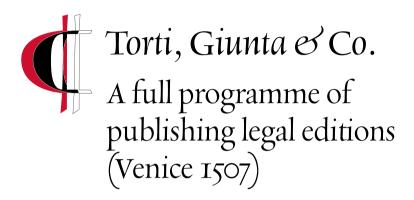
# Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni



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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

ВТ	E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, <i>Belgica typographica</i> , 1541–1600, Nieuwkoop 1968–1994 (4 vols)
EDIT16	Edizioni italiane del 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 $xv^e$ 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.), <i>The Plantin Press (1555–1589)</i> . A bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, Amsterdam 1980–1983 (6 vols)
SBN	Catalogo collettivo delle biblioteche del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, opac.sbn.it/web/opacsbn
STCN	Short Title Catalogue Netherlands, www.stcn.nl
STCV	Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen [Short Title Catalogue Flanders], www.stcv.be
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue, www.ustc.ac.uk

## MARIA ALESSANDRA PANZANELLI FRATONI

# Torti, Giunta & Co.

A full programme of publishing legal editions (Venice 1507)



'Per mazor utilitade nostra e reputatione del mestier'

In 1882, after having published the bulk of the documentation that he intended to present to the community of scholars engaged in the history of printing, Rinaldo Fulin (1824–1884) returned to his work and added two more documents, newly discovered, for he thought that they deserved the attention of scholars.2 The two documents would be added to the known collection of privileges granted to printers and publishers by the Senate of the Republic. They were indeed different, but very important: first, there was the register of the bookshop run by Antonio Moretto (before 1450–1518) at Padua that consisted of a long list of books with their prices, and second, the contract written in 1507 affirming the foundation of a company composed of Battista and Silvestro Torti (both c. 1460-c. 1540), Lucantonio Giunta (1457-1538), Giorgio Arrivabene (1483-1515), Amadio Scoto (†1535), and Antonio Moretto to publish legal texts. This chapter focuses on the latter contract, which is well known to book historians but still awaits a thorough analysis. The privileges originally made known by Fulin are now perfectly searchable through the database developed within the EmoBookTrade project and have been analysed in several publications.3 As for the 'diario' of Antonio Moretto, it is the object of a recent book.4

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- 1 Rinaldo Fulin, 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in Archivio Veneto, 12 (1882), 84-212.
- 2 Rinaldo Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in Archivio Veneto, 12 (1882), 390-405.
- 3 For the database and related publications, see https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/public/ pages/aboutprivileges. Most interesting is the collection of essays published by Erika Squassina & Andrea Ottone (eds), Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento, Milano 2019; see http://ojs.francoangeli.it/ omp/index.php/oa/catalog/book/430 (all online sources last consulted on 5 March 2023).
- 4 Ester Camilla Peric, Vendere libri a Padova nel 1480. Il Quaderneto di Antonio Moretto. Saggio introduttivo di Neil Harris, Udine 2020.

This chapter provides a critical edition of the text of the contract, of which two versions exist, the original document and a copy, and apparently only the former was considered by Fulin.<sup>5</sup> A translation in English is included here to enable anyone to understand the original text written in the vernacular of Venice. An introductory commentary on the contract will focus on its most relevant information about some major subjects pertaining to the history of printing. This includes: (1) the profile of the company and the various roles of the partners; (2) supply, choice, and quality of paper; (3) and most interestingly, the planning of a catalogue specialised in legal texts and its selected authors and texts.

### The documents

The famous contract, which mentions some of the most important firms active in Venice, was drawn up when the Serenissima was the capital of the book trade in Europe. It is found today (in double copy, as explained below) in a collection which seems to have been preserved totally by chance. Indeed, the documents are no longer part of an archive, as made explicit by the Italian title of the series to which they belong: 'Miscellany of documents not belonging to any archive.' Yet, the series is not a small one: the contract is found in folder no. 32, together with many other papers. How and when the series was formed cannot be explored here, for it deserves a separate study.<sup>6</sup>

Another purpose of this chapter is to provide a description, as complete as possible, of the documents, including material aspects to which no one has previously paid much attention. As mentioned, both versions of the document are preserved together, wrapped in a light grey sheet of paper, on which a summary was written, likely in the nineteenth century, by the person who created the series: 'Contract for a company 25 June 1507 between the brothers De Torti and Arrivabene for printing some works (2 copies)'.'

It is worth noting that the archivist, or whoever wrote the note, did not identify all those involved in the company but specified that two copies were preserved. More precisely, the copies consist of the original document (final version of the contract, complete with formalities, A in the edition) and a copy of it (B); both seem to be written by the same hand, that of Silvestro Torti, as identified in the text. However, one can see that the text in B was traced in a more cursive manner; more important, the signatures in A were autograph (essential for the document to be valid), whereas in B, they were copied by the same writer. Interestingly, the textual layout in the copy appears to be more elegant, with two wide margins that are not in the original; they were used for annotations, like 'nota bene' and pointing hands, by one of the partners, who also added a long note on the back of the document related to one of the editions.8 The writing style is closer to that of Lucantonio Giunta than that of any other partner, whose styles are shown by the autograph signatures in A, apart from Battista Torti, who did not sign because the two brothers were acting as one person (in solidum). More research might confirm the identification of the hand with that of Lucantonio, whose major role in the initiative is revealed in more detail. It is not surprising that he required his own copy of the contract, an opportunity explicitly foreseen there.

From the point of view of the document's formalities (as analysed by the study of diplomatics, the scholarly discipline focused on the creation and form of documents, especially medieval ones), it falls into the category of scritta (from Latin scriptum), the word being taken directly from documents that merchants or artisans composed about their relationships with business partners, without recourse to the professional service of a notary. The inscription on the back of A reads, 'Scrito de l'acordo fato cum ser Luchantonio e compagni [...]', which acknowledges the major role played by Lucantonio Giunta. Merchants, being illiterate, that is, ignorant of Latin, used their own language, and since the thirteenth century, when this practice emerged, they had produced a number of documents, especially in towns with well-developed trade.9

The validity and officiality of the document were verified by the signatures, which had to include autographs of all involved, as it is in A, where we see the signatures of Lucantonio Giunta, Amadio Scoto, Giorgio Arrivabene and Antonio Moretto, along with that of Silvestro Torti who wrote the entire text. As for Battista, it has already been pointed out that his signature was absent because the brothers were acting in solidum, as stated at the beginning of the contract; on the other hand, and again by contract, only Battista's name and device would be printed on all the editions published by the company.

- 5 My thanks to Antonio Olivieri and Laura Pani for their advice in interpreting the original document. I would also like to thank Angela Nuovo and Joran Proot for inviting me to work on this interesting subject.
- 6 The series consists of 37 folders ('buste'), preserving documents created from the late thirteenth to early nineteenth century which cannot be traced back with certainty to any archives; it was formed in the nineteenth century; see Andrea Da Mosto, L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico, Roma 1940, 11, 261; Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani, Roma 1981-1994, IV, 1129. An introductory insight on the series is also provided in: Richard MacKenney, 'Letters from the Venetian Archive' in Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 72 (1990), 133-143.
- 7 'Contratto sociale 25 giugno 1507 fra i fratelli De Torti ed Arrivabene per la stampa di alcune opere (copie due)'.
- 8 The note is very informative, for it refers to 600 copies of 'Soncini' printed on royal paper and to their distribution among Lucantonio Giunta (120 copies), Amadio Scoto (120), Antonio Moretto (25) and a certain Zandomenego (Giandomenico), a physician who had received 30 copies instead (on behalf?) of the printers. Soncini (that is, Sozzini, as explained in the paragraph in question) was one of the authors mentioned in the editorial plan, and it is worth noting that, in the copy, a pointing hand was added next to the list to highlight Soncini's name, likely in relation to the note. My sincere gratitude to Laura Pani for her great help in reading and comprehending the note and its content.
- 9 Merchants also developed their own writing style, the 'mercantesca'. On this, see Armando Petrucci, 'I documenti privati come fonte per lo studio dell'alfabetismo e della cultura scritta' in Armando Petrucci, Scrittura, documentazione, memoria, Dieci scritti e un inedito, 1963-2009, con una premessa di Attilio Bartoli Langeli, Roma 2019, 75-92 (originally published in: Paolo Brezzi & Egmont Lee (eds), Gli atti privati nel tardo medioevo: fonti per la storia sociale. Atti del convegno organizzato dall'Istituto di Studi romani, dall'Università di Calgary e dal Centro accademico canadese in Italia (Roma, 16–18 giugno 1980), Roma 1984, 251–266); Attilio Bartoli Langeli, La scrittura dell'italiano, Bologna 2000, 41–76. In some places texts written by the merchants seem to have been used as drafts by the notaries. I have personally observed another variant in documents from the late fifteenth century: the notary would include the original version in the fair copy, so as to frame the vernacular text with the formulary sections of the document written in Latin. Cf. Alessandra Panzanelli, La stampa a Perugia nel Rinascimento. Dai tipografi tedeschi agli editori locali, Milano 2020, 27–30.

# The Torti and the new company

Since the early days of their activity (early 1480s), Battista and Silvestro Torti devoted a great part of their production to legal texts, and during the 1490s, they were among the main players in publishing legal texts in Venice (at the time, therefore, in the world). In 1484, three years after their earliest publication, the name of Battista Torti appeared for the first time to 'sign' editions of a legal text. From then and until the end of the fifteenth century, the name of Battista Torti appeared on 111 editions of legal texts, more than any other printer in Italy (see, e.g. p. 99, Fig. 5). In the overall production of legal texts in Europe, only Peter Schoeffer (1425–1503) and Johannes Siber published more, 146 and 114 editions, respectively; yet, one must consider that Schoeffer also printed numerous single-sheet documents whereas Torti only published volumes. As for Siber, his name appears explicitly in only fifteen editions, all the others being attributed to him. In contrast, not only did Battista Torti put his name on almost all the firm's editions (109), but the family name was also soon included in the very title of primary texts: *Digestum Vetus de Tortis* and *Sextus et Clementinae de Tortis* are printed in red ink on the first recto of the two editions printed in 1494, a practice continued in later years. Page 1480 and 1490 and 1490

Some editions were published in partnership with other printers-publishers: immediately after the two editions mentioned above, a third volume of decretals, those of Gregory IX, were realised with the celebrated bookseller Francesco de' Madiis (fl. 1484–1488) in 1484.<sup>13</sup> Occasional joint ventures were put in place to publish specific editions, for instance, with Bernardino Benali (c. 1458–1543), Paganino Paganini (c. 1483–1538) or Giorgio Arrivabene.<sup>14</sup> At the beginning of the new century, around 1502, Torti and Arrivabene partnered with Francesco Cartolari (c. 1462–c. 1543), the bookseller and publisher in Perugia who was planning the ambitious programme of publishing the *opera omnia* of the two most important jurists of the fourteenth century, Bartolo da Sassoferrato and Baldo degli Ubaldi – also citizens of Perugia – in addition to the works of other contemporary jurists.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, the initiative of a joint venture with the purpose of fulfilling a well-thought-out editorial plan to publish all the most important legal texts was the result of long experience in the field and good market knowledge; we will return to this ambitious plan below. The two brothers possessed sufficient entrepreneurship to develop a partnership, in which they involved some of the most important players active in Venice at the time, such as Lucantonio Giunta and Amadio Scoto, the heir of Ottaviano (1440–1498).<sup>16</sup>

Lucantonio Giunta and Ottaviano Scoto had already published tens of editions, beginning in the 1480s, with a production focused on liturgical books, classical texts, medicine, philosophy and theology. Only Scoto had published editions of legal texts but very few – one edition of Justinian's *Institutiones* and various editions of *Vocabularius utriusque iuris*. By entering partnership with the Torti, both Giunta and Scoto would now cover a very important section of book production. The Torti, for their part, would strengthen their role; they would have more funds and reduce competition in Venice, thereby reinforcing their business to face an ever-active challenge coming from foreign competitors, especially from Lyon.

Reading between the lines of the contract and analysing its physical production reveals that the Torti and Giunta were the main players in the initiative. The full title (or one should say the summary) written on the back of the document's original version was previously mentioned as evidence of Giunta's role. A full reading provides more information: 'Scrito de l'acordo fato cum ser Luchantonio e compagni di stampar in compagnia soa de continuo cum torculi 4 per ani 5, cum li pacti e compagni come in questo scrito appar'. Lucantonio Giunta must be considered the main partner, who was also acting on behalf of his own company. In my opinion, the agreement had been previously discussed between the two brothers (acting as one person) and Giunta; all others came afterwards.

The assets of the company were divided into four parts: Giunta and Scoto would enter the company for one quarter each; the Torti brothers and Arrivabene for a quarter together (1/8 each). The last (fourth) quarter would belong to a partner who was still to be identified, as they wrote in the first lines of the document; by the end of the text, he had been found: Antonio Moretto. This leads us to believe that the *scripta* was meant to testify not only to the current will of the partners but also the process of the company's genesis, which might have taken time before it welcomed Moretto.17

- 10 Battista and Silvestro Torti were not from Venice: very little is known about their origin, but a note added to a colophon reveals that they were rooted in Nicastro (today Lamezia Terme, southern Italy); see Luca Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista' in Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, 96 (2019), 394– 396.
- 11 The texts were: an edition of the Constitutiones Clementinae (promulgated by Clemens v, ISTC icoo737500) and the so-called Liber Sextus (decretalium) of Boniface VIII (ISTC iboo997500), both dated 6 November 1484.
- 12 ISTC ibo1007000 and ij00551000; analytical descriptions can be read in the TEXT-inc database (http:// textinc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/) and soon also in IVS Commune online (https://www.iuscommuneonline.unito.it/). An overview of the legal editions printed in the fifteenth century, including a focus on the role played by the Torti, is provided in Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century. With a focus on Corpus iuris civilis and the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato' in Cristina Dondi (ed.), Printing r-evolution and society. Fifty years that changed Europe, Venezia 2020, see http://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-332-8/
- 13 ISTC ig00458000, dated 7 September 1484 (folio, 278 leaves, 139 sheets; GW 11471).
- 14 An overview of the Torti partner list is also provided in the Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke, where the Torti are identified as Workshop 53 (https:// tw.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/ofoo74).

- 15 In 1502, Francesco Cartolari bought the full stock belonging to the Torti in Perugia where they were running their business since the late 1480s; Alessandra Panzanelli, La stampa a Perugia nel Rinascimento. Dai tipografi tedeschi agli editori locali, Milano 2020, chapter 5 (especially 110-120). See also Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista',
- 16 William Pettas has published extensively on Giunta; see his works listed in: Alfonso Ricca, 'Giunta' in Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento, Pisa 2014, 495-503; Andrea Ottone, 'L'attività editoriale dei Giunti nella Venezia del Cinquecento' in Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica, 2 (2003), 43-80.
- 17 Rooted in the land of Brescia (where he was born around 1450), Antonio Moretto moved to the Republic of Venice (in particular to Padua and Venice) from the early 1470s and became very active in the book trade, as a bookseller, editor, and publisher. He does not ever seem to have had a printing shop of his own; instead, he ably chose the initiatives to promote and fund, as shown by his wealth at the beginning of the sixteenth century (more than 12,000 ducats). The most recent information on Moretto is provided by Peric, Vendere libri a Padova nel Quattrocento, especially 106-113. In addressing the joint venture of 1507, Peric underlines the absence of an in-depth analysis of the document and the contract, which, in her opinion, is due to the problematic identification of the company's editions. On Moretto, see also Pietro Scardilli, 'Moretto, Antonio' in Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento, Pisa 2014, 713-714.

The duties of the partners were described with precision: the Torti and Arrivabene would oversee the printing, that is, each 'partner' would be responsible for two presses; the expenses would be shared proportionally among the partners. The production could be enlarged by putting more presses to work, if desired by the partners, but the Torti and Arrivabene had to be informed with due notice.

The company was intended to last for five years with the aim of printing books on paper in the largest format (imperial or royal paper) and of very good quality. Once the printing was done, or even before, no partner was permitted to print the same works in the same format, nor in partnership with others, before the contract's expiration in five years' time or before the sale of all copies printed by the company.

The selling price was established as 1 ducat for 30–35 gatherings of 5 sheets (quinterni) for works printed only in black ink; they would try to sell it at a higher price for the good of the company and to enhance the prestige of the category, writing: 'per mazor utilitade nostra e reputatione del mestier.'¹¹¹ The copies were to be stored in a warehouse, accessible to all partners, and the revenues of the sales would belong to the company, but each partner would receive 5% of what he sold. The expenses were to be divided according to the shares; in specifying the nature of the expenses, the intellectual side of the work, including the acquisition of the manuscripts and the editing, was mentioned in the first place, followed by the cost of the paper.

# Paper and printing: size, quality, and cost

As with all other expenses, the cost of the paper was divided among partners; yet, its purchase fell to the Torti and Arrivabene who had to receive funds in advance, at least by a month. They also agreed to take responsibility for substituting bad sheets and recovering the missing ones. Moreover, it was specified that they would add more paper on behalf of the company for an amount of 4% of the whole; the purpose of this was not specified in the contract, but

- 18 The latter expression reveals such a vivid sentiment of pride in belonging to the category of book professionals that it was chosen as the opening quote to this chapter.
- 19 In the document, the word 'cernaglie' is used to mean the sheets that needed to be changed; the term could also be translated as cording quires (see Philippe Gaskell, A new introduction to bibliography, Oxford 1972, 59; Joseph Moxon, Mechanick exercises or, the Doctrine of handy-works applied to the Art of Printing. The second volumne, London: printed for Joseph Moxon on the west-side of Fleet-ditch, at the sign of Atlas, 1683, 352–353).
- 20 The subject has been analysed by Angela Nuovo in Angela Nuovo & Christian Coppens. I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del xvi secolo, Genève 2005, 46–47, footnote 113.
- 21 Today, San Martino Buon Albergo; see: Sergio Spiazzi, San Martino delle Carthere. Storia delle attività industriali lungo il fiume Fibbio negli antichi territori di Montorio San Martino Buon Albergo e Marcellise,

- San Martino Buon Albergo 2006. The Italian 'cartiere' means paper mills.
- 22 Respectively, the Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (https://data.cerl.org/istc/\_search) and Edizioni Italiani del xvi secolo.
- 23 Regarding privileges, the most up-to-date bibliography is provided by the EMoBookTrade project, which dedicates a major research line to the edition of the original documents published in Venice that are now made available through the database, Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice (henceforth EBPV): https://emobooktrade.unimi.it/db/ public/frontend/index. The first edition of such documents was provided by Rinaldo Fulin in 1882: indeed, his last essay included the document on the foundation of the Giunta, Torti & Co. which forms the object of the present chapter. Reference to Fulin's edition is already in the database and therefore is not repeated here; privileges are referenced here by their identification number in the database, preceded by 'id.'

it was likely to replace sheets accidentally ruined during the printing process.<sup>20</sup> And yet, if those sheets ended up being sufficient for producing complete copies, those would be distributed among the partners pro rata, like the rest of the production.

As for the quality of the paper, it was written that they would only buy paper produced from the mills of San Martino in Veronese, likely identified with a village later known as San Martino delle Cartiere, located along the river Fibbio, near Verona.<sup>21</sup> For such paper, they would pay up to 20 lire per bale of five reams or else paper of the same quality should the 'Veronese' not be available.

Together with the cost of paper, printing costs were explained, indicating that it would cost the same to print 800 sheets in black as to buy the sheets (that is, 20 lire per bale), whereas printing 600 sheets would cost 7 ducats per bale of paper (the price included the cost of paper and manufacture). It was foreseen that the partners could increase the number of sheets to print during the edition, provided they were ready to pay accordingly.

These details clarify the profile of the company where different roles were played by Giunta, Scoto, Moretto, on one side, and the Torti brothers and Arrivabene, on the other; the latter would oversee operations related to the production ('l'imprexa de stampar'), the other three being involved as funders and distributors. Most important, the process of decision-making was clearly established.

# The editorial plan

The core information provided by this document is the list of works that the partners were willing to publish; such a selection of texts is also evidence of what was perceived as the most relevant in the field of law. It also clarifies that a group of partners was responsible for many editions, on which only Battista Torti's mark is found (and therefore only his name is identified in library catalogues). More important, anyone familiar with legal texts will easily acknowledge the ambitious nature of the editorial plan conceived by the Torti, Giunta & Co. Indeed, the relatively short list of authors hid the thousands of sheets to be printed, for it included the two great collections of legal texts promulgated by the two major authorities (emperor and pope), each consisting of four or five large-format volumes and hundreds of leaves. These collections were followed by the opera omnia of the most important jurists from the late Middle Ages, including long commentaries to the various parts of the two corpora iuris, plus collections of other minor works, such as the consilia.

The following paragraphs will serve as a commentary on the editorial plan by clarifying the authors and texts mentioned or implied by the brief quotations with the aim of identifying the published editions. The descriptions found in library catalogues and online databases, such as the ISTC and EDIT16,22 will help in identification; very important is the series of privileges requested by the company members and associated with the mentioned works. A reference to such privileges will be part of the identification process; it will also add information regarding the actual publishing organisation to confirm who was responsible for dealing with public authorities.23

A search for privileges obtained by each partner provides us with interesting results, as shown in the following table.

	Battista Torti	Silvestro Torti	Giorgio Arrivabene	Lucantonio Giunta	Amadio Scoto	Antonio Moretto
1493			1 (70)			
1494		2 (55–56)				
1498	5 (116–120)	5 (116–120)				10 (253–262)
1500					5 (524–528)	
1501						7 (339-345)
1514	12 (682–693, 2047)	12 (682–693, 2047)				
1516	8 (718–725)	8 (718–725)				
1522				1 (803)		
1530				3 (933–935)		
1531					3 (952-954)	
1535				1 (1027)		
	25	27	1	5	8	17

Table 1 Overview of privileges obtained by all members of the company (document ID numbers from the database of Book Privileges in Venice appear in parentheses)

Whether the privileges were obtained for the editions printed by the company is revealed by a more in-depth analysis of each item in the editorial plan. Yet, even a glance at the list of editions as identified in the database already provides informative data, starting with the number and timing of the resolutions. All but two privileges obtained by Battista and Silvestro were related to editions of legal texts, whereas Giunta or Scoto requested none; Moretto, on the other hand, applied for privileges in relation to legal texts but only for two early editions in 1498 (works of Giasone del Maino and Bartolomeo Socini) Arrivabene did likewise in applying for a repertorium iuris. It is also worth noting that Battista and Silvestro acted as a company when applying for privileges, apart from the first time, when only Silvestro requested one (1494); the editions always had the mark of his brother Battista.

'Texti de raxon civile' and 'Texti de raxon chanonica'. 'Texts of civil law' and 'texts of canon law. The first two lines of the editorial plan clearly referred to the basic texts of the ius commune - the legal system of medieval Europe. During the sixteenth century, the two collections of texts were identified with the collective titles of Corpus iuris civilis and Corpus iuris canonici, but other titles were used in reference to parts of the collections during the Middle Ages and still at the time of the foundation of the Torti, Giunti & Co. Indeed, the arrangement of the texts, especially those of civil law, was the result of work by medieval jurists in the course of five hundred years. The general subject is explained in every

textbook of legal history,<sup>24</sup> but a summary is needed here to clarify what the new partners referred to as they planned their publications.

The core of the civil law texts was formed by the Digestum (collection of classical doctrine), the Codex (imperial constitutions), the Novellae (new constitutions), and the *Institutiones* (a kind of law textbook), published by Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Starting in the eleventh century, the study of those texts at universities resulted in the rearrangement of parts and sections which were later reflected in early printed editions (the University of Bologna was founded precisely to organise high-level studies of jurisprudence).25 The Digestum (50 books) was divided into three parts; Digestum vetus (books 1-24.2), Digestum infortiatum (24.3-38), and Digestum novum (39-50), the Justinian Code (12 books) was divided into two parts: Codex Iustinianus only included books 1-9, whereas books 10–12 were entitled Tres ultimi libri Codicis. Moreover, the latter were usually bound with Constitutiones novellae, and Institutiones to form what was called Volumen (or Volumen parvum). Sometimes the Volumen also included the collection of medieval laws pertaining to feuds (Libri feudorum) and to constitutions promulgated by medieval emperors (such as Fredericus 1 and 11).26

The physical arrangement of the book was even standardised: books were bound in different colours, according to the subject of the texts, as testified also by legal humanists, such as Sebastian Brant – better known to historians for his Ship of fools.<sup>27</sup> Brant wrote an introduction to the study of civil law, in which he explained that the laws were arranged into parts, divided in sections (those shown above) to introduce the rationale for the binding. The Digestum vetus was dedicated to the most ancient laws dealing with natural and pure matters, and therefore was bound in white leather. The second part was called *Infortiatum* because - he wrote - it vigorously concerned inheritance and therefore it was bound in black. The third section, *Novum*, was devoted to crimes, and thus, it was bound in red. The second book (Codex) contained fresh new matter, and therefore, it was bound in green. As for the Volumen, because it was made up of various parts (Imperial Institutions; the last three books of the Code, the nine collections of new constitutions, and the tenth and

- 24 Manlio Bellomo, The common legal past of Europe, 1000-1800, translated from the 2nd ed. by Lydia Cochrane, Washington, DC 1995; Harry Dondorp & Eltjo J.H. Schrage, 'The sources of medieval learned law' in John W. Cairns & Paul J. Du Plessis (eds), The creation of the lus Commune: from casus to regula, Edinburgh 2010, 7-56 (doi:10.3366/ edinburgh/9780748638970.003.0011); Serge Dauchy et al. (eds), The formation and transmission of Western legal culture. 150 books that made the law in the age of printing, Cham 2016, 9–19.
- 25 In addition, during the Middle Ages, texts were transmitted with jurists' interpretations; individual glossae were eventually arranged by Accursius into a Magna Glossa, which became standard but continually supplemented until early modern

- 26 Dondorp & Schrage, 'The sources of medieval learned law'.
- 27 Das Narrenschiff, a traditional, satirical allegory reinterpreted by Sebastian Brant, who produced a celebrated version made famous by a series of lively woodcuts, some of which were realised by Albrecht Dürer. Most famous is the woodcut representing the scholar reading at the lectern, glasses on his nose, surrounded by books. The first edition was printed at Basel in 1494 (ISTC ibo10 80000), followed by 26 other editions by the end of the fifteenth century (http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/bsb00036978/image\_12).

eleventh collections, that is, feudal laws and constitutiones extravagantes) and treated different subjects, including taxes and crimes, it was bound in both red and green.<sup>28</sup>

As for canon law, the basic component was the Decretum Gratiani, a compilation of canons aimed to provide a consistent corpus completed by Gratian around 1140. With time, the pontiffs promulgated further decretals, and in the late Middle Ages, the corpus included: Gratian's Decretum, the decretals of Gregory IX (Liber Extra, thirteenth century), the constitutions of Clement v (Constitutiones Clementinae), the collection of decretals by Boniface VIII (Liber Sextus), and the Extravagantes by John XXII, all added during the fourteenth century. Only in the second half of the sixteenth century were those parts published as a whole (the Corpus iuris canonici), by order of Gregory XIII; until then, all parts were printed separately, under the name of their main author or institutional author (Gratian, Gregory IX, etc.).

Both compilations of civil and canon law formed the basis for the study of jurisprudence, along with texts by jurists who provided their authoritative interpretation; among the most important interpreters were those listed in the editorial plan drawn up by Silvestro Torti. The engagement of the brothers with the printing of law in the fifteenth century has been commented on above; one only needs to recall that the name of Battista is found on 39 editions of parts of the Corpus iuris civilis and on 26 editions of parts of the Corpus iuris canonici, the earliest editions being printed in 1484.29 Between 1501 and 1506, the Torti printed different parts of both compilations: eight editions of various parts of the Corpus iuris civilis, starting with Instituta de Tortis, and six editions of parts of Corpus iuris canonici.30

Three parts of the Corpus of civil law were published with the date 1507 (Digestum vetus de Tortis, Digestum novum de Tortis, and Volumen de Tortis), the Volumen having been printed on 1 July, just a few days after the company's foundation.<sup>31</sup> Other editions appeared the year after and several more over time, until 1515.32 As for canon law texts, one edition of the Decretales and another of the Liber Sextus Decretalium have so far been identified, both printed in 1512.33

'Abbati'. This expression must refer to copies of works of the so-called Abbas Panormitanus, that is, Niccolò Tedeschi (Nicolaus de' Tudeschis; Catania, 1386-Palermo, 1445), one of the most celebrated canonists of his time. His works were printed in 65 editions in the fifteenth century, and 93 editions are known, printed up to 1507. The name and mark of Battista Torti are found in three editions printed in the 1490s, the last one of which was the commentary on the five books of the Decretals for which his brother Silvestro had obtained the privilege in 1494.34 Battista Torti again published Tedeschi's commentaries on the books of Decretals between 1502 and 1504,35 before the privilege expired. After the company's foundation, the Torti returned to Tedeschi's works only in 1518, when he again printed the various commentary volumes.36 In the meantime, he had obtained another privilege, which he and his brother Silvestro had applied for in 1514. Interestingly, they had applied in relation to two groups of works: along with Tedeschi's commentaries on canon law, there were those of Alexander de Imola on civil law; the two authors were also mentioned one after the other in the 1507 document.37

'Alexandri omnia opera'. Alessandro Tartagni (Alexander de Imola; Imola, 1423/24-Bologna, 1477).38 One of the most famous and prolific jurists of his time, he taught at Padua and Bologna. Among other works, he wrote commentaries on parts of the Corpus iuris civilis and additions to the works by Bartolus de Saxoferrato and by Baldus de Ubaldis; an impressive number of editions of his works were published, starting early in the fifteenth century, including 86 editions printed in various cities and by different printers, but not one by the Torti (or at least not one that is preserved today). Their name, however, already appeared in an edition of Tartagni's commentary on the Justinian Code, printed in 1501.39 Thereafter, the Torti did not print any further edition of Tartagni's works until the second volume of his Consilia in 1510; The Torti's workshop printed other volumes in the following years, until the 1520s; altogether, thirteen editions printed by Torti are known today, twelve of which were printed after 1507 (not including the editions of Bartolus's works with additions by Tartagni).40

- 28 'Libri legum principaliter tres reperiuntur. Digestorum siue pandectarum primus appellatus [...] Et continet hic liber digestorum tres partes principales [...] qui comprehenduntur in ff. veteri, infortiato et nouo. [...] Vetus ff. tractat principaliter de his que vetustiori iure, puta a iure naturali origine sumpserunt [...] propter istam puritatem et simplicitatem veteris iuris quale in ff. ve. continetur: liber iste veteris ff. solet alba pelle puroque cooperto tegi. Secunda pars ff. est digestum infortiatum appellata eo forte leges circa hereditates [...] Et propterea solet nigra pelle vestiri, quia de causis hereditariis et bonis defunctorum tractat [...]. Tertia pars ff. appellatur digestum nouum [...] Tractans de criminibus et delictis et eorum penis, et ideo rubea et sanguinolenta veste induitur. Secundus liber legum est Codex [...] Et est iste liber nouior et recentior [...] ideo florida et viridi veste induitur. Tertius liber legum est volumen continens in se primo institutiones imperiales. Secundo tres libros ultimos codicis, hoc est decimum, undecimum et duodecimum [...] Tertio continet volumen nouem collationes autenticorum. Quarto consuetudines feudorum, qui collatio decima appellatur. Adduntur et hodie quedam extrauagantes, qui collatio xi solet appellari et ab ista congerie et conuolutione variorum librorum hic liber volumen appellatus est. Et quia partem codicis et nouarum constitutionum partim etiam quasdam penales et fiscales sanctiones continet et in nonnullis locis penam transgressoribus irrogat. Iccirco bipartita veste viridi puta et rubea coloratus incedit.' Sebastian Brant, Expositiones omnium titulorum legalium, Basilea: Michael Furter per Andreas Helmut, 1490 (ISTC ibo1078000, a2v-3r).
- 29 On the Torti's engagement with printing the law, see Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista'; on fifteenth-century editions of the Corpus iuris civilis, including the role played by Battista Torti, see Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', passim.
- 30 Respectively, EDIT16 CNCE 014114, 014099, 014100, 014101, 014102, 014109, 014115, 032715; 013364, 014093, 014095, 013366, 013402, 071755 and SBN IT\ICCU\RAVE\077165.
- 31 EDIT16 CNCE 014110; Digestum vetus and Digestum novum are identified as CNCE 071749 and 071757, respectively.
- 32 SBN IT\ICCU\AREE\000138; EDIT16 CNCE 013463, 014103, 014104, 014105, 014111, 014116, 041862.
- 33 SBN IT\ICCU\TSAE\031804 and IT\ICCU\CNCE\ 014097.
- 34 EBPV id 55.
- 35 SBN IT\ICCU\RAVE\073394; IT\ICCU\RAVE\ 073395; IT\ICCU\RAVE\073397; IT\ICCU\RAVE\ 073398.
- **36** EDIT16 CNCE 034819; 034821; 067521; 067693. On the Abbas, see Orazio Condorelli, 'Niccolò Tedeschi' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani (xII-xx secolo), Italo Birocchi et al. (dir.), Maria Luisa Carlino et al. (eds), Bologna 2103, 1426-1429.
- 37 '[...] le opere de misser Alexandro da Imola in raxon civil, et de li Abbati in raxon canonica [...]' Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio 17, fol. 85 recto (EBPV id 682-693, 2047).
- 38 Andrea Padovani, 'Tartagni, Alessandro' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 1942–1944.
- 39 EDIT16 CNCE 034805.
- **40** EDIT16 CNCE 034805, 034812, 034865; SBN IT\ ICCU\UM1E\001288; IT\ICCU\URBE\024412, IT\ ICCU\UMCE\025419, IT\ICCU\UMCE\025413, IT\ ICCU\UMCE\025503, IT\ICCU\UM1E\020084, IT\ICCU\BVEE\063222, IT\ICCU\UM1E\020082, IT\ICCU\BVEE\063223, IT\ICCU\CNCE\075581.

'Speculum iuris cum repertorio'. The Speculum iuris (or iudiciale) is the most relevant work in the field of law by the French canonist and theologian Guillaume Durand (Guillermus Durandus, or Durante; Puymisson, 1230-Rome, 1296). The reference to a repertorium leaves room for interpretation: indeed, it could be read as another work of the same author (the Repertorium aureum iuris canonici). Most likely, however, it refers to the Inventarium Speculi, written by Bérenger Frédol (†1312), often published under the title of Repertorium Speculi. Several editions of the Speculum were published together with a repertorium in the fifteenth century and two of them by Torti.<sup>41</sup> Three more editions have been found so far, which were published by Torti after 1507; in 1512, 1516, and 1518.42 Very few copies are known of the 1512 edition, and they are apparently incomplete, so we cannot ascertain whether they had also the repertorium whereas the editions printed in 1516 and 1518 certainly had it.

Moreover, they contained works by medieval authors - such as Bartolomeo da Brescia (Brescia, †1258), Giovanni d'Andrea (Bologna, †1348) and Baldo degli Ubaldi (Pavia, †1400) which are also often found in manuscripts of the Speculum, plus additions by a modern author, Bernardino Landriani (Milan, dates unknown), who did a lot of work in editing the texts of the most relevant jurists of the Middle Ages, as shown also in following paragraphs.

'Aretini omnia opera'. 'Aretinus' is Angelo Gambiglioni (Angelus de Gambilionibus, Angelus de Aretio; Arezzo, late fourteenth century-Bologna, 1461).43 Battista Torti printed three editions of his two commentaries on the Institutiones and his celebrated treatise De maleficiis between 1486 and 1494.44 No later Torti editions are known; it is worth noting, however, that his later edition was used as an exemplar in Lyon to print others.<sup>45</sup>

'Angeli omnia opera'. Likely this must be identified with Angelus de Ubaldis, the brother of Baldus (Perugia, 1327-Florence, 1407); however, it could also be his nephew, also named Angelus (Perugia c. 1400–1490), the two being presented in publication with no distinction. 46 In 1504, the Torti printed a commentary on the *Digestum novum* by Angelus;<sup>47</sup> thereafter, Angelus de Ubaldis only appeared in other authors' works printed by Torti, such as Bartolus's commentary on the last three books of Justinian's Code.

'Bartoli omnia opera'. Bartolo da Sassoferrato (Bartolus de Sasoferrato; Sassoferrato, 1313/14-Perugia, 1357/58) is the most distinguished jurist of the late Middle Ages. He wrote commentaries on all parts of the Digest and Code and several treatises on individual matters worthy of special attention; he also provided ground-breaking legal interpretations that made him a point of reference for a long time. About 200 editions of his works were published in the fifteenth century, of which 22 were issued with the mark of Battista Torti, starting in 1490.48 More than 600 editions of Bartolus's works printed during the sixteenth century are known today. Among the earliest, the most innovative entailed the editorial care of the Milanese jurist Bernardino Landriani, whose name is frequently found in editions printed by the Torti. Moreover, Landriani appears to have applied three times for the privilege of publishing several works, most of which were printed by Torti, or, interestingly,

by Arrivabene.<sup>49</sup> In 1496, Landriani obtained the decennial privilege for the works of Bartolus (as well as a 'Speculum') on which he had been working for a long time. It is worth noting that Landriani, while applying for the privileges along with his own work, mentioned additions made by Alessandro Tartagni to Bartolus's works.50 Four editions were printed by Battista Torti after 1496, but almost all previous ones had the additions by Tartagni, and in 1495, the name of Landriani was made explicit in prefatory letters.<sup>51</sup> Between 1499 and 1500, Torti again printed nearly all commentaries by Bartolus on parts of the corpus, and in 1500, he twice printed the same work (Bartolus, Super secunda parte Infortiati), one of which also had the apostillae of another jurist, Andrea Barbazza, 52 perhaps to differentiate his editions from those of the competitors located either in Venice and elsewhere.53 Between 1504 and 1506, Torti again produced editions of Bartolus's commentaries on all parts of the Corpus iuris civilis,54 with additions by Barbazza, as well as those by Benedetto Vadi (a contemporary jurist whose name is found in several modern editions of legal texts).55 Two years after the company's foundation, the Torti started printing Bartolus's Opera omnia, which was completed in 1516 when the two brothers applied for a new privilege to print 'li texti canonici et Bartholi'. In 1509, five volumes were printed (commentaries to the Code and part of the Digest); by 1512, all commentaries to the Digest were published, followed in 1516 by the commentaries to the Tribus ultimis libris Codicis and

- 41 Printed respectively in 1493/94 and 1499 (ISTC idoo452000 and idoo453000). On the authors: Franck Roumy, 'Durand (Durant, Durandi), Guillaume' in Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, x11e-xxe siècle, Patrick Arabeyre et al. (eds), Paris 2015, 381-383; Michèle Bégou-Davia, 'Bérenger Frédol' in Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, 451-452.
- 42 EDIT16 CNCE 051506, 017899, 051508. A privilege obtained by Torti in 1516 has been associated with the edition printed in 1518 (EBPV id 720).
- 43 Paola Maffei, 'Gambiglioni, Angelo' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 939-941.
- **44** ISTC ig00051800, ig00052000, ig00063000.
- 45 Rivali, 'Torti (de Tortis), Battista'.
- 46 Thomas Woelki, 'Ubaldi, Angelo di Francesco degli' and 'Ubaldi, Angelo di Alessandro di Angelo degli' in Dizionario biografico degli italiani, 97 (2020), 285-288 and 281-285.
- 47 CNCE 074506.
- 48 Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', 107-130, 171-197.
- 49 Ferdinando Treggiari, 'Sulle edizioni dei "Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato' in Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Comune, 27 (2016), 159-184; Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', 125-128.
- 50 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 14, fol. 148 verso (EBPV id 153).

- 51 ISTC iboo213000 and iboo214000 (both printed on the same day; on these circumstances, see Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Printing the law in the 15th century', 98). For other editions, see ISTC iboo189600, iboo197000, iboo197700, iboo204000, iboo204300, iboo209000, iboo210000, ib00220000, ib00220400, ib00223000, iboo223400, iboo225700, iboo225800, ib00228000, ib00228500, ib00236500, ib00237300, ib00241600, ib00242100, ib00242200.
- 52 Andrea Barbazza (Messina, 1410-Bologna, 1479), professor of canon law, was among the most renown and best well-paid author during his era. As a colleague of Tartagni at the University of Bologna for some years, he mainly wrote on canon law, but also did some work on Bartolus's commentar-
- 53 Especially in Lyon, where Johannes Siber was printing Bartolus's works on the basis of Venetian edi-
- **54** EDIT16 CNCE 004328-004331, 004333, 004334, 004336, 004338, 004339, 004344, 004346, 004347, 004349.
- 55 Because the privilege obtained by Landriani was still valid, it suggests that he was either involved in the operation or had died in the meantime (that is, after 1502, when he reapplied for a privilege for the
- 56 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 18, fol. 45 recto (EBPV id 718).

the Authenticum (the latter is considered today of dubious attribution).<sup>57</sup> A few years later, Battista Torti (and likely all his partners) introduced a truly new publication of Bartolus's works: the new edition was enriched by the work of the great scholar Thomas Diplovatatius (Tommaso Diplovataccio or Diplovatazio, 1468-1541), who augmented the collection with a number of carefully edited texts. The first volumes were printed in 1520, and the edition was completed in 1529.58 Some volumes would be reissued, occasionally with the same mark, but also as an anonymous edition marked with the lion ('al Leone').59

'Baldi omnia opera'. Baldo degli Ubaldi (Baldus de Ubaldis; Perugia, 1327–Pavia, 1400) was the most successful jurist among the pupils of Bartolus. Together, their names ('Bartoli e Baldi') were long equated with the writing of laws and with law books.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, Baldus's works were printed much less frequently in the fifteenth century than those of his master's: 75 printed editions before 1501 are known today. Among these, the Torti printed two editions in 1496 and 1500 that contain commentaries on the first nine books of the Codex;61 the Torti intended to print all of Baldus's commentaries, as shown by the request for the privilege presented by Silvestro Torti in 1494. It was the first time that the Torti had applied for a privilege to print all commentaries on the Decretals by Niccolò Tedeschi and all commentaries by Baldo: 'omnes lecturas Panormitae super Decretale, nec non omnes lecturas Baldi'.62 The Torti did not apparently reprint Baldus's works before the foundation of the company, whereas many editions were published by others in Venice, including Giorgio Arrivabene who printed his commentaries on two parts of the Digest (Digestum vetus and Infortiatum) between 1504 and 1507.63 It is worth noting that he completed the work by publishing the commentary on the Digestum novum in 1511.64 Other printers made larger investments in printing Baldus's works during that period, and Filippo Pinzi (c. 1460–1546) particularly distinguished himself in doing so.

'Socini omnia opera'. Almost certainly, this refers to Bartolomeo Socini (Soccini, Sozzini; Bartholomaeus Socinus; Siena, 1436–Siena, 1507), although Socinus could refer to Mariano Socini, the Elder (1397-1467). Both chronological and bibliographical evidence, however, identifies Bartolomeo, a jurist who also worked at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici. In the fifteenth century, 36 editions of his works were printed, but none by Torti. It is worth noting, however, that a privilege for printing Socini's works, along with those of Giasone del Maino, was requested by Antonio Moretto in 1498, although no related editions are preserved today;65 conversely, copies are preserved of one edition of a collection of consilia (by Mariano and Bartolomeo together), printed by Giorgio Arrivabene in 1502.66 Nevertheless, we must recall the note written on the draft of the 1507 contract, which records 600 copies of a 'Soncini' printed, warehoused, and distributed among the partners. Today, one extant edition can be identified with Socini's: a collection of commentaries and a tabula, bearing Torti's device and printed in 1524.67

'Bertachini'. Giovanni Bertachini (Bertacchini; Fermo, b. c. 1448). Graduated in Padua, Bertacchini oversaw public offices for many years; he was made advocatus concistorialis by Pope Sixtus IV, to whom he dedicated his Repertorium iuris, the most renown text among his works. The Repertorium was conceived as a type of encyclopaedia of law, in which he arranged themes alphabetically to summarise the related doctrine, to which he added examples from individual cases.<sup>68</sup> Bertacchini also wrote two treatises, one of which concerned taxes (De gabellis, tributis et vectigalibus), printed by Battista Torti in 1489, whereas one edition of the Repertorium was printed by Giorgio Arrivabene, who reprinted it in 1501.<sup>69</sup> No editions are known to have been printed by Torti after 1507, but others printed Bertacchini's Repertorium, such as Paganino Paganini and Filippo Pinzi.

'Felini omnia opera'. Felino Sandei (Felino Maria Sandeo; Felinus Sandeus; Felina, 1444-Rome, 1503). Graduated in Ferrara, he taught there for a few years before moving to Pisa, having been invited by Lorenzo de' Medici. He was a clergyman, specialised in canon law. In the 1480s, Sandei moved to Rome to enter the curia. In 1499, he became bishop of Lucca, and he bequeathed his important private collection to the canon of the cathedral.<sup>70</sup> In the fifteenth century, more than 40 editions were printed of his works, commentaries on tituli of the Decretals, mostly at Milan and Pavia (only two editions were issued in Venice). As for the partners who planned to print his opera omnia, Giorgio Arrivabene published one edition of his *commentaria* in 1512.<sup>71</sup> In 1529, Battista Torti finally printed the commentaries of Sandei on the Decretals in four volumes.72

'Iasonis omnia opera'. Giasone del Maino (Jason de Mayno; Pesaro, 1435-Pavia, 1519) was the youngest among the authors mentioned in the editorial plan and was still alive when it was drawn up. He was one of the most influential jurists of his time, professor of civil law mainly at the University of Pavia; Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449-1492) also invited him to

- **57** EDIT16 CNCE 004336, 004338, 004339, 004344, 004346, 004347, 004349, 004350. According to Antonella Sattin, who has analysed the sixteenth-century editions of Bartolus's works printed in Venice, the volumes printed between 1509 and 1516 were new impressions of the edition produced in 1504-1506, apart from one volume (Codex, first half), which was just a reissue. Sattin does not provide evidence for this statement (rather, she analyses and compares the Torti editions with the anonymous edition 'al segno del Leone' to show how the latter was in fact only a re-issue of the former). Antonella Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia: le edizioni veneziani del Cinquecento' in Ferdinando Treggiari (ed.), Conversazioni bartoliane, in ricordo di Severino Caprioli, Sassoferrato 2018, 145-163, here: 153-154, 164.
- **58** EDIT16 CNCE 004353-004356; 004358-004363; 042884; 077654.
- 59 Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia', 149-152, 157, and 164.

- 60 The entry on Baldus in the national biographical dictionary is recent and updated: Treggiari, 'Sulle edizioni dei "Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato'.
- 61 ISTC iu00015000 and iu00016500.
- 62 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 14, fol. 108 recto (EBPV id 56).
- 63 EDIT16 CNCE 029889; 029891.
- **64** SBN IT\ICCU\RMLE\016342.
- 65 'I Socino et Jason, cum molte et nove additione'; Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Collegio Notatorio, 14, fol. 186 recto (EBPV id 254).
- 66 EDIT16 CNCE 064175.
- **67** T\ICCU\UM1E\012364 and EDIT16 CNCE 034870.
- 68 Mario Caravale, 'Bertachini (Bertacchini), Giovanni' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 233-
- 69 Respectively, ISTC iboo496000; iboo500000; EDIT16 CNCE 061048.
- 70 Mario Montorzi, 'Sandei, Felino' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 1781-1783.
- **71** EDIT16 CNCE 059695.
- 72 EDIT16 CNCE 034877.

teach at Pisa. He wrote commentaries on all parts of the corpus, and he also published the many speeches he gave as civil servant and public orator. About 50 editions of his works were published in the fifteenth century, with 20 printed in Venice alone, but none by Torti or his partners (the editions were primarily printed by Bernardino Benali and Bernardino Stagnino [c. 1450-1540]). However, in 1506, Giorgio Arrivabene printed an edition of Maino's commentary on the Institutiones; more importantly, Battista Torti printed the collection of commentaries in three parts in 1513.73

'Pauli de Castro omnia opera'. Paolo di Castro (Paulus de Castro; Castro 1360/62-Padua 1441). A pupil of Baldo degli Ubaldi, he studied first at Perugia, before moving to Pavia and then to Avignon, where he graduated in 1385. He was deeply involved in politics. In 1401, he was invited to Florence where he taught until 1424, when he went to Bologna and then to Padua in 1429, where he spent his remaining professional life. Alessandro Tartagni was among his pupils. He wrote commentaries on various parts of the Corpus iuris civilis and a considerable number of consilia. He was one of the most appreciated jurists in the first half of the fifteenth century.74 About 50 editions of his works were printed before 1501, one of which was printed in 1486 by Giorgio Arrivabene and Paganino Paganini,75 the only edition involving someone from the future company. Battista Torti printed two editions of Castro's works about 20 years after the company's foundation: two volumes of the commentaries on the Codex were printed in 1525–1527 and two volumes on the Digestum novum in 1527.76

'Saliceti omnia opera'. Bartolomeo da Saliceto (Bologna, †1411). He taught civil law at Bologna, Padua and Ferrara, often pushed to move for political reasons.77 He wrote on parts of the Corpus iuris civilis, especially the Codex, of which about twelve editions were printed in the fifteenth century, although only two were produced in Venice and none by Torti or by Arrivabene. The latter, however, printed the commentaries on the *Codex*, in three volumes, in 1503.<sup>78</sup> No editions printed by Torti are known (or preserved) today.

## Conclusions

The editorial plan, agreed to by Battista and Silvestro Torti, Lucantonio Giunta and the other partners in 1507, was as ambitious as one could imagine: the main texts of law and the works of nearly all the important jurists from late Middle Ages to their own times. The plan, however, had not been improvised; it was conceived by the partners to enhance production and confront competition in a risky and challenging field. The printer-publishers in the partnership were able to conceive of such a programme because they had experience in all major aspects, from collection of texts to business management. The Torti were particularly strong in the field of legal texts; the Giunta excelled in religious texts, especially liturgy, yet their products also stood out for their quality and beauty due to the wise use of decorative apparatuses, such as woodcut initials, frames, vignettes.79 Thus, one cannot avoid mentioning the frontispiece with an ornate woodcut border found on several editions printed with

Torti's mark that seems to exemplify the plan established in 1507 (compare, e.g., p. 103, Fig. 10); indeed, it has been written that this frontispiece is a perfect representation of the plan, with portraits of all authors named in the list, and that it was used in all editions printed by the partnership.80 As a matter of fact, however, the frontispiece only includes some of the authors named in the plan, along with others who were not mentioned at all.81 Moreover, it was not apparently used in all editions printed by the partnership; a systematic census of editions is needed, but one can already see that some editions of works listed in the plan and printed with Torti's mark after 1507 do not have this frontispiece. 82 More generally, when we attempt to identify all the editions that were actually produced by the partnership, as carried out in this chapter, we see that not all the texts were printed in due time, that is, in the five years that the company planned to exist; most were printed but much later. Some editions could now be completely lost, despite the volumes' size and thickness, which makes the research more complex.

More research is therefore needed, but information is already available or can be retrieved through a systematic exploration of the documents which lead us to a better understanding of the work organisation put in place by the partners of the 1507 company. First, the two copies of the document testifying to its foundation is full of details, either expressed or found by reading between the lines, which might form the object of further analysis. Certainly, one can widen the research by further exploring the collaborations of the partners with others in order to clarify whether the agreement of 1507 was in fact a renewal of existing collaborations.

From this point of view, the systematic edition of the privileges obtained by the partners, which is now available through the Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice, provides information that will greatly improve our ability to reconstruct the broader business context. Indeed, from this analysis, we can already infer that the editorial plan conceived by Torti, Giunta & Co. must be judged in relation to both earlier and later productions. A precise census of the editions that can be traced to the plan of 1507 will be the next research step, for which a critical edition of the founding document will provide a solid basis.

- 73 Respectively, EDIT16 CNCE 016633 and CNCE 038059; 038061; 038063.
- 74 Ennio Cortese, 'Paolo di (da) Castro' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 1505–1507.
- 75 ISTC ip00173000.
- **76** EDIT16 CNCE 072423, 066794.
- 77 Giuseppe Speciale, 'Bartolomeo da Saliceto' in Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani, 185–187.
- 78 EDIT16 CNCE 004492.
- 79 On this: Lilian Armstrong, 'Venetian and Florentine Renaissance woodcuts for Bibles, liturgical books, and devotional books' in Daniel DeSimone (ed.), A heavenly craft. The woodcut in early printed books. Illustrated books purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald at the sale of the library of C.W. Dyson Perrins, New York/Washington, DC 2004, 25-45.
- 80 Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia', 154-155.
- 81 The frontispiece presents explicitly ten authors, one above the other in the marginal sections of the
- frame with their name; only six of them are the same listed in the 1507 plan, they are: Niccolò Tedeschi ('ABBAS'), Bartolo da Sassoferrato ('BARTHOLVS'), Baldo degli Ubaldi ('BALDVS'), Alessandro Tartagni ('ALEXANDER'), Paolo di Castro ('P. DE CASTRO'), Giasone del Maino ('IASON'). There is no portrait of: Guillaume Durand, Angelo Gambiglioni, Bartolomeo Soccini, Giovanni Bertacchini, Felino Sandei, Bartolomeo da Saliceto, On the other hand, these are the authors included in the frontispiece who were not in the list: Giovanni da Imola ('10. DE IMOLA'), Antonio da Budrio ('A. DE BYTRIO'), the card. Francesco Zabarella ('C. ZABARELLA') and Giovanni d'Andrea ('10. ANDREE').
- 82 This is the case, for example, of the editions of the works of Giasone del Maino, printed in 1512-1513 (CNCE 38059, 38061, 38063), just to mention a few.

Com chaine de die a de la florenta accine maria: Bai beatha e Bilicette brideli di una millidar d'endampe de Com chaine de die a de la florenta accine maria: Bai beatha e Bilicette brideli di una millidar d'endampe de Companio controle de la florenta de la florenta de la parce de parce de publicame controle de la florenta de la floren Common alor piaco y contribució ogniciono da rata como de Afre deto dindustr en de tompo or accombigo of A witerto & niemo de ampago M haber believes de Amparte in sel forma zoe real of proper as alderno to le trompatte : ne facille render. En compité le sing um de la vide monte per anom fon tote to favour compete de render dite ope de la compaté : son form de payer admari content tule the one de la compaté d'relation da vides : pate par le la payer de la compaté et alle son la compaté de relation da vides : pate par le la parte de la compaté et alle son la la compate de la compat almoy la you that of thank in dith company longs orlenning to de la mager the de dith companie I som volume of pas ded render dik ope anorth in negro fole for de dar gukrni heta in moistiamy al dudes e pui anova latingthe Amiger par le lara per de promotor valitade ma exeputatione de meter and venendoire eller to sonorrenta da per templar de alguna de die irre epe le li julia muerre le par Bo & damazor ye de compas parera. o Xu despiratife laqual mazor pe Remienda Bo & puy e maneto Parimo priapi in lope.

Ledrummedo amoura de due ope le lubrario a voider p un monte e meterti in uno mayazmo totas allas p
nome de tuti din ampari ded qual dadauno volendo babra la lan diane: duerta luna da lubra de
pagur el la ognimio p la rata loa : e cost come le andara Hampanto la Francia la gintom le dabramo
a portar in delo magazmo: et in lo render des labri: dadauno de compagni babra cing p conto de tras I'm tit le pope & andarano in comprar epemplari: correger: far triule: e tuto alt pope printe.
Ala utilitade dele ope le mienda agni cola appoc de tuto la compagi dadanne planata alun pertorna
tem d'enreche de comprar le dante e date da dita compagi a noi bublo. Educate e signi M: e
quello le mienda dandom de comprare dite compagi le divari cadacino, li vata la ce que darato m Tompre le dimari in auantige de la darta de vois insperaumit trate : anoupolhamo pui amodoment promoder at belognosmo . E des drink le habiano asion de quella da & mortio de Sonspoi : e fonder Fronter at butogo one to be all de proper to patrago abier de quella da so mento de Sonspe : espender for a live vint de puol de la balla de vilme ana; luna. Eno policido los traiterse formit se ne far fir in altre lungo: spendando for a bire vint come le dito de lopra: ano se pala destra piu aquales di bonnade ala Sonspa to a moi sur prosibile e altro trinis le intenda pela liminada del tuturar in neuro solo: e quello laucrando dara consecuto e laucrando dara legento stormo da condo noi somento se la la del del de del la computando la dara comando tante legento stormo de fine do moner se la correctio de fine do moner le correctio de fine do moner se la correctio de fine do moner la correctio de la secuta de la correctio de la secuta de la secuta de la correctio de la secuta del secuta de la secuta d Altemper de le contratorite notide a torge de quelle faglio.

Fig. 1 First page of the agreement between Torti, Giunta and partners

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b. 32, original A

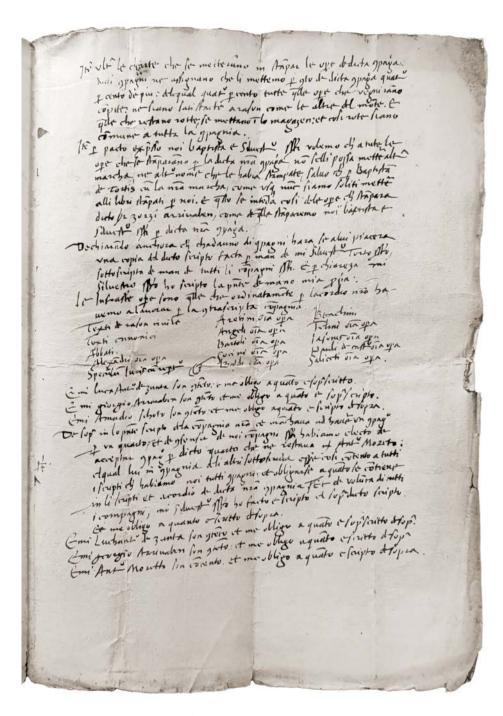


Fig. 2 The editorial plan (Ibidem, copy B). Courtesy of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia

# Appendix Critical edition and translation of the document

# General observation and transcription criteria

Initials of personal names are capitalised; they appear in several variants which are reproduced in the transcription, whereas, in the English translation, they are normalised according to the form in use in the most authoritative reference works (such as the EDIT16). The use of u/v is standardised and punctuation is modernised, including accents and apostrophes (e.g., 'p[er] che' is transcribed as 'perché'; 'laltro' as 'l'altro'); usual abbreviations, such as the straight line – *titulus* – above m/n, and the p abbreviations, p[er] or p[ro], have been silently expanded; the abbreviation 'ss.to' or 'ss.ti', is resolved as 'soprascrito' and 'soprascriti', like when the word is written out in full (whereas in Fulin transcribed as 'sopra scritto'). Line breaks and paragraph endings found in the original document are marked respectively by a single vertical line (|) and by double vertical lines (||).

This edition does not aim to provide a definitive basis for a study of the language, rather it is meant to enhance the readability of the text. Nonetheless, spelling variations, which can be seen in the copy (B) and compared to the original (A), have been reproduced in the apparatus to serve future research. Indeed, they may reflect two different Italian vernaculars in that only the original document reproduces the pronunciation spoken in Venice; the copy has variants possibly due to the different origins of the partners: the Torti were from the south, and the Giunta from Tuscany. Along with such variants, the critical apparatus includes marginal notes and marks added by a second hand in B; the final longer note in B is fully provided in the edition and translated. To avoid an overwhelming apparatus, only versions found in B or in Fulin that vary from A are recorded; in addition, variants found in the same line or close to each other are recorded in the same note, separated by a semicolon. Sentences are numbered to help the reader in following text and translation.

# Venezia, 1507, giugno 25

Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, b. 32; two sheets, unnumbered, kept together with a folded sheet of paper, on the top of which the following title was likely written in the nineteenth century: 'Contratto sociale 25 giugno 1507 fra i fratelli De Torti ed Arrivabene per la stampa di alcune opere (copie due)'.

A: original; 1 sheet (300  $\times$  440 mm), folded in two (2 leaves); watermark on the first leaf, anchor in circle, a star on the upper part ( $75 \times 40$  mm); distance between the chain lines: 25/28 mm. Writing style: diplomatic minuscule. A hole in the centre of the leaves may be evidence that the document was preserved in a 'filza' (documents threaded together, one over the other, on a long metal pin).

B: simple copy; 1 sheet (323  $\times$  450 mm), folded in two (2 leaves); watermark on the first leaf, upside down, a complicated long, abstract figure, made up of three parts (possibly a flower on the upper side; roughly  $140 \times 40$  mm). Writing style: diplomatic minuscule, similar to that of A, but written in a cursive manner; a different cursive minuscule was used by another hand to write the marginal notes and the final, longer one, as well as pointing hands (maniculae). The layout differs from the original, for the wide margins are left blank in the copy and used for adding annotations. Interestingly, the writer of B wished to reproduce the structure of the text faithfully by reproducing line breaks or, alternatively, adding paragraph marks.

Edition: Rinaldo Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana' in Archivio Veneto, 12 (1882), based on A (no description of the documents), 401-405.

Bibliography: Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti', 393-394; Brian Richardson, Printing, writers and readers in Renaissance Italy, Cambridge 1999, 33; Angela Nuovo, The book trade in the Italian Renaissance, Leiden/Boston 2013, 56; Antonella Sattin, 'Bartolo in tipografia: le edizioni veneziani del Cinquecento' in Ferdinando Treggiari (ed.), Conversazioni bartoliane, in ricordo di Severino Caprioli, Sassoferrato 2018, 154; Ester Camilla Peric, Vendere libri a Padova nel 1480. Il Quaderneto di Antonio Moretto. Saggio introduttivo di Neil Harris, Udine 2020, 52.

- [2] Cum el nome de Dio e de la gloriosa vergine Maria.
- [3] Noi Batista e Silvestro fradeli² di Torti in solidum, ser Luchantonio³ de | Gionta, ser Amadio Schoto e ser Zorzi Arivaben⁴ dito Parente, habiamo contrato⁵ una compagnia insieme de stampar in charta | real overo imperial tute le infrascrite⁶ opere, quale sarano notade² a tergo dil⁶ presente scrito.⁶ [4] Et oltra queste notade, altre opere | ancora,¹o come ala zornata parerà a proposito de dita nostra compagnia.¹¹
- [5] Nele qual tute opere, dito ser Luchantonio¹² li entra per un | quarto, ser Amadio Schoto¹³ per un altro quarto, e noi Batista e Silvestro soprascriti, e dito ser Zorzi Arivaben¹³, per un¹⁵ altro quarto, zoè | la mitade¹⁶ de dito quarto a noi Batista e Silvestro, l'altra mitade a dito ser Zorzi Arivaben. [6] Et¹¬ perchè ne restarà un altro | quarto, al qual se vorà¹⁶ compagno, per questo se dechiara che siamo contenti tuor un altro compagno,¹⁶ o vero do²ơ compagni | participi in dito²¹ quarto; compagni però che siano grati et electi per la mazor parte de la compagnia: che essendo persone non | piacesseno a diti²² compagni non se habiano a tuor per modo alchuno.²³
- [7] E volemo dita compagnia habia durar²⁴ per ani [sic] | cinque²⁵ e lavorar de continuo, cum torculi quatro a conto de dita compagnia.²⁶ [8] E chadauno²⁷ di compagni habia a proveder | ala zornata secondo la portion a lui spectante²ፆ per quello quarto o mezo quarto del qual sarà entrato in dita compagnia.²⁰
- [9] E | l'imprexa di far stampar per dita<sup>30</sup> compagnia sara per el<sup>31</sup> presente nostro acordo di Batista e Silvestro fradeli<sup>32</sup> soprascriti e di ser Zorzi | Arivaben sopranominato,<sup>33</sup> zoè diti Torti cum do torculi,<sup>34</sup> e dito ser Zorzi cum altri torculi do.<sup>35</sup>
- [10] Et se acadesse che dita | compagnia volesse se lavorasse cum più torculi, <sup>36</sup> siamo contenti noi Torti soprascriti, e ser Zorzi Arivaben, <sup>37</sup> havendo il commodo, | lavorar a lor piacer, <sup>38</sup> contribuendo ogni uno a la rata, <sup>39</sup> come di sopra è dito, dandoni però el <sup>40</sup> tempo in avantazo che si <sup>41</sup> | possiamo metter a <sup>42</sup> ordine di poter lavorar.

- 1 A: Venex.a; B: Ven.a.
- 2 B: fradelli.
- **3** B: Luca Ant.o.
- 4 B: Arrivaben.
- **5** B: contracto.
- 6 B: Imperiale tutte le infras.te.
- **7** B: seranno notate; scripto.
- 8 Fulin: del.
- 9 B: scripto.
- 10 B: ultra queste notate altre opere anchora.
- 11 B: alla; dicta.

- 12 B: tutte opere; Luca Antonio; additional note in the left margin: ser Lucantonio per ½ ser Amadio ¼; similarly, in the right margin, in one line, one over the other and grouped together by curly brackets: Bapt.a | Silvest.o} Torti | Zorzi Arrivaben} ¼.
- 13 B: Schotto.
- 14 B: Arrivaben.
- **15** B: uno.
- 16 B: mita.
- 17 B: mita; dicto; Arrivaben; Et.
- **18** B: vorra.
- 19 B: Pointing hand in the left margin.

- [1] Jesus, Mary, 1507, June 25th, in Venice
- [2] In the name of God and the glorious Virgin Mary.
- [3] We, Battista and Silvestro, brothers Torti, representing one party; ser Luca Antonio de Giunta; ser Amadio Scoto and ser Giorgio Arrivabene, also known as 'Parente', have formed a partnership with the goal to print, on royal or imperial paper all the works listed below, which will be mentioned on the back of the present document. [4] And in addition to those listed, also other works, according to day-by-day wishes of our said partnership.
- [5] For [the production of] all those works, the mentioned ser Lucantonio will enter [the partnership] for one quarter, ser Amadio Scoto for another quarter and we, Battista and Silvestro [together] with the said ser Giorgio Arrivabene for another quarter, that is to say, half quarter for us, Battista and Silvestro, the other half [of a quarter] to ser Giorgio Arrivabene. [6] And because there will remain another quarter open for a future member of the partnership, about this we declare that we would be happy to admit another partner, or perhaps two partners, sharing this quarter; such partners, though, have to be welcome and elected by the majority of the partnership; indeed, people not liked by the partners will not be admitted in any way.
- [7] And we want the said partnership to last five years, and to work continuously with four presses on the account of said partnership. [8] And each partner will have to contribute to the needs of the day according to his share, that is, for the quarter or half quarter for which he will have joined this partnership.
- [9] And the undertaking of printing by the said partnership will result from the present agreement between Battista and Silvestro, the aforementioned brothers, and the aforementioned Giorgio Arrivabene; that is to say, the Torti [brothers] with two presses and the said Giorgio with two more presses.
- [10] And in case the partnership would like to operate with more presses, we, the aforementioned Torti [brothers] and ser Giorgio Arrivabene would be happy to do so, if we have the opportunity to work accordingly, each one contributing according to his share mentioned before, provided we will be given enough time in advance, so that we can organise the work.

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20 B: doi.
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31 B: sera per il.
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<sup>21</sup> B: dicto.

**<sup>22</sup>** B: dicti.

<sup>23</sup> B: alcuno.

<sup>24</sup> B: a durar.

<sup>25</sup> B: anni, repeated in the left margin: per anni 5.

<sup>26</sup> B: torcoli; dicta.

<sup>27</sup> B: cadaun. In the left margin: quisque portionem impendat.

<sup>28</sup> B: alla; luy.

**<sup>29</sup>** B: sera; dicta. *In the left margin:* stampatori.

<sup>30</sup> B: impresa de; dicta.

<sup>32</sup> B: Baptista e Silvestro fradelli.

<sup>33</sup> B: e de Zorzi Arrivaben.

<sup>34</sup> B: dicti Torti cum doi torcoli.

<sup>35</sup> B: dicto ser Zorzi cum doi altri torcoli.

<sup>36</sup> B: accadesse; dicta; torcoli.

<sup>37</sup> B: Arrivaben.

<sup>38</sup> B: loro piacere.

<sup>39</sup> B: ratta; dicto.

**<sup>40</sup>** B: il.

**<sup>41</sup>** B: se.

<sup>42</sup> B: in.

- [11] E stampate che sarano dite opere notade, overo non ancora<sup>43</sup> stampate, | volemo che niuno di compagni soprascriti habia libertade di<sup>44</sup> stamparle in tal forma, zoè real et imperial; ne participar | cum alchuno<sup>45</sup> che le stampasse, né facesse vender, fin compiti li cinque ani del acordio nostro. [12] E più ancora fin tanto | che sarano<sup>46</sup> compite de vender dite opere de la compagnia, soto pena di pagar a dinari<sup>47</sup> contanti tutte quelle opere de | la compagnia che restasseno da vender, per quello precio li sarà sta posto da i compagni,<sup>48</sup> et per quello saranno<sup>49</sup> sta vendute fin a quello zorno. ||
- [13] Dechiarando ancora che alchuno de diti<sup>50</sup> compagni non possa vender né ceder né metter in locho suo alchuno | altro per la parte soa che harà in dita compagnia, senza consentimento de la mazor parte de diti compagni.<sup>51</sup> ||
- [14] Item volemo che'l precio del vender dite<sup>52</sup> opere lavorate in negro solo sia de dar quinterni trenta in trentacinque al duchato;<sup>53</sup> | [15] e più ancora sostinerle a mazor precio, se sarà po<ssibile>,<sup>54</sup> per mazor utilitade<sup>55</sup> nostra e reputatione del mestier.<sup>56</sup>
- [16] Ma | venendoni essere fata concorrentia<sup>57</sup> da poi stampate, ad alchuna de dite nostre opere, <sup>58</sup> se li habia mutar el<sup>59</sup> precio | secondo che alla mazor parte di compagni parerà; o vero despartirle, la qual mazor parte se intenda secundo che più e mancho | sarano<sup>60</sup> participi in l'opera. ||
- [17] Dechiarando ancora<sup>61</sup> che dite opere se habiano a vender per un monte, e mettersi in uno magazino, tolto affito per | nome de tuti i diti compagni, del qual chadauno<sup>62</sup> volendo habia la sua chiave: diversa l'una da l'altra; e | pagar el fito ogniuno per la rata soa;<sup>63</sup> [18] e così come se andarà stampando, e facendosi li quinterni, se habiano | a portar in dito magazino.<sup>64</sup> [19] Et in lo vender diti libri chadauno<sup>65</sup> di compagni habia cinque per cento de tuti quelli ch'èl vendarà.<sup>66</sup> ||
- [20] Item tute le spexe che andarano<sup>67</sup> in comprar exemplari, correger, far tavole, e tute altre spexe pertinenti | ala utilitade de le opere, se intenda ogni cosa a spexe de tuta la compagnia, chadauno per la rata a lui spectante.<sup>68</sup> ||
- [21] Item el carregho de comprar le charte è dato da dita compagnia a noi Batista<sup>69</sup> e Silvestro e ser Zorzi soprascriti; [22] e | questo se intenda dandoni de continuo diti compagni li denari chadauno per la rata soa.<sup>70</sup> [23] Et più dandoni | sempre li denari in avantazo de la charta de uno mexe avanti trato,<sup>71</sup> a ciò possiamo più commodamente | proveder al bisogno nostro.

- 43 B: seranno dicte opere notade; anchora.
- **44** B: de.
- 45 B: alcuno.
- **46** B: anchora; anni; seranno.
- 47 B: sotto; de pagar a denari.
- 48 B: sera sta posto da li compagni.
- 49 B: li seranno.
- 50 B: anchora che alcuno de dicti.
- **51** B: loco; alcuno; dicta; dicti. A pointing hand, in the right margin, serves to highlight the whole paragraph.
- 52 B: dicte.
- 53 B: ducato.
- **54** B: Sustenirle; on B the word possibile cannot be read in full because of a hole at the centre of the leaf.
- 55 B: utilita.
- **56** B: reputation. *Additional note in the left margin*: pretium pro quinterni 30 in quinterni 35 al ducato et più substinerli.
- 57 B: venendone. Note in the margin: Sed si concurrentia fiat. On B, fol. 1 recto ends here.

- [11] And once the works listed below are printed, or even not yet printed, we want that none of the aforementioned partners will have the right to print them in that format, that is, on 'real' or on 'imperial' paper, or to collaborate with anyone else who would print them or who would sell them, before the five years of our agreement have lapsed. [12] And longer, until all said books have been sold, under cash payment for all remaining copies at the price set by the partnership and for which they will have been sold up to that day.
- [13] We also declare that none of the named partners may sell or transfer the share that he will hold in this partnership, nor can he be replaced by someone else, without the consent of the majority of this partnership.
- [14] *Item*, we want that the selling price of the said works printed in black ink only would be set at 30 to 35 quinternions for a ducat. [15] And even to maintain a higher price, if that would be possible, to our benefit and the reputation of the trade.
- [16] But if it happens that a competitor would publish some of our said works, we will have to change our price according to the wish of the majority of the partners or to distribute among them according to the rate of participation in the edition of each partner.
- [17] We also declare that the cited works have to be sold wholesale and that they have to be kept in a warehouse rented in the name of all partners, each one of whom who wants will have his own key [to the warehouse], a different one for everyone; and all members will pay [a part of] the rent according to his share. [18] And just as the quinternions will be printed, they will have to be brought to the said warehouse.
- [19] And as for the sales of those books, each partner will have five percent of [the income on] all the books that are sold.
- [20] *Item*, all expenses related to the acquisition of exemplars, to correction, to the creation of tables, and all other expenses pertaining to the benefit of the works, are meant as expenses of the whole partnership, for each member according to his share.
- [21] *Item*, the task of purchasing paper is entrusted by the said partnership to us, Battista and Silvestro, and ser Giorgio mentioned above. [22] And it is intended that the partners will continually provide the money for it, each according to his share. [23] Moreover, the money for the paper must be given in advance, so that we can meet our needs more comfortably.
- 58 B: ad alcuna de dicte nostre opere.
- 59 B: il.
- 60 B: siano.
- 61 B: anchora; in left margin pointing hand and: Vender per un monte.
- 62 B: magazeno; tolto afficto per nome de tutti i dicti compagni; caduno.
- 63 B: e pagar el ficto ogniuno per la ratta sua.
- 64 B: fazendosi li quinterni, se habiano portar; dicto.
- 65 B: dicti; chadaun.

- 66 B: tutti quelli ch'el venderà. In the left margin: 5 per 100 chi venderà.
- **67** B: tutte le spese che andaranno.
- 68 B: tutte; spese; tutta; chadaun; parte; luy.
- **69** B: tutte; spese; pertinente; tutta; chadaun; parte; luy. In the left margin: spese e charte.
- **70** B: chadaun per la ratta soa.
- 71 B: mese; tracto.

[24] E dite<sup>72</sup> charte se habiano a tuor di quella da S. Martin di Veronexe<sup>73</sup> e spender | fino a lire vinti de pizoli de la balla<sup>74</sup> de risme cinque l'una.

[25] E non possendo lor tenerne forniti,<sup>75</sup> se ne facia | far in altro luogho, spendando [sic] fin a lire vinti come s'è dito de sopra,<sup>76</sup> aciò se habia charta più equivalente | di bontade alla Veronexa che a noi sarà possibile e<sup>77</sup> altro tanto se intenda per la stampadura<sup>78</sup> del lavorar | in negro solo: e questo lavorando charte octocento<sup>79</sup>. [26] E lavorando charte seycento<sup>80</sup> siamo d'acordo noi compagni soprascriti | ne sia dato ducati sete<sup>81</sup> de la balla, computando la charta e manifatura<sup>82</sup>. [27] Et el carregho de far chambiar<sup>83</sup> le | cernaglie e manchamento de charte cum li chartari sia de noi Batista e Silvestro fradeli, et di ser Zorzi Arivaben.<sup>84</sup> ||

[28] Dechiarando che la mazor parte di compagni habia ad elezer<sup>85</sup> se più o mancho numero de libri se harà a stampar | de la soma notada<sup>86</sup> de sopra, satisfacendo sempre a la rata de la spexa<sup>87</sup> a ciò non habiamo a patir dano noi | compagni alli quali è dato l'imprexa<sup>88</sup> de stampar; [29] e dita<sup>89</sup> mazor parte di compagni harà elezer le opere che se harano<sup>90</sup> | a stampar delle contrascrite notade a tergo di<sup>91</sup> questo foglio. ||

[fol. 1 verso] [30] Item de le opere che se lavorarano<sup>92</sup> in rosso e negro, siamo d'acordo<sup>93</sup> noi Torti e ser Zorzi<sup>94</sup> soprascriti, ne sia dato duc. dexe<sup>95</sup> | de la balla computando la charta e manifatura per diti duc. dexe;<sup>96</sup> [31] e questo se intenda de le opere lavorade in rosso | e negro in charta imperial,<sup>97</sup> la qual charta imperial se intenda di quella sorta<sup>98</sup> che noi Torti havemo stampato li | texti chanonici<sup>99</sup> de la charta

fata a S. Martin in Veronexe li mexi<sup>100</sup> passati.

[32] E lavorando in rosso e negro in charta | real comuna, 101 siamo d'acordo ne sia dato duc. nove grossi quatro de la balla computando la charta e manifatura. 102 ||

[33] Item, oltra le charte che se metarano in stampar le opere de dita compagnia diti¹º³ compagni ne assignano che li metemo per | conto de dita¹º⁴ compagnia quatro per cento de più, dele qual quatro per cento tute quelle opere che vegnirano¹º⁵ compite ne siano | satisfate a raxon¹º⁶ come le altre del monte. [34] E quelle che restano rotte, se metano in lo magazino¹º⁷ et così rote | siano comune a tuta¹º⁶ la compagnia. ||

[35] Item per pacto expresso noi Batista¹ºº e Silvestro soprascriti volemo che a tute le opere che se stamparano per la dita¹ºº nostra | compagnia non se li possa meter¹º altra marcha né altro nome che le habia stampate, salvo che per Batistam¹º² | de Tortis cum la nostra marcha, come usque nunc siamo soliti meter ali¹¹³ libri stampati per noi; [36] e questo se intenda | così de le opere che stamparà dito ser Zorzi Arrivaben, come de quelle che stamparemo noi Batista¹¹⁴ e Silvestro | soprascriti per ditta nostra compagnia. ||

- **72** B: dicte.
- 73 B: de quella da S. Martin de Veronese.
- **74** B: 20 de pizoli la balla.
- 75 B: tenirne forniti.
- 76 B: e dicto de sopra.
- 77 B: Veronese; sera; et.
- 78 B: stampatura.
- **79** B: 800.
- **80** B: 600.
- 81 B: sette.
- 82 B: manufactura.

- 83 B: carrigo; cambiar.
- 84 B: fradelli; de; Arrivaben.
- **85** B: elezere.
- 86 B: haverà; della summa notata.
- 87 B: alla ratta della spesa.
- 88 B: danno; impresa.
- 89 B: dicta.
- 90 B: harà a ellezer; haranno.
- 91 B: contrascripte notate; de.
- 92 B: delle opere che se lavoraranno.
- 93 B: et; siamo d'acordio.

[24] And the paper must be that of Saint Martin of Verona and must be paid up to twenty 'lire de pizzoli' for a bale of five reams.

[25] And if they are not able to provide it, have it done elsewhere, at a price of up to twenty lire [de pizzoli] as stated above, so as to get paper of the same quality as that of Verona, if it is possible; and likewise, let it be for printing in black only: and this by working 800 sheets. [26] And for printing six hundred sheets, the partners agree on a price of seven ducats per bale, which includes the paper and the work. [27] And the task of having bad sheets and missing sheets replaced by the papermakers will be for us, the brothers Battista and Silvestro, and ser Giorgio Arrivabene.

[28] We declare that the partnership majority has the right to decide whether to print more or fewer copies of the books than the number stated above, always bearing the costs, pro rata, so as not to inflict damage on the partners entrusted with the task of printing. [29] And it is the aforementioned majority of the partners who will select the works to be printed from the list on the back of this leaf.

[30] *Item*, about the works to be printed in red and black, we, the aforementioned Torti and ser Giorgio Arrivabene agree that they will receive 10 ducats per bale, the sum including paper and manufacture. [31] And this is what we intend for works in red and black on imperial paper, which is intended to be of the same kind that we, the Torti, have used to print the texts of canon law on paper manufactured at Saint Martin of Verona in the past months.

[32] And for working in red and black on royal paper, we agree to receive 9 ducats 4 grossi per bale, reckoning the paper and work.

[33] *Item*, in addition to the paper that will be used to print the works of the said partnership, the said partners decide that we [that is, Torti and Arrivabene] add four percent on behalf of the partnership, yet all complete works that will be produced with this four percent will be managed pro rata like all the others in the warehouse. [34] And those [sheets] which end up being damaged must be kept in the warehouse, and damaged, they will be common property of the whole partnership.

[35] Item, by express agreement, we, the aforementioned Battista and Silvestro, want that all works printed for our partnership will bear no other printer's device or name except 'per Baptistam de Tortis' with our device, as we have been accustomed to do on all books printed by us. [36] And this is intended for the works that will be printed by the said ser Giorgio Arrivabene, as well as those printed by us, Battista and Silvestro aforementioned, for the said partnership.

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94 B: Arrivaben.
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105 B: tutte; vegniranno.
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**<sup>95</sup>** B: 10.

<sup>96</sup> B: et manufactura; dicti; 10.

<sup>97</sup> B: delle; imperiale.

**<sup>98</sup>** B: de quella sorte.

<sup>99</sup> B: canonici.

<sup>100</sup> B: facta; Veronese; mesi.

<sup>101</sup> B: reale communa.

**<sup>102</sup>** B: manufactura; end of text on B, fol. 1 verso.

<sup>103</sup> B: ult.a; metteranno; dicta.

<sup>104</sup> B: dicti; mettemo; dicta.

<sup>106</sup> B: satisfacte a rason.

<sup>107</sup> B: mettano in lo magazen.

<sup>108</sup> B: commune a tutta.

<sup>109</sup> B: Baptista.

<sup>110</sup> B: stamparanno per la dicta.

<sup>111</sup> B: selli possa metter.

<sup>112</sup> B: Baptistam.

<sup>113</sup> B: metter alli.

<sup>114</sup> B: dicto; quelle stamparemo; Baptista.

<sup>115</sup> B: di.

[37] Dechiarando anchora che chadauno de li<sup>115</sup> compagni harà, se a lui piacerà, una copia del dito scrito fata | per mano<sup>116</sup> de mi Silvestro Torto<sup>117</sup> soprascrito, sotoscripta de mano de tuti<sup>118</sup> li compagni soprascriti.<sup>119</sup> [38] E per chiareza | mi Silvestro soprascrito<sup>120</sup> ho scrito<sup>121</sup> la presente de mano mia propria.

[39] Le infrascrite opere sono quelle che ordinatamente per l'acordio nostro havemo a lavorar per la | contrascrita<sup>122</sup> compagnia nostra. ||

[40a]	[40b]	[4oc]
Texti de raxon civile 123	Aretini omnia opera	Berthachini <sup>127</sup>
Texti de raxon chanonicha124	Angeli omnia opera	Felini omnia opera
Abbati <sup>125</sup>	Bartoli omnia opera	Iasonis omnia opera
Alexandri omnia opera	Baldi omnia opera	Pauli de Castro omnia opera
Speculum iuris cum repertorio	Socini omnia opera126	Saliceti omnia opera

- [41] E mi Luchantonio di Zunta<sup>128</sup> son contento e me obrigo<sup>129</sup> a quanto è sopra scritto. ||
- [42] E mi Giorgio Arrivaben sono contento et me obligo a quanto he scrito de sopra.130 |
- [43] E mi Amadio Schoto sono<sup>131</sup> contento et me obligo a quanto è scripto de sopra. ||
- [44] De sopra in lo presente scrito<sup>132</sup> de la compagnia nostra ce manchava ad haver un compagno per un quarto.133 [45] e134 de consensu de noi compagni soprascriti<sup>135</sup> habiamo electo de acetar compagno per dito<sup>136</sup> quarto che ne restava | messer Antonio Moreto; el qual lui in compagnia deli altri sotoscriverà essere così contento a tuti i scriti | che habiamo noi tuti<sup>137</sup> compagni e obligarsi a quanto se contiene in li scriti et acordo de dita nostra compagnia. 138
- [46] E de voluntà di tuti compagni, 139 mi Silvestro soprascrito ho fato e scrito el sopradito scrito et me obligo | a quanto è scrito<sup>140</sup> de sopra. ||
- [47] E mi Luchantonio de Zunta son contento et me obrigo<sup>141</sup> a quanto è soprascritto de sopra. ||
- [48] E mi Giorgio Arrivaben sono contento et me obligo a quanto è scritto de sopra.
- [49] E mi Antonio Moreto<sup>142</sup> son contento et me obligo a quanto è scripto de sopra. ||
- 116 B: dicto scripto facta per man.
- 117 Fulin: Torti.
- 118 B: sottoscripta de man de tutti.
- 119 Sic in A; abbreviated ssti in B.
- 120 Fulin: sopranominato.
- 121 B: scripto.
- **122** B: contrascripta compagnia; nostra is leftout in B.
- **123** B: razon.

- 124 B: Texti canonici.
- 125 B: Abbati; A: Abbatis, the final s having being crossed
- 126 B: Baldi comes after Socini; the latter is also highlighted by a pointing hand, likely in relation to the note on the back of the document, where indeed 600 copies of 'Socini' are mentioned.
- 127 B: Bertachini.

[37] We also declare that each partner will have, if he wishes, a copy of this document written by me, the aforementioned Silvestro Torti, signed by hand by all the aforementioned partners. [38] And for clarity, I, the aforementioned Silvestro, have written the present copy by my own hand.

[39] The works listed below are those that we have to carry out properly for our partnership as a result of our agreement:

[40a]	[40b]	[40c]
Texts of civil law	Aretini omnia opera	Bertachini
Texts of canon law	Angeli omnia opera	Felini omnia opera
Abbot's	Bartoli omnia opera	Iasonis omnia opera
Alexandri omnia opera	Baldi omnia opera	Pauli de Castro omnia opera
Speculum iuris cum repertorio	Socini omnia opera	Saliceti omnia opera

- [41] And I, Lucantonio Giunta, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [42] And I, Giorgio Arrivabene, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [43] And I, Amadio Scoto, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [44] Above in the present document of our partnership, [it is stated] that a partner is wanted for a quarter share. [45] And by consensus, we, the aforementioned partners have decided to accept ser Antonio Moretto; for the remaining quarter share, he will sign in the presence of the others that he will agree with all that is written, just as we, all the partners, did and that he will commit to what is written and agree with our partnership.
- [46] And by the will of all members of our partnership, I, the aforementioned Silvestro, have made and written the document and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [47] And I, Lucantonio Giunta, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [48] And I, Giorgio Arrivabene, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.
- [49] And I, Antonio Moretto, agree and obligate myself to what is written above.

- **128** B: Luca Ant.o.
- 129 B: obligo.
- 130 B: è soprascripto. 131 B: Amadio; son.
- 132 B: scripto.
- 133 B: In left margin: per 1/4.
- 134 B: et.
- 135 Sic on A; still abbreviated ssti in B.

- 136 B: acceptar; dicto.
- 137 B: tutti; scripti tutti; et.
- 138 B: scripti; acordio; dicta.
- 139 B: Et de voluntà di tutti i compagni.
- **140** B: facto e scripto el sopradicto scripto; scripto.
- **141** B: obligo.
- 142 B: Moretto.

[Only on A, fol. 4 verso] [50] Scrito de l'acordio fato cum ser Luchantonio e compagni di stampar in compagnia soa de continuo cum torculi 4 per ani 5, cum li pacti e compagni come in questo scrito appar.

[Only on B, fol. 4 verso, second hand] [51] Som quinterni 49, fol. unum

a quinterni 35 al duc. val. ad minus duc. 11/2 l'uno

[52] Soncini fo facto e compidi nº 600 in cartha real. E missi tuti concorditer in

Deinde postremo in un magazen de ser Luca Antonio de communi consensu, De le quali quote tre ha hauto ser Luca Antonio videlicet

nº 105 vel circa deinde 15 nº 105 vel circa deinde 15 Ser Amadio Scoto

Misser mastro Zandomenego medico in logo di stampatori

nº 15 deinde altri 15 Ser Antonio Moreto nº x deinde 15 summa 295

[53] Reliquum che sunt 305 vel circa salvo errore son in magazen de ser Lucantonio Nota che de expensis factis in dicto volumine nulla potest moveri controversia.

[Below, centre of the leaf, same hand] [54] 1507, 25 Jun.

Pacta Societatis

[Only on B] [50] Written text of the agreement made with ser Lucantonio and partners for printing, in partnership with him, continuously with four presses for five years, according to the conditions and together with the partners as they appear in this document.

[Only on A] [51] They are quinternions 49, one folio [priced] 35 quinternions for one ducat, the value is at least 1 and ½ ducat each

> [52] 'Soncini' was made and completed no. 600 in royal paper. They have been brought, by common consensus, to a warehouse.

Then finally in a warehouse of ser Lucantonio, still by common consensus Of them, three shares received ser Lucantonio, that is,

no. 105 or circa, and then 15 Ser Amadio Scoto

no. 105 or circa, and then 15

Master Doctor Zandomenego, instead [on behalf?]

of the printers no. 15, then further 15 Ser Antonio Moreto no. 10, then 15 Sum 295

[53] The remaining [copies], which are 305, or about, apart from errors, are in a warehouse of ser Lucantonio

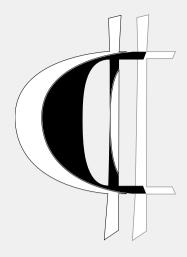
Note that no legal dispute can be started concerning the expenses made in this volume.

[Below, centre of the leaf, same hand]

[54] 1507, 25 June

Contract of the Partnership





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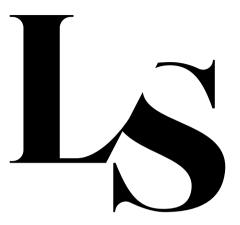
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