

Peace at the Lily. The De Franceschi section in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti

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ABSTRACT

This contribution investigates the catalogue of publications by Francesco De Franceschi, printer, publisher and bookseller between 1561 and 1599, and his heirs, who took over his business until 1624, as recorded in the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti (Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, call number 170/622), also a printer, publisher and bookseller in Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Each entry of this De Franceschi section has been matched with the edition it was meant to describe, in order to analyse the price of each book according to the Giunti stockbook as the result of material features and book marketing strategies.

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KEYWORDS

17th-century books; Book history; Book market; Book trade; Book trade catalogues; Early printed books; Stockbooks; Selling catalogues; Early printing; Typography.

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In the sixteenth century, long past the pioneering days of the new printing industry, the cycle of production and distribution of books concentrated to a large extent around a few centres, in the hands of entrepreneurs who were able to take control over a large slice of the market through the investment of substantial amounts of capital. Among the dynasties of businessmen, and also women, who developed a commercial empire based in the main printing places and spreading from there all over Europe and beyond, were the Italian families of the Giunti and the De Franceschi. In this contribution I am going to present some provisional results of the ongoing study of a source which provides valuable information on these two firms as individual enterprises and on their commercial interaction.

Francesco De Franceschi was born in Siena around 1530. He moved to Venice towards the end of the 1550s, likely driven by keenness to establish a business of his own in what was at the time still one of the main printing centres in Europe. Evidence of his work as a publisher dates from the early 1560s.¹ Over the space of four decades, Francesco engaged in partnerships with several professionals of the book in Venice and other Italian centres to build one of the most solid and prolific publishing houses of the post-Tridentine era, signing some 350 editions “at the sign of peace”.² At his death, in 1599, his younger sons Giacomo and Giovanni Antonio inherited and managed the workshop together at least until 1608 (Andreoli 2013; Baldacchini 2013; Baldacchini 1988).³ Later on, they signed separately several editions between the second and third decade of the seventeenth century.⁴ New evidence on the De Franceschi firm is provided by some precise information on the value of the books carrying this name on the contemporary market, as reported in a document known as the stockbook of Bernardino Giunti at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Now in the Department of Special Collections at the library of the University of California, Los Angeles, the so-called stockbook of Bernardino Giunti is an in-folio manuscript comprising 313 leaves, bound in contemporary limp dark brown calf, possibly designed to help the staff of the Giunti store in Venice by listing available books and their individual prices.⁵ It was drawn up and updated from 1 March 1600, as an inscription at the beginning of the volume tells us,⁶ until the second decade

¹ His first known edition is a collection of works of medicine and logic by Remigio Megliorati printed in 1561 (CNCE 27424; SBN BVEE005520; USTC 827733).

² In Venice, Francesco De Franceschi engaged with Giovanni Battista Ciotti, Gaspare Bindoni, Nicolò Bevilacqua, Damiano Zenaro, Johann Chrieger, Pietro Dusinelli, Giorgio Angelieri, Paolo Venturini, Giacomo Vidali, Francesco Ziletti and the Giunti. In Bologna, with Giovanni Battista Bellagamba; in Bergamo, with Comino Ventura; in Modena, he was possibly involved in a collaboration with Antonio Gadaldini: see Nuovo 2013, 65–7, 186, 300, 414–8. See also EDIT16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* online, CNCT 366.

³ See also EDIT16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* online, CNCT 304 and 569.

⁴ The name of Giovanni Antonio appears on a new edition, printed in 1624 (SBN UM1E001956; USTC 4006604), of the two books *De arbitrariis iudicum quaestionibus & causis* of the jurist from Pavia Giacomo Menochio, whose works seem to have been a long-seller in the De Franceschi catalogue: see OPAC SBN – *Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* online: <http://opac.sbn.it>.

⁵ Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, call number 170/622; see the record in the library online catalogue: <http://ucla.worldcat.org/oclc/900236983>. A digital copy of the entire manuscript is available online: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewer/viewer.do?projectNo=97&arkId=21198/zz002j9bpx>. The actual purpose of the manuscript is being thoroughly investigated by Andrea Ottone, whom I thank for sharing with me his thoughts on this point.

⁶ F. [4]r: “Al nome de Dio. Adi p.- Marzo 1600. Questo libro si e de mi Bernardino Giunti libraro in Venetia”.

of the seventeenth century, as we can infer from the date of printing of some of the items listed.⁷ Two more hands, besides Bernardino's, are clearly recognisable.⁸

Despite being already known to scholars, this goldmine of information on prices and policies in an early modern bookshop has never been studied extensively and thoroughly until today. Martin Lowry made it the object of an essay in which he focused on Aldine editions to support the assumption they were still luxury items one century after Manutius's death (Lowry 1991).⁹ In the section of the stockbook where books are listed by place of printing and printer, 19 leaves (ff. 186r–204v) are devoted to the production of Francesco De Franceschi (ill. 1).

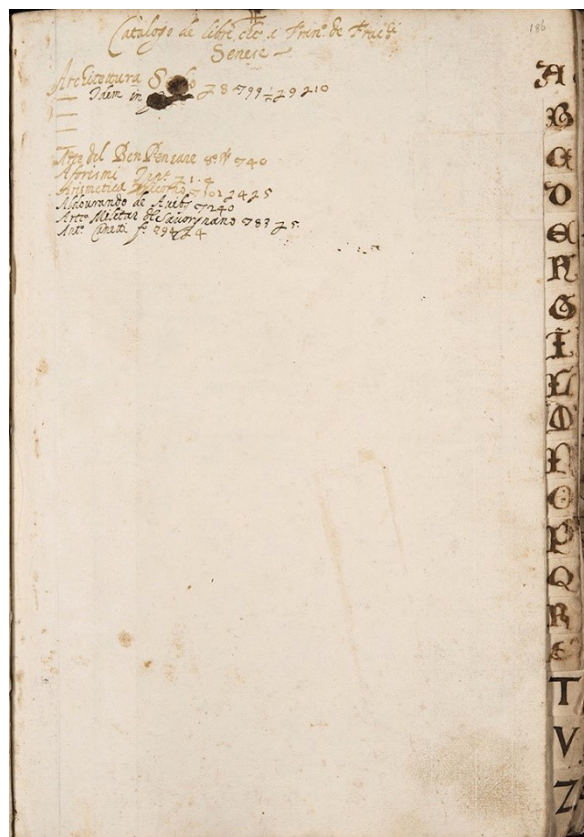


Illustration 1. Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, ms. 170/622, f. 186r.

⁷ The “Farmacopea Quercetano. 4°, c. 37” (f. 191r), added by a later hand, matches with the edition printed by Giovanni Guerigli in 1619: Joseph Du Chesne, *Le ricchezze della riformata farmacopea del sig. Giuseppe Quercetano medico, e consiglier regio. Nuouamente di fauella latina trasportata in italiana dal sig. Giacomo Ferrari medico, e filosofo mantouano*. In Venetia : appresso Giouanni Guerigli, 1619 (SBN BVVEE033612; USTC 4025333), pp. [24], 256 ; 4°. Collation: π πA–B A–2I.

⁸ For an analysis of the stockbook see Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 10–20; see also Nuovo 2013, 133.

⁹ See also Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 12.

The somewhat obscure inscription (“Catalogue of books which *has* (?) Francesco De Franceschi from Siena”)¹⁰ might result from the transcription of a lost catalogue, possibly printed, of the books published and sold by De Franceschi.¹¹ This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that only about a half of the entries includes a price, so putting into question the assumption that the books listed were actually available in store for sale and giving rise to the conclusion that the information came from another source.¹² Printed sale catalogues were once included in the stockbook as an additional tool, as they were useful for providing information on books not currently in store but available on demand from other printers and booksellers.¹³

The De Franceschi section comprises 130 entries arranged alphabetically and, secondly, by format.¹⁴ Such a high number of entries makes of De Franceschi the second best represented publisher in the stockbook after Giovanni Battista Ciotti with 171 entries.¹⁵ Such prominence is unsurprising, not only given their importance in the contemporary book market, but also in view of the fact that Ciotti and De Franceschi, both originally from Siena, were both involved in partnerships with Bernardo Giunti.¹⁶

Despite the very limited number of words, each entry of the stockbook is accurate enough to allow us to make a quite precise identification of editions. An essential description comprises author and title, usually followed by the indication of bibliographic format, number of printing sheets and, for about half of the entries, a price expressed in Venetian *lire*.¹⁷ The count of printed sheets is peculiar to the commercial context of a printing workshop and bookstore, where new books, hot off the press, were usually sold loose to be bound at a later stage. The information on the number of printing sheets is crucial for us today as it was for customers and shop assistants in the seventeenth century. In several instances, it proves to be the key element in such a short bibliographic description, as, thanks to its accuracy, it allows to identify one unique edition which matches completely the features described. Entries carefully registered the number of printing sheets up to a half sheet, as in the case of the 16 ½ sheets of the *Pastor fido* by Giovanni Battista Guarini¹⁸ or in that of the 105 ½ sheets of the work by

¹⁰ F. 186r: “Catalogo de libri che a [!] Fran[cesc]o de Fran[cesc]hi Senese”. Emphasis mine.

¹¹ This suggestion was provided by Angela Nuovo and seems to be supported by the analogy with the list of books published in Turin and sold by Giovanni Domenico Tarino (ff. 267r–268v), which probably reproduces one of Tarino’s printed sale catalogues. I am grateful to Andrea Ottone for sharing with me some of the results of his current study on this part of the stockbook.

¹² See also below. The proportion of entries including a price in the stockbook as a whole has to be investigated further.

¹³ Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 19.

¹⁴ Consistently with the rest of the stockbook, capital letters in alphabetical order are inked on labelled vellum tags on the external margin of each leaf to help retrieve the books as need arose.

¹⁵ According to the calculation of Angela Nuovo: see Ammannati and Nuovo 2017, 16.

¹⁶ On Giovanni Battista Ciotti see Firpo 1981; Maclean 2013; Rhodes 2013; and Nuovo 2013, 291–3. On his partnership with Francesco De Franceschi and Bernardo Giunti, Firpo 1981, 693–5; Nuovo 2013, 291; Baldacchini 2013, 337; Baldacchini 1988, 31; Andreoli 2013, 15.

¹⁷ On prices and the currencies in which they were expressed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the problematic comparisons among them, see Francesco Ammannati’s contribution in this issue.

¹⁸ F. 198r: “Pastor fido. 8°, c. 16 ½, L. 1”: Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi senese, 1596 (CNCE 28648; SBN VIAE011995; USTC 834919), ff. 132 ; 8°. Collation: A–Q R = 16.5 printing sheets. On the editions of the *Pastor fido* published by De Franceschi between 1592 and 1599 see Andreoli 2013, 20.

Girolamo Piatti;¹⁹ or even to a quarter sheet, as for the 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ sheets of the *Contrasto amoroso* by Muzio Manfredi.²⁰

Books might appear more than once, listed under as many headings as one could possibly look for them in every relevant section of this peculiar document. As a general rule, each entry describes what we would define an edition, either distinguishing between multiple volumes or simply listing them together. Even editions are occasionally listed together, revealing they were for sale as a group. Such compilations should encourage us to reconsider our definitions of publishing programmes. The habit of selling multiple books as lots, in order to create collected volumes on one topic by putting together works by the same author published successively, is an understandable commercial strategy confirmed by the presence of numerous such ‘miscellanies’ in library special collections today. What we do not know much about are the details of such transactions from the bookseller’s side. Some might be straightforward to infer, when a total of printing sheets and the respective cost are provided for sets of volumes which are also described separately. In addition to the number of printing sheets and the price, which are both clearly stated for each of the eleven volumes on physics by Francesco Piccolomini, partial sums are also noted next to and below the entries by means of a complex structure of annotations using pointers and braces (ill. 2).²¹

¹⁹ F. 198r: “Plato, De bono stato, v[ulgar]. C. 105 $\frac{1}{2}$, L. 4”: Girolamo Piatti, *Del bene de lo stato de’ religiosi libri tre*. In Venetia : appresso gli heredi di Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1600 (CNCE 28903; SBN BVVEE019111; USTC 848198), pp. [32], 930 [i.e. 810], [2] ; 4°. Collation: a–b A–G H I–3D 3E = 105.5 printing sheets.

²⁰ F. 251rb: “Contrasto amoroso. 8°, c. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ”: Muzio Manfredi, *Il contrasto amoroso pastorale*. In Venetia : appresso Giacomo Anton. Somascho, 1602 (SBN UBOE006641; USTC 4034756), pp. [16], 144, [2] ; 8°. Collation: A–K χ = 10.25 printing sheets. Differently from the other examples, this one is not taken from the De Franceschi section of the stockbook.

²¹ F. 191r: “Filosofia Piccolomini natural., 5 uolumi: 1°: 100; 2°: 64; 3°: 66; 4°: 48; 5°: 72 = c. 350, L. 18. Idem. Definitionibus. Folio, c. 107, L. 5. {De ortu et interitu}. C. 71, L. 3.10. Anima. C. 112, L. 6 = c. 290, [L.] 14.10. Moral. C. 164, [L.] 8. Celo [!]. Fisica. C. 350, L. 18 + 290, L. 14.10 = 640; 640 + 164, L. 8 = L. [i.e. c.] 804, L. 40.10”: Francesco Piccolomini, *Librorum ad scientiam de natura attinentium pars prima [–quinta]*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1596 (CNCE 47402; SBN BVVEE015617; USTC 848399), ff. [18], 186; [12], 118; [14], 117, [1]; [8], 87, [1]; [12], 132 ; 2°. Collation: π^* * 2*. A–2H (= 102 printing sheets instead of the 100 mentioned in the entry); π a–b, a–t u (= 65 printing sheets instead of the 64 mentioned in the entry); * 2*. A–T V (= 66 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry); * A–O P (= 48 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry); * 2*. A–Y (= 72 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *De rerum definitionibus liber vnus*. Venetijs : apud haeredes Francisci de Franciscis, 1600 (CNCE 28934; SBN BVVEE006587; USTC 848400), ff. [12], 202 ; 2°. Collation: a–b A–2K 2L (= 107 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *Librorum Aristotelis de ortu et interitu lucidissima expositio*. Venetijs : apud Io. Antonium, & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1602 (SBN UM1E000274; USTC 4035234), ff. [2], 139; 2°. Collation: a A–Y Z (= 71 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *In tres libros Aristotelis De anima lucidissima expositio. Nunc primum in lucem edita*. Venetijs : apud Io. Antonium, & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1602 (SBN MODE024879; USTC 4036549); ff. [2], 221, [1] ; 2°. Collation: a A–2O (= 112 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry). Idem, *Vniuersa philosophia de moribus*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1583 (CNCE 28151; SBN BVVEE006664; USTC 848396), pp. [20], 596, [44] ; 2°. Collation: \dagger A–2N 2O a–b c (= 165 printing sheets, instead of the 164 mentioned in the entry); a successive edition (1594: CNCE 28630; SBN BVVEE006662; USTC 848398) has a different collation, not matching the number of printing sheets mentioned in the item. Idem, *In libros Aristotelis De coelo lucidissima expositio*. Venetijs : apud Io. Antonium & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1607 (SBN UBOE032329; USTC 4034884), only De Franceschi edition of this work. The last item perhaps refers to Idem, *Octauo libri naturalium auscultationum perspicua interpretatio, multiplici annotationum varietate illustrata. Nunc primum in lucem edita*. Venetijs : apud Ioan. Antonium & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1606 (SBN RMLE016178; USTC 4033514).

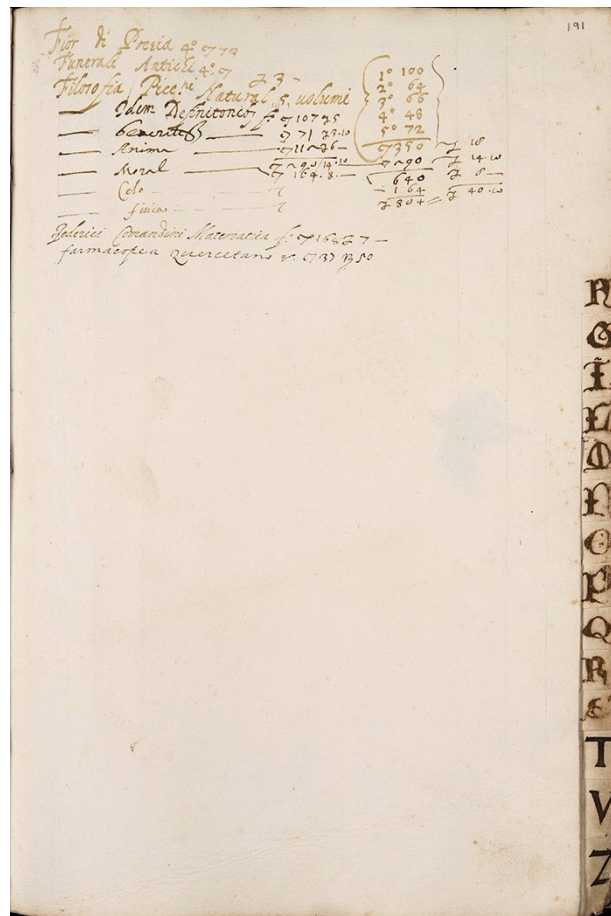


Illustration 2. Los Angeles, University of California Library, Department of Special Collections, ms. 170/622, f. 191r.

Similar offers of more than one book at a time are less obvious to read as such where entries do not include individual descriptions but merely consist of one laconic cumulative record. It took some time to work out that the 65 ½ printing sheets of the “Prediche de Tosignano” comprise the 61 ½ sheets of the two quarto volumes of sermons by Pietro Ridolfi printed in 1584, with the addition of a sermon on the seven words of Christ on the cross in 4 sheets, printed in the same year, also in quarto format.²² This practice of proposing miscellanies for sale, mostly the collected works of an individual author, seems further confirmed by an entry shortly above the example just mentioned, referring to some more *Prediche*, in this case by Gabriele Fiamma: the entry records 71 printing sheets, matching the 44 of the edition of the sermons published in 1590 plus 27 sheets of six more sermons published the

²² F. 198r: “Prediche de Tosignano. C. 65 ½”: Pietro Ridolfi, *Delle prediche ... fatte in vari luoghi, et intorno à vari soggetti: parte prima [-seconda]*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1584 (CNCE 28160; SBN BVVE019115; USTC 852548), ff. [16], 143, [1]; [10], 76 : ill. ; 4°. Collation: †-2† A-S; † a-i k = 61.5 printing sheets; and Pietro Ridolfi, *Discorso intorno alle sette parole di Christo in croce*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1584 (CNCE 28162; SBN BVVE019116; USTC 852549), ff. 15, [1] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: a-b = 4 printing sheets. No other editions of these works are known.

following year.²³ Even more significantly, what is described as one “book of embroidery” turned out to be not an individual book, but rather a collection of two books published by De Franceschi in 1591, one edited by the already mentioned Giovanni Battista Ciotti and the other by Giovanni Ostaus, both printers and publishers themselves.²⁴ Copies of these two editions bound together, making up the total of 15 printing sheets mentioned in the entry, are found in Rome, Paris and Oxford.²⁵

Price are given and are reliable only for about a half of the entries of the De Franceschi section in the Giunti stockbook.²⁶ This relatively reduced number would seem to suggest that the main purpose of this extraordinary journal was not only to provide prices for books on sale in the bookstore, but to help Bernardino in keeping track of books available on the market.²⁷ Still, it offers fresh evidence of the actual cost of some well-known best-sellers produced by the De Franceschi publishing house.

Francesco De Franceschi, founder of the firm, specialised in the field of technical and scientific texts, targeting diverse categories of professionals as a potential clientele.²⁸ His production ranged over works of law, architecture, medicine, botany, arithmetic, geometry, the military arts and music, mostly in Italian to serve as manuals and textbooks for a broad class of specialists. Yet, according to Bernardino’s stockbook, the most expensive purchases from the De Franceschi assortment were, quite contrary to expectation, two works of scholasticism: the two *Summae* of Thomas Aquinas and of Alexander de Ales, in nine volumes priced at 50 *lire venetiane* and 12 *soldi*,²⁹ and in five volumes

²³ F. 198r: “Prediche Fiamma. 8°, c. 71, L. [...]”: Gabriele Fiamma, *Prediche ... fatte in vari tempi, in vari luoghi, & intorno a vari soggetti [!]. Tomo primo*. In Vinegia : presso Francesco de Franceschi senese, 1590 (CNCE 18925; SBN RMLE022363; USTC 829408), ff. [8], 324, [20] ; 8°. Collation: a A–2V (2V8 blank) = 44 printing sheets; and Gabriele Fiamma, *Sei prediche ... in lode della beata Vergine, sopra l’euangelo di s. Luca, Missus est angelus Gabriel. Predicate in Napoli, nella chiesa dell’Annunciata, i sabbati di quaresima, l’anno 1573*. In Venetia : presso Francesco de’ Franceschi senese, 1591 (CNCE 18928; SBN RMLE022365; USTC 829409), ff. 216 ; 8°. Collation: A–2D = 27 printing sheets; total 71 sheets.

²⁴ F. 194r: “Libro de recami. C. 15, L. 1.10”: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, *Prima parte de’ fiori, e disegni di varie sorti di ricami moderni. Come merli, bauari, manichetti, & altri nobili lauori, che al presente sono in vso*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco di Franceschi senese all’insegna della Pace, 1591 (In Venetia : appresso Nicolo Moretti : ad instantia di Francesco di Franceschi, 1591) (CNCE 61373; SBN RMLE011694; USTC 822687; Lotz 1963, 121), ff. XV [i.e. 19], [1] : ill. ; 4° oblong. Collation: A–E = 5 printing sheets; and Giovanni Ostaus, *La vera perfezione del disegno di varie sorti di ricami, & di cucire ogni sorte di punti a fogliami, punti tagliati ... E di nuouo aggiuntoui varie sorti di merli ...* In Venetia : appresso Francesco di Franceschi senese all’insegna della pace, 1591 (In Venezia, 1590) (CNCE 71404; SBN RMLE011695; USTC 845602; Lotz 1963, 96e), pp. LXXIX, [1] ; 4° oblong. Collation: A–E = 10 printing sheets. See also Andreoli 2013, 43–4.

²⁵ Rome, Biblioteca universitaria Alessandrina, call number Rari 288.1–2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, call number Reserve 4–S–4551 (2–3); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Weston Stack, call number Douce V.162 (1). The consecutive shelfmarks of two more copies in Paris, Tolbiac, Rez–de–jardin, call number Res.P-V-693–694, should be investigated further.

²⁶ 65 out of a total of 130 entries.

²⁷ See above, note 5.

²⁸ See the dedication to Ippolito Agostini in the 1584 edition of the *Orlando Furioso*: “È cosa conuenevole che tutte le professioni sieno accompagnate da’ suoi particolari studi. ... È molto tempo che io attendo a dar in luce per mezzo delle stampe opere nove, di profitto, et di gusto agli studiosi”: cited in Baldacchini 1988, 31–2; and in Andreoli 2013, 22.

²⁹ F. 201r: “Summa s. Tomaso con Poretta. C. 1410, L. 50, S. 12”: edition shared between De Franceschi and Giunti: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa totius theologiae d. Thomae de Aquino ... Cum elucidationibus formalibus ... per f. Seraphinum Capponi a Porrecta editis ...* Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis, 1596 (Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1596) (CNCE 28681; SBN BVVE021930; USTC 859609), and Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1596 (Venetijs : apud Iuntas, 1596) (CNCE 50911; SBN RMLE033571; USTC 859610), 9 volumes: pp. [132], 976, ff. 56, [4]; pp. [80], 789, [3]; pp. [84], 1230, [2]; pp. [32], 954,

priced at 40 *lire venetiane* respectively.³⁰ Even more significantly, through the notes of Bernardino Giunti we are able to infer the value of a single printed sheet by collating references between the price of an entire volume, its format and the number of sheets comprising it. This allows us to isolate and analyse the material features that made a book expensive, regardless of its length and before it was bound. Some of these features, such as the size and quality of paper (“carta mezzanella”, “carta corsiva”), are occasionally noted down in the entries as factors affecting the value of the final good.³¹

Prices varied from a minimum of 4.6 Venetian *denari* per sheet, for the quarto edition of the aphorisms of Hippocrates published in 1595, apparently quite cheap,³² to the 27.42 for the instructions for bombardiers by Eugenio Gentilini published in 1592, also in quarto format, where the text is richly illustrated throughout.³³ The stockbook of Bernardino Giunti reports an average cost of between 10 and 15 Venetian *denari* per sheet for books published by De Franceschi. Only 9 editions had a cheaper price per sheet, while 13 editions were more expensive (see fig. 1).

[2]; pp. [64], 548, ff. 545–581, [1]; pp. [12], 306, [2]; ff. [6], 58; ff. 26; ff. [26] ; 2°. Collation: a-c d e f-g, πA B, A-3P, A-G H; b-f A-3C 3D; a b-e f A-4H; a-b A-3N 3O; a-d A-2K 2L 2M-2P 2Q; a A-S T; a A-F G; A-B C; A-B C = 1411 printing sheets. On the partnership between Giunti and De Franceschi see below.

³⁰ F. 201r: “Summa Alexandro de Ales. Folio, c. 628, L. 35. L. 40”: the second price was added by the same hand some time later, probably to replace and update the previous one. The only edition of this work sold by De Franceschi recorded in EDIT16, SBN and USTC seems to be Alexander de Ales, *Vniuersae theologiae summa. In quatuor partes ab ipsomet authore distributa: quicquid in sacris bibliis, in sanctorum patrum scriptis, philosophorumque monumentis, aut abditis, aut reconditis erat.* Venetijs : apud Franciscum Franciscum Senensem, 1576 (CNCE 1080; SBN RMLE005896; USTC 808728), but the number of printing sheets does not match that indicated in the description: ff. [10], 186; [18], 416; [10], 302; [10], 466; [44] ; 2°. Collation: a b A-Y Z 2A; AA-CC Aa-Ll MM-ZZ AAA-ZZz AAAa-FFFf; a b a-k L-Z 2A-2O 2P; A B A-3L 3M; a B-F G = 731 printing sheets. Still, the price per sheet is calculated on the basis of the number of printing sheets stated in the entry, according to the view of the bookseller. A correct match with an actual edition is therefore irrelevant for this calculation.

³¹ F. 188r: “Consiglia [!] Turetto. 1°: 114, mezzanella; 2°: 148 = c. 262, L. 12” and, two lines below, “Francesco de Ponte. C. 140 mezzanella, L. 9”: ‘mezzanella’ is in superscript by a later hand in the first instance, and added straight on the line, also by the same later hand, in the second one. F. 203r: “Vite de’ santi del Fiamma, primo. Carta corsiuua. Idem, secunde. Carta mezanella, c. 133. Idem, tertio. Carta corsiuua”. On sizes of paper see Harris 2017, 33–40. At p. 115, Harris point out stock-books and inventories of printers as “another potential source for information about paper types and sizes”. For a categorisation of books in three classes (expensive books in large format, imprints “in carta mezzana” and chapbooks) see Carnelos 2010, 206–7 and 223, and Carnelos 2012, 158; on the “carta corsiva” (of poor quality) and its role in the production of cheap imprints Carnelos 2010, 75–81, 214–6, and 234, and Carnelos 2012, 164. For a definition of “carta mezzanella” see Schröter 1998, 145–7.

³² F. 186r: “Aforismi Ippocrate. L. 1.4”: this work was published by Francesco De Franceschi in 1595 and re-issued by his heirs in 1608 with minor adjustments not affecting pagination: Rodrigo da Fonseca, *In septem Aphorismorum Hippocratis libros commentaria, eo ordine contexta, quo doctoratus puncta exponi consueuere.* Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Francis Senensem, 1595 (CNCE 19427; SBN BVVEE002668; USTC 830225); and Venetijs : apud Ioannem Antonium & Iacobum de Francis, 1608 (SBN TOOE122872; USTC 4034626); ff. [4], 244 [i.e. 246] ; 4°. Collation: a A-2G 2H = 62.5 printing sheets. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the 1595 edition of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000068115>.

³³ F. 193r: “Institutio. de bombardiere. C. 17 ½, L. 2”: Eugenio Gentilini, *Istruzione de’ bombardieri.* In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi senese, 1592 (CNCE 20670; SBN BVVEE003459; USTC 832255), pp. [8], 126, [2] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: πA A-Q = 17 printing sheets instead of the 17.5 mentioned in the entry. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000057405>. The price per sheet is calculated on the basis of the number of printing sheets stated in the entry, according to the view of the bookseller. A correct match with an actual edition is therefore irrelevant for this calculation.

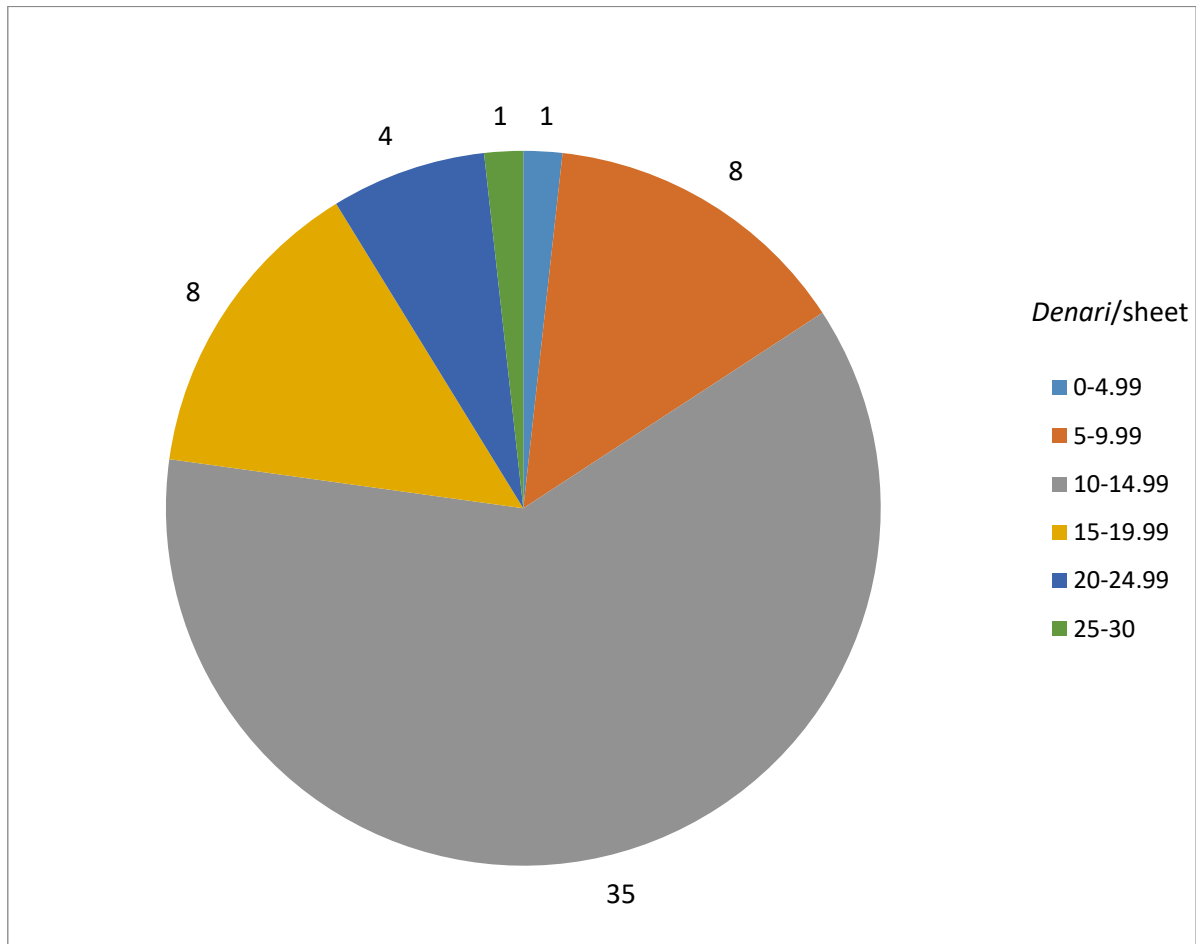


Figure 1. Distribution of De Franceschi editions according to price per sheet calculated on prices given in the Giunti stockbook, expressed in Venetian *denari*.

The already mentioned volumes of physics by Francesco Piccolomini were variably priced between 10 and 13 *denari* per sheet (ill. 2).³⁴ The *Osservationi* by Girolamo Calestani, a treatise of popular medicine which De Franceschi published at least eight times, were also on sale for about 11 Venetian *denari* per sheet.³⁵ Music theory was represented as well in the production of De Franceschi, especially through the works of Giuseppe Zarlino, chapel master of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. The four volumes of his *opera omnia*, published by De Franceschi in 1589, were priced in the Giunti stockbook 18 *lire*, that means the still reasonable amount of 13.21 *denari* per sheet.³⁶ Although not

³⁴ See above, note 21.

³⁵ F. 197r: “Oseruationes Calestano. C. 77, L. 3.10”: likely to be the latest De Franceschi edition: Girolamo Calestani, *Delle osservationi parte prima [-seconda]*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de’ Franceschi senese, 1589 (CNCE 8493; SBN CNCE008493; USTC 817850), pp. [16], 190, [2]; [40], 366, [2] ; 4°. Collation: πA: A–M; A b–c A–Z = 77 printing sheets.

³⁶ F. 204r: “Zerlino, Opera. Folio, q. p.; c. 327, β. 4, L. 18”: Giuseppe Zarlino, *De tutte l’opere già separatamente poste in luce, hora di nuouo corrette, accresciute, & migliorate, insieme ristampate, il primo [-quarto, & ultimo] volume ...* In Venetia :

one of his main specialisations, literature occasionally appears in De Franceschi production. The price per sheet for the *Pastor fido* by Giovanni Battista Guarini was 14.55 Venetian *denari*, a considerable price especially for a copy of the 1596 and not the 1597 edition, the first to be illustrated with the engravings by Cristoforo Paulini.³⁷

Indeed, the cost of a book rose dramatically for those which were lavishly illustrated. For some of them, such as the works of Cosimo Bartoli, Prospero Alpino, Ulisse Aldrovandi, Andreas Vesalius and the just mentioned 1597 edition of the *Pastor fido*, a price is unfortunately not available;³⁸ but the quarto edition of the works by Oronce Finé published in 1587, including 370 xylographic engravings, was worth 16.47 Venetian *denari* per sheet.³⁹ The *Notitia Romani Imperi* by Guido Panciroli, professor of law at the University of Padua, is illustrated by 117 xylographies (with 30 repetitions) and according to the Giunti stockbook would cost 18.46 Venetian *denari* per sheet.⁴⁰ With astronomy, represented

appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1588–1589 (CNCE 28450; SBN CFIE003062; USTC 864239), or the later issue *Institutioni et dimostrazioni di musica, diuise in quattro parti, & cinque ragionamenti ...* Venetia : appresso Gio. Antonio, & Giacomo de' Franceschi, 1602 (SBN SBSE000055; USTC 4032617), pp. [32], 448; [16], 287, [1]; [16], 330, [22], [1] folded plate; pp. [4], 132, [12]; 2°. Collation: a b A–2E; a A–S; a A–2D 2E–2F 2G; π A–H I K = 326 printing sheets instead of the 327 mentioned in the entry.

³⁷ F. 198r: “Pastor fido. 8°, c. 16 ½, L. 1. Idem. 12°, c. 11”: Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido, tragicomedia pastorale*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1596 (CNCE 28648; SBN VIAE011995; USTC 834919), ff. 132; 8°. Collation: A–Q R = 16.5 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. Idem, *Il pastor fido, tragicomedia pastorale*. In Venetia : presso Franc.o de' Franc.i senese, 1597 (CNCE 48830; SBN VEA131645; USTC 834920), ff. 132 : ill.; 12°. Collation: A–L = 11 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. On the De Franceschi editions of the *Pastor fido*, and especially on those illustrated, see Andreoli 2013, 41.

³⁸ The illustrated edition of the *Orlando furioso* published in 1584, on which see Andreoli 2013, is not even listed in this section.

³⁹ F. 197r: “Opera Orontio. 4°, L. 7, c. 102”: Oronce Finé, *Opere ... diuise in cinque parti; aritmetica, geometria, cosmografia, e orioli, tradotte da Cosimo Bartoli gentilhuomo & academico fiorentino, et gli specchi, tradotti dal caualier Ercole Bottrigaro, gentilhuomo bolognese. Nuouamente poste in luce*. In Venetia : presso Francesco Franceschi senese, 1587 (CNCE 19063; SBN BVVE004049; USTC 829603), ff. [8], 81, [1], 84, 126, 88, 18, [2] : ill.; 4°. Collation: * A–K L a–k l 2A–2P 2Q 2a–2l 3a–3b 3c = 102 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III of Naples: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNN:BNA01001462139>. The engravings are copies of those drawn by Finé himself for the folio edition printed in Paris at the expense of Gérard Morrhay and Jean Pierre in 1532 (USTC 138121): see Andreoli 2013, 24 (where 1535 is a mistake for 1532).

⁴⁰ F. 196r: “Notitia Romani Imperi. Folio, c. 104, L. 8”: likely to be the *Notitia vtraque dignitatum cum Orientis, tum Occidentis vltra Arcadij, Honorijque tempora. Et in eam Guidi Panciroli i.v.c. praestantiss. ac in celeberrimo Patauino Gymnasio interpretis legum primarij, commentarium*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1593 (CNCE 28542; SBN BVVE006034; USTC 806823), ff. [14], 298 [i.e. 198], [2] : ill.; 2°. Collation: a b A–Z 2a–2b = 107 printing sheets, instead of the 104 mentioned in the entry: missing b? The engravings are all, except for one, smaller copies of those included in the edition printed in Basel by Froben and Episcopius in 1552: see Andreoli 2013, 43. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000075885>.

by the work by Giovanni Padovani on sundials,⁴¹ and mathematics, with the *Arithmetica universale* by Giuseppe Unicornio,⁴² prices went through the roof of 20 Venetian *denari* per sheet.

Architecture was constantly one of the main subjects in De Franceschi's production and topic of some of his most expensive imprints. They are represented in the stockbook by Vitruvius, exceeding 22 Venetian *denari* per sheet;⁴³ and Serlio, whose folio Latin edition was on sale for a price per sheet of 16.27 Venetian *denari*.⁴⁴ Published between 1567 and 1569, these editions of Vitruvius and Serlio were the result of a partnership between Francesco De Franceschi and the German printer and engraver Johann Chrieger.⁴⁵ Engravings drawn by Chrieger were reused in later editions, including the

⁴¹ F. 198r: "Padoano, De orologis. L. 3, c. 36": Giovanni Padovani, *De compositione, et usu multiformium horologiorum solarium ad omnes totius orbis regiones, ac situs in qualibet superficie*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum Franciscum Senensem, 1582 (CNCE 28147; SBN BVEE006122; USTC 846039), pp. [12], 267 [i.e. 263], [13] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: * A-2M χ = 36.5 printing sheets (χ contains the *Errores sic corrigito*). 20 Venetian *denari* per sheet. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000076345>.

⁴² F. 186r: "Arismetica [!] Vnicorno. C. 102, L. 4; L. 5": Giuseppe Unicornio, *De l'arithmetica universale ... parte prima [-seconda]*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franceschi, 1598 (CNCE 28830; SBN BVEE015584; USTC 861613), ff. [8], 204, [4] 205-395, [1] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: * 2* A-3E; χ 3F-5G= 102 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. In two volumes, respectively £4 and £5; price per sheet: over 21 Venetian *denari*. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000177705>.

⁴³ F. 203: "Vitruuio. In 4°, c., L. 6. Quarto": in the absence of any information on the number of printing sheets, the most likely match seems to me to be the most recent De Franceschi edition: Vitruvius Pollio, *I dieci libri dell'architettura ... tradotti et commentati da monsig. Daniel Barbaro eletto patriarca d'Aquileia, da lui riveduti & ampliati; & hora in piu commoda forma ridotti*. In Venetia : appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, 1584 (CNCE 28172; SBN VIAE000270; USTC 863692): pp. [8], 505, [1] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: * A-N O-P Q R S T V X Y Z-2N= 65 printing sheets. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III of Naples: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNN:BNA01001462765>. It was a new edition, entirely recomposed on the model of that published in 1567 "appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese, & Giouanni Chrieger alemano compagni" (CNCE 28880; SBN VIAE000269; USTC 863691). The engravings drawn by Chrieger for the 1567 edition were reused for that of 1584, which also counts 65 printing sheets, despite a different collation: pp. [8], 506 [i.e. 512] : ill. ; 4°. Collation: a A-2H 2I 2K 2L 2M-3T. The calculation of price per sheet is therefore the same either way.

⁴⁴ F. 186r: "Architettura Serlio. L. 8. c. 99 ½ L. 9 L. 10. Idem, in folio. L. 8": this entry refers, in the reverse order, to the in-folio Latin edition published by Francesco De Franceschi in 1569, and to the in-quarto Italian edition published by his heirs in 1600: Sebastiano Serlio, *De architectura libri quinque*. Venetijs : apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, & Ioannem Chrieger, 1569 (CNCE 28891; SBN BVEE019687; USTC 856060), pp. [24], 448 [i.e. 446], [2] : ill. ; 2°. Collation: * 2[flower] A-K L M N O-2O 2P = 118 printing sheets; and Idem, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura, et prrospectiua [!] ... Con la aggiunta delle inuentioni di cinquanta porte ... Diuiso in sette libri. Con vn'indice copiosissimo con molte considerationi, & vn breue discorso sopra questa materia, raccolto da M. Gio. Domenico Scamozzi vicentino. Di nuovo ristampate, e corrette*. In Vinegia : presso gli heredi di Francesco de' Franceschi, 1600 (CNCE 28940; SBN BVEE019687; USTC 856064), 3 volumes (ff. [24], 219, [1]; 27, [1]; pp. [8], 243, [1]) : ill. ; 4°. Collation: a-f A B-F χ G G-I K-P Q-S T 2I-2Q 2R-3A; a-c d; * A-O P= 99.5 printing sheets, as mentioned in the entry. See, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca civica of Varese: <https://www.bdl.servizirl.it/bdl/bookreader/index.html?path=fe&ccdOggetto=5454#page/1/mode/2up>. The engravings drawn by Chrieger for the first Italian edition of the works of Serlio published by Francesco in 1566 (CNCE 28873; SBN BVEE022384; USTC 856057; see, for instance, the digitised copy of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Rome: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=IBNR:CR000283285>) were reused for the Latin edition published in 1567 and, again, for the Italian edition published by Francesco's heirs in 1600: see Andreoli 2013, 29-32.

⁴⁵ "Ho voluto benigni lettori ad utilità commune, mandar in luce l'uno & l'altro Vitruuio, & usare ogni diligenza, per rifarli in forma commoda, & con figure accuratamente & diligentemente intagliate dal mio honorato compare & compagno in questa impresa, m. Giovanni Chrieger Alemano, & accommodate a questa nuova forma, accioche ognuno possa godere il frutto delle dotte fatiche del sopradetto mio signore": prefatory letter from Francesco De Franceschi to the readers in both

quarto Italian edition of Serlio's *Architettura* published by Francesco's heirs in 1600, priced 24.12 *denari* per sheet.⁴⁶ De Franceschi targeted professionals through a production mostly in the Italian vernacular, on occasions commissioning new and accurate translations of foreign texts. Italian editions appear to be less well represented than Latin ones in the stockbook, but on average more expensive (see fig. 2). Among the most expensive sheets, those of the already mentioned book including engraved embroidery patterns (Speelberg 2015) which, with a cost of 1 *lira* and 10 *soldi*, worked out at 24 *denari* per sheet.⁴⁷

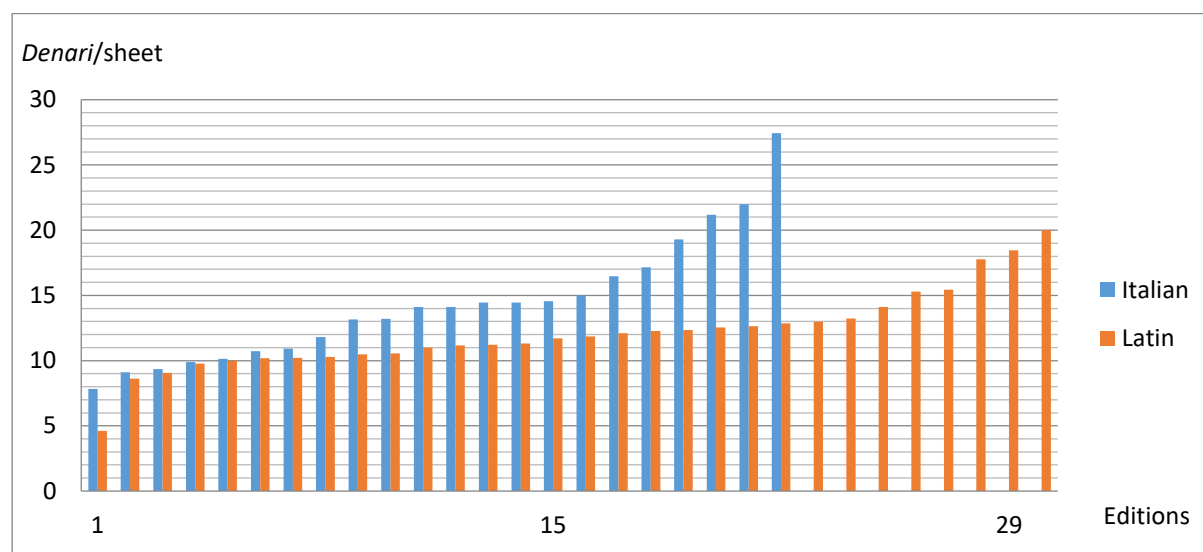


Figure 2. Price per sheet expressed in Venetian *denari* for De Franceschi editions in Italian and Latin according to the Giunti stockbook. Each bar represents one edition.

Looked at a whole, the De Franceschi catalogue in the Giunti stockbook paints the portrait of a prosperous and flourishing business and gives us an idea of the successfulness of Francesco's publishing programme. The stockbook also offers us a new perspective on the partnership between these two powerful families of entrepreneurs.⁴⁸ Both the Giunti and the De Franceschi built their fortune on commercial empires based on pervasive networks in Italy and beyond, in order to manage the production and distribution of books through both their own work as printers, editors and publishers, and their partnership with other professionals in the book trade. Francesco De Franceschi participated in the company known as the *Societas Aquilae renovantis*, set up by Lucantonio Giunti

editions of the ten books of architecture of Vitruvius, f. a3v (1567) and *3v (1584). On this partnership see Andreoli 2013, 32–9.

⁴⁶ See above, note 44.

⁴⁷ See above, note 24. See, for instance, digitised copies of both editions of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15108613> and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10548040p>.

⁴⁸ On the partnership between the Giunti and the De Franceschi see also Camerini 1963, 1.2, 17–8.

the Younger in 1571 for the publication of juridical works.⁴⁹ In 1584 they worked together on a new edition of the works of St Augustine⁵⁰ and, in 1592, on that of the *Istorie del mondo* by Giovanni Tarcagnota, already published by the Giunti in 1585: the 1592 issue was shared between the two publishers, as proved by the variant title pages which display either the Giunti or De Franceschi device and signature. In 1596 they shared a massive edition of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in nine volumes.⁵¹ The year 1598 seems to mark the end of their collaboration, as Lucantonio reported Francesco to the authorities for not respecting the terms of an agreement signed in 1597 for another reprint of the work by Tarcagnota.⁵² New details on the commercial relationship between the two businessmen will hopefully emerge from a closer examination of other sections of the stockbook, drawn up shortly after these dates.

These first, provisional results of an ongoing analysis serve as an introduction to a difficult document, which demands further attention on many levels, and, above all, a comparison with similar contemporary sources. Despite a recent approach focusing on economic factors behind the production of books, several aspects of the book trade still remain quite obscure. Among them, book prices are particularly problematic to interpret, especially given the lack of a constructive dialogue with economic historians, the need for which has been neglected until now. Some answers to these questions are expected from the next stages of the research carried out by the EMoBookTrade project team.

⁴⁹ The *Societas Aquilae renovantis* started publishing in 1574. Ceresa 2001; Nuovo 2013, 65–7; EDIT16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* online, CNCT 90.

⁵⁰ It was likely to be another stage of the *Societas Aquilae renovantis*, which also involved many personalities of the book world in Venice and beyond: see Ceresa 2001.

⁵¹ See above, note 29.

⁵² Ceresa 2001.

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