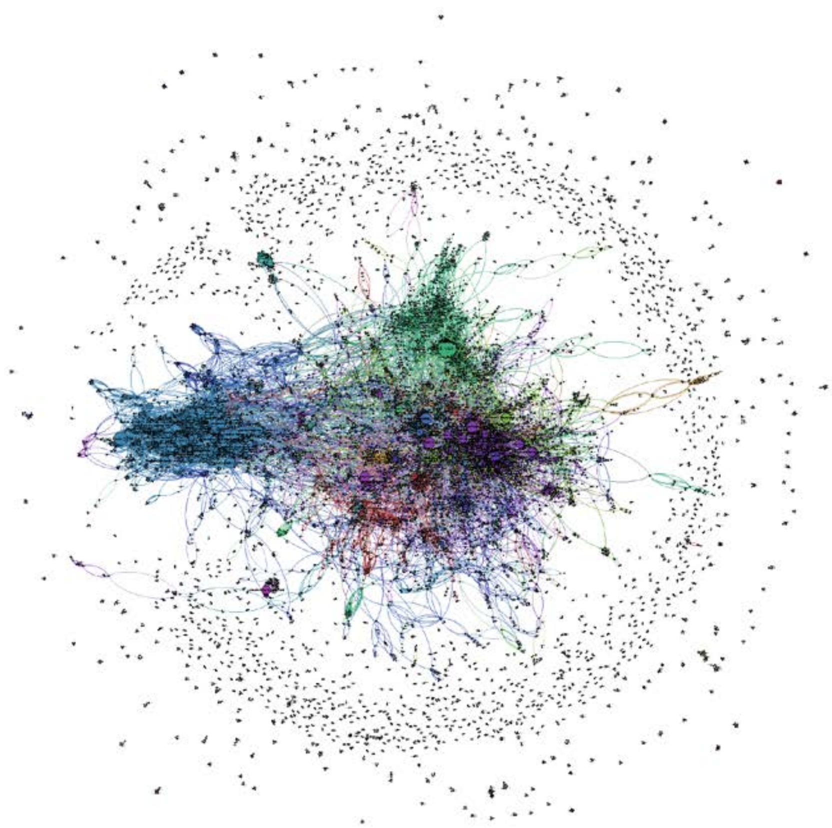
Innovative Strategies in a Stagnating Market
Dutch Book Trade 1660-1750



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The illustration on the front page of this report is the result of a very first experiment with the STCN data in the first months the project was started. The network represents all authors to be found in the STCN.

Contents

Introduction

Near the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch book trade entered its so-called mature phase. The phase was characterized by a saturated domestic market, and a stagnating demand.[1] However, Dutch book producers managed to keep up their leading position and in fact became part of, as Voltaire has called it, 'le magasin de l'univers'. Dutch book producers managed to stay renowned for their use of high quality paper, simple and neat printing, and attractive typography. Historians generally contribute this to cultural innovation, to international networks, the clustering of production techniques and reshaping financial infrastructures. However, the specific strategies producers used have not yet been exhaustively studied. This study tries to gain insight in the strategies producers used to keep up and the way they put their products in the market, by using a specific set of data: the *Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN).

The study has functioned on multiple levels. It was affiliated to the eHumanities Center Amsterdam (UvA, KNAW, VU). The center facilitates short, intensive research projects in Digital Humanities, incorporating both digitized an born-digital materials and combining the methodologies form the traditional humanities disciplines with tools provided by computing and digital publishing (data visualisation, information retrieval, data-mining etc.). The goal of the Center is to initiate and coordinate research with a private partner, connecting humanities and industry. The projects should result in a concrete product or a proof-of-concept. The private partner in this study was Amsterdam University Press, while the collaboration on the 'digital' level was sought with the Knowledge Representation and Reasoning Group of the Computer Science department at the Network Institute, VU University. In addition, this study served as a pilot in the ongoing preparation of a research proposal concerning Creative Industries in the Dutch Republic. That proposal will be aimed at using and combining existing datasets on creative producers in the Golden Age, in order to gain insight in networks of cultural producers. Therefore, this study has functioned as a trial, aimed at opening up future research, exploring new research questions on the brink of economic and cultural history, and establishing collaboration with computer scientists.

Lately, even though the combination of computer technology and humanities is not entirely new, the field of Digital Humanities seem to gain terrain. Words as 'booming' and 'the next big thing' are buzzing around. This study is part of – and profited from – that development. The use of computer technology has an extensive impact on the humanities research. Not only could computer technology possibly answer existing questions relating to existing datasets faster, but it also can propose questions or problems which were not thought of earlier. Moreover, computer science does not only provide the humanities with tools but addresses methodological issues as well. The character of datasets and their relation to the source material they represent need to be thought over. And: existing digital projects already have replicated archives, built tools, offered proof-of-concept efforts, but how and to what extent should interpretation, explanation and explication feature in new research approaches? Lastly, Digital Humanities is an interdisciplinary field of study, that first and foremost originates out of collaboration

[1] C. Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic. Printing and Publishing as Cultural Industries, 1580-1800* (Unpublished dissertation, 2012) 139.

between information technology and humanities. Just as the humanities research could be enriched by computer technology, computer science should profit from working with the fuzzy, incomplete and complex humanities data as well. This project should be understood in this exploration of the character, possibilities and contributions, difficulties and reservations of the Digital Humanities approach.

This report describes the rather exploratory process within the embedded research project of the last nine months. First, it will elaborate on the early modern book trade and the strategies that are commonly assigned to cultural producers trying to survive in their markets. The first experiments in trying to get a grip on the possibilities of the (converted) data, combined with the insight gained on publishers' strategies in the chapters mentioned before, have lead to a case study in which the conversion and transformation of the STCN could be tested and explored on a more concrete level. In short, this case study is about the scandalous book as a product that is attractive to buyers and therefore could have played a role in publishers' strategies.

Early modern book trade

An attempt to periodise the early modern Dutch book trade was made by I.H. van Eeghen in her well-known *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725,* which she published in five volumes between 1960 and 1978. She distinguished a period of growth and international orientation (1572-1680), a period of change and an increasing number of publications in French, instead of Latin (1680-1725) and a period of a more national book trade (1725-1795).[2] Overall, during the seventeenth century, the Dutch book trade had grown and contributed to, to speak with Voltaire, Amsterdam as a 'magasin de l'univers'.[3] The book production in Holland, especially in Amsterdam, was the largest of Europe.[4] The share of the Dutch production in the overall European production was estimated at 25 to 30 percent at its peak. This growth is usually explained by general mechanisms of economic growth: the geographical situation of the Dutch Republic near rivers and the sea, the influx of wealthy immigrants with knowledge and experience (in this case in printing and publishing), expertise and networks, low interest rates and the relative reliability of the state as debtor.[5] On the demand side, 'high levels of literacy and education and the lively cultural climate in Amsterdam boosted printing and bookselling'.[6] A relatively tolerant climate stimulated free practice of science and a degree of religious and political involvement.[7] Export and foreign trade, in turn, could only exist because of a strong domestic market, in which the majority of the book production was made up by religious publications.[8] When the international trade came to a hold when in 1638 and the Leipzig and Frankfurt book fairs were closed, book producers in Holland managed to step into the void that was left there and focused on French literature.[9] The presence of immigrants and refugees resulted in an increasing production of publication in foreign languages.[10] And yet, the export of these kinds of publications was nothing compared to the trade in

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[2] I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725* vol. 5 (Amsterdam 1978) 75-93.

[3] Voltaire to madame de Berniere, 7-10-1722, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* 52 (1874) 20. In 1990, an international symposium was organised by the Pierre Bayle Institute, Nijmegen and the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden, around the theme of the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade, as a 'magasin de l'univers'. However, since then the concept and content of the phrase 'magasin de l'univers' has been revised, for example by Maarten Hell. URL: https://maartenhell.wordpress.com/2011/12/23/magasin-de-lunivers-pakhuis-met-wapentuig/ [retrieved June 13, 2013].

[4] P. Dijstelberge and P. J. Verkruijsse, 'Een schitterend moeras. Boekandwereld in de zeventiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 17 (2010) 141-170, there 143.

[5] Ibidem, 145.

G.C. Gibbs, 'The role of the Dutch Republic as the intellectual entrepot of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Bijdragen en mededelingen tot de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 86 (1971) 323-349, there 325.

P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Metropolis of print: the Amsterdam book trade in the seventeenth century', in: P. O'Brien, M.C. 't Hart and H. v.d. Wee (ed.), *Urban achievement in early modern Europe: golden ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge 2001) 249-263, there 251.

P. Hoftijzer, 'Zuurdesem van de samenleving. Het boekenbedrijf in de 17de eeuw', *Spiegel Historiael* 36 (2001) 292-300, there 293.

[6] Hoftijzer, 'Metropolis of print', 255.

W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers uitgevers en boekverkopers', in: idem and eadem, *1650. Bevochten eendracht* (Den Haag 1999) 258-279, there 258-262

[7] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers uitgevers en boekverkopers', 260-261.

[8] P. Hoftijzer and O. Lankhorst, *Drukkers, boekverkopers en lezers tijdens de Republiek. Een historiografische en bibliografische handleiding* (Den Haag 2000) 123.

[9] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers', 276.

[10] Hoftijzer, 'Metropolis of print', 253.

Latin academic, semi-academic and literary texts, which still in 1650 formed more than a third of Dutch book production.[11] To sum up: 'Economic prosperity, an open and permissive society, a literate and relatively well-educated population and a thriving cultural and intellectual climate all provided a fertile breeding ground for the Amsterdam book trade'.[12]

The book as a commodity

What did early modern book production and book trade look like? For studying production, distribution and consumption of books, book historian Robert Darnton has proposed a communications circuit. According to him,

> 'the history of books has become so crowded with ancillary disciplines [history of libraries, of publishing, of paper, of type, of reading, but also technologies, bibliometrics, etc., FM] that one can no longer see its general contours. (...) In order to get some distance from interdisciplinarity run riot, and to see the subject as a whole, it might be useful to propose a general model for analyzing the way books come into being and spread through society'.[13]

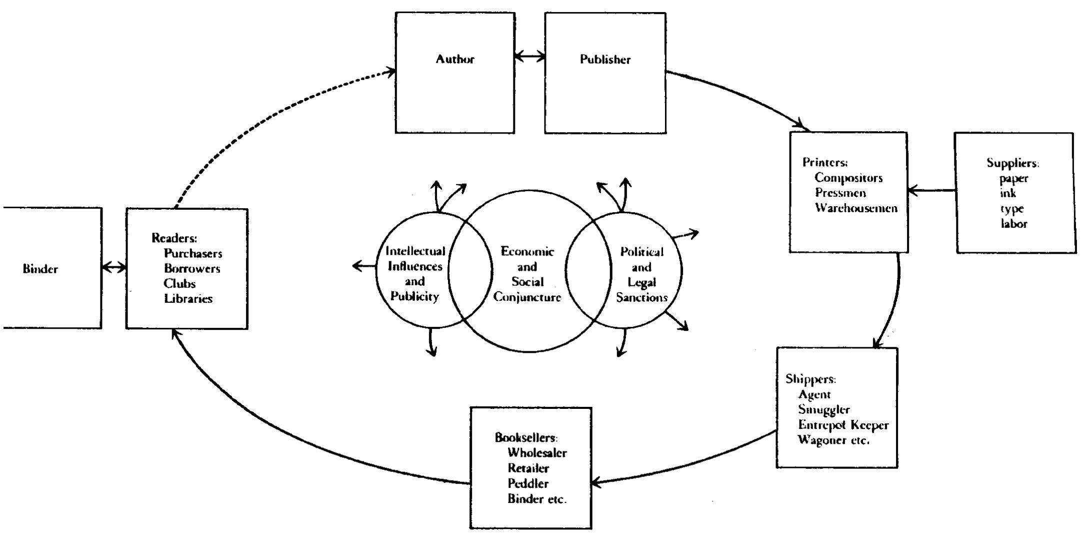


FIGURE 7.1 *The Communications Circuit*

1. The Communications Circuit by Robert Darnton

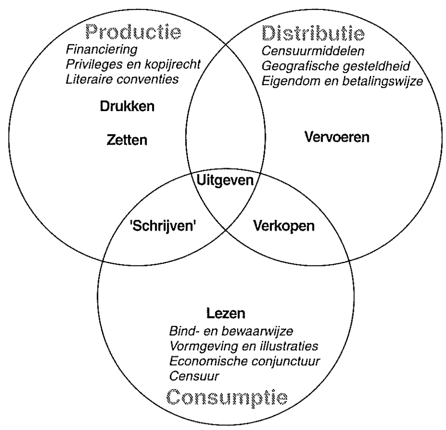
Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers', 273.

[11] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers', 278.

[12] Hoftijzer, 'Metropolis of print', 256.

[13] R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', in: K. Carpenter (ed.), *Books and society in history* (New York 1983) 3-26, there 5.

In this circuit, the book follows a certain cycle and travels from author and publisher, via printers, distributors and book binders, to booksellers and readers. The reader acts both as the end as the beginning of the cycle.[14] Each of the actors is influenced by political, social economical and cultural developments. However, the life cycle of the book is not as smooth as this schematic visualisation suggests. Reviews, reprints, translations and plagiarism for example, are difficult to include in the scheme. Edwin van Meerkerk has suggested a revision of this circuit, approaching it from network theory to gain more insight in group processes. Summing up author-publisher-printer-bookseller-reader is not enough, since actors could be part of multiple phases of book production. Van Meerkerk proposes to work with fields or spheres, of production, consumption and distribution, instead of rather strict functions of publishing, printing, writing, etc.[15]



2. Revised Communications Circuit

This approach seems to be especially relevant to the early modern book trade, in which a strict definition between publisher, printer and bookseller indeed did not exist. The functions could be combined and mixed; most of the printers and publishers were booksellers as well and tried to keep up stock by trading with other publishers.[16] Small printers could publish something for their own, but would usually not work for their own account.[17] Booksellers could usually be found in the centre of cities, while printers were located in the outskirts, having more space for their materials.[18] The interaction between authors, readers, and the complex social, economic, and

[14] Ibidem, 6.
[15] E. van Meerkerk, 'Dyades, lijnendragers en netwerken. Een model voor bestudering van de productie, distributie en consumptie van het gedrukte woord in de achttiende eeuw', *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw* 35 (2003) 160-175, there 171.
[16] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers', 268.
[17] Ibidem, 268.
[18] The way publishers, printers and booksellers were located within the city is exhaustively studied for the eighteenth century, and compared to modern day patterns of shop locations, by economic historian Clé Lesger, 'De locatie van het Amsterdamse winkelbedrijf in de achttiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 4 (2007) 35-70. Within location theories, goods get a certain reach and threshold assigned. Reach symbolizes the maximum distance a customer is prepared to cover to buy the good, while the threshold stands for the consumer demand that is needed for a company to survive. For an

technologic machinery is often described as 'print culture', in which the book itself has been recognized as a material artefact whose physical features, next to its narrative content, 'interact with and reveal history, culture, and ideology'.[19]

The concept of print culture has allowed scholars to turn attention towards other-than-verbal characteristics of the book. Book historian Roger Chartier has understood print culture as 'the set of new acts arising out of the production of writing and pictures in a new form'.[20] This is not limited to reading alone, but includes the many uses and the plural appropriations of printing and the physical form of the object of the book. By describing and analysing formal elements and identifying their uses, the process of the construction of meaning, by which readers valued the object of their reading, could be grasped.[21] However, this can only be done for a limited body of texts, because particularity and context have to be taken into account.[22] For example, 'the printed image, like other images, was thought of and used as an important aid to knowledge and as if it were capable of adequate representation of reality'.[23] Chartier is convinced of the 'limits that typographical procedures imposed on free appropriation of texts'.[24] We therefore should pay attention to the particularity of the book, as a physical object, as a commodity. Literary scholar Janine Barchas has also focused on the physical form of books and has analysed the graphic design in eighteenth-century literature and its role in the occurrence of the novel. There were six significant graphic features that served the early novel's original audience as visual guides and eventually helped shape and formalise the genre: frontispieces, title pages, non-pictorial illustrations, ornamentation, punctuation and catalogues. In the case of the English novels, formal graphic features of established genres were adapted in order to lock in an appearance of authenticity.[25] Unknown authors however sought for a new way of presenting their work and contributed to most of the graphic innovation in the genre. According to Barchas, the title was most crucial in interpreting the book. Publishers could decide to include frontispieces, illustrations or tables, but a title page was the sole required element in a text's packaging, appearing in the bookseller's shops.[26]

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entrepreneur, situating in the geographical centre of a city is most attractive, since it is easy to reach for a large amount of customers. For customers however, a shop near the place where they live is most desirable.[18] Suppliers of goods with a relatively small reach consequently do locate just outside the city centre, near their customers, while suppliers of goods that have a high threshold, stay in the centre, to reach an clientele as large as possible. By using the registers of personal quotisation (registrations of shops for a taxes), shops in eighteenth-century Amsterdam could be located. Shops were concentrated in the medieval centre and at both sides of the Amstel. By taking the goods sold, as mentioned in the registers, into account, it shows that shops that offer sustainable goods were located on the major axis, while the daily products where mostly sold in the periphery.

[19] J. Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel novel* (Cambridge 2003) 10.

[20] R. Chartier (ed.), *The culture of print. Power and the uses of print in early modern Europe* (Oxford 1989) 1.

[21] Ibidem*,* 4-5.

[22] A current example of such an extensive typographical study on a limited corpus of books, might be G. Verhoeven and P.J. Verkruijsse (ed.), *Iournael ofte Gedenckwaerdige beschrijvinghe vande Oost-Indische Reyse van Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe van Hoorn. Descriptieve bibliograhie 1646-1996* (Zutphen 1999), in which the success of Bontoekoe's journal is analysed by using a descriptive bibliography.

[23] Chartier, *The culture of print,* 6.

[24] Ibidem*,* 9.

[25] Barchas, *Graphic Design,* 12.

[26] Ibidem*,* 61.

She argues that when the novel became more pronounced as a genre and no longer needed to pronounce itself, its titles grew quieter and more sedate.[27]

Next to turning towards its physical features, the book has also been approached as a particular economic product, which is bought and sold in a situation of competition and market constraints. In her dissertation, Claartje Rasterhoff uncovers mechanisms responsible for the creation, reproduction, and the eventual loss of artistic and economic competitiveness of cultural industries in the Dutch Republic during the early modern period.[28] The study continues in the tradition of market research, but focuses more on the organisation of cultural industries. Market conditions alone cannot quite explain patterns of success over time and space; dynamic and underlying mechanisms have to be explored as well. Rasterhoff applies three concepts of modern theory: the analytical model of spatial clustering, the categorising model of industrial life cycles, and properties of cultural industries.[29] The vitality of the early modern book trade then can be studied by counting and locating the number of active producers, by weighing in the share of those producers in the total production and by studying the relationships between these producers, and the way they were 'locally embedded' in networks of collaboration (and competition).[30] Rasterhoff's study offers insight in the way changes occur within the market and how aspects that previously have been studied separately, relate to each other. Especially the way publishers react in situations of stagnation and decline becomes particularly interesting.

Historians as Frank de Glas and José de Kruif agree with taking sociological and economic phenomena into account when dealing with the history of the book. De Kruif argues that 'those concerned with the history of the book have to investigate all kinds of sociological and economic phenomena, because the printing press is important both as a factor in society's 'influence', and as a supplier of commodities'.[31] Such an approach makes way for different research questions and methods, for example for network analyses based on connections between key figures in the book trade. How loyal were authors to their publishers? Which publishers were positioned in the centre in the network and therefore connected all other actors to each other?[32] These networks could confirm statements from other, mostly qualitative sources, but also serve to signal new points of reference for future research. De Glas proposes methods of business history in studying publishers' practices.[33] Publishers need to make decisions concerning location, finance structures, products, target audience and company structures, which influence their 'workforce'.[34] At the same time, publishers try to adapt to the market by scaling up or down or by differentiating or integrating their product. A common method in business history is the so-called portfolio analysis, in which in the case of book history means that all publications of one publisher would be

[27] Ibidem*,* 84.
[28] Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity,*15.
[29] Ibidem*,* 18.
[30] Ibidem*,* 31.
[31] José de Kruif, 'Poetry as a commodity. The practical application of network analysis', in: Van Delft e.a., *New perspectives in book history,* 117-136, there 117.
[32] Ibidem, 123.
[33] Frank de Glas, 'Business History and the Study of Publishing Houses', in: Marieke van Delft, Frank de Glas, Jeroen Salman (ed.), *New perspectives in book history. Contributions from the Low Countries* (Zutphen 2006) 83-100, there 83.
[34] Ibidem, 84.

analyzed on their success.[35] In addition, attention is paid to the cash flows within the companies, the way profits were used, the balance between luxurious and 'cheap' editions and the relations within businesses owned by a family.[36]

Overall, reconstructing the early modern book trade by means of the (revised) communications circuit allows us to trace back the fields of production, distribution, consumption and their relationship to one another. However, aiming at reconstructing the entire book supply and development is, according to book historian Han Brouwer, methodologically legit, but constantly 'challenged by archival, bibliographical and interpretative problems'.[37] The non-resistant popular book production and consumption for example, missing in archives and collections, might be a good example for some of the reservations needing to be made.

3. 'Boekdrukker', by Jan Luyken, 1694

4.'De boekbinder', by Jan Luyken, 1694.

35 Ibidem, 91.
36 Ibidem, 91-98.
37 H. Brouwer, 'Rondom het boek. Historisch onderzoek naar leescultuur, in het bijzonder in de achttiende eeuw. Een overzicht van bronnen en benaderingen, resultaten en problemen', *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw* 10 (1988) 51-120, there 60.

Strategies in the mature phase

In dealing with the economic mechanisms of the early modern book production, Rasterhoff has used the model of product- and industry life cycles. This model often used in modern economic theory shows how products and industries evolve in typical patterns. Duration and intensity of each phase can differ accordingly. Usually, four or five stages are distinguished: start-up, growth, maturity, and decline/saturation, which according to Rasterhoff can be identified in respectively 1580-1610, 1610-1660, 1660-1730 and 1730-1800.[38] To get an idea of the changes within the early modern book production, Rasterhoff has used the Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands, the retrospective bibliography on which this research is based as well. The graph below is made based on our converted STCN data (which will be exhaustively explained later on) and shows the entries in the STCN per year.[39] The increase of title production during the seventeenth century is shown here, as well as peaks in production. In the graph, the phases of the product life cycle of the book, as Rasterhoff has identified them, are represented by vertical lines.

Compared to the line of the industry life cycle, a few things stand out. In general, the phases of emergence and growth could be distinguished in this graph, just as a phase of maturity in which the average amount of publications in the STCN seems to be stagnating. The period 1670-1730 shows no significant growth. 'With the 1670s being a relatively dramatic decade for Dutch politics and the economy, the book trade suffered accordingly.'[40] Overall, the hegemony of the Dutch book production within the international market started to decline in this period. The Dutch book trade was entering its mature phase.[41] Competition increased, while demand started to hold. In terms of export, foreign publishers started to catch up, improving trade infrastructures (connecting to the Leipzig and Frankfurt fairs), while profiting from the vernacularisation and nationalisation of literature. New genres were more dependent on cultural specific resources than the humanistic and Enlightenment production had been.[42] Especially starters encountered difficulties in integrating and surviving within the market. The number of book producers had doubled from the 1630's onwards, but increased with a mere 12 percent between 1650 and 1670.[43] However, although real wages and purchasing power declined, 'the elite remained, securing demand of luxury goods. As a result, various luxury industries continued to do fairly well'.[44] Book production was one of these industries, as is shown in the graph. Although Dutch publishers were confronted by reduced commercial opportunities around 1730, with foreign publishers catching up, the number of firms remained stable and the number of titles produced even increased. This is also to be seen in the graph

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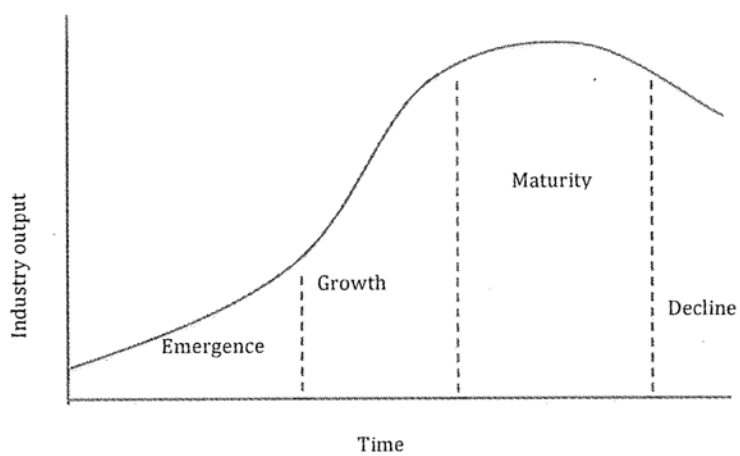
[38] Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity*, 28.
[39] Although every entry in the STCN has a value for 'year', not all years are precise. For example, for a publication that does not have an exact year on the title page, but is known to be published in the 18th century, '17XX' is used. When the decade is known, annotations as '171X' are used. In the chronological distributions below, these 'XX-years' were left out. In the appendix a table of the distribution of entries in these uncertain years can be found.
[40] Rasterhoff, *The fabric of creativity*, 141.
[41] C. Rasterhoff, 'Carrière en concurrentie in een culturele sector. Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1580-1800', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 27 (2011) 2, 162-179, there 167.
[42] Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity,* 152.
[43] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers uitgevers en boekverkopers', 270.
[44] Rasterhoff, *The fabric of creativity*, 142.

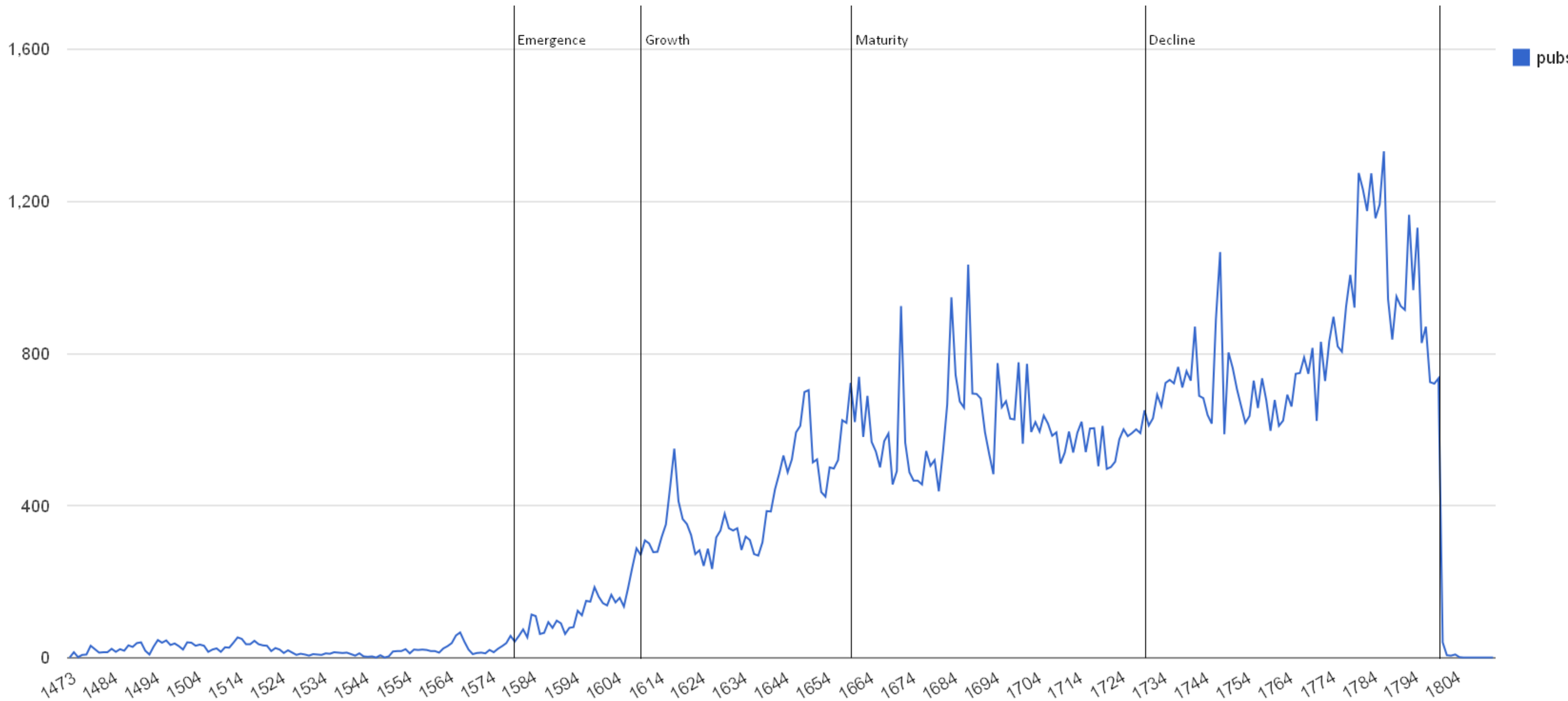
below. The number of titles did increase, but not spectacularly, while the production for export became more important and focus was on the modernisation of distribution and marketing.[45] According to Rasterhoff, a new phase of the industry life cycle begins near the end of the eighteenth century,. In this phase, developments on the supply side met with changes on the demand side. 'The introduction of a new technological regime improved the printing speed and the production of paper, whereas socio-economic and cultural transformations stimulated demand for books by way of developments in demographics, education, and also leisure and lighting'.[46]

Significant growth in the book trade was finished after 1650, but the Dutch book trade passed through the seventeenth century relatively strong, keeping up position as an important node in the foreign trade. To survive this difficult phase of stagnating growth and demand, book producers had to change strategies. Book historians, economic historians and economists and sociologists have distinguished a number of strategies.



5. Industry life cycle

[45] Rasterhoff, 'Carrière en concurrentie in een culturele sector', 162.
[46] Rasterhoff, *The fabric of creativity,* 139.



6. Entries in the STCN

Book historians

Book historians especially point out how book producers tended to fall back on older, existing and known ways of publishing in times of stagnating markets, focusing for example on translations and reprints.[47] Book producers tried to avoid risks by focusing on doing what they knew best, technically (either printing, or selling, or publishing) as well as relating to content (limiting to one subject or genre).[48]

Reducing production costs to increase margins and profits was a common strategy. For example, illustrations were relatively expensive to include, but important in making books more attractive for customers.[49] During the seventeenth century, the technique of etching, being less expensive and labour-intensive, wins on the technique of engraving.[50] Also, book producers could chose for a more inferior, and cheaper, quality of paper. Paper was the biggest expenditure and important in determining the price of the book.[51] The first and foremost financier was, according to Van Eeghen, the paper seller. He sold his paper to the book producers on credit, which was profitable since paper costs could make up 60 percent of the total production costs.[52] The same line of reasoning and deciding was of course applied to the quality in typographic material and investing in new and better fonts. The typeface for smaller-sized publications of the Elzeviers mentioned above is an example of developments in typography.[53]

For booksellers, it was highly important to have a varied stock. They needed to have a supply of different titles, while offering multiple copies of the same title.[54] Cornelis Claesz. (1551-1609) for example, 'balanced' his somewhat more expensive cartographic works with pamphlets and almanacs (estimated at 20 percent of his total production).[55] For most booksellers however, it was not possible to produce all the wanted publications themselves. Acquiring the much needed capital for the large investments involved with the production, was a problem.[56] Booksellers needed to trade (barter) books out of their own fund with other book producers, in order to keep up stock. It was not common for booksellers to actually purchase their stock, since currency was scarce. Publishers and printers usually paid their authors by offering copies of their own work, especially in the foreign trade.[57] Small booksellers could not offer any books out of their own fund (because printing books was too

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[47] P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Nederlandse boekverkopersprivileges in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Nederlands Genootschap van Bibliofielen* 1 (1993) 49-62, aldaar 61.
[48] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers uitgevers en boekverkopers', 270.
[49] G. Verhoeven and P.J. Verkruijsse, 'Verbeelding op bestelling. De boekillustratie', in: H.F.K. van Nierop, E.M. Grabowsky and A. Janssen (ed.), *Romeyn de Hooghe: de verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2008) 146-169, aldaar 147.
[50] Dijstelberge and Verkruijsse, 'Een schitterend moeras', 156-157.
[51] Van Selm, *Inzichten en vergezichten,* 68.
[52] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel* 5, 62.
[53] Dijstelberge, 'De vorm: typografie in de Renaissance', 121.
[54] B. van Selm, *Inzichten en vergezichten. Zes beschouwingen over het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse boekhandel* (Amsterdam 1992) 15.
[55] Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity,* 67
[56] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel* 5, 15.
[57] B. van Selm, ''Het kompt altemael aen op het distribuweeren' De boekdistributie in de Republiek als object van onderzoek', in: W.W. Mijnhardt and J.J. Kloek (ed.), *Balans en perspectief van de Nederlandse cultuurgeschiedenis. De productie, distributie en consumptie van cultuur* (Amsterdam 1992) 89-99, there 90.

expensive anyways). They headed to auctions, which for many booksellers was a way to get expensive books for a reasonable price.[58] This trading and acquiring amongst booksellers was based on trust: 'the book trade, like other businesses during the Renaissance and early modern periods, was largely a confidence game, but we still do not know how it was played'.[59] As seen in the engravings of Salomon de Bray (1597-1664), in the shops books were laid down in shelves, with the book edges and locks facing forward. This way of displaying books was common in the first half of the seventeenth century.[60] By putting the title pages on display in their shops, booksellers informed their customers of their available titles.[61] Of course, as Barchas has studied, these title pages were to inform and to influence readers. Sometimes, these title pages appealed to the readers directly: 'Die historie van Sandrijn ende Lantslot, seer ghenoechlijc ende amoureus voor alle jonghe luyden om te lesen' ['the history of Sandrijn and Lantslot, highly enjoyable and romanctic for young people to read'], is seen on the title *Lanseloet van Denemerken,* published by the widow of Jan van Ghelen, 1611.[62] Information on the title page was not always entirely accurate, for example in the fictitious imprint of publisher Pierre Marteau, Cologne.[63]

A major strategy in securing profit and sales was the use of privileges, used more often when publishers turned towards their existing and known material in a stagnating phase. Illegal or pirated reprints, through which other book producers would publish their colleague's profitable publications, could become a serious problem. With a privilege, a publisher could get the exclusive right to publish, distribute and sell a certain publication, within the jurisdiction of the authority that assigned the privilege. Privileges could have been assigned by the provinces or the States-General, usually with accordance of the guilds. The privilege did not imply that the publication was approved of, but were used to suggest approval by authorities involved. For some publishers, this was a way of making their publications more attractive.[64] Getting a privilege was an exhausting and complicated procedure, costing up to 50 *gulden* mid-seventeenth century.[65] A privilege would often be used for publications of which pirated reprints would mean major losses to the publishers, because of high production costs, such as encyclopaedias and atlases.[66] The States of Holland added an important condition to the privileges in 1679: everyone that got a privilege was required to give one copy, neatly bound, to the university library in Leiden.[67] In giving out privileges, advice was asked from the guilds of book producers, to prevent conflicting local book producers. Applying for a privilege was a strategic move, intended to protect commercial interest. However, the total number of privileges given out during the Golden Age was around some thousand, probably less than a

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[58] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers uitgevers en boekverkopers', 269.
[59] Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', 18.
[60] Van Selm, *Inzichten en vergezichten,* 34.
[61] E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'Woord en beeld: titelprenten van enkele Nederlandse historische werken uit de 17^{e} en 18^{e} eeuw', *Holland, regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 26 (1994) 274-291, 277.
[62] Van Selm, ''Het kompt altemael aen op het distribuweeren', 91.
[63] Ibidem, 92.
[64] P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Nederlandse boekverkopersprivileges in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw. Kanttekeningen bij een inventarisatie', *Documentatieblad werkgroep 18^{e} Eeuw* 22 (1990) 159-180, aldaar 163.
[65] Ibidem, 58.
[66] Hoftijzer, 'Nederlandse boekverkopersprivileges in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw. Kanttekeningen bij een inventarisatie', 164.
[67] Ibidem, 57.

percent of the total book production in the Republic during that period.[68] Book historian Simon Groenveld has estimated the average number of privileges per year on four or five.[69] The States-General gave out 400 privileges during 1585 and 1650, while the States of Holland gave out 125 privileges in the same period.[70] In addition, the reprinting of publications was not always seen as damaging. The cheaper and inferior reprints could serve an audience for which the original was not affordable anyways. Only when original and imitation were comparable in quality, and the difference in price was determined by aspects as payment of authors (instead of production costs), pirated editions were seen as troublesome.[71]

Economic historians

Economic historians, like book historians, also mention strategies of falling back on known production techniques and content when products enter the mature phase of the product life cycle. Strategies used in this phase were not particularly new or innovative but in line with conventional practice. Economic historian Joel Mokyr explains this as a concept of 'micro-inventions': 'small, incremental steps that improve, adapt, and streamline existing techniques already in use, reducing costs, improving form and function, increasing durability, and reducing energy and raw material requirements'.[72] The somewhat unique system of auctioning that originated in Leiden, is an example of such a micro-invention. catalogues and auctions did exist at this time, but the combination these two, for second-hand books that were provided for via the libraries of deceased scholars, tapped into a new market. In the second half of the seventeenth century, some 25 auctions per year were held in Leiden.[73] Conditions for this slightly new approach were ideal in there: the university was important in both the supply and demand at these auctions, while the initial absence of a guild gave booksellers the possibilities a chance to invent new ways of selling and buying books. Moreover, Leiden was relatively close to Amsterdam.[74] Economic historian Laura Cruz mentions the snowball effect of experience in the case of the auctions in Leiden: 'experience built upon experience, and what might have been only a slight advantage at the onset became a substantial one as time elapsed and only the organization of the guild ensured that the Leiden booksellers would continue to reap the benefits of their micro invention'.[75]

Rasterhoff has identified a number of strategies in this early modern stagnated book trade, which can be summarized as a shift of focus from production towards distribution.[76] 'The main strategies in dealing with mature

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68 Ibidem, 49.
69 S. Groenveld, 'The Dutch Republic, an island of liberty of the press in 17th century Europe? The authorities and the book trade', in: H. Bots and F. Waquet (ed.), *Commercium Litterarium, 1600-1750: La communication dans la république des letters: forms of communication in the Republic of Letters* (Amsterdam 1994) 281-300, aldaar 294.
70 Ibidem, 61.
71 Dijstelberge, 'De Cost en de Baet', 225.
72 Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (Oxford 1990) 13.
73 L. Cruz, 'The secrets of success: microinventions and bookselling in seventeenth-century Netherlands', *Book history* 10 (2007) 1-28, there 15.
74 Ibidem, 11.
75 Idem.
76 Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity,* 121.

markets are differentiations, distribution and marketing'.[77] Apparently, book producers were mainly interested in avoiding or limiting risks by modernising or hanging ways of distribution and trade, than changing ways of production.

> 'Through product and process innovations, the commercial potential of a relatively large urban and professional middle class had been exhausted. In the absence of new demand stimuli, possibilities for domestic market growth were limited. (...) The phase of maturity was not the time to invest in or compete with new and innovative aesthetics, such as copy, type, and illustrations, except for those at the higher end of the market. Instead, publishers tapped into previously acquired skills and resources, such as international networks.'[78]

Strategic decisions and considerations were particularly focused on the modernisation and development of distribution processes, concentrating on forming partnerships and mergers, amending guild regulations and modernising marketing.[79] Especially since the actors turned towards what they knew best (either printing or selling), they needed to get their stock somewhere. Trading got more complicated, since, as a result of this differentiation, publishing and selling were more and more getting separated. Auctioning therefore became increasingly important in acquiring working capital. And yet, these auctions could not constitute the entire income of the booksellers. In the 'normal' book sales, booksellers decided to lower their prices to be able to sell quicker and renew their stock earlier, a practice we would call 'ramsj' nowadays.[80] Payment methods were changing as well. Trading sheets of paper for sheets of paper amongst book producers was getting replaced by commission trade. The bookseller got a number of titles or copies from the publisher, and returned the titles that were not bought, paying afterwards. Delaying the payment gave the bookseller space to maintain his stock, even in times when money was scarce. This also meant that the different occupations were even more separated: the function of publisher, printer, and seller could not be easily reunited in one person any more.

The intention to protect material and the *status quo* resulted in a standardization and formulation of regulations. The trade was protected by the formalisation and standardisation of guild regulations. Previously, market mechanisms were leading, leaving the evaluation of quality at the booksellers. From mid-seventeenth century onwards, however, to limit competition, admission rules of guilds were getting stricter.[81] In 1639 for example, three of the biggest book producers in Leiden (Elzevier, Hackius and De Heger) developed further legislation within the bookseller guild. They called themselves *opzienders* and regulated the auctions in Leiden mentioned above. Permission had to be acquired from the city council, time and place were restricted and by no

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[77] Ibidem, 192.
[78] Ibidem, 163.
[79] Ibidem, 192
[80] H. van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen : veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek, 1720-1800* (Amsterdam 1999) 155.
[81] K. Forrer, 'Drie ordonnanties van het Utrechtse boekdrukkers- en boekverkopersgilde: een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Utrechtse boekhandel in de zeventiende eeuw', *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht* (2006) 84-120, there 107.

means, books out of the own stock of publishers were to be auctioned. The auction was limited to publications out of heritage of the deceased scholars.[82] Later on, the auction was limited to publications from libraries only from Leiden. Consequently, other cities decided to close their auctions for Leiden collections.[83]

Cultural Industries

To gain further insight in the mechanisms of the production of a book as a cultural product, it seems useful to explore literature on cultural industries. Of course, understanding the precise mechanisms of the cultural industries takes more than the few elements described here. In the scope of this study however, focus is on main characteristics, on cultural production within institutional settings and on strategies used.

> 'Nowadays also called 'creative industries', cultural industries mass produce goods and services with sufficient artistic content to be considered creative and culturally significant. The essential features are industrial-scale production combined with cultural content. The cultural content mostly results from the employment of trained artists of one sort or another (creative artists, performers, craftspeople) in the production of goods in the cultural industries, but it may also arise from the social significance that attaches to the consumption of goods.'[84]

An important distinction between 'creative' and 'cultural' industries, is that the word 'creative' results in a focus on a creative process, not per se on the actual production of the goods, after the creation of the content. Since we are interested in publisher's strategies and the early modern book *production,* we will stick to 'cultural' industries. Arts, heritage and media all fall under this umbrella of cultural industries. Cultural industries are further defined by following distinct features of cultural goods: oversupply (only a fraction of the candidates for cultural goods are actually turned into products), quality uncertainty (quality can only be learned after use, e.g. reading a book), network effects (favouring products which already become known in some way, e.g. the new book of a bestselling author) and demand reversal (products become too familiar, therefore not interesting).[85] Generally, the symbol-intensive production of the cultural economy of today is seen as succeeding the more technology-intensive industries.[86]

The notion of creativity is caught between two polarities, one psychological, the other sociological. Creativity resides in the personal capacities of individual subjects, but creativity is also embedded in concrete

[82] Cruz, 'The secrets of success: microinventions and bookselling in seventeenth-century Netherlands', 8.
[83] Ibidem, 12-13.
[84] R. Towse (ed.), *A Handbook of Cultural Economics* (Cheltenham 2003) 170.
[85] M. Kretschmer, G.M. Klimis et al. (ed.), ´Increasing Returns and Social Contagion in Cultural Industries, *British Journal of Management* 10 (1999) 61-72, there 61.
[86] A.J. Scott, 'Cultural economy and the creative field of the city', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 92 (2010) 115,130, there 122.

social contexts and milieus.[87] Forms of creativity therefore always must be able to connect with an audience who, or a market which, can appeal to the products of creative work. Creativity can be seen explicitly as a social phenomenon entwined within overlapping sets of social relationships. A consequence of establishing the social context of creativity, is a shift of focus on the view of creativity as a social process embedded within organizational and institutional contexts, instead of views of the individual creative artist.[88] In order to survive in the cultural industries, organizations must reconcile the demands of artistic production with those of the marketplace. This dilemma has been divided into several polarities by economist Joseph Lampel, for example such as tensions between artistic values and mass entertainment, demand analysis and market construction and individual inspiration within creative systems. The decisions that are made within these polarities, shape the strategy of the organization[89] Seeking to strike a balance between opposing polarities usually leads to the combination and adaptation of existing models rather than to the development of totally innovative approaches, both in the product as such, as in production techniques. Producers know that cultural products are more likely to be successful when they blend familiar en novel elements. 'Consumers need familiarity to understand what they are offered, but they need novelty to enjoy it.'[90] Thus: 'If firms are intent on creating new genres or new categories of cultural goods, they must bear in mind that most products in cultural industries succeed by differentiating rather than by being revolutionary.'[91]

The network effects and social context of the features of cultural industries mentioned above causes products to become subject to social contagion or sociopsychological feed-backs, something to which producers apply their strategies.[92] These strategies can be summarized as 'critical mass management'. The first strategy is to be early, but not too early. Big margins are often earned by imitators who commoditize a genre that has just begun to be popular. Next, attracting suppliers is an important recommendation for all cultural industries, for example by ceding profits to partners. Long lasting collaborations suggest trust and strengthens the web of clients and suppliers, and producers and consumers. Thirdly, producers need to pay attention to, and try to influence, people's expectations. Promotional campaigns are an example this concept, but also a close relationship with gatekeepers as TV and radio stations, program guides, journals and newspapers, and somehow getting into best-seller charts. The last strategy based on the concept of social contagion is upgrading an existing user base, as in the example of the new novel by a bestselling author. The user base also acts as a setting in which cultural goods are being discussed.

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[87] Ibidem, 119.

[88] R. DeFillippi et al., 'Introduction to paradoxes of creativity: managerial and organizational challenges in the cultural economy', *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 28 (2007) 511-521, there 512.

[89] J. Lampel, T. Lant and J. Shamsie (ed.), 'Balancing act: learning from organizing practices in cultural industries', *Organization Science* 11 (2000) 263-269, there 265-267.

[90] Ibidem, 264.

[91] Ibidem, 268.

[92] Kretschmer et al., ´Increasing returns and social contagion in cultural industries', 67.

Creating novelty by appealing to familiar elements seems to be a central point both in the way book historians and economic historians approach the publishers' practices in the early modern book trade as well in the way cultural economists and sociologists deal with today's creative industries. This is expressed in tapping into previously acquired competences and modernising distribution processes.

Censorship and regulation of the book trade

As we have seen above, actual product innovation was not the strategy to go for when the early modern book trade hit stagnation. Differentiating and eventually inventing genres, by appealing to familiar elements however, could be a way to survive within the market. This mechanism will be further explored by focusing on one particular strategy to boost sales, already recognized by contemporary publishers: publishing scandalous books.

With the book trade booming in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, authorities increasingly tried to regulate book production. The privileges mentioned before more and more became a means of control. Authorities that gave out privileges, wanted to inspect the publications as well.[93] In fact in most countries, books officially had to acquire state permission before being published.[94] This brings us to another form of regulating the book trade, namely book prohibitions, aimed at avoiding publication of certain content.[95] From the end of the sixteenth century, up till the eighteenth century, in the Republic decrees were issued against insubordinate, offending and scandalous publications, against arminian, socinian, pre-adatist, Cartesian, deist writings, and against publication of Grotius, Spinoza, Rousseau and Hume – 'om van minder bekende 'spinozisten', calvinistische extremisten en politieke broodschrijvers niet te spreken' ['to not even speak of less known spinozists, Calvinist extremists and political writers'].[96] Where privileges would concern scientific or devotional publications, bans would mostly be about political and religious publications, and partly about obscene writings.[97] In general, slandering or 'personalising' was prohibited. Moreover, authorities, especially the States of Holland, would condemn publications that were published anonymously. A more or less general line in censorship was that in times of turmoil, foreign heads of state had to be spared. The common law provided in protecting the honour of the *Burghers* of the Republic, but in times of domestic unrest, the protection of officials needed extra support.[98]
Historians have agreed on the early modern freedom of press being neither absolute, nor fundamental.[99] The decentralized political system of the Republic, in which the provinces functioned as autonomous sovereign states and in which cities would be fairly independent, seems to have determined the way censorship existed. A

[93] Hoftijzer, 'Nederlandse boekverkopersprivileges in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', 52.
[94] Hoftijzer, 'Nederlandse boekverkopersprivileges in de achttiende eeuw. Kanttekeningen bij een inventarisatie', 161.
[95] S. Groenveld, 'The mecca of authors? States assemblies and censorship in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', in: A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, *Too mighty to be free. Censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen 1987) 63-86, aldaar 65.
[96] J. van Eijnatten, 'Van godsdienstvrijheid naar mensenrecht. Meningsvorming over censuur en persvrijheid in de Republiek, 1795', *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 118 (2003) 1-21, aldaar 2.
[97] S. Groenveld, 'The Dutch Republic, an island of liberty of the press in 17th century Europe?', 297.
For the development of censorship concerning the specific catagory of obscene publications, see I.B. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nedelrandse pornografische romans 1670-1700* (Nijmegen 2002).
[98] Huussen, 'Censuur in stad en ommelanden van Groningen 1594-1795', 34.
[99] Frijhoff and Spies, 'Boeken, drukkers uitgevers en boekverkopers', 264.

continuous battle of jurisdiction and autonomy and the rapidly changing power relations between higher and lower authorities, between state and church, did stimulate a degree of freedom of press.[100] As Van Eeghen has stated, the big difference in the freedom of press between the Republic and other countries, was the absence of censors.[101] Tracking down controversial publications was somewhat pragmatic, based on only a few comprehensive lists of forbidden books, and mostly done in reaction to complaints of displeased officials. Punishment mostly consisted of a fine, a confiscation, a (temporary) ban, or the (temporary) closing of the shop.

Contemporary book producers and authors already noticed that in banning books, a certain desire could be sparked. Authorities therefore were not keen on making too many details public about the investigation of certain books, authors or publishers, as mentioned in a concept edict by the States of Holland of March 17, 1617: 'gemerct het verbot lust beart, en de luyden sulcken boecken te meer sullen willen hebben zy costen dan, datse costen' [noticing the ban results in desire, and people wanting to own such books even more'].[102] A clerk of the States-General one wrote to an English envoy that banning a book, 'onely serve to publish the thing & make people curious to gett the libells, but do no good as to suppressing of them'.[103] The play *Palamedes* (1624) by Joost van den Vondel was a critical account of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt's trial, disguised as an allegorical tragedy about Greek general during the Trojan War. However, it got attention from the Amsterdam authorities, and was fined with 300 *gulden.* Yet at the same time, it was reprinted several times and seen as a bestseller.[104] Vondel's biographer Geeraardt Brandt wrote about this issue in 1682:

> ''t is ook zeeker, dat 'er geen beter middel is om boeken te doen begeeren en leezen, dan dat men ze verbiede, ophaale, of verbrande, en de schryvers straffe: want dat verwekt veel geruchts, en veelen, die anders op zulke schriften nooit gedacht hadden, willen ze zien' ['it is sure, that there is no better way of making books desirable, than to get them prohibited, confiscated, banned and to get the authors punished. Because this result in a lot of rumours and many, who would have never thought of these writings before, want to read them now'].[105]

Some printers even referred to bans on their title pages. In the case of Johannes Crellius *Beschrijvinghe van Godt en zijne eygenschappen* (1642): 'In Hollant by Schepen vonnisse gedoemt, openbaerlijck geexecuteert, en met yver verbrant' ['in Holland by decree condemned, publically liquidated and with vigour burned'].[106] The selling price of *De vaste spyse der volmaakten, bestaande in eenige grondige en schriftmatige verklaringe van de leere die*

[100] Van Eijnatten, 'Van godsdienstvrijheid naar mensenrecht', 3.
[101] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel* 5, 25.
[102] Cited in I. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag 1998) 44.
[103] Cited in Hoftijzer, 'Metropolis of print: the Amsterdam book trade in the seventeenth century', 254.
[104] O. van Marion, 'Verboden in de Gouden Eeuw: Schrijvers, drukkers en hun strategieën', in: M. Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk. Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam 2011) 31-44, aldaar 41.
[105] Cited in ibidem, 42.
[106] W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden : beredeneerde catalogus* (Den Haag 1914).

begreepen is in den Heidelbergsen catechismus, written by Balthasar Bekker, published in 1670 in Franeker and consisting of a commentary on the catechism, tripled after the ban by the States of Friesland in 1671.[107]

The number of publications that were actually forbidden was relatively low in the Republic, around 2 per year, in the seventeenth century.[108] However, twice the amount of publications was under suspicion or investigation. When dealing with forbidden books, one must take a large group of publications not forbidden, but not approved of either and even suspicious, into account.[109] These kinds of 'scandalous books' are interesting, because they were referring to recognizable mechanisms of controversy and therefore were attractive to buyers. Yet at the same time, they were not condemned and therefore risk free for sellers. The grey area of suspicion and investigation offers possibilities for studying publishers' strategies. Title pages were put on display in the shops, so there might be a certain author, a certain use of words, a certain size that appealed to possibly controversial content and therefore became highly desirable for customers. To put this in a research question: *could it be that book producers managed to use scandalousness as a concept to make their publications more attractive?* Is it possible to trace the way producers played with scandalous properties in the STCN? This bibliography seems to be an exhaustive source in which information on title pages is included. The approach of the book as a commodity means that questions asked in this study concern multiple levels of the early modern book trade: production, distribution and consumption. By focusing on the STCN as the main source, focus will be on the production side. In this project, the STCN is used to explore two scandalous properties: the actual prohibition of a book, and the use of the fictitious Marteau-imprint. These two categories also represent two important themes and goals of the study: linking the STCN to other datasets (thereby enriching data on scandalous books) and querying the STCN (in this case, the corpus of Marteau-titles).

[107] Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,* 107.
[108] Groenveld, 'The mecca of authors?', 80.
[109] Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,* 47.

The use of a bibliography in tracing scandalousness

'To students of literature and history, bibliography means primarily the study of books as material objects'.[110] With this line, Philip Gaskell introduced his guidelines for the use of a bibliography. He was convinced of the value of bibliographical descriptions. 'Bibliography can help us to identify printed books and to describe them, to judge the relationship between variant texts and to assess their relative authority; and, where the text is defective, to guess at what the author meant us to read'.[111]

Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands

An exhaustive source for bibliographical information about early modern publications is the STCN, *Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands.* This retrospective bibliography contains around 200.000 descriptions of Dutch (post-) incunabula, for the period 1540-1800. The dataset concerns books published in the Netherlands (all languages) and books in Dutch published abroad (except Belgium). It has been compiled by the Koninlijke Bibliotheek, and is based on important Dutch and foreign collections, including those of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek itself, the University Libraries of Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht, the Vrije Universiteit, Delft and Groningen, the British Library and the University of London Library, the City Libraries of Haarlem and Deventer, The Hague City Archive, the Alkmaar Regional Archive et cetera. The STCN has been completed in July 2009. The freely available database offers scientists and students many advanced search options. While creating the descriptions, a database with information about printers was created as well, resulting in the so-called printers' thesaurus.

The STCN originated from a number of pioneering initiatives. Bibliographies about specific topics and regions have functioned as points of reference for the preparation of the STCN. In 1969, the then 'Rijkscommissie van Advies inzake het Bibliotheekwezen', designed a policy that was aimed at scientific libraries and their role within book history and bibliography.[112] The main goal was developing a historical bibliography, for which a subcommittee 'Gedrukte Werken (Bijzondere Collecties)' was installed. This committee came through with an advice in 1971, choosing the compact format of the short-title catalogue for the – at that time – estimated one million Dutch publications for the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[113] The study group STCN was established in 1972 and formulated a number of regulations and conditions. First, the focus was on all books printed in the Netherlands, irrespective of language, and all publications in Dutch, printed abroad. Dutch publications printed in Belgium were omitted. Also, plano's were not included, as well as news papers and journals. All annotations must be in English. The descriptions were made in autopsy: the employee that made the description had to have the actual book at his or her side. This meant that all publications described in the STCN could actually be found in the

[110] Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 1.
[111] Idem.
[112] J. Bos and J.A. Gruys, 'Veertig jaar STCN 1969-2009', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 16 (2009) 9-36, there 13.
[113] Ibidem, 14.

public collections.[114] The actual description of the books out of the collections started in 1982, by a team coordinator, two 'describers' and an administrator, at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek. By using existing overviews (such as printers' registers or bibliographies), books eligible for description could be found.[115] The STCN was different from other bibliographies by using a collation formula instead of describing the exact number of pages, in admitting a large number of typographical characteristics and in developing a fingerprint to be able to distinguish editions and settings. The digital descriptions then were connected to general catalogues as Picarta. The STCN was finished in 2009, reaching the target set at an evaluation in 2005: the description of ninety percent of the monographs, journals and pamphlets, and sixty percent of the ephemeral publications.[116] Nowadays, the STCN is still updated.

Caution in using the STCN

The amount of information the STCN offers is high, but also needs to be approached with caution. The *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* of 2009 was dedicated to possibilities and difficulties in the use of the STCN in research. Of course, collections that have not been traced are not included in the catalogue. The export of publications in Latin and French means there must be titles in foreign collections. Also a number of eighteenth-century French booksellers used fictitious Dutch printers' addresses. These kinds of books however are not included in the STCN, since there was no actual copy in Dutch collections.[117] Then there are the voids that analytical bibliographers or editors encounter when they are looking for as many copies of one edition as possible, in order to collate an edition. Collections of the university libraries of Tilburg, Rotterdam, Maastricht then are missing here.[118] According to book historian Piet Verkruijsse, a bibliography strives to be complete within the boundaries assigned. Therefore, he does not agree with 'finishing' the STCN: 'Dat men een retrospectieve nationale bibliografie na het doornemen van een aantal collecties stopzet, is onbegrijpelijk.'[119] The distinction between a bibliography, which describes editions, and catalogue, which describes particular books, then becomes too vague. Using the STCN in order to answer questions about the early modern book production in general, especially regarding the reconstruction of publishers' inventory, only leads to preliminary answers.[120] Only when the bibliography is as complete as possible, events as the development of certain genres and changes in the typography of publications can be studied.'[121] Marja Smolenaars acknowledges these problems in coming to the

[114] Ibidem, 17.
[115] Ibidem, 20.
[116] Ibidem, 28.
[117] R. Mathis, 'The STCN in a global perspective', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 16 (2009) 37-44, there 42.
[118] P. Verkruijsse, 'Waslijstjes en wenslijstjes. Zwarte gaten in de Nederlandse retrospectieve bibliografie', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 16 (2009) 45-51, aldaar 48.
[119] Ibidem, 49. Verkruijsse's comments seem to comply with Gaskells distinction between a bibliography and a catalogue: 'A bibliography based on analytical techniques is not the same thing as a catalogue of particular books, however detailed the catalogue may be. Indeed it does not describe particular books but ideal copies of its subjects, following the examination of as many actual copies as possible of each one.' Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography,* 321.
[120] Ibidem, 49.
[121] Idem.

description of an *ideal copy.*[122] To make the STCN into a successful research tool, missing editions should be localized in specialized collections: 'bijvoorbeeld betreffende een stad, een genre, een auteur, of een onderwerp'.[123] Material that was printed in the Netherlands, but not targeted at the domestic market, is an example of material that could be included. A connection to other bibliographies, such as the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) seems to be obvious, were it not that the description policies could differ significantly.[124] Known pseudonyms of publishers could be a way of searching into other bibliographies and find new material, as well. The combination of the STCN-fingerprint, the online catalogues and the ongoing digitalisation does offer contemporary bibliographers possibilities in finding and comparing significant material.[125] Discovering reissues is an example of this.

The possibilities of quantitative research are further explored by Marieke van Delft, who is involved with maintaining the STCN nowadays. According to her, the STCN is not only a file that gives an overview of all titles published in the early modern period, localizing the publications, it is also offers possibilities for researchers studying book and culture in the period 1540-1800.[126] The population of booksellers and printers can be studied by using the printers' thesaurus, which originated as a by product of the STCN. This thesaurus contains information on occupation, addresses and names of the book producers. Per place, the number of active booksellers and printers can be analyzed, but unfortunately, this cannot be broken down by period in the interface of the printers' thesaurus.[127] However, via the STCN it is possible to get an overview of the production of titles in a certain place during a certain period. Amsterdam constantly comes up on top. There are some issues that need further consideration here. First of all, as said, plano's, envoy letters and news papers were not included into the STCN. Plano's would be rather difficult to distinguish from engravings, envoy letters usually come with rather standard headers, resulting in too many identical titles in the database and news papers would offer too many titles.[128] Secondly, Van Delft elaborates on what the bibliographic entities or 'bibliografische eenheid', actually mean and represent. Multivolume publications for example, get one title description, unless the volumes do not belong to the same print, or if the set is not complete. In practice, this results into a number of 'loose' copies in the STCN, which actually belong to the same edition. In order to establish if a text is newly set, or actually a variant of the same setting, or reissue, the STCN has developed the so-called fingerprint.[129] This fingerprint contains of a code which is created by including the year of publication, the size of the book, and marks that can be found above certain quire signatures (characters at the bottom of pages, that refer to the sequence of quires) ['een code die gevormd wordt door een combinatie van het jaar van uitgave, met het formaat van het boek en de tekens die

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[122] Ibidem, 54.
[123] Ibidem, 54.
[124] Ibidem, 55.
[125] Ibidem, 60.
[126] Ibidem, 64.
[127] M. van Delft, 'Kwantitatief onderzoek op basis van de STCN: mogelijkheden en aandachtspunten', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 16 (2009) 63-80, there 66.
[128] Ibidem, 69.
[129] Ibidem, 71.

staan boven bepaalde katernsignaturen, dat wil zeggen de letters en cijfers onderaan de pagina waarmee de volgorde van de katernen aangegeven wordt'].[130] Lastly, in studying the production of a publisher or a printer, size and number of copies should be taken into account. After Amsterdam, Leiden produced most titles. When focusing on the Leiden production and taking descriptors into account, the production of academic publications seems to make up a substantial part of the total book production in Leiden, namely 60 percent.[131] Dissertations and orations however were published in small sizes and a small number of copies. This could be a reason to omit this kind of ephemeral printing (pamphlets, state publications, academic texts, and other short-lived publications) when querying the database, to prevent this influencing results.

Recently, book historian Paul Dijstelberge has formulated his ideas on what the STCN, as a database of transmitted titles in relation to the potential early modern book production, actually represents. In the yearbook of 2009, the coverage of the STCN is assumed to be around ninety percent of the total Dutch book production.[132] However, according to Dijstelberge, the relation between the production and book producers in the STCN is disparate. A printer like Israel de Paul, for example, is linked to 4 publications in the STCN. That however, is more or less the amount of printing a printer produces in about 2 months. Paul was active for 17 years. The same goes for other producers of which we know had large companies, but get relatively low counts of publications in the STCN. Dijstelberge also mentions Philip von Zevens accounts of the city of Amsterdam of 1664, in which he speaks of 40 active printing businesses. Amsterdam printers had two or three presses on average, so Dijstelberge estimates the total number of presses on 80. Per press, 1250 sheets were printed, adding up to 100,000 sheets of paper in total, 25,000,000 per year, resulting in, according to Dijstelberge, 1500 books per year. This potential production does not comply with the number of publications found in the STCN. Dijstelberge argues that an average printer would have taken considerable losses if he truly was dependent on the titles that are mentioned in the STCN. The STCN only makes up around 15% of the potential (and most likely also the real) early modern book production.[133] Concerning the thesaurus of printers, another issue comes up: the years of activity are only based on the first and the last years of the titles linked to the specific producer in the STCN. When taking into account the 'missing' production mentioned here, these years of activity of course can differ accordingly. Using the STCN for quantitative research only results in misrepresented calculations, according to Dijstelberge. It is an excellent tool to retrieve data on certain titles, to get onto trends in genres, typography etc., but it is useless in quantitative analyses and gaining insight in networks of printers and publishers. If you want to know how these networks were formed, Paul Dijstelberge suggests looking into the typographic material of publications, since the appearance of the publications is most influenced by the printers. To make matters more complicated, the STCN information on

[130] Ibidem, 72.
[131] Ibidem, 74.
[132] J. Bos and J.A. Gruys, 'Veertig jaar STCN 1969-2009', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 16 (2009) 9-36, there 31.
[133] Paul Dijstelberge elaborated on the potential vs. transmitted book productio, and the use of the STCN, in his columns on weblog *Nederl-L.* URL: http://nederl.blogspot.nl/2013/08/de-stcn-en-wetenschappelijk-onderzoek.html [retrieved September 5, 2013].

publishers, printers and book sellers is not quite to be trusted, since – even by contemporaries – many publishers are mentioned as printer, and the other way around.

The problems and reservations mentioned here are mainly about the character of the database and the information that is included. Of course, these difficulties will have their influence on the position and use of the STCN in research, either as a source or as a tool. In our conversion of the STCN, these problems will not be solved. We specifically aimed at conversing the STCN, thereby limiting ourselves to the transmitted book production of that specific bibliography and not the real production. However, although our converted STCN cannot be used to reconstruct the total early modern book production, the project did offer insight in the possibilities of converting the dataset. Of course, on reservations and challenges concerning this particular project and the conversion of the STCN, will be elaborated later on, in the overall conclusion of this report.

Working with the STCN

In January 2012, the STCN provided the History department of VU University with a bulk download of their data, in XML. Non-ephemeral or short-lived, transitory publications have been left out. The 60,000 ordinances and dissertations omitted could have obscured results. This was a decision based on the cultural industry approach of the study, in which state documents were not seen as the main type of source material. However, since the project has become larger, the whole STCN will be included in further research. Also, although the STCN has been officially finished, it does get updated. This means our file from 2012 is not yet complete. On the basis of this file, the graph above, showing all entries per year, was made. The STCN structures the information on the publications in records, or *redactiebladen*, by using KMC's ['kenmerkcode'].[134] Some of the KMC's concern the status of the description (is it complete?), others offer information about the publication itself (impressum, title, year, author, etc.). Not all KMC's are required to be filled in. The titles in the records, the publishers and the authors each have their own and unique ppn, a number of identification.

The regular interface of the STCN offers multiple ways of querying the data, especially in the 'advanced search' section of the interface. However, the possibilities to filter and sort the data by using different properties, are limited to a number of three fields, in combination with filtering on years of publication. Answering questions or queries that cannot be caught in these criteria, does involve manually combining multiple queries. A question as: in which size were publications under the Marteau-imprint mostly published, has to be broken down in several steps in the STCN, namely retrieving a list (and consequently a number) of Marteau-publications for each size used, separately. There is no option to get a ranked list of all sizes used for Marteau-publications, in one go. Same goes for counting publications per subject, and so on. In addition, the possible development of size-use has to be queried separately, for each size, for each year. These kind of possibilities of retrieving information, will be explored and tested in our conversion of the STCN data into RDF. The Resource Description Framework (RDF) is a

[134] The manual for the STCN (in Dutch) can be found at URL: http://www.kb.nl/kbhtml/stcnhandleiding/stcn.html [retrieved July 3, 3013]. An example of a STCN record and the list of KMC's can be found in the appendix.

set of W3C specifications designed as a metadata data model. It is used as a conceptual description method in computing: described entities of the world are represented with nodes (e.g. “Dante Alighieri” or “The Divine Comedy”), while the relationships between these nodes are represented with edges connecting them (e.g. “Dante Alighieri” “wrote” “The Divine Comedy”). It can be considered a knowledge representation paradigm where facts and their descriptions have the form of a graph. This setting makes RDF very suitable for data publishing and querying on the Web, especially when (a) the dataset does not follow a static schema; and (b) there is an interest of linking the dataset to other datasets. The *redactiebladen* of the STCN that were acquired in the bulk download of 2012, have, as mentioned before, a very specific syntax of KMC's. This syntax is interpreted in a program that reads the *redactiebladen* and gets the relevant properties about authors, books, publishers, places, printers and the like out of them. Then it generates the RDF graph, linking all these entities together conveniently, and writes the results in a file. This file is exposed online, and it can be queried live by users using the query language SPARQL[135].

[135] The SPARQL data endpoint is available at URL: http://lod.cedar-project.nl:8080/sparql/stcn

Detecting scandalous books in a bibliography

The converted STCN data allows us to explore the way a bibliography could be used to see how scandalousness appeared and disappeared, and possibly could be linked to producers. The concept of controversy or scandalousness is flowing and not easy to grasp in a few bullet points. In the decision making of the early modern authorities, mostly general decrees against 'offensive' publications were issued, from time to time naming specific authors and producers. Coming up with formal characteristics and developing a list of structured properties for the scandalous book, which in turn can be used in dealing with publishers' strategies, is difficult. In this study, two examples of scandalous properties are further analysed in figuring out how a bibliography can answer questions about the way early modern publishers turned to using controversy as a strategy to sell their books. The first property is the actual prohibition of publications by authorities and the second one is the fictitious imprint of Marteau. Of course, both categories make up only a small amount of books that were scandalous, controversial, prohibited, investigated or forbidden and do not take into account the way books could be under suspicion in one area, but were published in another.

Lists of forbidden books

One way of tracing scandalous books in the STCN is by linking the dataset to lists of forbidden books, as created by several (book) historians. In this study, we have selected two lists to work and play around with. Reasons for selecting these two particular lists are both pragmatic (well-structured) as substantial (a focus on the Dutch Republic). Of course, these lists are limited and result in all kinds of imbalances concerning for example language and timeframes. However, they make up a good starting point in linking other datasets to the STCN.

Willem Pieter Cornelis Knuttel has made a list in 1914, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, Beredeneerde catalogus*, based on decrees and edicts of several authorities, and archives of booksellers' guilds. One of the problems he encountered was the way titles were written down in the state documents: mostly phonetic or using a general description: 'al 't geen betrekkelijk is de verschillen rakende Ds. Kulenkamp en Ds. Tyken' ['all that concerns the differences between Kulenkamp and Tyken'].[136] Information concerning authors and producers was more incomplete than complete. A complicating factor was that prohibitions could refer to publications that were never printed. Knuttel did not include news papers and journals, but did try to complete the information in the decrees as much as possible. In total he admitted 446 titles, first one from 1582 and second one from 1794. Next to information about author, publisher, and place, information about size, year of prohibition and involved authorities is included as well. Of these titles 19 publications were burned, of which 10 in the eighteenth century.

Ingrid Weekhout also studied the documents of several religious and secular authorities in trying to gain insight in practice of the early modern Dutch censorship. After all, the reactions of those authorities determined

[136] Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden,* IV.

the level of freedom of press in the Republic. Those reactions show to what extent the seventeenth-century Republic endured censorship.[137] Weekhout thinks Knuttel's list is too random and too much based on more or less coincidental findings in archives, even ignoring the archives of the 'Gecomitteerde Raden', which basically was the executive committee of the decrees. Also, Weekhout thinks it is important to consider the differences and degrees of prohibition, mainly distinguishing between general and specific regulations. She uses a categorisation to better understand censorship.[138] Weekhout focuses on four timeframes (1617-1625, 1647-1655, 1667-1675, 1687-1695), in which she thinks the most significant and influential political and religious events occurred.[139] The political and social turmoil lead to authorities wanting to exercise control and high levels of censorship. The period 1617-1625 is linked to the 'Bestandstwisten' and the conflict between Van Oldenbarnevelt en Maurits, in the period 1647-1655 peace negotiations and the policy of stadtholder William II were influential, the period 1667-1674 of course includes the disaster year of 1672 and in the period 1687-1695 represents the marriage of William III and Mary Stuart, and an increasing anti-French climate. For the rest of the seventeenth century, Weekhout has used literature and her own research. Weekhout did include news papers, engravings and pamphlets. She also encountered problems with data being incomplete. Weekhout has concentrated more on urban policies in which Rotterdam, Deventer and 's-Hertogenbosch has served as case studies. Therefore, both central as local levels of censorship are represented in her study. Author, title, place and year of publication are included in the description, as well as involved authorities and reasons for prohibition. Reasons for prohibition could be political, political-religious, religious, political-philosophical and moral and the categorisation of publications is based on title, and additional information out of the sources and literature. The names of the book producers involved are absent in this list. Weekhout included 262 titles in total, first one from 1582, the last one from 1698.

In France, censorship was more extensive. Several book historians have worked on lists of books prohibited in France, in which we might find Dutch publications or publications in Dutch as well. As said, in this study however, for now the two lists mentioned above were used. The lists of French prohibition are relatively well-structured and could be digitized. What would be interesting, is to confront the lists with the STCN, to see if the date of prohibition or confiscation in Paris or France proceeds the date of publication in the Dutch Republic. That could refer to a strategy of the publisher: he knew that the publication was marked as unacceptable. Ann Sauvy has made a list of titles that were confiscated at Parisian borders, between 1697 and 1701, based on manuscripts out of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[140] Both forbidden books as books without a privilege are included. The list contains of 114 titles, keeping the sequence of titles in the manuscripts in order and completing the list with available bibliographic information. Book historian Robert Darnton focused in his *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France* and the accompanying volume *Corpus of clandestine literature in France, 1769-1789* (1995) particularly on the last years of the *ancien régime.* The list contains 720 publications of which more

[137] Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden,* 2.
[138] Ibidem, 11.
[139] Ibidem, 12.
[140] A. Sauvy, *Livres saisis à Paris entre 1678 et 1701* (Den Haag 1972) 2.

than half was ordered at the *Société typographique de Neuchâtel* (STCN). Next to the catalogue of this collection, catalogues of publishers, inventories of confiscated books were used. The titles are listed alphabetically, mentioning authors, years of publication and know reprints. Also, for the titles that originated in the STN-catalogues, the booksellers that ordered the books are mentioned, compared with their total purchase.[141] Barbara Negroni has made a list of forbidden books in *Lectures interdits. Le travail des censeurs au XVIIIe siècle 1723-1774* (1995), consisting of 581 forbidden or suspicious titles.[142] In 1999, Françoise Weil sums up a list of investigated titles in *Les livres persécutés en France de 1720 à 1770.*[143] Robert Dawson tries to elaborate on these lists in *Confiscations at customs: banned books and the French booktrade during the last years of the Ancien regime* (2006). He is not looking to make a list of 'banned books', but 'a comprehensive list of books which got into trouble during the last century of the Ancien régime'.[144] The basis for his list is formed by two ledgers out of the Bibliothèque National de France, of which one has not yet been studied by Darnton and the other authors. The ledgers are about what was imported and confiscated in Paris during 1778-1789. Here as well, information about author, publisher and year of publication is included in several appendices.

The lists of Knuttel and Weekhout were not yet digitized and had to be scanned and converted by means of *Optical Character Recognition* (OCR), after which the structured information was put into an Access-database. By using the database, some observations could be made. Knuttel lists 234 titles (more than half of his total list) that have no known author. Johannes Becius (1588-1626), a minister from Dordrecht, has most titles in Knuttel: three. 253 titles do not mention a book producer (publisher, printer, seller). Weekhout has concentrated on certain periods in which political and religious turmoil was present. That can be seen in the database: most prohibitions are in fact in the years she mentioned. In Weekhout's list as well, a large number of the titles (101) is published anonymously. Johannes Wtenbogaert (1557-1644) was the most productive author, with 7 titles, followed by Johannes Naureanus (1608-1679) and Petrus Ardes (1620-?), both with 5 titles. Since Weekhout also supplies us with the reason of prohibition, by means of categories, we see that most books were banned because of political reasons, namely 170 out of 263 titles.

The lists were confronted with the STCN, to see if titles on the lists of Knuttel and Weekhout also appear in the STCN. We convert these lists into RDF datasets in a similar way as we converted the STCN. The two datasets were confronted with the STCN, to see if titles on the lists of Knuttel and Weekhout also appear in the STCN. We use some queries in SPARQL to retrieve the whole set of Knuttel titles, Weekhout titles, and STCN titles. We compare all possible pairings, identifying repeated entries and matching them. The first results were based on a one by one comparison between book titles in the Weekhout/Knuttel lists with book titles in the STCN. If the titles of a Weekhout/Knuttel book and a STCN book were found to be more than 90% similar, then they were assumed to be the same. With these mappings we can then query merged properties of both datasets. For Knuttel,

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[141] R. Darnton, *The corpus of clandestine literature in France, 1769-1789* (New York 1995) 3-7.
[142] B. de Negroni, *Lectures intredits. Le travail des censeurs au XVIIIe siècle 1723-1774* (Parijs 1995) 14.
[143] F. Weil, *Les livres persecutesandFrance de 1720 à 1770* (Oxford 1999).
[144] R. Dawson, *Confiscations at customs: banned books and the French book trade during the last years of the Ancien régime* (Oxford 2006) 2.

30 titles were found in the STCN (6,7%), while for Weekhout 15 titles were found in the STCN (5,7%). In both cases, a very low recall score may be implied, but in contrast the precision is very high. These are preliminary results; we are still working on the precision of the comparison. If we could combine the datasets, the bibliographical information can be linked to information about the (character of the) prohibition, for example to compare dates of publication with dates of prohibition, or to compare the subjects as assigned by STCN-employees with the reasons for suspicion, or even to compare the place of publications with the place of prohibition or involved authorities.

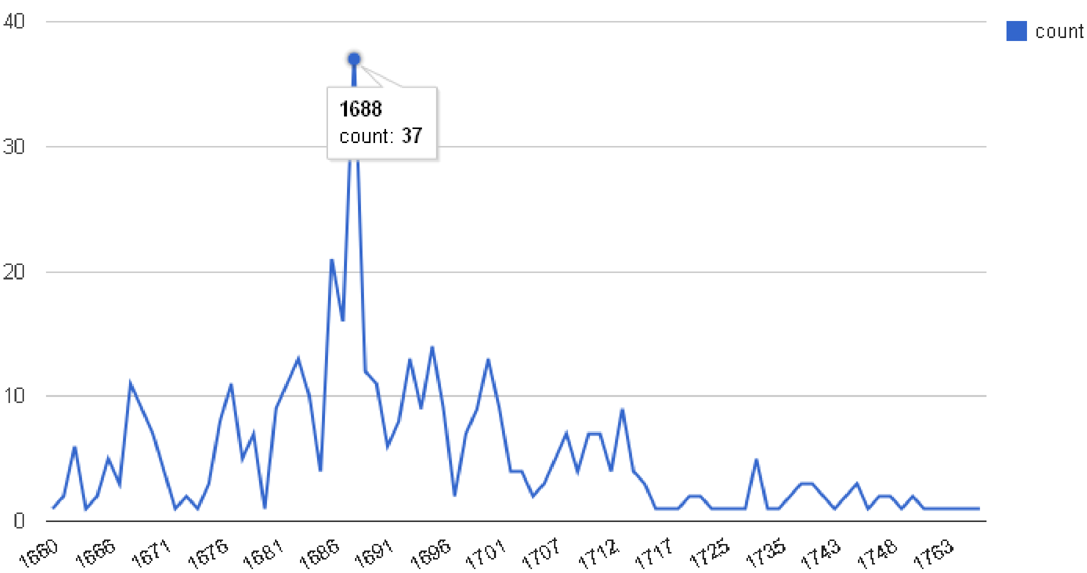
Pierre Marteau, Cologne

The second way of tracing scandalous publications in the STCN is by looking at the imprint of Pierre Marteau, Cologne. Pierre Marteau was a fictitious imprint used to cover up controversial content. The use of fictitious information on the title page however was, just as publishing anonymously, forbidden by the States of Holland in 1581. It nevertheless became a strategy to avoid prohibition.[145] Dutch publishers and booksellers earned some good money in supplying for international markets with forbidden publications.[146] 'There never was a publisher by the name of Pierre Marteau and he certainly never lived in France. He was a pure fiction, invented by Dutch publishing houses, and mad an imprint for anonymous books as early as 1660 by 'Pierre Marteau, Cologne'.[147] The first Marteau-title thus was published mid-seventeenth century, in French, most likely printed in Amsterdam (the Elseviers were often linked to the imprint).[148] Several book producers made use of the imprint, especially regarding anti-French political satire, illegal reprints, and theological, critical and erotic publications. According to Margaret Jacob, the genre of books with imprint Marteau became experimental, as if the authors were creating a new fictional style.[149] By looking into the bibliographic characteristics of the corpus of Marteau-titles in the STCN, I hope to see if publications connected to the imprint were recognisable as such. Could an uncoordinated group of book producers that was linked to the imprint of Marteau create a corpus that had a clear signature, was recognisable for buyers, thereby using the imprint – and its characteristics – as a way to boost sales?

The list of Marteau-titles (see appendix) retrieved in the regular STCN-interface can also be queried in sparql. 449 titles were retrieved, one more than in the STCN-interface. None of these titles appear in the lists of Knuttel and Weekhout, meaning none of these titles were actually forbidden in the Republic or under suspicion of authorities – according to these two lists. The Elzeviers that appear in the Marteau-corpus however, do appear on Knuttels list (Weekhout does not mention publishers), as well as Henrik Arends. These publishers apparently did publish titles that were investigated and prohibited, but these condemned titles did not carry the fake imprint of

[145] Koopmans, 'Over of onder de toonbank?', 19.
[146] I.B. Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht. De omstreden Nederlandse publieke ruimte 1660-1760', in: M. Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk. Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam 2011) 45-58, there 45.
[147] M. Jacob, 'The Clandestine Universe of the Early Eighteenth Century' (2001). URL: http://www.pierre-marteau.com/c/jacob/clandestine.html [retrieved September 5, 2013].
[148] URL: www.pierre-marteau.com [consulted June 11,2013].
[149] Jacob, 'The Clandestine Universe of the Early Eighteenth Century' (2001).

Marteau. Knuttel does list one Marteau-title: *Sérail de Delys, ou Parodie de la tragédie d' Alcibiade, comédie en vers* (1735), but this title is not included in the STCN: a 'real' copy of the book is not included in the collections that are described in the STCN.



8. Marteau publications

When we look at the years in which the publications were published, the production of Marteau-titles in the STCN seems to start off in the period we have identified earlier as the mature phase of the product life cycle of the early modern book, namely from 1660 onwards. There seems to be a clear peak in 1688, in which 37 titles were published. This can be explained by looking political events like the Glorious Revolution or the Nine Years' War, or the War of the Palatine Succession. Weekhout's period 1687-1695 can be clearly seen in this graph as well. To be fair, in 1688 the total production of books was at a high point as well, so it is not entirely striking that the Marteau-publications rise in this period as well. It is remarkable that there is no peak before and after 1688, which is obviously is not the only year of political and social turmoil: Weekhout for example mentioned the 'Bestandstwisten, the disastrous year of 1672 and the marriage of William III and Mary Stuart. These events are not reflected in the Marteau-production. The graph of the amount of prohibited publications in Knuttel is way more levelled, while in the graph of the prohibited publications of Weekhout, the year 1650, in which a total number of 18 publications that were prohibited later on, were published (see appendix). In 1650, the Marteau-imprint does not occur in the STCN. This calls for further research: is this peak in the STCN data a coincidence, based on the absence of Marteau-titles in the dataset of the STCN, or is the Marteau-imprint actually less used after the 1680's, when the mature phase of the book trade was full in swing? It is generally understood that most Marteau-titles were published in French, but does the data comply with that? According to the query on languages, it does. 373 titles were published in French. 'French was as much the *lingua franca* of Huguenot refugees, business travellers, and the non-French elites, particularly in The Netherlands and the German speaking lands, as it was in France.'[150] When we look at the titles in Dutch, 17 out of a total of 449 titles come up. Almost all of these titles are published in 1688 (see table in appendix). Apparently, the market for Marteau-publications in Dutch is, compared to the overall Marteau-production, small.

Looking at the list of Marteau-titles, a problem in our dataset occurs. In these lists, we see the same titles occurring. Distinguishing titles into 'original', edition, reprint, volume, reissue, is something that has to be explored more. By using the fingerprint, this could be partially solved. A long-term goal would be to connect these publications, as being versions of the same publication, to an ontology of early modern book production, creating a tree hierarchy in which the relation between authors, publishers and other structured properties, to that exact publication, can be made explicit. While making the RDF-queries, the same queries were, if possible, also entered in the STCN-interface, to check if results would match. This is not entirely feasible, since the bulk download we work with here is from 2012, while the STCN is updated in the meantime. However, in the STCN 39 Marteau-titles for 1688 can be retrieved. The difference of two titles can be explained by the updates that have been made since 2011. Both titles (Pierre Boyer, *De gefalieerde koning, en de prins tegen dank. Of een klaar en bondig bewijs van de onweerdigheid van Jacobus de tweede, om den koninglijken throon te bekleden* (1688) and *De nieuwe test van de trouw der Engels Kerk* ([1688])) mention respectively Pierre Marteau of Pieter Hamer in the field for publishers, so they should have come up in our results.

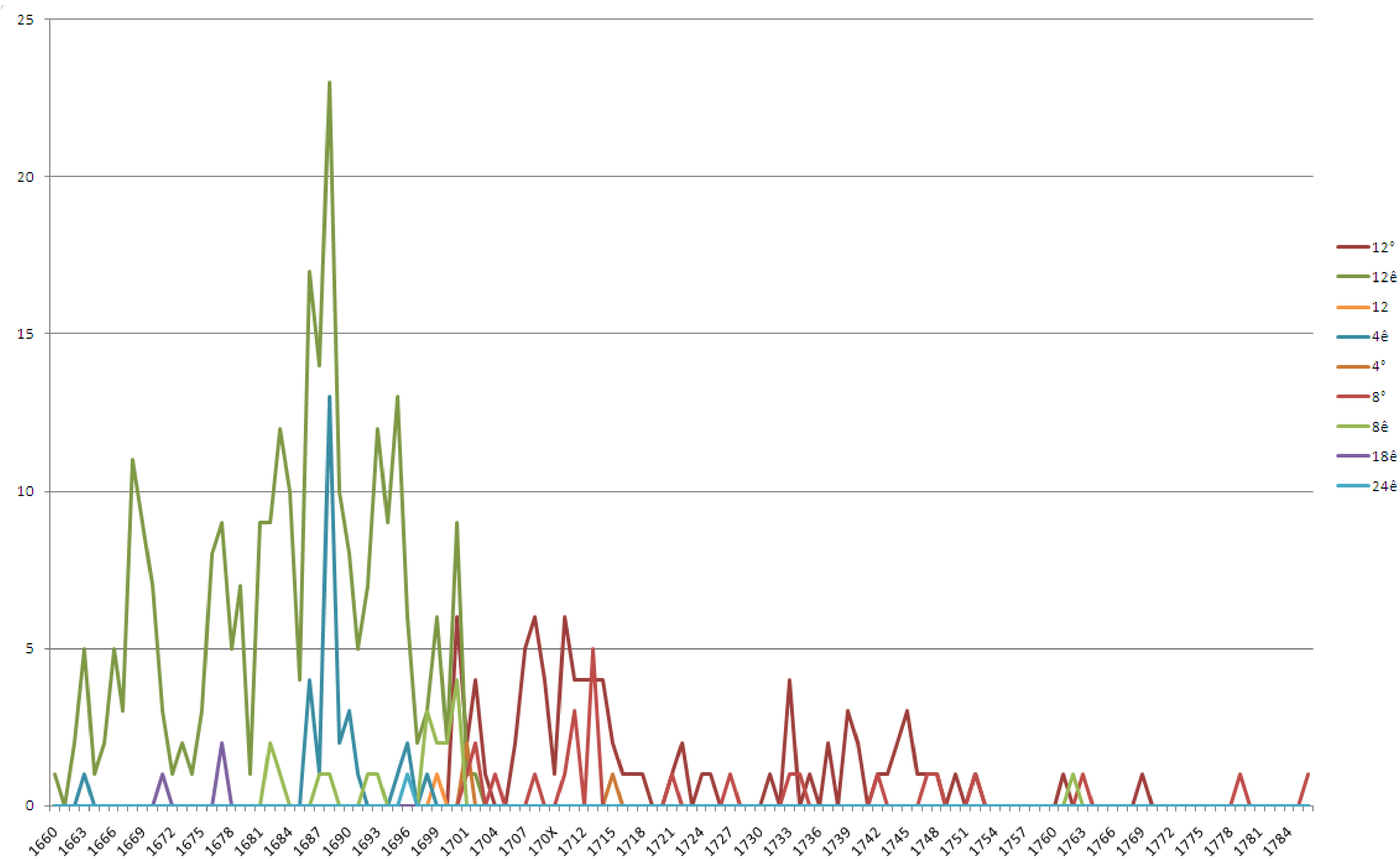
In approaching the Marteau-titles as a strategy that might or might be not used by early modern book producers, it seems insightful to look at several properties that are the described in the bibliography that is the STCN. For example, the subject of a Marteau-publication could be an indication of scandalous content. As expected, subjects connected to French language, literature and history come out on top (see appendix for list). Also, the areas of discussion and controversy of theology, philosophy and political science appear as well, complying with the categories of prohibitions mentioned by Weekhout. In approaching the Marteau-publications as physical objects, the property of size comes into play as well, assuming controversial books needing to be small and easily stowed away. The majority of the Marteau-titles, 82%, is indeed published in the small size of duodecimo. It therefore does seem that the duodecimo size is specific for these Marteau-titles. In the seventeenth century, quarto was used most (almost half of the entries in the STCN, see appendix for exact figures) and in the eighteenth century, octavo was most common (half of the entries in the STCN). Duodecimo did not make up for a large share in both centuries, so we could conclude that the Marteau-titles were relatively small compared to the other publications, which seems logical for books that were not entirely accepted and carried a whiff of scandalousness and controversy. When looking at the development of the use of these sizes in the Marteau production (see graph below), the dominance of the duodecimo size is shown throughout the years in which Marteau titles were published. The quarto size seems to disappear almost after the turn of the century.

[150] Jacob, 'The Clandestine Universe of the Early Eighteenth Century' (2001).

Concerning the size of the books, the collation formula could offer more insight. In this formula, the number of sheets and pages actually are hidden. Converting these formulae into an actual amount of pages and sheets show how bulky the book is. Moreover, gaining more insight in the number of sheets used, could also be advantageous in studying the production processes (and costs!) of publishers. We developed some preliminary work on a program that automatically interprets the collation formula syntax and calculates the resulting number of sheets and pages.[151] This is an especially challenging task due to the irregularity of the collation formulae, which usually follow a basic pattern that can grow in size but also in complexity. In spite of this, we also got some accurate output of the number of sheets and pages with formulas that adjust better to the most common situations.[152]

[151] The collation formula parser source code can be found online at https://github.com/albertmeronyo/CollationParser

[152] The list of calculated numbers of sheets and pages per formula is available at URL: https://raw.github.com/albertmeronyo/CollationParser/master/out.txt



9. Size use in Marteau-publications

Authors linked to Marteau-titles

Next to looking at the information related to the imprints of the publications, the STCN offers us, in some cases, interesting additional information about authors and other book producers involved. It gives us an insight in how these Marteau-publications were put into the market. On the one hand, they were surrounded by secrecy, but on the other hand, apparently there were some pointers to who was involved in the production – at least for the employees of the STCN. Although the official imprint says Pierre Marteau, Cologne, for some publications there are ideas about which publisher was responsible for the publication. STCN-employees have added this information, based on literature.[153]

A total number of 130 authors are ascribed to publications in the corpus of the Marteau production (see list in appendix). Overall, this information is added to the record based on the expertise of the STCN employees, and does not appear as such on the title page. Of these authors, Pierre Jurrieu indeed is listed on the Knuttel and Weekhout-lists, with his *L'esprit de Mr. Arnaud,* published in 1684 and interesting enough, according to both Knuttel and Weekhout, prohibited in 1683. Apparently the text of the decree refers to an edition of 1683.[154] Roger de Bussy Rabutin appears twice in Knuttels list, with *Histoire amoureux des Gaules,* prohibited in 1669 by both Rotterdam as Holland, and with *Comédie galante de M. de B.* (1667), prohibited in 1669 by Rotterdam and Leiden.

The French calviniste Anne-Marguerite Petit Du Noyer (1663-1719) can be accounted for most of the Marteau-publications. Her reports of the negations of the Peace of Utrecht were read and admired all over Europe. She was born a protestant, converted to Catholicism, and then back to Calvinism. Forced to leave France, she first moved to Geneva, then to The Hague. Amongst her connections was Voltaire. The majority of her work is published under the imprint of Marteau, for example her *Mémoires* (5 volumes, 1707-1711) and *Lettres historiqe et Galantes* (2 volumes, 1707). Of the 26 publications in the STCN, 22 carry the Marteau-imprint, of which 8 titles suggest the involvement of Pieter Husson (The Hague), according to the STCN-employees. In her *Lettres,* Du Noyer created a critical 'anatomie de la France', of the end of the reign of Louis XIV, represented in a fictitious correspondence between a Parisian woman and a woman from the provinces. In her *Mémoires,* she focused on social, political, moral and religious matters as well, trying to trace back the way mentalities had developed. She discussed women's rights, tolerance and freedom of thought.[155] The output of French novelist Gatien de Courtilz de Sandras (1644-1712) included short stories, tales of historical love affairs (*Les Intrigues amoureuses de la Cour de France*, 1684), historical and political works and biographies His memoir-novels (*Mémoires de M.L.C.D.R.*, 1687; *Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan*, 1700; *Mémoires de M. de B.*; 1711) described the social and political world of Richelieu and Mazarin, in which spying and kidnapping were known tactics. Courtilz de Sandras was imprisoned

[153] For example, in the case of the publications of the Elzevier publisher family information out of these bibliographies is used: A.C.J. Willems, *Les Elzevier : histoire et annales typographiques* (Brussel 1880, herdruk 1962) and E. Rahir, *Catalogue d'une collection unique de volumes imprimés par les Elzevier et divers typographes hollandais du XVIIe siècle* (Paris 1896).
[154] Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden,* 40.
[155] URL: http://www.siefar.org/dictionnaire/fr/Anne-Marguerite_Petit [consulted June 28, 2013].

several times in the Bastille. Most of Courtilz' work was published under the Marteau-imprint as well.[156] Out of his 101 publications (see appendix) that can be found in the STCN, 46 carry the Marteau-imprint, or an imprint that is affiliated to this fictitious imprint (Jean du Paèis, Pierre Le Vray, etc.). In the rest of the corpus, the name of bookseller Henri van Bulderen (The Hague) pops out, who is linked to 22 of the titles that mention Courtilz as an author. Both DuNoyer as Courtilz at some point in their life travelled to Holland to get their works published in the Republic. Dutch diplomat Abraham de Wicquefort (1606-1682) resided at the court of Lodewijk XIII for 32 years (from 1626 onwards), in that period being present at the negotiations about the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Cardinal Mazarin accused De Wicquefort of passing on information about Louis' mistresses to Holland and put him in the Bastille. After three months, De Wicquefort was released and went back to The Hague, where he found his patron in Johan de Witt, who had assigned him as Holland's historian in 1662. However, yet again, he was accused of spying and put in the Gevangenpoort. After four years, De Wicquefort managed to escape and wrote his *Mémoires* and his *L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions,* which was translated into English.[157] 38 titles of De Wicquefort can be found in the STCN, of which 11 with the imprint of Pierre Marteau, Cologne. What would be interesting to investigate further is exactly how the titles of one author could be distinguished between Marteau and non-Marteau, or: what kind of titles get the Marteau-imprint, and what kind of titles do not?

Publishers linked to Marteau-titles

There are 129 titles with the imprint Marteau, to which other publishers have been added by STCN-employees. In the list of publishers linked to Marteau (see appendix), the total number of publications adds up to 187. This can be explained some occurrences in which the same titles is linked to multiple book producers. Not all of these characteristics are informative: 's.l.s.n. place and name not stated', for example. The list of book producers that were involved in the imprint Marteau is interesting on a number of levels.

Firstly, it is interesting to look at the top three book producers that come up in this list of connections with the Marteau-imprint. Daniel Elzevier comes up as the most productive publisher in the Marteau-corpus of the STCN, active from 1655 to 1681. Van Eeghen stated that with his death, an era of the early modern book trade ended ('Met de dood van Elzevier in 1680 eindigde, zoals zijn tijdgenoten verkondigden, een tijdperk').[158] He was born in Leiden, in 1626, as son of the bookseller of Bonaventura Elsevier and Sara van Ceulen. In 1652-1655, Daniel Elzevier took over the book shop of his father Bonaventura and his uncle Abraham, together with his cousin Johannes Elzevier. This collaboration did not work out, with Johannes being mainly focused on printing. Daniel Elzevier married his second cousin via the Elzevier branch, Anna Beerninck, in 1655 in Utrecht. Via his marriage, Daniel could tap into to Amsterdam market, when he got into business with his wife's uncle (and his cousin) Louis

[156] B.J. Woodbrigde, 'Biographical notes on Gatien de Courtilz, sieur du Verger', in: *Modern Language Notes* 30 (1915) 136-139.
[157] A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* 20 (1852-1878) 178-181.
[158] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel* 5, 83.

Elzevier. Daniel Elzevier became a member of the Amsterdam guild in 1655.[159] From that moment, the Amsterdam branch became the most important Elzevier location.[160] In Amsterdam, Daniel consolidated the role he played in Leiden as well: keeping in touch with a wide network of authors and booksellers in Europe. The catalogue of his stock in 1674 included 20,000 titles and the auctioning catalogue that was composed after his death, was one of the biggest (600 pages) of the seventeenth century. After Daniel Elzevier's death, lots of debts were open, for some historians reason to believe business had stagnated near his death. Adriaan Moetjens owed him 4258 *gulden* for books bought at a previous auction.[161] Elzevier's position concerning censorship is somewhat ambiguous. He published a pamphlet in which he expressed his concerns about how libels that were being published possibly could damage the Dutch book trade. He appeared to have a secret agenda, however, seeing a function as censor (commissioned by the French king) for himself.[162] It is even more interesting that he comes up as the publisher to which the Marteau-imprint is mostly linked. Elzevier's titles linked to the Marteau-imprint make up almost 2 percent of the total production. He published these titles ten to fifteen years into his career, on average. In terms of size, (12°) these titles fit into the rest of the production of Elzevier. Also concerning subjects as French history and French literature, the Marteau-titles do not differ from the other titles. Browsing through Elzevier's titles in the STCN, some interesting connections to authors come up: Elzevier published 22 publications of Descartes. Abraham Wolfgang (active 1658-1694) was born in Amsterdam as a son of Joost Henricxsz Wolfgang, candle maker, and Toentje Lantsay. He married Anna de la Fontaine in 1658. Wolfgang started out as a bookseller, but also had a printing business at his disposal later on. Van Eeghen mentions a subpoema in his first year of book selling. Apparently, he had sold several satirical writings and was fined with 5 *gulden.* In the fall of that year, he joined the booksellers' guild. However, he did not only had negative contacts with authorities. Wolfgang acquired a privilege for *Abregé chronologique de l'historie de France par le Sr. de Mezeray* (1673-1674), and for *Le Grand dictionaire by J.L. d'Arsy* (1682)*,* a publication he had bought on an auction before. That first title was valued on 5 *gulden,* while the right of copy was sold for 5,000 *gulden* at an auction after Wolfgang's death. [163] Wolfgang's Marteau-linked publications make up just over one percent of the total production of Wolfgang. He published these titles basically throughout his career. In terms of size (12°), these titles fit into the rest of the production of Wolfgang. And just as in the Elzevier-corpus, the subjects of the Marteau-titles of Wolfgang do not really differ from his other work. Our third publisher, Adriaen Moetjens, was bookseller between 1680 and 1717 in The Hague, using the shopsign 'Franse Boeck-wincel'. Moetjens was especially interested in translating French novels.[164] During his career, he was linked to a number of authors that worked in the clandestine circuit and were known for their burlesque writings: Jean Cronier, Louis Cavigny de la Bretonnière (both 1 publication under the Marteau-

[159] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725* 3 (1965) 112-122.
[160] B.P.M. Dongelmans, P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst (ed.), *Boekverkopers van Europa. Het 17de-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen 2000) 12.
[161] Dongelmans e.a., *Boekverkopers van Europa,* 50.
[162] Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 148.
[163] Idem.
[164] Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 65.

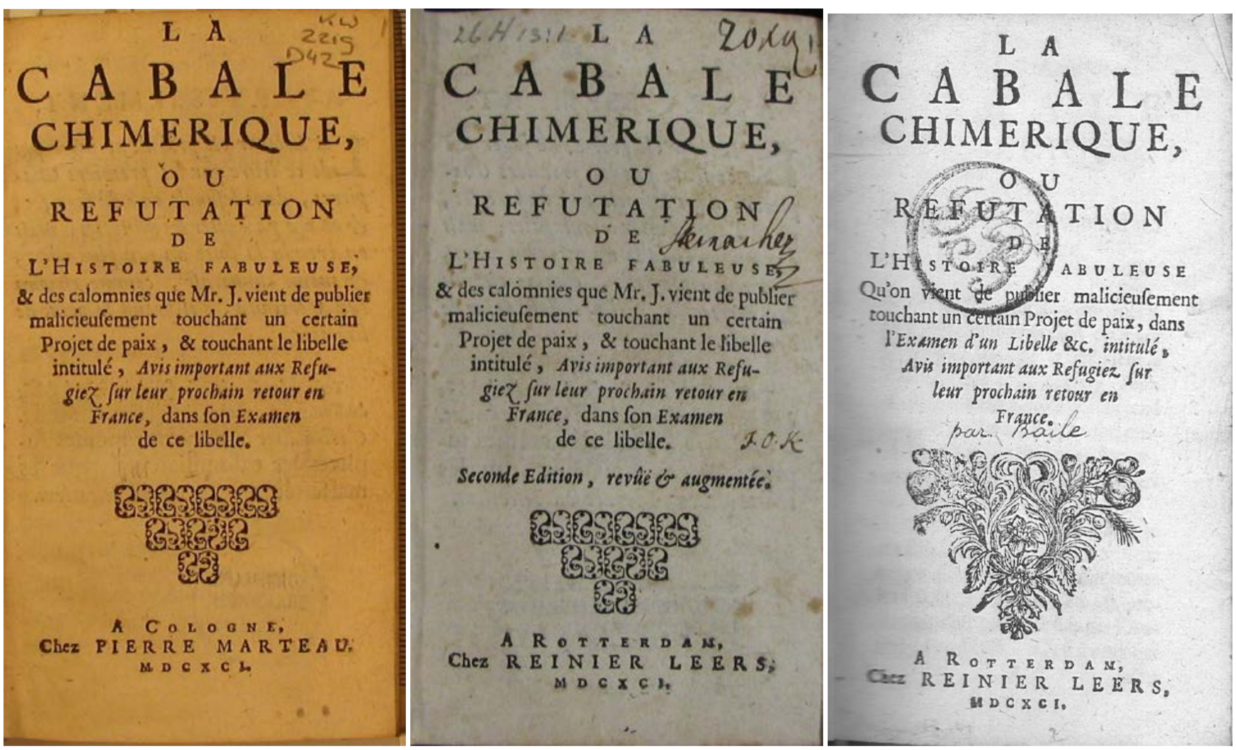
imprint and not to be found in the STCN) and the already mentioned Gatien de Courtilz de Sandras.[165] Moetjens had cooperated with Abraham Wolfgang on *Actes et memories des negotiations de la paix de Nimegue,* of which the Moetjens branches published the volumes both in Nijmegen as in The Hague. For Moetjens, we retrieve 229 (opposed to 242 entries in the STCN) titles in our database. The Marteau-titles of which Moetjens is suspected to be the publisher add up to 2.6 percent of his total production. These titles were mostly published in the first 5 years of his career. Moetjens already published a lot of small books, so in that respect the Marteau-titles do not differ from the rest of his corpus. There is a focal point in theology and religion in his total production, although the historical Marteau-titles do not fall entirely out of place.

Secondly, what might be interesting as well, are the producers that are 'only' linked to a few publications with the Marteau imprint. How many other of their titles appear in the STCN and does the number of Marteau-publications make a fair share of their production? Barent Beeck is listed as a book seller in The Hague in the STCN, active between 1682 and 1692. 27 publications come up, in which we also encounter 5 publications ascribed to Pierre Jurrieu, mentioned both in relation to Marteau-imprints in the STCN, as in the lists of Knuttel and Weekhout. The Marteau-publication to which he is linked, *La morale d'Epicure* is published in 1691, somewhat at the end of his career we can reconstruct by means of the STCN. Pieter de Vries, listed both as book seller and as printer in the STCN, active between 1703 and 1723 in Rotterdam, is linked to 34 entries in the STCN and seems to be mostly involved in producing poetry (28 entries). The Marteau-title to which he is linked, *Harlequin met de rarekiek* is published in 1708, early on in his activities as printer/book seller. And then Paulus Warnaer, listed as an Amsterdam printer between 1663 and 1676, producing the Marteau-title to which he is linked, *Recueil des actions et parolles memorables de Philippe second roy d'Espagne*, in 1671. Just like the two book producers mentioned before, the 'Marteau-production' of Warnaer seems to be truly incidental, in relation to the number of 28 of his titles in the STCN. The titles range between subjects of history, theology, poetry and literature.

Lastly, in having a closer look at the kind of publications with a Marteau-imprint, for example in the case of the producers who are incidentally linked to Marteau, an interesting publishing practice comes up. The book seller Barent Beeck mentioned before, comes up in the list of producers linked to a Marteau entry in the STCN, with one publication: *La morale d'Epicure,* ascribed to Jacques Parrain and published in 1691 with the imprint: Cologne, P. Marteau, 1691. However, this was a reissue of an edition of 1686, which then had carried the imprint: La Haye, B. Beek bookseller, 1686 (there is an edition of 1686 in the STCN, but this entry mentions a different finger print). Apparently, the need was felt to provide the old edition with a new title page, mentioning Marteau. When looking into other reissues of Marteau-titles to which a book producer is added by STCN-employees, we encounter more of these cases. *Le berger fidele,* ascribed to Giovanni Guarini, was published with the imprint Cologne, P. Du Marteau, 1677, reissued with imprint Cologne, P. Marteau, 1686 (same finger print), but a few years after, was published with imprints: Amsterdam, A. Wolfgang, 1689, La Haye and A. Troyel bookseller, 1702 (being different editions, not reissues). Another case is *La religion ancienne et modern des moscovites,* ascribed to

165 Ibidem, 286-290.

Michael van Oppenbusch, imprint Cologne, P. Marteau, 1698, which was a reissue of the edition with imprint Amsterdam, J.L. de Lorme bookseller, 1698. In this case, within the same year, it was decided that the publication had to be put in the market with a different title page, mentioning Marteau. Pierre Bayle's *La cabale chimerique, ou Refutation de l'histoire fabuleuse, & des calomnies que mr. J. vient de publier malicieusement [...] dans son Examen de ce libelle* is another example of a publication that was published both with and without a Marteau imprint: Cologne, P. Marteau, 1691 and Rotterdam, R. Leers, 1691. These publications have the same finger print and are understood to be one and the same. The title page that mentions Reinier Leers as the book producers involved, also mentions the publication as being the second enlarged edition. There seems to be one original edition, with imprint Rotterdam, R. Leers, 1691. 'Mr. J.' is identified as Pierre Jurrieu, an author we encountered earlier on. Author Antoin Fauvelet du Toc was ascribed to *Histoire secrete. De Henry, duc de Rohan, pair de France,* with imprint Cologne, P. Marteau bookseller, 1697. However, this was a reissue of the edition that was published thirty years earlier: Amsterdam, A. Wolfgang, 1667. For Bayle's *La cabale chimerique,* the title pages of the three occurrences of the title were retrieved. The title pages look more or less the same (between original and second edition), except for the difference in imprint. The two title pages on the left are the reissues.



LA CABALE CHIMERIQUE, OU REFUTATION DE L'HISTOIRE FABULEUSE, & des calomnies que Mr. J. vient de publier malicieusement touchant un certain Projet de paix, & touchant le libelle intitulé, *Avis important aux Refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France*, dans son Examen de ce libelle.

A COLOGNE, Chez PIERRE MARTEAU. MDCXCI.

LA CABALE CHIMERIQUE, OU REFUTATION DE L'HISTOIRE FABULEUSE, & des calomnies que Mr. J. vient de publier malicieusement touchant un certain Projet de paix, & touchant le libelle intitulé, *Avis important aux Refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France*, dans son Examen de ce libelle.

Seconde Edition, revûë & augmentée.

A ROTTERDAM, Chez REINIER LEERS, MDCXCI.

LA CABALE CHIMERIQUE, OU REFUTATION DE L'HISTOIRE FABULEUSE Qu'on vient de publier malicieusement touchant un certain Projet de paix, dans l'*Examen d'un Libelle* &c. intitulé, *Avis important aux Refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France.*

par Baile

A ROTTERDAM, Chez REINIER LEERS, MDCXCI.

10. Title pages of Bayle's *La cabale chimerique*

And lastly, of the anonymous *Fautes des deux cotez, par rapport a cequi s'est passé depuis peu en Angleterre,* the same edition appeared in 1711 with both Cologne, P. Marteau, 1711 and Rotterdam, Fritsch and Böhm, 1711 as imprint (same finger print). The cases mentioned here show how the usage of the Marteau-imprint was apparently played with and could possibly function on two levels: either for a producer to test if the content would be unquestionable enough to be ‘openly’ published later on, or for a producer to appeal to mechanisms in which scandalousness and suspicion could boost sales. Approaching the Marteau-imprint as an innovative strategy indicates how the producers and readers of Darnton’s communications’ circuit are connected to the centre of the same circuit and interact with political and legal sanctions, intellectual influences and publicity.

To see what the converted STCN data had to offer in terms of possibilities of querying and linking, the case study of the scandalous book was used. We have explored the different bibliographic properties that can be found in the STCN, such as size, language, subject, and so on. The publishers that were connected to Marteau-titles seem to be an interesting starting point and the role these titles play in their overall production and career should be studied exhaustively. The same goes for Marteau-titles that were ascribed to certain authors and the way their work was linked to an Marteau-imprint – or not. The queries mentioned above only serve as a starting point for further research on the way publishers could have used certain properties to make their publications recognizable as scandalous and somewhat controversial, therefore attractive for buyers. We have touched upon networks (which publishers are often linked to controversial authors), physical appearance of the Marteau-titels (the duodecimo format) and the practice of reissuing publications with a title page on which the Marteau-imprint is added or deleted.

An important future focus in this kind of research on publishers’ strategies might be the way – in this case scandalous – concepts change. As mentioned before, the title page, specifically the title, plays a major role in the physical appearance and recognisability of a book. In this study, we have not touched upon the question to what extent the title might refer to scandalousness. Are their certain words that are often used in the Marteau-titles and in relation to what kind of subject are they used? And: how do the words used most often develop? Words as ‘critique’, or ‘galante’, are excellent examples of often used concepts, whose occurrence might be interesting to have a closer look at. In the queries above and in the appendix, several lists, tables, graphs, networks, etc. were considered. In the future, these ways of analysing and visualising, namely (1) clustering and counting, (2) networks, (3) development in time, (4) retrieving typographic material, should come together, preferably in a clear interface. The connection between query and output is now based on the sparql-language, but should be developed into a more user-friendly way of questioning the database, connecting all four ways of analysis and visualization mentioned above.

Conclusions, challenges and reservations

At the end of this embedded research project, we are just at the beginning of understanding early modern publishers' strategies by using the STCN data. This project first and foremost was of an exploratory nature. The STCN has been converted into RDF and the first queries have been tested. Also, the first steps in linking other datasets to the STCN have been taken. The statistical relevance of the results presented here has not been proven yet. However, the queries that we present did offer us new ways of browsing through the data. Using RDF allows us to connect datasets, while the provenance of the data stays intact. Linked Open Data is not about importing the STCN-data and creating your own data base in excel or access, for your own particular research questions. This project therefore was about creating a database for all kinds of purposes, even to answer those kinds of questions we have not thought of – yet.

The research question that was asked at the beginning of this project (could it be that book producers managed to use scandalous concepts to make their publications more attractive?) remains to be answered. We enriched the data about scandalous books by looking at two relatively small corpora: the lists of forbidden books of Knuttel and Weekhout on the one hand and the specific fictitious imprint of Marteau on the other hand. We only started to explore the distinctive characteristics of these titles, focusing mainly on the bibliographical information and not yet on linguistic and typographical concepts, let alone confront them with the rest of a publisher's production. How the various publishers that used the Marteau-imprint, contributed to a recognizable 'scandalous' genre, is a question that still needs to be answered. So, other than a bunch of 'not yets', what has this project delivered? First of all, it has strengthened the collaboration between historians and computer scientists, exploring ways of contributing to each others' fields of research. Secondly, we have gained more insight in the possibilities and difficulties of converting (and working with) STCN-data. The research question, although not nearly fully answered, did offer a focus for digging into the data. Thirdly, by trying to link (small) datasets to the converted STCN, we discovered where difficulties in these kinds of processes lie. Fourthly, by presenting this project in various stages, to various audiences, we were able to get acquainted with sensitivities, wishes, critique etc. in dealing with the STCN the way we do. Overall, the profits of this study might be found more on the methodological and theoretical level of producing knowledge, than on the concrete level of answering the specific research question the study started out with. Integrating computer science in the humanities research does force both fields to evaluate their methods. We need to ask ourselves how, and in which phase of research we want to use collections of data: to explore our field of research and possibly discover new patterns, or to explain these patterns? Both 'uses' of data ask for entirely different ways of approaching the datasets.

The STCN of course is made with and based on expert knowledge. In different phases of the project, we consulted several people either involved or working with the STCN. Remarks were made both on a substantial as a technical level. Book historians have stressed the importance of expert knowledge in conversing and using the database. They have expressed concerns about looking at these early modern books and descriptions without being really embedded within the research field of book history. Paul Dijstelberge (UvA) for example was worried about how the conversed dataset could be synced with the STCN as it is constantly updated. Also, he thought that the descriptions in the STCN might offer a lot of information, but that this information is too general and not specific enough. The KMC that describes typography for example, really only is about the form of the title page, the typeface and the presence of illustrations, information that is quite difficult to relate to genre formation. According to him, typographical research offers the most significant results when executed in autopsy. In general, the book historians and STCN-group expressed sensitivities regarding historical information in the STCN we need to take notice of. Therefore, it is important to engage book historians or book experts into our research. Contact with the STCN (Marieke van Delft and Marja Smolenaars in particular) has been established to address these reservations, to make sure the updated data will be integrated, to look into matters of statistical relevance, to discuss the progress that has been made in the collation formula parser, etc.

Several aspects of the project are worth of continuing further research on. First, the possibilities of creating ontologies for book production, book distribution and book consumption need to be explored. We can gain insight in what the data represents by developing a tree hierarchy, or an authoritative conceptualization of the relation between the publications, its settings and editions, by using the fingerprint. Basically, such an ontology will explicit the way expert browse through the STCN and recognize editions. The (revised) communications' circuit could serve as an example. Secondly, connecting the STCN with semantic databases as Wordnet/Cornetto and WNT (Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal) will allow us to connect to the field of Computational Linguistics and answer questions on concept spread (i.e. the (dis)appearance of the word 'Critique' in titles of specific genres). Thirdly, contacts and collaboration with other projects that use the same kind of formats need to be continued. Ecartico, about painters in the Golden Age, is a perfect example of a project with similar goals and research questions. Lastly, the dataset needs to be published and opened up for fellow researchers, but also further curated in RDF form so that it can also be queried by programs. Next to considering various interfaces and visualizations, this means dealing with institutional and organizational restrictions (e.g. of general catalogues).

In discussing Digital Humanities and the use of so-called 'big data' in the humanities research, concerns about possibilities are mostly centered around five themes: generability, scalability (since humanities data is still relatively small), correction of the data, integration of different domains and the involvement of end users. The use of computer science does create new kind of knowledge routes, at the same time challenging our old routes and forcing scholars to evaluate their methods of research. It is important to address tensions that arise within these themes and decide step by step how to deal with them, in order to make full use of possibilities computer science can offer to the humanities.

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