The Size of the EU Public Domain

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ABSTRACT. This paper reports results from a large recent study of the public domain in the European Union. Based on a combination of catalogue and survey data our figures for the number of items (and works) in the public domain extend across a variety of media and provide one of the first quantitative estimates of the 'size' of the public domain in any jurisdiction.

Keywords: Copyright; Public Domain; Intellectual Property; Europe

1. Introduction

Interest in copyright, and IP more generally, has been growing in recent years, largely as a reflection of the growing importance of cultural 'production' in the world. A natural counterpart to an interest in copyright is an interest in the public domain for the two are closely related: the public domain begins where copyright ends. Moreover, this is a relationship of mutual interdependence: much copyrighted work builds, directly or indirectly, on public domain material; and the public domain of tomorrow is the copyrighted content of today. Thus, study of the public domain is as natural and necessary part of our research efforts as the study of copyright.¹

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¹In fact they form such natural complements that the two will often be inseparable: for example, in studying cultural production, as we do here, we will necessarily encounter both public domain and copyrighted material; in studying the optimal term of copyright we must consider works both when in copyright and when they enter the public domain; etc.

The work presented here is part of this effort – as well being part of a larger project to examine the overall *value* of the public domain. Here our focus is on the size and scope of the public domain, and we provide quantitative estimates for the number items in the public domain across a variety of EU countries and different media types. We have already indicated the importance of studying the public domain, but, why, specifically, are issues of size and scope interesting and significant? There are several reasons.

First, in charting the current, and future, dimensions of the public domain we are estimating (historical) levels of cultural production. Not only is this interesting in itself, but as cultural economists such estimates are increasingly essential if we are to understand where we have come from and where we are going to. Morever, the growing role of culture and information in our society mean this is an area of importance not only for cultural economists.

Second, an examination of the public domain, and past cultural production more generally, allows us to make precise assessments of the impact on society of changes in copyright, especially copyright term.² Recent years have seen several term extensions and even now a term extension for sound recordings is being considered within the EU. Estimates of the size of the public domain provide quantitative information on the number of works affected by such changes and could be an important input into policy-making in this area.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, is the relevance of our work to the widespread efforts to digitize cultural material and make it available online. Museums, libraries and archives are now considering,³ or in the process of, digitizing large quantities of material with the intention of making it available to the public. Though both copyrighted and public domain material can be included in such efforts, the public domain is especially attractive because it can be made freely available without the need to identify rightsholders or pay royalties. This advantage is such, that for many projects, especially in the public sector, *only* public domain material is being considered. However, such projects require answers to questions such as: how much material could be digitized (from a given period)?

²For example, these estimates would be a useful input into the theoretical framework for calculating optimal term derived in Pollock (2009).

³Almost every large institution now has some kind of digitization programme, in addition to the large-scale cross-country efforts such as Europeana. Moreover, these these efforts are not limited to public institutions but also include many commercial companies, for example Google with its book-scanning programme.

How much, and what kind of, material be directly identified as public domain?⁴ This paper provides detailed material that can help answer each of these questions.

Lastly, our results are a first, key, step in the larger effort to determine the overall 'value' of the public domain. In any area, 'count' statistics, such as the size estimates presented here, provide, the first, albeit perhaps crude, measures of significance. As discussed below, obtaining even these relatively basic figures is not a trivial matter and they form an essential base on which any subsequent work must build.

Before entering into the main body of the paper we should mention two important limitations of our investigations. First, the intricacies and variations of copyright law across member states (even post-harmonization) is such that the exactly delineating the public domain in each jurisdiction would be a major task. However, since our aim here is to obtain general quantitative *estimates*, a 'broad' approach which ignores these subtleties and uses an 'approximate' algorithm will be sufficient for our purposes.⁵

Second, and relatedly, it is obviously necessary, just as for copyright, to address the public domain separately for each separate media types: text, sound, moving images, etc. Furthermore, within each of those categories it may be useful, and important, to distinguish further, for example between books and other printed media such as journals or newspapers, between sound recordings and compositions, between multi-media and films etc. However, it should be mentioned from the outset, that though this is what is optimal in *theory*, in *practice* we will often be forced by the data available to narrow our coverage or limit the distinctions that can be made.

1.1. Related Literature. There is, at present, almost no quantitative research on the size of the public domain and we are aware of only one recent publication with direct relevance to this issue.⁶ This is David and Rubin (2008) which examines the impact of US copyright extensions on (reducing) the size of the public domain. Specifically, using the registration data uniquely available in the US, they calculate quantitative estimates of how many additional books would have been in the public domain if each of several 20th century extensions (ending in the 1998 CTEA) had not occurred. Our work here is a little

⁴Similar issues also arise in the orphan works debate.

⁵Given the many other approximations that will no doubt be necessary the error induced by this particular assumption is likely to be, relatively, very small.

⁶There has, of course, been extensive work from a legal perspective on the Public Domain but none of this has had a quantitative component. See for example the contributions in Guibault and Hugenholtz (2006).

different, focusing primarily on the size of the public domain per se, not the impact of legislative changes upon that size – though we do also look at this question. Our attention is also on European countries – something which makes our task significantly harder as unlike in the US there is no registration system and the rules determining copyright status for older works are more complex.

2. The Size of the Public Domain

For our purposes the size of the public domain will equate to the number of works which are in the public domain – i.e. whose copyright has expired.

It must be noted that this simple definition conceals substantial complexity: "There is no clear and generally accepted definition of the concept of the 'public domain' (le domaine public). The international conventions do not provide one and the vast majority of national laws do not do so either. [(Torremans, 2008)]" This, combined with the significant jurisdictional variation in copyright – for example that moral rights survive the term of copyright in some jurisdictions – mean that the exact delineation of the public domain as a legal concept is not a trivial matter. However, we need not concern ourselves greatly with these problems here and shall proceed on the basis that this simple definition suffices. It should also be emphasized that our focus is on cultural material and will not include, for example, 'public sector information' which in many jurisdictions is either public-domain (e.g. the US) or almost so (the UK).

There is one important subtlety in this definition that we cannot ignore and that is around the term 'works'. In general, when we think of cultural material we think of their physical (or digital) instantiation: a book, a CD, a film. However, a moment's reflection reveals some subtleties: the same text, say Shakespeare's Hamlet, may appear in several different books, a recording may appear on many different CDs etc.

To keep our thinking clear we shall adopt terminology derived from the 'Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records' cataloguing schema.⁹ We shall mean by an 'item'

⁷For more details see the work of Torremans (2008), prepared as part of the Public Domain in Europe project of which this research was part.

⁸We should also note that we are explicitly *not* adopting a broad definition of the public domain which includes works still under copyright but where those rights have been largely waived using an 'open' license (this broad approach is adopted in, for example, Pollock (2006)).

⁹See http://www.ifla.org/en/publications/functional-requirements-for-bibliographic-records for more info.

something equating to a publication/release, for example a book with a given ISBN, a particular CD release, a given DVD of a film. By a 'work' we shall mean the underlying 'platonic' work instantiated in that item, i.e. the text, sounds etc in abstraction. As such a given work may have many associated items: for example, Shakespeare's play "Hamlet" is a single 'work' but there are many associated items (publications). We can also have derivative works, such as translations: these count as new works in themselves – though with some dependency on another work. We also have a similar situation with a recording which strictly should be seen as consisting of a work corresponding to the composition and a work corresponding to the performance (of that composition).

Our purpose for introducing this distinction is two-fold. First, public domain status is properly seen as an attribute of a work not an item – and so the public domain status of an item is the status of its associated work(s). Second, we now have two distinct meanings for size: the number of items or the number of works. Which of these should we use?

In our view, it seems more correct, and appropriate, to base size calculations on works not items. After all the republication of an existing work does not add anything to the stock of human knowledge – the republication in 1880 of Shakespeare's plays (first published in the Folio of 1623) should surely not be counted as new production for 1880.

The only possible reason not to use works would be the fact that many new publications of existing works frequently claim a new copyright based on slight emendations or typography. However, these alterations are so slight that even though sufficient to obtain a new copyright it seems difficult to see how a quantitative assessment should accord them the same standing as the original work itself.¹³

¹⁰Another, slightly more subtle case, is that of a new 'edition', where the text has been amended in some ways. This would again count as a new, derivative, work though in this case the differences from the original work may be very minor.

¹¹In some cases we may also wish to divide the composition into two distinct works corresponding to the lyrics and the music.

¹²We have to be a bit careful here since the copyright status of an item and its work may not be exactly the same: for example, even books containing pure public domain texts may have copyright in their typesetting. Also there may be additional non-PD material such as an introduction or commentaries, though, in this case, at least theoretically, we should say the item contains 2 works a) the original PD text b) the non-PD introduction.

¹³In some respects this is one aspect of the more general 'weighting' problem that occurs in any quantitative assessment of knowledge goods because of their marked heterogeneity. Simple counts, as presented here, are problematic because they take no account of this heterogeneity – many books are never read, even upon their release, while some remain perennially popular.

Unfortunately, almost all the data available only gives information on items. In particular, library catalogues – the primary source for our work here – only provide this kind of data (because items are what they hold in their archives). Furthermore, deriving works from items in an *automatic* way is a non-trivial matter – as we shall discuss further below.

Thus, despite having just made compelling arguments as to why works are the best subject for any size calculation we must acknowledge that, in what follows, by and large, when we talk of the *size* of the public domain we shall mean the number of public domain items and not the number of public domain works.¹⁵

3. Determining Public Domain Status

With our terminology in place determining public domain status is, in theory, a simple case of applying copyright law. There are of course some subtleties, for example the various "special cases" and one-off exceptions in copyright, such as the fact that, in the UK, the Copyright Designs and Patents Act para 301 contains a special provision so that *Peter Pan* by J.M. Barrie will remain in copyright forever (with royalties payable in perpetuity for the benefit of Great Ormond Street Hospital). However, we are not seeking to compute the status of individual works but rather to obtain gross estimates and as such we are willing to accept a public domain 'algorithm' that is not perfect but only, say 99.99% accurate.

As such, for our purposes we shall adopt a very simple approach, and proceed on the basis that, in the EU, published literary, musical and artistic material by authors who died more than 70 years ago is now be in the public domain. For recordings, the recording

¹⁴This focus on items is even more true of databases listing information related to the value of works such as prices and sales. We'd also note that this deficiency is even true where registration information is available, as in the US. This is because, as discussed above, most new publications, even those which are simply reissues of previous material, will usually claim some kind of new copyright and will therefore be registered.

¹⁵We were able to perform some fairly limited analysis around works. In particular, using the 'raw' catalogue data from CUL (see below for details) and a basic work generation algorithm, we established that approx 13% of all items could be matched to another item and hence to an underlying (multi-item) work − i.e. an object to which two or more items could be attached. Of these multi-item works at least half had just two associated items. The remaining 87% of items would therefore correspond directly to a work (i.e. were the publications of works which were only ever published once so the work and item were identical for our purposes). Such figures would suggest that basing estimates on items rather than works would not lead to too great a bias (though we would note that it is precisely those works with many items that are likely most 'valuable'). However, in the absence of very substantial additional labour, we could not establish how good our results were in this area − in particular, whether our failure to find matches among the 87% reflects the fact that they really are 'item-works' (i.e. unrelated to any other item and hence corresponding directly to a work) or just inadequacy in our matching and work identification algorithms. ¹⁶For a jurisdiction by jurisdiction analysis see the work of Torremans et al.

itself (as distinct from the composition) will be public domain if more than 50 years old – and the entire as a whole will be public domain if both the recording itself and the composition are public domain.

Formally, our algorithm for computing the public domain status is:

- (1) Given information on an item match it to a work (or works).
- (2) Compute public domain status of the work(s) using, in our simple approach, author death dates and, possibly, (first) publication date.

This seems very simple. Unfortunately, both steps present serious difficulties from a data perspective. As already discussed, associating items to works is hard. That said, for many items all that will matter is the authorial death date and library records do list the author. Unfortunately, the author records often do not have sufficient information with which to compute PD status with certainty – in particular, as we discuss in greater detail below, author death dates are frequently absent.¹⁷ Thus, it may be necessary to fall back on some approximate method.

One solution to this, and the one we shall adopt, is to base PD status on publication dates: if a book was published, say, 140 years ago it is almost certain it is in the public domain – for it to be in copyright its author must have lived more than 70 years after the book was published (copyright lasts for life plus 70 years in the EU). Conversely, any publication less than 70 years old is unlikely to be in the public domain. For periods in between we can assume some proportion of publications are PD starting close to zero for more recent items and rising towards one for older ones.

This option is attractive because, in contrast to the sparseness of authorial dates, publication dates are almost always recorded in catalogues.¹⁸ Furthermore, we do not need to pull our estimates for PD 'proportions' out of thin air: the authorial date information, though far from complete, is sufficient to yield fairly good estimates of the average relationship between publication date and PD status.

¹⁷Libraries often record birth and death date only in order to disambiguate two authors of the same name. Furthermore, they add the birth date first (for obvious reasons!) and only add the death date if the birth date turns out later to be insufficient to disambiguate.

¹⁸It was this fact, and its implications for the ease of extraction from library information systems, that the summary information we asked for from libraries only required that for counts be broken down by publication date.

4. Data

Cultural institutions, primarily libraries, have long compiled records of the material they hold in the form of catalogues. Furthermore, most countries have had one or more libraries (usually *the* national library) whose task included an archival component and, hence, whose collections should be relatively comprehensive, at least as regards published material.

The catalogues of those libraries then provide an invaluable resource for charting, in the form of publications, levels of information production over time, and hence the size of the public domain. Of course, we must emphasize the obvious caveats about coverage: library catalogues do not *necessarily* record all items produced. Such estimates must therefore be considered lower bounds – though we would point out that, at least from the perspective of today, material not available in the archives of our major libraries is likely lost to us forever.

Our main task then has been to obtain from such institutions – usually national libraries – whatever relevant data they have. We requested two levels of information from the libraries we contacted. First, and most basic, was simple summary information listing approximate holdings by decade and type of content – books, recordings etc. ¹⁹ Second, we asked whether libraries would provide us with 'raw' (MARC) catalogue data with which to perform a more comprehensive analysis based on our own computations.

It did not prove easy to obtain data. Many of the libraries contacted did not respond at all. Of those that did respond the majority only provided summary information with only a few (two in the UK and one in Slovakia) being able, or willing, to provide us with the 'raw' catalogue data. ²⁰

In these circumstances we had to 'take what was given' in terms of the coverage of different types of media. In particular, the majority of the data we have relates to books, with some (more limited) information on compositions and recordings and no information at all on, for example, photographs or films.²¹ Table 1 gives a summary of the data we have been able to obtain (more detailed information may be found in the appendix).

 $^{^{19}}$ Specifically we sent libraries a simple spreadsheet question naire. See appendix for details.

 $^{^{20}}$ In one particular case a library explicitly declined to assist us citing confidentiality agreements they had signed with Google.

²¹Though in the case of films we have been able to extract data from http://www.imdb.com/.

Country	Work Types	R/S	Comments
Bulgaria	Bk, Ph	S	Bulgarian National Library
Slovakia	Bk etc	R + S	Slovakian National Library
Czech Republic	Bk	S	National Library of the Czech
			Republic
Poland	Bk, Rec, Ph etc	S	National Library of Poland
France	-	-	Received general information
			from BNF but no specific
			data.
Italy	Bk, Rec	S	Various libraries (National Li-
			brary Florence etc)
UK	Bk, Rec	R + S	British Library and Cam-
			bridge University Library
Ireland	Bk, Rec, Ph	S	Trinity College Library,
			Dublin
Finland	Bk	S	National Library
Netherlands	Films	S	Netherland's Filmmuseum
Hungary	Films	S	Hungarian National Film
			Archive
Germany, Austria,	-	-	Libraries were contacted but
Netherlands, Denmark,			no data was provided
Portugal			

Table 1. Library catalogue information provided to the project. Bk = Books, Rec = Recordings, Ph = Photos. R/S = Raw/Summary data.

In what follows the majority of our analysis will focus on the raw data. This is for two reasons: first, 'raw' data provides information at a much greater level of granularity (individual entries); second it is only in the raw data that we get on authors, and, in particular on their birth and death dates.

- 4.1. **Data Processing.** In a data-oriented project such as this data-processing is a very substantial part of the work involved. The scale of the task was substantial: Cambridge University Library (CUL) pre-1960 holdings totalled over 1 million records while the British Library's (BL) had more than 4.2 million for the same period. Processing and analysing material, particularly on this scale, presents significant challenges.²² To illustrate, consider one of our most basic tasks: loading information from the MARC format catalogue dumps into our DB for analysis. This had the following steps:
 - (1) Do a simple load: i.e. for each catalogue entry create a new Item and new Persons for any authors listed.

²²All of the code used in this work is open-source and available from the following mercurial repository: http://knowledgeforge.net/pdw/hg/.

- (2) "Consolidate" all the duplicate Persons, i.e. a Person who is really the same but for whom we create duplicate DB entries in part 1 (we can do this because MARC cataloguers try to uniquely identify authors based on name + birth date + death date).
- (3) "Consolidate items" to works (i.e. associate multiple items distinct catalogue entries to a single work).

Take the first step, which is the simplest. Implementing this requires several steps. First we need to parse the MARC itself for which we use an existing library (pymarc). Next we need to determine which fields we require and do some processing to consolidate them (for example, additional authors are often placed in the MARC 700 field in addition to the main author field, field 100). For this, after experimenting with our own processor, we were able to adapt the existing work of the Open Library project. Next we need to parse and normalize values such as dates and author names (while author names tend to be standardized within a given catalogue we often need to match both across catalogues and to other datasets). Dates, in particular, are obviously crucial to our project and are often not given in an easily 'machine readable' format. For example, we had to cope, not only with different dates levels, e.g. '1865, March 1865, etc, but also ambiguity, e.g. '15 or 17 March 1865', BC dates e.g. '213 BC', or latin dates, e.g. 'MCLVI'.²³ Thus, even in the very simplest stage of the process, there was much to be done of this kind of mundane but essential work.

It is also important to realize that working with large datasets creates special challenges because speed and space really matter. Consider again the loading process just discussed. On a 1 million record load, at the first step (simple load into the DB), we averaged (depending on hardware, DB backend etc) between 8s and 25s per thousand records with speed fairly constant throughout. This means that a full load required between 2.5 and 7.5 hours.

The second and third stages then took another few hours each. All in all, this may not seem too bad: around half a day to load and process the whole catalogue. However, it must be remembered that these steps must be repeated each time a bug is discovered or a schema

²³Many programming languages and databases do not even support BC dates in their standard date formats. For example, python, the programming language we were primarily using, will not store (as date objects) dates before 0 AD, and postgresql (a major opensource database) will not store date before 4317BC as date objects.

change or algorithm improvement necessitates a reload. Moreover, such improvements – and the need for them – often cannot be discerned until *after* you have run them on a reasonably large dataset.²⁴

Finally, we should note that all of the code used in our work has been made open-source and is available directly from this mercurial repository: http://knowledgeforge.net/pdw/hg.

5. Results

From a practical point of view the task of computing PD size breaks into two distinct steps:

- (1) Estimate the number of items produced (of a given type and vintage/publication date)
- (2) Compute their public domain status (or proportions)

For the first step, as discussed, we shall be relying on library catalogues to furnish us with our estimates – though as already noted library catalogues only record some proportion of past output and therefore estimates based on such figures should be considered as lower bounds. For the second part, as discussed in the section above, there are have two options:

- (1) (Direct/Precise) Compute the public domain status of individual items based on applicable copyright law this will usually require author death date information
- (2) (Indirect/Approximate) Apply a simple public domain 'weighting/proportion' based on vintage/publication date

Clearly the first of these approaches is preferable. However, limitations of available data mean that the second approach will often be the only one possible. In particular, we cannot directly compute the public domain status of individual items when either a) information on individual items is not available – e.g. when we only have summary data or b) the individual items do not contain sufficient information (e.g. no author death

²⁴To take yet another very minor example: in computing public domain status based on author death dates we are required to conduct a join of two large tables (items to persons). The preferred way of doing this involved an outer join. However, running on one of our database backends (sqlite) this outer join would seemingly never end (after leaving this for 12h+ overnight we terminated the process). There were two ways to solve this: use an inner join (which ran very quickly) at the cost of some work arounds elsewhere or switching to an alternative backend (requiring another 8h+ load!). After some checking that revealed that the alternative backend (postgres) did not have the problem with the outer join we switched.

date). Nevertheless, we start with the direct approach. Not only will this illustrate some of the difficulties involved, but it also will provide the basis for the weightings to use in the indirect case.

5.1. Direct Calculations Using Raw Data. As is clear from the preceding discussion direct calculations are only possible with raw data since it is only raw data which has information at the level of individual items and the information relevant to computation of public domain status, namely: a) a publication date b) unambiguously identified author(s) with, perhaps, a birth date(s) and, less frequently, a death date.

In this section we shall look at using this kind of information to compute public domain status for a large set of records. Of the three sets of raw catalogue data available we shall focus on that provided by Cambridge University Library (CUL). This is primarily for simplicity of exposition but we would note that CUL's data appeared as reliable as either of other two raw datasets and was large (over 1 million records up to 1960).

Publ. Date	Total	No Author	Any Date	Death Date
1870-1880	50564	6634 (13%)	23016 (45%)	21876 (43%)
1880-1890	66857	8225 (12%)	31135 (46%)	28570 (42%)
1890-1900	66883	8733 (13%)	32169 (48%)	28971 (43%)
1900-1910	70360	8594 (12%)	35401 (50%)	29922 (42%)
1910-1920	60489	7722 (12%)	31336 (51%)	24608 (40%)
1920-1930	78670	9023 (11%)	44219 (56%)	32658 (41%)
1930-1940	90576	11004 (12%)	46849 (51%)	29372 (32%)
1940-1950	72692	7638 (10%)	36495 (50%)	22155 (30%)

TABLE 2. PD relevant information in CUL catalogue. 'Any Date' indicates records with either a birth or a death date for the author.

We have indicated the basic data problems, even with raw information, when trying to compute public domain status directly. Table 2 presents a summary of how much relevant information is available for items (books) of particular vintages in the CUL catalogue – we only show data from 1870 to 1950 on the presumption that (almost) all pre-1870 publications are PD (their authors would have had to live for *more* than 70 years post-publication for this not to be the case) and almost all publications post 1950 are in copyright today (their authors would have to have died *before* 1940 for this not to be the case).

As the table shows, at best, only just over 40% of items have a recorded authorial death date and extending to include birth dates only raises this proportion to, at best, the mid-to-low fifties. Taking account of items which lack any associated author, raises these figures somewhat further to around 60%, though we should note that the reason for the lack of an associated author is not clear – is it because they are genuinely anonymous or simply because the information has not been recorded?²⁵ Thus, even for the earliest items listed a large proportion of items (50% or more) lack the necessary information for direct computation of public domain status.

At the same time, we can take some heart, and some interesting facts, from this table. First, a reasonable proportion, amounting to many thousands of items, did have associated death dates. Second, at least for older items, the majority of items with any date had a death date (95% for 1870-1880 and still at over 70% for 1920-1930).²⁶ Third, and this is a more general observation, proportions were surprisingly constant over time. For example, the proportion of 'anonymous' items lies in a narrow band between 10% and 13% for the all periods. Similarly the proportion of items with any date information ranged only from 45% to 56%. At the same time, and reassuringly, though the proportion with death dates is relatively constant for the oldest periods, in the more recent ones it falls substantially; as one would expect given that some of the authors from those more recent eras are still alive.

Table 3 reports the results of direct computation of PD status based on the information available. Note that, in doing these computations, we have augmented the basic life plus 70 rule with the additional assumptions that a) all items published in 1870 or before are PD b) no author is older than 100 (so if a birth date is more 170 years ago the item is PD) c) every author lives at least until 30 (so that any work published by an author born less than a 100 years ago is automatically *not* PD).

As is to be expected, for the majority of the periods, the availability of PD status (either PD or Not PD) closely tracks the availability of death date information – the total for which PD status can be determined (the sum of PD and Not PD) almost exactly

²⁵This 'No Author' figure, which is remarkably constant over time, has independent interest, most notably for the 'orphan works' debate. For these figures give a precise measure of the number and proportion of items without any identifiable author and which are therefore in the strictest sense 'orphan' (a broader definition would also include those works for which an author can be identified but where than author can be located without significant difficulty).

²⁶This was something we were slightly surprised at given our prior understanding of cataloguing procedure.

Publ. Date	Total	PD	Not PD	?	Prop 1	Prop 2
1870-1880	50565	22157 (43%)	68 (0%)	28340 (56%)	99%	96%
1880-1890	66858	28325 (42%)	649 (0%)	37884 (56%)	97%	90%
1890-1900	66884	26723 (39%)	2418 (3%)	37743 (56%)	91%	83%
1900-1910	70362	24032 (34%)	5838 (8%)	40492 (57%)	80%	67%
1910-1920	60491	16200 (26%)	8306 (13%)	35985 (59%)	66%	51%
1920-1930	78671	16127 (20%)	16351 (20%)	46193 (58%)	49%	36%
1930-1940	90583	8973 (9%)	20835 (23%)	60775 (67%)	30%	19%
1940-1950	72696	5000 (6%)	19316 (26%)	48380 (66%)	20%	13%

TABLE 3. PD status based on algorithm described in the text. '?' indicates items where PD status could not be computed. Prop(ortion) 1 is PD proportion of those for which status could be definitively computed (sum of total PD and Not PD). Prop(ortion) 2 is PD proportion of records for which any author date was known ('Any Date' in previous table).

equals the total for which death date information is available. It is only in the last period 1940-1950 that the birth date appears to make any contribution. More interesting, is how the number PD and Not PD vary over time, especially relative to each other (and as a proportion of the records for which any date is available).

These two proportions/ratios are recorded in the last two columns which record, respectively: 1) the PD total relative to the number of items for which any status could be computed (i.e. the sum of PD and Not PD) 2) the PD total relative to the total number of items for which any date information is available. These ratios change dramatically over the periods shown: starting in the 1870-1880 period in the high 90%s by the 1940s they are down to 20% or below.

Pub. Date	% PD
0000-1870	100
1870-1880	95
1880-1890	90
1890-1900	85
1900-1910	65
1910-1920	40
1920-1930	25
1930-1940	10
1940-1950	6
1950-Now	0

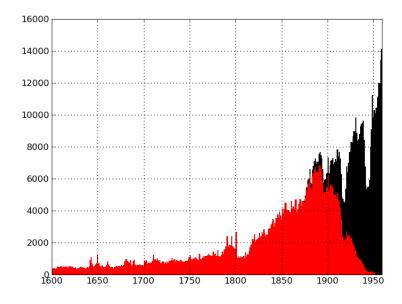
Table 4. PD Proportions

The key question for us is how to extrapolate these PD proportions to the full set of records – i.e. from the set of records for which there is the necessary birth/death date information to that where there is not. The simplest, and most obvious, approach is to assume that the proportions are identical and therefore that the PD proportions calculated on the partial dataset apply to the whole. However, there are some obvious deficiencies in this approach. In particular, our ability to compute a PD status is largely linked to the existence of a death date and it is likely that the presence of this information is itself correlated with authorial age – after all a death date can only exist once that person has died! This correlation, and the bias it gives rise to, is probably small in the early periods – the authors of any pre 1930 work are almost certainly no longer alive today. However, for the later periods, the bias may be more substantial – it is in these last two periods (1930-1940 and 1940-1950) that there is a significant reduction in the number of records with a death date and (relatedly) a significant increase in the number of records for whom the PD status is unknown.

Thus, in converting the partial PD proportions to full PD proportions it seems sensible to revise down somewhat the partial figures with the revision being greater in later periods. Moreover, we have a lower bound for any downwards revision provided by the total PD as a proportion of all records – which even in the 1940-1950 period stood at 6%.²⁷ In light of these considerations Table 4 gives suggested values for PD proportions that we can use for the rest of the paper. We would emphasize that we have elected to be conservative in our assessment and to choose figures, particularly in later periods, at the lower end of the possible band.

5.2. **PD Size.** We now combine the PD proportions derived in the previous section with estimates of total production to obtain an overall figure for the total number of PD items of a given type in a given jurisdiction.

²⁷In many ways this is a surprisingly high number: the output of any author alive in 1940 are still in copyright! Thus, one presumes that much of this figure corresponds to new publications of existing material which had already previously published (the only other alternative is posthumous publications). In the nomenclature developed previously these would be considered new *items* but not new *works*. This then is one area where a size measure based on works and one based on items will clearly diverge.



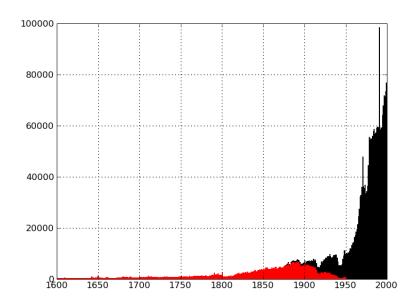


FIGURE 1. Total (Black) and PD (Red) Items based on the CUL Catalogue. (Restricted to pre-1960 period in first figure).

We begin by presenting results based on analysis of 'raw' catalogue data provided by three libraries: Cambridge University Library, the British Library and the Slovakian National Library. Both Cambridge University Library and the British Library are UK "copyright libraries", that is, they have a right to obtain, though not an obligation to hold, one copy of every book published in the UK. However, it should be made clear that this right is not always exercised (and libraries also acquire books published abroad). Thus it is

Pub. Date	Items	% PD	Number PD
1400-1870	389291	100	389291
1870-1880	50564	95	48035
1880-1890	66857	90	60171
1890-1900	66883	85	56850
1900-1910	70360	65	45734
1910-1920	60489	40	24195
1920-1930	78670	25	19667
1930-1940	90576	10	9057
1940-1950	72692	6	4361
1950-1960	118251	0	0
Total	1064633	61	657361

Table 5. Estimated Number of PD Items based on CUL Catalogue.

difficult to know how well catalogues, even for copyright or national libraries, accurately represent past production levels. Nevertheless, since duplication is minimal, these sorts of figures do, at the very least, indicate lower bounds. Furthermore, in the UK we have the advantage of two different sources which will allow us to do some double-checking.

The results of the simple 'proportional' approach to estimating PD size are shown in figures 1, 2, 3 and table 5 (we only show the one summary table – for CUL – for reasons of space). These show publications per year up until 1960 (when the datasets end) based on the publication date recorded in the catalogue. Interestingly the basic pattern shown by the CUL and BL catalogues is very similar. However, the BL catalogue records 4-5 times as many publications per year. The exact reason for this sizable discrepancy is not entirely clear.²⁸

Thus, based on our assumptions of PD proportions and the CUL catalogue, there are somewhat over **600,000** textual items in the Public Domain. Just over half of this 600k (approx 390k) date from before 1870. For the BL dataset the same calculations yield approximately **2.3 million** Public Domain items. For Slovakia, the Slovak National Library dataset the same calculations yield approximately **17,000** Public Domain items.

²⁸Several possibilities were suggested. First, CUL have not fully digitized their catalogue data while the BL have done so. This means that CUL figures understate the true number of published items – the very approximate estimate was that there may be a few hundred thousand catalogue records not yet digitized for our period. Second, the British Library has acquired over time sizable collections from elsewhere (for example, from the British Museum and the National Lending Library), and this may have led to significant duplication in its holdings – i.e. having multiple copies of the same time – though this need not necessarily have resulted in duplicates in the catalogue depending on how thorough the process of consolidation had been.

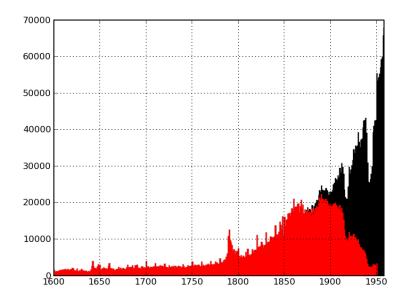


FIGURE 2. Total (Black) and PD (Red) Items based on the BL Catalogue.

Pub. Date	Items	% PD	Number PD
1000-1870	1388075	100	1388075
1870-1880	178325	95	169408
1880-1890	203925	90	183532
1890-1900	231725	85	196966
1900-1910	252280	65	163982
1910-1920	256665	40	102666
1920-1930	322230	25	80557
1930-1940	392780	10	39278
1940-1950	330480	6	19828
1950-1960	597045	0	0
Total	4153530	56	2344292

Table 6. Estimated Number of PD Items based on BL Catalogue

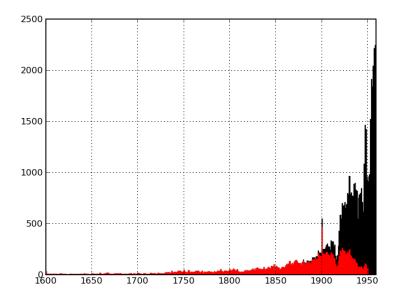


FIGURE 3. Total (Black) and PD (Red) Items based on the Slovak National Library Catalogue

Pub. Date	Items	% PD	Number PD
911-1870	7642	100	7642
1870-1880	1152	95	1094
1880-1890	1241	90	1116
1890-1900	1848	85	1570
1900-1910	2913	65	1893
1910-1920	2747	40	1098
1920-1930	6777	25	1694
1930-1940	8042	10	804
1940-1950	9355	6	561
1950-1960	16493	0	0
Total	58210	30	17472

TABLE 7. Estimated Number of PD Items based on Slovak National Library Catalogue

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Period	Bulg	aria	Czech	Rep.	Finla	and	Ita	ly	Irela	and	Pola	ınd	Slova	ıkia	UK ((BL) \circ
	Total	PD	Total	PD	Total	PD	Total	PD	Total	PD	Total	PD	Total	PD	Total	PD
Before 1850	226	226	7787	7787	20497	20497	0	0	0	0	60000	60000	6040	6040	944248	944248
1850-1860	527	527	3873	3873	864	864	0	0	0	0	40000	40000	652	652	155949	155949
1860-1870	527	527	3874	3874	864	864	0	0	0	0	40000	40000	950	950	155950	155950
1870-1880	900	855	6837	6495	1840	1748	0	0	15232	14470	40000	38000	1152	1094	150165	142656
1880-1890	2789	2510	8607	7746	4402	3961	45110	40599	22234	20010	50000	45000	1241	1116	171010	153909
1890-1900	6392	5433	13278	11286	9398	7988	103291	87797	32615	27722	50000	42500	1848	1570	188215	159982
1900-1910	8296	5392	16363	10635	16264	10571	67931	44155	49721	32318	70000	45500	2913	1893	193442	125737
1910-1920	8487	3394	16735	6694	21403	8561	91644	36657	50240	20096	80000	32000	2747	1098	191739	76695
1920-1930	16009	4002	59374	14843	29338	7334	58227	14556	200000	50000	80000	20000	6777	1694	231678	57919
1930-1940	18444	1844	83555	8355	34882	3488	103504	10350	325000	32500	150000	15000	8042	804	287589	2875程
1940-1950	6921	415	65905	3954	36386	2183	75569	4534	400000	24000	30000	1800	9355	561	220797	1324万
1950-1960	71	0	146319	0	39433	0	103559	0	500000	0	100000	0	16493	0	313486	Œ
1950-2009	480000	0	1127493	0	620570	0	5351165	0	1358958	0	1895169	0	280319	0	7357177	(F)
Totals	549589	25125	1560000	85542	836141	68059	6000000	238648	2954000	221116	2685169	379800	338529	17472	10561445	20150505

TABLE 8. Number of Public Domain Items based on Summary Data from Various National European Libraries

Next we present the results in Table 8 for other European countries for which we had data – though in summary not raw form (i.e. only simple counts by decade of publication were available). As the table shows, even in the lowest cases, the public domain is substantial: ranging from the ten of thousands (e.g. Bulgaria, Finland) up to the many hundreds of thousands (e.g. example Italy, Poland and Ireland). Table 9 summarizes the total counts and PD numbers in a single table with the PD percentages – that is, the fraction of the total books currently available which are in the public domain. As this shows, in the countries for whom we have data, there are a total of 25.5m books of which we estimate just over 3m are public domain (12%).

Finally, we can obtain a total figure for the entire EU by extrapolation based on population size.²⁹ The countries from whom we have received have data account for approximately one third of the EU population. Extrapolating on that basis we estimate that public domain in the EU contains approximately 9m books.

Country	Total	Total PD	Percentage PD
Bulgaria	549589	25125	5.0
Czech Rep.	1560000	85542	5.0
Finland	836141	68059	8.0
Italy	6000000	238648	4.0
Ireland	2954000	221116	7.0
Poland	2685169	379800	14.0
Slovakia	338529	17472	5.0
UK (BL)	10561445	2015050	19.0
Total	25484873	3050812	12.0

Table 9. Summary of Public Domain Books

5.3. Change in Public Domain. Here we provide figures on two related questions. First, how many items have entered the public domain in recent years and how many many will soon enter. Second, and relatedly, what the effects *today* would be of a reduction or extension in the term of copyright (e.g. by a decade or two).

As should be clear these questions are directly related: the number of works entering the public domain in the next decade is the same as the number of works which would enter the public domain if term were reduced today by ten years. Conversely, if term were

²⁹This is obviously rather crude, and given the prominence of UK holdings may result in something of an overestimate – though we note both France and Germany are likely to have large historical holdings. However, given the absence of data, it is the best we can do.

		Cu	rrent	Ne	Next 10		Next 20		Last 10		Last 20	
Pub. Date	Items	% PD	No. PD	% PD	No. PD	% PD	No. PD	% PD	No. PD	% PD	No. PD	
1400-1850	304587	100	304587	100	304587	100	304587	100	304587	100	304587	
1850-1860	40970	100	40970	100	40970	100	40970	100	40970	95	38921	
1860-1870	43734	100	43734	100	43734	100	43734	95	41547	90	39360	
1870-1880	50564	95	48035	100	50564	100	50564	90	45507	85	42979	
1880-1890	66857	90	60171	95	63514	100	66857	85	56828	65	43457	
1890-1900	66883	85	56850	90	60194	95	63538	65	43473	40	26753	
1900-1910	70360	65	45734	85	59806	90	63324	40	28144	25	17590	
1910-1920	60489	40	24195	65	39317	85	51415	25	15122	10	6048	
1920-1930	78670	25	19667	40	31468	65	51135	10	7867	6	4720	
1930-1940	90576	10	9057	25	22644	40	36230	6	5434	0	0	
1940-1950	72692	6	4361	10	7269	25	18173	0	0	0	0	
1950-1960	118251	0	0	6	7095	10	11825	0	0	0	0	
1960-1970	262974	0	0	0	0	6	15778	0	0	0	0	
1970-2009	2130509	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	3458116	19	657361	21	731162	23	818130	17	589479	15	524415	

Table 10. Change in Number of Public Domain Books (CUL, UK)

10 years longer than its current level the reduction in the size of the public domain would be precisely equal to the number of items entering the public over the last 10 years. In addition there is the future impact: works which would have entered the public domain in, say, the next decade, will only do so in the decade after, and so-on for subsequent decades.³⁰

Table 10 summarizes the effects for books in the UK based on CUL holdings. As this shows the number of items entering the public domain per decade is roughly constant with each decade adding between 65k and 85k items to the public domain, equal to roughly 2% of current holdings.

6. Sound Recordings

For recordings the public domain situation is both simpler and more complex. Sound recordings contain two distinct 'rights'. An authorial copyright in the composition (music and lyrics) and a 'recording' copyright (or neighbouring right) in the recording itself. The rights in the authorial copyright are treated like any other copyright and receive the standard life plus 70 years. However, the recording right runs for a simple 50 years from 'publication'. Thus, if we restrict our meaning of public domain to the expiry of the recording copyright then it is sufficient to know the date of release. However, if we wish to know that the recording is 'fully' public domain with both authorial and recording

³⁰It is also possible that an extension only affects items still in copyright and leaves those already in the public domain in the public domain. In that case the immediate impact today of an extension of, say, 10 years would be zero. However, its impact of the next decade would be significant: no work would enter the public domain at all. Thus, in this case the loss would be of the works that would have entered the public domain in the next decade (and in the decades after).

copyright expired, then we shall need to have detailed information on the composer of the work. By default, in what follows we will follow this proposed restriction, and 'public domain' shall mean those recordings whose recording copyright alone has expired.

Period	No. of Recordings	Rec. Copyright Expired
1880-1889	0	Y
1890-1899	545	Y
1900-1909	9651	Y
1910-1919	11054	Y
1920-1929	29506	Y
1930-1939	61058	Y
1940-1949	64056	Y
1950-1959	125798	Y
1960-1969	171155	N
1970-1979	191308	N
1980-1989	294959	N
1990-1999	491290	N
2000-2009	220990	N
Total	1671370	301668 (18%)

Table 11. Recordings in British Library Sound Archive.

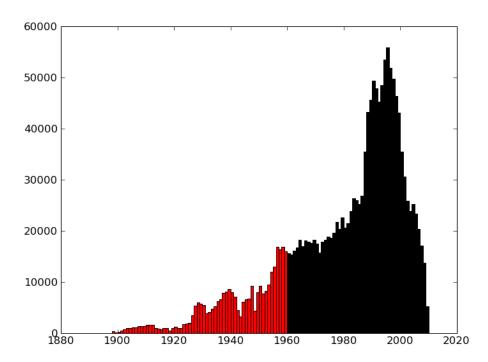


FIGURE 4. Recordings in British Library Sound Archive. Total (black), PD (red).

The majority of the data provided was of a summary nature, only providing counts based on decade of release. Of this type, we had information from three libraries in three countries: Poland, Ireland and the UK. Based on the figures provided, the approximate number of public domain recordings (i.e. those whose recording copyright had expired) was, respectively 14,000, 4,000 and 300,000. It is clear from this that the UK holdings (at the British Library) are by far the largest.³¹ Furthermore, though we cannot know their full PD status with certainty without more detailed data, the prominence of classical music in early recording makes it likely that a very substantial number of these recordings, probably the majority, are fully public domain.

A full decadal breakdown of the British Library Sound Archive data is provided in Table 11 and Figure 4. As this shows the number of recordings held by the Archive has grown rapidly over the last century from a few hundred in for the whole 1890s to 20,000 a year in the 1960s and over 50,000 a year in the 1990s (note that the figures in the 2000s are not reliable since there can be a significant delay in acquisition and cataloguing). The 300,000 recordings

To add to this, we did manage to do some calculations based on 'raw' data. There were two sources: the BBC CAIRNS catalogue which lists recordings held in the BBC archives, and the catalogues collected by the CHARM project at King's College London. Unfortunately though the CAIRNS catalogue was large – running to the hundreds of thousands of records – the level of detail for most entries was very low with not only little author information but often not even a release date.³²

The CHARM data was rather better though it was limited in that it was focused only on discographies of particular record labels or particular composers (e.g. Schubert) and had no aim to be comprehensive. Nevertheless, as a high quality resource with few, if any, duplicates and good information on composers and publication dates this dataset can at

³¹Moreover, the British Library Sound Archive (from source of the UK data came) informed us that "the number of recordings held by the Sound Archive from these date ranges, post 1900, is estimated to be as much as 4 times the figures [provided to us]". At the same time, it is worth emphasizing that the material in the Sound Archive is varied ranging from commercial phonograms to interviews.

³²Where persons were identified performers were not distinguished from composers and unlike library catalogues persons were not necessarily uniquely identified and no dates were provided. Thus, any usage for public domain calculations would have required matching this database to a separate authorial database or the addition of dates by hand – something that was not really feasible given the scale of the catalogue.

least provide us with a good lower bound.³³ Based on this data, we estimated that there are at least twenty thousand fully public domain recordings.

To sum up. The data we obtained in relation to recordings was substantially less than for books. We had no 'raw' data and sumary data from only three countries: the UK, Poland and Ireland. The best data came from the British Library Sound Archive (BLSA) and their collection was also by far the largest being more than *ten times* the size of other two countries combined. The BLSA holdings had over public domain 300,000 recordings equating to 18% of their holdings, though without further and better data we could not establish how many of these were 'fully public domain' in the sense of both their recording and authorial copyright having expired.

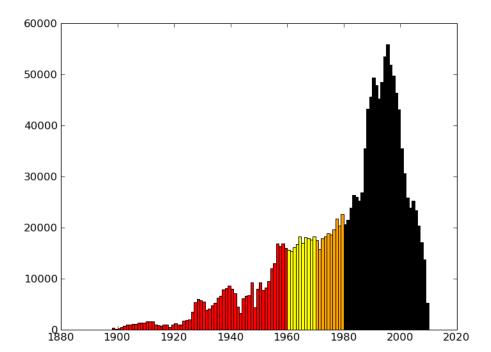


FIGURE 5. Change in Public Domain Recordings in British Library Sound Archive. PD now (red), PD in next decade (yellow), PD in decade after that (orange) assuming no term extension. These are also therefore the set of recordings that would be lost to the PD over the next two decades if term were extended by 20 years from 50 to 70 years.

³³Also note that this data focuses on recordings released by the main record labels – unlike library catalogues which may include additional recorded material (e.g. interviews).

	Count	%
To Present	1671370	
In PD	301668	18.0
Entering PD next 10y	171155	10.2
Entering PD next 10y after	191308	11.4
Entered PD last 10y	125798	7.5
Entered PD 10y before that	64056	3.8

TABLE 12. Recordings entering PD (no term extension). Percentage figures are percentages of current total.

6.1. Change in the Public Domain. We now look at change in the public domain of recordings similar to our analysis for books. Figure 5 displays visually the set of recordings entering the public domain in the next two decades. Table 12 gives figures for the number of recordings that are entering the public domain in the next two decades (and have entered in the last two). As this shows, based on the British Library Sound Archive holdings, the public domain of UK recordings will increase from its current level of 300,000 items to over 600,000 items thanks to the roughly 171,000 items from the 1960s that will enter in the next decade and the 191,000 items from the 1970s that will enter the decade after that. Thus, over the next two decades the public domain of recordings in the UK will more than double in size.

These figures are, of course, based on the assumption that recording copyright term stays its current level of 50 years. What would happen if copyright were extended (or reduced) by one or two decades?³⁴ As discussed above in the case for books, the effects of extension/reduction in term is directly related to number of recordings entering the public domain. For example, if term were extended by a decade the immediate effect would be put back into copyright those recordings (125k of them) which entered the public domain in the last decade. Moreover, over the next decade the recordings from the 1960s that would have entered the public domain (171k of them) will no longer do so (instead those recordings from the 1950s which had been 'put back' in the public domain would gradually re-enter it), and so-on for subsequent decades. A term extension of 20 years would operate in exactly the same manner as a ten-year one. Likewise a reduction in term by a decade would mean an immediate increase in the public domain of 50% thanks to the 171k items

 $^{^{34}}$ This is a very real possibility as a term extension to 70 or even 95 years for recordings is currently being considered in the EU.

from the 1960s that would enter immediately. Moreover, it would then increase by another 191k items over the next decade as material from the 1970s entered the public domain.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that it is possible for an extension to be applied only to items still in copyright leaving those already in the public domain untouched (it is this option that is part of the current term extension proposal in the EU). In that case the immediate impact on the public domain would zero. However, over the next decades the impact would be dramatic. Consider, for example, a twenty year extension as envisaged in the current (reduced) form of the EU proposal. Its effect would be that zero recordings would enter the public domain in the next decade instead of 171 thousand recordings (from the 1960s) which would otherwise have done so. Similarly for the decade after that: none of the more than 191 thousand recordings from the 1970s would enter the public domain (as they otherwise would have done). In essence the public domain would stand still for two decades with the first new public domain recordings arriving in 2030 (from 1960). Instead of doubling in size over the next two decades the public domain would remain entirely static (while growing relatively even older).

7. Musical Compositions

For musical composition we only have data from only one source: Cambridge University Library. For the purposes of public domain estimation we use the same vintage-to-PD conversion percentages as for books. A summary plot of publication counts over time and public domain size can be found in Figure 6. Table 13 provides the associated decadal counts and public domain totals.

As these show, the number of items recorded in the CUL catalogue stayed at a fairly low level of – no more than a few a year – up until the middle the of the 18th century. At that point a significant growth appears to have begun with items per year averaging well over 50 a year by the mid-1850s. In the latter part of the 19th century there is a sudden large increase in holdings averaging over 600 a year from the mid-1870s to the 1890s before falling back to around a 100 a year. The next significant rise, which again is precipitous rather than gradual, occurs after WWI with a doubling in output from the previous level

³⁵As with our book data we must remember that catalogue records may give only a poor estimate of actual production (especially if we are concerned with contemporaneous rather than surviving output). This is frustrating as it would be interesting whether these marked patterns – such as this spike in the late

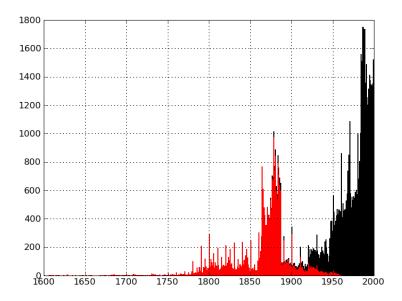


FIGURE 6. Total (Black) and PD (Red) Items based on the CUL Catalogue. (Restricted to pre-1960 period in first figure).

Pub. Date	Items	% PD	No. PD
1504-1850	6731	100	6731
1850-1860	737	100	737
1860-1870	3874	100	3874
1870-1880	5956	95	5658
1880-1890	5307	90	4776
1890-1900	1176	85	999
1900-1910	1000	65	650
1910-1920	891	40	356
1920-1930	1746	25	436
1930-1940	1737	10	173
1940-1950	2435	6	146
1950-1960	4419	0	0
1960-1970	5872	0	0
1970-2009	41290	0	0
Total	83171	29	24536

Table 13. Estimated Number of PD Items based on CUL Catalogue.

of well under a 100 per year to more than 150 a year in the 1920s. This stays more or less constant through WWII up to the start of the 1950s when growth takes off again. After an initial jump growth is substantial and steady: starting from around 200 a year at the

¹⁹th century – reflect actual trends (for example the rise of music hall) or are simply artefacts of library collection policies.

end of WWII by the mid-1950s it is more than double this level, by the 1970s at over 600 a year and reaching over a thousand by the 1980s.

In terms of the public domain, our calculations suggest that there are 24 thousand public domain items, corresponding to just under 30% of the total 83 thousand items. This relatively large percentage (compared to books) is largely due to the aforementioned spike in music holdings from the late 19th century.

8. Film

In the EU copyright in films last for seventy years after the death of the last primary 'contributor' (director, script-writer, etc). Since film, as a artistic medium, has only been existence since the very end of the nineteenth century it is therefore likely that very little film is in the public domain – for example, Auguste Lumière, one of the Lumière brothers who in 1895 presented one of the first public cinema screenings in the world, died in 1954.

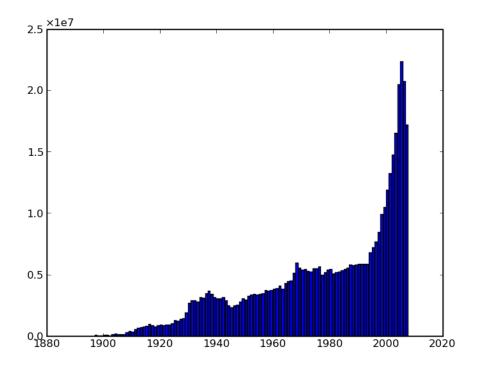


Figure 7. Global Film Production (minutes of film). Source: imdb.com

Below are Figures showing film production across the major European countries based on the data in the Internet Movie Database (IMDb.com), as well as figures for global film production. No 'public domain' has been shown as for two reasons. First, calculate one explicitly is hard (if not impossible) given available data, and, second, as just discussed, it is almost certainly negligible in size.

9. Conclusion

In this paper we have provided the first quantitative assessments of the size of the European public domain – one of the first such assessments for any jurisdiction. Our results indicate that the public domain for books alone consists of hundred of thousands, and sometimes millions, of items, and that, taken as a whole, the European Public Domain must be measured in the millions, or even tens of millions. While a brief perusal of the relevant datasets indicates that much of this material may have only slight value today, nevertheless the scale and diversity of this vast public domain is indicative of significant value, cultural, social and commercial.³⁶

In addition to the main size estimates, we have also produced results on several related points. Perhaps most important was the derivation of Public Domain 'proportions/weightings' which could be used based solely on the 'vintage' (publication date) of works. As discussed above, for the majority of cultural material, copyright is a function of authorial death date. Unfortunately, this information is frequently unavailable—in contrast, to the publication date which is almost always provided. By analyzing the raw catalogue data provided by some libraries we were able to link calculations of PD status based directly on authorial information to the publication dates thereby deriving PD 'proportions/weightings' which are usable in a much wider set of circumstances. Moreover, the very same analysis also gave valuable statistics both for the number of works for which direct calculation of PD status is not possible and for the number of works with no authorial information at all—important figures for any potential digitization project (as well as for the debate over orphan works).

References

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³⁶A more precise quantification of this value, focused on price, usage and availability, is intended to be the subject of future papers.

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