**Text, Textuality and Digital Media**
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Lecture # 13
**Robert Darnton: 'What is the History of Books?'**

In this lecture, we are going to look at few essays by Robert Darnton, he~~this~~ is a very important scholar in the field of book history, and through his essays we will try to get a closer view of the exact circumstances, exact conditions through which books are prepared and circulated within Europe.

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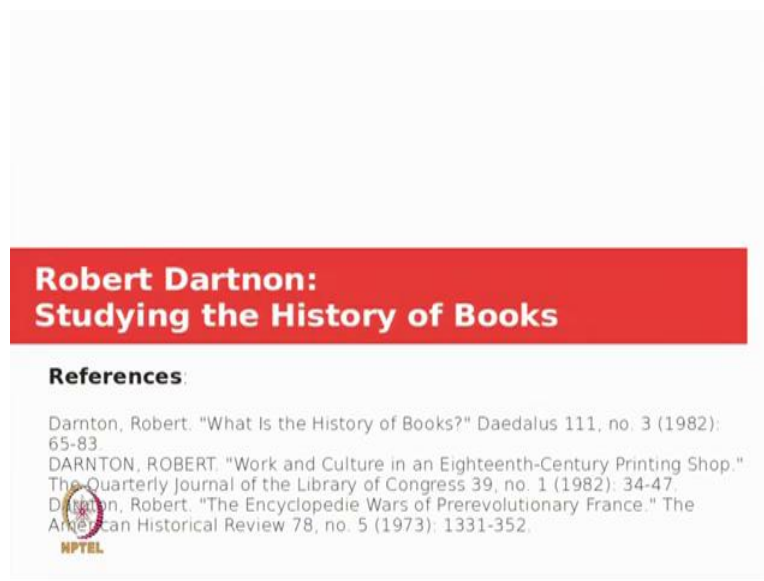
There are some important insights, his work is primarily, Robert Darnton's work is primarily to do with history of French books but the importance of it would be relevant to other nations within other regions of Europe at that point of time primarily the 18th century, the early 18th century.
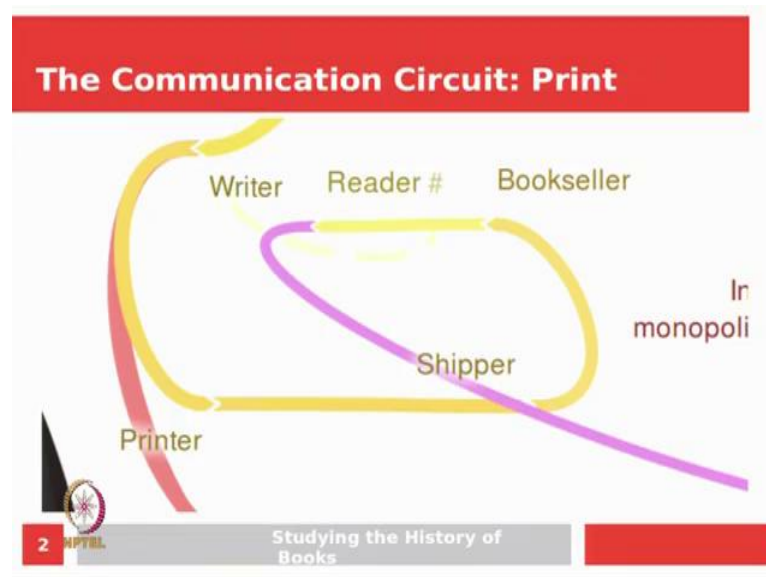
And through his study of ~~the~~ print he tries to create a kind of diagram or a kind of understanding of how the printing circuit actually operates, so that is the writer and there is a printer and then you have the printer prints and then the shipper, someone transports the books to various booksellers so the books would get printed in one particular place within a specific place and the bookseller would sell the books and these booksellers would be ~~(()) (1:51)~~dotted all across a greater region.

Important to note that well and truly by the 18th century the vernaculars have got established, we have moved on from the preeminence of Latin to the vernacular and therefore the spread of a particular book would have got reduced, Latin would have a pan-European readership whereas ~~you know~~ books written in French ~~f~~.
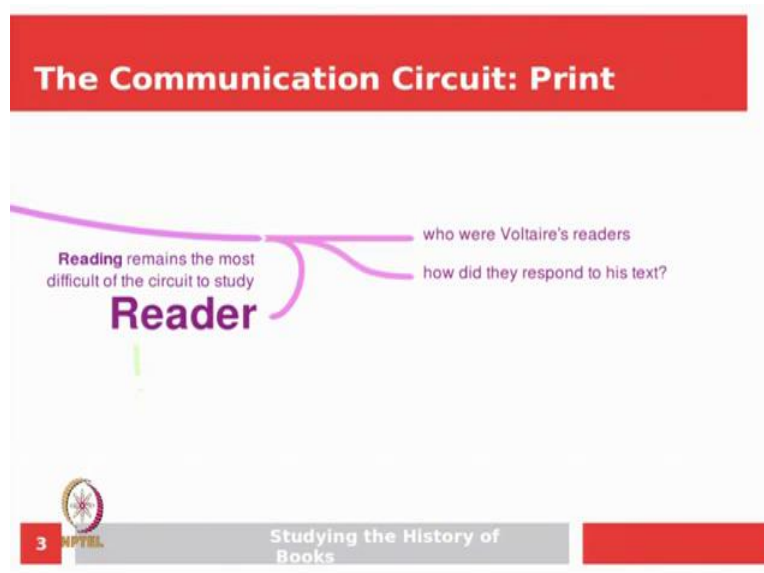
~~F~~or example, ~~it~~ would be read primarily within the area that we know as present day France.

~~,T~~there would be some readers elsewhere but that would be few and far between people who would know several languages, but primarily we are looking at a kind of a bilingual audience, or a monolingual audience, people who would know only French or would know French and Latin and therefore, most of the time the distribution of the printing would take place within a certain geography, though interesting for Darnton is that books do get printed also in Switzerland, French books, that is the language and that crossing of boundar~~ies~~ is very interesting because that is the French people part which is outside the purview of the French kingdom or the French nation and therefore outside the laws of France.

So, whatever is not permitted to be printed within France could be printed in Switzerland and brought into France and this large part of today's lecture we are going to look at the intrigues involved in this process of piracy one would say and the bookseller, from the bookseller one would go to the reader and from the reader there would be further sort of feedback back to the writer.

So that is the kind of a-- actually there is no connection here within the diagram between the reader and the writer but the reader would has no direct contact, just in the way the writer has with the printer or the printer has with the bookseller or the shipper, there is no direct contact between the writer and the reader it is a larger feedback loop that takes place. That is the communication circuit as far as Darnton, as Darnton sketche is it.

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The Communication Circuit: Print

who were Voltaire's readers

Reading remains the most difficult of the circuit to study

how did they respond to his text?

Reader

3   NPTEL   Studying the History of Books

An important (()) (4:42) is the reader but the reader is very difficult within the circuit to study, it's very difficult to figure out because for the other people

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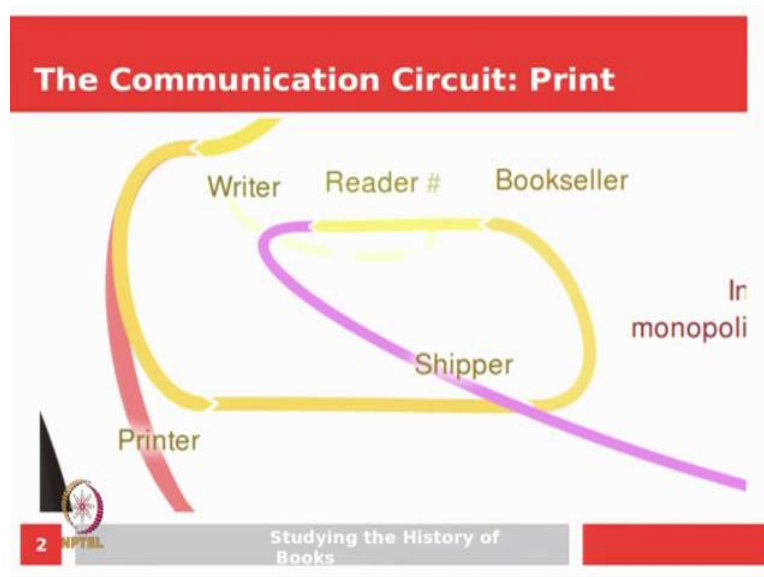
When we are studying the history of books when anybody who wants to any of you who may want to take up book a history as a research theme, may want to consider this that you know we know we have access to the papers of the writers, we can have access to, in fact Dornton looks at the various letters and communications that takes place between the printer, the bookseller, the shipper. So there is a way to actually gauge what are the important decision-making parameters for each of these players, but for the reader it is far more difficult.

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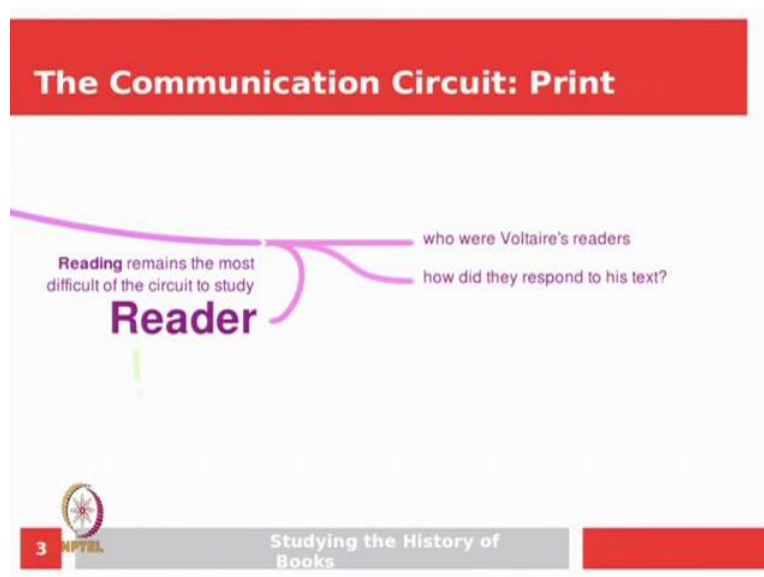
Because you can probably read particular readers, you can read reviews, but the reviews is that of a particular reader, it's not all readers or certainly not a cross section of

leaders. For example, the author important author Voltaire, we do not know who his readers were or how people responded to his text, this is something that is very difficult to really figure out, so this is the very difficult part of ~~getting a~~studying of book history.

I am referring to this specifically because this kind of archival fact of book history ~~is~~ undergoes a great degree of change with the coming of the social media, with the coming of social media it probably becomes easier to study the reader, but more about that when we come to the study of the digital media later on within the course, that is where we are headed for the moment.

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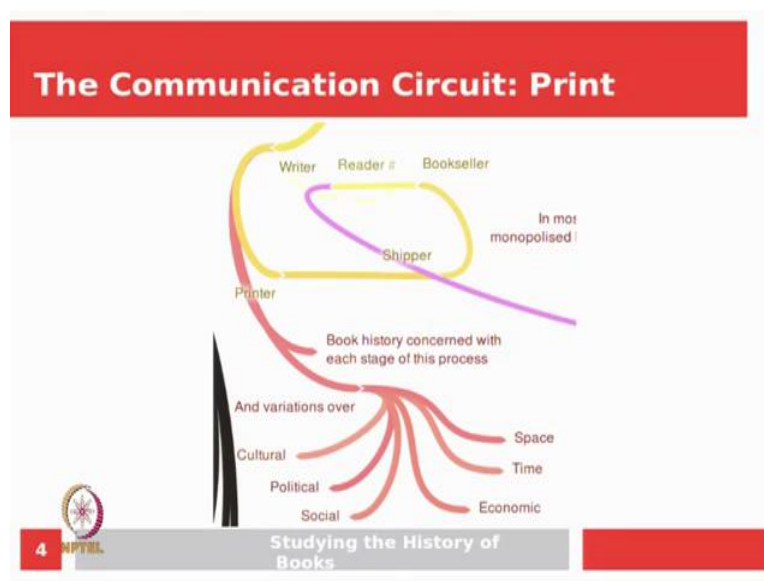
So, what we really understand that each of these issues that we are studying are going to add to our understanding, our analysis of the present-day state of digital media, but more about that in future lectures, but we will look at some specific things which are he~~rear~~. So, book history is concerned with each stage of the process and the variations over you know how the change over~~of the~~ space, time, economics as well as social, cultural and political changes which actually change ~~(()) (7:33)~~bring about an alteration of the role and the understanding that each of these actors within the communication circuit actually brings in.

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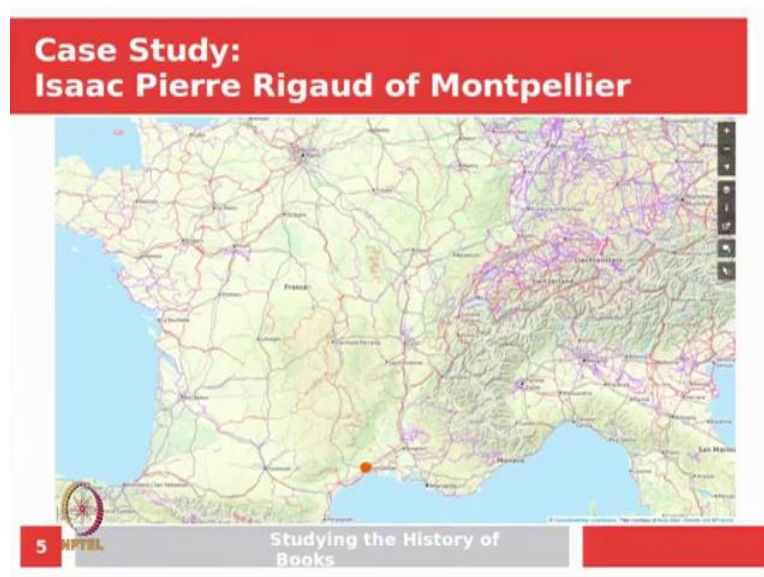
So, he undertakes a case study of a particular bookseller who is in the southern France the coastal city of Montpellier, Isaac Pierre Rigaud.

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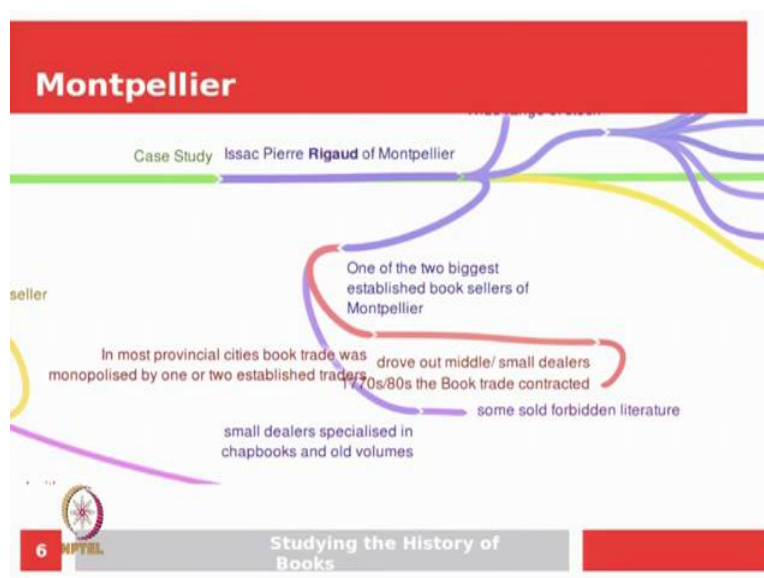
And Pierre Rigaud, he was a very important bookseller of Montpellier one of the biggest most established booksellers and because it was a provincial town here he says that the book trade was monopolized by a few important traders and Rigaud was one of them and they drove out because of their ability to bring in a certain amount of money, invest a certain amount of money, they were able to drive out smaller middle dealers from the book trade. So, this was a kind of a feature.

So the smaller booksellers in order to survive they sold forbidden literature, so they had to~~-- it is~~ the smaller dealers then did not deal with the big books because they could not make the bucks because it's easier and this is true of the way corporate world actually has shaped up and worked today is that the bigger players are able to push out competition through pricing and this is something that we are going to see later on in the lecture, how price force are able to drive out competitors because remember we are dealing with a particular world here where you know there could be multiple printings, multiple editions of a singular book.

We have not yet come to that state of copyright w~~h~~ere one particular text can be printed by only ~~but~~ one particular printer, ~~th~~at copyright principle as is yet to get established to that great degree. We will study copyright later on in the course but for now you will understand that a large part of the trade was to ensure that your market is not ~~sort of ~~sullied~~olid~~, so there is a possibility that the same book would be available for multiple printers and they would be differently priced.

So, therefore price ~~force~~wars become very important and they could ruin businesses, so it is the bigger players who are able to offer a better price, this is the capitalistic mode of production exactly what ~~(()) (10:56)~~Dryden was against as we saw in the previous lecture that as the capitalist mode of production, price, profit, plays a very important role.

So, small dealers they could not deal with the more established bookmaking trade, they specialized in chapbooks and old volumes, and they also sold some forbidden literature~~s~~, literature which has been banned by the political authorities, within France, within ~~USA ~~Western Europe one important point about forbidding literature ~~is as about~~has got to do with the divide between the Protestant and the Catholics.

 So, now France is interesting, it is a Catholic country but it is surrounded by Protestant countries~~- ~~-Switzerland for example~~-~~ and so it is possible that literature would come in from, literature that is forbidden in France can~~and~~ come in from Switzerland.

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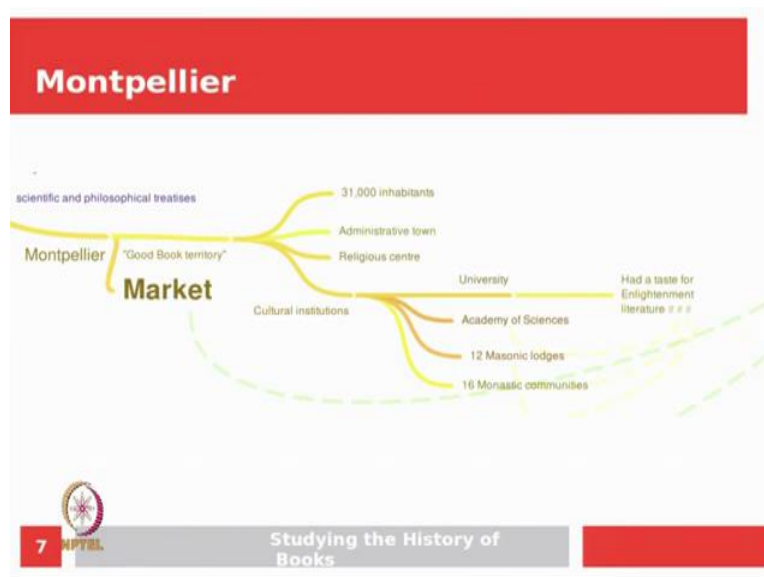
Now a closer look at Montpellier, Montpellier is an industry you know where you have within Montpellier there were some 31,000 inhabitants, it's a small town, it's an administrative town and it was a religious centre and there were cultural institutions, there was a university which had a taste for enlightenment literature, the Academy of the Sciences there were important monastic communities, 16 important monastic communities, so therefore Montpellier was a very good book territory as a market. It was a good book territory, where it had a good market for books, so for Dornton it's a good place to study because it had a sizeable market for books so you can figure out what is happening out there.

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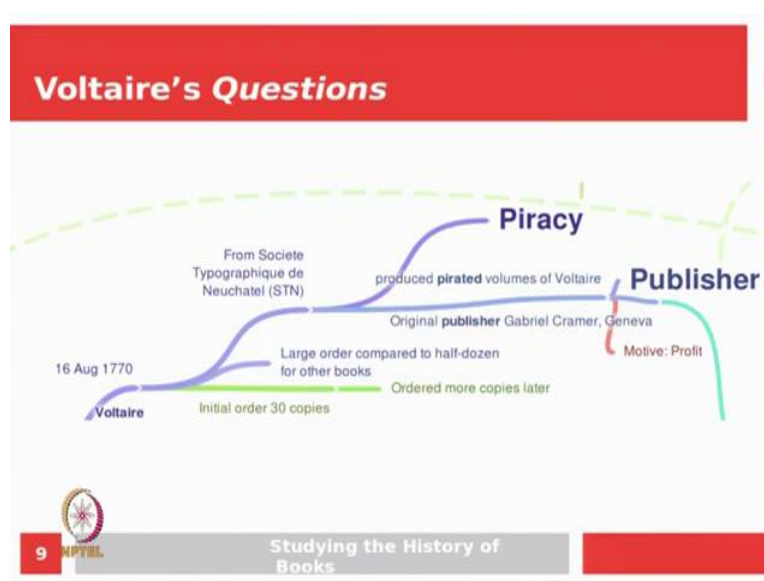
Essay that we are looking at, Dornton studies the sale of Voltaire's questions by Rigaud. Now, Voltaire was an important writer within France but it was interesting I mean it's still print culture has not very well established itself, it's still going to, it ~~does establish~~has established itself but it's going to take time before it takes the~~a~~ modern shape~~s.~~.

Now, we all know that you know from very early era of print you know editing, copy editing become a very important source so. In the oral form one could amend one~~'see~~ text on ~~this point~~the spot in each iteration~~direction~~, In a manuscripts one could edit the text in every time the copying is taking place or in fact go and actually scratch out something and write it all over ~~here~~again, some kind of editing is possible. But with print that becomes difficult because once printed, the copies cannot be recalled and changes cannot be made, now perhaps much less, but even 20 to 25 years ago there would be instances of books in which there would be a correction page that would be putted.

Where there would be some errata which would be putted, that okay in this particular page there is this error, it's because printing of the entire book becomes very difficult or even a ~~couple of ~~few pages and opening the~~the~~ binding becomes very difficult especially if it is a very large print run.

So, therefore from the very beginning right from ~~Rotenberg~~Gutenberg we see that copy editing becomes, so one prototype, one page proof reading becomes important, one page is printed, looked for errors and then those changes are made in the lattice and the correct typefaces ~~place ~~are put in and then the final print run takes place.

So, therefore copy editing becomes a very important activity within the publishing industry. But Voltaire as a writer he constantly amended his books, he would write something, he's a philosopher. So he was constantly amending his books, he was rewriting, and he sold very well because he was dealing with some important political issues. So, he constantly amended his books which means there would be future editions, so people are always looking for the latest edition for a particular book.

So, it's important for booksellers to ensure that he gets the latest ~~ad~~edition, or ~~keeps~~he stocks the latest edition, also important that he actually sells off the older edition before the new ~~ad~~edition comes in, So this trading in Voltaire's questions it has a very large, it's a nine volumes set and it has a relatively large print run of 2500 copies.

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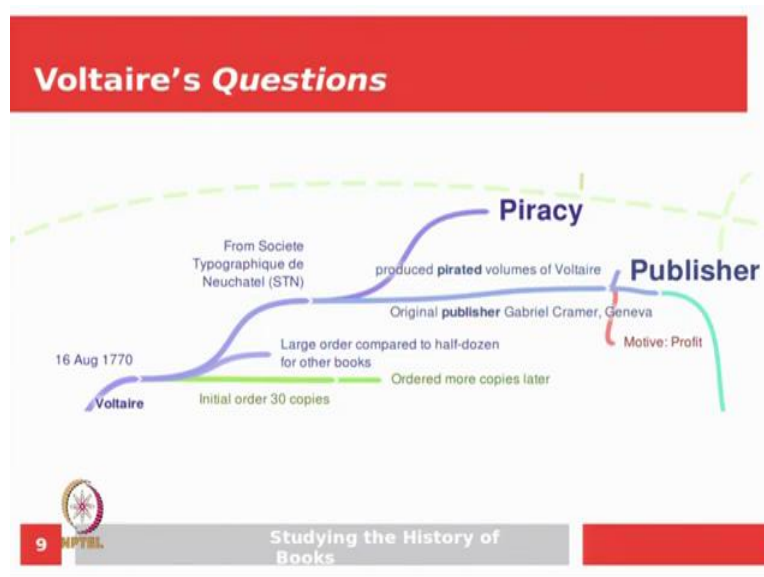
His printers are the society the Typographique de Neuchatel, Neuchatel is in Switzerland, that is where ~~the~~ Voltaire's books are printed.

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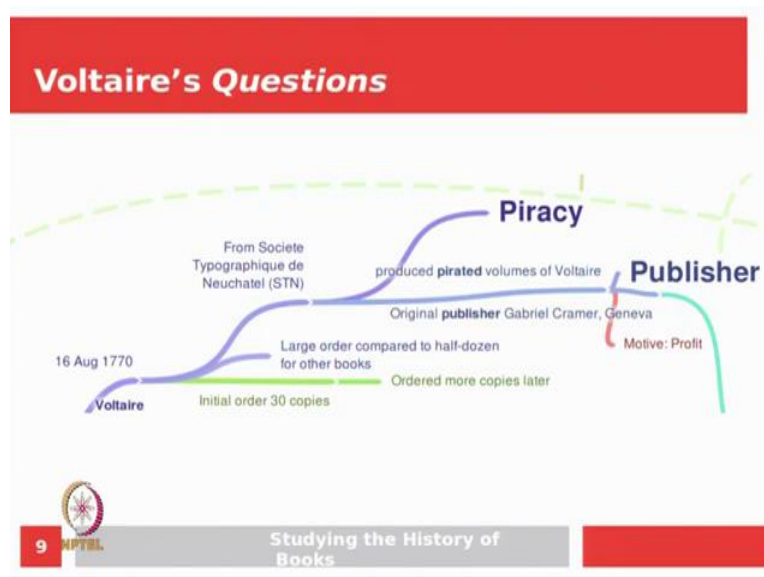
So, he would, Voltaire actually published from several publishers, and he cooperated with pirate publishers, if you wanted he would give one version of the book to one publisher he would give~~you~~ another version of the book to another publisher, depend on which kind of publisher is going to print the most controversial books, because Voltaire did not depend on writing for a living, his motive was not profit, his motive was to spread enlightenment, his motive was to intervene in the war of ideas.

So therefore he did not care much, he actually assisted the piracy of his own books, and there was no legal framework through which ~~they~~he could be there was no contract through which he was bound, he was super powerful in that sense, he was a popular author, his books sold well, so publishers would be grateful that they are publishing with him, so they could not call the shots and say that no I am not going to publish with you because you publish with other publishers, no I cannot do that, there was no legal framework through which any action could be taken against him.

So, he actually published with multiple publishers which means a particular bookseller could also source the books from multiple publishers or two rival booksellers could source books from different publishers at different prices~~parts~~, same book from different publishers at different prices, complicates the book trade tremendously but as we see from Rigaud's records, that his order that he places, the amount of copies, the number of copies that he acquires of Voltaire's questions is larger, he gives an initial order of 30 copies which in comparison to other books that he buys, that he keeps stocks in his shop is larger, so it shows that he regards Voltaire as an important author whose books sell.

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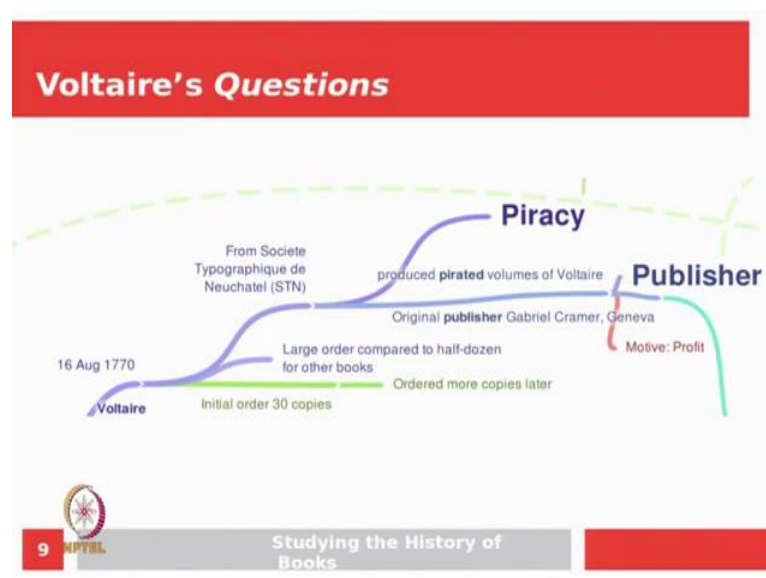
Of course for the book trader, the publisher as well as the bookseller the profit really is the motive. Now, the original publisher of the book was from Geneva and the STN or the ~~S~~society Typographique de Neuchatel produced pirated volumes of Voltaire, mind you when we say pirated it means in this particular case that Voltaire would have given them the manuscript in order to publish it, there would of course be piracies where it is not with the

consent of the author at all. That would also be the case, but in this particular case we know that Voltaire actually cooperated with various publishers.

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So, just to digress for a moment there is another particular paper by Darnton in which he looks at the price war between STN and other publishers in Geneva, over their very popular volume encyclopedia. So STN realized after some point of time that there were other publishers in Geneva who were also going to publish encyclopedia whereas STN was the original publisher, they would be publishing a Quarto volume the Geneva publisher would publish the Octavo modules, which means they would use less paper and therefore they are able to offer it at a lesser price.

So, in this particular case there was a legal war as well as a price war, so the STN tried to engage, pull in all its powers, it is a big important publisher, so it managed to have friends among the authorities, they tried to bring in the police and at that point of time within France it was not allowed for book trade that you could not bring in books without across the border as freely you know there would be restrictions.

So, clearly for the publisher in Geneva they would be violating French laws as would STN be but because STN has friends in the within the French authorities get them to sort of you know block the Geneva publisher's books more than the STNs so that is a kind of intrigue .The other thing that STN also is threatening, you block that otherwise I am going to sell my copies at a much lower rate and you will lose all your money, your volumes will not sell and STN later on came out with cheaper volumes, their own octavo printing. So, this

kind of price war, this kind of war was happening between the publishers. To return to the Voltaire's story

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Now Rigaud had ordered books from both the-- was trying to (()) (23:21) order books from both publishers. What is happening is that he wanted the volumes from Neuchatel to arrive well in time because the volumes that he had ordered from Geneva had additional material, so he wanted to sell off the Neuchatel volume before the Geneva volumes hit the market, but they were taking too much time.

And sometimes he also had to order several copies of the book from several publishers in order to ensure that he gets the latest print or he gets the volume weill in time because that be there would be the shipping routes, there would be these routes in which the transportation would also take time and let us look at this

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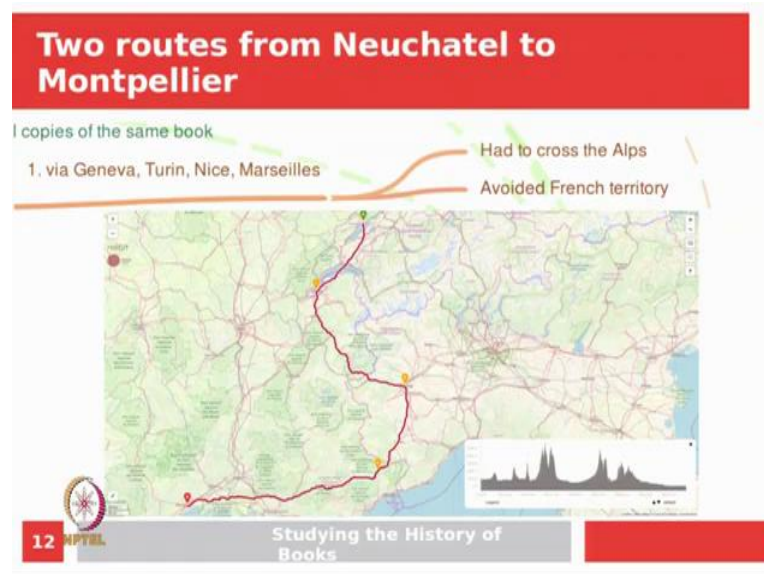
There were two routes through which books could reach Montpellier from Neuchatel in Switzerland. The first ~~road~~route one that Rigaud referred was via Italy through Turin and through the South of France almost by the coast perhaps by the sea outside ~~the~~ French influence and it avoided, it had to cross the Alps.

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The other one cwould have been a shorter route through France itself along the river Rome, t Through Lyon, and if we look at the two different routes, the route that Riguad shows was extremely mountainous, it was longer almost 300 km longer than the other easier route and it was mountainous, this you can see the Alps, the height of the Alps right there, but he choose, that other routead because it avoided French territory and therefore the books would be able to avoid the French police and be able to reach his shop. So, this was the extent to which, kind of a risk-taking that the book publishers would undertake in order to get hold of a book.
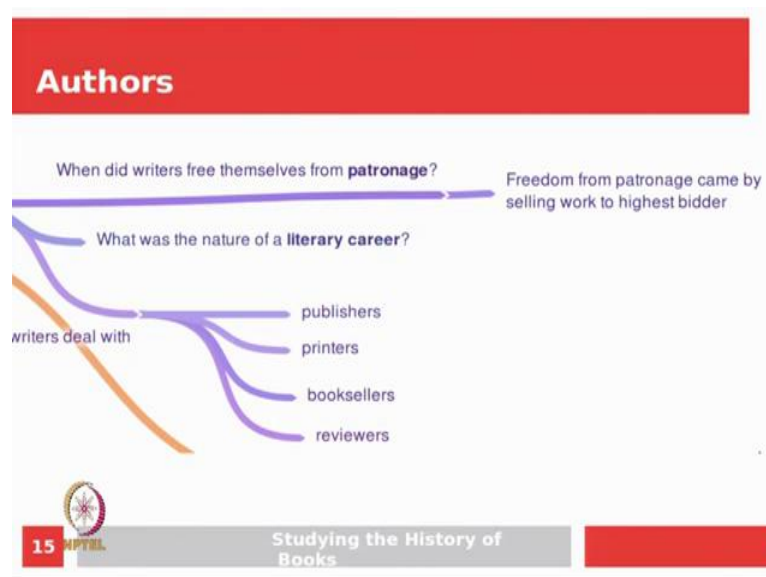
Now, having studied all this,ese Darnton moves on to analyze the position of each of the participants within the print circuit. So, the writers, the authors they at some point of time they are slowly freeing themselves from the patronage structures. Unlike Voltaire who was not motivated by profit, there were other authors who were, but itwho did need a certain degree of money, but also they wanted political fieldfreedom.

So, patronage structure can be, the feudal patronage structure ,-can be extremely restricted in terms of the freedom of what one can write. So, in order to get that freedom the authors move to the other kind on the market patronage and that is to sell his work or her work to the highest bidder, to the publisher who gives the most amount of money. Now, of course in today's day and age unless you are a very big author you get a standard 8 or 10 percent -as royalty from the sales, that's athe standard sort of royalty that is paid, all publishers payare paid the same amount, but of course big writers can claim bigger advances, they have greater bargaining power, but for the ordinary writer that is not something that is possible.

So, that is present day and age but in the early age of printing, period of printing where laws governing printing were not well-established you had the authors could escape feudal patronage by selling their work to the highest bidder. Now, the writers had to deal with publishers, printers, booksellers, reviewers, these are the various people theyso you have to ensure that your book gets a good review so that it sells well. So, authors often have to deal with these various other players within the book trade.

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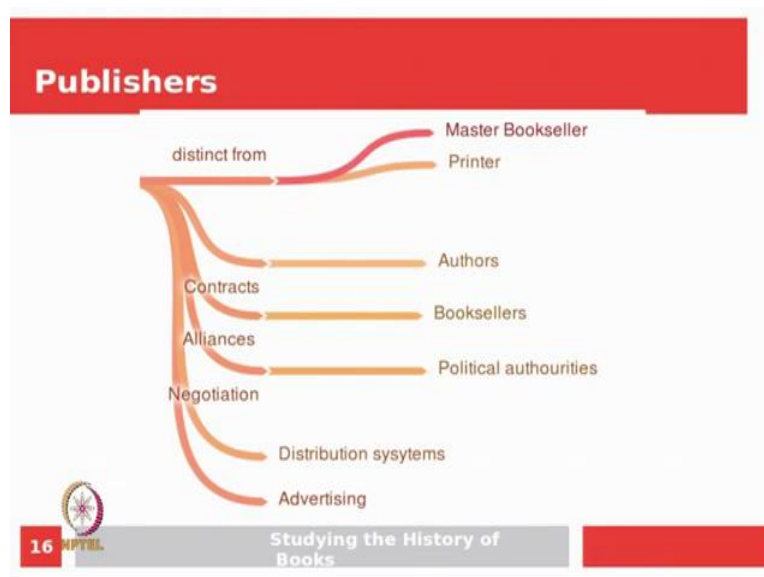
The publishers, now we have already seen that by about the 16th century there begins a distinction between the printer and the bookseller it becomes two different people, whereas in the manuscript universe it was the same person, it was the stationer, the single stationer, the bookseller who would also produce the manuscript copies.

But with the coming of print because printing is more capital intensive and it's a different set of skills involves a different set of skills and managerial skills that they sort of divide, I have talked about this in the previous lecture.

Then the publishers had to work with, or contracts with the authors, they would have to draw up contracts and deviseice contracts as they are almost, sometimes they would commission books for the authors, ask and cheatstreat specific authors to write specific subjects and in their works, they would have two printbring together some alliances with booksellers, the alliances would work in the sort of way that if there are unsold copies of books the publisher would take them back, you know the specific clauses, specific kind of arrangements that they worked out with their book sellers.

There would be negotiations with political authorities which becaome very important because slowly the authorities, the political authorities started realizinge in the importance of print, we have already seen that with the Pope, the Roman Catholic Church understanding it's important so do the secular government authorities inand later centuries do also understand it, theywe will look at this kind of negotiation between print and politics later in the course in one of the lectures.

And they also had to keep in mind the kind of distribution systems that would be required for their particular books and therefore in order to sell their books, to promote their books they ~~have two~~would also have to engage in advertising in order to inform the reader the reading community their buyers, the consumers as to what kind of books that are coming out in offer, often times they would for important ~~-~~books, they will sell subscriptions even before the book is printed you could book a copy of your own copy of that particular book.

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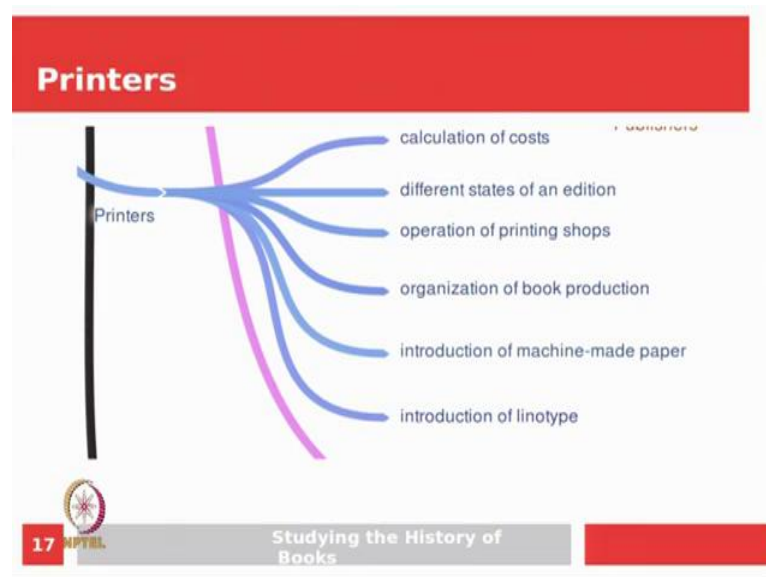
Now, printers had to calculate costs, they had to create a print schedule as to what are the various processes involved in the creation of the edition, they had to look after the operation of printing shops, there were laborers, there were workers who were there, they had to organize book production.

They had to ensure there was enough paper, enough ink, for a particular print run, slowly with the introduction of machine made paper there was a different quality to the printing which came into being, by the 19th-century you had the introduction of the Linotype printing machine which made of huge print fronts of the newspapers possible, the typesetting becaome, the manual labor involved in the typesetting work got reduced withto the introduction of linotype, the Linotype machine almost sort of replicated what a typewriter would have been but of course it is a much larger system which produced the lattice automatically instead of doing it manually.
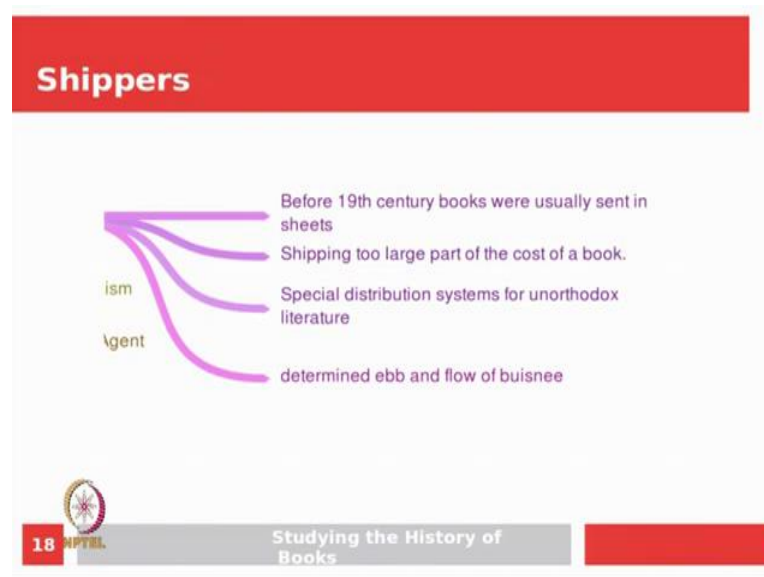
And we will talk about the typography bit in a little while in this lecture. And the shipper's before 19th century books were usually sent as sheets they were not, printers would not actually b~~uying~~induy the volumes. They would send the sheets and then once it reaches the bookseller, the bookseller would cut up the sheets and make it into whatever octavo or ~~(())~~ ~~(33:04)~~quarto edition, fold them and get it bound in hi~~s~~a shop before selling it. And shipping ~~was~~ included a huge part sort of prize of the, cost of the books in them.

So, the book pri~~ze~~ce really would not be set by the publisher unlike today w~~h~~ere the publisher would put a certain printed price on the book, it is the bookseller who would fix the price and certainly because the binding was happening at the book sellers, customers would could still retain the old manuscript practice of choosing the kind of binding that they wanted to put on their book but of course there would have, the booksellers would have certain ready copies ~~once~~and certain ones which could be specially done for special customers.

So there would be special distribution systems for unorthodox kind of literature, pirated literature would have a different kind of thing as we saw in the kind of the route that Rigaud followed for his books through Italy rather than through France, they are in more difficult mountainous terrain. And therefore the usual players, the Orthodox players within the shipping routes of Europe would not be used to distribute unorthodox or pirated literature, and so the bookseller, they functioned as a cultural agent, the bookseller is the ultimate point at which the book trade depended.

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The bookseller often was an important source for publishers I mean the research shows that booksellers would printers, publishers would take feedback from booksellers before deciding on whether they are going to print a particular book or not, so what kind, what is the possibility? What is the kind of mechanism of sale that there could possibly be? What are the expected sales of a particular book or a particular author?

And based on that, this feedback mechanism was very important, they would like to and especially when the arrangement for the returns of unsold volumes is worked out, the publishers would get a clear idea of what kind of sales that are occurring in specific print runs and that would help them make a decision. So, the bookseller becomes a very important cultural agent. Now, before I finish this lecture I would like to look at another work of, another essay by Darnton which focuses on the state of people whom we have not talked about really in the print industry and that is the workers,
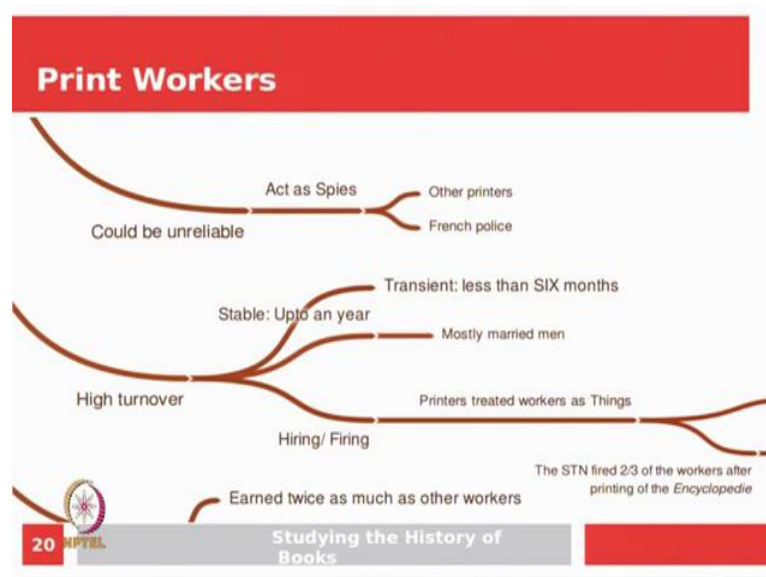
The workers followed the, they became the backbone really of the printing industry of the entire Enlightenment but however they did not receive the kind of authority, the kind of status or the kind of well-being that they really deserved, while discussing the discovery of print remember we had also talked about how there would be a apprentices within the early print shop, early innovations in printing, who apprentices would pass on one kind of, one know-how to another shop and thereby sort of try to consolidate, remember this was the point of time when books were not already in place, there were only manuscripts in place.

So, this kind of, way of learning in the 15th century would have been far more difficult, but what it points out to the fact is that movement of workers, movement of apprentices, from one printer to another was an important sort of mechanism of skill transfer where people learned the trade, of course by this time there would be books which would be hastening that process tremendously, but the workers are the ones who could practically, actually do the work, I mean the printers mostly were the capitalists who had invested money into the machinery and into the ink, the paper and the labor but actually brass tacks hands-on work would be done by the workers. So, they were really the backbone of the printing industry.

But importantly that you know there was a very high turnover, there was no stability, the worker did not work at one place for very long and it's not that they could, they did have a choice because this is how it worked, because the entire system of printing, the printing industry worked on hiring and firing, printers treated workers as things, and therefore workers tried to do various other things in order to gain some more footings, some more

standing, some more money and sometimes therefore these print workers could be unreliable.

So this unreliability was inbuilt to the system because there was no kind of loyalty between the printer and the worker, the worker was also not loyal to the printer, so the printer could be unreliable, they could sometimes act as spies for other printers as to what kind of books one printer is printing and therefore the other printer could sort of and if it is a particular highest for example Voltaire's works.

So worker working in the Neuchatel in STN could just tip off the other printers across France or Switzerland, that okay this guy, this printer is printing so many works has a higher print run for Voltaire's, so he of course expects that this book will do well. So, if you manage to print this book then you will also do well and therefore that kind of information could be passed on, and certainly the police, because the police if they are tipped off that some kind of pirated addition is put in place.

Remember after a point of time within Europe printing would be licensed, they would not be open, printing would not be as we can see in England certainly there were the Royal stationers who were the only printers who were allowed to print, the number of legal printing shops within England at some point of time got reduced simply in order to keep a check on the kind of literature that is produced which could threaten the political order, the political authority and therefore you know any other printers would have to function under illegal conditions.

But even legal print shops they would realize that if they managed to print a few pirated copies on the sly they could make a huge profit because any pirated good sells at several times its actual price, so it's extremely profitable, it's risky but it's profitable. So, therefore the workers could make some money off this lure towards piracy by tipping off the police about a particular printer, if the worker has a grouse against a particular printer he could take revenge by informing the police about some kind of illegal activity, you could not ignore the workers at all.

So returning back to the issue of the high turnover because of the hiring and firing and the transition, the turnover was so much that the workers could work at a particular, with a particular printer for less than six months you know and the more stable workers would work up to about a year.

And usually more married men would stick around because what you understand is that what would happen is that you know printers would hire workers from print shop to print shop. So the workers were hired by the STN according to the print run. So if a person is stable that makes that the workers ~~walked~~worked across maybe two print runs and therefore ~~it's~~has probably been actually out of job for that in between period.

The ~~p~~Publisher is actually ordering of workers or calling for workers along with ordering for paper or ink to prepare for a new printer, when they decide which book to be printed, which is to be printed. So, this is a printing industry where ~~were~~ the printers a~~end~~re not constantly in the act of printing, they are not constantly printing, they do not have a, so the number of books are still not so use huge that they are constantly printing.

There is a possibility that there w~~ould~~ill be breaks in printing and you realize that what is happening is print technologies have also not developed that much because you know this is a technology where the typefaces are manually put together within the lattice arranged by the typographer, by the typesetter and then proofs are corrected and those are then corrected within the lattice and then the impressions are taken and once the print run is over those typefaces are returned back to the larger typeface.

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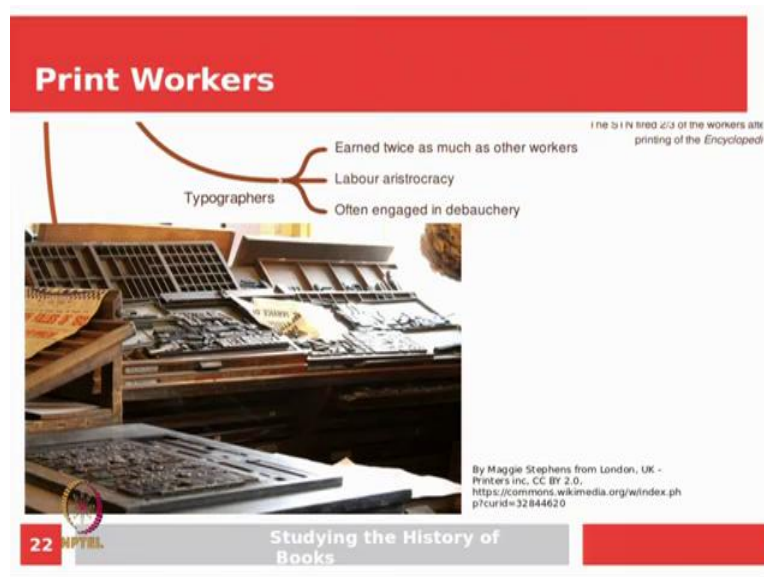
So you can see this is the kind of table usually the typesetter would have, there would be the various typesets which are organized in those boxes right there and then the lattice which is there in the foreground would be prepared.

Now, as I have mentioned earlier that there are these videos, links to videos which are there in the course description which you can refer to and that would give you a sense of how actually the printing was organized. Later on when in the linotype machine comes into being you have the possibility of actually the typefaces are the lattices put together and then the lattice actually creates a permanent impression which is used for printing and then the typefaces automatically the linotype machine returns back into the cartridges which are there for that particular font.

So, that advancement which happens, then freeze theat typefaces, fFrom a particular lattice, it is independent of it but tillell that actually develops a printer cannot print ater second book because his various availability of typefaces are used up in the lattice created manually for a particular book.

So, once the book is printed he returns the typefaces, now you cannot print that traditionedition any more. If they do not retain the lattice they havee two to break it up for the next print, so therefore it has to move from print run to print run and there is a gap between different print runs its worked out according to the technology it's only when technology advances further and you have a permanent impression a drum that is created a negative that is created through which the printing and continue, that printers can retain thate an

~~un~~impression of that lattice to be used for a reprint of the same lattice not a different edition but a reprint of the same ~~ead~~dition, that becomes possible with advancement of the technology, before that, that is not possible.

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So, just to come back to the state of the print workers, so the workers were actually ordered by the printer along with the paper and ink and ~~it~~they will be called and they will be, workers would come apply for the job and they would be taking in depending on their references. Now, therefore at the end of the print run people would be dismissed. Now, there is a particular case when the Encyclopedia had been printed and the directors, ~~tand t~~he set of directors of the company were dismissing the workers.

So one of the daughters of the director wrote to him and pleaded that because the director was travelling and so the daughter wrote to him, said "one can hardly expect out on the street to be out on the street from one day to the next, people who have wives and children" please do not throw out your workers, please keep them, please retain them, do not throw them out of the ~~with their~~they have wives and children do not throw them out. But the director brushed aside this as a ~~naiveté~~ naivety from the daughter because profitability had to be ensured.

So, therefore workers had to be retrenched in order to increase profitability, the directors, the printers did not want to pay the workers because paying the workers would mean bring down his~~of~~ profit margins.
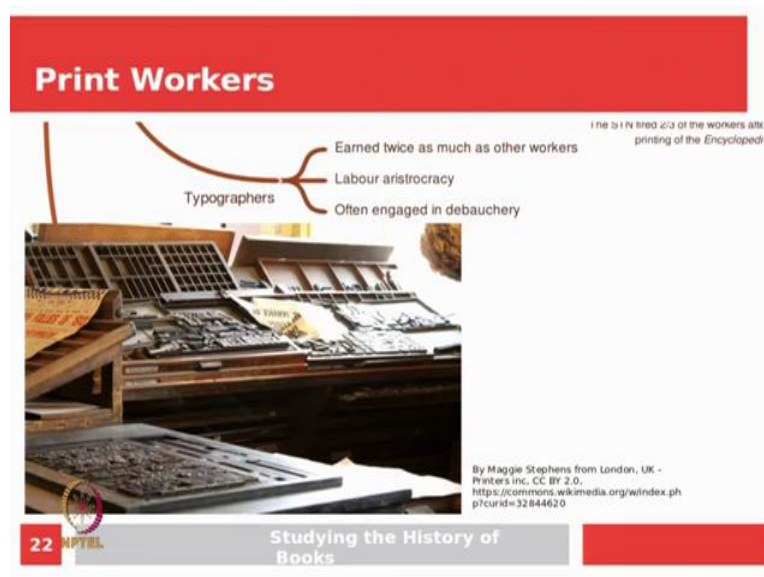
Within the workers there were various gradation, typographers because they had to have some particular kind of skill like typist, they who know touch typing, they can type fast because their fingers know the position of the keys on the keyboard. Similarly typographers would know the layout, the specific layout in which each of these letters, alphabets should would be there, there would be a standard layout so when they are composing they are looking at the particular manuscript and they are composing the lattice very,

And so the more experienced typographer would have a very automated kind of, and would almost become like a machine and they would be able to do it with fewer errors within the lattice and so they could claim a higher wage updated better typographer means you he can produce a book faster so you could earn, I can sort of picture in my mind that when a printer is hiring typographer he is going by his reputation or a previous stint at the same print shop or may even give a test, okay, I'm giving you a page compose it, how quickly can you see and he stands with a the watch to figure out how quickly he can do it with how fewer errors and he probably hires that guy and this led to a kind of a labor aristocracy where typographers certainly earned more than the mainly other workers in the print shop.

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So, the printer worker relationship was one that was marked by hatred that is what Darnton's own ~~once~~ findings were and he quotes a few passages he says,

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They ~~we~~are forced to get up early and work late before retiring to a miserable room in the attic, they were all bunched in together, that is where they stayed because rent was very high so they lived probably within the shop itself but bunched up room, the boys thought they were being treated like animals, in fact they thought they were treated worse than the favorite animal of the house, of the household.

And ~~to others~~there was also a spirit of solidarity among the workers, the workers built a solidarity among themselves, the newcomer is indoctrinated, any new worker who comes in, he is told never to betray his colleagues and to maintain the wage rate, so if a worker does not accept a price for a job and leaves the shop, no one in the house within the shop should do the job for a smaller price.

So that is the way in which they maintain the solidarity and keep up wages, so that is the kind of unwritten rule or that any worker who betrays others, when something forbidden is being printed, must be, because otherwise workers would be out of job they depend on this, so the spies would be also, spying would also be protected by a solidarity among the workers, must be expelled ignominiously from the shop. So, if the workers get to know that somebody is going to betray they will be removed from the shop and workers blacklist him by circular letters that are sent around all the shops of Paris and the provinces, so that that worker then finds it very difficult to get another job.

So, what we really note is that the printing industry really at that point of time is shaping up in a way that the book, circulation of books depended on these various kinds of intrigues and depended~~nt~~ on the laws and whatever was getting written was dependent on the changing patronage structures so we can understand the exact mod~~v~~es of circulation and we are going to compare all of this to the future technologies, to future kinds of patronage structures and future kinds of circuits of circulation for later forms of media including the digital media and electronic media in the lectures to come. Thank you.