This is not a paper about Zabarella's philosophy, but the history of its mediation to Northern Europe, through the activities of editors, printer-publishers and the operation of the Frankfurt book fair. It raises the question of intellectual property, and the reasons behind the adoption of certain Italian texts rather than others in the period 1580–1620.

I begin with a few salient facts about the economic, commercial and legal aspects of book production in the sixteenth century. All publication began with copy to be printed and published; to set production in train, the first thing to pay for was the paper, the cost of which represented about half the total cost of production, as against 14%–20% in the case of modern books. Only then did the labour costs of the printing workshop come into question; and these could be to some degree discounted by giving the printer a share in the eventual print run. In the case of learned books, many authors oversaw the proofs of their own works, although the larger printing houses had their own 'corrector', who was usually an eminent scholar. The choice of format reflected in large part the choice of market (folio was reserved for commemorative publication or large-scale reference works, aimed at the institutional market or rich collectors; smaller formats were aimed at a broader market). The last part of the book to be printed were the preliminaries (the titlepage and first gathering). This contained what I shall call the 'paratext': that is, liminary prefaces and poems, dedications, and references to licences or permissions. These materials, as well as the information given on the titlepage, may indicate all or some of the following: the targeted readership, the sources of financing, the genre of the book and its place in the market, and the relation of the work to previous works of the same kind.

Once printed, the book entered the book market, usually by being presented in one of the great Book Fairs. International publishers and printer-publishers usually not only had warehouses of books in the Book Fair cities, but also their own shops as outlets in certain places. They engaged widely in Tauschhandel (the practice of swapping page
for page of printed material in the same format with other publishers), which relieved their problems of cash flow and turned them into booksellers or at least book dealers; but it was possible to be no more than a publisher, or no more than a bookseller, or no more than a printer. In some cases, the books they advertised would be protected from piracy by a licence or ‘privilege’. These were very expensive legal instruments, and were usually only obtained if it was thought both that the work or works in question would be commercially successful as a monopoly product, and that piracy was therefore likely. They could be held by the author, the producer (i.e. editor), or the printer-publisher. They were usually only issued for new works or ‘improved’ works; they protected the book in a given jurisdiction; for example the Holy Roman Empire, or the state of Venice.\footnote{On the various points made here, see Ian Maclean, ‘The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in northern Europe, 1570–1630’, above, pp. 9–23; K. Schottenloher, ‘Die Druckprivilegien des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts’, Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 19 (1933), 89–111; Elizabeth Armstrong, Before copyright: the French book-privilege system 1498–1526, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; R.J.W. Evans, The Wechel presses; humanism and Calvinism in central Europe 1572–1627, Past and Present Supplement 2, Oxford, 1975; Friedrich Kapp, Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1889, esp. pp. 448–521; Johann Goldfriedrich, Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 1648–1740, Leipzig: Verlag des deutschen Börsenvereins, 1908, pp. 89ff.; Ulrich Engelhardt, Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1492–1806), Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1970.}

I intend to investigate the publication of Zabarella in the period 1578 and 1623 in the light of these points, taking the Opera logica, the De rebus naturalibus and the Commentaries separately. Under the first I shall discuss the place of Zabarella’s work in the context of both works on a posteriori demonstration and logic tables; in the second I shall look at the other Italian candidates for dissemination as general textbooks on natural philosophy, before offering some general conclusions about Zabarella’s mediation in my chosen period. But first of all I must introduce you to the major players—editors, printers and publishers—in the story I shall tell, and give you some information about their confessional affiliations, their ideological commitments, and their contacts with each other.

Giulio Pace (1550–1635) was one of the most distinguished logicians and jurists of his generation. He was a pupil of Zabarella at Padua who fled because of his Calvinist persuasions to Geneva, where he taught for a time at the Academy of Geneva, before leaving in 1585 to go to