [Breviario]. In 16, a doi tempi, in legno, Miserino, L. 3.10' (YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 124).
- 52 This section of the manuscript has been thoroughly scrutinised by Flavia Bruni, who first brought the phrase's questionable meaning to my attention. For her elaboration on this portion of the manuscript, see Flavia Bruni, 'Peace at the Lily. The de Franceschi section in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti' in *JLIS.it*, 9 (2018), 265–279 (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4403/jlis.it-12468>).
- 53 Andrea Ottone, 'The Giunta's publishing and distributing network and their supply to the European academic market' in Matteo Valleriani & Andrea Ottone (eds), *Publishing Sacrobosco's De sphaera in early modern Europe. Modes of material and scientific exchange*, Cham 2022, 255–288 (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86600-6>).

and therefore his 'stockbook', would fairly reflect the structure of the family's network. Except it does not, and in some very significant ways.

The map below compares the geographical distribution of the Giunti's branches throughout Europe compared to the catalogue's internal organisation [Map 1].



Map 1 Map comparing the internal geography of ms. Collection *170/622 with the known commercial network put in place by the Giunti family until the mid-seventeenth century. Black dots represent the known direct franchise or proxy agent of the Giunti family; white dots indicate the printing centres that have direct mention in Collection *170/622; grey dots indicate overlaps between the two mentioned elements.

Black dots identify the print centres where the Giunti had either a family member active in the book business or a proxy agent.⁵⁴ With some nuances, this may have represented the overall array of activities open to a minor Giunti figure like Bernardino before he had entered into full partnership with Giovanni Battista Ciotti, a largely capable publisher with outstanding international connections. White dots indicate print centres that found mention in the provenance data in Bernardo Giunti's catalogue. Grey dots indicate places where the two mentioned categories overlap.

The infrequent overlaps between the Giunti's commercial network and Bernardo manuscript catalogue are clearly visible. Aside from some obvious overlaps (i.e., Milan, Padua, Rome and Venice), justified by the relevant publishing output of these cities, most of the

proxy centres are not represented in the by-provenance organisation of Bernardo's catalogue. What is striking, however, are the mismatches regarding relevant European publishing hubs. Madrid was not among these, as Spain was overall hardly an influential import market for Italian traders. Although, in all fairness, Bernardo sent his own son Tommaso there to practise the family trade under the supervision of Bernardo's own brother Giulio (Julio de Junta), until his death in 1619. Then Tommaso operated alone until 1624.⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the lack of interest in Iberian books for Italian traders, it is equally hard to suppose that Iberian books were of absolutely no interest to Bernardo's own supply. Florence, Bernardo's native city and where his two brothers were still active, is indeed represented in Bernardo's own catalogue, although it is marginalised in a section which itemises Florentine imprints alongside Rome's.⁵⁶ What should raise suspicion, however, is the fact that his brother's name and other family members were not spotlighted in Bernardo's bibliographic directory. A lack of information on his own family's production is hard to believe, since they boasted of their own stock of 13,685 editions in a printed catalogue in 1604.⁵⁷

Most confusing about Bernardo's catalogue, if it is considered the Giunti's publishing house stockbook, is the absence of Lyon in the spotlight of the geographical organisation of data. There, the Giunti had a family member since 1520 and maintained an active presence until the beginning of the seventeenth century, albeit not as prominent after the death in 1546 of the first branch holder Iacopo Giunti (Jacques Giunta, 1478–1528).⁵⁸ Jacques's placement in Lyon was clearly an effort to establish business dealings with the whole of France, including Paris, which also finds no representation in the maniacal data management of Bernardo's bibliographic directory.⁵⁹

54 The network of proxy agents indicated in the map pertains exclusively to that which was put in place by Lucantonio Giunti II; this was impressively reconstructed in Alberto Tenenti, 'Luc'Antonio Giunti il giovane, stampatore e mercante' in *Studi in onore di Armando Saporì*, Milano 1957, II, 1023–1060.

55 On Tommaso's activity in Madrid, see Marco Santoro, *I Giunta a Madrid: Vicende e Documenti*, Pisa 2013, doc. no. 83 onward, especially no. 84 that reveals active trading between the Madrid branch and the Bernardo Giunti-Giovanni Battista Ciotti society.

56 'Catalogue of books of Rome and Florence' (*Catalogo de' libri di Roma et Fiorenza*): YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 166 recto–185 verso. This section alternated entries for Rome on the recto and Florentine editions on the verso of each leaf. This system is, however, unstable: e.g., fols 169 recto and 171 recto switch to Florentine imprints.

57 *Catalogus librorum qui in lunctarum bibliotheca Philippi haeredum Florentiae prostant*, (Florence: [heirs of Filippo Giunti], 1604). See Nuovo, *The book trade*, 70, and Alfredo Serrai, 'Cataloghi tipografici, editoriali, di librai' in Alfredo Serrai, *Storia della bibliografia*, Roma 1993, IV, 34–35. On the Giunti 1604 catalogue, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The economy of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore, MD 2009, 400.

58 On Jacques de Giunta and his legacy, see William Pettas, 'The Giunti and the book trade in Lyon' in Arnaldo Ganda, Elisa Grignani & Alberto Petruciani (eds), *Libri tipografi biblioteche: ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, Parma/Firenze 1997, I, 169–192.

59 To be fair, this does not mean that Parisian or Lyon editions find no place in the manuscript; in fact, they are episodically mentioned in the 'Catalogue of books printed in Germany' (*Catalogo delli libri stampati in Germania*), YRL, Collection *170/622, fols 206 recto–248 recto), but they clearly occupied no special place in the data-retrieving practice for which the manuscript catalogue was devised, and indeed no tab or dedicated section was created for the purpose, unlike the marginal centres of Vicenza or Messina.

Ultimately, in terms of the provenance of its listings, the 'stockbook' presents several paradoxes, two of which need special emphasis. Firstly, if it were Bernardo's own stock inventory, we would expect a considerable number of his own imprints prior to 1600. But his own name, which does appear in the manuscript, is associated with no more than sixteen entries.⁶⁰ Secondly, if the listings reflected Bernardo's own assortment in shop, this would translate into a deadly burden for a book dealer in terms of storage costs of highly deteriorating unbound books if staidly held in stock for over forty years. The large quantity of books listed, one may argue, is more compatible with a high-capacity firm such as that operated by Lucantonio II. This probably explains why, to this day, the manuscript is still labelled as Giunti's publishing house stockbook. However, a third paradox then emerges. When it came to their own acquisitions, why would the Giunti of Venice disregard their best assets in Europe in terms of production and supply? Why, in fact, is Lyon and the whole of France so poorly represented, in light of the fact that the Giunti of Venice, in the person of Lucantonio I, put effort and resources in building an integrated transnational network to circulate merchandise? Lastly, why is there so much attention on the German market, a market zone in which the Giunti never showed much direct interest?⁶¹ Resolving these paradoxes will be the undertaking of the next section.

An alternative hypothesis

One look at the map that visualises the data organisation of the catalogue by provenance reveals a key factor [Map 1]. The greatest density of data concentrates in the North Italian region, particularly the northeastern part of Italy. This was, for instance, the area of interest of a medium-sized book dealer active in the book-city of Venice, like Bernardo Giunti. The scope of his dataset was useful in obtaining a pulse of his own market of reference and in monitoring the work of his direct competitors. The information that Bernardo and his associates so tirelessly accumulated for years was particularly beneficial in determining which literary works already occupied his market of interest, their material features and their market value. Competition, in sum, may be the key in unpacking the ambiguities of the manuscript.

When one embraces this interpretative view, many pieces come together. For example, the whole practice of looking at other booksellers' stocks makes much sense. To build one's own dataset of circulating merchandise, one would more easily start with his direct circle of friends, allies and family. Such was the case of Francesco de Franceschi, who collaborated with Bernardo Giunti in the *Societas Aquilae Renovantis*.⁶² In this new framework, the presence of de Franceschi's holdings among Bernardo Giunti's listings reveals itself as a way to share commercial information in the best interest of both. This sort of friendly 'insider trading', in fact, saved both from engaging in unwilling competition.

Along the same lines, it made sense to scrutinize recently published catalogues, that is, not more than ten years old. There, a careful eye could catch fresh editions or even some enthusiastically announced yet still unfinished publishing projects. This was certainly the

case for the sale catalogues published by Lucantonio Giunti in 1595.⁶³ The editions presumably would still be sitting on booksellers' shelves or be showcased in private collections when Bernardo started compiling his dataset. Copies were eventually read by owners or loaned to friends. They may even have lately entered the second-hand market if they were deemed poor collectables yet still valuable sources of useful knowledge. In sum, in one way or another, the editions may have recently satisfied market appetite and were no longer viewed as good business. Likewise, book catalogues would carry information on old shackles that would not sell for decades, hence providing a clear warning against them.⁶⁴ But, in the case of the 1595 Giunti catalogue, Lucantonio Giunti was still family to Bernardo. Therefore, the information captured in his catalogue could presumably be confirmed by a look at his actual stock. This may explain why Bernardo was more selective in taking notes of Lucantonio's latest sales catalogue. Quite the opposite would be the case for the catalogue of Giovanni Domenico Tarino, whose stock may have been too far out of reach in Turin. Thus, it was much easier for Bernardo to have Tarino's printed catalogue copied faithfully. Perhaps for similar reasons, Misserini's 1600 catalogue was also copied entirely. Although Misserini's stock could be mostly found in Venice, a direct collaboration between Nicolò Misserini and Bernardo Giunti is not known. In fact, evidence shows that Misserini was not on very good terms with the Giunti family, hence forms of information-sharing may have been unfeasible.⁶⁵

Even gaps, ever-present in the manuscript, acquire a special meaning. For example, a whole blank page in Bernardo's catalogue carries the label 'Gatta', Italian for cat.⁶⁶ A cat holding a mouse in its mouth was the insignia of the Sessa family. Sessa's imprints are listed in the genre-based section of the manuscript and at fol. 253 recto of the provenance section.

60 *Ibidem*, fol. 258 recto.

61 The Giunti, in fact, showed more interest in larger nation-states, such as Spain and France, where cohesive jurisdictions (e.g., privilege systems) and internal trading routes would guarantee a smoother circulation of goods. Germany, with its fragmented territory, must have seemed like a more unstable circuit; this choice proved even more valuable when the Reformation broke out and confessionalism further complicated the institutional fragmentation of German-speaking lands.

62 For the organigram of the Societas, see EDIT16, CNCT 90.

63 *Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi*. There, for example, one could find entries referring to editions published in the very year that the catalogue was printed (e.g., fol. 1 recto, col. a, item 50 and 94; fol. 1 recto, col. b, item 13, 25 and 61; fol. 1 recto, col. c, item 9, 40 and 61). At times, however, unpublished editions were also announced, such is the case for all entries that did not yet carry a price (which clearly could not be set until a cost assessment would allow calculating the margin). Examples are fol. 1 recto, col. a, item 41; fol. 1 recto, col. b, item 12 and 23, which all refer

to 1596 editions except for fol. 1 recto, col. b, item 12 which refers to a 1595 edition, likely too recent to assess the cost/margin ratio or to evaluate the transnational market value or else finished shortly after the catalogue was issued.

64 One excellent example is that of Ptolemy's *Almagestum* advertised in the Giunti 1595 catalogue (*Index librorum omnium qui Venetijs in nobilissima luntarum typographia usque ad annum MDXCV impressi*, fol. 1 recto, col. a, item 55), which is also mentioned in Collection *170/622 (fol. 5 recto, item 1). Both entries refer to Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Almagestum seu magnae constructionis mathematicae opus*, In vrbe Veneta: Luceantonii Iunta officina aere proprio, ac typis excussa, horoscopante lovia stella in calce febru. [...], 1528 (folio), a work that had sat on the Giunti's stacks for more than seventy years until Bernardo placed it in his own catalogue.

65 Andrea Ottone, 'Il privilegio del Messale riformato. Roma e Venezia fra censura espurgatoria e tensioni commerciali' in Erika Squassina & Andrea Ottone (eds), *Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Milano 2019, 299, 305–306.

66 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 253 recto.

All considered, the blank ‘*Gatta*’ page looks like a planned data-entry project that was never carried out. Similarly, in Bernardo’s catalogue – planned but never completed – single entries are numerous. Such is the frequent occurrence of horizontal dashes placed in long rows under popular titles (see Figs. 1 and 2). These titles were expected to recur in the data-acquisition process carried out by the compilers. Hence, small dashes sped up the process by saving copyists the effort of repeating information, i.e., author and/or title. Frequently, however, these were left hanging with no practical use, simply because no use was found for them while the dataset was growing. Presumably, if Bernardo Giunti’s catalogue had been based on existing stock, compilers would have been better off in assessing the number of entries they were expected to compile; thus, the often-extensive sequences of unused lines would have been shorter, saving precious space in the manuscript. Inversely, the manuscript was set to manage a dynamic, and likely virtual mass of objects worthy of notice. Such must have been the flux of new and old editions circulating within the slice of the book market that Bernardo Giunti was scrutinizing from 1600 onward.

However, the hypothesis of Bernardo Giunti’s catalogue being a searchable base of data devised to investigate the North Italian market finds one relevant contradiction in the presence of the forty-three densely written pages of ‘Books printed in Germany’. This was no marginal set of data for him. Not only did this section occupy a considerable portion of the catalogue, but also the letter side tabs show that this section was set up for frequent browsing. But why would Bernardo want to know so much about a market for which the Giunti always showed a scarce interest?

It is worth considering that, in the eyes of a Venetian merchant, Germany was never far away. This goes well beyond the fact that Venice was the crossroads between Italy and *Mitteleuropa* and that part of Venetian territory bordered German-speaking lands. A simple look at Venice’s topography may be revelatory. Any visitor heading these days to San Marco from the northwest part of town will probably want to stop at the Rialto Bridge. Crossing the Grand Canal, they will find a majestic building on their left-hand side worthy of a stop-over. The place is still known these days as the *Fondaco de’ Tedeschi*, namely, the Germans’ Warehouse. Germans were important players in the Venetian trade just as the Rialto is central to the city plan. Not to mention the large German community of students (German Nation) who attended the nearby University of Padua.⁶⁷ For a merchant and bookseller like Bernardo, the Rialto was the place where a great part of his dealings occurred.⁶⁸ Arguably, like many Venetians, Bernardo Giunti was well acquainted with the presence of ultramontane merchants (not necessarily German in the current sense). Even more so than his new business partner, Giovanni Battista Ciotti was a frequent attendee of the Frankfurt Fair since 1587. Ciotti’s repeated visits to Frankfurt and the German traders visiting Venice’s city centre played a dual role. On the one hand, they could likely convey the bibliographic information about ultramontane editions that Bernardo needed to fill up the significant part of his bibliographic directory. On the other hand, both the proxy contact that Ciotti provided with the German book trade and the direct contact that Bernardo very likely had with German traders in Venice generated the need for Bernardo to acquire a detailed knowledge of the German market. For Bernardo, identifying ‘[b]ooks printed in Germany’

meant knowing which books German traders were not so eager to acquire from Venetian traders when visiting each other's lands. Knowing what Germans would not buy from a seller was key in determining which products could instead be offered, or at a better price. Clearly, however, the whole German market could not possibly be encapsulated in just forty-three leaves, albeit densely written. A selection must have been necessary for Bernardo's catalogue.

Although a clear-cut answer cannot be offered regarding the selection process, there are plausible explanations. One hypothesis, as for the rest of his dataset, Bernardo's choice was in good balance between what data he could possibly acquire and what data he actually needed for his predictive assessments. It is worth considering that no place could be better for a Venetian book dealer than the Frankfurt Fair in order to feel the pulse of the transalpine market in terms of novelties.⁶⁹ That the German section of the so-called stockbook could reflect books on display at the fair remains a working, yet promising, hypothesis. It would, for instance, explain why the heading of the section ('Books printed in Germany') lied so bluntly to its reader while also including listings from Lyon, Paris and Antwerp (although the latter was still formally part of the Habsburg Netherlands). In all likelihood, this can be explained by considering how Bernardo Giunti had repurposed this section of the catalogue while it was evolving. Hence, the section that he may have considered using exclusively to store information on German imprints became something more useful to his undertaking. Thus, this portion of the catalogue became progressively a directory of relevant books influencing the German market. Another hypothesis may be that the heading of this section was simply motivated by the way subalpine culture loosely defined the lands across the Alps. Neither interpretation, however, has much impact on the general proposition of this chapter.

67 On the presence of German students at the University of Padua, see Paul Grendler, *The universities of the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore, MD 2002, 191–195. German bookdealers would profit from the considerable presence of German students in Padua, catering to them with editions published in their own lands: see Nuovo, *The book trade*, 190–191.

68 In his 1564 will, Tommaso Giunti, while rehashing the tragic events that contributed in damaging his finances, including a financial default that his firm had suffered in 1553, lamented that most of it was linked to the failure of the Rialto dealings ('*fallimento per li negocij de Rialto*', ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 210, Angelo da Canal, n. 527); for Tommaso Giunti's published will, see Paolo Camerini, 'Il testamento di Tommaso Giunti' in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di scienze e lettere di Padova*, 43 (1927), 191–210. The term '*negocij*' employed by Tommaso is ambiguous. In Italian, it can mean both shop and trade; but in the right context it can also

mean 'trick'. In the context provided by Tommaso in his will, it is quite clear that he meant both trade and trick (he in fact voices his frustration for the instrumental way his creditors asked him to solve all debts at once). The Rialto for a bookdealer, like Tommaso and later Bernardo Giunti, represented the marketplace where books were traded, but, most importantly, where the financial resources, such as money lending and joint ventures, were found.

69 The criterium of novelty was a requirement for being listed in the Frankfurt Fair catalogue, although publishers often found ways to repurpose old wine in new skin: see Maclean, *Episodes*, 12–13.

70 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 138 recto, col. a, item 41.

71 The matching edition is likely Torquato Tasso, *Amin-ta fauola boscareccia*, Vinegia: presso Daniel Bisucio, 1603, 12mo. See: <http://id.sbn.it/bid/URBE028908>.

Lastly, if one embraces the hypothesis that Bernardo's manuscript catalogue was a repository of information useful for business planning, then one further ambiguity unfolds. At times, entries have the layout of a cluster of multiple data. For example:

Aminta del Tasso. 12, C. 3. In 24, C. 1½. In 12 novo, C. 3.⁷⁰

The cluster could be disaggregated as follow:

- 1 Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, in 12mo format, printed on 3 sheets of paper.⁷¹
- 2 Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, in 24mo format, printed on 1.5 sheets of paper.⁷²
- 3 Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, in 12mo format, new, printed on 3 sheets of paper.⁷³

In the code employed in Bernardo's catalogue, users would be informed that the first recorded listing of Tasso's *Aminta* published with a relevant spare of raw material (previous editions employed no fewer than 3.5 printing sheets) was compared to a 24mo edition, which reduced the sheet count by half. Then a third edition, in duodecimo like the first one was also printed on three sheets, the only difference being that this one was 'new' ('*nov[a]*'). Countless similar examples found in the manuscript confirm that, in Bernardo's parlance, 'new' was used in relative terms to indicate a more recent edition than the one being compared (hence, it was not used to distinguish a second-hand from a brand-new book).⁷⁴ The horizontal disposition of this cluster shows its comparative intention. From the specific editorial formula of the line, the user would know that a small-format edition of Tasso's pastoral drama, printed at a low cost and offered at a low price, had already hit the Venetian market three times.⁷⁵ Would it have been worth trying a fourth?

Linear comparisons among different editions, such as the one above, are far from rare in Bernardo's manuscript and almost always display a chronological order from older to newer. At times, this chronological sequence is made more explicit, as in the following example:

Galeno, Opera. Folio, Zio, 8^a edit., C. 1233, L. 60, D. 10.-. 9^a editione, C. 1273.⁷⁶

Here, the linear chronology is revealed by the announced sequence of the two editions, i.e., the eighth and ninth editions of Galen's corpus. In sum, a sequence like this served the purpose of flagging pernicious redundancies in the publishing market, thus helping commercial planning, which, it was argued, was the strongest purpose for which Bernardo Giunti's catalogue was probably devised.

Fluctuating prices, consolidated values

One last issue is worth discussing before making some conclusive statements, the frequent but not always consistent indication of prices and printing sheets in Bernardo Giunti's catalogue. As mentioned, prices were a less constant presence than the sheet count. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the practice of systematising prices loses momentum

with the passage of time. In fact, the oldest entries found in the catalogue's first section (books by genre) were more often priced than the later entries that carried a fairly consistent indication of the number of printing sheets. This may reveal that Bernardo's interest in prices decreased as time passed; a few years into his data-entry practice, perhaps he realized that the expected longevity of his catalogue would have coped poorly with the fluctuation of prices. However, editions carried more secure information about their intrinsic value, which was linked to the quantity of sheets of paper employed in the printing job. As mentioned, printing sheets were a general indicator of the effort expressed in terms of raw material employed and the amount of labour applied to complete a print run.

In the long run, sheet counts per item must have been more efficient information than prices. Even more so if one considers that barter occupied a considerable part of the commercial transactions among publishers and bookdealers. Books were in fact exchanged based on their consolidated value, expressed by the quantity of paper employed. Especially in the scope of trading at transnational venues, such as book fairs, swapping merchandise was perceived as a less complicated transaction.⁷⁷

Recording the material features and specific characteristics of certain titles was the primary aim of Bernardo Giunti's bibliographic catalogue. This does not mean that Bernardo was not interested in building a standard system to regulate his pricing strategies. Rather, he proved to be fully aware that, in devising his commercial strategy, he had to consider several elements, time being one of them.

- 72 The identification of this listing remains difficult. *Aminata* was part of the 24mo edition of Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor fido*. *Tragicomedia pastorale*, Roma: appresso Michele Hercole, [c.1600], 24mo. See: <http://id.sbn.it/bid/L01E022120>. The undated Rome edition, however, presents a further difficulty by being in a section explicitly dedicated to Venetian vernacular books. It is possible that a 24mo edition of 1.5 printing sheets is lost or was merged into miscellaneous works, such as the one just cited.
- 73 The matching edition is likely Torquato Tasso, *Aminata favola boscareccia*, Venetia: appresso Giorgio Valentini, 1620, 12mo, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/L01E025129>.
- 74 An example may be YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 10 verso: 'Epiteta Textoris. 4°, Q. 3, C. 24, L. 2.10, C. 107' [matching a 1572 edition of Jean Tixier, *Epithetorum*: EDIT16, CNCE 33561]. 'Nova C. 109' [matching a 1608 edition, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/T00E077685>]. 'Nova, Sarzina, 119 ½' [matching a 1617 edition published by Giacomo Sarzina, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/UMCE016035>]. 'C. 124' [matching with a 1630 edition, see <http://id.sbn.it/bid/PARE019957>]. All four matches are confirmed by the coinciding number of printing sheets. For all seventeenth-century editions, the sheet count was derived from the collation formula.
- 75 Interestingly, this section of the manuscript focuses on Venetian vernacular imprints (*Catalogo delli*

libri stampati in Venetia volgari, YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 137 recto). Equally interesting is the fact that the entry's literary genre (small format, short and inexpensive lyric literature) is the genre in which Bernardo Giunti and Giovanni Battista Ciotti would specialise during their partnership.

- 76 YRL, Collection *170/622, fol. 76 recto.
- 77 I owe this notion to Ian Maclean, who generously shared it with me as food for thought, while I wrestled to formulate an argument on this matter. Professor Maclean's description of this interesting commercial dynamic can be found in his *Episodes*, 50–51. Furthermore, a consequence of the progressive commodification of printed literature was the trend of pricing printed books by gatherings. This is particularly visible in the 1605 sales catalogue of Onofrio Farri, *Libri che al presente si ritrova nel magazzino di Onofrio Farri in Venetia del 1605*, Venezia: Onofrio Farri, 1605 (single sheet); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxbourne, Broxb. 97.10 (14); USTC 4038239. This catalogue, rather than grouping items by genre following the general pattern in the sixteenth century of gathering diverse literary works together by the value assigned per gathering: e.g., 'Books worth ten liras per gathering [...]' Books in 12mo worth ten liras per gathering [...]' Books worth twelve liras per gathering' (*'Libri a lire dieci la risma [...]' 'Libri in 12 a lire dieci la risma [...]' 'Libri a lire dodeci la risma'*). I owe this notion to Angela Nuovo.

Conclusions

This chapter has proposed a revised interpretation of a manuscript, whose identity has been misunderstood and, to some extent, underestimated. My journey into the intricacies of ms. Collection *170/622, however, was not just a mere exercise of codicological erudition. Rather, this essay would like to draw the readers' attention to the following implications.

My research has emphasised the series of failures that characterised Bernardo Giunti's modest career before the year 1600, the year in which he started compiling his impressive catalogue. These failures should be compared to the relative success that his publishing output would otherwise suggest while in association with the very experienced and enterprising publisher Giovanni Battista Ciotti, whose collaboration had started by the year 1600. A greater output could have resulted in greater earnings, but nothing is certain about this. Certainly, a greater output for a publisher resulted in greater responsibilities. Bernardo Giunti's increased output could be due to an augmented capital accumulation, or to a greater access to larger lines of credit (which in the world of Renaissance publishing could eventually mean the same thing). Following this reasoning, one may argue that the period 1604–1608 is the modest culmination of Bernardo Giunti's career as a publisher (see Graph 1). It is likely that this period had an even longer tale in terms of retailing activities, propelled by the augmented stock that he gathered in those years and that he needed to exhaust. Ms. Collection *170/600, I argue, is the testimony of how Bernardo Giunti came prepared to the task. Part of his homework involved compiling sufficient information on the market to which he wanted to cater. This was done to avoid already saturated markets. And this he did with the aid of a quill, a bound volume, a good deal of diligence and a system that was likely common in the circle of expert bookdealers to which he was born and raised.

The wider implications of this narrative, however, are far heavier to embrace. If one accepts that Bernardo Giunti's manuscript was some sort of analogue database built to facilitate market research, then some further ramifications emerge. These reveal the sophisticated commercial awareness that Renaissance merchants, and particularly bookdealers, seemed to possess. One may go as far as to imply that, albeit only at an empirical level, Renaissance and Baroque publishers were already thinking about concepts such as market volatility, market saturation, market risks and market opportunities. These concepts will become commonplace in the classic economy some two centuries later, but to some extent they seem to have had embryonic predecessors. To Bernardo Giunti, the Smithian *invisible hand* was in fact a visible force that he could quantitatively assess by looking at existing shops and warehouses. All he needed to do was to visit the premises of his colleagues and friends or extract useful commercial information from the advertisement catalogues and lists of books for sale. It shall be stressed that the transfer from empirical approach to theoretical elaboration may have never happened while Bernardo was alive, or at least it does not emerge from the available sources. What sources prove instead is that publishers were pioneering the rising art of bibliographic systematisation and were often consulted by scholars and authorities to gather expert state-of-the-art opinions regarding single or multiple disciplines.⁷⁸

This leads us to consider whether the technical expedient employed by Bernardo Giunti was well known and practised elsewhere. Certainly, he was unlikely the initiator of this practice. Christophe Plantin (c. 1520–1589) had been doing something very similar in Antwerp from the 1570s to 1590s.⁷⁹ Hypotheses on the ways that Bernardo Giunti acquired this useful knowledge must remain speculative, given current evidence in hand. He could have learned it while working with Lucantonio, by far a better-established publisher. Alternatively, he could have learned the practice from ultramontane publishers like Plantin, either directly or via secondary acquaintances, for instance, from his business associate Giovanni Battista Ciotti. Ultimately, if one adheres entirely to the available evidence, the only similar operational catalogue was compiled in Antwerp thirty years earlier. The Frankfurt Fair would have been a good place to observe advanced commercial practices of the innovative northern merchants who were gaining dominance over the European book market.⁸⁰ Of the two hypotheses, the second is the one suggested by evidence, albeit only faintly so. However, it is important to note that large publishing firms, like that of Lucantonio Giunti and Christophe Plantin, could not survive in an increasingly competitive market without conducting multidimensional planning that also considered currently circulating merchandise in their market of interest. The idea that big firms commonly owned and used bibliographic registers, such as the one compiled by Bernardo, borders on common sense.

Yet, the use of such commercial tools was not clearly mentioned in the planned training of European merchants. Could it be then a peculiarity of the book world? To some extent, the world of printed books was the most fertile environment for computational practices of this kind to come about. The print industry (or proto industry) was exposed to high pressure. Publishing endeavours were costly and the failure in planning an edition could have disastrous consequences for all people involved if the market later proved to be incapable of absorbing the proper number of copies that would at least cover expenses.

78 The Giunti themselves were among such experts. When, in 1568, Pope Pius V wished to create a new library near Alessandria, Italy, he consulted his Venetian *nuncio*, Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, who in turn consulted the Giunti in Venice, asking them to compile a comprehensive list of appropriate books for the pope's library. They obliged, compiling a list of 372 entries, specifying provenance, formats and prices. The list is preserved in the Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Venezia 10. On the genesis of this list, see Ugo Rozzo, 'La biblioteca ideale del nunzio Facchinetti' in *Biblioteche italiane del Cinquecento tra Riforma e Controriforma*, Udine 1994, 191–234, and Nuovo, *The book trade*, 300. A critical edition, prepared by Giliola Barbero, is available in the EMO Book Prices database.

79 Christophe Plantin's own manuscript register is preserved at the Museum Plantin-Moretus (shelf mark M 296). For detailed accounts on this manuscript, see Renaud Milazzo, 'Les enjeux écono-

miques du choix du format et du papier dans la politique éditoriale de Christophe Plantin (1555–1589)' = 'The economic stakes in the choice of bibliographic format and paper in the publishing policy of Christophe Plantin (1555–1589)' in Goran Proot, Yann Sordet & Christophe Vellet (eds), *A century of typographical excellence. Christophe Plantin and the Officina Plantiniana (1555–1655)* = *Un siècle d'excellence typographique. Christophe Plantin and son officine (1555–1655)*, Paris/Dilbeek 2020, 142–191; Renaud Milazzo, 'In the mind of a publisher. Establishing the price of emblem books in Antwerp in the sixteenth century' in *The Golden Compasses*, 98:2 (2020), 183–202.

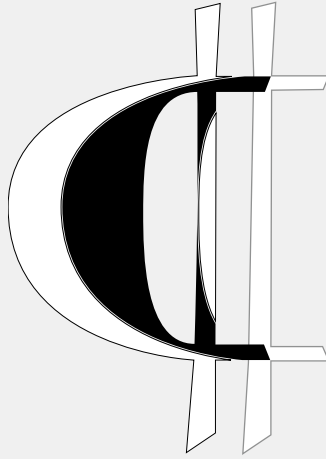
80 Bernardo Giunti's visit to the Frankfurt Fair is documented in 1570 (Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius*, 7), the same year that he moved to Venice to start his publishing career. Christophe Plantin's own bibliographic register was not initiated until 1572 or later (Milazzo, 'Les enjeux économiques', 150).

Furthermore, publishers were working at the core of the information revolution that characterised the Renaissance, hence they were also experimenting with new opportunities that enhanced communication provided. For instance, the perception of an ongoing competition among publishers was amplified by sale catalogues and title pages themselves, for both provided information about what other producers were pursuing. Book sale catalogues were not the only type of catalogues in circulation at the time; other merchants in premodern times were working on similar advertisement tools.⁸¹ Admittedly though, books differed from all other commodities in circulation in premodern Europe in that they carried very useful information on their producers, site and year of production. They also carried qualitative and quantitative features that were expected to be valid for a good part or for the whole print run (such was the advantage of a quasi-standardised mode of production, like the one deployed by the print industry). All these elements allowed precise chrono-geographical and material computational practices. To my knowledge, the textile industry, for example, did not allow the same level of record keeping. The world of early modern publishers was exposed to the right tension between necessities and opportunities that normally triggered innovative practices.

This analysis has been framed within the context of competition. If competition was the propeller of the dynamics described here, one might argue that commercial computational devices, such as ms. Collection *170/622, probably had very little aggressive tone to it. Quite the opposite, bibliographic directories of this kind, albeit probably confidential in nature, served a collective cause. They were likely meant as a conflict-solving, or better yet, a conflict-avoiding trick that prevented publishers from engaging in destructive competition.⁸² This is also suggested by the fact that Bernardo may have worked out some of his data while going through the stacks of his own colleagues. Hence, on both a regional and a transnational level, the practice of keeping records of someone else's production may have even been perceived as fair play.

81 A survey on the matter is provided by John J. McCusker & Cora Gravesteyn, *The beginnings of commercial and financial journalism: the commodity price currents, exchange rate currents, and money currents of early modern Europe*, Amsterdam 1992.

82 I owe this idea to Ann Blair and to the thought-provoking question she asked during a conference held at UCLA in 2019 (International conference, *Merchants, artisans and literati: the book market in Renaissance Europe*, Los Angeles, 1–2 March 2019). I would also like to take the opportunity to share my immense gratitude to Joran Proot. He has been the prime inspiration for my revised approach to ms. Collection *170/622. During a team meeting held in the context of the EMOBookTrade project, the careful terminology that he used to present a source from the Plantin-Moretus archive (i.e., ms. M 296) generated many of my doubts that the manuscript had been a mere inventory of books in stock. My sincere thanks to him for a practical lesson on the benefit of both teamwork and terminological accuracy.



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