

Publishing for the Popes:
The Cultural Policy of the Catholic Church
towards Printing in Sixteenth-Century Rome

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

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Abstract

Printing had a huge impact on the development of religion and politics in sixteenth-century Europe. Harnessing the printing press is generally regarded as a key factor in the success of the Reformation. The positive role played by printing in Catholic cultural policy, by contrast, has not been sufficiently recognized. While scholars have focused on ecclesiastical censorship, the employment of print by Catholic authorities – especially the Roman curia – has been addressed only sporadically and superficially. The aim of my dissertation is to fill this gap, providing a detailed picture of the papacy's efforts to exploit the resources of the Roman printing industry after the Sack in 1527 and before the establishment of the Vatican Typography in 1587.

After a brief introduction (Chapter 1), I provide an exhaustive account of the papacy's attempts, over sixty years, to set up a Roman papal press (Chapter 2). I then focus on two main Catholic printing enterprises. Part I is devoted to the editorial activity of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, later Pope Marcellus II. I discuss the extant sources and earlier scholarship on Cervini (Chapter 3), his cultural profile (Chapter 4) and the Greek and Latin presses which he established in the early 1540s (Chapters 5-6). Part II concentrates on the projects for a papal press involving the Venetian printer Paolo Manuzio. After an overview of the sources and previous studies (Chapter 7), I analyse Manuzio's attempts to move to Rome, the establishment of a papal press under his management and the committee of cardinals which supervised it (Chapters 8-10). Chapter 11 examines the printing of the first edition of the Tridentine decrees, undertaken in 1564.

Chapter 12 contains the overall conclusion to the dissertation. Documentary Appendixes A and B list the publications sponsored by Cervini and the books printed by Manuzio's Roman press.

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In appreciation of all that they gifted me, I dedicate this thesis to my parents, the most indefatigable and joyful investigators I know, and to Sofia, for her always-enquiring mind and witty partnership in life.

List of Abbreviations

Libraries and Archives

ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
ASR	Archivio di Stato, Rome
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City
BAM	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BL	British Library, London
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BRB	Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels
BVR	Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome

Printed Books

<i>CT</i>	<i>Concilium Tridentinum: diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio</i> , 13 vols, Freiburg i. B. 1901-2001
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> , Rome 1960-
<i>ILI</i>	<i>Index des livres interdits</i> , ed. by J. M. de Bujanda, 11 vols, Sherbrooke and Geneva 1986-2001

Online Resources

<i>EDIT16</i>	Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo: edit16.iccu.sbn.it
<i>ISTC</i>	Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: bl.uk/catalogues/istc/

Editorial Note

For quotations from primary sources, both in Latin and in the Italian vernacular, whether published or in manuscript, I have adopted the following editorial conventions: the letters u and v, i and j, ae and e are distinguished according to modern conventions; accents, apostrophes and punctuation have been added where necessary and omitted when superfluous; all abbreviations are expanded, and all translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. In bibliographical references, publishers are included only for printed books published before 1600.

1. Introduction

In this dissertation, I shall seek to provide insights into the complex relationship between an increasingly powerful governmental institution, the mid-sixteenth-century papacy, and a relatively new medium of communication, printing by means of movable type. In particular, I shall analyse how this nexus took shape at the very heart of the Catholic Church, in Rome, where several attempts were made by the Curia to establish a publishing house in the service of the pope. The time frame taken into consideration covers sixty years. I begin in 1527, with the Sack of Rome, an historic watershed: before this traumatic event took place, Rome witnessed the high point of the (mainly pagan) Renaissance and of the expansionistic dreams of the papacy; afterwards, the Curia was forced to face up to the Reformation as a European-wide problem and accept the political domination of Emperor Charles V over the Italian peninsula. The drastic impact of the Sack on the Roman economy meant that its printing industry had to restart afresh. My study concludes in 1587, when a bull of Pope Sixtus V sanctioned the setting up of the official *Typographia Vaticana*, ushering in a new era for the papacy's communication strategy.

In cultural terms, these six decades were marked by the rise and rapid development of the censorship policy of the Catholic Church, directed mainly against printed books, as part of its struggle with the Reformation and with those aspects of Renaissance culture which it came to regard as immoral. Many well-

documented studies have shed light on ecclesiastical censorship and on the various Indexes of Forbidden Books.¹ Printed books soon came to be perceived as a dangerous channel through which Protestantism was able to enter the minds of readers and influence their thought. That printing favoured the successful spread of the doctrines of Luther and other Reformers is a long-established and persistent historiographical *topos*, the overall validity of which cannot be questioned.² The counterpart to this commonplace is the failure to take account of the Catholic side's engagement with printing. Almost all of the Church's attempts to make use of this

¹ See esp. G. Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471-1605)*, Bologna 1997, as well as her *Proibito capire: la Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna*, Bologna 2005 and, among her many recent essays on the subject, 'La censura ecclesiastica in Italia: volgarizzamenti biblici e letteratura all'Indice: bilancio degli studi e prospettive di ricerca', in *Reading and Censorship in Early Modern Europe (Conference Proceeding, Barcelona, 11-13 December 2007)*, ed. by M. J. Vega, J. Weiss and C. Esteve, Bellaterra 2010, pp. 39-56, and 'La censura ecclesiastica romana e la cultura dei "semplici"', *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, IX, 2014, pp. 85-100. See also V. Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice: la censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma*, Brescia 2006; P. Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index*, Leiden and Boston 2000; U. Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli Indici del Cinquecento*, Udine 2005, and his *La strage ignorata: i fogli volanti a stampa nell'Italia dei secoli XV e XVI*, Udine 2008; the insightful articles by A. Prosperi, 'Censurare le favole' and "'Damnatio memoriae": nomi e libri in una proposta della Controriforma', both in his *L'Inquisizione Romana: letture e ricerche*, Rome 2003, pp. 345-384 and 385-411; and G. Caravale, 'Libri proibiti, libri suggeriti: considerazioni su illetterati e censura nell'Italia della prima età moderna', in *Per Adriano Prosperi: I: La fede degli Italiani*, ed. by G. Dall'Olio, A. Malena and P. Scaramella, Pisa 2011, pp. 183-189. For the broader picture, see M. Infelise, *Libri proibiti: da Gutenberg all'Encyclopédie*, Rome and Bari 1999; S. Landi, *Stampa, censura e opinione pubblica in età moderna*, Bologna 2011; and H. Wolf, *Index: der Vatikan und die verbotenen Bücher*, Munich 2006. The opening of the archive of the Roman Inquisition in 1998 and the ground-breaking endeavour of publishing the Indexes of Forbidden Books (*ILI*) have steadily expanded our knowledge of the topic.

² In the debate over the relationship between printing and the Reformation, I endorse the point of view of J. F. Gilmont, 'Riforma protestante e lettura', in *Storia della lettura nel mondo occidentale*, ed. by G. Cavallo and R. Chartier, Rome 1995, pp. 243-275, who discusses the influence of the printed word on a largely illiterate European audience. See also A. Götze, *Die hochdeutschen Drucker der Reformationszeit*, Berlin 1963; L. Febvre and H. J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, Paris 1971, pp. 400-438; R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge and New York 1981, esp. pp. 1-13; *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by J. F. Gilmont, Aldershot 1998, especially the introduction by Gilmont and J. L. Flood, 'The Book in Reformation Germany', at pp. 21-103. For an extreme version of the conventional belief in the dichotomy between Protestant and Catholic use of the printing press, often unsupported by evidence, see E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols, Cambridge and New York 1979, esp. I, pp. 303-450 (later abridged in her *Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 148-186). For an original interpretation of Lutheran success in the war of printed propaganda, see J. D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, Leiden and Boston 2007.

means of communication in support of their own cause have been overlooked, with the result that this area of sixteenth-century religious and cultural history remains largely understudied. The few surveys which have been conducted concern only German-speaking regions and address the issue in a preliminary and statistical manner.³ Although there are scattered bibliographical studies, known only to specialists in the field,⁴ there is no full-scale investigation focusing on Italy and, more importantly, exploring the attitudes towards printing held by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church.⁵ Consequently, the assumption which seems to underlay most scholarship on the subject is that Protestant exploitation of printing was clever, active and forward-looking, whereas Catholics and the Curia were inept and reactionary in dealing with the new medium.

³ See *Katholische Kontroverstheologen und Reformer des 16. Jahrhunderts: ein Werkverzeichnis*, ed. by W. Klaiber, Münster 1978; R. A. Crofts, 'Printing, Reform, and the Catholic Reformation in Germany (1521-1545)', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XVI, 1985, pp. 369-381; M. U. Edwards, Jr., 'Catholic Controversial Literature (1518-1555): Some Statistics', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LXXIX, 1988, pp. 189-205, and his *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation: Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, Berkeley 1994. The merits and shortcomings of these studies are discussed by J. F. Gilmont, 'La bibliographie de la controverse catholique au XVI^e siècle: quelques suggestions méthodologiques', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, LXXIV, 1979, pp. 362-371, and J. M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*, Leiden 2010, p. 155.

⁴ These case studies will be discussed in the introductory chapters of Parts I and II. It is worth noting that Roman printing after 1527 has received much less scholarly attention than the six earlier decades, which have been intensively studied by bibliographers.

⁵ Partial exceptions to the general neglect of this topic are V. Romani, 'Per lo Stato e per la Chiesa: la tipografia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica e le altre tipografie pontificie (secc. XVI-XVIII)', *Il Bibliotecario*, 1998, pp. 175-192; U. Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell'editoria religiosa in Italia (1465-1600)*, Udine 1993, esp. pp. 80-119, along with his entry 'Tipografie ecclesiastiche', in U. Rozzo and R. Gordian, *Il libro religioso*, Milan 2002, pp. 250-256; the rapid overview, focusing mainly on Rome during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, by G. Finocchiaro, *Cesare Baronio e la Tipografia dell'Oratorio: impresa e ideologia*, Florence 2005, pp. 13-32. Finally, I would like to draw attention to an exhibition mounted in 1972 by the Vatican Library, concerning the presses sponsored by the Holy See. The small brochure published in connection with the exhibition (*Tipografie romane promosse dalla Santa Sede: mostra di edizioni*, Vatican City 1972) was by no means exhaustive; but it did endeavour, for the first time, to treat all the various attempts by the Catholic Church to establish a press in Rome.

The aim of my dissertation is to interrogate this assumption. I shall examine the Catholic Church's attitude towards printing, looking at its biases, its mistrust and its tactics. For this purpose, the city of Rome offers a unique case study. While Rome may not mirror the entire spectrum of situations encountered by Catholic clergy and believers in Europe, it certainly reflects the approach of the leading centre of Catholic power and its ultimate reference point. We need to bear in mind, however, that – due to the relative autonomy in religious matters either achieved or claimed by rising nation states such as Spain, Portugal and France and to the success of Reformation movements especially in Central and Northern Europe – the sixteenth-century papacy had serious difficulties in exerting a decisive influence beyond the Alps and, to some extent, even had to struggle in the southern Italian regions controlled by the Spanish monarchy.⁶ Catholic policy was not uniformly dictated by Rome, especially since lay rulers were often unwilling to expose their domains to its political and economic influence. Even so, the papacy still played an authoritative role in the Cinquecento and had a powerful impact on the cultural development of large areas of the European continent, far and foremost Italy.

The research question underpinning my investigation is whether all of the attempts made in Rome by the Catholic Church to harness printing can be treated as

⁶ On the limits of the sixteenth-century (and later) papacy, see S. Ditchfield, 'Tridentine Catholicism', in *The Ashgate Companion to Counter-Reformation*, ed. by A. Bamji, G. H. Janssen and M. Laven, Farnham 2013, pp. 15-32, at pp. 24-27; in this essay, Ditchfield undermines earlier theories of papal power, taking advantage of recent scholarship on the subject. Still useful for the situation in the Papal States is M. Caravale and A. Caracciolo, *Lo Stato pontificio da Martino V a Pio IX*, Turin 1978. See also the remarks on the Italian scenario by G. Fragnito, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e costruzione dello Stato: riflessioni e spunti', in *Origini dello Stato: processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by G. Chittolini, A. Molho and P. Schiera, Bologna 1994, pp. 531-550, now in her *Cinquecento italiano: religione, cultura e potere dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma*, ed. by E. Bonora and M. Gotor, Bologna 2011, pp. 17-34.

evidence of a cultural policy, that is, a line of action pursued with sufficient coherence, despite the frequent changes in leadership. Four points need to be established in order to answer this question. First and foremost, it is necessary to reconstruct the Church's experiments with printing between 1527 and 1587 and to determine whether there was a substantial continuity.⁷ Secondly, it is crucial to identify the key players involved and the type of works which they sponsored for publication, so as to uncover the level of engagement of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and what they aimed to achieve through their support for local printing presses. Thirdly, we must consider what connections existed between moves to set up official Catholic presses and the growth of bureaucratic and centralising tendencies in the Church, as evidenced in contemporary developments in the Papal States, the summoning of the Council of Trent and its aftermath, and the reinforcement of the absolute papal power over the Curia and Catholic clergy. Finally, we have to understand how these attempts fitted into the Catholic establishment's attempts to censor printing and the printed word.

Before embarking on the main body of the dissertation, I need to make three preliminary remarks. The first concerns the term used to describe the period in which the events reconstructed here occurred, that is, the mid- and late sixteenth century.⁸ Over the past 60 years, historians have put forward various replacements

⁷ The first brief mention of continuity which I have found is in F. M. Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Roma*, II, Rome 1804, pp. 204-206; III, Rome 1805, p. 62; and for the most recent reference, see P. Petitmengin, 'I manoscritti latini della Vaticana: uso, acquisizioni, classificazioni', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: II: La Biblioteca Vaticana tra Riforma Cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535-1590)*, ed. by M. Ceresa, Vatican City 2012, pp. 43-89, at p. 72.

⁸ See E. Cochrane, *Italy 1530-1630*, London and New York 1988, for an introduction to the country's history in the period. For an interesting and unconventional insight into the contemporary European

for the traditional label Counter-Reformation, ranging from Catholic Reformation, Age of Confessionalisation, Tridentine Catholicism, Catholic Renewal and Early Modern Catholicism.⁹ It seems to me, however, that Counter-Reformation, with specific application to the Italian situation and most importantly to the point of view adopted by the Roman Curia, remains a meaningful and evocative term,¹⁰ covering not only the mainstream centralising and repressive policies of the papacy, but also the contemporary (often unsuccessful) attempts by the Catholic hierarchy to renew spirituality, reform abuses and promote new cultural projects. I am not suggesting that such attempts should be judged as ‘positive’ elements, counterbalancing (let alone obliterating) the many ‘negative’ aspects of the Church of Rome’s response to the Reformation. As I shall try to illustrate in the case of printing, it is possible to present a complementary analysis of the attitudes of the Catholic Church and of the Reformers which avoids the usual schematic rhetoric of pro and con.

My second remark is closely connected to the first and involves the struggle within Roman Catholicism over the approach to take towards the Reformation and the internal reform of the Church. At the highest level of the Curia, cardinals began to follow two contrasting projects from the late 1530s. On the one hand, there were the so-called ‘intransigents’, championed by Gian Pietro Carafa, whose rigid

context, especially in its broad sociological and cultural threads, see W. J. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance (1550-1640)*, New Haven and London 2000.

⁹ The terms and their cultural backgrounds are analysed by J. W. O’Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, Cambridge MA and London 2000, who coined the somewhat flat and tautological Early Modern Catholicism.

¹⁰ See E. Bonora, *La Controriforma*, Rome and Bari, 2008 (with updated bibliography) and *The Ashgate Companion to Counter-Reformation* (esp. Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Catholicism’, at pp. 19-21). Massimo Firpo, in a lecture delivered at the international workshop ‘The Origins of the Inquisition in Comparative Perspective’, University of York, 21 May 2015, entitled ‘Rethinking “Catholic Reformation” and “Counter-Reformation”: What Happened in Early Modern Catholicism? The Case of Italy’, argued convincingly for the legitimacy of the term Counter-Reformation.

position was *de facto* embodied by the newly established Roman Inquisition; on the other, were those in favour of compromise, hoping to win back Protestants by making some theological concessions, especially on the crucial subject of salvation. This second informal party initially gathered around Gasparo Contarini and received backing from Emperor Charles V. After Contarini's failed attempt at reconciliation with the Reformed camp in 1541 and his death in the following year, many of his followers, coming under the influence of Juan de Valdés's teachings, embraced a more radical theology based on the primacy of God's grace and the salvific outcome of Christ's sacrifice especially for true believers. This group, which I shall refer as *spirituali*, was formed after 1542 and led by Cardinal Reginald Pole. The intransigents, however, managed to eradicate any desire for compromise in the Catholic establishment by taking an increasingly decisive role in papal elections, defining orthodoxy very narrowly and bringing to trial the main figures in the circle of *spirituali*, including, most famously, Cardinal Giovanni Morone.¹¹

My third remark concerns the need to keep in mind that the Catholic Church had been involved in printing long before the wake of the Reformation and the Sack of Rome, starting with Sweynheim and Pannartz, the first entrepreneurs to bring Gutenberg's invention to Italy in 1464.¹² Support for this new mode of communication, however, came mainly from a few high-ranking curial prelates,

¹¹ I have relied, in particular, on G. Fragnito, 'Gli "spirituali" e la fuga di Bernardino Ochino', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXXIV, 1972, pp. 777-813 and her 'Evangelismo e intransigenti nei difficili equilibri del pontificato farnesiano', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, XXV, 1989, pp. 20-47, now both in her *Cinquecento italiano*, respectively pp. 141-188, 188-220 ; M. Firpo, *Tra Alumbrados e "Spirituali": studi su Juan de Valdés e il Valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano*, Florence 1990 and his *Dal sacco di Roma all'Inquisizione: studi su Juan de Valdés e la Riforma italiana*, Alessandria 1998.

¹² E. Hall, *Sweynheim & Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome*, McMinnville OR 1991.

never from the papacy as an institution. The granting of privileges to protect authors and works from piracy can hardly be seen as a well-thought-out political, cultural or religious policy.¹³ At the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, papal interest in printing leaned generally towards regulation rather than exploitation, as the threatening implications for the Church's political and religious authority of an almost unlimited and unmediated access to knowledge started to become apparent. The interventions of Innocent VIII in 1487, of Alexander VI in 1501 and of Leo X in 1515 moved in this direction, building up a system of preliminary censorship regulated by ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁴ The rise of Lutheranism called for further improvements of this system; and yet, until the early 1540s, the papacy was as incapable of deciding how to go about this as it was of how to harness the potential of printing to counteract and thwart Reformed propaganda.

It is also necessary to say a few words about the method I have adopted in this dissertation, which entails combining bibliography and religious history, with a secondary focus on the history of the book and of scholarship. This integrated approach requires taking into account and evaluating various different primary sources: books issued at the time, including their contents, paratexts and copy-

¹³ See M. G. Blasio, "*Cum gratia et privilegio*": programmi editoriali e politica pontificia Roma (1487-1527), Rome 1988; and for a broader prospective, based on different sources, see J. C. Ginsburg, 'Proto-Property in Literary and Artistic Works: Sixteenth-Century Papal Printing Privileges', *The Columbia Journal of Law & the Arts*, XXXVI, 2013, pp. 345-458.

¹⁴ Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 15-35, stresses the very limited effect of these first regulations. Nevertheless, they marked an extremely important turn, if one considers the development of the control over printing established in the following decades and centuries by the Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as by European lay rulers; see M. Infelise, *I libri proibiti*, esp. pp. 7-28 and, more generally on lay censorship, his *I padroni dei libri: Il controllo sulla stampa nella prima età moderna*, Rome and Bari 2014.

specific evidence; published and unpublished letters of the major figures; and contemporary notarial and governmental acts. I have made extensive use of the collections of printed material in the British Library, the Vatican Library, the Ambrosiana and Braidense libraries in Milan, as well as of *EDIT16*, the online repertoire of sixteenth-century Italian books. I have also located and examined unpublished documents in several Italian archives and libraries, especially those in Vatican City, Rome and Florence. By drawing on such a wide range of sources, it will be possible to trace the trajectory of the people, the ideas and the projects which shaped the cultural attitude of the Catholic Church towards printing and which eventually brought the Vatican press into existence as the first ever state-sponsored printing enterprise.

Finally, in order to make my argument clearer, I decided not to adopt a strictly chronological approach, since the large amount of evidence needed to prove my case could easily have swamped the narration and made it difficult to follow the general thread of my reconstruction. Therefore, in Chapter 2 I provide an overview of the numerous attempts by the Curia to make use of printing, in parallel with the rise of ecclesiastical censorship. In the next chapters, divided between Parts I and II, I analyse in detail the two most important phases in this long history, centred on the main actors, Marcello Cervini and Paolo Manuzio. In the concluding chapter, I discuss the results of my investigation and attempt to answer the research question raised in this introduction. Documentary Appendixes A and B list the books sponsored by Cervini and printed in Rome by Manuzio.

2. A Press for Rome: An Overview of the Printing Enterprises Promoted by the Catholic Establishment in the Eternal City (1529-1587)

On 5 June 1527, Rome was under attack. The city had been ravaged and set alight for a month by the mutinous troops of Emperor Charles V. Pope Clement VII, taking refuge in the Castel Sant'Angelo, eventually surrendered, accepting ignominious conditions, involving a huge ransom and the loss of the city of Modena and other northern parts of the Papal States. The military policy of the papacy aimed at protecting the freedom of the Italian peninsula from the encroachments of France and the Holy Roman Empire had failed, and the prestige of the pope as the supreme and unassailable head of Christianity was fatally damaged. The traumatic days of the Sack of Rome marked the end of the Renaissance papacy and of the golden age of the Roman cultural life. In the wake of Reformation propaganda, imperial publicity and apocalyptic prophecies, many regarded the episode as a divine punishment for the immoral conduct of recent popes and their courts.¹ The pillage of the city wreaked havoc on its economy and weakened its already fragile printing industry. Rome had been the cradle of Italian printing; but times had changed since the incunabular era. By the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Rome had been overshadowed by other centres such as Venice and, in some specific fields, Milan

¹ M. Firpo, 'Il sacco di Roma del 1527 tra profezia, propaganda politica e riforma religiosa', in his *Dal sacco di Roma all'Inquisizione*, pp. 7-60, and O. Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale: infamia, satira e propaganda in Italia tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Rome and Bari 2005.

and Florence.² In this chapter, I shall give an account of the printing initiatives promoted by the Catholic establishment in Rome over the course of sixty years, from 1527 to 1587. Special attention will be paid to linking these attempts to the development of ecclesiastical book control and to the progress of the Roman educational system; and the differences and similarities in the attitude of the various pontiffs who reigned during this period will be noted.

2.1. Stimuli from Verona

Following the chaos of the Sack, several cardinals abandoned Rome. Among them was the former papal secretary Gian Matteo Giberti, who went off to take possession of his bishopric in Verona. Residing there for most of the rest of his life, he attempted to implement his own version of a religious reformation: a return to the active and pious episcopate of the ancient Church. He sought to uproot the clerical scandals and abuses which were as rampant in Verona as elsewhere in the Renaissance Church. He gave renewed emphasis to pastoral care and encouraged preaching, visiting his diocese regularly and keeping an eye on local monastic communities. He also paid particular attention to the education of his flock, especially the parish priests. His interventions went well beyond the reform of morals and were aimed at forming a new type of clergy through better knowledge of

² For a general overview of the development of the Roman printing, see F. Barberi, 'Librai e stampatori nella Roma dei Papi', in his *Per una storia del libro: profili, note, ricerche*, Rome 1981, pp. 197-235, at pp. 197-211. For the years before 1527, see in particular *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: aspetti e problemi: atti del seminario, 1-2 giugno 1979*, ed. by C. Bianca et al., Vatican City 1980; *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: atti del II seminario, 6-8 maggio 1982*, ed. by M. Miglio, Vatican City 1983; M. Miglio, *Saggi di stampa: tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. by A. Modigliani, Rome 2002; *Editori e edizioni a Roma nel Rinascimento*, ed. by P. Farenga, Rome 2005.

the Bible and of the writings of the Church Fathers. His zeal remained a milestone in the Italian Counter-Reformation, despite his supposed links to the so-called *spirituali*. At his death, Giberti was quickly elevated to the status of an exemplary bishop, becoming a model, at least on paper, for other Catholic clergymen, especially after the closure of the Council of Trent.³

Printing played a significant role in Giberti's pioneering activity. Soon after his arrival in Verona, he established a diocesan press attached to his palace, purchasing the machinery as well as the Latin and Greek fonts. In the absence of competent local printers, Giberti turned to Venice, the leading printing centre in Europe, where he could find highly skilled manpower. Giberti primarily wanted to publish Greek books, so he summoned to Verona Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and his brothers, who specialized in Greek printing and who worked at his behest from 1529 to 1532.⁴ The publishing house was to be the official organ of his communication strategy, which involved not only official publications but, more importantly, educational renewal. Since Giberti's plan entailed both institutional and cultural aspects, his episcopal press was not restricted to disseminating directives to nuns, preachers and clergymen, along with vernacular accounts of his activities prepared by his right-hand man Tullio Crispolti, but also produced commentaries on the

³ See esp. A. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma: Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543)*, Rome 1969; for more recent studies, see A. Turchini, 'Giberti, Gian Matteo', in *DBI*, L, Rome 2000, pp. 623-629, with bibliography.

⁴ Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo*, pp. 217-234; L. Carpané and M. Menato, *Annali della tipografia veronese del Cinquecento*, I, Baden-Baden 1992, pp. 21-23; C. Stevanoni, 'Il greco al servizio della riforma cattolica: per uno studio della tipografia di Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio e di G. M. Giberti a Verona (1529-1532)', in *Origini della letteratura neogreca: atti del secondo Congresso internazionale 'Neograeca Medii Aevii', Venezia 7-10 novembre 1991*, ed. by N. M. Panayotakis, II, Venice 1993, pp. 606-632, and her 'La grande stagione dei libri greci', in *Il mestier de le stamperie de i libri: le vicende e i percorsi dei tipografi di Sabbio Chiese tra Cinque e Seicento e l'opera dei Nicolini*, ed. by E. Sandal, Brescia 2002, pp. 83-110, esp. nn. 34 and 35.

Psalms and the New Testament, together with scholarly editions of Greek Christian authors, notably John Chrysostom and John Damascene.⁵ The enterprise, however, turned out to be less profitable than anticipated for the Nicolini brothers, who headed back to Venice after issuing only a dozen books in Verona.

Yet, Giberti did not abandon his plans to exploit printing for his own purposes. For some years, he used Venetian firms – including Nicolini’s main shop – to publish works by his collaborators such as Crispolti’s sermons.⁶ Then, in 1539, he bought another set of fonts and hired the bookseller Antonio Putelletto as the manager of a new episcopal press.⁷ Since Putelletto had no expertise in Greek printing, his output centred on devotional works in the Italian vernacular, especially by Crispolti and Giberti himself. In his list of publications, there was also a significant presence of classical authors (Cicero, Terence and a Latin translation of Galen), medical essays, as well as humanist grammars and treatises, including Erasmus’s *De conscribendis epistolis*.

Putelletto’s most important publication was the 1542 *Constitutiones*, representing Giberti’s entire spiritual legacy. In his printing enterprises, Giberti took advantage of the circle of learned men gathered around him such as Crispolti, Adamo Fumano, Bernardino Donato, Pier Francesco Zini, Niccolò Ormaneto and, for a while, Francesco Berni and Marcantonio Flaminio. The target audience for his

⁵ For a comprehensive list, see Carpané and Menato, *Annali*, pp. 158-170, nos 15-27.

⁶ On Crispolti’s writings and religious belief, see P. Salvetto, *Tullio Crispoldi nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento: le difficili “pratiche del viver christiano”*, Brescia 2009.

⁷ Carpané and Menato, *Annali*, pp. 23-26. See *ibid.*, pp. 171-193, nos 28-53, for a descriptive list of his publications for Giberti and of the few books he continued to publish until 1547.

publications, both with Nicolini and Putelletto, consisted of parish priests, preachers, theologians and pious laymen, in line with his programme of cultural, educational and moral reformation.⁸ His learned Greek editions were certainly addressed to a more élite readership, including perhaps the Venetian Greek community.⁹ The small amount of evidence at our disposal suggests that the two presses were never able to develop into profitable businesses and remained completely dependent on Giberti's financial support.

For all their limitations, Giberti's printing and editorial enterprises exerted considerable influence on the Catholic establishment both in his own day and later on. The place of episcopal publishing houses in the communication strategy of the Counter-Reformation is a largely unexplored topic, but falls outside the Roman focus of this dissertation.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that one of the first actions undertaken by other pillars of virtue among the sixteenth-century Catholic episcopate such as the saintly archbishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo, and the bishop of Verona, Agostino Valier, was to appoint privileged local printers in their dioceses.¹¹

⁸ A. Prosperi, 'Di alcuni testi per il clero nell'Italia del primo Cinquecento', *Critica Storica*, VII, 1968, pp. 137-168, at p. 147.

⁹ See Stevanoni, 'Il greco al servizio'.

¹⁰ For examples of proto-institutional presses in the service of German bishops and princes, see R. Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading (1450-1550)*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 52-56.

¹¹ K. M. Stevens, 'Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary Press of Milan', in *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, ed. by N. Raponi and A. Turchini, Milan 1992, pp. 97-133, esp. p. 100. This is further evidence of the conscious continuity of Borromeo's actions (in a very different historical and geographical context) with the policy promoted in Verona by Giberti, on which see E. Cattaneo, 'La cultura di San Carlo: San Carlo e la cultura', in *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, ed. by N. Raponi and A. Turchini, Milan 1992, pp. 5-38, and his 'Influenze veronesi nelle legislazione di san Carlo Borromeo', in *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento: atti del convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, Bologna 2-6*

2.2. Stimuli from Germany

In the same years in which Giberti was attempting to set up his episcopal press, the battle between Reformed and Catholic pamphleteers reached its height in the Holy Roman Empire. Catholic propaganda, to be sure, was no match for the flood of publications issued in support of the Reformation.¹² An impressive campaign was mounted by the Reformers, spearheaded by its leaders, who understood the potential of printing as a means of persuasion and who exploited it to the full. From very early on, German printers tended to settle in the main Reformed cities, which were also prominent printing centres: Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Augsburg, Ulm, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Hamburg and later Frankfurt and Regensburg. There, they published chiefly Lutheran writings, which were by far the most lucrative at the time. Although some of them genuinely believed in the Protestant cause, most were primarily concerned with the prosperity of their own firms and were willing to print Catholic literature when this seemed profitable. By contrast, there were very few committed Catholic printers; and, among major printing towns, only Cologne remained solidly in favour of the Roman Catholic Church.¹³ As early as the mid-1520s, it became apparent that publishing in support of the Catholic faith was an unwise choice economically. The case of Leipzig is illustrative of the difficulties faced by Catholics even in very favourable circumstances. Thanks to the

settembre 1958, Padua 1960, pp. 123-166, esp. p. 139. On Valier, see Carpané and Menato, *Annali*, pp. 29-30.

¹² See the studies quoted in the introduction, Chapter 1, nn. 2-3.

¹³ H. Finger, 'Editoria italiana – editoria tedesca nel '500', in *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento: atti del convegno, Roma 17-21 ottobre 1989*, ed. by M. Santoro, I, Rome 1992, pp. 697-717.

zeal of Duke George of Saxony,¹⁴ Leipzig was the sole imperial city in which only Catholic publications were officially permitted. Yet, even this protectionist policy failed to stimulate the market for anti-Lutheran pamphlets. Several printers left the city and published Reformed literature elsewhere; those who remained rapidly went bankrupt due to poor sales. In 1539, when George died, the duchy was inherited by his Protestant brother Heinrich, who immediately changed the regulations and promoted publishing in support of the Reformation.

German Catholics, of course, tried to harness printing technology, so as to counteract the steady stream of Reformation propaganda. A group of combative scholars, known as the controversialists, attempted to oppose Luther and his partisans not only in the many imperial diets which were held but also by means of their writings. The leading figures among them were called the ‘Four Evangelists’: Johann Eck, Johann Fabri, Johann Cochlaeus (Dobneck) and Friederich Nausea.¹⁵ Their efforts were largely ineffective, however, overwhelmed as they were by the great success of their enemies. As a result, they were discredited as profiteers and troublemakers in the opinion of contemporaries and in German scholarship; even in the environment of the sixteenth-century Curia and in later Catholic historiography, their reputation was quite low. Some reproached them as short-sighted opponents of progress, others as incompetent polemicists. The bias against them persists in some

¹⁴ Duke George himself wrote controversial literature and supported several German Catholic authors; see H. Becker, ‘Herzog Georg von Sachsen als kirchlicher und theologischer Schriftsteller’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XXIV, 1927, pp. 161-269.

¹⁵ The epithet, which was originally intended to be sarcastic, was coined by the radical Flemish Reformer Johann Campanus in 1536; see H. Jedin, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, 4 vols, Brescia 2009-2010 (original German ed.: Freiburg i. B. 1949-1975), I, p. 442, n. 130, and *ibid.*, pp. 441-457, for an account of their activities.

recent accounts.¹⁶ In analysing their failure, we need to bear in mind the enormous difficulties which they faced in relation to publication costs and the limited availability of both publishers and generous patrons. Many of their publications were self-financed and did not even recoup their costs. This economic element, which is often overlooked, certainly played a considerable part in the breakdown of their strategy and, to some extent, the easy victory of their adversaries. In this war of communication, where rapidity and presenting one's message in an appealing format were all important, the disadvantage on the Catholic side was probably fatal. While German readers showed little interest in the conservative and plodding expositions of the Catholic controversialists, they were enticed by the novelty, boldness and caustic tone of Lutheran writings.

By the time the papacy took an interest in the matter, the weakness of Catholic publishing initiatives had already become an almost insurmountable hindrance. The publication of the bull *Exsurge Domine* in 1520 demonstrated the limits of the Catholic Church's ability to use the printing press to promote its own agenda. Eck, who had been entrusted with issuing the text, struggled to find any sympathetic printers in Catholic Bavaria and was eventually forced to employ a provincial firm in Ingolstadt run by Andreas Lutz.¹⁷ By contrast, Reformers distributed the bull, together with sarcastic notes by Ulrich von Hutten and Luther's reply, so that the

¹⁶ See the criticism of this tendency by Croft, 'Printing, Reform', pp. 369-370, and Edwards, 'Catholic Controversial Literature', pp. 189-190, as well as the preface to *Katholische Theologen der Reformationszeit*, ed. by E. Iserloh, I, Münster 1984, pp. 7-9, and that of Remigius Bäuer to *Katholische Kontroverstheologen*, esp. pp. XXII-XXIII. For a recent study challenging the alleged inferiority of German Catholic preaching in the early Reformation, see Frymire, *The Primacy*, esp. pp. 38-49.

¹⁷ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 201-207, esp. p. 205, and K. Schottenloher, 'Magister Andreas Lutz in Ingolstadt, der Drucker der Bulle "Exsurge Domine" (1519-1524)', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXXII, 1915, pp. 249-266.

Church's threat of excommunication was more widely circulated by Luther's supporters than by his opponents. The shrewd technique of inserting defamatory glosses and comments into official Catholic publications played an important role in Protestant propaganda; and it was not until later in the century that the Catholic Church came up with a counter-strategy, as we shall see in relation to the first edition of the Tridentine decrees in Chapter 11. The Frankfurt fair in 1537 produced another instance of the supremacy of Reformed pamphlets in the book trade. A pamphlet by Henry VIII against the failed council summoned in Mantua was distributed for free, while Luther's comments on the recent convocation bull could be readily purchased. The German Catholic responses either remained in manuscript or were published with great difficulty and meagre success.¹⁸

As the religious crisis provoked by Luther exerted an ever stronger impact on German territories and their politics, the Catholic controversialists sought help and economic support from Rome. Although their insistent pleas reached various papal envoys to the Holy Roman Empire, they nevertheless went largely unheeded.¹⁹ Some of the best minds of the Curia were sent to Germany as nuncios and legates to deal with the Lutheran issue: not only the learned Girolamo Aleandro and Pier Paolo Vergerio the Younger, who later became a religious exile, but also Giovanni Morone, Fabio Mignanelli, Marcello Cervini and Tommaso Campeggi. None of

¹⁸ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 377-378. On the European importance of the annual fair in Frankfurt, see J. L. Flood, "'Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium': The Frankfurt Fair in the Early Modern Period", in *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, ed. by R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote, New Castle DE and London 2007, pp. 1-42.

¹⁹ Most of these letters were collected and published by W. Friedensburg, 'Beiträge zum Briefwechsel der Katholischen Gelehrten Deutschlands im Reformationszeitalter', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XVI, 1896 pp. 470-499; XVIII, 1898, pp. 106-131, 233-297, 420-463, 596-636; XIX, 1899, pp. 211-264, 473-485; XX, 1900, pp. 59-95, 242-259, 500-545; XXI, 1901, pp. 537-594; XXIII, 1902, pp. 110-155, 438-477.

them, however, seriously advocated the controversialists' cause before the pope, preferring instead to offer sporadic and private donations. In addressing the Roman establishment, two of the German controversialists, in particular, gave serious consideration to the printing strategies and cultural initiatives which the Church needed to implement in order to defeat (or, at least, weaken support for) the Reformation.

The first of these was the Bavarian humanist Johann Cochlaeus.²⁰ A prolific writer and prominent polemist, Cochlaeus was constantly in touch with the papal diplomats from 1521 until his death in 1552. Over these 30 years, he never stopped denouncing the malice of German printers (Lutherans to a man, according to him) and the disadvantageous position of him and his fellow Catholics in the book trade, since they usually had to shoulder the publication expenses themselves and rarely recouped their costs.²¹ Like many of his colleagues, he was accused of making a living out of writing religious polemics;²² but the persistence of his requests for publication subsidies suggests that his needs and those of other controversialists were genuine. To remedy this situation, Cochlaeus put himself forward as a publication coordinator for German Catholic writers and tried to set up a Catholic press for the entire country. Persuading two of his relatives to join in the enterprise,

²⁰ The standard biography, M. Spahn, *Johannes Cochläus: ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der Kirchenspaltung*, Berlin 1898, should be consulted together with by R. Bäumer, *Johannes Cochlaeus (1479-1552): Leben und Werk im Dienst der katholischen Reform*, Münster 1980 and M. Samuel-Scheyder, *Johannes Cochlaeus: humaniste et adversaire de Luther*, Nancy 1993.

²¹ His numerous letters to curial prelates can be found in Friedensburg, 'Beiträge', XVIII. Almost all of them refer to the issues mentioned above; but see esp. pp. 117, 123, 236, 239, 243, 247, 264, 268, 271-273, 277-278, 282.

²² The charge of using the Lutheran challenge to his own advantage came, e.g., from both the Reformer Johann Campanus and the Catholic nuncio Giovanni Morone, as reported in Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, p. 455, n. 183. In 1521, the papal envoy Girolamo Aleandro addressed Cochlaeus himself in similar terms: Friedensburg, 'Beiträge', XVIII, pp. 128-129.

he managed to set up publishing houses first in Leipzig and then in Mainz and to encourage collaboration between the few Catholic book dealers in the Holy Roman Empire.²³ The first press was entrusted to his niece's husband, Nikolaus Wolrab, and was in business between 1536 and 1539. As we have seen, Leipzig was at the time the ideal place for a centralised Catholic enterprise. Besides, Cochlaeus was by then secretary to Duke George and would have been in a position to influence the city's printing regulations in favour of the old faith. When Heinrich of Saxony came into power, however, Wolrab was forced to switch to the Protestant camp. In response to this turn of events, Cochlaeus rapidly established another publishing house in Mainz, summoning Franz Behem, a book dealer from Dresden who was married to another of his nieces. Overcoming initial losses, this press prospered, enabling Cochlaeus to link it to the major Catholic printers in the country, especially the Quentel family and the Birckmann dynasty of Cologne. In 1549, they all joined forces, together with the publisher Theobald Spengel, and created a partnership, called 'die grosse Kompanie', for the distribution of Catholic books. Cochlaeus wrote to Cardinal Cervini, asking for a special papal privilege to protect its German publications from the competition of Italian book dealers. Even though his request was not successful, the Catholic partnership survived Cochlaeus himself and continued until Behem's death in 1582. Amid serious financial difficulties, Wolrab

²³ On his enterprises, see C. Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*, Wiesbaden 2007, *ad indicem* (Wolrab; Behem); W. Simon, "'Catechismus" im Medium Buchdruck: Mainzer Katechismusdrucke der Reformationszeit", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, LXXV, 2000, pp. 160-180, at pp. 161-162; H. Finger, 'Editoria italiana', pp. 707-712, and his 'Die "Grosse Kompanie" in Köln und Mainz: Ein Rheinisches Verlegerkonsortium im europäischen Buchhandel des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, LXX, 1995, pp. 294-310; A. Tronnier, 'Zur Lebengeschichte des Mainzer Druckers Franz Behem: I. Der Familienstand Behems', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, XIII, 1938, pp. 168-178; S. Widmann, *Eine Mainzer Presse der Reformationszeit im Dienste der katholischen Litteratur: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buchhandels und der Litteratur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 1889.

(until 1539), Behem and the Catholic printers' federation published almost exclusively controversialist literature, including, of course, many works by Cochlaeus. Even if his strenuous efforts were not able to overturn the power of Reformed propaganda, they certainly contributed to the survival of the Catholic cause in the German book trade. Proper support from Rome would very likely have increased its impact on readers and helped to maintain the centralisation of Catholic propaganda in the hands of reliable and committed printers.

In addition to Cochlaeus's projects, the Roman Curia was solicited by Johann Fabri, bishop of Vienna, to launch a vast cultural programme aimed at countering the Reformation.²⁴ In July 1536, Fabri submitted to Paul III a long memo concerning the preparations for the council which was supposed to be convened in Mantua in the following months.²⁵ In his view, the ecumenical assembly would either lead Protestants back into the Roman Church's embrace or else unmask them as schismatic heretics. In both cases, an in-depth knowledge of Protestantism was paramount; and, to achieve this, several measures should be adopted as a matter of urgency. Fabri drafted a comprehensive, point-by-point cultural plan, designed to train the Catholics attending the council, in particular the Italian members of the Curia (and even the pope). First, it was necessary for the papacy to purchase six or seven copies of treatises by Reformed scholars, including Swiss Reformers and Anabaptists, and make them available for careful study by Catholics of

²⁴ There is no modern bibliography of Fabri building on L. Helbling, *Doctor Johann Fabri, Generalvikar von Konstanz und Bischof von Wien (1478–1541): Beiträge zu seiner Lebensgeschichte*, Münster 1941. See the profile by H. Immenkötter, 'Johann Fabri', in *Katholische Theologen*, I, pp. 90-96, with earlier bibliography including dissertations.

²⁵ For the *Praeparatoria futuri universalis nuper indicti concilii*, see *CT*, IV/1, pp. 10-23.

irreproachable reputation. Heretical claims and internal inconsistencies should be identified and accurately listed. After an official condemnation of their contents, these books should immediately be burnt to prevent any future influence (points 7-27, 31-34, 40 of Fabri's memo). The Holy See should also encourage the publication of contemporary and older Catholic works, since – Fabri hinted – many of them might not be known to the Curia (26-27, 31, 44, 46, 50). It was more important for Catholic envoys to the council to be experts on the Bible than on scholastic theology; and, above all, they must have rhetorical skills sufficient to match the eloquence of the Reformers (27, 29-30, 36, 39). The printed Bibles circulating at the time were marred by errors and should be emended by churchmen learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew before the council opened (37). The over 3,000 mistakes made by Luther and Zwingli in translating the Bible into German should also be uncovered (38). Greek patristic literature was being intentionally altered and distributed in Protestant Latin translations; the pope should therefore appoint capable scholars to undertake the pressing task of emending these works (51-52). Studying and publishing the acts of earlier councils was also a crucial enterprise, in which several monastic libraries, with their precious manuscripts, should be involved. This included the contentious councils of Pisa, Constance, Ferrara-Florence and Basel, as well as the Fifth Lateran Council (41, 47-49). German controversialists should be supported, as they were heroically resisting the tide of the Reformation, while living in very straightened circumstances, with no money to print their valuable works or to attend the upcoming council on behalf of their bishops (60-61, 70). Finally, the pope was asked to take serious steps to reform curial abuses in time for the council (54-56).

For our purposes, the most important of Fabri's remarks concerns the issue of distributing the results of the forthcoming council (53). He insisted on the necessity of appointing trusted printers in Mantua who would work solely in the service of the council. In addition, no other printers, whether in the city or elsewhere, should be allowed to publish the council's deliberations. This monopoly would enable the Catholic Church to avoid the spread of false information and to prevent manipulation by the Reformed side, as had happened with recent imperial diets, about which, he claimed, Protestants had published untruthful accounts, including statements that had never been explicitly made. If these measures were not put in place, confusion regarding the decisions of the council would arise, producing uncertainty even worse than the present situation.²⁶ Like Cochlaeus, Fabri felt that what was needed was better control of information and more adroit exploitation of printing as a tool to promote a clear and centralised message. This could be achieved only by means of supervised and privileged printing presses, tasked with conveying the voice of the papacy to the Christendom. Otherwise, the Catholic Church would have no hope of competing with the Protestants' aggressive use of the printed word. The pope's response to the *Praeparatoria* was short but generally positive, asking for further details on books to be purchased and published and about suitable Catholic scholars to be recruited. Fabri's advice to set up Catholic presses

²⁶ Ibid., p. 18: 'Summa etiam erit necessitas, ut Sua Sanctitas proprios librorum excursores Mantuae habeat, qui solum Sua Sanctitati deserviant, adiecta etiam poena, ne quisquam aliquid excudat non solum praedicto loco, verum etiam aliis in regionibus, earum rerum, quae in concilio tractata fuerint, alioqui adversarii suis editionibus magnas parient confusiones et forte tumultus, eritque adeo postremus error peior priore. Expertus dico. Scio enim, quid in aliquot Germaniae principum dietis ac conventibus acciderit, ubi Lutherani mox non tantum quae dicta, sed et fere quae non dicta, dumtaxat cogita fuerunt, imprimi fecerunt.'

specifically devoted to disseminating the results of the council was, however, dismissed with the comment: 'Et hoc fiet favente Deo.'²⁷

In December 1536, Fabri expanded his ambitious programme in a second letter to the pope.²⁸ He described his own efforts, as well as those of Eck, Nausea, Cochlaeus, Witzel and other minor figures, and expressed their renewed willingness to take part in the preparations for the council by drafting reports of the ecclesiastical abuses in Germany. At the pope's behest, six lists, labelled from A to F, were also provided; these concerned: Lutheran publications; older theological books; anti-Lutheran publications; living and dead controversialists; monasteries housing manuscripts of early councils; German Catholic authors in need of support, including Nausea, Cochlaeus and Witzel.²⁹ Fabri pointed out that, without such preparations, the ecumenical council would not be able to restore the rifts in the Christian Republic and defeat the Reformation. Yet, although it accurately predicted the course of events, Fabri's plan was not taken into serious consideration. In the first place, it made excessive economic and logistic demands on the papacy. Secondly, and most importantly, it envisaged prolonged theological disputes, increasing the risk of independent action on the part of the council to the detriment of the pope and the Curia.³⁰ Paul III dismissed Fabri's letter with a flattering but vague reply.³¹ Moreover, the council in Mantua never took place and was officially

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 23-26, esp. p. 25.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 52-59.

²⁹ The lists are not included in *CT*, IV/1.

³⁰ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 391-392.

³¹ *CT*, IV/1, pp. 64-65.

called off after deferring a plan to relocate it to Vicenza.³² The road to Trent was still long and difficult; and when the council finally convened, Fabri's programme was not put into action.

2.3. Paul III and the first plan for a papal press

The idea of a papal press in Rome originated, firstly, in Giberti's episcopal publishing house and, secondly, in the German controversialists' plans for a centralised Catholic German press in the exclusive service of the council. Over the course of the mid-sixteenth century, the need for an official means of communication via the book trade grew stronger and stronger in the Curia. Nevertheless, there were still failures, delays and detours ahead, before the eventual establishment of the *Typographia Vaticana*.

The papacy was one of the first governmental entities to develop the bureaucratic use of printing. This is hardly surprising given its two-fold nature as both a temporal and spiritual authority. Just as the pope's religious pronouncements had to reach the faithful throughout his spiritual domain, so, too, his political orders needed to be disseminated throughout his temporal domain. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, a few printers such as Marcello Silber and Francesco Minizio Calvo had been working for the papal administration as occasional publishers on behalf of the Apostolic Chamber. In 1535, Antonio Blado succeeded in securing the title of printer of the chamber (*stampatore camerale*) on a permanent basis and

³² On the Mantua-Vicenza council, see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 325-397.

received regular payments. Afterwards, his firm was responsible for printing almost all contemporary bulls, pronouncements, *bandi*, charters, *avvisi* and regulations, though it also continued to carry out major publications independently. The privilege was passed on to Blado's heirs until 1594.³³ This administrative use of printing, however, supplied internal needs only and was not exploited for broad cultural enterprises beyond the boundaries of the Papal States.

The first consistent attempt to set up an institutional press in Rome for religious and cultural purposes was made by Cardinal Marcello Cervini. Between 1541 and 1544, he established, with Paul III's tacit approval, both a Greek and a Latin press to publish sacred works from manuscripts of the Vatican Library. Part I of this dissertation treats this project in detail. Here, it is worth mentioning that it was mainly aimed at providing members of Catholic religious orders with new tools to challenge Reformed scholarship in the fields of patristics and history. While Cervini's presses were in full activity, the appeasement policy with German Protestantism came to an end with the failure of the Diet of Regensburg in 1541. As a result, the papacy took a tougher stance on the Reformation, summoning the ecumenical (but, in effect, Catholic) council in Trent and creating a permanent congregation of cardinals to deal with heresy: the Roman Inquisition or the Holy Office. If this attempt to convoke the Council of Trent fell through, the Inquisition rapidly proved its efficacy by moving against many illustrious figures from Italian

³³ G. Fumagalli, *Antonio Blado tipografo romano del sec. XVI*, Milan 1893; E. Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni su Antonio Blado ed eredi', *Bollettino dell'Istituto di patologia del libro*, IX, 1950, pp. 48-85; G. Fumagalli, G. Belli and E. Vaccaro, *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado asolano ed eredi (1515-1593)*, 4 vols, Rome 1891-1961; F. Barberi, 'Blado, Antonio', in *DBI*, X, Rome 1968, pp. 753-575. M. Menato and G. Tamani, 'Blado, Antonio', in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani: il Cinquecento*, ed. by M. Menato, E. Sandal and G. Zappella, I, Milan 1997, pp. 147-149. A broader picture is to be found in Romani, 'Per lo Stato'.

heterodox circles.³⁴ Among the duties of this new body was to control book circulation as a vehicle for the spread of heretical ideas. For the dioceses of Rome, this role overlapped with the jurisdiction of the Master of the Sacred Palace, who, in his capacity as official theologian of the pope, was in charge of a rather ineffective system of giving preliminary approval – *imprimatur* – to works which were to be published in the city.³⁵ As far as can be determined from the scarce documentation which survives, the Inquisition immediately focused not only on local printers and publishers but also on Roman booksellers and audience. According to a decree of 12 June 1543, all the city's book shops were to be thoroughly investigated in search of Protestants publications, lists of the volumes on sale were to be submitted for approval and no one was permitted to read or listen to forbidden publications, nor to speak, teach or preach about them, under threat of substantial fines, withdrawal of trade licences and, in some cases, perpetual exile.³⁶

Despite the failure of his presses in 1544, Cervini kept on publishing religious books, notably patristic literature, and acting as the main promoter of editorial enterprises among the Roman establishment. His efforts, however, no longer involved the creation of an institutional publishing house. As we shall see, in Rome

³⁴ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 499-544 and A. Del Col, *L'inquisizione in Italia dal XII al XXI secolo*, Milan 2006, pp. 299-393.

³⁵ See Blasio, "*Cum gratia et privilegio*". For the later development of the Master of the Sacred Palace's duties, see G. Fragnito, 'La censura libraria tra Congregazione dell'Indice, Congregazione dell'Inquisizione e Maestro del Sacro Palazzo (1571-1596)', in *La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo XVI*, ed. by U. Rozzo, Udine 1997, pp. 163-175, and her 'Un archivio conteso: le "carte" dell'Indice tra Congregazione e Maestro del Sacro Palazzo', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, CXIX, 2007, pp. 1276-1318.

³⁶ *ILI*, VIII, pp. 27-28. The document is transcribed in J. Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt*, Freiburg i. B. 1904, pp. 483-488. The archive held in the palace of the Inquisition went lost in the fire set by the jubilant Roman crowd soon after Paul IV's death in August 1559.

he sponsored several publications in Greek and Ge'ez (liturgical Ethiopic); but, from 1546 on, he also employed firms in Bologna, Venice and Florence, sometimes in connection with his role as papal legate to the Council in Trent and later to Bologna.

While a papal press was not established under Paul III, the end of his pontificate marked a step forward for the Roman Inquisition in relation to printing. In the early summer of 1549, when the pope's time was running out, the Roman Inquisition made the first moves to create a universal Index of Forbidden Books issued by the Catholic Church. The theological faculties of Paris and Leuven had already banned a large number of Reformed books and authors; but there was no precedent, since the sixth century, for a universal list of prohibitions coming from the pontiff himself. In principle, it would be in force over the whole Christendom and all secular powers. Simultaneously, inspections of Roman bookshops were resumed and strengthened, while the Venetian Republic was (unsuccessfully) pressed to impose an index compiled by the papal nuncio Giovanni Della Casa over its thriving book industry.³⁷ This upsurge of book control in Rome and in the rest of Italy took place, significantly, some months after the official appointment of Cervini as cardinal inquisitor in September 1548.

At the end of the 1540s, a key figure in the development of the papal press entered onto the Roman stage: the Venetian printer and humanist Paolo Manuzio, son of Aldus Manutius. Part II of this dissertation recounts his bitter experiences in Rome from 1549 to 1574, during which period he directed all his efforts at setting

³⁷ P. F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian press (1540-1605)*, Princeton 1977, pp. 85-89, and *ILL*, III, pp. 45-50.

up a publishing house endorsed by the pope and at obtaining a lectureship for himself at the University of Rome. For the sake of the narrative overview presented in this chapter, I shall now set out the main turning points of these 25 years.

2.4. Abortive attempts and a missed opportunity: from Julius III to Paul IV

After Paul III's death, an exceptionally long conclave elected the former conciliar legate Giovanni Maria Ciocchi Del Monte, who took the name Julius III. His pontificate (1550-1555) was characterised by a deep reconfiguration of Roman cultural life, especially with regard to education. The University of Rome, or *Studium Urbis*, reopened by Paul III after the Sack, was provided with new funds and with a supervising body consisting of four prominent cardinals (one of whom was Cervini). Two years after its foundation in 1551, the Jesuit Collegio Romano inaugurated its courses, rapidly competing with the *Studium* in both *humanae* and *divinae litterae*. A year later, the Jesuit Collegio Germanico was established in Rome for the training of German priests.

As an influential cardinal in the Curia of his former colleague, Cervini sponsored new publications printed in Rome and also collaborated with the ducal publishing house in Florence. In December 1552, he tried to set up a Syriac press, drawing on the resources of the Vatican Library, which was under Cervini's management as the first cardinal librarian. Meanwhile, another prelate was establishing a press in Rome for the purpose of disseminating religious propaganda.

In 1553, the exiled archbishop of Uppsala, Olaus Magnus, set up a printing house in the convent of the Swedish St Bridget, in Piazza Farnese. Hiring three different printers, he mainly published works on the Catholic past of Sweden and Denmark, which had recently converted to Lutheranism. The firm did not, however, survive after Magnus's death in 1557, apart from one publication in 1560 by Vincenzo Luchino.³⁸

Under Julius III, the completion of the Index was neither encouraged nor thwarted. The work was entrusted to the Master of the Sacred Palace, Girolamo Muzarelli, and two other theologians. Between 1553 and 1554, lists of prohibited books were issued in Florence, Milan and Venice, apparently on the model of earlier Roman drafts.³⁹ The Holy Office, by then firmly in the hands of Gian Pietro Carafa, was extending its investigations even to the higher spheres of the Curia, with doubts openly raised about the orthodoxy of eminent *spirituali* such as the cardinals Reginald Pole and Giovanni Morone. This excessive zeal ultimately provoked a backlash from the pope, who did not, however, put a stop to the inquisition.⁴⁰

Cervini's pontificate, under the name Marcellus II, lasted only a few weeks during the spring of 1555. We can only speculate, therefore, as to whether he would have resumed his early printing projects and/or made further efforts to control the

³⁸ V. Romani, 'Per la storia dell'editoria italiana del Cinquecento: le edizioni romane "in aedibus sanctae Brigidae" (1553-1557)', *Rara Volumina*, V, 1998, pp. 23-36, with a catalogue of the output. On Magnus and his brother, see *I fratelli Giovanni e Olao Magno: opera e cultura tra due mondi*, ed. by C. Santini, Rome 1999.

³⁹ *ILLI*, VIII, pp. 28-31. The Florentine list has not been located, but those of Venice and Milan are discussed and reproduced *ibid.*, III.

⁴⁰ On these crucial years, see M. Firpo, *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana (1550-1553)*, Rome and Bari 2014.

book trade and to compile lists of prohibited books. Cervini was the first cardinal inquisitor to be elected pope, which constituted a defeat for the imperial party, supported by a large part of the *spirituali*. The next pope was the head of the Holy Office, Gian Pietro Carafa, who took the name Paul IV as a sign of respect for the Farnese pope, Paul III, with whom, however, he had little in common. He is closely associated with the strenuous effort to control printed books, extending far beyond the elimination of heretical subjects and seeking to exert stern moral influence on readers.⁴¹ During his papacy, the Inquisition turned into a leading institution of Church management, while the Index of Forbidden Books became an ever more formidable instrument of control. An initial list was drawn up in December 1557; and, after a revision which reinforced its strictness, the official Index was published by the Holy Office on 30 December 1558. Its severity was soon regretted even by some members of the Catholic clergy, since it prohibited not only the religious writings but the entire body of works produced by suspected printers and authors, including Erasmus, as well as a large number of Bibles, the Talmud and all magical and astrological literature.⁴²

This strong centralising manoeuvre somewhat overshadowed other cultural initiatives taking place in Rome at the time. With regard to education, the Jesuit Collegio Romano was granted the status of a university in 1556. The same year, the founder of the Company, Ignatius of Loyola, began to set up a printing house in the college but died shortly before it was established. Over the six decades of its activity, the press acted as the official press of the Jesuits, publishing internal letters,

⁴¹ Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 71-76.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 66-87, Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 75-94, and *ILI*, VIII, esp. pp. 31-50.

constitutions, rules and papal privileges, together with Loyola's spiritual exercises and the first *Rationes studiorum*. It also published some of the college's academic disputations, a few educational manuals intended to replace those by Erasmus and an expurgated edition of Martial's epigrams.⁴³ The successful experiment was followed by many other Jesuit schools throughout the world.⁴⁴ The extent to which the cautious use of printing contributed to the establishment of the Society as a new order and of its educational model as the chief training ground for Counter-Reformation scholarship still needs to be investigated.⁴⁵

Most importantly in the present context, the first concrete actions to set up a press in Rome in the service of the pope were taken by Paul IV, an event which is usually left out of accounts of his life, which focus instead on his view of printed books as a vehicle of heresy.⁴⁶ Yet we know for certain that he asked Cardinal Antonio Trivulzio to get in touch with renowned printers, not necessarily Italian, and

⁴³ G. Castellani, 'La tipografia del Collegio Romano', *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, II, 1933, pp. 11-16 (reprinted in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, CXV, 1992, pp. 133-146), and M. M. Bergadà, 'San Ignacio de Loyola y la primera imprenta jesuita', *Estudios*, LXXXVIII, 1956, pp. 83-90. A large part of the press's publications survive only in single copies at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome. Prior to 1556, the Society employed the Roman firms of Blado and Luchino: V. Romani, 'Note e documenti sulla prima editoria gesuitica', *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, CXVII, 1994, pp. 189-192.

⁴⁴ C. Gomez-Rodeles, *Imprentas de los antiguos jesuitas en Europa, América y Filipinas durante los siglos XVI al XVIII*, Madrid 1910; and his *Imprentas de los antiguos jesuitas en las misiones de Lebante durante los siglos XVI al XVIII*, Madrid 1912; G. Furlong Cardiff, *Los Jesuitas y la imprenta en la América Latina*, Buenos Aires 1940; B. Bartolomé Martínez, 'Las librerías e imprentas de los jesuitas (1540-1767): una aportación notable a la cultura española', *Hispania Sacra*, XL, 1988, pp. 315-388; P. Begheyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic and its Generality Lands 1567-1773: A Bibliography*, Leiden 2014; I. García Aguilar, 'Imprenta y librerías jesuitas en la Nueva España', in *El libro en circulación en la América colonial. Producción, circuitos de distribución y conformación de bibliotecas en los siglos XVI al XVIII*, ed. by I. García Aguilar and P. Rueda Ramírez, Mexico City 2014, pp. 205-237.

⁴⁵ See N. Vacalebre, 'Produzione e distribuzione libraria gesuitica nel Cinquecento: il caso delle "Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia" di Jerónimo Nadal (Anversa, Martin Nuyts, 1593-1595)', *Titivillus*, I, 2015, pp. 305-323.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the most recent profile A. Aubert, 'Paolo IV', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, III, Rome 2000, pp. 128-142.

to offer them the possibility of managing a papal press. Manuzio was one of these – perhaps the only one. Triviluzio’s death and the fatal illness of the aged pope, however, stalled the project. Paul IV had intended to publish a revised version of both the Missal and Breviary in Rome. This delicate task was to be undertaken directly under his supervision and to be placed in the hands of an official printer. His attitude show clearly how the two approaches of the Catholic hierarchy to printing – tight control and centralised promotion – were not necessarily in opposition, as we might be tempted to think, nor did they reflect the religious and political divisions in the Curia. Instead, these approaches were two sides of the same mind set, which was also shared by many contemporary prelates from different parties, whose aim was to establish a monopoly over printed books and, more generally, over information. It was believed that this goal could be achieved, on the one hand, by destroying or limiting the circulation of the publications of one’s opponents and, on the other, by providing alternative irreproachable readings and exerting a tight control over the institutional communication of the papacy.

2.5. The first papal press

Pius IV, elected in late 1559, immediately set his papacy on a new course from that of his predecessor. He rehabilitated Cardinal Morone, who had been charged with heresy and tried under Paul IV, thus ensuring the survival of the imperial and *spirituali* parties. He also restrained the power of the Holy Office, ordered a revision of the Index and got rid of the Paul’s nephews through bans and executions. Above all, he decided to reopen the Council of Trent and brought it to a conclusion. One of

the very few points of continuity with Paul IV's policies was the setting up of a papal press under the management of Paolo Manuzio. Pius, however, had different aims in mind. Initially, vague plans were devised to use the press in connection, firstly, with the Council of Trent and, secondly, with the University of Rome. The first of these aims reflected, in a broad sense, the perspective of the pope and much of his Curia, which was marked by mistrust, if not fear, of the unpredictable results of the council. A publishing house, located in Rome, for the dissemination of the decisions made in Trent could ensure that the papacy had the last word on the legacy of the council. As we shall see, this strategy turned out to be effective, at least in the years around 1564. The second aim meant, in practical terms, that the papal press ended up having to share the University of Rome's meagre funds, though there was never a formal merger between them, despite Manuzio's desire to attain an academic position. The main goal was to have the press publish a philologically up-to-date Catholic Bible and Catholic editions of the Church Fathers, in line with the IV Tridentine decree on Tradition.⁴⁷ This would answer the concerns expressed by the Catholic intelligentsia (Jesuits, in the first place) about the ban on the entire output of Erasmus in the recent Index. Some elements in the higher echelons of the Catholic Church were aware that prohibiting Erasmian patristic, biblical and grammatical works would deprive Catholic readers of the only reliable texts at their disposal and that there was an urgent need for Catholic alternatives if the Church was to produce a viable cultural response to Reformed scholarship in *divinae litterae*.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ For the decree, see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta: editio critica*, III, ed. by G. Alberigo et al., Turnhout 2007, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁸ On the reception of Erasmus in the Italian context, see S. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia (1520-*

In May 1561, Manuzio signed a twelve-year agreement with the Apostolic Chamber and moved to Rome. The first proper papal press began to print in the following January, amid enthusiasm and high expectations. Manuzio's work was supervised by a group of four cardinals in charge of deciding the programme of publications. Latin editions of the works of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers followed in a rapid order. After a short time, however, the financial resources started to run out, and the pope forced the Roman Commune (Popolo Romano) to accept the property of the publishing house and thus shoulder its costs. As a result, the papal press progressively turned into the communal firm (Stamperia del Popolo Romano), while its publishing programme was still largely dictated by the cardinals who supervised it. With the closure of the Council of Trent in December 1563, patristic literature was gradually replaced by official publications of the Church such as the Tridentine Decrees and the new Index of Forbidden Books. The press of the Jesuit Collegio Romano attempted to remedy a serious shortcoming in the Stamperia's programme by taking charge of publishing in Oriental languages, which it had completely neglected. According to Jesuit's sources, in 1564 Pius IV promoted the casting of an Arabic font, so that the Tridentine Decrees could be circulated among the Christian communities of the East and studied in their colleges; although no trace of such a publication has been found, two years later, the Jesuit press issued a profession of the Catholic faith in Arabic and Latin.⁴⁹

1580), Turin 1987, esp. pp. 223-356.

⁴⁹ Castellani, 'La Tipografia', p. 15. On the profession of 1566, see *EDIT16*, CNCE 18956. For the later use of this Arabic font, see below.

Pius IV adopted a moderate policy towards ecclesiastical censorship. Rejecting the excessive severity of Paul IV's Index, he delegated the preparation of a replacement to the Tridentine Council. A committee of bishops in Trent drafted a new list of prohibited books, which was later finalised in Rome. In mid-1564, the Tridentine Index was published by Manuzio and Blado. It included some important innovations: ten general principles of censorship were set out; the bans on Erasmus's works, the Talmud and vernacular Bibles were softened; the role of bishops was strengthened to the detriment of the local and central Roman Inquisition; and the notion of expurgation was introduced, so that books could be censored until the contents were emended by the Church (*donec corrigantur*). Nevertheless, Paul IV's discouragement of private reading and of free circulation of books was in the end reaffirmed by the Tridentine Index.⁵⁰ A congregation of cardinals, moreover, was established to deal with the interpretation of the Tridentine decrees. This was part of a centralising drive which enabled the papacy to gain undisputed control over the council's legacy. The council's decrees began to be enforced in Rome: university life underwent a process of confessionalisation, with a compulsory profession of faith for doctoral candidates and professors, resembling the new vow which Catholic prelates were now required to take; a seminary for the improvement of priests' education was founded in Rome in February 1565 and handed over to the Jesuits, who required novices to attend courses at the Collegio Romano.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 87-92; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 95-109; and *ILI*, VIII, pp. 51-99, 347-872.

⁵¹ R. García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*, Rome 1954, pp. 80-83. For a broader account of this and similar institutions, see J. A. O'Donohoe, *Tridentine Seminary Legislation: Its Sources and Its Formation*, Leuven 1957.

The papal conclave of 1565-1566 ended with the election of the chief inquisitor and Dominican friar Michele Ghislieri as Pius V. The new pope, however, was less close to his namesake than to his former patron Paul IV. During his pontificate (1566-1572), the Counter-Reformation was in full flow. The remaining sparks of the 'Italian Reformation' were extinguished, and dissent within the Catholic hierarchy was repressed. The final blow was also inflicted on the *spirituali*. This shift in policy did not, however, have a directly impact on the plan to establish a centralised publishing house for the Catholic Church, though it did, of course, affect the aims underpinning this endeavour. On his election, Pius V hastened to restore the papal press and put an end to the quarrel over its ownership between Manuzio and the Roman Commune. The press was relocated and attached (certainly not by chance) to the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva,⁵² which included the church of the Holy Inquisition, facing Piazza della Minerva, which, under Pius V, was the setting of numerous trials (*auto-da-fé*).⁵³ Symbolically, the space embodying *par excellence* the repression of heresy was now shared by the Church's major effort to promote printing. With Pius's intervention, the press was able to return to full activity, publishing mainly revised liturgical and devotional works from the Catechism to the Missal. This institutional use of the Stamperia did not differ substantially from what Paul IV had envisaged in 1558. Although Pius had little interest in the promotion of patristic literature, he was keen, as a Dominican, to

⁵² The rental agreement between the Roman Senate and the vicar of the Dominican order, as reported in F. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la stamperia del popolo romano (1561-1570): con documenti inediti*, Rome 1942, p. 69, located the press 'in platea ac prope ecclesiam S. Mariae supra Minervam'.

⁵³ A brief account of the hectic inquisitorial activity between 1566 and 1572 in Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, pp. 424-441, esp. p. 433. See also C. De Frede, 'Autodafé ed esecuzioni capitali di eretici a Roma' and 'Ancora sugli autodafé in Italia', in his *Religiosità e cultura nel Cinquecento italiano*, Bologna 1999, pp. 297-343 and 345-378.

publish the *Opera omnia* of Thomas Aquinas; but this edition, in 18 volumes, was eventually issued, not by the Stamperia, but instead by Blado's heirs and partners from 1569 to 1571.⁵⁴ Pius also wanted to increase the number of *Ecclesiae doctores*. Since the decretal of Boniface VIII in 1298, this title had been the prerogative of only four of the Western Church Fathers: Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory the Great.⁵⁵ In 1567 and 1568, however, Pius decided to break with this centuries-old tradition and raised to the official status of Doctors of the Church, first, Thomas Aquinas and, then, four Greek Fathers: Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom.

In the meantime, Manuzio was getting ever more fed up with managing the Stamperia del Popolo Romano. He had been progressively marginalised by the communal officials, with whom he was permanently at war. In addition, publishing Catholic institutional books was far from the kind of textual work involved in his earlier editorial activity on patristic literature and did not engage his skills and interests as a humanist printer. Nor did the press have a monopoly over official publications of the Church, since the commission for the revised Missal was given to the papal bookbinder, Bartolomeo Faletti, much to Manuzio's disappointment.⁵⁶ In 1570, Manuzio resigned from his post, three years before the end of his contract. A couple of days later, he headed back to northern Italy. The firm continued to publish for two further decades, up to 1598, though it departed increasingly from its original

⁵⁴ *EDIT16*, CNCE 48116.

⁵⁵ See V. Pugliese, G. Löw and G. Carandente, 'Dottori della Chiesa', in *Enciclopedia cattolica*, IV, Florence 1950, pp. 1901-1907.

⁵⁶ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 83-110.

role as the papal press, due to continuous changes in its management and to the short-sighted policies of the Roman Commune.

Before his election to the papacy, Pius had played an important part in book control as a member and later head of the Holy Office. Few figures in the Curia in the mid-1560s could match his knowledge and understanding of the issues surrounding censorship. As a cardinal, he had been forced to approve the moderation introduced by Pius IV and the Tridentine Index. As pope, he immediately encouraged a revival of the first Index by Paul IV, which he himself had drafted. This was only a preliminary measure. In 1570, he entrusted the Master of the Sacred Palace with the task of expurgation according to the Tridentine decree.⁵⁷ Finally, a year later, he laid the foundations of the Congregation of the Index. This permanent committee of cardinals included *ex officio* the Master of the Sacred Palace and was placed under the direction of the learned Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto. The Congregation was *de facto* in charge of issuing a new Index, as well as a list of works permitted only after expurgation, with the relevant passages to be crossed out. All this, however, took several years to be accomplished, and by that time Pius was long dead.

2.6. Gregory XIII: a turning point

At the convocation of May 1572, it took less than 24 hours to elect the curial jurist Ugo Boncompagni as Pope Gregory XIII. Contrary to the expectations of

⁵⁷ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 114. The bull of appointment is published by Hilgers, *Der Index*, pp. 510-513.

some, Gregory continued to pursue the rigorist line of Pius V. As the internal battle against Italian heterodoxy had for the most part been won, he was able to set his sights on the international scene. During his papacy, there was an active policy of evangelisation in the Spanish New World, Africa (Ethiopia) and Asia (Russia, China, Japan and Philippines), as well as an energetic attempt to return large swathes of Europe (Ireland, Scotland, Swede, Poland, Transylvania and the southern regions of the Holy Roman Empire) to Catholicism. These elaborate, but often ineffective, diplomatic efforts were accompanied by a failed attempt to maintain Pius V's anti-Turkish alliance following the Christian triumph at Lepanto in 1571. The new pope also tried to establish a dialogue with the Eastern churches and the Patriarch of Constantinople in the hope of bringing them back into communion with Rome and persuading them to join with the Holy See in its struggle against the Ottomans.⁵⁸

Gregory XIII's long pontificate (1572-1585) was a time of crucial reconfiguration for the Church's attempt to deploy Roman printers for its own purposes. In the first year of Gregory's reign, the heirs of Antonio Blado (his widow Paola and their sons) were officially granted a monopoly over the Church's institutional publications, which, in practice, the firm had been exercising for almost four decades.⁵⁹ The pope also considered the possibility of removing the Stamperia del Popolo Romano from the control of the Commune, because the poor quality of its publications, under the management of Fabrizio Galletti, was an embarrassment

⁵⁸ A. Borromeo, 'Gregorio XIII', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, III, pp. 180-202, with bibliography.

⁵⁹ ASR, *Bandi*, vol. 5, no. 76. A previous bull by Pius V in April 1567 confirmed the salary to the heirs of Antonio Blado, dead two months earlier (V. Romani, 'Tipografie papali: la Tipografia Vaticana', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica: II*, pp. 261-279, at p. 265).

to the Church. In 1573, however, the officers of the Commune persuaded the pope to confirm the Stamperia's privilege over the edition of the revised Breviary and to relaunch the press as a partnership of booksellers, led by the printer and publisher Domenico Basa.⁶⁰ In same year, Paolo Manuzio, who had returned to Rome from Venice, was offered the prospect of establishing a new papal publishing house, which would issue books that had been expurgated by the Congregation of the Index. Nothing came of this plan, however, no doubt due to the slow pace of the expurgation process, as well as Paolo's poor state of health. The idea of a setting up a press which would parallel the activity of the Congregation of the Index was, in any case, both premature and unrealistic. Although some major works were examined and corrected in the following decades, the only Index of expurgated books ever issued did not come out until 1607, under the authority of the Master of the Sacred Palace, and was soon withdrawn amid criticism.⁶¹

With Manuzio's death in 1574, the situation became more complicated. Printers and booksellers based in Rome, joined together since 1566 in a confraternity, had become aware of how much money there was to be made from the privileges over the Church's institutional publications, as well as from the forthcoming expurgated editions. The decline of the Stamperia encouraged them to compete for this promising (and seemingly durable) share of the market. This

⁶⁰ A. M. Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia del Popolo Romano (1570-1598)*, Rome 1959, pp. 15-30. Significantly, Basa's partners (Giorgio Ferrari, Girolamo Franzini, Sebastiano De Franceschi, Antonio Lanza, as well as, initially, Brianza Brianzi and Marco Amadori) were all foreign dealers recently moved to Rome.

⁶¹ Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 102-107, 205-208, and G. Fragnito, "In questo vasto mare de libri prohibiti et sospesi tra tanti scogli di varietà et controversie": la censura ecclesiastica tra la fine del Cinquecento e i primi del Seicento', in *Censura ecclesiastica e cultura politica in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento: VI Giornata Luigi Firpo: atti del convegno, 5 marzo 1999*, ed. by C. Stango, Florence 2001, pp. 1-35, reprinted in Fragnito, *Cinquecento italiano*, pp. 325-364, esp. pp. 345-364.

resulted in the fragmentation of the papacy's printing efforts in Rome; in long term, however, it stimulated the rise of new institutional presses and a division of labour and of specialisation among the Roman publishing houses connected to the papal court. The Stamperia, despite the change in management from Galletti to Basa's partnership, proved to be inadequate for the needs of the Church under Gregory XIII. Up to 1585, amid legal squabbles and a considerable waste of money, it struggled to publish a new edition of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, sponsored by the pope, some revised prayer books (*offizioli*) and a few inquisitorial publications directly linked to the Holy Office. The critical edition of St Jerome's collected works, begun under Paolo Manuzio in 1565, was also brought to a completion.⁶² Blado's heirs were the first to take advantage of the Stamperia's difficulties, publishing for the Curia: supplementary instruction about the *Corpus Iuris* and the new Gregorian Calendar; a pioneering collection of papal letters from the time of Gregory VII onwards; a number of patristic editions, including works by Anastasius of Sinai, John Chrysostom, Pachomius the Great and Anselm of Canterbury.⁶³

Four ambitious projects for the establishment of papal presses were presented to Gregory XIII during the 1570s. This suggests that there was renewed interest on the part of the papacy in finding a new solution to the Church's institutional printing needs, as its collaboration with the Stamperia del Popolo Romano became increasingly problematic. Although all four projects deserve to be fully analysed and contextualised, such a detailed study is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I shall instead present a brief account of each plan.

⁶² See the catalogue in Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*, pp. 72-96.

⁶³ *EDIT16*, CNCE 1661, 10768, 11279, 12745, 25411, 25432, 25486.

Around 1574, the Curia received a proposal to set up a centralised Catholic press in Rome devoted to printing in Cyrillic for the Serbian and Croatian churches which were now under the Ottoman Empire. The proposal came from the printer and nobleman Giovanni Vincenzo Vuković (Italianised as della Vecchia), whose father, Božidar (or Dionigi), had been a pioneer in Serbian printing and the founder of the first Serbian press in Venice in 1519. Vincenzo took over the family firm, which he ran until 1561.⁶⁴ For half a century, father and son had been the main suppliers of liturgical books to the Serbian Orthodox church. In his proposal, Vuković cleverly connected the need for Serbian books not only to the interminable war against the Turks, but also to the first attempts by Protestants to smuggle their propaganda into this area.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, Gregory XIII was not convinced that Rome was the best location for such an enterprise. Vuković then put forward Ancona, the harbour of the Papal States on the Adriatic Sea and traditionally well-connected to Dalmatia. Vuković offered to supply the printing machinery, woodcuts and fonts, while Francesco Zanetti, who belonged to the family of Greek printers in Venice and had recently moved to Rome, was mentioned as suitable printer. We are in the dark as to

⁶⁴ F. Leschinkohl, 'Venedig, das Druckzentrum serbischer Bücher im Mittelalter', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 1957, pp. 116-121; C. Marciani, 'I Vuković tipografi-librai slavi a Venezia nel XVI', *Economia e storia*, XIX, 1972, pp. 342-362; *Tre alfabeti per gli Slavi*, (exhibition catalogue, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), Vatican City 1985, pp. 71-74. Without any legal justification whatever, Vincenzo claimed the title of the extinguished Serbian Despotate. Recent scholarship, however, has suggested that he and his father were not even Serbian and merely pretended to hold this nationality for commercial motives; they were probably either Italian or Greek. See the Serbo-Croatian literature cited by K. Stantchev, 'Due cinquecentine slave di area croata ritrovate nella Biblioteca Civica di Vicenza', *Slovo*, LVIII, 2008, pp. 1-19, at p. 15, n. 39.

⁶⁵ For the Protestant printing in the Serbo-Croat world, see the studies quoted by A. Tinto, 'Per una storia della tipografia orientale a Roma nell'età della Controriforma', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, XLI, 1973, pp. 280-303, at p. 300, n. 75.

why the proposal was once again rejected, though an anonymous curial advisor attacked the project on the grounds that it was not economically viable.⁶⁶

In the mid-1570s, Giovanni Carga and Erennio Cervini each submitted plans for the exploitation of printing in support of the papacy's cultural policy. Rather than a papal press, however, they envisaged the involvement of the entire Roman printing establishment in the publication of the Church's revised text sacred and biblical literature, in accordance with the fourth decree of the Council of Trent.⁶⁷ Very little is known about the background to these proposals, nor do we have any idea whether (and, if so, how) the pope responded to them. Even so, both plans hint at an ongoing debate in the higher echelons of the Curia, which would require extensive archival research to verify and elucidate. It is, nevertheless, worth pointing out that both Carga and Cervini were prominent figures in the Roman Curia. Carga had been involved in papal administration, with ever increasing responsibilities, since the pontificate of Paul IV and had assisted the head of Gregory XIII's secretariat. He

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 287-288. Despite being unnecessarily cautious in identifying the promoter of the plan as Vincenzo Vuković (ibid., p. 300, n. 79) and therefore overlooking the importance of his role in the project, Tinto provides a clear account of the proposal, relying on documents mostly drawn from the papers of Guglielmo Sirleto, the cardinal protector of the Serbian nation, in the BAV and ASV. For the wider context, see *Tre alfabeti*, pp. 99-124.

⁶⁷ An indication of the importance of Carga's proposal is that at least four copies survive: MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3944, 6792 and ASV, *Misc.*, *Arm. XI*, tom. 93; Congr. Concilio, Positiones, 1-2. P. M. Baumgarten, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 und ihre Einführungsbulle: Aktenstücke und Untersuchungen*, Münster 1911, pp. 141-150, gives a diplomatic transcription, which should be consulted together with the addition and insightful comments in D. d'Avray and J. Walworth, 'The Council of Trent and Print Culture: Documents in the Archive of the "Congregatio Concilii"', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, CXXI, 2010, pp. 189-204. See also J. Walworth, 'The "Congregatio Concilii" and a Proposal for a Vatican Press in the 1570s', in *La stampa romana nella Roma dei Papi e in Europa: The Roman Press in the Papal City and in Europe: CERL Seminar 2011, Rome, Vatican Library, 11 November 2011*, Rome 2015, [forthcoming]. Erennio Cervini's proposal, preserved in MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6207, ff. 215r-217v, is discussed in P. Simoncelli, 'Documenti interni alla Congregazione dell'Indice (1571-1590): logica e ideologia dell'intervento censorio', *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea*, XXXV-XXXVI, 1983-1984, pp. 189-215, at pp. 205-207.

was also a skilful Latin poet.⁶⁸ Cervini, the nephew of Marcellus II and pupil of Sirleto, was a respected consultant of the curial administration and collaborated with the Congregation of the Index. It was not by chance that his proposal addressed to Cardinal Sirleto.⁶⁹

The fourth plan concerning papal policy towards the use of printing, specifically in Greek, is connected to the preparatory works for the official publication of the Greek acts of the Council of Florence of 1439 and for the establishment of a Greek papal college in the 1570s. The original idea for a Greek papal press, including a prospective editorial programme, is found in the proposals by the Jesuit Giovanni Domenico Traiani and the learned bishop of Anagni, Gaspare Viviani.⁷⁰ This plan may have come close to being put into action by Gregory XIII. In January 1577, the Greek scholar Piero Vettori wrote enthusiastically to Sirleto, saying that he had heard about the pope's decision to set up a Greek college, with a 'bella stamperia di libri latini e greci' attached to it.⁷¹ In the end, however, only the college was established.

⁶⁸ T. von Sicking, 'Römische Berichte: I', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CXXXIII, 1896, pp. 1-141, at pp. 104-108, is still fundamental for our knowledge of Carga's biography; see also M. G. Cruciani Troncarelli, 'Carga, Giovanni', in *DBI*, XX, Rome 1977, pp. 86-88.

⁶⁹ Despite his prominence at the time, there is no biography of Erennio Cervini, whose name is barely mentioned even in the studies on his illustrious relatives, not only Marcellus II but also Roberto Bellarmino. As the nephew of a pope, he was highly regarded in the Roman Curia, especially by churchmen associated with the Cervini family: e.g., Girolamo Seripando wrote to Sirleto in November 1562 (MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6189 (I), f. 136r): 'Mi piace ch'el signor Herennio sia ritornato in Roma, perché con la sua presentia et virtuose maniere ci tiene viva la memoria di Papa Marcello che sia in gloria.'

⁷⁰ V. Peri, 'La Congregazione dei Greci (1573) e i suoi primi documenti', in *Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*, III (Studia Gratiana, XIII), Bologna 1967, pp. 131-256, at pp. 195-210, and his *Ricerche sull'"Editio princeps" degli atti greci del Concilio di Firenze*, Vatican City 1975, pp. 64-66, 158-161, and, on Viviani, pp. 58-67.

⁷¹ MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6185, f. 207r, reported in Peri, *Ricerche*, p. 162. Vettori also mentioned a congratulatory letter which he had written to the pope; this is presumably MS Vatican

The concerns of Traiani and Viviani were genuine: there had been no Greek publishers in Rome since the demise of Cervini's enterprise. This may have been the reason why Francesco Zanetti, mentioned above in relation to Vuković's plan, moved from Venice to Rome around 1572. He began by working as a copyist for some cardinals and for the Vatican Library. In June 1573, he signed a letter to Vettori as a Greek copyist and printer, asking his correspondent to address his reply to the shop of Domenico Basa, which indicates that he was working for him.⁷² A year later, as we have seen, Vuković said that Zanetti was willing to move to Ancona in order to set up a papal press printing in Cyrillic. Instead, Zanetti went into a partnership in Rome with the printer Bartolomeo Tosi; and in 1577 he launched his own firm, employing the Greek font designed by Pierre Haultin.⁷³ He published patristic and biblical literature, either in the original languages or in Latin translation, often collaborating with Basa's press. For the first time, Greek books intended for Greek-speaking readers were printed outside of Venice.⁷⁴ This was part

City, BAV, Reg. lat. 2023, f. 380r-v, published in Piero Vettori, *Epistolarum libri X. orationes XIII. et liber de laudibus Ioannae Austriacae*, Florence, Giunta, 1586, pp. 190-191. If so, the date '1 November 1577' should be read as 1576, i.e., two months before his letter to Sirleto.

⁷² MS London, BL, Add. 10273, f. 336v: 'Le littere s'hanno a indirizare alla botega de m. Domenego Basa libraro del Ziglio.'

⁷³ E. Layton, *The Sixteenth-Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Venice 1994, pp. 158-159, 522, 526-527, for his early printing activity in Venice, his fonts and his kinship with the Venice-based Greek printers Bartolomeo, Camillo and Cristoforo Zanetti. On his little-known work as a copyist in Rome and Florence, see A. Gaspari, 'Le "mani" di Camillo Zanetti: il caso di scriba C (sigma), "occidental arrondi" e Francesco Zanetti', in *Actes du VI^e Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque, Drama 21-27 Septembre 2003*, ed. by B. Atsalos and N. Tsironi, Athens 2008, I, pp. 347-358; III, pp. 1089-1098 (tables), and her 'Francesco Zanetti stampatore, copista e "instaurator" di manoscritti greci', in *ΤΟΞΟΘΗΣ: Studies for Stefano Parenti*, ed. by D. Galadza, N. Glibetić and G. Radle, Grottaferrata 2010, pp. 155-175. See also F. Ascarelli and M. Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia*, Florence 1989, pp. 121-123, 132-133, and G. L. Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: documenti inediti*, Rome 1980, *ad indicem*.

⁷⁴ On the Venetian publications for the Greek communities, see Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*.

of the policy of assimilation and regulation of minority communities in Italy using the Byzantine rite, which was pursued, with various degrees of flexibility, by Pius IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII.⁷⁵ Although Zanetti's firm remained a private enterprise, it depended on commissions from the papacy; it is therefore possible to see it as a practical solution adopted by Gregory XIII to the Church's lack of a means to publish works in Greek, so lamented by Viviani. Zanetti's first publication was, in fact, the Greek acts of the Council of Florence,⁷⁶ followed by the Greek translation of the Tridentine decrees and the Gregorian Calendar, a compendium of Bessarion's monastic rules for the Basilian monasteries in southern Italy and the profession of faith for Catholic Greeks.⁷⁷ Zanetti also collaborated with the Stamperia del Popolo Romano, lending the firm his font for their Greek editions of Theodoret and Chrysostom.⁷⁸ As well as works in Greek, Zanetti's press issued: several Latin treatises by Jesuits; Bellarmino's Hebrew grammar and three books of the Hebrew Bible in the original language, with the help of Vittorio Eliano, a converted Jew and printer;⁷⁹ three religious texts in early Serbo-Croatian (but transliterated into Latin characters), including a translation of the Psalms;⁸⁰ the

⁷⁵ On the subject, see V. Peri, *Chiesa Romana e 'rito greco': G. A. Santoro e la Congregazione dei Greci (1566-1596)*, Brescia 1975, esp. pp. 15-103, including a useful analysis of the terms Italo-Greeks and *ritus Graecus*.

⁷⁶ *Ἡ Αγία καὶ Οἰκουμένη ἐν Φλωρέντια γενομένη Σύνοδος*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1577. On this edition, see Peri, *Ricerche*.

⁷⁷ See *EDIT16*, CNCE 13037, 11287, 4592, 69347.

⁷⁸ Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*, pp. 91-92.

⁷⁹ Roberto Bellarmino, *Institutiones linguae Hebraicae ...*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1578; *Liber Genesis*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1579; *Quinque volumina Cantica: Ruth, Threni, Ecclesiastes, Esther*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1580; *Liber Psalmorum*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1580. See also C. Casetti, 'Eliano, Vittorio', *DBI*, XLII, Rome 1993, pp. 475-477.

⁸⁰ *Pochorni i mnozii inii Psalmi Davidovi*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1582; Aleksandar Komulovic, *Nauch Charstians chiza Slovignschi Narod v vlaasti iazich: Dottrina christiana per la nazione illirica nella propria lingua*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1582; Juan Polanco, *Isprauniich za erei ispouidniici, i za pochornih, prenesen Slatinschoga iazicha, v Slouignschii: Breue direttorio, per sacerdoti confessori, e per penitenti tradotto da lingua latina, nella illirica*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1582.

profession of faith in Arabic for Eastern Christians willing to return to communion with the Holy See, using the 1566 font of the Collegio Romano.⁸¹

Gregory XIII's plan for proselytising the East could not rely solely on the resources of Zanetti's relatively small printing house. It required a specialist press able to produce a steady stream of Catholic publications, translated not only into Greek but also the Oriental languages (Arabic, Syriac and Karšuni, Armenian, Serbo-Croatian and Hebrew). Another urgent matter was the revision and publication of the Antiphonary, Gradual and other liturgical books of Gregorian chant. Producing sheet music in large quantities, however, required a specialist musical press, employing skilled manpower. The first evidence of curial plans for a new papal press crop up in relation to these two projects in late 1577. In October, the revision of the liturgical books of Gregorian chant was entrusted to two renowned composers of sacred music, Pier Luigi da Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo. The publication of these works, however, immediately encountered opposition from King Philip II of Spain, who was very concerned about its negative impact on the Spanish printing industry.⁸² Nevertheless, from the correspondence of Philip's ambassadors in Rome, we learn that, at the end of 1577, the pope allocated 100,000 ducats to the new papal press. Compared to the meagre 2,000 ducats which Pius IV

These publications should be reconsidered in the light of Zanetti's earlier involvement in Vuković's project for a Cyrillic press in Ancona. It is also worth noting that, between 1530 and 1531, the Zanetti family press had printed Glagolitic publications issued in Rijeka (Fiume) at the expense of the bishop of Modruš Šimun Kožičić.

⁸¹ *EDIT16*, CNCE 7570. On the re-uses of the Jesuit Arabic, see Tinto, 'Per una storia', pp. 284-286 and esp. p. 285 for a rare anti-Islamic treatise in BAV, probably issued by Zanetti.

⁸² Tinto, 'Per una storia', pp. 280-281; and, on the reform of Gregorian chant, see his *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale*, Lucca 1987, pp. 61-66, as well as the more recent account by R. Prowse, 'The Council of Trent and the Reform of the Gregorian Chant', *Sacred Music*, CXXXVI, 2009, pp. 35-46.

had allotted to setting up a printing firm in 1562,⁸³ this impressive sum indicates Gregory XIII's zeal for the endeavour, as well as his correct understanding of the financial commitment required to make a success of it. Along with the revised choral books, the new papal press was expected to publish corrected editions of the Bible in several languages to be distributed by missionaries (Jesuits, in first instance).⁸⁴ By May 1578, it had been set up in a Roman palace, with Domenico Basa as its manager.⁸⁵ While the reform of the books of Gregorian chant became stalled due to Philip II, the multilingual publication of religious books for the purpose of proselytising went ahead. The focus was entirely on the East, especially Muslim and Orthodox regions. According to a curial memo from the end of the sixteenth-century, printing in Arabic and Armenian would be used for propaganda addressed to Turks and Persian, while Serbian was best suited for Christians serving in the Turkish army as Janissaries, and Greek for the Orthodox church in Russia.⁸⁶ Another anonymous memo of about 1580 expressed the hope that Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic would also be employed for Catholic printing aimed at proselytising Christian Eastern communities.⁸⁷ The ultimate goal of the pope was to publish an official multilingual edition of the Bible, replacing the Antwerp Polyglot, printed by

⁸³ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 36, n. 2.

⁸⁴ See the *avviso* of 17 February 1580, in MS Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 1408, f. 22r, cited in Tinto, 'Per una storia', p. 293, n. 9.

⁸⁵ Tinto, 'Per una storia', p. 281, esp. n. 8, argues convincingly that the location was the house of Pomponio Cotta, later in possession of Virgilio Crescenzi and sometimes called the 'casa del Bellhomo'. Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*, pp. 45-46, is wrong to refer to the palace, close to Piazza S. Eustachio, as the venue of the Stamperia del Popolo Romano. The donation of the palace directly to Basa is confirmed by a later memo; see Peri, *Ricerche*, p. 152.

⁸⁶ Peri, *Ricerche*, pp. 153-154. The memo is preserved among Vivani's papers, in MS Rome, BVR, K 17.

⁸⁷ G. Levi Della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII: Appendice: Aggiunte a Studi e testi* 92, Vatican City 1948, p. 49. See also H. D. L. Vervliet, 'Robert Granjon à Rome 1578-15789: Notes préliminaires à une histoire de la typographie romaine à la fin de XVIe siècle', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, XXXVIII, 1967, pp. 177-231, at p. 188, n. 2, who gives a more precise date.

Christophe Plantin between 1568 and 1573, and challenging early Protestant attempts in the field of Oriental scholarship.⁸⁸

Outstanding technical skill and linguistic expertise were necessary for such an ambitious endeavour. So, in 1577, the pope hired the renowned French type-designer Robert Granjon to design the requisite fonts. Roughly three years later, the firm began to issue ground-breaking publications in Oriental languages.⁸⁹ This polyglot papal press did not, however, have a name of its own, to distinguish it from Basa's private workshop: the imprint on the title-page was usually 'Ex typographia Domenici Basa', sometimes combined with Gregory XIII's coat of arms. It is therefore difficult to determine which editions were due to Basa's initiative and which to the editorial programme of the papal press. A plausible explanation for this apparently deliberate ambiguity can be found in a later note among Gaspare Viviani's papers, in which Oriental printing is said to have been undertaken by the pope 'in that secret manner which it is prudent to adopt in such an enterprise, so as to avoid the many contrary points of view put forward to His Holiness at the time'.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *Le vie delle lettere: la Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente* (exhibition catalogue, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 2012-2013), ed. by S. Fani and M. Farina, Florence 2012, p. 45. See also R. J. Wilkinson, 'Emmanuel Tremellius' 1569 Edition of the Syriac New Testament', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, LVIII, 2007, pp. 9-25 and his 'Syriac Studies in Rome in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture*, VI, 2012, pp. 55-74.

⁸⁹ A Malabar font (Indic or more precisely Tamil) was also apparently envisaged; see Cardinal Santori's diary entry for October 1580, quoted by Tinto, 'Per una storia', p. 295, n. 24. No editions using this font (probably never cast) has so far come to light. On the earliest typographical efforts in Malabar, southern India, see D. E. Rhodes, *The Spread of Printing: Eastern Hemisphere: India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand*, Amsterdam etc. 1969, p. 15. For another overview, including early European attempts, see K. V. Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, Leiden 1992, pp. 151-152.

⁹⁰ BVR, K 17, f. 111r-v, transcribed in Peri, *Ricerche*, pp. 152-153: 'Fu concetto molto bene inteso da Papa Gregorio XIII l'introdurre in Roma non solo la stampa greca, ma anco li caratteri Arabici, Chaldei, Armeni et Illirici; però con molta spesa della Sede Apostolica si fece condurre di Francia il Grangion, eccellentissimo intagliatore. Si diede uno palazzo al Basa dove fu eretta la stampa et per molti anni si attese a fare intagliare et gettare polzoni in dette lingue, et fu anco cominciato a

The annotator (very possibly Viviani himself) seems to have regarded Oriental, and specifically Arabic, printing not only as a useful strategy for proselytising, but also as a matter of state, requiring strict confidentiality.

The establishment of the polyglot papal press must have entailed several consultations inside the Curia. Although there is not much of a paper trail, in a memo addressed to Cardinal Giovanni Morone around 1580, Giovanni Carga took credit for the success of the enterprise, even asking for financial compensation as the initiator of the project.⁹¹ We also know that Gaspare Viviani took part in the endeavour as an intermediary for Cardinal Sirleto and Cardinal Santori, as well as an expert on Oriental languages.⁹² Zanetti was also clearly involved in the papal polyglot press as Basa's former partner,⁹³ and his dedication to Gregory XIII in his 1581 Greek edition of Chrysostom provides further evidence.⁹⁴ In addition, the rent

stamparsi in Arabo, secondo il modo che fu giudicato espediente per la dilatatione della Religione Christiana et per altri rispetti importanti [~~etiam in materia di stato~~]. Et tutto passava con quel segreto modo che in tal opera prudentemente si deve tenere per schifar molti contrarii all' hora esposti a Sua Santità [~~da me spiegati e riferiti~~].

⁹¹ Describing his earlier proposal and the three-year old enterprise by Basa as practically a 'stamparia pontificia', he claimed to have successfully introduced institutional printing by the Church in Rome without any remuneration. Rome, ASV, *Misc.*, *Arm.* XI, tom. 93, ff. 98r-99v. Despite the overly cautious attitude of Tinto, 'Per una storia', pp. 282, 293-294, the connection of this memo to the polyglot papal press seems obvious.

⁹² Peri, *Ricerche*, pp. 62-63, and Tinto, 'Per una storia', p. 295, n. 24.

⁹³ It is worth noting that the Basa and Zanetti families continued to collaborate in the following decades. Not only did Basa involve Luigi Zanetti, almost certainly one of Francesco's sons, in the management of the Oratorian press, but later partnerships between the families were established in Rome (Bernardo Basa, Francesco Zanetti himself and later his son Antonio), as well as in Venice (Isabetta Basa and Daniele Zanetti).

⁹⁴ John Chrysostom, *Ἐπιτομή δέκα διάφοροι ...*, Rome, Francesco Zanetti, 1581, sigs +2r-+4r (two different quarto imprints: *EDIT16*, CNCE 38665, 62804). An autograph copy is in MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat., 6792, ff. 331r-332r, transcribed by Gaspari, 'Francesco Zanetti', pp. 168-169, with erroneous identification of the related printed editions. Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, p. 5, n. 3 mentioned the manuscript dedication in Vat. lat. 6792 as if it were a proposal by Zanetti for establishing a polyglot, though the text correctly referred to Gregory XIII's multilingual printing enterprises as great achievements of the immediate past. Rather than a proposal, this was in fact an encomium of the recently accomplished papal projects.

on his workshop (close to S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli) was paid by the pope in 1582 and 1584.⁹⁵ Zanetti, moreover, was the only printer in Rome to have already a Greek font at disposal. Finally, scattered evidence suggests that the Jesuits – whose press in the Collegio Romano was not suitable for large-scale religious propaganda – endorsed the initiative. In the first place, they were the main distributors of the polyglot press's publications in their missions throughout the globe. Secondly, there was a proposal in 1579 to set up a multilingual Catholic bookshop in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and sell 'missals, breviaries, gradual, antiphonaries, catechisms and other Church books in great number for a cheap price' in Slavic-speaking regions.⁹⁶ Basa, no doubt on behalf of the polyglot papal press, would supply all the books in partnership with the Giunta of Florence. The project was devised by none other than Antonio Possevino, then engaged in a delicate diplomatic mission in North-East Europe. When the proposal was rejected by the pope because it was not financially sustainable, Possevino tried in vain to get hold of a copy of the Cyrillic font designed by Granjon for the papal press, which would have enabled him to set up a centralised Catholic press either in Vilnius, Cracow or Kolozvár (now Cluj-Napoca).⁹⁷ Lastly, the commissioning of Granjon's Syriac font and the polyglot press's publication of a Syriac Catechism and profession of faith seem to have been the result of pleas made to the pope by Jesuits, who, after their

⁹⁵ V. Romani, 'Per una storia dell'editoria romana tra Cinque e Seicento: note e documenti', *Annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma*, XV-XVI, 1975-1976, pp. 23-64, at p. 39, n. 36.

⁹⁶ ASV, *Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. 16, f. 96r, as cited by Tinto, 'Per una storia', p. 289.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-291.

missions to the Maronite Lebanese community in 1578 and 1580, pointed out how helpful Syriac printing (*stampa caldea*) would be to these Christians.⁹⁸

In support of, and later in competition with, the polyglot papal press, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, later Grand Duke of Florence, founded the so-called Medici Oriental Press. Set up in Rome in 1584, the press, conceived under the auspices of the pope, was entirely financed by its sole owner, Cardinal de' Medici. The Orientalist scholar Giovanni Battista Raimondi, appointed as manager, and the former Jacobite patriarch Ignatius Na'matallah were behind this initiative.⁹⁹ In contrast to the missionary and proselytising goals of the polyglot papal press, the Medici firm had clear commercial aims. Its founder and collaborators were convinced that good money could be made by selling their Oriental language publications in the Near East, from Ethiopia to the Ottoman and Persian Empires, which appeared to be an untapped market for printing, apart from the very recent attempts by the polyglot papal press. The press's first book, a ground-breaking Arabic translation of the Gospels, was not published until 1590-1591,¹⁰⁰ and its plans turned out to be far too ambitious, since the areas which it hoped to penetrate were not yet interested in printed books as vehicles of knowledge. After several

⁹⁸ Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, pp. 71-72.

⁹⁹ On Na'matallah, who came to Rome in 1577 to discuss the union of his church with Rome, see Levi Della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni*, pp. 1-113, and *Le vie delle lettere*, pp. 57-63. On Raimondi, see *ibid.*, pp. 54-56, and J. R. Jones, 'The Arabic and Persian Studies of Giovan Battista Raimondi (c.1536-1614)', MPhil dissertation, Warburg Institute, University of London, 1981.

¹⁰⁰ *EDIT16*, CNCE 5985, 5987. See *Le vie delle lettere* and the bibliography cited there. See also H. D. L. Vervliet, 'Robert Granjon', and his *Cyrillic and Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley 1981; A. Tinto, 'Per una storia' and his *La Tipografia Medicea*. For a typographical analysis of the press's Syriac fonts, see J. F. Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac: A Historical Catalogue of Printing Types (1537-1958)*, London 2006, pp. 40-45, 158-160.

years of operating in the red, the press stopped issuing books at the end of the sixteenth century and, with Raimondi's death in 1614, it shut down completely.

Nevertheless, it is important to stress the continuity of this enterprise with the polyglot papal press run by Basa. Not only did the two printing houses share fonts and personnel, including key figures such as the punch-cutter Granjon, but Basa also supplied the Medici press with paper and other goods. Moreover, some of the earliest Medici publications came out under Basa's name. On the basis of these facts, Alberto Tinto argued convincingly that the two Oriental presses were, for all intents and purposes, one and the same firm during the period 1583-1585.¹⁰¹ Tinto's view is confirmed by a later note, datable to between 1588 and 1591, and almost certainly written by Gaspare Viviani, who collaborated with both presses and who owned the palace which was the second location of the Medici press.¹⁰² This well-informed account of Oriental printing in Rome in the last quarter of the sixteenth century makes no distinction between the press entrusted to Basa and the Arabic publications undertaken by the Medici press.¹⁰³

Gregory XIII pressed forward with the centralisation of the curial bureaucracy and the emancipation of the pope from the restraints of the College of Cardinals which had begun under his predecessors. This body had been gradually losing influence, while the personal power of curial cardinals was more and more diminished by assigning them demanding administrative duties. Both permanent and

¹⁰¹ Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, pp. 11-25 (esp. p. 20), 29, 34, 41, 43.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Peri, *Ricerche*, pp. 152-153; see also n. 90 above.

temporary congregations of cardinals to deal with specific matters were established one after the other. With regard to papal policy on printed books, in 1572 Gregory formally approved the Congregation of the Index set up by Pius V a year earlier. For over twelve years, this committee, under Sirleto's leadership, made strenuous efforts to reform the list of prohibited books and to carry out the expurgations intended to make several publications acceptable. Yet its intense activity failed to produce results, since a proposal for a new index submitted in 1584 did not receive approval. The cardinals did, however, frequently provide informal instruction to local inquisitors, encouraging them to take a stronger stand than was sanctioned by the relatively mild Tridentine Index. With Sirleto at the helm, the Congregation of the Index, along with the Holy Office, re-embraced many ideas of Paul IV and Pius V, concentrating less on preventing the circulation of heretical publications than on expanding the boundaries of books subject to prohibition, castigating literary texts, emending Catholic authors and limiting access to the Bible, biblical commentaries and popular works based on the scriptures.¹⁰⁴

During the pontificate of Gregory XIII, Counter-Reformation attitudes became increasingly entrenched in Roman cultural life.¹⁰⁵ From 1572 to 1585, in line with the pope's programme of active proselytising, Rome made significant steps forward in its claims to be the international centre of the Christian religion. Four national colleges – for Hungarian, English, Greek and Maronite clergy – were established in

¹⁰⁴ See Simoncelli, 'Documenti interni', pp. 204, 211-215; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 111-142, and her paper 'Guglielmo Sirleto prefetto della Congregazione dell'Indice (1571-1585)', which was recently delivered at the international conference *Il Cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585): il "sapiantissimo Calabro" e la Roma del XVI secolo*, held in Rome on 13-15 January 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Borromeo, 'Gregorio XIII', pp. 194-197.

the city between 1577 and 1584; and in 1577, an institution for recently converted Jews and Muslims, the College of the Neophytes, was set up. Plans for Armenian and Polish institutes were drawn up but not put into action.¹⁰⁶ The new colleges and institutes relied for their academic courses on the Jesuit Collegio Romano; but the Collegio was in an unstable economic situation, due to unfulfilled promises of funding from earlier popes. To remedy this situation, Gregory XIII provided it with a large endowment, for which he was hailed as its true founder.¹⁰⁷ The pope also gave his backing to the recently formed Oratory of St Filippo Neri, a religious institute which was deeply involved in cultural and educational matters. In 1575, the Oratorians, as they were popularly known, were confirmed as a Catholic congregation and given the Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella. In 1592, they set up a press attached to their oratory and library, in order to continue the publication, begun in 1588, of a landmark of the Counter-Reformation: the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Cesare Baronio, who would succeed Neri as the superior of the Oratorians in 1593.¹⁰⁸

2.7. The Typographia Vaticana of Sixtus V

With the conclave of April 1585, we come to the last pope to be included in this overview, the Franciscan inquisitor Felice Peretti, who took the name Sixtus V. A protégé of Pius V, the new pope was a resolute, independent-minded and stern

¹⁰⁶ Vuković had already stressed the importance of establishing a Serbian college in his proposal of 1574; see Tinto, 'Per una storia', p. 287.

¹⁰⁷ García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, pp. 133-154. In recognition of Gregory XIII's crucial support for the Collegio Romano, it later took the name 'Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana'.

¹⁰⁸ On this printing enterprise, which lasted less than four years, see Finocchiaro, *Baronio e la Tipografia*.

ruler, who sought to centralise power in his own hands and those of a few trusted collaborators. I will consider mainly the first half of his five-year papacy, since the Vatican press was established in 1587 and other important measures related to it took place the following year.¹⁰⁹

In his educational policy, Sixtus V displayed his well-known desire to exert personal control, leading to one of his many clashes with the Society of Jesus. In the first year of his reign, he organised thorough-going inspections of the colleges established by Gregory XIII and, for the most part, supervised by the Jesuits.¹¹⁰ His attempt to interfere with drafting of the new list of prohibited books bought him into conflict also with the Congregation of the Index. He had been a notoriously severe inquisitor in Venice during the struggles over the application of Paul IV's Index in 1559; and, at the request of the Venetian Republic, he was called back to Rome in 1560.¹¹¹ He had also acted as consultant and later member of both the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation the Index. Nonetheless, as pope, he ultimately failed to issue a list of prohibited books to replace the Tridentine Index. It was not until 1596 that a new index was promulgated by Clement VIII, following unsuccessful attempts in 1590 and 1593.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ See S. Giordano, 'Sisto V', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, III, pp. 202-222, and W. Reinhard, 'Sixtus V', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, IV, New York and London 1996, p. 66, for a concise account of his pontificate, with the bibliography cited in both works. The only recent biography is I. De Feo, *Sisto V: un grande papa tra Rinascimento e Barocco*, Milan 1987.

¹¹⁰ The claim of García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, p. 155, that Sixtus generously supported the Collegio Romano seems entirely misguided. That the visitations of the colleges were motivated by papal hostility is persuasively argued by M. E. Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome: A History (1579-1979)*, London 1979, pp. 13-16. The papal subsidies for these institutions were largely withdrawn after several managerial abuses were uncovered.

¹¹¹ Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, pp. 118-127.

¹¹² Fragnito, *Proibito capire*, pp. 44-77 and Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 120-175; *ILI*, IX. See also E. Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti: gli indici dei libri proibiti da Clemente VIII a Benedetto*

Sixtus was more effective in reforming the Roman printing system for the purpose of distributing Catholic propaganda. A learned theologian and Franciscan preacher, the pope had previously participated in several printing endeavours, from the 1562 Giuntine edition of Aristotle and Averroes curated by his pupil Antonio Posio to the editions of the Decretals of Gratian and the collected works of St Ambrose. After his election, he continued to be involved in the Ambrose edition, as well as those of St Bonaventura and (disastrously) the Vulgate.¹¹³ In his grand programme to enhance Rome's position as the centre of Catholic culture, publishing played as important a role as the arts and architecture. Sixtus built a magnificent new location for the papal library, taking up half of the Cortile del Belvedere, and including a new, well-equipped papal press, the first to be officially named *Typographia Vaticana*. A bull of 27 April 1587 set up the enterprise, which was entrusted to Domenico Basa and provided with 20,000 ducats from a special *Monte di Pietà* at the fixed rate of 6%.¹¹⁴ Throughout the pontificate of Gregory XIII, Basa stood out as the Roman printer most favoured by the curial establishment and of the pope himself. Moving from one project to another, he was the real heir of Paolo Manuzio, with whom he had come to Rome in 1565. As, in effect, the manager of the *Stamperia del Popolo Romano*, the polyglot papal press and finally the *Typographia Vaticana*, he was in charge of the direction of the Church's official publishing programme.

XIV, Milan 2008, for the 1596 and later indexes.

¹¹³ *EDIT16*, CNCE 1521, 1523, 5805, 6908, 6910.

¹¹⁴ For the bull, dated 27 April 1587, see *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis editio ...*, VIII, Turin 1863, pp. 841-847.

The aims of the *Typographia Vaticana* were stated in the bull of foundation and then carved above the entrance to the press: ‘established by divine counsel ... in order to recover the works of the Church Fathers and spread the Catholic faith throughout the globe’.¹¹⁵ It is symbolically significant that the official papal press was now based in the Vatican, at the heart of Roman religious power. All the earlier printing enterprises promoted by the Curia had been located on the other side of the Tiber, between the Campo dei Fiori, Sant’Eustachio, Pantheon and Via Giulia, alongside the rest of the Roman printing industry and many other commercial activities. With the official character of the press underlined by both its name and location, Sixtus V took full control over the initiative.¹¹⁶ The press was also included in the pioneering and comprehensive reformation of the curial apparatus undertaken by the pope and sanctioned by the bull *Immensa aeterni Dei* in January 1588. This entailed regulating congregations of cardinals as if they were government bodies. The number of these permanent committees was raised to fifteen, and they were given responsibility for specific matters of religion or of state, from heresy and book

¹¹⁵ The inscription, now lost, is reported in Muzio Pansa, *Della Libreria Vaticana ragionamenti ...*, Rome, Giovanni Martinelli, 1590, p. 322: ‘TYPOGRAPHIA VATICANA DIVINO CONSIGLIO A SIXTO V. PONT. MAX. INSTITUTA AD SANCTORUM PATRUM OPERA RESTITUENDA, CATHOLICAMQUE RELIGIONEM TOTO TERRARUM ORBE PROPAGANDAM.’

¹¹⁶ A history of the press in early modern times is still to be written. For the time being, see N. Vian, ‘Tipografia Vaticana’, in *Enciclopedia cattolica*, XII, Vatican City 1954, pp. 1135-1138; P. Petitmengin, ‘À propos des éditions patristiques de la Contre-Réforme: le “Saint Augustin” de la Typographie Vaticane’, *Recherches Augustiniennes*, IV, 1966, pp. 199-251; *Tipografie romane promosse*, pp. 12-20, 27-31; V. Romani, *Di alcune vicende istituzionali della Tipografia Vaticana, 1587-1609 (per le nozze di Jacqueline Devismes con Pierre Devismes-Ernoult, San Luigi dei Francesi, 18 dicembre 1973)*, Rome 1973, and his ‘Per lo Stato’ and ‘Tipografie papali’, esp. p. 278, n. 33; A. Tinto, ‘Di un inventario della Tipografia Vaticana (1595)’, in *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*, ed. by G. De Gregori and M. Valenti, Rome 1976, pp. 545-553; J. Ruysschaert, ‘La Bibliothèque et la Typographie Vaticanæ de Sixte V: projects, étapes, continuités’, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanæ IV*, Vatican City 1990, pp. 343-363; P. Munafò and N. Muratore, ‘Sisto V e Angelo Rocca’, in *Roma di Sisto V: le arti e la cultura*, ed. by M. L. Madonna, Rome 1993, pp. 474-484; L. Bellingeri and P. Costabile, ‘Dinamiche produttive e mercato editoriale’, in *Roma di Sisto V: le arti e la cultura*, ed. by M. L. Madonna, Rome 1993, pp. 487-493; Y. Loskoutoff, ‘L’héraldique du pape Sixte-Quint dans l’ornement gravé pour le livre’, *La Bibliofilia*, CX, 2008, pp. 255-289, later expanded in his *Un art de la Réforme catholique: la symbolique du pape Sixte-Quint et des Peretti-Montalto (1566-1655)*, Paris 2011, pp. 96-226.

control to the upkeep of streets and the water supply.¹¹⁷ One such was the Congregation of the Typographia Vaticana, with five cardinals whose task was to supervise the editions of the press (new *recensiones* of the Bible in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; collections of decretals and conciliar acts; writings of the Church Father; works of ecclesiastical historiography) and to control how they were distributed and reprinted throughout Europe.¹¹⁸

In addition to the new papal press, Sixtus paid attention to other printing enterprises in which the Curia was involved. Zanetti's firm maintained its primacy as the papacy's Greek press, issuing for Sixtus a ground-breaking edition of the Septuagint between 1586 and 1587,¹¹⁹ and continuing to collaborate with the Typographia Vaticana under Basa's management. By contrast, the Medici Oriental Press found itself in great difficulty after the death of Gregory XIII. Sixtus did not pursue his predecessor's attempts to reach Eastern Christians, opting instead to focus on Europe, especially France and England, while the Jesuits began to show signs of discontent with the slow pace of the press's publications. Challenging the Medici firm's monopoly over printing in Oriental languages, they tried unsuccessfully to compete with it by setting up a Syriac publishing house in the Maronite College, as

¹¹⁷ The bull is published in *Bullarum ... editio*, VIII, pp. 985-999. See the interpretations by N. Del Re, *La Curia romana: lineamenti storico-giuridici*, Rome 1970, pp. 19-25, as well as P. Prodi, *Lo sviluppo dell'assolutismo nello stato pontificio (secoli XV-XVI)*, Bologna 1968, pp. 87-114 and his *Il sovrano pontefice: un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna*, Bologna 2006, pp. 175-183.

¹¹⁸ Del Re, *La Curia*, pp. 344-345. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to locate any archival documents connected to this congregation, which lasted for about twenty years.

¹¹⁹ *EDIT16*, CNCE 5813, 5815. Accomplished by a cardinals' committee lead by Antonio Carafa, the edition provided the best available *recensio* from the *Codex Vaticanus*. It rapidly established itself as the text *receptus*.

Raimondi lamented in a report from about 1586.¹²⁰ Basa and the polyglot papal press were also pushing for a larger share of the market, turning from an ally of the Medici press to a potential competitor.¹²¹ Moreover, in 1587 Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici became Grand Duke of Tuscany (although he retained the title of cardinal until his marriage in 1589) and tried to move his press to Florence; but Raimondi resolutely opposed this plan, and the firm remained in Rome. Nevertheless, with its valuable fonts, the press would be a tempting acquisition for the Catholic Church. Sixtus V had, in fact, considered merging it with the press he was in the process of setting up in the Vatican or at least relocating the Medici press to the Cortile del Belvedere, side by side with the *Typographia Vaticana* but as a separate entity.¹²² Although the Medici press managed to avoid these threats, its rate of publication decreased drastically after 1588 and, as mentioned above, ceased entirely with the death of Raimondi in 1614. It was not until 1626 that Oriental printing began to flourish again in Rome with the establishment of the press attached to the newly founded *Congregatio de progaganda fide* for the worldwide spread of the Catholic multilingual publications.

The Blado family's monopoly over the publication of bulls and other official pronouncements was acknowledged in February 1589, in a bull which made Paolo Blado the printer of the Apostolic Chamber – like many other prominent positions in the curial bureaucracy, this was a venal office. A few months later, all printers and administrators in the Papal States were forbidden to undertake any reprints of

¹²⁰ Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea*, pp. 66-70, 97-98.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

official Church documents without the explicit approval of Paolo Blado. These acts confirmed the official standing and monopoly of his press, known as the Stamperia Camerale.¹²³

The establishment of the *Typographia Vaticana* seems a useful point to conclude this survey. Firstly, the idea of a publishing house with a name clearly linked to the papacy was a successful formula, destined to last for centuries, despite various interruptions and some overlapping with the *Stamperia Camerale*.¹²⁴ Secondly, it marked a significant stage in the Curia's economic approach to printing: rather than making small or large grants to private printers, the Roman Catholic hierarchy began to adopt a more entrepreneurial strategy, raising money through bank credit and sharing the risk with private investors. Thirdly, the importance of institutionalising printing as the main means of communication for the Catholic Church was acknowledged as never before, by creating a permanent committee of cardinals to supervise the *Typographia Vaticana* and by try to control the distribution and reprinting of Church publications throughout Italy and the rest of Europe.

In this chapter, I have traced the repeated attempts of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century to set up an official printing press under the auspices of the

¹²³ On the later development of the *Stamperia Camerale*, see V. Romani, 'Per lo Stato' and id., 'Notizie su Andrea Brogiotti, libraio, editore e stampatore camerale', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, II, 1973, pp. 72-87.

¹²⁴ In 1609, the *Typographia Vaticana* was suppressed by Paul V; its commissions and equipment were transferred to the *Stamperia Camerale* run by Geremia Guelfi. In 1717, it was re-established for a while under the managements of the printer Giovanni Maria Salvioni. After another re-establishment in 1825, the present-day *Typographia Vaticana* was set up by Leo XIII in 1884. See Vian, 'Tipografia Vaticana', together with Romani, 'Per lo Stato', and his 'Tipografie papali'.

papacy with the aim of publishing: 1) patristic works and the Bible edited according to the most up-to-date philological standards; 2) official books of liturgy, canon law, devotional texts and suchlike issued by the Church, especially following the closure of the Council of Trent; 3) works of ecclesiastical history dealing with saints, popes and councils of the past; 4) pamphlets and translations of sacred texts chiefly intended for Eastern Christians and later Muslims. As will be shown in Part I of this dissertation, these four features first made their appearance in Cervini's editorial enterprises. Significantly, neither his publishing programme nor later ones included polemical and controversialist literature directed against Protestants. We have seen that the Roman hierarchy gave very little support to the German Catholics who sought to refute Reformation positions point-by-point, regarding this as a risky tactic, which might encourage the spread of Protestant ideas. Moreover, the shortcomings of this strategy were all too apparent by the time serious efforts were made to harness printing in the service of the Church and to set up a papal press. Likewise, the Greek and Roman classics of pagan antiquity were virtually absent from these publishing programmes – a clear sign of the Catholic Church's determination to leave aside this part of the legacy of the Italian Renaissance and concentrate almost exclusively on Christian history and literature.

PART I
CARDINAL MARCELLO CERVINI'S
PRINTING ENTERPRISES (1539-1555)

The first part of this dissertation concerns the promotion of printing in support of the Catholic Church by a sixteenth-century Italian cardinal, Marcello Cervini degli Spannocchi. Between 1539 and 1555, Cervini sponsored the publication of numerous books: writings of the Church Fathers; works on Church history; institutional publications of the papacy; pamphlets against Protestants; and editions of classical texts. His partnerships with the printers Antonio Blado and Francesco Priscianese in the early 1540s represented a pioneering attempt to set up institutional presses in the service of the papacy. Cervini's involvement in printing took place against a dynamic historical background, marked by the pontificate of Paul III, the final break between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed churches, the early meetings of the Council of Trent and the wars conducted by Charles V both in the Empire and in Italy. Cervini was one of the most prominent figures during this period, as secretary to Alessandro Farnese and Paul III, as legate to the imperial court and to the Council of Trent, as a member of the Roman Inquisition and, finally, as Pope Marcellus II. His wide-ranging interests enabled him to exert a powerful influence on the culture of the late Italian Renaissance and, especially, on contemporary churchmen. Although his editorial projects sometimes failed to see the light of day or rapidly collapsed, their long-lasting legacy contributed significantly to the subsequent development of the cultural policy of the Catholic Church towards printing. Many of the scholars and prelates who collaborated with Cervini actively

participated afterwards in the compilation of the various Indexes of Forbidden Books and also in the establishment of the first papal press, founded by Pius IV in 1561 and managed for a decade by Paolo Manuzio.

After giving an overview of the relevant primary sources and bibliography, I shall focus, firstly, on Cervini's education, political beliefs and interest in manuscripts and printed books. Secondly, I shall examine the many books which he had published, as well as the scholars employed by him for this purpose. Finally, I shall provide a detailed account of his two main printing enterprises: the Greek and Latin presses which he established in Rome in the early 1540s.

3. Primary Sources and Secondary Literature

Given Cervini's prominence in his own day, it is not surprising that a considerable amount of documentation about him has survived. Most of his private papers are preserved in a specific *fondo* of the Archivio di Stato of Florence,¹ while many letters, either from or to Cervini, are held in the Vatican Library and the British Library.² The correspondences of contemporary scholars also contain relevant information, notably those of Pietro Bembo,³ Annibale Caro,⁴ Luca Contile,⁵ Giovanni Della Casa,⁶ Donato Giannotti,⁷ Paolo Manuzio,⁸ Claudio Tolomei,⁹ Benedetto Varchi¹⁰ and Piero Vettori.¹¹ The papers of Guglielmo Sirleto

¹ Florence, ASF, *Cervini*. As for the history and the partial inventory of those papers, see the introduction in *CT*, X, pp. XVII-XXIX. The *fondo* consists of Cervini's correspondence and private documentation along with some volumes related to his nephew, the Jesuit scholar Roberto Bellarmino. Portions of Cervini's letters are published in Friedensburg, 'Beiträge'; G. Buschbell, *Reformation und Inquisition in Italien um die Mitte des XVI Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 1910; *CT*, X-XI.

² MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 4104, 6411, 6177-6178, 6186, 14830 and Reg. lat. 2023; MS London, BL, Add. 10274.

³ Pietro Bembo, *Delle lettere ...*, 5 vols, Verona 1743, and id., *Lettere: edizione critica*, 4 vols, ed. by E. Travi, Bologna 1988-1993.

⁴ Annibale Caro, *Lettere familiari*, ed. by A. Greco, 3 vols, Florence 1957.

⁵ Luca Contile, *Delle lettere ...*, 2 vols, Pavia, Girolamo Bartoli, 1564; A. Ronchini, 'Lettere di Luca Contile, tratte dagli autografi che si conservano a Parma nell'archivio governativo', *Archivio veneto*, II, 3-4, 1872, pp. 96-116, 311-330, 133-214, 289-336. See also the dissertation by L. Bellana, 'Le lettere di Luca Contile: studio e antologia di testi', PhD diss., Università di Pisa 2011, which the author kindly allowed me to consult.

⁶ Giovanni Della Casa, *Opere: tomo terzo contenente le lettere*, Venice 1752; *Corrispondenza Giovanni Della Casa, Carlo Gualteruzzi (1525-1549)*, ed. by E. Moroni, Vatican City 1986; E. Carrara, 'Giovanni Della Casa, Piero Vettori e il loro carteggio in volgare', in *Giovanni Della Casa ecclesiastico e scrittore*, ed. by S. Carrai, Rome 2007, pp. 125-170. Other relevant material is found in his unpublished papers in MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 14825-1837.

⁷ Donato Giannotti, *Lettere a Piero Vettori pubblicate sopra gli originali del British Museum*, ed. by R. Ridolfi and C. Roth, Florence 1932; *Donato Giannotti and His "Epistolae": Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Rome, Ms. 107*, ed. by R. Starn, Geneva 1968; Donato Giannotti, *Opere politiche: lettere italiane (1526-1571)*, ed. by F. Diaz, Milan 1974.

⁸ E. Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano: inventario cronologico-analitico (1483-1597)*, Florence 1957 and her *Inedita manutiana (1502-1597): appendice all'inventario*, Florence 1960.

⁹ Claudio Tolomei, *Delle lettere ... libri sette ...*, Venice, Giolito de Ferrari e fratelli, 1550.

are especially valuable.¹² There are also a number of notarial acts concerning Cervini's publications from the Archivio di Stato of Rome, as well as documents from the archive of the Vatican Library.¹³ Finally, the reports of the Florentine ambassador in Rome, Averardo Serristori, sometimes contain otherwise unknown information.¹⁴

When Cervini was elected pontiff as Marcellus II in April 1555, he was seen as an 'angelic pope', and most Catholics entertained high hopes that he would be able to reform the Church of Rome. His first actions lived up to these expectations: he humbly retained his baptismal name and refused to distribute offices to his relatives. His pontificate, however, lasted only twenty-two days: already in frail health and weakened by flagellation and overwork, succumbed to a stroke. In the wake of the unfulfilled promise of his brief papacy, Cervini's reputation rapidly acquired a legendary aura: the *Missa Papae Marcelli*, composed by Pier Luigi da Palestrina in 1562, contributed to the formation of this posthumous 'bella figura'. The majority of the studies devoted to him have inclined to uncritical praise, overlooking the problematic features of his ecclesiastical career. He was deliberately

¹⁰ Benedetto Varchi, *Lettere (1535-1565)*, ed. by V. Bramanti, Rome 2008.

¹¹ MSS London, BL, Add. 10263-10282. They are partially published in Giannotti, *Lettere a Piero Vettori*, with an inventory of the entire correspondence at pp. 163-183; Carrara, 'Giovanni della Casa'; L. Cesarini Martinelli, 'Contributo all'epistolario di Piero Vettori (lettere a don Vincenzo Borghini, 1546-1565)', *Rinascimento*, XIX, 1979, pp. 189-227.

¹² MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6177-6186, 6189-6195 and Reg. lat. 2023. Most of Sirleto's correspondence with Cervini concerning the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1548 is published in *CT*, X, pp. 929-955.

¹³ Rome, ASR, *Notari segretari e cancellieri della Reverenda Camera Apostolica; Notari del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae; Miscellanea Corvisieri*. L. Dorez, 'Le registre des dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555', in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus*, Cambridge 1909, pp. 142-185, at pp. 168-185.

¹⁴ MS Florence, ASF, *Mediceo del Principato, Relazioni con Stati Italiani ed Esteri, Stati Italiani, Roma*, vol. 3264.

portrayed as a symbol of the political unity and harmony of the Church in his day, when, in reality, there were bitter conflicts in its ranks, as Cervini himself was well aware. The detailed studies by Stanley Morison, William V. Hudon and, to a certain extent, Samuele Giombi generally follow these lines,¹⁵ as did the first substantial biography, dating back to the eighteenth century, by Pietro Pollidori.¹⁶ Chiara Quaranta, in her recent monograph, sought to dismantle the myths surrounding Cervini and bring to light his pragmatic and often unscrupulous political role in the Curia of Paul III and Julius III.¹⁷ By doing so, she filled the gap in scholarship lamented by Gigliola Fragnito and Adriano Prosperi.¹⁸ With regard to the subject of this dissertation, however, it is worth noting that Quaranta adopted a predominantly political perspective, devoting only a single, though dense, chapter, to Cervini's cultural interests.¹⁹ Massimo Firpo, too, has mainly explored his political and inquisitorial role at the court of Julius III.²⁰

Two articles, one by Leon Dorez, the other by Pio Paschini, both now out-of-date, are the sole attempts to give an overall account of Cervini's publishing

¹⁵ S. Morison, 'Marcello Cervini Pope Marcellus II: Bibliography's Patron Saint', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, V, 1962, pp. 301-319; W. V. Hudon, 'Marcellus II, Girolamo Seripando and the Angelic Pope', in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. by M. Reeves, Oxford 1992, pp. 373-387, and his *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy*, DeKalb IL 1992; S. Giombi, *Un ecclesiastico tridentino al governo diocesano: Marcello II Cervini (1501-1555) e la riforma della Chiesa fra centro e periferia*, Ancona 2010.

¹⁶ P. Pollidori, *De vita, gestis, et moribus Marcelli II Pontificis Maximi commentarius*, Rome 1744.

¹⁷ C. Quaranta, *Marcello II Cervini (1501-1555): Riforma della Chiesa, Concilio, Inquisizione*, Bologna 2010, listing further bibliography, including local contributions, at pp. 29-32.

¹⁸ G. Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato al servizio della cristianità*, Florence 1988, p. IX, and A. Prosperi, 'Introduzione', in *Papa Marcello II Cervini e la Chiesa della prima metà del '500: atti del convegno di studi storici, Montepulciano 4 maggio 2002*, ed. by C. Prezzolini and V. Novembri, Montepulciano 2003, pp. 15-23.

¹⁹ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 428-458.

²⁰ M. Firpo, 'Marcello Cervini e il Sant'Ufficio romano: la svolta del 1552', in *Per Adriano Prosperi: I*, pp. 123-132 and his *La presa di potere, ad indicem*.

activities.²¹ Later in the twentieth century, some eminent bibliographers, drawing on these articles, mainly discussed the beautiful Greek fonts employed in some of the publications sponsored by Cervini.²² All these studies gave the lion's share of their attention to the first edition of the Homer commentaries by the Byzantine scholar Eustathius of Thessalonica, leaving aside the rest of Cervini's involvement in printing and the context in which it arose. As a result, they tended to overemphasise the continuity of his programme with that of earlier Roman humanism, as if there was little or nothing new in his various enterprises. Two important exceptions are the studies of Deoclecio Redig de Campos on Francesco Priscianese and Valentino Romani on the *editio princeps* of the Ge'ez New Testament.²³ In addition, Robert J. Wilkinson has examined Cervini's promotion of Syriac studies and printing.²⁴ Lastly, Raphaële Mouren has investigated the relationship of Cervini to the Florentine humanist Piero Vettori, shedding light on several editorial collaborations

²¹ L. Dorez, 'Le Cardinal Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome (1539-1550)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XII, 1892, pp. 289-312, and P. Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore: Marcello Cervini', in his *Cinquecento romano e riforma cattolica: scritti raccolti in occasione dell'ottantesimo compleanno dell'autore*, Rome 1958, pp. 183-217. Paschini supplies further information in 'Guglielmo Sirleto prima del cardinalato', in his *Tre ricerche sulla storia della chiesa nel Cinquecento*, Rome 1945, pp. 155-282.

²² R. Ridolfi, 'Nuovi contributi sulle stamperie papali di Paolo III', *La Bibliofilia*, L, 1948, pp. 183-197; A. Tinto, 'Nuovo contributo alla storia della tipografia greca a Roma nel sec. XVI: Nicolò Sofiano', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, XL, 1965, pp. 171-175, and his 'The History of a Sixteenth-Century Greek Type', *The Library*, XXV, 1970, pp. 285-293; Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*; W. A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: Merchant Publishers of the Sixteenth Century: With a Checklist of All the Books and Documents Published by the Giunti in Florence from 1497 to 1570, and with the Texts of Twenty-Nine Documents, from 1427 to the Eighteenth Century*, San Francisco 1980, and most recently his *The Giunti of Florence: A Renaissance Printing and Publishing Family: A History of the Florentine Firm and a Catalogue of the Editions*, New Castle DE 2012.

²³ D. Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese, stampatore e umanista fiorentino del sec. XVI', *La Bibliofilia*, XL, 1938, pp. 161-183, complemented by R. Ridolfi, 'Note sul Priscianese stampatore e umanista fiorentino', *La Bibliofilia*, XLIII, 1941, pp. 291-295 and his 'Un'edizione del Priscianese sconosciuta ai bibliografi e alcune notizie biografiche intorno al medesimo', *La Bibliofilia*, XLIX, 1947, pp. 71-75; V. Romani, 'La stampa del Nuovo Testamento in etiopico (1548-1549): figure e temi del Cinquecento romano', in *Studi in onore di Francesco Barberi*, pp. 481-498.

²⁴ R. J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden and Boston 2007; but see the review by A. Hamilton in *Quaerendo*, XLVIII, 2008, pp. 1-4, which points out many inaccuracies.

between the two on the basis of Vettori's papers held in the British Library.²⁵

As Giombi has noted, even though reconstructing Cervini's humanist interests would doubtless enlighten us about the cultural history of late Italian Renaissance and early Counter-Reformation, a full-scale survey has yet to be undertaken.²⁶ Cervini's collecting of manuscripts and printed books is of great interest for our purposes, as it was often connected to his publishing projects; unfortunately, however, there are only a few studies on specific aspects of this topic. His relationship with the Greek scribe Antonios Eparco, for example, was examined in the nineteenth century by Émile Legrand and by Leon Dorez,²⁷ who also described Cervini's pertinacity in seeking out books in his study of a precious manuscript of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*.²⁸ More recently, Paola Piacentini has written about Cervini's youth, the printed books in his personal library and his involvement with

²⁵ R. Mouren, 'La bibliothèque du Palais Farnèse avant Fulvio Orsini', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée*, CVII, 1995, pp. 7-14; ead., 'La lecture assidue des classiques: Marcello Cervini et Piero Vettori', in *Humanisme et Église en Italie et en France méridionale (XV^e siècle – milieu du XVI^e siècle)*, ed. by P. Gilli, Rome 2004, pp. 433-463; ead., 'Du Cardinal au prote: travail d'équipe autour d'éditions grecques au milieu du XVI^e siècle', in *Qui écrit? Figures de l'auteur et des co-élaborateurs du texte, XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, ed. by M. Furno, Lyon 2009, pp. 53-74.

²⁶ S. Giombi, 'Marcello Cervini: un ecclesiastico cinquecentesco tra riforma pastorale e cultura umanistica', PhD diss., Università di Bologna 1991, pp. 20-21; see also his 'Lo studio umanistico dell'antichità cristiana nella Riforma cattolica: Rassegna storiografica e ipotesi interpretative', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, VIII, 1992, pp. 143-62, and his 'Il cardinal Marcello Cervini fra diocesi e Concilio', in *Il concilio di Trento nella prospettiva del terzo millennio: atti del convegno, Trento 25-28 settembre 1995*, ed. by G. Alberigo and I. Rogger, Brescia 1997, pp. 385-402.

²⁷ E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 4 vols, Paris 1885-1906, I, pp. 259-262, 277-281; II, pp. 360-376 and his *Lettres inédites d'Antoine Eparque, Michel Eparque, Jean Bonafeus et Sophianos le Cretois*, Paris 1891; L. Dorez, 'Antoine Eparque: recherches sur le commerce des manuscrits grecs en Italie au XVI^e siècle', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIII, 1893, pp. 281-364. For a more recent account, see H. Giotopoulou-Sisilianou, *Antonios ho Eparchos: henas Kerkyraios oumanistes tou 16ou aiona*, Athens 1978.

²⁸ L. Dorez, 'L'exemplaire de Pline l'Ancien d'Agosto Valdo de Padoue et le Cardinal Marcello Cervini', *Revue des bibliothèques*, V, 1895, pp. 14-20.

the Vatican Library.²⁹ His patronage of architecture has been explored in a series of articles, starting in 1979, which have elucidated his connections with Guillaume Philander, Vignola (Jacopo Barozzi) and Sebastiano Serlio, as well as his role in the revival of Vitruvius studies in sixteenth-century Rome.³⁰

Over the past twenty years, we have acquired a clearer and richer understanding of Cervini. We are now more aware of him as an astute politician, pious bishop and efficient inquisitor, as well as an erudite patron, generous man of letters and passionate bibliophile. How these various aspects of his activity and personality come together remains an open question; but I believe that Cervini's attitude towards printing can offer a revealing point of convergence.

²⁹ P. Piacentini, 'La giovinezza di Marcello Cervini nelle lettere al padre (1519-1524)', in *Filologia umanistica: per Gianvito Resta*, ed. by V. Fera, G. Ferraù, Padua 1997, pp. 1421-1461; ead., *La biblioteca di Marcello II Cervini: una ricostruzione dalle carte di Jeanne Bignami Odier: i libri a stampa*, Vatican City 2001; ead., 'Marcello Cervini (Marcello II): la Biblioteca Vaticana e la biblioteca personale', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica: II*, pp. 105-143. R. Mouren, in her review in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXI, 2003, pp. 704-706, pointed out that Piacentini's study of Cervini's library was based on a single inventory and, therefore, presented an incomplete account.

³⁰ D. R. Coffin, 'Pope Marcellus II and Architecture', *Architectura*, IX, 1979, pp. 11-29; P. Dreyer, 'Vignolas Planungen für eine befestigte Villa Cervini', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXI, 1984, pp. 365-396; M. Daly Davis, 'Zum Codex Coburgensis: Frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello Cervini', in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des internationalen Symposions, Coburg 8-10 September 1986*, ed. by R. Harprath and H. Wrede, Mainz 1989, pp. 185-199; F. Lemerle, *Les Annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le "De Architectura" de Vitruve: Livres I à IV*, Paris 2000, pp. 15-18; R. Nicolò, 'La villa di Marcello Cervini al Vivo d'Orcia', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, XLIII, 2004, pp. 51-74; Y. Pauwels, 'Philibert De l'Orme et ses cardinaux: Marcello Cervini and Jean Du Bellay', in *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité artistique*, ed. by F. Lemerle, Y. Pauwels and G. Toscano, Lille 2009, pp. 149-156.

4. Portrait of a Learned Cardinal

Marcello Cervini was born in 1501 into a patrician family from Montepulciano, near Siena. His father, Ricciardo,¹ amassed a considerable fortune as a curial and Church official. As the trusted agent of the wealthy Spannocchi he was able to link his name to theirs, thus securing the elevation of his family to the nobility of the Republic of Siena in 1493; this alliance is symbolized in the Cervini coat of arms, which has a deer, a *cerva*, surrounded by cobs, *pannocchie*. Ricciardo ensured his son's future by providing him with a well-grounded humanist education and passing on to him his own interests in astronomy and Latin literature.²

4.1. Cervini's career and cultural interests

During the 1520s, Marcello was sent to Siena to study classics, mathematics and eloquence, most likely at the *Studio*.³ In 1528 – or possibly earlier in the decade – he joined the *accademia senese*.⁴ At the centre of this circle of men of letters (not to be confused with the later *Intronati*) were the Tolomei brothers, Lattanzio, Bandino and Claudio,⁵ and it included not only Cervini's principal teacher, Giovan

¹ M. Palma, 'Cervini, Ricciardo', in *DBI*, XXIV, Rome 1980, pp. 111-113, and Piacentini, 'La giovinezza di Marcello Cervini', *passim*.

² Piacentini, 'La giovinezza di Marcello Cervini', pp. 1445, 1458-1461. On books owned by Ricciardo, see Piacentini, *La biblioteca di Marcello II*, pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

³ Piacentini, 'La giovinezza di Marcello Cervini', p. 1426, n. 14. The Commune of Siena discouraged private teaching by means of protectionist legislation in favour of the *Studium*; see P. Denley, *Commune and Studio in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, Bologna 2006.

⁴ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, p. 50, n. 36.

⁵ The Tolomei brothers were among the most learned figures in the Republic of Siena and afterwards in Rome. On the humanists Lattanzio and Bandino, see Quaranta, *Marcello II*, p. 43, n. 16. Claudio was celebrated for his vast knowledge, his collection of letters and his treatises on the Italian

Battista Politi,⁶ but also his lifelong friend, Bernardino Maffei.⁷ Other contemporaries such as Francesco Molza and Pietro Aretino also took part in the academy when in the city.⁸ As with many other Italian academies, its precise activities remain largely undocumented. The little we do know, however, suggests a group of scholars engaged in debating the forms and uses of the Italian vernacular, into which they translated Greek and Latin classics.⁹ In this context, Cervini was able to nurture his passion for Cicero and made an Italian vernacular version of *De amicitia*, now lost.¹⁰

At the end of 1524, Cervini visited Rome and submitted to the Medici pope, Clement VII, a prediction by his father of a forthcoming flood, along with a proposal to reform the Julian calendar. During this visit, his intellectual and practical skills earned the appreciation of the Portuguese ambassador Miguel de Silva and the cardinals Egidio da Viterbo, Benedetto Accolti and Lorenzo Pucci. He gradually established himself in the city, serving in the Curia and participating in Roman cultural life. He encountered there a group of Florentine patricians who were forced to flee their city after the rise to power of the Duke Alessandro de' Medici in 1530 and were plotting – each one with his own purpose – either to restore the Florentine

vernacular; see L. Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei umanista senese del Cinquecento: la vita e le opere*, Siena 1939.

⁶ The brother of the controversialist Ambrogio Catarino Politi, he taught dialectic and maths at the University of Siena; see Quaranta, *Marcello II*, p. 41, n. 7.

⁷ R. Sansa, 'Maffei, Bernardino', in *DBI*, LXVII, Rome 2006, pp. 223-226, in which there is no mention of Maffei's participation in this academy.

⁸ L. Kosuta, 'Aonio Paleario et son groupe humaniste et réformatuer à Sienne (1530-1546)', *Lias*, VII, 1980, pp. 3-59, and his 'L'Académie siennoise: une académie oubliée du XVI siècle', *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, LXXXVII, 1980, pp. 123-157.

⁹ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 54-56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56, n. 50.

Republic or to impose an oligarchic government on Florence. Tolerated and occasionally supported by Clement VII, the noblemen were part of the upper ranks of the Church hierarchy and led by the Gaddi brothers, Niccolò Ridolfi, Giovanni Salviati and the young cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.¹¹ All of them were generous patrons of letters, especially Ippolito de' Medici, Niccolò Ridolfi and Giovanni Gaddi.¹² The Italian cultural elite of the period – from Piero Vettori, Donato Giannotti and Benedetto Varchi to the artists Benvenuto Cellini, Sebastiano del Piombo, Andrea del Sarto and Jacopo Sansovino – frequently assembled in their Roman residences and libraries. Closely connected to the Florentine enclave were the *accademia dei vignaiuoli* and *dei virtuosi* (also known as *della nuova poesia* and, later on, *dello sdegno*). The first gathered in the house of Uberto Strozzi and involved a large part of Ippolito de' Medici's court; the second, which originated inside Ippolito's court, was re-established by Giovanni Gaddi and continued after his death in 1542 on the initiative of Claudio Tolomei. Although not much is known about these circles, it seems that they engaged both in erudite discussions and licentious poetic jokes.¹³ Given his interest in antiquities, the classics and their vernacular translation, it is little wonder that Cervini's name frequently crops up in connection with these circles.¹⁴ Some of their members were longstanding friends of

¹¹ See P. Simoncelli, *Fuoriuscitismo repubblicano fiorentino (1530-54): I: 1530-37*, Milan 2006.

¹² On de' Medici's court, see G. Rebecchini, *'Un altro Lorenzo': Ippolito de' Medici tra Firenze e Roma (1511-1535)*, Venice 2010; on the circle and the outstanding library of Cardinal Ridolfi, see D. Muratore, *La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, Alessandria 2009. Giovanni Gaddi's cultural promotion is not so well explored. For his biography, see V. Arrighi, 'Gaddi, Giovanni', in *DBI*, LI, Rome 1998, pp. 156-158.

¹³ For what little is known about the two academies, see M. Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols, Bologna 1926-1930, IV, p. 86; V, pp. 141, 478-480, as well as Quaranta, *Marcello II*, p. 76, nn. 105-107. I consider them as separate circles, following Rebecchini, *Un altro Lorenzo*, pp. 216-219.

¹⁴ See, e.g., the numerous references to him in Caro, *Lettere, ad indicem*.

his such as Claudio Tolomei, Annibale Caro, Giovanni Della Casa and Francesco Molza, while others were to become partners in his printing projects, that is, Francesco Priscianese and Antonio Blado. It is likely that the academies of Siena and Rome exerted considerable influence on Cervini's literary education, providing an ideal environment in which to perfect his skills and knowledge and to get in touch with the world of publishing. This is particularly plausible (though, in the absence of hard information, it must remain a matter for speculation) in the case of the Roman academies, where connections to local printers – especially Blado, known by the academic nickname 'Greybeard' ('Barbagrigia') – were very strong.

In the early days of Cervini's Roman stay, another erudite circle flourished in Rome: the *Horti Colocciani*. There is no evidence to that Cervini was among the members of this group, which attracted more prominent and established personalities such as Bembo, Castiglione and Blosio Palladio. Yet, it is certain that Cervini soon became very close to its leader, Angelo Colocci, an eclectic scholar, voracious book collector and passionate, though not very skilled, amateur of Greek literature.¹⁵ Colocci and Cervini shared an interest in ancient scientific authors and worked together on the translation of some treatises by Hero of Alexandria about 1533.¹⁶ A year earlier, Colocci had lent some money to Cervini, who was later to

¹⁵ On him and the *Horti*: the collection of articles V. Fanelli, *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca*, Vatican City 1979; F. Petrucci, 'Colocci, Angelo', in *DBI*, XXVII, Rome 1982, pp. 105-111; *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by C. Bologna and M. Bernardi, Vatican City 2008, with updated bibliography at pp. XII-XVIII.

¹⁶ MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 4104, ff. 17rv, 23rv, 57r and the analysis in Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 67, 73-74, 81-82, and Piacentini, 'Marcello Cervini: la Biblioteca Vaticana', pp. 119-120. The study of Hero's essay on ancient weights and measures can be linked to Colocci's unfinished research in this area, the early story of which is sketched out in S. Lättes, "'De ponderibus and mensuris" di Angelo Colocci', in *Atti del Convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci, Jesi 13-14 settembre 1969, Palazzo della Signoria*, Jesi 1972, pp. 95-108.

return the favour by trying in vain to convince the pope to agree to Colocci's request to transfer the bishopric of Nocera from himself to his illegitimate son. Their friendship is significant for the purposes of this investigation because of Colocci's involvement in Roman printing. Not only was the famous Greek press attached to Leo X's Greek College located in a property owned by Colocci,¹⁷ but he also edited and published some humanist texts, drawing on his remarkable private collection.¹⁸ Most importantly, as we shall see, Cervini was to accomplish one of Colocci's most ambitious projects: the edition of the commentaries on Homer by Eustathius of Thessalonica.

The election to the papacy in 1534 of Paul III, an acquaintance of Cervini's father, was a turning point for Marcello. The pope appointed him as the instructor, and later on as the secretary, of the *cardinal nipote* Alessandro Farnese. From then onwards, Cervini's influence and power grew exponentially. After his elevation to the cardinalate in 1539, he was entrusted with a delicate diplomatic mission to France and Flanders,¹⁹ and with the organisation of the ecumenical council and

¹⁷ V. Fanelli, 'Il ginnasio greco di Leone X a Roma' and 'Aspetti della Roma cinquecentesca: le case e le raccolte archeologiche del Colocci', both in id., *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci*, pp. 91-125. On the college printing press: F. Barberi and E. Cerulli, 'Le edizioni greche "In gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem"', in *Atti del Convegno su Colocci*, pp. 61-76. The later documentary analysis by A. Hobson, 'The Printer of the Greek editions "In gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem"', in *Studi in onore di Francesco Barberi*, pp. 331-335, has been recently disproved by A. Tura, 'Di due incunaboli ignoti, di uno poco conosciuto e della tipografia romana "in gymnasio Mediceo"', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, LXXXVIII, 2013, pp. 63-67.

¹⁸ A. Campana, 'Angelo Colocci conservatore ed editore di letteratura umanistica', in id., *Scritti: I: ricerche medievali e umanistiche*, II, Rome 2012, pp. 827-838, and his 'Dal Calmeta al Colocci: testo nuovo di un epicedio di P. F. Giustolo', *ibid.*, pp. 857-905. See also the essays in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, for his pioneering interest in early vernacular manuscripts.

¹⁹ The relevant documents are published in *Nuntiaturberichte Giovanni Morones vom deutschen Königshofe 1539-1540*, ed. by F. Dittrich, Paderborn 1892; *Nuntiaturen Morones und Poggios, Legationen Farneses und Cervinis (1539-1540)*, ed. by L. Cardauns, Berlin 1909; M. Dykmans, 'Quatre lettres des Marcel Cervini cardinal-legendat après de Charles Quint en 1540', *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae*, XIX, 1991, pp. 113-171. See also the thorough analysis of Quaranta, *Marcello*

legation to Trent, together with Giovanni Maria Ciochi del Monte and Reginald Pole.²⁰ Although he was not the president of assembly, he was for all intents and purposes the leading figure in the Council of Trent (for instance, Angelo Massarelli, his personal secretary, was also the secretary to the council up to its conclusion in 1563); as cardinal legate, he sometimes cunningly promoted his personal point of view by making adjustments to the strict instructions of the Roman Curia.²¹ In 1548, he officially joined the Roman Inquisition, having already dealt with many cases of heresy and dissent throughout Italy.²² In the conclave of 1549 following Paul III's death, Cervini was one of the most popular candidates; but he was too close to the French party for Charles V and therefore failed to get a sufficient number of votes. Nevertheless, the election of his former colleague, Giovanni del Monte, as Julius III, strengthened his position in the Curia, enabling him to act more and more independently from his former pupil and employer Alessandro Farnese. Cervini spent the following years between Rome and his bishopric of Gubbio, co-ordinating the repression of heresy throughout Italy, exercising his role as a bishop in an exemplary fashion and preparing the ground for his own election as pope in 1555.²³

Cervini's political and ecclesiastical views were opaque even to his own contemporaries. This is all the more remarkable in light of the sharp divisions within the Catholic hierarchy at the time. As has been discussed above in the Introduction,

II, pp. 83-100, esp. pp. 92-98.

²⁰ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 185-315.

²¹ See the account in *ibid.*, p. 267, and the apt description of the council as 'Cerviniano' by S. Ditchfield, 'Trent Revisited', in *Per Adriano Prosperi: I*, pp. 357-370, at pp. 365-366.

²² Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 284-315, esp. p. 313.

²³ On Cervini's clever political manoeuvres, see Firpo, 'Marcello Cervini', and, more generally, his *La presa di potere*.

two groups of high-ranking prelates took contrasting positions towards the Reformation. On the one hand were the intransigents, mainly members of the Roman Inquisition; on the other were the compromisers, or, after 1542, the so-called *spirituali*, who shared some theological common grounds with the more moderate wing of the Reformation. In his youth, Cervini might easily have come into contact with some of the new ideas from Germany, since these circulated widely in Italian academies, as well as in the Farnese court. For instance, some members of the *accademia senese* such as Ludovico Castelvetro, Aonio Paleario and Lattanzio Ragnoni spread Reformed doctrines and then openly embraced them, while the *accademia dei virtuosi* had affiliations with Marcantonio Flaminio, who was to become the main Italian promoter of Juan de Valdés's religious beliefs.²⁴ Cervini himself, however, seems to have been disinclined to engage in theological matters. When in 1520 his friend Ambrogio Catarino Politi encouraged him to join the Dominicans and devote his skills to the study of sacred letters, he refused. He took his minor vows fifteen years later; but this was as much as anything to improve his chances for a curial career – a path which had successfully been followed by many others.²⁵ Up until 1539, he perfectly embodied the Renaissance secretary: a well-educated, zealous and worldly man.²⁶ The legation to Flanders in 1540, however, marked a watershed in his approach to contemporary religious problems, since he had the opportunity to see with his own eyes the extent of the crisis on the other side

²⁴ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 57-64, 76.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 68. On Politi, see G. Caravale, *Sulle tracce dell'eresia: Ambrogio Catarino Politi (1484-1553)*, Florence 2007.

²⁶ See on this figure, M. Simonetta, *Rinascimento segreto: il mondo del segretario da Petrarca a Machiavelli*, Milan 2004, and, for the sixteenth century, D. Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago and London 2002, pp. 155-196, including earlier bibliography cited esp. at p. 155, n. 1.

of the Alps and the threats posed to the papacy and the Catholic hierarchy. This was also the time in which he became aware of the importance of printing as a medium of communication and, consequently, the need for a centralised Catholic press, as had been partially envisaged by the German controversialists with whom he got acquainted.²⁷ On his return to Rome, he became one of the most active cardinals in Church matters and took a leading role in the preparation and later direction of the Council of Trent. His overriding concern was to defend the political power of the Church and the papacy, which entailed establishing a clear distinction between Catholic orthodoxy and heresy. In solving theological problems and presiding over crucial dogmatic debates in the council, he usually sought the help of experts such as Guglielmo Sirleto and Girolamo Seripando, in order to ensure that his position in favour of the pope's interests was solidly grounded historically and in accord with Catholic tradition. Through his correspondence with Sirleto, in particular, he gathered together numerous *excerpta* from unpublished works of the Church Fathers and earlier conciliar acts preserved in Vatican manuscripts.²⁸

Cervini's focus tended to be on the Italian situation, since he rapidly came to regard Germany as a lost cause – a rotten branch to be cut off from the rest of Christendom – in line with many other prelates of the Curia.²⁹ With a great deal of

²⁷ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 114-115, 433-435.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-284. On this key character in the history of the sixteenth-century Catholic Church, see Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto'; G. Denzler, *Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585): Leben und Werk: ein Beitrag zur nachtridentinischen Reform*, Munich 1964; *Il Card. Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585): atti del convegno di studio nel IV centenario della morte Guardavalle, S. Marco Argentano, Catanzaro, Squillace, 5-7 ottobre 1986*, ed. by L. Calabretta and G. Sinatora, Catanzaro and Squillace 1989. Despite the high-profile of Sirleto, there is still no exhaustive study of him. The proceedings of the international conference *Il Cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585): il "sapiantissimo Calabro" e la Roma del XVI secolo*, held in Rome on 13-15 January 2015, are planned for 2016.

²⁹ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 198, 259, 275.

ingenuity and ambiguity, for over 15 years he managed to take an intransigent stand against both the Reformation and the internal reform of the Church. His constant efforts, at least on paper, to eradicate curial abuses and to promote the residency of bishops earned him the sympathy of both camps within the Church hierarchy. In attempting to stamp out heresy, rather than taking the strict stance of the inquisitor Gian Pietro Carafa, he preferred to adopt the more accommodating approach of the early Jesuits. For Cervini, one of the first supporters of the newly established Company of Jesus and a close associate of Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón and Peter Canisius,³⁰ the possibility given by the pope to Loyola and his followers of absolving penitents *in utroque foro* by private abjuration not only prevented scandals, criticism and damage to the image of the Church but was also in perfect harmony with his own concerns, particularly during the 1540s. His evasiveness continued even when he officially joined the Inquisition and had to deal with the investigation of high-level *spirituali*, including two of his competitors for the papacy, cardinals Pole and Morone.³¹ Cervini paid particular attention to exerting control over the religious orders and preachers, as the cardinal protector of the Augustinians and Servites and deputy protector of the Conventual Franciscans.³² He

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 284-315.

³¹ Ibid., 372-428 and the telling case reconstructed by Firpo, 'Marcello Cervini'.

³² See the examples cited in Buschbell, *Reformation und Inquisition*, commented on and expanded by Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 286-312. Other relevant information is in the correspondence with the papal nuncio to Venice Giovanni Della Casa (BAV, Vat. lat. 14830) and with the bishop of Verona Alvise/Luigi Lippomano (ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 22), partially analysed in L. Campana, 'Monsignor Giovanni Della Casa e i suoi tempi', *Studi storici*, XVI, 1907, pp. 3-84, 247-269, 349-580; XVII, 1908, pp. 145-282, 381-606; XVIII, 1909, pp. 325-513, esp. at XVI, pp. 349-580, and XVII, pp. 152-282, together with A. Santosuosso, 'The Moderate Inquisitor: Giovanni Della Casa's Venetian Nunciature (1544-1549)', *Studi veneziani*, II, 1978, pp. 119-210; L. Tacchella, 'Visite pastorali di Luigi Lippomano (1553-1555)', *Vita veronese*, XXXI, 1978, pp. 130-134, 201-208, 260-267 and his *Il processo degli eretici veronesi nel 1550: s. Ignazio di Loyola e Luigi Lippomano (carteggio)*, Brescia 1979, as well as, more generally, P. Simoni, *Luigi Lippomano vescovo e nunzio apostolico del Cinquecento*, Verona 1993.

was also involved in the intensification of the Church's censorship policy at the end of Paul III's reign, which is discussed below in Chapter 2.

Over the course of his remarkable career, Cervini pursued a wide range of cultural interests, including book collecting and the study of classics, religious literature and ecclesiastical history. In his papers, one frequently comes across examples of his enthusiasm for rare books, beautiful bindings, fine parchment, ecclesiastical antiquities (such as the graves and coats of arms of popes and cardinals), papal decrees and writings, as well as records of past ecumenical councils. Although he took an interest in Latin classical authors, from Cicero and Varro to Vitruvius and Cyprian, Greek texts were his central passion, especially philosophy (Aristotle), science (Hero of Alexandria, Euclid and Ptolemy) and anything pertaining to the Church Fathers and their *fortuna*.³³

With the help of Antonios Eparco from Corfu and a few Venetian bishops, he acquired several manuscripts from the Greek islands, some which he traded with the Spanish ambassador and noted collector, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.³⁴ During the 1540s and 1550s, Cervini became one of the major book collectors in Italy. His library, divided between Montepulciano and Rome, contained around 1,500 volumes and nowadays forms an important part of the Vatican Library.³⁵ Could there have

³³ Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore'; Giombi, 'Lo studio umanistico'; Mouren, 'La lecture assidue' and her 'Du Cardinal au prote'; Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 430-437, 450-458.

³⁴ See A. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings*, New York 1999, pp. 80-81, 104; Piacentini, 'Marcello Cervini: la Biblioteca Vaticana'; Dorez, 'Antoine Eparque'; R. Devresse, 'Les manuscrits grecs de Cervini', *Scriptorium*, XX, 1968, pp. 250-270.

³⁵ For a partial analysis of the content of this vast collection and the complex routes by which it entered the Vatican Library, see Piacentini, 'Marcello Cervini: la Biblioteca Vaticana' and her *La*

been a better qualified candidate to become the first cardinal librarian of the Catholic Church? Already involved in the Vatican Library under Agostino Steuco's direction, in 1548 Cervini was appointed by Paul III as chief librarian; and two years later became the cardinal in charge of the library. He contributed significantly to the impressive growth of the library, raising new funds and increasing acquisitions, as well as reordering, restoration, cataloguing and reforms in its offices and in the administration of documents.³⁶ In a letter of September 1554 to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Cervini wrote: 'the library is the most important treasure of the Apostolic See, for in it the faith is preserved against heresies'.³⁷ When needed, the library also served as a secure place for the temporary storage of heretical publications: in April 1551, Cervini was entrusted with thirty-two Protestant books which had just been confiscated by the Holy Office from Roman bookshops; in his capacity as both inquisitor and cardinal librarian, he had them locked up in a room in the library with restricted access.³⁸

biblioteca di Marcello II, esp. pp. VII-XXVIII; S. Giombi, 'Le biblioteche di ecclesiastici nel Cinquecento italiano: rassegna di studi recenti e prospettive di lettura', *Lettere italiane*, XLIV, 1991, pp. 298-307; G. Mercati, 'Sulla venuta dei codici del Cervini nella Vaticana e la numerazione loro', in his *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo*, Vatican City 1935, pp. 181-202, and his *Codici latini Pico Grimani e Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI esistenti nell'Ottoboniana e i codici greci Pio di Modena: con una digressione per la storia dei codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Vatican City 1938, pp. 106-143; Devresse, 'Les manuscrits grecs'; F. Fossier, 'Premières recherches sur le manuscrits latins du cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-1555)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: moyen âge, temps modernes*, XCI, 1979, pp. 381-456; N. R. Ker, 'Cardinal Cervini's manuscripts for the Cambridge Friars', in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O. P.*, Rome 1978, pp. 51-71.

³⁶ See the essays in *Storia della Biblioteca Vaticana: II* by Petitmengin, 'I manoscritti latini', pp. 43-62; M. Ceresa, 'Acquisizioni e ordinamento degli stampati nel corso del Cinquecento', pp. 90-104; and Piacentini, 'Marcello Cervini: la Biblioteca Vaticana', all of which add to the concise account of J. Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI: recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, Vatican City 1973, pp. 44-47.

³⁷ Seeking more funds for the Vatican Library, Cervini pointed out (MS Florence, ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 21r): 'La libreria è il maggior Thesoro ch'habbia la sede Apostolica perché in essa si conserva la fede, dall'Herésie ...' The same sentence was crossed out in the minute of a letter to Cardinal Angelo de' Medici: *ibid.*, f. 47r.

³⁸ A. Borromeo, 'Aspetti della riforma della Chiesa nelle fonti della Biblioteca Vaticana', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica: II*, pp. 237-259, at pp. 242-243.

4.2. *A cardinale editore*

Cervini was involved in the production of some forty printed editions, so it is not without justification that he has been called a *cardinale editore*.³⁹ This activity is remarkable, even for a celebrated bibliophile; but three aspects are especially noteworthy: first, Cervini's direct involvement in supporting presses as a means to achieving his goals; second, the type of books which he promoted; third, his aim in having these books published.

In the following two chapters, I shall dwell extensively on the first of these aspects, analysing in detail the two presses set up by Cervini in Rome in the early 1540s. Here, I would like to mention briefly his involvement with printing after the failure of these enterprises, a topic which has been largely neglected in earlier scholarship. After 1545, Cervini seemed to abandon the idea of setting a press, most likely because of his increasing responsibilities for the affairs of the Church and his move to Trent. He continued, however, to select books for publication, entrusting them to important printers based in Rome (Antonio Blado, Stefano Niccolini and the Dorico brothers), Venice (Paolo Manuzio, Gabriele Giolito, Andrea Arrivabene and the firm *Ad signum spei*), Bologna (Anselmo Giaccarelli) and Florence (Lorenzo Torrentino). It is worth noting that, in this second phase of his involvement in printing, Cervini still relied occasionally on printers who held official or semi-official positions such as Torrentino, the printer for the Duchy of Florence, and

³⁹ The term was introduced by Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore'.

Giaccarelli, who worked for the Commune of Bologna, receiving a starting grant for his publishing house and then issuing a large part of its *bandi*.⁴⁰

Cervini's Greek editions, of both classical and ecclesiastical authors, were mainly published in Rome, except for a short period in 1550, when he arranged for the ducal printer of Cosimo I to bring out in Florence *editiones principes* of Clement of Alexandria's writings and Theodoret of Cyrillus's commentary on Paul's letters. In Rome, Cervini also engaged in some pioneering attempts to print in Ge'ez (the liturgical language of the Ethiopic church) and Syriac, anticipating similar enterprises pursued by the Catholic Church some twenty years later, as we have seen in Chapter 2. In particular, he lent his support to the group of scholars who gathered around Pietro Etiope (Tasfâ Sion) in the church of St Stephen of the Abyssinians, including two figures from Cervini's own household, Pietro Paolo Gualtieri and Mariano Vittori. The publication of the New Testament in Ge'ez and of two ancillary books on liturgy and grammar were due to his financial aid, though he himself had no knowledge of the language.⁴¹ Cervini was also involved in the preparatory work

⁴⁰ On Torrentino, see D. Moreni, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino, impressore ducale*, Florence 1819 and F. Slits, *Laurentius Torrentinus: drukker van Cosimo, hertog van Florence (1500-1563)*, Gemert 1995. On Giaccarelli, see Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia del '500*, pp. 57-58 (with earlier bibliography), and P. Bellettini, 'Sugli inizi dell'attività tipografica di Anselmo Giaccarelli a Bologna', in *Sul libro bolognese del Rinascimento*, ed. by L. Balsamo and L. Quaquarelli, Bologna 1994, pp. 155-180.

⁴¹ See Romani, 'La stampa del Nuovo Testamento'. M. Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo*, Geneva 2005, pp. 75-77, and O. Ranieri, 'Pietro Bembo e la prima stampa delle lettere di San Paolo in etiopico', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storico e filologiche*, XXXV, 1980, pp. 395-398, both highlight the important role played by Bembo in the enterprise, while Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, p. 74, n. 42, points out some of its many textual shortcomings; at p. 69, n. 23, however, he mistakenly claims that Cervini knew Ge'ez, due to a misinterpretation of the following passage from Mariano Vittori, *Chaldaeae, seu Aethiopiae linguae institutiones ... item omnium Aethiopiae regum ... libellus*, Rome, Valerio Dorico, 1552, sig. ʾ:ʾ:ʾ:ʾ:ʾ: 'Adest tibi ac quidem valde familiariter Petrus Paulus Gualterius Aretinus, vir doctus, ac perhumanus, qui solus ex nostratibus possit errores corrigere ..., siquidem ante eum nullus ex latinis hominibus hac in lingua legitur profecisse.' Although Vittori was addressing Cervini, the first learned Latin man of letters to master Ge'ez was Cervini's protégé, Pietro Paolo Gualtieri.

for the Syriac New Testament undertaken by Moses of Mardin, Andreas Masius and Guillaume Postel – the edition was published later in the century in Vienna with the help of Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter.⁴² Another interesting group of books were the editions connected to the first period of the Council of Trent. As one of the leaders of the council, Cervini was well aware of the importance of disseminating its results. Of the three representatives of the pope, he was the one who handled this delicate task, since Pole quit his office in 1546 when the decree on justification was being approved, while Del Monte, though the president of the council, increasingly came under Cervini's influence. Collaborating closely with some selected publishing houses in Bologna and Venice, between 1546 and 1549, Cervini was responsible for the publication of the decree on justification along with an anonymous Italian translation of it, an apologetic treatise by his long-time friend, the controversialist Ambrogio Catarino, and, most importantly, the complete collection of the council's deliberation up to 1548. Archival evidence shows that he also planned to publish the behind-the-scenes discussions of the decrees as they were being formulated, the so-called *acta*.⁴³ Cervini's plans for the diffusion of the conciliar deliberations through printing were, however, always subservient to the interests of the papacy: he kept control of all dissemination and ensured that it was as centralised as possible. This is apparent in the instructions which he gave to the council's secretary, Angelo Massarelli, and the nuncio to Venice, Giovanni Della Casa, telling them to evaluate any publications of conciliar material in relation to papal and imperial politics, to check every stage of the printing, including proof-sheets, to push for a ban on

⁴² See Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, *ad indicem* s.v. 'Cervini', esp. pp. 69-90. The Viennese edition is *Ketābā d-Ewangeliyōn qaddīšā de-Māran w-Alāhan Yēšū' Mešīhā ... Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii De Iesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro*, Vienna, Michael Cymberrmannus and Caspar Craphtus, 1555.

⁴³ *CT*, V, pp. XXVI-XXVII.

unofficial publications and to monitor the distribution of official editions.⁴⁴

With regard to the second aspect of Cervini's involvement in printing, the type of books which he promoted, in Documentary Appendix A I have compiled a list of the numerous editions with which he was associated. Although I have attempted to make this list as comprehensive as possible, the fragmentation of his activities after 1545 makes it difficult to claim completeness. The publications I have identified can be divided into six groups: (1) a few classical texts, mainly Greek; (2) some controversial pamphlets against Protestants and Turks; (3) many patristic and biblical works; (4) a small, but significant, number of official publications of the papacy; (5) a handful of books containing important sources for the history of the papacy; and (6) a couple of editions connected to the Oriental churches, especially the Copts. His major editorial achievements are the celebrated *editiones principes* of the commentaries on Homer by Eustathius of Thessalonica, the New Testament in Ge'ez and various works by Clement of Alexandria, Theophylact of Ochrid, Theodoret of Cyrillus, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Damascene. Cervini provided the funds for Latin translations of Greek patristic works and planned a vernacular Italian version of a couple of Gregory of Nazianzus' and Cyprian's sermons. He also promoted and financially supported: Guglielmo Sirleto's *Annotationes* on the Vulgata,⁴⁵ Alvise Lippomano's *Vitae sanctorum*, Ippolito Salviani's treatise on fish,

⁴⁴ MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 14830, ff. 12r-13r, 16r, 63r, 64^{bis}r, 68r, 119r, 123v, 131v, 217r and Florence, ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23, ff. 77r, 80r-83r, 85rv, 89r-169r (partially transcribed in *CT*, V, pp. XIII-XVI). Massarelli, e.g., reassured Cervini about the tight control exerted over the small print-run of the Bolognese edition of the Tridentine decrees (ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23., f. 105r): 'Il numero, che se ne stampa, è 150, né si daran fuori senza commissione di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, et lo stampatore [i.e., Anselmo Giaccarelli] (se non mi inganna, et credo, che non m'ingannerà) non n'haverà veruno.'

⁴⁵ This extraordinary philological study of Jerome's New Testament remained for the most part

a vernacular collection of patristic sermons translated by Galeazzo Florimonte and all the publications issued up to 1555 by his trusted collaborator Gentian Hervet. As for Piero Vettori, he occasionally put his philological expertise at the service of the patristic endeavours of Cervini, who, in turn, helped him with networking and locating manuscripts, as well as, very probably, subsidising some of his publication costs.⁴⁶

The third aspect of Cervini's involvement in printing, his aim, was, above all, to provide the Catholic Church with weapons in its struggles with Protestants. Although Cervini himself did not set out this agenda in writing, it can be inferred from a detailed analysis and contextualisation of the publications which he promoted, as I shall illustrate in discussing the output of the Greek and Latin presses he sponsored in the early 1540s. Rather than taking part in contemporary controversies with Luther and his followers, Cervini preferred to challenge the Reformation by means of a wide-ranging cultural programme, based on the study of the Christian tradition as a means of demonstrating the primacy of the papacy. As Chiara Quaranta has noted, in doing so, Cervini gave a new role in support of the Catholic Church to philology on ancient texts and to the institutional and private patronage of the Curia towards humanist scholars.⁴⁷ To this, I would add that, although in the beginning he was a lone pioneering figure, his brilliant career in the

unpublished in the Vatican Library and was extensively employed in revising the Catholic Vulgate, the official text of which was eventually published by Clement VIII; see H. Höpfl, *Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlerts Annotationen zum Neuen Testament: Eine Verteidigung der Vulgata gegen Valla und Erasmus*, Freiburg i. B. 1908, which remains unsurpassed.

⁴⁶ See the thorough analysis of the correspondence between the two and Donato Giannotti in Mouren, 'La lecture assidue' and her 'Du Cardinal au prote', alongside the earlier information in Varchi, *Lettere, ad indicem* (Cervini).

⁴⁷ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 81, 458.

Curia rapidly made him a major force in the cultural policy of papacy, in which capacity he was instrumental in the transition from the twilight of the Roman Renaissance to the dawn of the Counter-Reformation – a transition which began, despite delays, resistance and contradictions, in the second half of Paul III's reign, in parallel with the activities of the recently established Roman Inquisition and the first period of the Tridentine Council. Cervini's support for Coptic, Syriac and Oriental studies readily fitted into this framework of opposing heresy and promoting the Church; and it displayed a forward-looking concern for Eastern Christian communities by a prominent member of the Catholic hierarchy, in an attempt to lay the groundwork for the reunification of some of these churches with Rome. As cardinal librarian, moreover, he had a list of the papal Oriental manuscripts drawn up in preparation for a catalogue aimed at facilitating their consultation and also expanded the Hebrew collection of the Vatican Library with donations and at least one institutional purchase.⁴⁸ Finally, he was the cardinal protector of the Maronites.⁴⁹

The most remarkable feature of Cervini's patronage was its institutional scope. This has been overlooked in previous scholarship, which has tended to see his support for printing presses as a by-product of his personal passion for books and as an isolated endeavour only vaguely linked to the papacy. This view relies largely on the confidential correspondence between Vettori and Giannotti, both of whom were friends of Cervini; yet, these letters describe only the private side of Cervini's

⁴⁸ G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca vaticana*, Vatican City 1939, pp. 120-146 and *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue*, ed. by B. Richler, Vatican City 2008, pp. 15, 358.

⁴⁹ For two letters from the Maronite patriarch, see ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 41, ff. 99r-102v.

activity. On a public level, he was not merely a patron of printing seeking his own glory, but pursued a programme of publishing books for the good of the Catholic Church, which were presented as cultural and institutional initiatives of the pope, the Apostolic Chamber or the Vatican Library. From other sources, we can gain a better understanding of the two presses he set up in Rome with Antonio Blado and Francesco Priscianese. In the first place, Cervini was very rarely the dedicatee of their publications, even when he funded them generously. Secondly, Priscianese referred in his letters to Cervini's 'papal presses' or more often described them as enterprises of cardinals, priests and papal ministers.⁵⁰ Thirdly, in the two contracts for the edition of Eustathius's commentaries on Homer, it is clearly stated that the book was to be printed by order of the pope for the Apostolic Chamber.⁵¹ One of Cardinal Bembo's letters seems to confirm that this was also the understanding of the Eustathius edition among scholars and churchmen outside of Cervini's immediate circle.⁵² Fourthly, one of Cervini's officials entitled the accounts of the presses of Blado and of Priscianese 'Libri della camera et della libreria', which I take to mean: 'Books of the [Apostolic] Chamber and the [Vatican] Library'.⁵³

⁵⁰ See his letters in Redig De Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', pp. 176-180. Priscianese, e.g., wrote to Giannotti on 5 July 1554 (ibid., p. 180): 'Il Cardinale [Cervini] che si soleva mostrare ardente in queste sue stamperie papali, è diventato più freddo di una tramontana.'

⁵¹ See the commercial agreement between Cervini, Niccolò Maiorano, Antonio Blado and Bernardo Giunta (Rome, 21 February 1545), in ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 126r: 'Essendosi a questi mesi passati per ordine di Nostro Signore Papa Paulo III stampato il principio dello Eustachio Greco sopra Homero, ...' The formula employed in the contract between Cervini, Blado and the bookseller Francesco Tramezzino (Rome, 7 April 1551), in MS Rome, ASR, *Notari del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae*, prot. 6155 (Ludovicus Reydettus), f. 487r, is even more explicit: 'Alli anni passati, il Reverendissimo Cardinal de Sancta Croce per conto della Camera Apostolica, et per ordine de Nostro Signore facesse stampare ... mille docento settantacinque volumi del commento de Eustatio sopra li primi cinque libri della Eliade d'Homero.'

⁵² See the letter of July 1546 from Bembo to Giovanni Battista Ramusio, secretary to the Venetian Republic, in Bembo, *Lettere: edizione critica*, IV, p. 576: 'Qui si è stampato Eustasio sopra la Iliade, in assai bella stampa e forma. Ora vogliono stampar l'Odissea. E tutto ciò si fa per ordine di Nostro Signore.'

⁵³ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. [136^{bis}]v.

Finally, the words of the Florentine ambassador to Rome show that Priscianese's publishing house was generally perceived as a semi-official papal enterprise: reporting to Duke Cosimo I on 7 February 1542, Averardo Serristori wrote that Priscianese had established a press in Rome to which the pope, that is, Paul III, gave some ancient and unpublished books from his library to print.⁵⁴ So, although Cervini was the moving force behind the project, he successfully portrayed it as an initiative of the pope. In this sense, the two Roman presses in his service can be regarded as proto-institutional papal enterprises devised and managed by Cervini.

To conclude, we can see in Cervini's activities a tentative plan to promote the Catholic Church through a careful use of printing on behalf of the papacy. Very early on, he understood the urgency of exploiting this new medium both to counter Protestant propaganda and to establish links between Eastern Christians and Rome. Most importantly, he realised that the Roman Church needed a centralised cultural programme, coordinated and controlled by the Curia. The papacy had to make use of an official means of communication in response to the attacks and taunts of Reformed thinkers. Had his pontificate lasted longer, he might well have set up the first papal press in history; but it is certain that Cervini's ideas had a long-lasting legacy and were ultimately fulfilled when the *Typographia Vaticana* was established at the end of the sixteenth century. The editorial and conceptual lines of his engagement with printing anticipated and to a large extent influenced the paths pursued by the papacy during the rest of the sixteenth century. As we have seen,

⁵⁴ ASF, *Mediceo del Principato, Relazioni con Stati Italiani ed Esteri, Stati Italiani*, Roma, vol. 3264, f. 111r: '... non voglio mancare di dirle come qui è uno Messer Francesco della Pieve a Presciano [i.e. Priscianese], dominio di Vostra Excellentia et amicho mio, il quale ha cominciato una stamperia, a chi il papa dà a stampare certi libri antichi della sua libreria et mai più stampati.' I am indebted to Guido Rebecchini for drawing my attention to this important piece of evidence.

Cervini firmly believed that the internal reform of the Church had to be directed by the papacy rather than by a council; and, just as he thought that a centralised *reformatio in capite* was the only effective means to deal with the most glaring curial abuses, so, too, he felt that an institutional and official press producing propaganda for the Church had to be supervised by the Curia and the pope.

5. Cervini's Greek Press

In the previous chapter, I argued that Cervini's involvement in printing was far more than that of a patron and bibliophile. As a high-ranking Catholic prelate, he wanted to establish printing presses over which he could exert strict control. Although the Greek and Latin presses which he set up in Rome in the early 1540s have been investigated since the late nineteenth century, the failure which the two firms rapidly experienced made them seem a marginal event, with little relevance beyond bibliographical studies. Even in this area of research, the almost exclusive focus on the publication of Eustathius's commentaries on Homer has led to a neglect of other aspects of Cervini's interest in printing and of his project as a whole. Consequently, there is as yet no comprehensive, comparative and contextualising account, a gap which I hope to fill in this part of the dissertation, by drawing on new documentary evidence and by paying attention to the important influence which Cervini's innovative project exerted on later policies adopted by the Roman Catholic Church with regard to the use of printing to achieve cultural and political goals. In this chapter, I shall deal specifically with the Greek press established in Rome by Cervini, illustrating the aims and premises which underlay his cultural programme, the people involved in it and, finally, its disappointingly small output of just two publications. Of previously known sources, I shall refer frequently to the accounts of the press, which were probably compiled retrospectively for Cervini from 1543 onwards and are now preserved among his papers in Florence.¹ This important

¹ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, ff. [128bis]r-[136bis]v. Massarelli informed Cervini on 26 May 1543 (ibid., fil. 23, f. 3r): 'Habbiamo tandem fatto li conti con li Gionti, et messer Antonio Blado, secondo, che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima et Illustrissima potrà veder per la copia che li mando. Io ho visto con

document covers the years 1540-1550, thus also embracing the aftermath of the press.

5.1. From the establishment to the demise of the press

A letter of Paolo Manuzio from 1539 informs us that at this time Cervini and his pupil Cardinal Alessandro Farnese wanted to set up a Greek press in Rome. The main purpose of the enterprise would be to publish all the Greek manuscripts held in the Vatican Library, producing multiple copies to ensure their diffusion throughout the globe for the benefit of all peoples and all times.² The young Cardinal Farnese was probably mentioned for the sake of flattery, since later on in the letter, Manuzio attributes the idea solely to Cervini, shifting from a plural to a singular addressee.³ Nevertheless, Alessandro may well have provided support for this project of his trusted secretary and mentor. As *cardinal nipote*, for instance, he would have been in a position to secure the endorsement of his grandfather, Paul III, as well as the whole-hearted co-operation of the Vatican Library staff. To fulfil his ambitious programme, Cervini, first of all, hired Antonio Blado, a printer from Asola (Mantua). By the mid-1530s Blado had established himself as the leading publisher in Rome and the official printer of the Apostolic Chamber for its proclamations to

diligentia detti conti, insieme, et da me, et parmi stiano bene, ma circa le partite del dare et dell'havere mi rimetto a lei, non essendone io informato altramente.'

² At Paolo Manuzio, *Epistolarum ... libri XII*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio the Younger, 1580, p. 26, after praising Cervini and Farnese as literary patrons, he writes: 'Magna enim optimae voluntatis documenta saepissime dedistis, maiora etiam dare cogitatis. Cum quidem, ut Antonius Bladus ad me detulit, pulcherrimam rem et vobis dignissimam aggressi, omnes libros graece scriptos, qui nunc in bibliotheca Palatina conditi asservantur, praelo subiicere cogitetis, ut multiplicatis exemplaribus, per orbem terrarum, in usum omnium gentium omniumque saeculorum divulgentur.'

³ Ibid.: '... ut in ea re, quae ad commodum studiosorum, maxime vero ad tuam, ut ego sentio, gloriam spectat, operae ne parcat ... et vero tua voluntas maximi est apud me ponderis ...'

the Papal States. His connections to the Farnese circle, to the Florentine exiles in Rome and to Roman academies (*Vignaiuoli*, *Virtuosi* and *Nuova Poesia*) explain not only his familiarity with Cervini, but also the special favours which he obtained from the Curia. Following the extraordinary ten-year papal privilege granted to him for all Machiavelli's works in 1531, along with other commissions from the Apostolic Chamber, Blado began to sign his publications as *stampatore camerale* in 1535 and was regularly paid 4 *ducati* per month in this capacity starting in 1539. He swiftly achieved a monopoly over the continual and highly remunerative flow of the Church's administrative publications, enhancing and institutionalising the position of the official printer of the Roman Curia, which had previously, though rather sporadically, been held by Marcello Silber and Francesco Minuzio Calvo.⁴ Moreover, in mid-1530s he rose to further prominence in the Roman and Italian printing industry by obtaining from the Curia a four-year privilege over the breviary, which had recently been revised and reformed by Cardinal Quiñones: Blado brought out the first edition himself; and, together with two partners, he subcontracted the publication of the second edition to the Venetian branch of the Giunta family.⁵ Blado's extensive network and his considerable experience provided Cervini with a guarantee that books he wanted to publish would be released efficiently and widely

⁴ Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni', esp. pp. 55-59, 73-80, and the many entries in Fumagalli, Belli and Vaccaro, *Catalogo*. On Silber and Calvo, see A. Tinto, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501-1527)*, Florence 1968, and F. Barberi, 'Le edizioni romane di Francesco Minuzio Calvo (1523-1531)', in his *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento: Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari*, Florence 1983, pp. 78-97.

⁵ J. Wickham Legg, *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary: Following an Edition Printed at Antwerp in 1537 and Collated with Twelve Other Editions; to which is Prefixed a Handlist of Editions of the First and Second Recensions*, 2 vols, London 1908-1912, and his 'An Agreement in 1536 between Certain Booksellers of Rome and Venice to Bring out the Second Text of the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignon: With Introduction, List of Editions, and Bibliographical Notes', *The Library*, XIII, 1913, pp. 323-348. For the historical context, see also S. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 23-27.

distributed. His project, however, required much more than this. As Cervini was aware, Blado knew very little if any Greek, so he did not have the skill and technology to produce books in that language. The major centre for Greek printing was Venice, with its Greek community and a well-established tradition of philhellenic printers going back to Aldus Manutius.⁶ So, Blado went to Venice on Cervini's behalf in order to get hold of the appropriate fonts and to recruit suitable personnel. He received support and advice from Cervini's friend, the prominent Venetian printer, Paolo Manuzio; but Blado was not able to acquire from him the Greek types which he sought.⁷

To resolve this crucial technical matter, Blado got in touch, almost certainly at Manuzio's suggestion, with Nikolaos Sophianos and, through him, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio. Sophianos was a scholar, copyist and cartographer from Corfu, as well as a former student of the Greek College of Leo X, where he may have learnt type design and printing techniques from Ianos Lascaris and Zacharias Kallierges. After the closure of the school in 1521, he joined for a short period his former schoolmates Matthaios Devaris and Konstantinos Rallis in serving Leo X's nephew, Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi; but, in the end, he preferred to leave Rome. After collaborating with Devaris on cataloguing Ridolfi's Greek books, Sophianos moved to Venice, where he copied manuscripts from 1533.⁸ Before then, it is possible that Cervini and

⁶ For Italian, esp. Venetian, Greek printing, see Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, esp. pp. 3-55.

⁷ Manuzio, *Epistolarum libri XII*, p. 26: 'Cui se muneri Bladus a te esse praepositum aiebat: itaque venisse ad nos, ut et eos typos, quibus atramento illitis charta imprimitur, conflandos curaret, et si qua praeterea sunt ad opus necessaria, maturaret. Sane sum laetus plurimum, hominemque sua sponte diligentissimum, tamen cohortari non desino ... eique dixi, ut ad omnia me et fratribus uteretur. Neque minus prolixè, quae verbis pollicitus sum, ubi ille petierit, re prestabo.'

⁸ On Sophianos's life, see Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, pp. 460-472, with earlier bibliography, and Muratore, *La biblioteca*, I, pp. 66-70. See *ibid.*, pp. 54-66, for Devaris and Rhallis.

Sophianos ran into one another in Ridolfi's circle and that Cervini may have had the opportunity to observe Sophianos's renowned calligraphic ability. The role played by Sophianos in Cervini's Greek press was almost certainly that of type-designer.⁹

Stefano Nicolini was a learned printer and skilled typographer from Sabbio Chiese (Brescia). He had an extensive knowledge of Greek, which he may have acquired while working as a trainee, until 1520, in Manuzio's family press under Andrea Torresani.¹⁰ He wrote a manual on how to learn Italian, Greek and Latin (in that order) under the title *Corona preciosa* (1527), as well as an *Alphabetum graecum* (1534).¹¹ Starting in 1521, Nicolini printed several Greek books in Venice, either alone or with his brothers, and mainly on behalf of local publishers and booksellers, notably the merchants Andreas Kunadis and Damiano di Santa Maria di Spič.¹² Most importantly, he was the manager of the episcopal press which Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti set up in Verona between 1529 and 1534; this pioneering publishing house has been discussed above in Chapter 2. Nicolini was ideally suited to act as Blado's silent partner in Cervini's Greek press, since he was used to work on commission and had successfully run an ecclesiastical press which anticipated many features of Cervini's project. It has been implicitly assumed that Cervini did not set up an independent firm but opted instead to employ Nicolini and possibly

⁹ Tinto, 'The History of a Greek Type', p. 288; W. A. Pettas, 'Nikolaos Sophianós and the Greek Printing in Rome', *The Library*, XXIX, 1974, pp. 206-213, at p. 208; E. Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, pp. 32, 463-464 and her 'The History of a Sixteenth-Century Greek Type Revised', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, I, 2004, pp. 35-50, at p. 40.

¹⁰ *Il mestier de le stamperie*, pp. 13-17, 26-27.

¹¹ See Stevanoni, 'La grande stagione', pp. 90-92, 103-104.

¹² *Il mestier de le stamperie*, pp. 26-28 and, specifically for Greek publications, Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, pp. 402-420; for a collective catalogue of all the Venetian publications by the Nicolini family, see L. Carpané, 'Annali tipografici, Venezia 1521-1551', in *Il mestier de le stamperie*, pp. 121-238.

Sophianos in Blado's workshop, given that the books published bear only Blado's name on the title-page and/or colophon. The available documentation, however, when examined more closely, suggests that Blado was merely the publisher of Cervini's books, which were printed by Nicolini and initially by Sophianos at a separate press which was called the 'stamperia dei greci'.¹³ Sometime in 1540, a fourth partner joined the enterprise. This was Benedetto Giunta, son of Francesco, a Roman bookseller based in the Campo dei Fiori, who shared the profits with Blado and Antonio Salamanca in the 1536 subcontract for Quiñones's Breviary.¹⁴ Benedetto would be in a good position to take advantage of the widespread commercial relationships of the Giunta family press to help with the distribution of the Greek publications – the fact that the unsold books were still in his house as late as September 1550 suggests that this was, indeed, the arrangement.¹⁵ He was also in charge of the financial accounts together with Blado. An organisational chart of Cervini's Greek press would, therefore, look something like this: Sophianos as designer of the Greek font; Nicolini as supervisor of composing the type and (probably with the assistance of Sophianos and later Blado) of printing in the 'stamperia dei greci'; Blado as publisher through his own firm; and Giunta as accountant and agent for distribution.

¹³ In November 1543, Nicolini mentioned the original agreement he made with Blado and Giunta as the 'promessa fatta da loro in la stamparia delli greci in presentiae de tutti li stampatori': MS Rome, ASR, *Miscellanea Corvisieri*, b. 9, f. [1]r. See also Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 105, on 22 January 1542: 'I Greci hanno fatto ancora eglino [i.e. for Cervini] una lettera greca simile a quella d'Aldo ...' I disagree with Layton, 'The History Revised', p. 40, who claims that the font mentioned here was the one probably designed by Sophianos; instead, it was a second font, in two different sizes, prepared for Cervini by Giovanni Onorio: see below.

¹⁴ He should not to be confused, as sometimes happens, with the more famous Benedetto Giunta, son of Filippo and manager of the Florentine branch of the family firm with his brother Bernardo. Benedetto, son of Francesco, had a brother named Jacopo, who worked as bookseller in Lyon. See the genealogical chart in Pettas, *The Giunti: Merchant Publishers*, p. I.

¹⁵ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 128r: 'In casa di Benedetto Gionti sono li soprascritti libri per conto dello Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinale Santa Croce ...'

As soon as Cervini began to gather together people and equipment for his Greek press, he had to leave Rome in order to accompany Cardinal Farnese on a diplomatic mission to the French and the imperial courts. As we have seen, this long European trip, which began on 28 November 1539, dramatically changed Cervini's approach towards the Reformation and convinced him of the need to harness printing in the service of the Catholic Church. It also led to his elevation to the cardinalate (the first among the many secretaries of the Farnese) and the appointment as *legatus a latere* to the Emperor Charles V; some months later he was assigned the titular church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, becoming 'Cardinal Santa Croce'.¹⁶ When he returned to Rome in late 1540, he resumed his publication project. On 4 December, Donato Giannotti, a member of the *accademia dei virtuosi*, informed his friend Piero Vettori that Cervini's press would first publish Greek Christian authors, especially unknown works, and would then carry on with pagan Greek philosophers, orators and poets, as well as Latin books.¹⁷ Six days later, the first stock of paper was purchased.¹⁸ A very rare pamphlet by Sophianos on the astrolabe, printed with the new Greek font and dedicated to Pope Paul III, can probably be dated to 1541 or early 1542; it was almost certainly intended as a presentation edition with a very small print-run and restricted circulation.¹⁹ The two proper publications of the press – the first volume of Eustathius's commentaries on

¹⁶ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 86-87, 103.

¹⁷ Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 82: 'Monsignor Cervino ... mette ordine di fare una stamperia greca per stampare tutta la scrittura sacra, et di quella gli autori più reconditi. Seguiranno poi i philosophi, gli oratori e poeti, et finalmente stamperanno libri latini; che sarà bella cosa.'

¹⁸ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 135r.

¹⁹ Tinto, 'The History of a Greek Type', p. 288, and Layton 'The History Revised', p. 40. In the dedication (transcribed in Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, I, p. 266), Sophianos mentioned making the new font as commissioned ('κατὰ κέλευσιν') by Cervini.

Homer and Theophylact's commentary on the Gospels – were issued in 1542, when relations between the four partners were already riven by internal quarrels and mistrust, very likely combined with financial difficulties. By September of the same year, Sophianos had quit the enterprise and become involved in a controversy with Benedetto Giunta over money and over the Greek punches and the type which he had almost certainly cut himself, as we learn from the first of the three proxies he made in Venice to be represented in Rome.²⁰ In the autumn of 1543, a previously overlooked judicial dossier shows that Blado and Giunta did not honour the agreement concerning Nicolini's salary, debts and minimum amount of daily work.²¹ Nicolini probably worked a while longer for Blado and Giunta in order to pay off his debts to them; but, despite the special arrangements made to complete Eustathius's commentaries from 1545 onwards, the Greek press established by Cervini was finished by the end of 1543 or mid-1544 at the latest. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the *cardinale editore* continued to sponsor the publication of Greek books in Rome during the following years; but he could no longer count on a press

²⁰ The three documents were published by F. D. Mavroidi, 'Ειδήσεις γιὰ ἐλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα', *Δωδώνη*, IV, 1975, pp. 237-252, at pp. 248-251, and commented on in Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, p. 464. It was not until 1551 that the case was resolved in favour of Sophianos, as in acts published by Tinto, 'Nuovo contributo' and Pettas, 'Nikolaos Sophianos'. For the later use of this font, see Tinto, 'The History of a Greek Type', and, despite occasionally stretching the point, Layton, 'The History Revised'.

²¹ ASR, *Miscellanea Corvisieri*, b. 9: 'Petitio magistri Stefani. Die 28 Novembre 1543. Maestro Stefano de Nicolini da Sabbio stampatore dimanda a Messer Benedetto et Mastro Antonio Blado che da prima martii 1542 per fino alli 12 di maggio 1542 scuti 53 a ragione de scuti 21 il mese per promessa fatta da loro in la stamparia delli greci in presentiae de tutti li stampatori. Item dimanda da 18 di maggio per fin hora et per fin 17 gennaio 1544 per haver promesso di lavorare una forma greca, et haver cura delle altre tre che son quattro, et mancando de lavorare greco dovesse fare la forma latina et li hanno promesso scuti 8 al mese et defalcarne uno al mese che son nove et questo per 20 mesi non si die mancare ne da uno ne dal'altro per fin che serrà scontato li 20 scuti delli quali loro pretendevano de havere scuti 47. Et mastro Stefano pretendeva et pretende de non esser debitore di cosa alcuna et cosi sopra de questo domanda se habbi da pronunciare.' For a transcription of the entire document, see E. Casanova, 'Le carte di Costantino Corvisieri all'Archivio di Stato di Roma', *Gli archivi italiani*, VII, 1920, pp. 20-48, at pp. 30-32. Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni', pp. 60-61, Tinto, 'Nuovo contributo', p. 172, n. 17, and Layton, 'The History Revised', p. 42, esp. n. 35, merely touch on it, in contrast to Layton, *Sixteenth-Century Greek Book*, pp. 406-408, and *Il mestier de le stamperie*, pp. 37-38.

at his own service and that of the Catholic Church. He therefore relied either on Blado, who had by then acquired sufficient linguistic and technical skills to work alone, and Nicolini, who had managed in the meantime to join the ‘papal family’ as a private printer (perhaps with Cervini’s support) and to work independently.²²

5.2. Eustathius’s commentaries on Homer

According to the accounts, the partnership of Blado, Giunta, Nicolini and Sophianos produced only two books. The plan was to begin, significantly, with a Christian text, the commentary on the Gospels by Theophylact; however, this was temporarily put aside in order to prepare and publish the first volume of the Eustathius’s commentaries on Homer, which came out before the Theophylact edition.²³

The commentaries on the Homeric poems by the Byzantine scholar Eustathius of Thessalonica is generally regarded as Cervini’s supreme achievement in Greek printing; a great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to the book, but some of it is marred by ungrounded generalisations and by a tendency towards overestimation.²⁴ The emphasis on the volume as an embodiment of Cervini’s humanist attitudes has obscured the motives behind his support for Roman

²² On this phase of Nicolini’s activity, cf. *Il mestier de le stamperie*, pp. 37-40, with V. Romani, ‘Appunti su un istituto editoriale: lo stampatore palatino della “Famiglia” Pontificia (secc. XVI-XVIII)’, *Annali della Scuola Speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari*, XIX-XX, 1979-1980, pp. 31-43.

²³ Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 105-106, wrote on 22 January 1542: ‘I Greci ... havevano cominciato a stampare Theophylato ma l’hanno lasciato indietro et hanno messo su l’Eustachio sopra Omero, quello che emendò il Lascaris et era in mano del cardinale Ridolfi.’

²⁴ See, e.g., Tinto, ‘The History of a Greek Type’, p. 286: ‘The tradition of the printing-house of the Greek College in Rome is ideally linked with the enterprising publishing initiative taken by Cardinal Marcello Cervini during the pontificate of Paul III.’

publishing houses and his desire to exploit printing as a means of communication for the Catholic Church. The *editio princeps* of Eustathius's commentaries was a direct outgrowth of the tradition of Roman humanism but within the context of Cervini's cultural policy it was an exception. A plan had initially been drawn up in the first decade of the sixteenth century, involving the printer Giacomo Mazzocchi and members of Leo X's Greek College, particularly Colocci and Lascaris. When Cervini embarked on this endeavour thirty years later, he almost certainly regarded himself as the legitimate heir of his friend Colocci's project and, in this one case, succumbed to his desire to have his name linked to the past glories of Roman humanism. The first volume, comprising Eustathius's commentary on the first five books of the *Iliad* was printed in May 1542, employing Sophianos's Greek font. After the collapse of the Greek press, it was not until 1545 that the project was resumed by means of a special agreement between Blado, Giunta and the main editor of the work, the Vatican *custos* Niccolò Majorano.²⁵ A new font in two different sizes was prepared by another employee of the Vatican Library, the scribe Giovanni Onorio from Maglie (Lecce).²⁶ Four further volumes were slowly issued until 1551, containing the commentaries on the remaining books of the *Iliad* and the whole of the *Odyssey*, plus an index compiled by Matthaïos Devaris.²⁷ The main manuscript used for the text was the one which had been owned and emended by

²⁵ See P. Paschini, 'Un ellenista del Cinquecento: Nicolò Majorano', in his *Cinquecento romano*, pp. 219-136, and M. Ceresa, 'Majorano, Niccolò', *DBI*, LXVII, Rome 2006, pp. 660-663.

²⁶ See M. L. Agati, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie: copista greco (1535-1563)*, Rome 2001, esp. pp. 157-190, on Onorio's involvement in the Eustathius edition.

²⁷ There is still no complete critical edition of Eustathius's commentaries on Homer. The Roman edition, slightly improved by Johann Gottfried Stallbaum, was reprinted in Leipzig between 1825 and 1830; a facsimile of this edition was published in Hildesheim in 1960. For the commentaries on the *Iliad*, see Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani*, ed. by M. van der Valk, 5 vols, Leiden 1971-1995.

Ianos Lascaris and which had subsequently entered the collection of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.²⁸ As Paul Canart has pointed out, however, Majorano also very likely annotated another manuscript belonging to the Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1905 (now acephalous), and brought it to the press's premises.²⁹

5.3. Theophylact's commentary on the Gospels

Before August 1542, after the text had been collated by the Spanish Hellenist Francisco Torres and revised by Guglielmo Sirleto, Theophylact's commentary on the Gospels was printed.³⁰ One of the manuscripts used apparently came directly from Cervini's library;³¹ since, however, it was 'corruptus', it is likely that others codices from the Vatican Library were also borrowed.³² In addition, the involvement as main editor of Torres, who by then was the librarian of the bibliophile Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, suggests that Salviati's manuscript of the commentary on John played a significant role in the story.³³

²⁸ MS Paris, BNF, Par. gr. 2695, 2701-2702. On Ridolfi's library, which was ultimately acquired by Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France, see Muratore, *La biblioteca*, pp. 157-173 (esp. pp. 161-162), 313-351.

²⁹ *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti: codices Vaticani Graeci 1745-1962*, ed. by P. Canart, I, Vatican City 1970, p. 632.

³⁰ In the accounts of the partnership (ASF, *Cervini*, f. 51, f. 134v), Cervini's *dare* dated 22 August 1542 listed the cost of the printing and the pay given to 'messer Guglielmo [Sirleto] per corregere il Theophilato de ordine di Sua Signoria Reverendissima, scudi otto'. At *ibid.*, f. 130v, there is a record of a copy given 'Allo Spagnolo che aiutò a corregere'; Dorez, 'Le cardinal Marcello Cervini', p. 304, n. 5, identified this scholar as Torres.

³¹ In one of the sixteenth-century inventories published by Devreesse, 'Les manuscrits grecs', it is reported (p. 266, no. 127): 'Theophilattus commentaria in evangelia scissus et corruptus, quo usi sunt impressores.' The codex is now MS Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 453-455.

³² See, esp., MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 641-645, 647, described in *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti: codices Vaticani Graeci*, III: *Codices 604-866*, ed. by R. Devreesse, Vatican City 1950, pp. 64-71.

³³ Salviati's codex is now MS Vatican City, Vat. gr. 2187. See the contemporary inventory drawn up by Jean Matal and edited in A. Cataldi Palau, 'La biblioteca del Cardinale Giovanni Salviati: alcuni nuovi manoscritti greci in biblioteche diverse della Vaticana', *Scriptorium*, XLIX, 1995, pp. 60-95, at p. 76, no. 147.

The commentaries of Theophylact on the New Testament, the most important Greek biblical exegesis after the homilies of Chrysostom, were written about 1100.³⁴ By 1542, three Latin versions had already appeared in print. Theophylact's commentaries on the letters of St Paul were translated by Cristoforo Persona, a Catholic monk and prolific translator of Greek Christian texts under Paul II and Sixtus IV, who later became prefect of the Vatican Library. It was printed by Ulrich Han in Rome in 1477, but under the name of Athanasius (*ISTC*, it00156000). In 1527, however, Persona's translation was reprinted in Cologne and correctly attributed to Theophylact.³⁵ Three years earlier, in 1524, the Reformed theologian Oecolampadius had brought out in Basel his Latin version of Theophylact's commentaries on the Gospels. This edition, which enjoyed immediate success, was continually revised by Oecolampadius until 1542, the year in which Cervini's Greek *editio princeps* was published.³⁶ Finally, in 1534, the German humanist and Protestant theologian Johannes Lonicerus produced a Latin translation of Theophylact's commentary on four of the Minor Prophets, combining it in 1540 with his new translation of Paul's letters.³⁷ A later Latin edition comprising the commentaries on the Gospels, the Minor Prophets and Paul's letters was edited by

³⁴ Theophylact's works were published in volumes CXXIII-CCXXVI of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, drawing mainly on the critical edition published by Bernardo Maria De Rubeis in Venice between 1754 and 1758. The first two volumes contain his commentaries on the Gospels; for a full English translation, see Theophylact of Ochrid, *The Explanation on the Gospels*, 4 vols, House Springs MO, 2004-2007. See also D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, Oxford and New York 1988, pp. 34-82, and M. Mullet, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Bishop*, Aldershot 1997.

³⁵ Theophylact of Ochrid, *In omnes Divi Pauli Apostoli epistolas enarrationes diligenter recognitae*, Cologne, Peter Quentel, 1527; see esp. sig. †iv for the reattribution.

³⁶ Theophylact of Ochrid, *In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes ...*, Basel, Andreas Cratander, 1524. The 1542 edition was printed in Cologne by Peter Quentel.

³⁷ Theophylact of Ochrid, *In Habacuc Ionam Nahum et Osee Prophetas enarrationes ...*, Basel, Johannes Bebel, 1534, and his *In omnes Divi Pauli Apostoli epistolas enarrationes ...[et] in aliquot Prophetas minores compendiaria explanation*, Basel, Andreas Cratander, 1540.

Erasmus's former secretary Philippus Montanus in 1554.³⁸ Sixteenth-century interest in Theophylact was thus chiefly confined to the German world and had become the preserve of Reformed scholarship. Cervini's Greek edition aimed to break up this monopoly, replacing in particular the work of Oecolampadius (as was stated in the short introduction to the work).³⁹ In doing so, Cervini went right to the heart of the religious and cultural contest between Rome and the Reformation, challenging the interpretations of the Scriptures by Protestant scholars and competing with them to find authoritative evidence in the Christian tradition.

Given the press's short existence and meagre production, it is worth asking to what extent the ambitious programme of issuing unpublished (especially Christian) Greek works from the Vatican Library was fulfilled. If we take into account all the Greek books which Cervini helped to publish during his lifetime, as listed in Documentary Appendix A, there is little doubt that he did manage to accomplish a large part of his vision, ensuring that some important writings by the Greek Church Fathers and prominent religious Byzantine scholars were printed. Despite his Greek press's brief period of activity, there are indications that its editorial programme was (or would have been) the one which he had envisaged, reflecting a preference for *divinae* over *humanae litterae*. The first author selected for publication was Theophylact, even though he was pipped at the post by Eustathius; and in January 1542 (a few months before the demise of the press), Giannotti reaffirmed to Vettori

³⁸ Theophylact of Ochrid, *In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes ... denuo recognitae et restitutae ... Item in minores aliquot prophetas, Abacuc, Ionam, Naum, et Osee ... [et] In omnes Divi Pauli Apostoli epistolas enarrationes ...*, Basel, Johannes Herwagen, 1554.

³⁹ Theophylact of Ochrid, *Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια*, Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542, sig. *iir: 'praesertim cum in ea, quae in Latinum superioribus annis versa est, multa desint, plura vero perperam legantur, sive veteris exemplaris, sive interpretis ea culpa fuerit'.

that ‘the Greeks’ were planning to ‘print at a furious pace, not only sacred texts, but all the books Cervini handed over to them’.⁴⁰ It should also be noted that the plan to use Vatican manuscripts as textual sources for printed editions by no means excluded also drawing on Cervini’s personal library and on the collections of the cardinals close to him such as Ridolfi and Salviati. The fullest implementation of Cervini’s cultural programme, however, was achieved by the Latin press he set up in Rome, as we shall in the following chapter.

⁴⁰ Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 106: ‘... si stamperà a furia, oltre a’ libri sacri, tutto quello che [Cervini] darà loro alle mani ...’

6. Cervini's Latin Press

The aim of this chapter is to examine the press established by Cervini to publish Latin books. This account will be more detailed than the earlier one devoted to his Greek publications, firstly, because Cervini's Latin enterprise has received little attention in previous scholarship; and, secondly, because its output of six Latin editions was more substantial than the two Greek editions issued by Nicolini and Blado. I shall first attempt to shed new light on the Latin press and its manager, Francesco Priscianese. Then, I shall thoroughly analyse all the press's publications, together with the earlier and later reception of each book and its author, which will be crucial for achieving a better understanding of the motives which led Cervini to select precisely this group of works. Finally, I shall look at other editions by Priscianese which may have been sponsored or encouraged by Cardinal Cervini.

6.1. Francesco Priscianese and Cervini's Latin press

At the end of 1540, Cervini's Greek press was finally established. A few months later, he began to set up a Latin press, in accordance with the second stage of his plan, as reported by Donato Giannotti.¹ To run the press, he selected another member of Cardinal Ridolfi's court and possibly of the *accademia dei virtuosi*, the Florentine humanist Francesco Priscianese. Much of Priscianese's life before and after his Roman stay in the 1540s remains obscure. The little we know is mostly

¹ See above, Chapter 5, n. 17.

connected with his linguistic studies and his activity for Cervini.² A teacher, grammarian and skilled Latinist, Priscianese was particularly interested in the Italian vernacular, Cicero's prose and Neoplatonic philosophy.³ This typical early sixteenth-century Florentine scholar left the city, like many of his compatriots, in the wake of the fall of the Republic in 1530, after taking an active part in the siege of Florence as 'commissario' for the Mugello area.⁴ There follows a ten-year gap in his biography, until late in 1540, when we find him in Rome as a valued member of the Florentine Republican community, which had reassembled there and which included among its number Donato Giannotti, the former secretary of the Republic. By this time, Priscianese had already joined Ridolfi's household and had travelled to Venice in order to publish his first grammatical works.⁵

There is no reason to accept Pio Paschini's undocumented hypothesis that

² See Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese'; Ridolfi, 'Un'edizione del Priscianese' and his 'Note sul Priscianese'; L. Vignali, 'Nuove testimonianze sulla vita e le opere di Francesco Priscianese, *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, XVIII, 1979, pp. 121-134, and his 'Un grammatico latino del Cinquecento e il volgare: studi su Francesco Priscianese', *Lingua nostra*, XLI, 1980, pp. 21-24, 42-55, 116-120; G. Padoan, 'A casa di Tiziano, una sera d'agosto', in *Tiziano e Venezia: convegno internazionale di studi*, Vicenza 1980, pp. 357-367; T. Pignatti, 'Tiziano e le figure della "Lingua Romana" del Priscianese', in *Tiziano e Venezia*, pp. 369-370; G. Fragnito, 'Le corti cardinalizie nella prima metà del Cinquecento: da Paolo Cortesi a Francesco Priscianese', *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, CVIII, 2002, pp. 49-62; M. Vanhaelen, "'Cose di Platone fatte Toscane": Two Vernacular Translations of Plato Printed by Francesco Priscianese', *Modern Language Review*, CVII, 2012, pp. 1102-1120. On his involvement with Cardinal Ridolfi, see *Giannotti and His "Epistolae"*, pp. 123-124; Muratore, *La biblioteca*, I, pp. 77-78, 461-464, 484.

³ For a partial list of his works and publications, see Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', pp. 171-176; see also Ridolfi, 'Un'edizione del Priscianese', esp. p. 73, n. 2; id., 'Note sul Priscianese'; id., 'Nuovi contributi', p. 189, n. 2; Vignali, 'Nuove testimonianze'; and Padoan, 'A casa di Tiziano', p. 367.

⁴ Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', p. 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-164; Ridolfi, 'Note sul Priscianese', p. 295; and Varchi, *Lettere*, p. 92. In Venice, Priscianese issued, with the publisher Bartolomeo Zanetti, his *Della lingua romana* and his very successful Latin grammar in the Italian vernacular, *Dei principii della lingua romana*, later known as 'Priscianello'. During that summer in Venice, he dined at Titian's house and came into contact with Pietro Aretino and other Florentine exiles in Venice: see Padoan, 'A casa di Tiziano', and Pignatti, 'Tiziano e le figure'.

Giannotti may have recommended Priscianese to Cervini, acting as intermediary between the two.⁶ We should bear in mind that Priscianese, as far as we know, had no previous experience in the book trade, unlike the rest of Cervini's team (Blado, Nicolini, Giunta and Sophianos). So, something else must have led Cervini to entrust him with the delicate task of managing a press on his own. Cervini's decision was doubtless driven by a variety of factors: the many acquaintances which he shared with Priscianese, including Antonio Blado; Priscianese's outstanding ability as a Latinist, which made him a very suitable editor and press supervisor; his high reputation among the Roman Florentine circle around Cardinal Ridolfi (from whom Cervini chose other collaborators such as the Greeks Devaris, Maiorano and Sophianos). The main motive, however, appears to have been the close relationship between Cervini and Priscianese, who were almost certainly in contact with one another some years before coming together in the printing enterprise. To get to the bottom of this relationship, we will need to investigate the ten years between Priscianese's flight from Florence and his Roman activity in the 1540s.

From the correspondence of the Florentine humanist community which, after 1530, was scattered in Florence, Rome, Venice, Padua and Bologna, we can glean some information about the beginning of Priscianese's Roman stay and his involvement in the same cultural circles as Cervini. An unpublished extract from a letter by Mattio Franzesi to Benedetto Varchi on 9 April 1535 records the recent arrival ('not even a month') of Priscianese in Rome. According to Franzesi, Priscianese had played a leading role in a prank organised by a student of his,

⁶ Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore', pp. 192-193.

Amerigo Antinori,⁷ together with some other companions. After dining in their company, Priscianese went home to get some rest, but was woken up by Antinori and his friends in the middle of the night. The group then performed a parody of a papal election in his room, and Priscianese was elevated to the throne of St Peter. Everyone arrived naked, and then took Priscianese's clothes off; he was eventually left alone to sleep with Antinori's mistress, so that the new pope could 'be totally joined to the Church in marriage'.⁸ The blasphemous joke had been reported to Franzesi by Benedetto Busini and Luigi Sostegni. Franzesi's amusing anecdote, resembling a *novella* by Boccaccio, provides us with four important details: first, Priscianese was in Rome by March 1535; second, he taught there, as he had done in Tuscany, but as a private tutor for the Antinori, a wealthy anti-Medicean family; third, he very quickly began to take part in the carefree cultural life of the first years of Paul III's reign, which was still bore the influence of Francesco Berni's irreverent poetry and the light-hearted court of Clement VII;⁹ finally, the names of Varchi, Franzesi, Busini and Sostegni suggest that Priscianese was drawn at once into

⁷ Amerigo Antinori (b. 1516) was a Florentine *condottiero* in service of the Farnese family and later of Cosimo I. He was expelled from Florence around 1532 and fled to Rome. A portrait of him by Pontormo is today in the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi in Lucca. See *Futuro Antico: The History of the Antinori Family and Their Palace*, ed. by G. Naldi, R. Carrus and V. Tofani, Florence 2007, pp. 78, 191.

⁸ MS Florence, BNCF, *Autografi Palatini, Varchi*, vol. I, no. 96, f. 1v: 'Che volete voi fare! Ogn'uno non è avventurato come il Priscianese: il quale non ci [in Rome] è stata a pena un mese, ch'egli è diventato Papa, cosa rara, et a dir maravigliosa et maxime non sendo la sede vacante: pertanto io dubito di qualche Scisma. Ma per ragguagliarvi del conclavi [sic], et di tutto; udite. Il suo scolare Amerigo Antinori fece non sono passati ancora otto giorni, certo pasto a una sua signora dove erano assai combiboni, et il Priscianese insieme; et dopo cena il Priscianese andatosene al letto come bisognoso della digestione, non era a pena entrato nelle pezze che la turba andò alla camera ignudi tutti, et senza brache, et fecio[l]' levare ancora lui tutto ignudo et messongli non so che mitera in capo, et lo feciono Papa: non credo già che gli volessino baciar' i piedi: et dopo tale creatione per isposargli in tutto e per tutto la chiesa, li lasciorno la signora, quale con lui dormì. Queste cose io non me le sono sognate, anzi l'ho intese dal Sostegno, et dal Busino, il quale pure hiermattina trovandolo [Priscianese], li disse *beatissime pater*, et dice, che [Priscianese] alquanto se ne turbò.' Significantly, the passage was crossed out when the rest of the letter was published in *Raccolta di prose fiorentine: parte quarta*, I, Florence 1734, pp. 47-51.

⁹ See D. Romei, *Berni e berneschi del Cinquecento*, Florence 1984, esp. pp. 51-64, 168.

Giovanni Gaddi's circle and the Vignaiuoli academy, the very *milieu* to which Cervini himself belonged. It is no coincidence that this letter from Franzesi opened with a reference to Cervini in connection with Gaddi.¹⁰

Three months later, in another letter to Varchi, Franzesi referred to Priscianese as a friend of both of theirs. He, however, was mentioned separately from the rest of the learned group, which included Benvenuto Cellini and the musician Bernardo Pisano (Pagoli): in a disparaging, or perhaps jesting, remark, Priscianese was singled out as a grammarian. Franzesi also said that Priscianese was suffering from a problem with his legs.¹¹ Cervini made an appearance in this letter, too, as the recipient of missives from Varchi and Vettori sent via Franzesi.¹² In a third letter from Franzesi to Varchi in December 1537, Priscianese's name cropped up again, among those of Ardinghelli, Vettori, Molza, Antinori and Cellini.¹³

The correspondence between Benedetto Varchi and Piero Vettori contains a further piece of biographical information concerning Priscianese's involvement, in July of 1537, in the Roman cultural milieu. Varchi wrote that Priscianese had professed to be entirely on Vettori's side ('tutto tutto vostro') and had praised his

¹⁰ BNCF, *Autografi Palatini, Varchi*, I, 96, f. 1r: 'mi sono messo a rispondere alla vostra, la quale insieme con una di Messer Marcello [Cervini] era nel mazzo del Monsignore [Giovanni Gaddi]?'.

¹¹ *Raccolta di prose ... parte quarta*, I, pp. 46-47: 'Io mi ero scordato di mettere nel numero loro il Priscianese, ma, perché non faccia qualche confusione tra loro con le sue grammatichevoli dispute, ho fatto bene a sceverarlo. Egli non ista troppo bene in gambe; pure lo veggio ogni sera in Banchi, e ogni sempre mai mi domanda di voi, e mai sempre a voi si raccomanda sovente.'

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 45: 'Le vostre, e quelle di Messer Pier Vettori portai subito a Messer Marcello [Cervini], il quale molto ad ambidue si raccomanda ...'

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Annotationes on Cicero on behalf of his own patron,¹⁴ who, as we learn from the beginning of the letter, was the Florentine Niccolò Ardinghelli, secretary to Cardinal Farnese and a close friend of Cervini, with a similar curial career and literary tastes.¹⁵ The Florentines Vettori and Varchi had frequently referred warmly to Ardinghelli and Cervini as ‘Messer Niccolò’ and ‘Messer Marcello’ in the early 1530s.¹⁶ Cervini and Ardinghelli, moreover, invited Vettori to move to Rome in 1536-1537, actively supported him during his work on the *Annotationes* and encouraged him to make peace with Paolo Manuzio after a bitter quarrel over their competing editions of Cicero’s *Familiares* in the early 1540s.¹⁷ On the basis of these passages from the correspondence of Franzesi, Varchi and Vettori, we can definitely place Priscianese in Rome five years earlier than 1540, consorting with the same people as Cervini. It was these personal connections which no doubt led Cervini to recruit him for his project set up a Latin press.

Over the course of 1541, preparations for establishing a Latin publishing house began to be made. Like the Greek press, Priscianese’s firm was provided with

¹⁴ Varchi, *Lettere*, p. 57: ‘Il Priscianese è tutto tutto vostro e molto vi si raccomanda e mi prega vi scrivessi come le vostre Annotationi piacevono al padron suo assai assai, il che io visi, e a lui più che più ... Scrivendo a messer Nicolò [Ardinghelli] o a me, dite qual cosa del Priscianese.’ The *Annotationes* were published as *Explicationes suarum in Ciceronem castigationum*, an appendix to Vettori’s six-volume edition of Cicero, issued in 1537 by Giunta in Venice. In 1540, Vettori promoted Priscianese’s Latin grammar, which had been enthusiastically recommended by Giannotti: see Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 81, 84-85.

¹⁵ See M. Rosa, ‘Ardinghelli, Niccolò’, in *DBI*, IV, Rome 1962, pp. 30-34, and the notes in *Giannotti and His “Epistolae”*, p. 79.

¹⁶ Varchi, *Lettere, ad indicem*. For another reference to the friendship of this group, see the sonnet to Ardinghelli, in B. Varchi, *Opere ... ora per la prima volta raccolte*, II, Trieste 1859, pp. 865-866; see also, at p. 886, a poem dedicated to Priscianese.

¹⁷ Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 79; Varchi, *Lettere*, pp. 86-88, 90-91 and ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 20, ff. 65v-66r. On the strife, see R. Mouren, ‘Une longue polémique autour de Cicéron: Paolo Manuzio et Piero Vettori’, in *Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs, éditeurs et lecteurs humanistes dans les collections de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, ed. by Y. Sordet, Turnhout 2009, pp. 81-91.

an elegant new font, modelled by him on the type which the Giunti had used for Vettori's *Annotationes*.¹⁸ The press may have been located in Priscianese's house, possibly near the Porta del Popolo, if we can treat Giannotti's *Dialogi de' giorni* as a reliable source of historical information.¹⁹ In January 1542, the Latin press was ready to start printing books. It was Giannotti who informed Vettori that 'in a few days [Priscianese] will begin printing some sacred works such as Arnobius's *Contra gentes* and other sacred writers given to him by the Cardinal of Santa Croce [i.e. Cervini].'²⁰ Cervini's preference was clearly for Christian literature – an initial, unrealistic plan to publish all of Cicero's works and print them in capital letters ('in maiuscole') was rapidly abandoned.²¹ In addition to his commissions from Cervini, Priscianese planned to publish vernacular books, using a new italic font; but in March 1543 he was still completely absorbed by 'the ecclesiastical books for the Cardinal of Santa Croce'.²² It is unclear whether or not he managed to acquire a set

¹⁸ The progress of the *Annotationes* can be traced through the letters from Giannotti to Vettori, in Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 97, 102, 105, 107. Giannotti tried to persuade Vettori to publish the work with Priscianese under his own supervision, but without success, since Vettori never employed Priscianese as the publisher of his writings.

¹⁹ Donato Giannotti, *Dialogi de' giorni che Dante consumò nel cercare l'inferno e 'l purgatorio*, ed. by D. Redig de Campos, Florence 1939, pp. 65-66. In this work, set in the early spring of 1546, a brief dialogue takes place between Priscianese and Michelangelo in front of Priscianese's front door. Here, 'le sue belle stampe ... et tutto questo ordine della stamperia' were displayed for the delight of the great artist (*ibid.*, pp. 71-72). The only surviving manuscript of the *Dialogi* (MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6528) was wrongly thought to have been in Priscianese's hand (*ibid.*, p. 7) and then correctly re-attributed in *Giannotti and His "Epistolae"*, pp. 3-4, n. 5, to one of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's scribes.

²⁰ Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 105: 'Et [Priscianese] fra pochi giorni cominciera' a stampare certe opere sacre, come Arnobio *contra gentes*, et altri scrittori sacri dategli dal cardinale di Santa Croce.'

²¹ In September 1541, Giannotti wrote to Vettori, *ibid.*, p. 102: 'Il detto Cardinale [Cervini] è entrato in una gran fantasia di volere fare stampare l'opere di Cicerone in maiuscole et già le lettere sono fatte, alla qual opera attende il Priscianese e al ritorno suo vuol fare un collegio de' ciceroniani che sono qua, ... per esaminar un poco queste opere di Marco Tullio et formare un testo correttissimo, il quale sarà dato poi al Priscianese che lo stampi nelle dette lettere.' Ridolfi, 'Nuovo contributo', pp. 184-185, correctly pointed out that the term 'maiuscole' referred to capital letters, resembling the writing in ancient manuscripts. In addition, the letter seems to suggest that Priscianese's Latin type was designed starting with the capital letters; see also Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 102, 105.

²² Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 111: '... i libri ecclesiastici a stanza del Cardinale Santa Croce ...'

of italic types;²³ but, between 1543 and 1544, he found the time and energy to publish a number of works in Italian, for which he secured papal privileges.²⁴

By this stage, however, his collaboration with Cervini may have already have come to an end. In May of 1543, Priscianese was keen to move his press to Florence. Despite his republican sympathies and exile in Rome, his affection for his native city, as he was at pains to explain in a letter to Vettori, remained strong. If only Duke Cosimo de' Medici would commission him to print the Florentine codex of Justinian's Digest (the so-called *Pandectae*), he would be ready to leave Rome and spend the rest of his days in his beloved homeland, serving the bitterest enemy of his Roman patrons.²⁵ In July 1544, Priscianese announced to Vettori that he was publishing on his own and lamented that Cervini was withdrawing more and more from his printing programme.²⁶ Priscianese made some attempts to establish himself as an independent humanist printer in Rome, approaching Michelangelo, Paolo Giovio, Antonio Agustín, Vettori and Varchi, offering to publish their works.²⁷

²³ There is no mention of it in the extraordinarily thorough investigation by L. Balsamo and A. Tinto, *Origini del corsivo nella tipografia italiana del Cinquecento*, Milan 1967. Still, at the end of his activity as publisher, Priscianese was said to have three or four sets of type, among which was a beautiful 'cancelleresca'; see Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 118, 121-122, and Padoan, 'A casa di Tiziano', p. 366, n. 66.

²⁴ See Vanhaelen, "'Cose di Platone'".

²⁵ The letter is transcribed in Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', pp. 176-178. Vettori endorsed Priscianese for the commission, but to little effect (see Mouren, 'La lecture assidue', p. 449, n. 82). On the Florentine *Pandectae*, collated by Poliziano, edited by Lelio Torelli and eventually printed by Lorenzo Torrentino in 1553, see G. Gualandi, 'Per la storia dell'editio princeps delle Pandette fiorentine di Lelio Torelli', in *Le Pandette di Giustiniano: storia e fortuna di un codice illustre: due giornate di studio, Firenze 23-24 giugno 1983*, Florence 1986, pp. 143-198; J. L. Ferrary, 'Les travaux d'Antonio Agustín à travers la lumière de lettres inédites à Lelio Torelli', *Faventia*, XIV, 1992, pp. 69-83; D. Baldi, 'Il *Codex Florentinus* del Digesto e il "fondo pandette" della biblioteca laurenziana (con un'appendice di documenti inediti)', *Segno e testo*, VIII, 2010, pp. 99-186 and plates.

²⁶ Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', p. 180.

²⁷ G. Costa, 'Michelangelo e la stampa: la mancata pubblicazione delle Rime', *Quaderni di ACME*, LX, 2007, pp. 211-244, at pp. 234-237; F. Minonzio, "'Non so se ci accorderemo': una edizione

Nothing, however, came of these efforts. It is indicative of his economic problems that, in 1544, he employed Blado's firm to publish the Italian translation of Suetonius by the Florentine Paolo del Rosso, after having obtained a papal privilege for himself.²⁸ In line with his recently conceived plan to move to Florence, he dedicated the book to the Florentine envoy, Averardo Serristori. Sometime in the same year, his press closed down,²⁹ after having published only a dozen books. Six of these – by far the most challenging – were publications commissioned by Cervini, who was the main source of his work and income. When these editions turned out to be less profitable than anticipated, his publishing venture collapsed.

In 1545, Priscianese once again hoped to transfer his business to Florence, as the privileged printer of Cosimo I.³⁰ A year later, after a severe illness and consistent struggles with debt, he was forced to sell his printing machinery and types. These were probably purchased by his competitor, Lorenzo Torrentino, when he was appointed *stampatore ducale* in Florence.³¹ Afterwards, we lose track of

mancata delle *Historiae* di Giovinio in una lettera (Di Roma, alli 5 di Luglio 1544) di Francesco Priscianese a Pier Vettori', *Quaderno di italianistica*, 2010, pp. 45-76; Ferrary, 'Le travaux', pp. 79-80; Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', pp. 178, 180; for Varchi, see the letter in *Raccolta di prose fiorentine: parte quarta*, II, Florence 1734, p. 217, quoted in n. 30 below.

²⁸ Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore', pp. 197-198.

²⁹ This can be inferred from the poor quality of his last Roman publications; see Ridolfi, 'Note sul Priscianese', p. 294, and id., 'Un'edizione del Priscianese', p. 73.

³⁰ He wrote to Varchi on 30 August 1545 (*Raccolta di prose ... parte quarta*, II, p. 217): 'Scrivetemi qualcosa del vostro essere, e se fate alcuna cosa di bello, e che, e come passino le cose dell'Accademia, e della stampa, la quale voi chiamavate segreta, se ella si è palesata ancora, e come ella faccia faccende. Vorrei anche sapere se quello stampatore Tedesco, il quale si diceva condursi per istampare le Pandette, è arrivato ancora, o se sia per essere condotto egli, o altri per tale effetto, che qua tra gli Stampatori si dice, che'l Reverendo Campano ha questa cura da sua eccellenza e che si farà mirabilia. Fate che io sappia qualcosa, e se siate d'animo di volere ancora dare alle stampe le vostre cose.' This was after an attempt by Priscianese to move his press to Naples in March 1545; see Ferrary, 'Le travaux', p. 73, n. 12.

³¹ Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', p. 169; Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 118, 121-122; and Padoan, 'A casa di Tiziano', p. 366, n. 66. On Torrentino's probable acquisition of Priscianese's printing apparatus, see Costa, *Michelangelo alle corti*, pp. 79-81.

Priscianese, apart from some works written by him, which were published in Venice from 1549 to 1579.³²

Priscianese's press, during its three years of activity between 1541 and 1544, worked in close collaboration with the partnership of Blado, Giunta and Niccolini. His publications were distributed by the Giunta family, as we know from the partnership accounts, while his type was employed in the prefaces of the two books produced by Niccolini and Blado: Theophylact's commentaries on the Gospels and the first volume of Eustathius's commentary on Homer. In turn, he used Onorio's Greek font in three of his publications issues in 1543: *De aquis* by Oribasius and speeches by Cardinal Bessarion and Ludovico Sensi.³³ It seems, nevertheless, that Priscianese made a separate agreement with Cervini, especially as regards the division of the income from sales. In the partnership accounts, Cervini's debts and credits (*dare e havere*) do not include any record of Priscianese's books, in contrast to the expenses and dividends from the editions of Theophylact and Eustathius.³⁴ Furthermore, in the spring of 1543, Cervini was informed by his secretary, Angelo Massarelli, that a quarrel had broken out between Priscianese and the Giuntas (Benedetto and, most likely, his brother Jacopo) over the sum of 90 *scudi*. While the Giuntas wanted to collect the money and then give Priscianese his portion,

³² His essay on Cicero's letters was published in Venice in 1549 by Paolo Manuzio. A year later, Priscianese may have revised his Latin grammars, as advertised in the 1550 Venetian edition by Valgrisi (*EDIT16*, CNCE 36145). Two late works by him on Cicero's letters and vocabulary were published in Venice in 1579, presumably posthumously, and enjoyed some success. See Padoan, 'A casa di Tiziano', p. 367.

³³ Ridolfi, 'Nuovi contributi', pp. 189, 196-197.

³⁴ The only reference in the *dare e havere* was to the cost of moving several Priscianese's books from his dwelling to Benedetto Giunta's house in March 1544, probably after the shut down of Priscianese's press. (ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 133v, transcribed also in Pettas, *The Giunti: Merchant Publishers*, p. 314).

Priscianese was determined to collect his own portion personally, on the basis of his verbal agreement with Cervini.³⁵ At present, there is insufficient evidence to establish whether or not there was an actual written agreement. Whatever the case, Priscianese regarded himself as directly dependent on Cervini, as is shown by the proposal he made to the Duke of Florence to print the Digest. He told Vettori that he would be willing to embark on the publication of the *Pandectae* under the same conditions which he enjoyed in Rome: investing no money of his own and being paid for his work by agreement.³⁶

According to the partnership accounts, Priscianese printed six editions for Cervini. The letters of Pope Nicholas I and Arnobius's *Adversus gentes* were completed between 1542 and 1543. The decretals and letters of Pope Innocent III, Cardinal Bessarion's orations against the Turks and Henry VIII's pamphlets against Luther followed soon after. These works largely reflected Cervini's original plan, which envisioned the publication of unknown religious works ('libri sacri') from the papal library: they pertained to religion; apart from the works by Henry VIII and Bessarion, they were *editiones principes*; and, except for the Arnobius edition, they were published from manuscripts or printed copies in the Vatican Library. Like the two Greek books issued by Nicolini and Blado, Priscianese's first editions were large and elegant folio volumes, with ample margins which were devoid of any

³⁵ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23, f. 2r: 'È ancora nata tra detti Gionta, et Priscianese una mezza discordia circa il riscoter di questi dinari, imperoché questi Gionti vorrebbero loro riscotere li dinari tutti, et pagar poi per sua mano il Priscianese, il qual dall'altra banda per le parole detteli da da [sic] Vostra Reverendissima et Illustrissima Signoria et confermateli poi da me, fa instantia da sé a riscoter li 90 scuti.'

³⁶ Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', p. 177: 'io verrei a Fiorenza quando il Duca facesse stampare le Pandette, come qua si ragiona, et io fossi sopra ciò eletto, intendendo però che egli le facesse stampare di suo, com'io penso voglia fare, et me pagasse del mio lavoro et manifattura quello che fussimo d'accordo, come fanno questi ministri papali ...'

textual commentary or biblical references and therefore suitable for personal annotations. This careful concern for typography is hardly surprising in a devoted bibliophile such as Cervini. The neat *mise en page*, the absence of printed marginalia, so that the text was surrounded by blank space, and the very readable Latin font recall the masterpieces of Aldus Manutius. By contrast, the editions of Bessarion and Henry VIII produced towards the end of the press's activity were modest quartos, printed with less typographical care.

6.2. *Editio princeps* of Arnobius

Publishing the *Disputationes against the Pagans (Adversus gentes or nationes)* by Arnobius Afer the Elder of Sicca was a very demanding endeavour. The textual preparation took up a large part of 1542 and the first months of 1543. The printing was also a long-drawn-out affair, as shown by the existence of at least three separate issues.³⁷ The main difficulty was the poor condition of the only known manuscript, which was owned by the Vatican librarian (*custos*) Fausto Sabeo, who had discovered it.³⁸ After the work's publication by Priscianese, the manuscript was probably presented by Sabeo to King Francis I and is today MS Par. Lat. 1661 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. It is dated to the ninth century and has a continuous uncial text, which is difficult to read and occasionally erased.³⁹ As well

³⁷ *EDIT16*, CNCE 3083-3084. See also the references in Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, pp. 105, 107; and Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', pp. 178-179.

³⁸ MS Brussels, BRB, Lat. 10847, generally assigned to an eleventh-century hand, is in part an apograph. It was collated by François de Maulde for Godescalc Steewech and used in the latter's *In libros Arnobii adversus gentes electa*, Antwerp 1604.

³⁹ See C. Marchesi, 'Per una nuova edizione di Arnobio', *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica*, n.s., X, 1932, pp. 485-496; and Arnobius, *Contre le gentiles: Livre I*, ed. by H. Le Bonniec, Paris 1982, pp. 96-100.

as Arnobius's treatise in seven books, it contains another work, *Octavius* by Marcus Minucius Felix, which was erroneously treated in the printed edition as the eighth (*octavus*) book of Arnobius. We learn from the dedication to Francis I that the editorial work, which required excellent palaeographical skills and solid knowledge of late antiquity, was carried out by Sabeo, with help from Girolamo Ferrario and Priscianese.⁴⁰ According to the ten-year papal privilege, the cost of the edition was entirely shouldered by Sabeo.⁴¹ Since, however, Cervini was deeply involved in the edition – he was asked to solicit the curial bureaucracy for a dispensation of the papal privilege to sell the volume – he may have made some contribution to the printing expenses.⁴²

Priscianese's edition was an important philological achievement, which raised interest among both Catholic and Reformed scholars in Arnobius and his distinctive account of early Christianity.⁴³ The *editio princeps* provided the base text for later,

⁴⁰ Arnobius, *Disputationum adversus gentes libri octo nunc primum in lucem editi*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1542-1543, sig. aiiir: '... et quia eius curatio in longum protrahabatur ... Hieronymus Ferrarius, et Franciscus Priscianensis viri doctissimi, et ingenii, et iudicii perspicacissimi, emendandi, et imprimendi Arnobium provinciam susceperunt: et ita feliciter sunt assecuti, ut illum a variis, et enormibus vitiis, atque erroribus vindicarint: tum elegantibus, et pulcherrimis typis impressum in stadium producerint.' Priscianese sent a copy of his Arnobius edition to Vettori, describing his and Ferrario's efforts; see Redig de Campos, 'Francesco Priscianese', pp. 178-179. On Girolamo Ferrario, nicknamed Correggio, who died in Rome in 1542, see Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori, ad indicem*, and M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy (1300-1800)*, II, Boston 1962, p. 1383.

⁴¹ Arnobius, *Disputationum ... libri*, sig. aiiiv: 'dilectus filius Faustus Sabeus ... ad communem non solum literatorum, sed etiam Christi fidelium utilitatem opera Arnobii contra Gentes sua impensa imprimi facere intendat ...'

⁴² In March 1543, Massarelli reported to Cervini (ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23, f. 1r): 'L'Arnobio è fornito, et si è havuto il privilegio di Francia, messer Francesco prega Vostra Signoria Reverendissima gli facci mandar quello di sua Santità quale dice d'esser' in mano di Monsignor Blosio expedito, perché se li darà poi total' expeditione.' The *breve* in ASV, *Arm. XLI*, vol. 25, f. 47r, is dated 18 Aug 1542. For the evidence of Sabeo's close acquaintance with Cervini, see G. I. Gussago, *Biblioteca clarense: ovvero notizie storico-critiche intorno agli scrittori e letterati di Chiari*, II, Chiari 1822, pp. 110-113.

⁴³ Arnobius, *Contre le gentiles*, p. 101. Sabeo, Priscianese and Ferrario scrupulously recorded their conjectures emendations in a separate gathering at the beginning of the book; see Arnobius, *Disputationum ... libri*, 1543, sigs aiiir- aiiir.

improved, editions.⁴⁴ The first of these, issued in 1546, was edited by Sigismund Gelenius, a Czech humanist and follower of Erasmus living in Basel. Gelenius praised the Roman editors for their efforts and good intentions, but criticized them for their incapacity to read the manuscript accurately. This suggests that he had access to Sabeo's codex, which was probably no longer in Rome and perhaps already on its way to Paris.⁴⁵ Among the other scholars who also produced critical editions of *Adversus gentes* are: René-Laurent de La Barre (Paris 1580); Dirck Canter (Antwerp 1582); Fulvio Orsini (Rome 1583); Geverhart Elmenhorst (Hannover 1603 and Hamburg 1610); Godescalc Steewech (Antwerp 1604); Didier Hérauld (Paris 1605); and, finally, Claude Saumaise and Antonius Thysius (Leiden 1651).⁴⁶ The densely annotated Roman edition by Orsini is particularly noteworthy, because there is some continuity with Cervini's project. Not only was the book described on the title-page as 'the later and more correct Roman edition', but Orsini also benefitted from the expertise of Guglielmo Sirleto, one of Cervini's key subordinates and at the time cardinal librarian of the Vatican and a renowned scholar.⁴⁷ In the introduction, Sirleto is said to be the first to have realised that the supposed eighth book of

⁴⁴ Many surviving copies of the *editio princeps* are annotated; e.g., among the holdings of the British Library, four out of five copies have sixteenth- and seventeenth-century annotations: see BL, Gen. Ref. Coll. 1222.b.10, 692.f.15, 1219.k.17, C.81.e.5(1). The last two of these copies, as we learn from inscriptions on their title-pages, were owned by a Parisian scholar ('Antonius Carpentarius Doc. Med. Paris.') and by Thomas Cranmer ('Thomas Cantuarion'). A copy of the 1560 edition of Arnobius issued in Basel contains extensive notes by Isaac Causabon (BL, Gen. Ref. Coll. 3089.b.8).

⁴⁵ Arnobius, *Disputationum adversus gentes libri VIII nunc demum sic accurati ...*, Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius, 1546, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁶ A commented list can be found in Arnobius, *The Case Against the Pagans*, Westminster MD 1934, pp. 232-234.

⁴⁷ Arnobius, *Disputationum adversus gentes libri septem: M. Minucii Felicis Octavii: Romana editio posterior et emendatior*, Rome, Domenica Basa and Francesco Zanetti, 1583, sig. a5r-v: 'Cuius quidem inscriptionis restitutio ... deberetur omnium honestarum artium vindici ac patrono Gulielmo Sirleto Cardinali, qui ... vidit primus, et pro suo illustrandae veritatis studio iamdiu indicavit recitari a Lactantio Firmiano verba quaedam e Minucii Felicis Octavii, quae haberentur in octavo Arnobii libro. Unde coniecturam fecit vir amplissimus ex Octavii nomine errorem fluxisse, et octavium illum Arnobio inscriptum librum esse Minucii ...'

Arnobius's treatise was, in fact, the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix. This discovery had already been made, however, by either Antoine or Maximilien Morillon and by François Baudouin, who brought out the first edition of Minucius's *Octavius* in Heidelberg in 1560.⁴⁸ It seems improbable that Sirleto and Orsini, who were well versed in current patristic scholarship, can have been unaware of Baudouin's edition – his name may have been omitted on the account of suspicion of him as a Catholic who had converted to Calvinism and then returned to Catholicism.⁴⁹

Due to the dearth of knowledge about both Arnobius the Elder, of Sicca, the author of *Adversus gentes*, and Arnobius the Younger, the commentator on the Psalms, confusion between the two figures arose during the sixteenth century. The first was a skilled rhetorician who lived under Emperor Diocletian at the time of his persecutions of Christians, taught Lactantius and composed seven books against the pagans, as recorded by Jerome in *De viris illustribus* and *Chronicon*. The second Arnobius wrote his biblical commentary, together with other Christian works, around 460 and was quoted by the Venerable Bede in his commentary on Psalms. Both were thought to be African and therefore to merit the Latin toponym 'Afer'; and both were virtually unknown at the threshold of the early modern era.⁵⁰ In 1494, Johannes Trithemius in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* treated the two Arnobiuses as a single author ('Arnobius presbyter') and mixed up their works.⁵¹ The first

⁴⁸ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, Leipzig 1982, p. V.

⁴⁹ M. Erbe, *François Baudouin (1520-1573): Biographie eines Humanisten*, Gütersloh 1978.

⁵⁰ On their *fortuna*, see Arnobius, *Contre le gentiles*, pp. 93-95, and (for the Reformed world) P. Krafft, *Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte des älteren Arnobius*, Wiesbaden 1966; and Arnobius the Younger, *Commentarii in Psalmos: Pars I*, Turnhout 1990, pp. XVII-XVIII.

⁵¹ Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel, Johann Amerbach, 1494 (ISTC, it00452000), f. 10r-v.

scholar to publish a work by Arnobius the Younger was Erasmus. In 1522, he published the commentary on the Psalms, dedicating the work to his fellow countryman, Pope Adrian VI. In the introduction, Erasmus misidentified the author as the Christian polemist and rhetorician mentioned by Jerome, explaining the different styles found in his writings by suggesting that Arnobius had employed elegant Latin prose in *Adversus gentes*, in which he addressed learned men, whereas, for his biblical commentary, which was intended for common people, he had used the corrupt Latin of his day.⁵² Erasmus thus laid the foundation for the confusion which persisted until the end of the sixteenth century: collected works by ‘Arnobius Afer’, containing *Adversus gentes* as well as the commentary on the Psalms, were issued in Basel in 1560 and in Paris in 1580.⁵³ It was apparently Roberto Bellarmino who first distinguished the two authors in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* of 1613, as well as reiterating that Minucius Felix’s *Octavius* was a separate treatise.⁵⁴

The muddled sixteenth-century reception of the two Arnobiuses explains why, in the accounts of the partnership between Blado and Giunta, Priscianese’s edition was listed as ‘Arnobii sopra i psalmi’ – a problem which earlier scholarship was unable to solve.⁵⁵ The entry, however, shows that *Adversus gentes*, at the time

⁵² Arnobius the Younger, *Io. Frobenius pio lectori ... damus ... D. Erasmi Roterodami praefationem ad nuper electum pontificem Adrianum huius nominis sextum: Arnobii Afri ... commentarios ... in omnes psalmos ... per Erasmus Roterodamum proditos et emendatos ...*, Basel, Johann Froben, 1522, sigs a2v-a5r.

⁵³ Arnobius of Sicca and Arnobius the Younger, *Commentarii ... in omnes Psalmos, per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum proditi et emendati ... eiusdem Disputationum adversus Gentes libri VIII. Sigismundi Gelenii cura castigati*, Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius, 1560; and Tertullian, Arnobius of Sicca and Arnobius the Younger, *Opera ...*, ed. R. L. de la Barre, Paris, Guillaume Julian, 1580.

⁵⁴ Roberto Bellarmino, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus ...*, Rome 1613, pp. 45, 56-57, 127-128.

⁵⁵ See in particular, Redig de Campos, ‘Francesco Priscianese’, p. 176 and Paschini, ‘Un cardinale

an obscure, unpublished work,⁵⁶ was confused with the better-known commentary on the Psalms edited by Erasmus. In Priscianese's *editio princeps*, moreover, the *testimonia* of Arnobius's fame included the inaccurate passage from Trithemius, whose reference to the number of books in *Adversus gentes* was altered from the correct 'vii' to the incorrect 'viii', in accordance with the erroneous Roman edition.⁵⁷

Arnobius was the first in a long series of early Christian authors – broadly speaking, Church Fathers – which Cervini continued to promote long after the demise of his Roman presses.⁵⁸ The *cardinale editore* selected, in particular, their unpublished works, especially those devoted to the refutation of ancient heresies. The reason is to be found in his attitude towards the religious crisis of the sixteenth century. Although he spent much of his life attempting to halt the spread of Protestantism, his main concern was the problems which the new faith posed for the political power of the Roman Church and the papacy. Like many contemporary churchmen – above all, Girolamo Aleandro – Cervini seems not to have fully taken on board the theological implications of the Reformation. The Roman Curia often treated Protestants merely as rebels who wished to overturn the hierarchical order of church and state, referring to them, in the traditional way, as *novatori*. Yet they also maintained that Protestant belief, in all its forms, was not particularly new (*novus*),

editore', p. 196, n. 39.

⁵⁶ Ostensibly, Giannotti was unaware of Arnobius's identity. With a trace of disdain, he reported to Vettori in February 1542 (Giannotti, *Lettere a Vettori*, p. 107): 'Al presente egli [Priscianese] stampa ... un certo scrittore sacro chiamato Arnobio *contra gentes*, et certi altri simili scrittori.'

⁵⁷ Arnobius, *Disputationum ... libri*, 1542-1543, sig. aiiir.

⁵⁸ See the list in Documentary Appendix A.

but rather a collection of earlier heretical statements which had already been anathematized by past councils and popes. Luther and the other Reformed leaders were frequently (mis)understood in light of statements made by earlier pious adversaries of heretics such as Donatus, Arius, Nestorius and so on, up to Jan Hus.⁵⁹ Drawing on this background, Cervini developed a forward-looking cultural strategy involving the use of the past to influence the present. He believed that the publication of anti-heretical works by the Church Fathers would provide Catholics with historically grounded arguments which were as persuasive as contemporary controversialist literature – and perhaps even more so.⁶⁰ In Cervini's view, this strategy – later employed by him while presiding over the church council in Trent and Bologna – would demonstrate objectively, on the one hand, the inconsistency of Protestant doctrine and, on the other, the historical and divine justification of the Roman Church. For Cervini, although several unorthodox movements had cropped up over the fifteen centuries of Christianity's history, they had always been proven wrong solely by their resistance to, and often separation from, the unique true Church. These heresies had been condemned in ecumenical councils and eradicated by means of the written word and, at times, by military power.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, p. 440, and Quaranta, *Marcello II*, p. 90-101, 197. A similar approach can be found in contemporary catalogues of heresies compiled by Catholic authors, on which see I. Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)*, Leiden and Boston 2003, pp. 382-389. See also Fabri's description of the eucharistic dispute between Lutherans and Zwinglians in 1536, in *CT*, IV/1, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 439-440, 451, 453-454, places the beginning of a fundamental change in the Catholic strategy towards the Reformation in the late 1530s, when earlier polemical treatises and catalogues of errors were progressively overtaken by preaching and the clarification of orthodox Catholic positions. At the same time, *theologia positiva* (the analytical study of theology grounded in the Bible, the Church Fathers and the ecumenical councils) began to replace the dialectical methodology of medieval scholasticism.

⁶¹ See Backus, *Historical Method*, pp. 383, 385-388, 391, for similar statements by contemporary Catholics.

The edition of Arnobius was conceived within this intellectual framework, as can be seen from Sabeo's dedicatory letter to Francis I, in which the treatise was directly connected to the current religious situation,⁶² with military terminology extensively employed to highlight the notion of a fiercely fought battle between Catholics and heretics. The French king was hailed as the 'Religionis validissimum propugnaculum, et Christianae Reipublicae vigilantissimus tutor, ac defensor, et haereticorum formidolosa bipennis' ('Most powerful champion of religion, and most vigilant guardian and defender of the Christian Republic and formidable battle-axe of heretics'), and the patron of pious publications such as the present work. In addition, Sabeo claimed to have recovered the manuscript of Arnobius 'in media barbariae' ('in the midst of barbarism') and to possess it by 'iure belli' ('the law of war'), having legitimately removed the codex from a Protestant region in either Switzerland or Germany on the grounds that a work against pagans should be a weapon in the hands of pure Christians in their struggle to stamp out heresy. Some 'docti viri' had then warmly encouraged him to print the text, so that Arnobius, fighting under Francis's insignia, could overthrow the false gods, rites and ceremonies of the contemporary counterparts of Roman pagans.⁶³ Sabeo also promised the king that many other Latin and Greek sacred authors would appear, as if from the Trojan horse.⁶⁴ This was a clear reference to Cervini's editorial project,

⁶² Arnobius, *Disputationum ... libri*, sig. aiiir: 'ut pietatis christianae maximus dux [Francis I], et propagator, integer, et abstersus, hac miserabili tempestate, qua in horas vera Religio undique exagitur, in publicum prodiret'.

⁶³ Ibid., sig. aiiiv: 'Iure enim belli meus est Arnobius, quem e media barbariae non sine dispendio, et discrimine eripuerim: ut sub tali, ac tanto Imperatore tantus religionis antesignanus in Deos gentium, ritus, sacra, et caerimonia validius digladietur. Spero equidem sub tuis signis propudiosum Divorum gregem in fugam versurum, atque eversurum.'

⁶⁴ Ibid.: 'multi utriusque linguae Scriptores, qui conclamati, et deperditi desyderantur, tanquam ex equo troiano prodibunt in lucem: ac te ... acclamabunt, plaudent, et arridebunt'.

the aim of which was to storm the citadel of Protestantism: the sacred books published by him, like Greek soldiers penetrating the Trojan camp, would wreak havoc on the opponents of Roman Catholicism. Arnobius and the other promised publications would help to ensure victory in the religious wars of the sixteenth century.

Cervini's apologetic programme failed, however, to take into account that the past, once recovered, could produce unexpected results. In searching for evidence of Church tradition, he and his collaborators unveiled the multifaceted history of Christianity, which revealed that Arnobius was not, in fact, a suitable model for sixteenth-century Catholic orthodoxy: he had a partly materialistic understanding of the soul, had been influenced by Epicureanism and sympathised with the battle against religious icons (iconoclasm); in some highly rhetorical passages, he even seemed to praise the ancient atheists and to cast blame on the pagan gods as if they really existed. *Adversus gentes* was essentially a learned philosophical treatise by a recently converted Christian believer who had a deep interest in Roman Stoicism.⁶⁵ The same could be said of the dialogue *Octavius* by Minucius Felix, which perhaps explains how Cervini and his collaborators were so easily able to mistake it for the final book of Arnobius's treatise.⁶⁶ On account of his ambiguous statements and beliefs, Arnobius's works were included among the *libri non recipiendi* ('books which were not to be used') in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, along with those of

⁶⁵ See Emanuele Rapisarda's introduction to Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, Catania 1965, pp. 7-135, and M. B. Simmons, *Arnobius of Sicca: Religious Conflict and Competition in the Age of Diocletian*, Oxford 1995.

⁶⁶ See the analysis in Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, Paris 1964, pp. VII-XLIV, LXXIX-XCIV, and id. *The Octavius*, New York 1974, pp. 5-48.

Tertullian, Lactantius, Origen and some minor Christian authors.⁶⁷ It was not by chance, therefore, that the manuscript tradition of Arnobius was so thin. Cervini and his subordinates apparently failed to realise the potential risks of publishing a work such as *Adversus gentes*, so excited were they by the prospect of bringing to light a new Christian text ‘solo et unico (come dicono) al mondo’.⁶⁸ This naivety was due to the novelty of the enterprise; and, in fact, there was no repercussions. Nevertheless, later on, when Cervini privately promoted the publication of other works by Church Fathers, the editors took more care in explaining to readers how they should approach the text.⁶⁹

6.3. Letters of Innocent III and of Nicholas I

A similar use of the past underpinned the two editions of papal letters, one by Innocent III and the other by Nicholas I. As we have seen, an interest in ecclesiastical history, as part of the revival of antiquarianism, was cultivated by Cervini with the help of his brother Romolo, his secretary Angelo Massarelli and his friend Bernardino Maffei. These two books, however, were not merely a private endeavour to satisfy Cervini’s erudite curiosity. In both, we can observe the germ of another idea which would feature in the later cultural policy of the Catholic Church:

⁶⁷ *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, ed. by E. von Dobschütz, Leipzig 1912, pp. 45-46, 55-56.

⁶⁸ These are the words which Priscianese attributed to those who had commissioned the publication; cited in Redig de Campos, ‘Francesco Priscianese’, p. 178.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Eranistes seu Polymorphus ... eiusdem, hereticorum improbarum nugarum ac fabularum compendium: eiusdem, divinorum decretorum seu dogmatum epitome: quae omnia nunc primum in lucem exeunt, a Gentiano Herveto Aurelio latine versa*, Venice, Giovanni Farri and brothers, 1548, ff. 250v-255r; Nicholas Cabasilas, *De divino altaris sacrificio: Maximi [Confessoris], de mystagogia ... diui Chrysostomi et diui Basilii sacrificii, seu missae ritus, ex sacerdotali Graeco: Gentiano Herveto Aurelio interprete*, Alessandro Brucioli and brothers, 1548, f. 101r.

the defence of the papacy through a glorification of its history. The past was employed once again as a tool of controversy and propaganda, with all the associated simplifications and contradictions. In the battle of knowledge and scholarship with the Reformation, Cervini re-affirmed the centuries-old tradition of the Roman Church by making available works, not only by the Fathers, but also by historically important popes. Papal letters and decretals were deployed alongside the writings of ancient Christian writers in order to safeguard the sixteenth-century papacy, as if there were no differences, contrasts or conflicts between these two types of source. Supervising the conciliar debates in Trent and Bologna, Cervini made every effort to ground his opinions in history and tradition, mostly in support of the pope's interests. Through his lively correspondence with Sirleto, he collected numerous excerpts from unpublished works of the Church Fathers and from earlier conciliar acts preserved in manuscripts in the Vatican Library as a means of providing solid evidence for his positions.⁷⁰ Cervini thus anticipated the historiographical approach which both Reformed and Catholic scholars would adopt in the second half of the century, beginning with the monumental projects of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (*Centuriae Magdeburgensis*) and Cesare Baronio (*Annales ecclesiastici*). While Protestants looked back to the early days of Christianity, exasperated at the departure of Roman bishops from the original intentions of the Apostles, Catholics wanted to prove that the Roman Church was the natural and faithful heir of Jesus and the Apostles. Both sides were investigating the past in the search for the original primitive Church (*ecclesia primigenia*) and debating what that church meant (a community of true believers or an institution?) and where it

⁷⁰ See Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 205-284.

manifested itself (in several places or only in Rome?). Sixteenth-century confessional historiography undoubtedly contributed to the improvement of historical method. Its aims, however, remained chiefly apologetic. Even Flacius and Baronio tended to overlook inconvenient historical developments, manipulate facts to their own side's advantage and recount past events in light of contemporary religious disputes.⁷¹

The collection of Innocent III's epistles was published in a folio edition in 1543. It contained the decretals (official resolutions announced in papal briefs) of the first three years of his pontificate, from 1198 to 1200. Further volumes were probably planned, since the edition was called 'tomus primus'.⁷² There is no evidence, however, to support Paschini's implication that the failure to complete this project was due to dissatisfaction with the first volume.⁷³ The phrase 'tomus primus' in the title may simply refer to the fact that the volume was based on the first of the six Vatican registers of Innocent's letters.⁷⁴ These manuscripts, compiled at the behest of Innocent III, were formerly held in the Vatican Library but later moved to the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, probably as a result of the separation of the two

⁷¹ See Backus, *Historical Method*, pp. 1-5, 326-382, who disagrees with the still valuable study by P. Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse du XV^e siècle*, Gembloux 1932; and *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. by K. Van Liere, S. Ditchfield and H. Louthan, Oxford 2012, esp. the essays by Anthony Grafton, Euan Cameron, Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli and Simon Ditchfield.

⁷² Innocent III, *Decretalium, atque aliarum epistolarum tomus primus*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1543.

⁷³ Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore', pp. 194-195.

⁷⁴ On the composition of the six registers, see *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales: A Calendar with an Appendix of Texts*, ed. by C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney, Oxford 1967, pp. XIX-XX, with earlier bibliography.

institutions in early seventeenth century.⁷⁵

Modern scholars unanimously regard Guglielmo Sirleto as the book's editor.⁷⁶ Paschini, on the other hand, thought that Sirleto merely compiled the appendix, containing a list of emendations carried out under Paul IV between 1555 and 1559, which is usually bound into the original volume;⁷⁷ and his view, in truth, seems more likely. Sirleto's name appears only in the supplement published some twelve years after the book's publication, in which he expressed a harsh judgement on the edition: comparing the printed volume to the Vatican register, he bemoaned several errors and omissions.⁷⁸ A letter by Massarelli informs us that the edition was collated against the manuscript immediately after it was printed;⁷⁹ however, we do not know whether Sirleto was responsible for this collation, but decided to publish his *lectiones* only a dozen years later, or whether, instead, he made another collation in the 1550s. Given his involvement in Cervini's project, as well as his personal interest in ecclesiastical history, we can safely assume that he at least read the book

⁷⁵ MS Vatican City, ASV, Reg. Vat. 4. For a thorough description, see *Die Register Innocenz' III.: I. Band.: 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1498/99: Texte*, ed. by O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher, Graz and Cologne, 1964, pp. XIV-XXXII.

⁷⁶ *The Letters of Innocent III*, p. XXIII, and *Die Register Innocenz' III*, p. XXXIII. The details of the attribution are in H. Feigl, 'Die Überlieferung der Register Papst Innozenz' III.', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LXV, 1957, pp. 242-295, at pp. 264-266.

⁷⁷ Paschini, 'Un cardinale editore', p. 195.

⁷⁸ Innocent III, *Decretalium ... tomus primus*, sig. Air: 'Gugliemus Sirletus custos Bibliothecae vaticanae lectori salutem. Cum legeremus Innocentii Tertii Pontificii Maximi Librum impressum, animadvertimus in eo esse multa depravata, quaedam manca, nonnulla vero addita. Hunc igitur cum exemplari Bibliothecae vaticanae contulimus, et errata ipsa correximus, quaeque deerant, addimus, et quae addita fuerant, substulimus, notato paginarum, et versuum, numero. Has igitur epistolas lector accipias, et relinquo eiusdem auctoris, quas multas habemus, aliaque praeclara veterum patrum monumenta, quae sunt in Bibliotheca vaticana, Pauli Quarti Pontificis Optimi, et maximi benignitate propediem edenda, omnia denique tanti Principis eruditione, pietate, et singularis erga humanarum, divinarumque litterarum studiosos propensione, ac liberalitate digna expectes. Vale.' The detailed list of *errata* continues until sig. Aviiir.

⁷⁹ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23, f. 1r: 'L'Innocentio è finito, ma non la tavola, la qual mi ha mostra, et parmi stia assai bene, anderà dietro a stamparla, et si rivede tuttavia con diligentia lo stampato, et rincontrasi.'

soon after its publication in 1543. Sirleto, moreover, continued to take an interest in Cervini's editorial project long after the death of his patron. He showed himself to be Cervini's main cultural and spiritual heir by having his corrections to Priscianese's edition printed, twelve years after its publication, with a similar font and page format, so that the supplement could be readily inserted into the original book.

Priscianese's *editio princeps* was received well at the time of its publication and is still regarded as a pioneering enterprise.⁸⁰ The text was emended *ope ingenii* by the Dutch theologian Jakob Middendorp in the collected works of Innocent III issued in Cologne in 1575 and soon afterwards reprinted in Venice.⁸¹ Further attempts to publish the rest of the Vatican registers followed; but it was not until 1964 that a complete edition was begun, under the auspices of the Österreichisches Historisches Institut of Rome.⁸² It goes without saying that Protestant scholars were scornful of an edition of the letters of a notorious papal *malleus haereticorum* published in Rome. Intriguingly, on the verso of the title-page of a copy now in the library of the Società Storica Lombarda in Milan, there is an inscription signed 'Martinus Luther' and dated 1544. Unfortunately, however, this turns out to be one of the high-quality forgeries produced by Hermann Kyrieleis in the late nineteenth

⁸⁰ Feigl, 'Die Überlieferung', p. 266.

⁸¹ Innocent III, *Opera, quae quidem obtineri potuerunt omnia ... locupletiora, emendatioraque nunc reddita*, 2 vols, Cologne, Maternus Cholinus, 1575. The book was reprinted in Venice between 1576 and 1578. See also Feigl, 'Die Überlieferung', pp. 266-267.

⁸² *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, Graz etc. 1964-. The most recent volume is *Die Register Innocenz' III. 12. Pontifikatsjahr, 1209/1210: Texte und Indices*, ed. by O. Hageneder and A. Sommerlechner, Vienna 2012.

century.⁸³

The decision to publish Innocent III's decretals and letters in 1543 can hardly have been casual. A proud upholder of papal supremacy against the demands of local churches and of the Holy Roman Empire, Innocent also established the Inquisition and promoted the crusade against the Albigensian Cathars.⁸⁴ During his pontificate, the Fourth Lateran Council was convened in Rome and worked under his direction to reform the Church and to unite the forces of Christendom in the fight against heretics and Muslims, while the new Dominican and Franciscan orders were taking their first steps under the probing eye of the papacy. The connection with events in Cervini's day is obvious. The pontificate of Paul III, like that of Innocent III, was a time of innovation with regard to the control of heresy, the approval of new religious orders and the defence of papal supremacy against the threat of an ecumenical council, especially during the 1540s. In 1542, the medieval structure of the Inquisition was renewed by centralising its activity in Rome and appointing a congregation of cardinals, known as the Holy Office, to administer it. These developments gave a significant boost to the struggle against heresy.⁸⁵ In the same

⁸³ M. Bonomelli, *Un tesoro nascosto: incunaboli e cinquecentine della Società Storica Lombarda*, Milan 2002, pp. 12, 15. On the work of Kyrieleis, see M. Herrmann, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott": *Vortrag gehalten von Max Herrmann in der Gesellschaft für deutsche Literatur zu Berlin und mit ihrer Unterstützung herausgegeben*, Berlin 1905, esp. pp. 26-32.

⁸⁴ Among the vast secondary literature on Innocent III, see the recent *Innocenzo III: urbs et orbis: atti del congresso internazionale, Roma 9-15 settembre 1998*, ed. by A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols, Rome 2003; J. C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and To Plant*, Leiden 2003, with earlier bibliography; and *Papst Innozenz III.: Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas: interdisziplinäre Ringvorlesung an der Universität Passau, 5.11.1997-26.5.1998*, ed. by T. Frenz, Stuttgart 2010. On his notion of the Church and the papacy, see W. Imkamp, *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz' III (1198-1216)*, Stuttgart 1983.

⁸⁵ See E. Brambilla, *Alle origini del Sant'Uffizio: Penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal medioevo al XVI secolo*, Bologna 2000; Del Col, *L'inquisizione in Italia*; and G. Romeo, *L'inquisizione nell'Italia moderna*, Rome and Bari 2009.

year, an unsuccessful attempt was made to convene an ecumenical council in Trent. This location was a concession to Charles V on the part of Paul III, who would have preferred the bishops to gather in Rome or in the Papal States. The pope had little interest in the participation of Protestant emissaries and feared the Conciliarist leanings of the Catholic episcopacy. A council held closer to Rome would have been easier to control and to suspend, if necessary.⁸⁶ The Fourth Lateran Council, summoned and directed by Innocent III, had set a precedent for a Roman venue, as had more recently the Fifth Lateran Council in the papacy of Leo X. That the contemporary resonance of the edition of Innocent's letters was not lost on Cervini is suggested by the entry in the partnership accounts of Blado and Giunta, in which the book is registered as 'Innocentio contro heres'.⁸⁷ Nor is it a coincidence that Innocent III's battle against heresy was praised by Maternus Cholinus in the introduction to his 1575 edition of the pope's writings. In his dedicatory letter to Gregory XIII, Cholinus stressed the relevance of the work to contemporary religious strife.⁸⁸

In 1542, Priscianese published sixteen letters by Pope Nicholas I (c. 800-867), combined with an account of his times excerpted from the chronicles of Regino of Prüm (d. 915) and Sigebert of Gembloux (c. 1030–1112). While both chronicles had

⁸⁶ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 506-510, and A. Prosperi, *Il Concilio di Trento: una introduzione storica*, Turin 2001, p. 28. When the council eventually took place in Trent in 1545, the pope secretly provided the cardinal legates with the authority to suspend it; and the assembly was moved to Bologna at the earliest possible occasion.

⁸⁷ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 131v.

⁸⁸ Innocent III, *Opera*, 1575, sigs *iir-*iiiv.

previously appeared in print,⁸⁹ the publication of the papal epistles was another *editio princeps* for Cervini and his collaborators. In Cervini's day, there were several manuscripts of Nicholas's letters in the Vatican Library.⁹⁰ We know that the editors collated at least two manuscripts, since the preface informs us that a new manuscript arrived at the press when the printing of the book was almost completed; as it was too late to emend the text, a list of variant readings was compiled from the new codex and inserted at the beginning of the volume.⁹¹ The manuscripts employed for the edition have not, however, been identified, even though the textual tradition of Nicholas's letters has been studied in depth.⁹² Nor have the editors been identified. The authors of the letter to the reader refer to themselves simply as 'we'.⁹³ The edition may have been prepared by a group of scholars, with Priscianese playing some part, as he did with Arnobius. It is tempting to assume that Sirleto also made a contribution to the book, as he probably did to the edition of Innocent III's decretals and letters; but, in the absence of any evidence, this must remain in the realm of

⁸⁹ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113 cum insertionibus ex historia Galfridi & additionibus Roberti abbatis Montis ...*, Paris, Henry Etienne and Jean Petit, 1513; and Regino of Prüm, *Annales ... ante sexingentos fere annos editi*, Mainz, Johann Schöffer, 1521.

⁹⁰ For the complex manuscript tradition, see E. Perels, 'Die Briefe Papst Nikolaus' I.: I', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 535-586; id., 'Die Briefe Papst Nikolaus' I.: II: Die kanonistische Überlieferung', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 43-153; and F. Schneider, 'Reise nach Italien (October und November 1902)', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXVIII, 1902, pp. 711-726, at pp. 717-724.

⁹¹ Nicholas I, *Epistolae*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1542, sigs +iiv-+vir: 'Commodum excudendo librum hunc absolveram, cum alterum Nicolai Pontificis epistolarum exemplar diligenter a nobis conquisitum adinvenimus: quod quidem cum percurrissemus, multa que[sic] aut plane diversa, aut emendatiora esse viderentur, placuit ea omnia abscribere. Tu fac bona consulas.' It is stated in *Epistolarum decretalium summorum pontificum tomus tertius*, Rome, Stamperia del Popolo Romano (Giorgio Ferrari), 1591, p. 4, that the sixteen letters in Priscianese's edition were taken from 'vetustissimis codicibus'.

⁹² An investigation of the printed editions was announced (but apparently never accomplished) in the only modern edition of the text: Nicholas I, 'Epistolae', ed. by E. Perels, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, VI, Berlin 1902-1925, pp. 257-690, at p. 266.

⁹³ Nicholas I, *Epistolae*, 1542, sig. +iir.

speculation.

The only predecessor to Cervini's interest in Nicholas I was the German controversialist Johannes Cochlaeus. In 1536, he published one of his typically pugnacious pamphlets, in which he included two letters by Nicholas – the first and the seventh in Priscianese's edition – and the excerpts from Regino and Sigebert. The pamphlet was certainly known to Cervini, who had close ties to Cochlaeus, and was the source from which Priscianese took the extracts of the two medieval chronicles.⁹⁴ Priscianese's edition was itself the precursor of later editorial enterprises of the Catholic Church. Several papal decretals were published in the *Corpus iuris canonici* issued in 1582 under Gregory XIII.⁹⁵ In 1589, moreover, Sixtus V entrusted a committee of cardinals with the task of publishing the decretals; and in 1591, the head of the committee, the cardinal librarian Antonio Carafa, brought out a massive three-volume collection from Clement I to Gregory VII, containing seventy letters by Nicholas I, which were given a scholarly apparatus of annotations.⁹⁶

Nicholas I was not well known to sixteenth-century readers; nevertheless, his papacy (858-869) was almost as significant as that of Innocent III. Nicholas was a

⁹⁴ Nicholas I, *Antiqua et insignis epistola ... ad Michaelem Imperatorem ... eiusdem Nicolai P.P. decreta ... brevis historiarum illius temporis commemoratio, ex Reginone ... ad Regem Angliae Henricum VIII. Defensio Ioannis Episcopi Rossen. et Thome Mori ... per Ioannem Cochleum: fragmenta quarundam Tho. Mori epistolarum ad Erasmum Rot. et ad Ioannem Coc.*, Leipzig, Melchior Lotter, 1536, esp. sigs Aiiir-Liiiii, Qiiir-Xiiiii.

⁹⁵ *Liber sextus decretalium d. Bonifacii papae VIII suae integritati una cum Clementinis et extravagantibus, earumque glossis restitutus*, 3 vols, Rome, Stamperia del Popolo Romano, 1582 and *Decretum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus illustratum una cum glossis, Gregorii XIII pont. max. iussu editum*, Rome, Stamperia del Popolo Romano, 1582.

⁹⁶ *Epistolarum decretalium tomus tertius*, pp. 3-268.

resolute supporter of the temporal and spiritual primacy of the pope, who extended the Roman Church's sphere of influence and who pursued a policy of independence from Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire. He fought against Eastern iconoclasm and the separatist tendency of the archbishops of Ravenna, Tours, Reims, Bourges, Trier and Cologne; and he was prepared to intervene in the election of the patriarch of Constantinople as well as in the private affairs of Frankish rulers.⁹⁷ On account of his importance for the history of the papacy, Ferdinand Gregorovius considered him to be the crucial link between Gregory the Great and Gregory VII.⁹⁸ In the sixteenth century, Nicholas's letters could provide valuable material for reconstructing the historical background to contemporary debates about theology and canon law.⁹⁹ According to the letter to the reader in Priscianese's edition, these epistles had been excavated, with Paul III's support, from the ruin and decay of present-day Rome and Italy because they were as fundamental for a historical understanding of those times as they were for the good government of the Church,¹⁰⁰ for they showed how to keep 'our religion' intact and inviolate.¹⁰¹ The three main themes in the letters were then set out: first, the pope's disputes with the

⁹⁷ There is no modern biography of him; but see F. Bougard, 'Niccolò I, Santo' in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, II, Rome 2000, pp. 1-22. On his understanding of temporal and spiritual power, see A. Greinacher, *Die Anschauungen des Papstes Nikolaus I. über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche*, Berlin and Leipzig 1909; E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papsttums im neunten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1920, pp. 151-180, 280-205; S. Vacca, "Prima Sedes a nemine iudicatur": *genesi e sviluppo storico dell'assioma fino al Decreto di Graziano*, Rome 1993, pp. 109-119.

⁹⁸ F. Gregorovius, *Storia della città di Roma nel Medio Evo*, V, Rome 1940, pp. 9-11.

⁹⁹ See Bougard, 'Niccolò I', and D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, Washington DC 2001, pp. 110-125.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas I, *Epistolae*, 1542, sig. +iir: 'In qua rerum omnium perturbatione, ac ruina, cum inter caetera diu iacuerint Nicolai primi Pontifici Maximi Epistolae, perutiles illae quidem, cum ad illorum temporum cognitionem, tum vero ad ecclesiam bene regendam maxime appositae, eas tandem aliquando adinventas Pauli III Pontifici Maximi beneficio habemus.'

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 'Ex quibus quidem Epistolis facile intelligimus quanta santissimi atque optimi viri cura, ac studium fuerit, ut religionem nostram ab omni labe integram inviolatam que[sic] servaret.'

Byzantine clergy over the appointment of the layman Photius as patriarch of Constantinople; secondly, the attempt by the recently converted church of Bulgaria to achieve independence (autocephaly); and, finally, the divorce of Lothair II of Lotharingia from his wife Teutberg, which was opposed and condemned by the Holy See. This last issue was not mentioned in the sixteen papal letters but rather in a brief account of the Synod of Metz of 863 (ff. CXXXXVII-CXXXXIX) and in the extracts from the chronicles of Regino and Sigebert (ff. CLI-CLXVII).

The pronouncements by Nicholas on matrimony marked an important milestone in the history of this sacrament. The pope had been forced to intervene as a result of the unacceptable behaviour of Lothair II and Ingiltrud, the unfaithful wife of Count Boso.¹⁰² In the 1540s, any discussion of marriage was overshadowed by the contentious divorce of the English monarch Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon. This polemic was no doubt the main reason for Cervini's choice of publication. Cochlaeus's 1536 pamphlet had been largely devoted to the recent events in England; and the two letters of Nicholas here included, together with some of the pope's decisions drawn from Gratian's *Decretals*, were intended to support the Catholic position and convince Reformed scholars to abandon their erroneous beliefs.¹⁰³ Cochlaeus presented the excerpts from the medieval chronicles of Regino and Sigebert as a sort of continuation of his arguments against Henry VIII's second marriage:¹⁰⁴ the story of Lothair which they narrated was, he said, 'an example to

¹⁰² See S. F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister (500 to 900)*, Philadelphia 1981, pp. 75-96.

¹⁰³ Nicholas I, *Antiqua et insignis epistola*, sigs Aiiir-Aiiv.

¹⁰⁴ Johannes Cochlaeus, *De matrimonio serenissimi Regis Angliae Henrici Octavi congratulatio disputatoria*, Leipzig, Michael Blum, 1535.

discourage the king from what he had undertaken'.¹⁰⁵ The pamphlet ended with a defence of the 'martyrs' John Fisher and Thomas More, along with some of their letters. By commissioning a publication of Nicholas I's letters, Cervini was pursuing much the same aim as Cochlaeus, though in a less overt way.

6.4. Pamphlets of Cardinal Bessarion and of Henry VIII

That the editions of Cardinal Bessarion and Henry VIII played a secondary role in Cervini's project is suggested by their smaller format compared to the folio volumes he had sponsored and by a somewhat lower typographical care in the pamphlets containing Henry's writings. Significantly, they were not first editions; however, these publications were outstanding examples of the recovery and reuse of first editions. They also conveyed messages which Cervini wanted to bring to life again. In order to grasp his intentions, we need to place these editions in their appropriate political contexts.

Bessarion's writings against the Turks were published in 1543 by Priscianese's press.¹⁰⁶ This collection of works comprised letters and orations addressed to the Italian rulers, calling on them to attack the Ottoman Empire and halt its expansion into the Balkans. The volume also included a Latin version of the first Olynthiac by Demosthenes, which Bessarion had translated as an exemplary exhortation to

¹⁰⁵ Nicholas I, *Antiqua et insignis epistola*, sigs Qiiiir, Riiiv.

¹⁰⁶ Bessarion, *Orationes de gravissimi periculis ... eiusdem de pace ... exhortatio*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1543.

action.¹⁰⁷ Bessarion had given manuscripts of all these works to the French humanist Guillaume Fichet, so that he could circulate them in the French court. Keen to support his friend's publicity campaign against the Turks, as well as to exploit the newly established press attached to the Sorbonne, Fichet published the texts in a quarto edition of 1471,¹⁰⁸ one of the first incunables printed in France. This edition, as has recently been pointed out, was a turning-point in the passage from manuscript to print technology: employing the two media interchangeably, Fichet preserved some typical features of the codex such as presentation copies tailored to individual recipients.¹⁰⁹ The press-run was, in fact, quite small, only around 100 copies, most of which were presented by Fichet to Northern European rulers and high-ranking prelates.¹¹⁰ The presentation copies were often printed on parchment – a small number of parchment copies were also distributed in manuscript – and bore specialized rubrications and illuminations, along with a personal dedication from the editor. In many of the copies, Fichet had the numerous typos corrected by hand. This operation was repeated four separate times, with the result that only a few copies were emended in full.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ For the historical and literary background, see N. Housley, *The Later Crusades (1274-1580): from Lyons to Alcazar*, New York 1992, pp. 107-112, 387, and N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, Philadelphia 2004, pp. 109-114. On Bessarion's translation of the first Olynthiac, see D. Tangri, 'Demosthenes in the Renaissance: A Case Study on the Origins and Development of Scholarship on Athenian Oratory', *Viator*, XXXVII, 2006, pp. 545-582, at pp. 557-558, 569-571, 580.

¹⁰⁸ Bessarion, *Epistolae et orationes*, [Paris, Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger, 1471] (ISTC, ib00519000). See M. Meserve, 'Patronage and Propaganda at the First Paris Press: Guillaume Fichet and the First Edition of Bessarion's "Orations against the Turks"', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XCVII, 2003, pp. 521-588, and L. A. Colliard, *Un ami savoyard du Cardinal Bessarion: Guillaume Fichet: ancien recteur de l'Université de Paris*, Fasano 2004.

¹⁰⁹ Meserve, 'Patronage and Propaganda', pp. 554-557.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 527, 538-540.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 586-588, for a list of the corrections and their appearance in the most important copies.

The exemplar given to King Edward IV of England, one of the most striking copies on parchment, was elegantly decorated, fully corrected and supplied with a printed dedicatory letter to Edward from Fichet. This outstanding volume was almost certainly originally kept in the Royal Library;¹¹² but, in unknown circumstances, it later entered the Vatican Library.¹¹³ As this was the very copy employed by Priscianese for his 1542 edition, it must have come into the papal collection by then. If, as seems likely, it was part of an exchange of gifts between the papacy and an English monarch, we can assume that Edward IV would not have re-gifted the volume and that neither Edward V nor Richard III would have had the time or opportunity, during their brief reigns, to arrange for the volume to be transported to Rome. The donation therefore probably occurred at some point after the accession of Henry VII in 1485 and before Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church in 1532-1534. The book was presumably used by the Tudor monarchs in connection with the diplomatic relations they established with Renaissance popes from Innocent VIII onwards: Henry VIII, in particular, was rewarded by Julius II, Leo X and Clement VII with several gifts as a champion of Catholicism and key ally of Rome.¹¹⁴ Both Henry VIII and Leo X were passionate book-collectors;¹¹⁵ and, as we shall see below, Henry gave two presentation copies

¹¹² See J. Backhouse, 'The Royal Library from Edward IV to Henry VII', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, III, ed. by L. Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, Cambridge 1999, pp. 267-273, and J. P. Carley, 'The Royal Library under Henry VIII', *ibid.*, pp. 274-281.

¹¹³ MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3586.

¹¹⁴ M. Mitchell, 'Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII: A Study of Anglo-Papal Relations as Reflected in Papal Gifts to the English King', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 178-203.

¹¹⁵ See *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, ed. J. P. Carley, London 2000. There is no trace of Edward IV's Bessarion in the early surviving records, which began with a list of the holdings in Richmond palace in February 1535 (*ibid.*, pp. 3-29).

of his *Assertio* against Luther (one manuscript and one printed book) to Leo in 1521. In the years 1519 and 1520, Henry attempted to convince Leo X of his commitment to the idea of embarking on a crusade against the infidel.¹¹⁶ A deluxe copy of the *editio princeps* of Bessarion's speeches, personally dedicated to one of Henry's royal predecessors, would have been the perfect gift to underscore his crusading zeal.

It was certainly Cervini who arranged for the precious copy of Bessarion's speeches and letters in the Vatican Library to be used for the new edition, since it was through his secretary, Angelo Massarelli, that Priscianese borrowed the book and returned it to the Vatican librarian, Agostino Steuco.¹¹⁷ Priscianese may also have had access to one or more of the three manuscripts of Bessarion's Latin version of the first Olynthiac in the Vatican Library.¹¹⁸ It is likely that he was the sole editor of the text, though it is possible that Niccolò Maiorano and Guglielmo Sirleto, because of their interest in Bessarion as a patron of Greek studies in their southern Italian homeland, contributed in some way. Relying on the *editio princeps* – and perhaps the Vatican manuscripts of Bessarion's Demosthenes translation – Priscianese was able to improve the only previous Italian edition, issued in Rome by Blado in 1537, especially by taking account of all the hand-written emendations in Edward IV's copy,¹¹⁹ and by including Fichet's letter of dedication and distich to the

¹¹⁶ Mitchell, 'Works of Art', pp. 181-183. According to Housley, *Later Crusade*, p. 446, this was merely a pose on Henry's part.

¹¹⁷ On 11 March 1543, Massarelli reported to Cervini (ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23, f. 1r): 'Sono stato con messer Francesco Priscianese, qual mi ha reso il Bessarione, et affrontò che a ponto Monsignore dela libreria [Steuco] venne anco lui a casa di detto messer Francesco così lo resi al' hora a sua Signoria.'

¹¹⁸ MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3585, 4037, 5356. See Tangri, 'Demosthenes', pp. 557-558, n. 83.

¹¹⁹ Two minor variants in the 1543 edition derive from mistakes in entering the hand-written corrections in Edward IV's copy of the *editio princeps*. Vat. lat. 3586, f. 15v.17: archidanii] Rome

English king. Bessarion's annotations to his translation of the first Olynthiac were also restored.¹²⁰

Was Cervini's aim in reprinting the book a desire to renew Bessarion's appeal to engage in battle against the Turks, or did he instead want to publish an elegant and celebratory edition? Although both goals may have played some part in the enterprise, the latter was more likely to have been the main impetus.

Paul III's plans for a crusade were too tentative and ambiguous for us to assume that Cervini's primary purpose was to publish a call to arms. The threat posed by the Ottoman advance in Europe was, to be sure, a grave concern to the papacy throughout the early modern period; and in 1542, plans for a crusade were in the mind of the pope in connection with the ecumenical council to be convened in Italy.¹²¹ Although Paul III often employed the idea of a crusade as a stratagem in his European political policy, he was well aware that the power gained by the Ottoman fleet of Suleiman the Magnificent over the Mediterranean required quick and effective counter-action. In the summer of 1537, the Curia had begun to fear for its own safety in the belief that an assault on Rome by the Turks was imminent; however, the Holy League of Spain, Genoa, Venice and Malta rapidly assembled by

1543, sig. diiir.23: Archidanuagesilai (for Archidanii Agesilai)]; Vat. lat. 3586, f. 29v.20: nostraque] Rome 1543, sig. giiv.7: nostra que].

¹²⁰ V. Pappas, 'Η λατινική μετάφραση του Α' Οlynthιακού Λόγου του Δημοσθένη από τον Καρδινάλιο Βησσαρίωνα', *Mediterranean Chronicle*, II, 2012, pp. 189-216, correctly describes Priscianese's edition as the best text available. The version in Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeca*, CLXI, pp. 669-676, relies on the inferior edition published by Blado.

¹²¹ For an insight into Paul III's complicated attitude towards a crusade, see K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, III, Philadelphia 1984, pp. 394-504, esp. pp. 450-479. For a concise account of military actions undertaken by Christian forces at this time, see Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 131-134.

the pope resulted in the defeat of Preveza in 1538. As with the plan to convene an ecumenical council, there never seemed to be an appropriate moment for a joint enterprise between European rulers. Since Paul III was determined to keep out of the struggle between Francis I and Emperor Charles V, he was reluctant to raise the delicate subject of a military campaign against the Turks. France, as an ally of the Turks, would not participate and might react by pushing forward the plan to hold a national church council or even by giving serious consideration to a full-scale separation from Rome along the lines of England. Charles, for his part, needed to reach a compromise with the Protestant rulers of the Empire before embarking on such a major military endeavour. Paul III did not want to encourage Charles V to grant any tolerance to Protestants, but the Reformed princes shrewdly refused to take part in a crusade unless the emperor acknowledged their faith and summoned an imperial diet. From the papacy's point of view, this was too high a price to pay for a crusade. During his meeting with Cardinal Farnese in Ghent in 1540, Cervini defended this position, opposing Charles V's plan to convene a diet in Speyer.¹²² The imperial forces were therefore left almost on their own in fight against the Ottomans in Hungary and in their disastrous expedition against Algiers.

In the spring of 1542, Paul III changed his mind about a crusade and finally decided to summon an ecumenical council in Trent by the end of the year.¹²³ Neither event, however, took place. Instead, a new Italian war broke out in July between Francis I and Charles V, with the Turks actively supporting France in besieging Nice

¹²² Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 83-86. See also Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 416-418.

¹²³ On the first, unsuccessful, attempt to convene a council in Trent, see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 499-544.

and the emperor enticing Henry VIII to enter the conflict on his side. The pope found himself once again in the uncomfortable role of frustrated peace-maker. Given the international political situation in 1542-1543, it is possible that Cervini wanted to promote a crusade as a means both of restoring peace between France and the Empire and of helping to ensure that the council at Trent would be convened. Nevertheless, Paul III's difficult balancing act in the ever-changing European scenario make it doubtful that Priscianese's Bessarion edition was intended primarily as a renewed call for a crusade against the Turks.

The book's philological accuracy and elegant layout, on the other hand, suggest that it was aimed at a learned readership. The reprint seems to have been designed to give the 1471 edition a new lease on life, as is indicated, firstly, by the inclusion of Fichet's dedication to Edward IV and Bessarion's letter to Fichet,¹²⁴ which had not appeared in the Paris edition of 1500 or in Blado's reissue,¹²⁵ but which, in the early 1540s, would only have been of interest to bibliophiles. Secondly, Priscianese deliberately copied the *mise en page* of the first Olynthiac in the *editio princeps*. In Fichet's edition, Bessarion's annotations were inserted into indents in the text columns,¹²⁶ an expedient to cope with marginalia which was typical of the incunable era but which was largely outdated in the 1540s. It was probably at Cervini's behest that Priscianese reproduced this old-fashioned technique in order to make the new edition resemble an incunable. He was certainly capable of printing marginalia next to the main text, in what by then was the usual

¹²⁴ Bessarion, *Orationes*, Rome 1543, sigs [a]iir-[a]iiiv.

¹²⁵ Bessarion, *Epistolae et orationes*, [Paris], Guy Marchant, 1500 (ISTC, ib00520000), and id., *Ad illustrissimos, inclitosque Italiae principes contra Turcas exhortatio*, Rome, Antonio Blado, 1537.

¹²⁶ Meserve, 'Patronage and Propaganda', pp. 541-542.

way, as he showed in his other two quarto editions.

Both these editions, published by Priscianese in 1543, were works by Henry VIII: his famous *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, written in response to Luther's *De captivitate babilonica ecclesiae*; and two letters which Henry and Luther exchanged some years later.¹²⁷ The pamphlets had originally been issued in London by Richard Pynson, the king's printer: the first in 1521 and the second in 1526. It might seem that Priscianese conceived of the editions as the two halves of a single volume: both shared the same page layout, average-quality paper and font. Lacking pagination, they had only signatures in lower-case letters, with 'b' the first to be printed. Finally, the edition of the letters was published with no imprint on the title-page and in two separate issues, one with a colophon at sig. fivv and one without,¹²⁸ it could therefore either be bound in after the *Assertio* or circulate independently.

Henry VIII had written the *Assertio* with the purpose of flattering the pope, obtaining a title for himself and pursuing his imperial ambitions. The book is a short defence of the Catholic sacraments and the papacy, intended to refute Luther's claims. As soon as it was completed in summer of 1521, several copies were sent to the English ambassador in Rome, John Clerck, to be presented to Leo X and some curial cardinals. A printed exemplar (now BAV, Membr. III.4) and a manuscript with

¹²⁷ Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutherum*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1543, and id., *Literarum, quibus ... Henricus VIII rex Angliae, et Franciae, dominus Hyberniae, ac fidei defensor respondit ad quandam epistolam Martini Lutheri ad se missam, et ipsius Lutheranae quoque epistolae exemplum*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1543. On the two works, see S. Nitti, *Auctoritas: l'Assertio di Enrico VIII contro Lutero*, Rome 2005, and the introduction to Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, ed. by P. Fraenkel, Münster 1992, pp. 1-103.

¹²⁸ See *EDIT16*, CNCE 22538 and 22556.

a splendid gold binding (now BAV, Vat. lat. 3731) were given to the pope.¹²⁹ Unsurprisingly, the pamphlet was promptly printed in Rome, promising a ten-year papal indulgence to readers and referring to Henry as ‘Fidei Defensor’, and including some celebratory verses by Clerk and Leo’s official announcement of Henry’s title.¹³⁰ Clerk’s speech to Leo and the pope’s reply were also added after the colophon on f. xvν, in two additional gatherings (sigs y⁴-z²). This expanded Roman edition was distributed throughout Europe.¹³¹ The *Assertio* immediately became a best-seller and one of the most widely read responses to Luther, even though it had little effect.¹³² The success of the publication has been attributed to the royal status of its author, the brevity of the text and the debate which it provoked among Lutheran and Catholic controversialists.¹³³ Although the work’s authorship began to be questioned early on, starting with Luther himself, recent scholarship has reached the conclusion that Henry did write the text, though with the help of expert theologians in his court (possibly Fisher, Lee, Wolsey or More).¹³⁴

Internal evidence shows that Priscianese’s source was the first English edition. The paratextual material added in the Roman edition would have seemed inappropriate to Cervini, given that, in 1543, Henry VIII was officially a schismatic.

¹²⁹ N. Vian, ‘La presentazione degli esemplari vaticani della “Assertio septem sacramentorum” di Enrico VIII’, in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Vatican City 1962, II, pp. 355-375. According to conventional wisdom, the precious binding was stolen during the Sack of Rome in 1527: *ibid.*, p. 371.

¹³⁰ Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, Rome, Etienne Guillery, 1521.

¹³¹ Thomas More, *The Complete Works, V: Responsio ad Lutherum*, ed. by J. M. Headley, New Haven 1969, p. 719.

¹³² For a list of the editions, with their title-pages, see Henry VIII, *Assertio*, 1992, pp. 49-87.

¹³³ Nitti, *Auctoritas*, pp. 188-200.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-70.

As with his Bessarion edition, Priscianese drew on a copy in the Vatican Library: at the end of his publication, at sig. uuir, after the *errata* and the colophon, we read: ‘Descriptus liber ex eo est, quem ad Leonem. X. pont. max. Rex ipse misit’ (‘The book was transcribed from the one which the king himself sent to Pope Leo X’). This statement could refer to a presentation copy of the *editio princeps* distributed in Rome in 1521 or to one of the two exemplars given by Clerck to Leo X. Massarelli’s report to Cervini in the spring of 1543 provides a further detail:

The book by the English king is supplied. Priscianese, however, has sent it for rebinding since he had it disbound in order to facilitate the printing. Afterwards, he will return it to me, and I will deliver it to messer Marcantonio, in accordance with his Most Reverend and Illustrious Lordship’s order.¹³⁵

As we do not know the identity of ‘messer Marcantonio’,¹³⁶ it is unclear if this ‘book by the English king’ was a loan from the Vatican Library; and, rather than the *Assertio*, it might refer to a copy of the letters exchanged by Henry and Luther, which were also published by Priscianese, or possibly even to both books treated as a single edition. Nonetheless, given the provenance statement in Priscianese’s edition of the *Assertio*, it seems safe to infer that Massarelli was referring to a copy of this treatise in the Vatican Library. It is therefore worth looking for evidence of a 1543 rebinding among the five copies now held there. All five were donated to the

¹³⁵ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 23, f. 1r: ‘Il libro del Re d’Anglia è fornito, ma perché per commodità de stamparlo il Priscianese l’havea sciolto, l’havea dato a rilegare, dappoi me lo renderebbe, et io lo darò a messer Marcantonio secondo l’ordine di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima et Illustrissima.’

¹³⁶ He is presumably the ‘Marcantonio l’Ameruzza’ mentioned at the end of the letter (*ibid.*, f. 1v).

library and appear to have entered it soon after 1521.¹³⁷ These are: the manuscript and printed book given to the pope; two exemplars (BAV, Membr. III 1-2) which may have been intended as presentation copies; and another (BAV, Membr. III 3), which is probably the copy presented by the English ambassador to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, later Paul III. Of these copies, Membr. III 1 seems to have been bound before entering the Vatican Library and can thus be excluded from consideration. The four remaining copies were rebound at different times: the manuscript (Vat. lat. 3731) has Cardinal Passionei's coat of arms;¹³⁸ the printed copy given to Leo X bears the coat of arms of Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700); Membr. III 2, according to Nello Vian, has a seventeenth-century binding; and Membr. III 3 has a beautifully tooled binding with the coat of arms and name of Paul III. Any of these four volumes could have received another new binding after the rebinding reported by Massarelli. An additional clue may be the absence in Priscianese's edition of the dedicatory distich by Henry, which was included in both copies given to Leo X and therefore casts doubt on the hypothesis that either of them was his source.¹³⁹ The copy given to Paul III could have been the one rebound after being used by Priscianese for his edition; if so, we can speculate that Paul lent Cervini his presentation copy, which was then rebound with his coat of arms, twenty-two years after it was given to him by Henry VIII. In this case, the volume loaned to Priscianese would have come, not from the Vatican Library, but rather from the

¹³⁷ The information on these bindings comes from Vian, 'La presentazione', pp. 370-374 and plates.

¹³⁸ On the library of this eighteenth-century learned cardinal librarian, see A. Serrai, *Domenico Passionei e la sua biblioteca*, Milan 2004.

¹³⁹ Vian, 'La presentazione', pp. 364-365, 371-372.

Farnese collection.¹⁴⁰

Turning now to the purpose of the edition, two questions immediately arise. Firstly, why reprint Henry VIII's famous treatise in 1543? Secondly, how does the *Assertio* fit into the context of the first attempt to establish a papal printing press? Silvana Nitti, in her recent study, convincingly refuted the idea that the *Assertio* was reissued by Priscianese in preparation for the ecumenical council and that the work inspired the Tridentine decree on the publication and use of sacred books (Sessio IV, 2). She does not, however, offer a specific reason for re-issuing the treatise in 1543, apart from its utility as a defence of the Catholic position on sacraments.¹⁴¹ The *Assertio* undoubtedly retained its value as a polemical work: the arguments were orthodox, well grounded and learned. It concisely illustrated the legitimacy of the Catholic sacraments and, most importantly, made strong claims in support of papal supremacy. Yet, although the content was indisputably Catholic, its authorship had been controversial since Henry VIII's rift with Rome, after which it was not reissued until Priscianese's edition in 1543. In the 1530s and early 1540s, when Henry still played a defining role on the European stage, the *Assertio* was equally embarrassing to the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Reformed churches. Cervini and Priscianese were the first to breach this taboo. That this was a deliberate choice is evident, since they could have chosen to publish any of the numerous anti-Lutheran tracts which by then were available.

¹⁴⁰ See F. Fossier, *La bibliothèque Farnèse: étude des manuscrits Latin et en langue vernaculaire*, Rome 1982, along with R. Mouren, 'La bibliothèque du Palais Farnèse'. If the scenario I have suggested is true, Marcantonio Ameruzza could have been a servant of the Farnese family to whom the book was returned after rebinding.

¹⁴¹ Nitti, *Auctoritas*, pp. 180-182, esp. n. 324.

To gain a deeper understanding of this matter, it will be useful to take a closer look at the Roman and English context in the early 1540s. In the first place, Henry's policy towards the Continent was difficult for contemporary witnesses to interpret and has remained so for modern scholars. George W. Bernard, however, has recently argued persuasively that English religious and foreign policy was carefully engineered by Henry in an attempt to support his own internal reform of the Anglican church, which he wanted to keep equidistant from both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. He therefore, according to Bernard, adopted an Erasmian line.¹⁴² The Act of Six Articles (1539), a conservative royal statute reinforcing existing laws against heresy, and the events of 1540 – Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves, the fall of Thomas Cromwell and the interruption of the talks with the Schmalkadic League – might have been mistakenly interpreted at the time as steps towards a return to Catholicism and a possible rapprochement with Rome.¹⁴³ But things, of course, turned out very differently, with Henry once again pursuing his own reform of the Anglican church before the end of 1540. In any case, Paul III regarded Henry as an archenemy of the papacy and especially feared the possibility of an English alliance with either France or the Holy Roman Empire. Cervini was well aware of all this. As one of the shrewdest cardinals in the diplomatic service of Paul III, he had up-to-date knowledge of the pope's intricate dealings with European powers. In the autumn of 1541, together with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Cervini represented Paul in meetings with the imperial

¹⁴² G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, New Haven and London 2005.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 542-594, for a new interpretation of this much-debated period in Henry VIII's reign.

ambassadors Nicholas Perrenot de Grenville and the Marquis of Aguilar held in Bologna and Rome. These talks produced no result other than reinvigorating the mutual mistrust between the emperor and the pope.¹⁴⁴

The problem of England emerged again as one of the most delicate issues related to the summoning of an ecumenical council. Up to 1540, the pope had planned to use the council as a platform for launching a crusade against Henry VIII, which would enable him both to sidestep the demand for curial reform and to gain more control of the assembly. In late 1530s, however, Charles V and Henry VIII had become interested in repairing their relationship, as evidenced in England by the victories of the moderate party in court.¹⁴⁵ In 1542, a new conflict between Francis I and Charles V broke out in Italy; and the Turks rapidly joined France against their common enemy.¹⁴⁶ The emperor also needed an ally and looked to England. The Curia, for its part, became very agitated in July 1542 about the possibility of a marriage between Henry VIII and a relative of Charles V, after Catherine Howard's execution.¹⁴⁷ The wedding never took place, but in February 1543 Henry did ally himself with Charles for a joint invasion of France. Paul III was said to be even more angered by the imperial-English alliance than he was by the one between France and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 502-504.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-397.

¹⁴⁶ M. Mallett and C. Shaw, *The Italian Wars (1494-1559): War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Harlow 2012, pp. 236-243.

¹⁴⁷ As the Florentine envoy in Rome, Averardo Serristori, reported to Ugolino Grifoni and Duke Cosimo de' Medici in ASF, *Mediceo del Principato, Relazioni con Stati Italiani ed Esteri: Stati Italiani: Roma*, vol. 3264, ff. 450, 453.

¹⁴⁸ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, p. 504, and Mallett and Shaw, *The Italian Wars*, p. 246.

This complex political background suggests that Cervini's publication of Henry VIII's *Assertio* and his brief correspondence with Luther was not part of a plan to induce the English king to return to the Roman Catholic fold – an option which was no longer on the table and which would fly in the face of his recent publication of Pope Nicholas I's decrees on divorce – but was instead intended to undermine Henry's alliance with Charles V. Reprinting Henry's early writings in 1543 enabled Cervini to land a blow simultaneously on Luther, the target of the pamphlets, and on Henry, the former Catholic champion who betrayed his faith. Contemporary readers, whatever their confession, could be counted on to remember that the *Assertio* had earned the English king the title of 'Defensor Fidei' – an ill omen in Catholics' eyes and a disgraceful honour in those of Protestants. The *Assertio* was an embarrassment to Henry VIII after his break with Rome, and he had tried to distance himself from the treatise in 1535 by blaming it on the 'papist' influence of Thomas More, who was executed in July of that year.¹⁴⁹ The history of this work, finally, provided a vivid illustration of the deep divisions within the Reformed world – an argument often employed by Catholic controversialists to demonstrate the falsity of heretical belief, in contrast to the unifying power of the true faith. No other anti-Lutheran treatise could offer Cervini so many polemical opportunities.

The two letters exchanged between Luther and Henry VIII were a 'story in the

¹⁴⁹ For the events leading up to Henry's accusation against More, see Nitti, *Auctoritas*, pp. 61-67.

story of the *Assertio*'.¹⁵⁰ After the publication of the Henry's pamphlet in 1521, Luther felt the need to answer the English king's charges. He did so in a slanderous pamphlet, in which, among other offences, he rejected Henry's authorship of the text. This work, entitled *Contra Henricum*, provoked a flood of leaflets in defence of the king. After addressing an official complaint to the pro-Lutheran dukes of Saxony – Frederick, John and George – Henry stepped back from the brawl and let his courtiers carry it on in his behalf.¹⁵¹ The quarrel between Henry VIII and Luther eventually died down; but in 1525, Luther re-ignited it. The exiled king of Denmark, Christian II, and the German humanist Georg Spalatin had informed him that the English kingdom might be about to embrace the Reformation. Luther had also heard rumours that Henry VIII had dismissed Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, the powerful Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor and bulwark of the Catholic Church. Duped by such gossip, Luther took up his pen and wrote a private letter to Henry, apologizing for his past behaviour. Yet, while professing to be deeply sorry, he openly insulted Wolsey, continued to deny Henry's authorship of the *Assertio* and exhorted the king to join forces with the Protestant princes of Germany. Henry, on receiving the missive, assumed that Luther must be desperate to secure new allies.¹⁵² He responded by writing a severe and contemptuous reply, reaffirming his Catholic faith, his trust in Wolsey and his authorship of the *Assertio*.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 423: 'Una storia nella storia è la vicenda della lettera di Lutero scritta a Enrico nel 1525 ...'; see also pp. 423-425, for this 'story'.

¹⁵¹ See R. Rex, 'The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XXXIX, 1989, pp. 85-106, and E. Doernberg, *Henry VIII and Luther: An Account of Their Personal Relations*, London 1961.

¹⁵² On Luther's intentions and Henry's understanding of his letter, cf. the contrasting interpretations in *ibid.*, pp. 49-62, and N. S. Tjernagel, *Henry VIII and the Lutherans: A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547*, St Louis 1965, pp. 26-33.

Several donation copies of the epistolary exchange were printed and sent to European rulers, especially German princes – the same strategy of self-promotion which Henry had adopted for the *Assertio*. He then had the epistles published in both Latin and English by his royal printer Pynson.¹⁵³ In the preface and marginalia of this pamphlet, Henry presented Luther’s letter as a pathetic and ineffective attempt to atone for his mistakes; and, after his extensive refutation of Luther’s claims, he asked sardonically: ‘Velisne Luther responsum clementius hoc?’ (‘Do you wish this response to be more conciliatory, Luther?’).¹⁵⁴ The two letters soon began to circulate on the Continent, in both Latin and German, and were portrayed by Catholic polemicists – including Hieronymus Emser, Johannes Cochlaeus and Johann Fabri – as Luther’s repudiation of his heresy.¹⁵⁵ Fifteen years later, this view was clearly untenable; nevertheless, the document remained a very awkward episode for proponents of the Reformation.

As with the *Assertio*, Priscianese’s edition of the letters was based on the first English printing (2 December 1526), not on the edition published in Rome (12

¹⁵³ Henry VIII, *Literarum, quibus invictissimus princeps, Henricus octavus ... respondit, ad quandam epistolam Martini Lutheri, ad se missam, et ipsius Lutheranae quoque epistolae exemplum*, London, Richard Pynson, 1526, and id., *A copy of the letters, wherin ... our soverayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght ... made answeere vnto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther, sent vnto him by the same, and also the copy of the foresaid Luthers letter ...*, London, Richard Pynson, [1526].

¹⁵⁴ Henry VIII, *Literarum exemplum*, London 1526, sig. G[2]r.

¹⁵⁵ Martin Luther, *Ein sendbrieve Martin Luther’s an den Konig zu Engelland Heinrichen dis nhamens den achten, darinn er vertzicht unnd gnad bittet, umb das damit er gemelten König ... verletzt hab ... des Hern Heynrichen des achten ... antwurt ... einem itzlichen Christen nutzlich ... zulesen*, [Leipzig, s. n., 1527]; id., *Epistola Martini Lutheri, ad ... D. Henricum, huius nominis octavum, ... eiusdem ... Regis ... responsio: admonitio Iohannis Coclaei in utranque epistolam: responsio item Lutheri contra Regis epistolam, cum eiusdem Iohannis Coclaei annotationibus: brevis denique discussio responsionis Lutheri ... etiam per Iohannem Coclaeum*, Cologne, Peter Quentel, 1527 (April edition); Johann Fabri, *Underricht und gegenantwort Doctor Johann Fabri uber die zornige und lesterschrift Martini Luthers von wegen widerr[ue]ffs des sich Luther gegen dem Durchleutigisten Künig von Engelland erbottenn hatt*, Vienna, Hieronymus Vietor, 1528.

March 1527).¹⁵⁶ The 1526 English publication contained: a warning to the pious reader, Luther's letter, Henry VIII's reply and some verses at the end in praise of the king, explicitly hailing him as 'Fidei Defensor'. In the 1527 Roman edition, a letter of appreciation from Clement VII to Henry was added at the beginning of the book (sigs [Aiv-Biiv]), as were several Latin poems in honour of the English monarch written by minor Roman humanists (Marco Girolamo Vida, Marco Antonio Casanova, Paolo Sadoletto, Prudenzio Basso and Armonio Tarentino). Significantly, however, Luther's letter was omitted. Priscianese's 1543 edition, in both issues, followed the English edition and included Luther's letter, omitting only the verses at the end in praise of Henry.¹⁵⁷ The early Catholic reception of the pamphlet explains the decision to restore Luther's letter: it would make the book as damaging to Luther as it was to Henry.

The two pamphlets of Henry VIII's writings published by Priscianese encountered little success in the second half of the sixteenth century: they were printed only three times. All three printings contained both the *Assertio* and the exchange of letters between Henry and Luther, and were issued in France in the early 1560s as part of the controversies between Catholic and Huguenots over the sacraments during the Wars of Religion. The publisher Guillaume Rouillé brought out an edition in Lyon in 1561. It was clearly based on the two pamphlets printed by

¹⁵⁶ Henry VIII, *Literarum quibus invictissimus princeps ... exemplum*, Rome, Francesco Minuzio Calvo, 1527.

¹⁵⁷ My collation of the marginalia of the three editions has confirmed that the English text was Priscianese's source; see esp.: London 1526, sig. B8v.1-3: Lutheran[a]e virtut[is] circulus.] Rome 1527, f. Ciiir.25-27: (omission)] Rome 1543 (both issues), sig. cir.7-9: Lutheranae virtutis circulus.]. The numerous mistakes in the biblical references in Priscianese's edition originated in the *editio princeps*, not the Roman edition. See, e.g.: London 1526, sig. F3v.1: Roma.16.] Rome 1527, sig. Fivr.6: Roma.6.] Rome 1543 (both issues), sig. fiv.7: Rom.I.]

Priscianese: at the end of the *Assertio*, Rouillé reprinted the provenance statement (‘*Descriptus liber ex eo est ...*’) which had appeared in the 1543 edition; and he gave the letters between Luther and Henry a plain title-page, resembling the one used by Priscianese.¹⁵⁸ The book begins with a letter to the reader, a long preface by the French controversialist Gabriel de Saconay and three letters – by Erasmus, John Fisher and Alberto Pio da Carpi – praising Henry’s writings. The paratexts presented Henry as a Catholic hero, even though the initial letter alerted readers to quarrels within the Reformed camp, perhaps alluding to Henry himself and hinting at the incongruity of his Catholic writings.¹⁵⁹ Saconay’s preface contained a historical compendium of heresies, directed in particular against Luther, Johannes Sleidanus and, given the French context, John Calvin. Concluding his account, he could not avoid mentioning Henry’s schism with the Roman Catholic Church, which he placed, however, in 1540, presumably with the reactionary Act of Six Articles in mind. When discussing the English Reformation, Saconay paid attention almost exclusively to the orthodox conception of sacraments in early Anglicanism: the importance of the mass, transubstantiation of the eucharist, the sacramental status of holy orders, chastity, auricular confession, the rejection of communion in both kinds (wine as well as bread) and marriage of the clergy. Most importantly, because of its bearing on the current religious conflict in France, Saconay approved of the English equation of heresy with the crime of *lèse-majesté*. The later (and much less Catholic) development of Anglicanism under Edward VI and Elizabeth I was completely

¹⁵⁸ Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum ... Literarum, quibus ... Henricus VIII ... respondit ... exemplum*, Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1561, pp. 147-[149].

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. [ii].

ignored.¹⁶⁰ At the end of the book, Saconay addressed the reader again, highlighting the inconsistency of Luther's beliefs and his contemptible behaviour: Luther's vile letter revealed how quickly he had contradicted himself and betrayed his deceived supporters by seeking Henry's forgiveness.¹⁶¹

The works were published again in Paris a year later in an edition issued under two different imprints: that of Guillaume Des Bois and that of Sébastien Nivelles. This shared edition for the most part followed the Lyonnaise volume.¹⁶² The image of Henry as a pious king was, however, re-enforced by including John Fisher's *Assertionis Regiae defensio*, which added a further episode to the story of Henry's treatise.

The French editions presented Henry VIII as a Catholic writer and relied on Priscianese's text. Unlike the editions printed by Priscianese and sponsored by Cervini, however, there was no hint of an anti-English political intent. This was, no doubt, because the historical circumstances were very different. Not only had Henry VIII died fifteen years earlier, but in 1562 French Catholics were in revolt against the concessions which the king made to Huguenots in January in the Edict of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, causing the book market to be flooded with past and present

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. lxxviii-lxxx.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. [196].

¹⁶² Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Mart. Lutherum, Henrico VIII Angliae Rege auctore: cui subnexa est eiusdem regis epistola, Assertionis ipsius contra eundem defensoria: accedit quoque r. p. d. Iohan. Roffen. episcopi contra Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam, Assertionis regiae defensio*, Paris, Guillaume Des Bois, 1562, and Paris, Sébastien Nivelles, 1562. The only differences from the Lyonnaise publication were the addition of a brief letter to the reader from the printer, at f. 101v, and an anticipation of the second letter to the reader, which in this joint edition is placed between the letters of Luther and Henry.

polemical tracts. As an example of this trend, in addition to the joint Parisian edition of Henry's works published in 1562, another Paris bookseller, Michel Julian, brought out in the same year editions containing works by Cochlaeus, Fisher and Richard Smith.¹⁶³

6.5. Additional publications

Along with these six books which Priscianese published for Cervini, we can perhaps mention his Greek-Latin edition of the medical treatise on waters by the ancient physician Oribasius, since it was printed with Onorio's Greek types.¹⁶⁴ The Greek text in this edition might have been based on a codex in the Vatican Library, MS Vat. gr. 288; but establishing this will require further investigation.

Priscianese was also involved in the publication of *Aegidiane Constitutiones* by Cardinal Gil Álvarez Carrillo de Albornoz, a fourteenth-century corpus of laws regulating the administration of the Church's domain.¹⁶⁵ In 1539, Paul III entrusted Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi with the revision of this work.¹⁶⁶ Supported by a

¹⁶³ Johannes Cochlaeus, *Adversus Lutheri articulos, quos in Concilio generali proponendos scripserat ...*, Paris, Michel Julian, 1562; John Fisher, *Sacri sacerdotii defensio contra Lutherum: item, addita est epistola divi Cypriani ad Cornelium fratrem*, Paris, Michel Julian, 1562; Richard Smith, *Confutatio eorum quae Philippus Melancthon obiicit [sic] contra Missae sacrificium propitiatorium: cui accessit et repulsio calumniarum Ioannis Calvinii, et Musculi, contra Missam, et Purgatorium*, Paris, Michel Julian, 1562.

¹⁶⁴ Oribasius, *De aquis ... περὶ ὑδάτων*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese, 1543.

¹⁶⁵ Among the vast literature devoted to this work, see esp. P. Colliva, *Il cardinale Albornoz, lo stato della Chiesa, le 'Constitutiones Aegidianae' (1353-1357): con in appendice il testo volgare delle costituzioni di Fano dal ms. Vat. lat. 3939*, Bologna 1977, and W. Weber, *Die Constitutiones Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae des Kardinals Aegidius Albornoz von 1357: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Strafrechtsnormen*, Aalen 1982.

¹⁶⁶ See C. Hoffmann, *Kardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi und seine Reform der Aegidianischen Konstitutionen*, Berlin 1989.

team of jurists, Pio, in his capacity as legate of the March of Ancona, reorganised Albornoz's six books, including new material (genuine, pseudonymous and later), and adding *Aegidiana*, referring to Gil's authorship, to the title.¹⁶⁷ At some point in 1543, Cardinal Pio commissioned Priscianese to print the official edition, which bore Pio's coat of arms on the title-page. According to the colophon of the substantial folio volume, Priscianese published the text in 1543; in fact, however, it was completed, two years later, by a different printer, the widow of Baldassarre Cartolari, Girolama.¹⁶⁸ The reason for the delay was that the necessary papal approval was not forthcoming until 10 September 1544. By that time, Priscianese's firm was in deep financial trouble, and he was unable to fulfil the commission. Cardinal Pio therefore entrusted the completion of the printing to Girolama Cartolari. When the *Constitutiones* were eventually published, they were widely distributed throughout the Papal States.¹⁶⁹ We do not know, however, whether Priscianese managed to benefit from this profitable publication. On paper, the papal privilege addressed to him should have protected his interests;¹⁷⁰ but he may have been forced to transfer the privilege to Cartolari, when she took over the printing.

The Priscianese-Cartolari edition of the *Constitutiones* was extremely important, since it set a precedent for later printings of the treatise, beginning with

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-133, for a list of the extensive modifications made by Pio.

¹⁶⁸ *Aegidiana constitutiones*, Rome, Francesco Priscianese and Girolama Cartolari, 1543-1545, ff. [1v, 23v-24v], 147v. For a description of the edition, see Colliva, *Il cardinale Albornoz*, pp. 502-503. Ridolfi, 'Un'edizione del Priscianese', was the first to identify this book as one of Priscianese's editions.

¹⁶⁹ In this particular case, the present location of the numerous extant copies in Italian libraries is probably indicative of the work's initial distribution; see *EDIT16*, CNCE 311.

¹⁷⁰ *Aegidiana constitutiones*, f. [1v].

the Venetian editions of the late sixteenth century.¹⁷¹ Strictly speaking, however, it was not financed by Cervini and is therefore absent from the partnership accounts. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that Cervini played some part in obtaining the work for Priscianese. In the early 1540s, the link between Pio da Carpi and Cervini was quite strong, especially in religious matters. Not only would they both take an active part in the Roman Inquisition later in the decade, but, starting in 1542, they also worked together in supervising the troublesome Franciscan Conventuals: as cardinal-protector of the Franciscans, Pio asked Cervini to be his deputy and help him cope with several delicate cases of heresy and doctrinal deviation within the order.¹⁷² The two cardinals were also early supporters of the Jesuits, whom Pio supervised as cardinal-protector for some time after 1544.¹⁷³ Another potential piece of evidence for Cervini's involvement is an entry in his library catalogue which might refer to the Priscianese-Cartolari edition.¹⁷⁴ More importantly, however, Pio was definitely aware of Cervini's printing projects, since he was the recipient of the Greek press's two publications.¹⁷⁵ It is very likely that Pio decided to take advantage of Cervini's Latin press, which was regarded – as I argued in Chapter 4 – as a proto-papal press. Pio's edition of the *Constitutiones Aegidiane* fits in well with the works which Priscianese printed for Cervini; and the large folio format and elegant font

¹⁷¹ See Colliva, *Il cardinale Albornoz*, pp. 244-252, 503-505.

¹⁷² On their intervention, Quaranta, pp. 167-168, 177-179. See also B. Katterbach, 'De Cardinali Rodulpho Pio de Carpo protectore O. F. M. nominato anno 1541', *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum*, XVI, 1923, pp. 557-558.

¹⁷³ J. Wicki, 'Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, ester und einziger Kardinalprotektor des Gesellschaft Jesu', *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, XXI, 1959, pp. 243-267. For Cervini's involvement with the Jesuits, see Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 303-310, 351-356.

¹⁷⁴ Piacentini, *La biblioteca di Marcello II*, p. 76, n. D17: 'Egidii Albornotii de constitutione [?] ecclesiae.'

¹⁷⁵ Copies of Eustathius and Theophylact were given to 'Reverendissimo Cardinale di Carpi' (ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, ff. 129r, 130r, transcribed in Pettas, *The Giunti: Merchant Publishers*, pp. 312-313).

undoubtedly gave it the air of an official publication.

6.6 Conclusion

To recap the main points in this chapter on Cervini's Latin press, I began by examining Priscianese's life, focusing on his early years in Rome and his acquaintance with the circle of exiled Florentines living there. I then reconsidered the documentary evidence concerning his Latin press and argued that the information about it found in the accounts of the Blado and Giunta partnership was only partially reliable. A more accurate picture of the press emerged from the correspondence of contemporary scholars and from the unpublished papers of Cervini. The remainder of the chapter dealt in detail with the books published by Priscianese on behalf of Cervini. Each edition revealed aspects of the underlying aims of Cervini's project. First and foremost, its purpose was to promote the writings of the Church Fathers and to challenge Reformed scholarship in the field of patristic philology. Secondly, great importance was assigned to ecclesiastical history, which was fundamental for justifying the Roman Catholic Church's religious and political positions in their conflict with Protestants and with some controversial elements within the Catholic world. Continuity with the past, even if superficial, was thought to undermine the beliefs of the Church's opponents, which were treated as heretical departures from tradition. Priscianese's three major publications (Arnobius, Nicholas I and Innocent III) advanced these two strategies. Thirdly, Cervini's desire to contribute to classical scholarship found an outlet in the publication of Bessarion's orations against the Turks. As with the edition of Eustathius's

commentaries on Homer, it can be ascribed to his passion for Greek literature, a vestige of his education and juvenile interests which persisted into his maturity, when the defence of the Church became by far his chief concern. The aims of Cervini's project were long-term: he had little interest in pursuing short-lived polemical strategies. The sole exception was the republication of Henry VIII's writings against Luther, which seems to have been designed to embarrass both the former Catholic monarch and the most emblematic figure of the Reformation.

Understanding the political context in which these editions were published is crucial to analysing the output of Cervini's Latin press. The events of 1541-1544, so important for the Catholic Church, had an impact on the choice of works for publication. During these four years, the papacy finally abandoned its dithering and confused approach to the Reformation – by then a pressing matter not only in the Holy Roman Empire, but also in a large part of Europe, including Italy. After the failure of the last illusory attempts at reconciliation with German Protestants in the Diet of Regensburg (1541), the convening of an ecumenical council and the renewal of the Roman Inquisition were seen as complementary measures to contain the spread of Protestantism and define Catholic orthodoxy once and for all. At various times, Paul III's religious policy was influenced by the wars in Italy and Germany, his conflict with Emperor Charles V, the Turkish threat and the break of the English church from Rome. Cervini's editorial programme, however, was sufficiently far-sighted to remain untouched by any sudden changes in the international political scene. There is no evidence that events caused him to alter his publication plans. It

was instead financial problems which brought about the collapse of Cervini's innovative project to exploit the printing press in the service of the Catholic Church.

PART II

PAOLO MANUZIO: PRINTER OF THE POPES (1552-1574)

Paolo Manuzio, the son of the celebrated printer and humanist Aldo, was born in Venice in 1512. He carried on the family tradition, becoming a respected teacher, a prominent Latin scholar and a learned printer. Most importantly for our purposes, he was the first ever papal printer. The establishment of a papal press and Manuzio's residence in Rome from 1561 to 1570 have featured in scholarship on sixteenth-century Italy and the contemporary Catholic Church. Nevertheless, this story has for the most part been treated as a bibliographical curiosity and nowadays tends to be mentioned only tangentially in studies of the period.

In this second part of my dissertation, after providing an overview of the sources and earlier literature in Chapter 7, the following four chapters will investigate topics which have attracted relatively little scholarly attention but are crucial for understanding the historical circumstances surrounding the establishment of the first papal press. Chapter 8 deals with the attempts made by Paolo Manuzio to move to Rome as a lecturer and/or papal printer, both before 1561 and after 1570, and the consistent support he received from the Curia. Chapter 9 reconstructs in detail the lengthy negotiations preceding the setting up of Pius IV's press. Chapter 10 concentrates on the committee of cardinals placed in charge of the papal press and the continuing curial backing given both to the project and to Manuzio himself. Finally, Chapter 11 dwells on one of the most important publications of Manuzio's

Roman press: the 1564 *editio princeps* of the decrees issued by the Council of Trent. This pivotal case study highlights some major concerns (up to now overlooked) of the Roman Curia in harnessing printing as a means of propaganda.

Throughout, I have tried to place the facts in their broader cultural context, locating them on the borderline between the late Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation. During these years, several crucial issues which had arisen in the Catholic Church in previous decades came to a head, and a clear direction for the future was established. Twenty years after it was first called, the Council of Trent closed on 4 December 1563, handing over to the papacy some of its more challenging responsibilities: the revision of the Missal, the Breviary and the Index of Forbidden Books; the compilation of a Catholic catechism; and the possibility of allowing laymen access to the chalice during mass.¹ Meanwhile, the struggle within the Church hierarchy over its approach to the Reformation and to less radical religious heterodoxies was coming to an end. The Roman Inquisition had at last managed to confine and suppress the remains of the fragmented imperial-*spirituali* party, which since the 1540s had been seeking a reconciliation or at least some form of compromise with the Protestants.² Finally, strict control over the reading of books, which had started with Paul IV's Index of 1558-1559 and which had survived both criticism and attempts at mitigation, was imposed on Italian Catholics shortly after the closure of the Council of Trent.³ Reflections of all these circumstances can

¹ Prosperi, *Il Concilio*, pp. 70-71, 86-87; L. von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del medio evo*, 17 vols, Rome 1955-1964 (original German ed.: Freiburg i. B. 1899-1933), VII, Rome 1950, pp. 272-364.

² Del Col, *L'inquisizione in Italia*, pp. 395-406, 416-422, 424-434.

³ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 75-142; Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 81-92; *ILL*, VIII-IX.

be seen in the transfer of power from Pius IV (1560-1565) to Pius V (1566-1571), popes who shared the same name but pursued opposing policies. Against this backdrop, the establishment and subsequent collapse of the first papal press, even though a relatively minor event, becomes significant and raises a number of important issues and questions related to the institutional communication of the Catholic Church and its attitude towards printing.

7. Primary Sources and Secondary Literature

Although a large amount of relevant documentation has been preserved, there is still no modern biography of Paolo Manuzio.¹ Above all, we have his copious correspondence, which has been thoroughly catalogued by Ester Pastorello;² these letters are one of my main sources in this second part of the dissertation.³ Due to the renown of the cast of characters in this drama, moreover, a good deal of additional documentary material is also available. I have systematically explored three archives. The Archivio di Stato of Rome preserves the acts of the *Camera Apostolica* and the Archivio Storico Capitolino those of the Commune of Rome; so, together, they provide archival documentation on the two owners of the Stamperia.⁴ The Archivio Segreto Vaticano holds documents which tell us about papal bulls and about decisions by the Congregation of Cardinals in charge of supervising the new press.⁵ Another important source is private correspondence from the period. In sixteenth-century Italy, writing letters was a powerful means of both communication and self-promotion, as well as a widespread literary practice among the learned.

¹ A short account of his life is to be found in T. Sterza, 'Manuzio, Paolo', in *DBI*, LXIX, Rome 2007, pp. 250-254, with earlier bibliography.

² Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, Florence 1957, and her *Inedita manutiana*. Three new letters have been presented in H. G. Fletcher, 'Paulus Manutius in Aedibus Populi Romani: The Campaign for Rome', in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. by D. Zeidberg, Florence 1998, pp. 287-321.

³ This fascinating corpus comprises more than 1,300 letters either written by or addressed to Manuzio from 1530 to 1574. It is scattered in various publications, some of which are quite rare.

⁴ I have explored the following *fondi* of the ASR: *Archivio del Commissariato Generale della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*; *Archivio Notai della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*; *Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini*; *Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini*. I have also searched for material in two sections of the Archivio Storico Capitolino in Rome (*Archivio della Camera Capitolina* and *Archivio Boccaduli*), but without finding much of interest.

⁵ I have explored the following *fondi* of the ASV: *Archivio Concistoriale*; *Camera Apostolica*; *Concilio Tridentino*; *Congregazione del Concilio*.

Numerous collections of letters have survived, providing valuable evidence and clues, if treated with care.⁶ Together with the correspondence of Paolo and his son Aldo the Younger, I have examined the letters of three cardinals who played a central role in the story: Carlo Borromeo, Girolamo Seripando and Guglielmo Sirleto.⁷ The books published by the Stamperia have also yielded important information. The paratexts (dedications, prefatory letters, addresses to the reader and printing privileges) help to explain publishing objectives and to reveal the key figures involved in the publication of each book: editors, translators and patrons. In addition, a general analysis of the production of the Stamperia is necessary in order to discern the aims and expectations of its backers and supporters – above all, the Holy See. To deal as effectively as possible with both these matters, I have compiled, in Documentary Appendix B, a short-title catalogue of all the items published by Paolo Manuzio in Rome, in which I have corrected occasional mistakes in earlier scholarship.

Moving now to the secondary literature, it is striking how few previous studies of this subject have been undertaken. That these, moreover, are all the work of bibliographers has both advantages and drawbacks. While they have produced exhaustive data on the books and editions published by Paolo Manuzio from 1561 to 1570, they have dealt with the press entirely from the perspective of the printer,

⁶ See the remarks on this subject by G. Fragnito, ‘Per lo studio dell’epistolografia volgare del Cinquecento: le lettere di Ludovico Beccadelli’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, XLIII, 1981, pp. 61-87, at pp. 62-63, 67-71, 77-79, 86; and “*Le carte messaggere*”: *retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare: per un indice dei libri di lettere nel Cinquecento*, ed. by A. Quondam, Rome 1981.

⁷ Borromeo’s letters are preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. Seripando’s private correspondence is held, for the most part, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples. As mentioned above, the numerous letters of Sirleto are in BAV, Vat. lat. 6177-6186, 6189-6195 and Reg. lat. 2023.

paying almost no attention to the ambitious papal project behind it and its place within the wider historical context.

Antoine Augustin Renouard, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was the first scholar to offer insights into Paolo Manuzio's biography, which he inserted into his *Annales des Alde*; despite some limitations and inaccuracies, Renouard's survey remains an essential starting-point.⁸ Some decades later, the archaeologist Giovanni Beltrani discovered the accounts of the Stamperia for 1562-1564 in the Archivio di Stato of Rome and published a detailed transcription in 1877.⁹ The German schoolteacher and philologist Martin Fickelscherer edited in 1892 a collection of Manuzio's letters and also delivered a short lecture on him as a printer and humanist in the Gymnasium of Chemnitz (Saxony), dealing rapidly with his Roman period.¹⁰ Giuseppe Fumagalli, too, mentioned Manuzio's Roman press only briefly in his *Lexicon typographicum* of 1905.¹¹ Furthermore, in 1933 the Roman archivist Armando Lodolini claimed that he had discovered the accounts which Beltrani had already published and commented on fifty years earlier – a curious event in view of the small number of studies devoted to the subject; his brief article did not contain anything new.¹²

⁸ A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde ou Histoire des trois Manuce et des leurs éditions*, Paris 1834, pp. 425-460, esp. pp. 442-448.

⁹ G. Beltrani, 'La tipografia Romana diretta da Paolo Manuzio', *Rivista Europea*, VIII, 1877, pp. 973-1002.

¹⁰ M. Fickelscherer, 'Paolo Manutio, der venetianische Buchdrucker und Gelehrte', *Jahresbericht des Königl. Gymnasiums zu Chemnitz*, 1892, pp. 3-35, at pp. 19-28. See also Paolo Manuzio, *Epistulae selectae*, ed. M. Fickelscherer, Leipzig 1892.

¹¹ G. Fumagalli, *Lexicon typographicum Italiae: Dictionnaire géographique d'Italie pour servir à l'histoire de l'imprimerie dans ce pays*, Florence 1905, pp. 346-348, 476.

¹² A. Lodolini, 'La stamperia Vaticana e i suoi primi libri', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, VII, 1933, pp. 154-161.

A comprehensive survey of Paolo Manuzio's activity in Rome eventually appeared during the Second World War. The author was Francesco Barberi, a celebrated bibliographer, librarian and ministerial superintendent. He started to focus on the topic in 1941, when he published a long article concerning the agreement between Paolo Manuzio and Christophe Plantin over the privilege for printing and selling the Breviary of Pius V.¹³ One year later, on the basis of a large amount of primary source material discovered in Roman archives, Barberi provided a precise reconstruction of the press's history and included many unpublished documents in his study. In addition, he compiled a useful list of the press's publications in chronological order, emending in several cases the previous catalogue by Renouard.¹⁴ Although Barberi's work, which was reprinted twice for the author's eightieth birthday in 1985,¹⁵ is still fundamental for our knowledge of Manuzio's Roman period, his interpretation of events is now quite dated, especially as regards his use of categories such as Renaissance, humanism and Counter-Reformation, all of which have been significantly re-evaluated since the mid-twentieth century. Above all, Barberi was very critical of Manuzio's personality, which at times led him to unjustified and unhistorical conclusions. Although such judgements crop up in various places, it is in his article of 1941 that we see his negative opinion revealed in all its severity:

¹³ F. Barberi, 'Paolo Manuzio e Cristoforo Plantin', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, XVI, 1941, pp. 83-94; reprinted in his *Per una storia del libro: profili, note, ricerche*, Rome 1981, pp. 289-307.

¹⁴ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*. See also the review by L. De Gregori, 'L'attività romana del tipografo Paolo Manuzio', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, XVII, 1943, pp. 57-60.

¹⁵ F. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del popolo romano (1561-1570): con documenti inediti*, Rome 1985 and 1986.

As is apparent from his letters, Paolo had the moral character of a haughty and sycophantic man, inept in terms of practical life but greedy for money, both sociable and unsociable; he was always restless, even though was very patient in his scholarly work and his search for a pure Ciceronian style. ... The humanist trend in publishing, which had reached a perfect and unsurpassed harmony with Aldo, became more marked in his son. In the end, [Paolo's] position as an author overtook his role as a publisher and printer, crushing it.¹⁶

This passage highlights the underlying weakness of Barberi's essays, which otherwise explored the subject so richly.

Literature after Barberi has essentially consisted of scholars refining or contesting his interpretations. In 1967 Alberto Tinto classified the fonts used by the Manuzio's Roman press and, on this basis, was able to reject one of Barberi's attributions to the Stamperia.¹⁷ Five years later, Curt Bühler concluded his broad survey of the first two editions published by the press, *De concilio* and *Reformatio Angliae*, both by Cardinal Reginald Pole. By comparing several copies, Bühler detected in these editions numerous page variants, as well as systematic manuscript

¹⁶ Barberi, 'Paolo Manuzio e Cristoforo Plantin', p. 290: 'La fisionomia morale di Paolo ci appare dal suo epistolario come quella di un uomo altero e adulatore, inetto alla vita pratica eppure avido di denaro, socievole e scontroso, irrequieto sempre e tuttavia pazientissimo nelle sue fatiche di erudito e nella ricerca della perfetta armonia ciceroniana ... La tendenza umanistica dell'editoria, che aveva raggiunto con Aldo una misura e un equilibrio perfetti e non mai superati, si accentuò nel figlio, e l'autore finì col prendere in lui il sopravvento sull'editore-tipografo, mortificandolo.'

¹⁷ A. Tinto, 'I tipi della stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561-1570): con 23 figure', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1967, pp. 26-38, esp. p. 36, n. 73. The book is *Officium Gloriosae Virginis*, Rome, [Paolo Manuzio], 1565, which survives in a single copy in the National Library of Vienna, described in Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 138-140.

corrections, which proved, in his opinion, that when Paolo Manuzio moved to Rome, he did not abandon – at least at the very beginning of his new position – the typographical accuracy for which the Aldine press was famous. Bühler’s brief essay first appeared as an article in 1952;¹⁸ then, an improved version was printed in a collection of his studies, ranging over palaeography, bibliography and history of the book.¹⁹

A well-documented study on Roman printers of the second half of the sixteenth century came out in 1980, though it did not present a comprehensive history of book trade and printing in the city – such an enquiry has never been attempted. The author, Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, opted for a social perspective, examining the main printers (the Blados, the Doricos, the Tramezzinos, Paolo Manuzio and Domenico Basa), along with many less well-known figures. He explored their habits, private and public lives, religious beliefs, as well as the day-to-day work which took place in their shops, the economic problems which they faced and the strategies which they adopted for solving them. Even though Masetti Zannini’s account of Manuzio’s work for the Holy See was totally reliant on Barberi, he put the specific facts of this case into a broader context.²⁰

After a lengthy interval, interest in the Aldine press arose again in connection

¹⁸ C. F. Bühler, ‘Paulus Manutius and his First Roman Printings’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLVI, 1952, pp. 209-214.

¹⁹ C. F. Bühler, ‘Paulus Manutius and his First Roman Printings’, in his *Early Books and Manuscripts: Forty Years of Research*, New York 1973, pp. 186-190. See also his ‘Observations on the 1562 Editions of Cardinal Reginald Pole’s “De Concilio” and “Reformatio Angliae”’, *Studies in Bibliography*, XXVI, 1973, pp. 232-234.

²⁰ Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai*, esp. pp. 31-33, 90. It is perhaps worth noting that Barberi himself wrote the preface.

with the fifth-centenary of the publication in 1494 of the *Erotemata* of Constantine Lascaris, the first book printed by Aldo Manuzio. Three pieces on Paolo Manuzio in Rome appeared around this time. The first was an article by Lorenzo Baldacchini, in which he reconsidered the causes for the economic failure of the papal project. The Stamperia always suffered from insufficient financial support; but, in addition, the income from its sales was probably not adequate. Baldacchini suggested that the poor sales figures were due to Manuzio's taste for books as objects. Unlike Plantin and other contemporary printers, he remained committed to the quarto format and the traditional Aldine design, while the market was shifting more and more towards pocket-size or even smaller books, for religious as well as secular works. This assumption still needs to be verified. Even so, Baldacchini's article is valuable as the only attempt so far to shed some light on the readership for the books published by Manuzio in Rome.²¹

The second piece was by Harry George Fletcher, former curator of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Fletcher delivered a paper at a 1995 conference on Aldo Manuzio held at Villa I Tatti, which was published a few years later.²² He discussed six autograph letters (three of them previously unrecorded) which Paolo Manuzio addressed to his patron, Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, between 1554 and 1559, and which were acquired in 1965 by the Beinecke collection, now in the Yale University Library. Fletcher included a transcription of these rare documents as an appendix to his article, which, in other respects, was

²¹ L. Baldacchini, 'Il mercato e la corte: Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano', in *Il libro a corte*, ed. by A. Quondam, Rome 1994, pp. 285-293.

²² Fletcher, 'Paulus Manutius'.

disappointing: he did not explore in detail Manuzio's strategy for moving from Venice to Rome and, moreover, forced some of the data to support questionable conclusions.

The third contribution was Martin Lowry's *Facing the Responsibility of Paulus Manutius*.²³ Lowry edited and commented on a very important document which had been acquired by UCLA in a sale at Sotheby's, London, in 1990: the original contract between Paolo Manuzio and the Apostolic Chamber, signed by Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola, bishop of Caserta, who represented Manuzio, and by two cardinals, Giovanni Morone and Guido Ascanio Sforza, on behalf of the Holy See. It had long been thought that this contract was lost; and information concerning the arrangement had been drawn instead from Manuzio's correspondence and the papal bull of 8 August 1561.²⁴ This discovery, therefore, enabled Lowry to put forward a reinterpretation of Manuzio's activity in Rome; in particular, it helped him to uncover the rationale and aims of both Manuzio and the Curia. Barberi, who did not have access to this source, had suggested that in 1561 the two parties misunderstood each other as regards the type of books which the press was supposed to publish: while the cardinals and the pope were probably thinking of editions of biblical commentaries and of selected religious texts, Manuzio mistakenly assumed that he would be free to publish also classical literature, as the Aldine press had previously done in Venice. Lowry demonstrated that it was, on the contrary, the ecclesiastical hierarchy which had twisted the meaning of the agreement, since the contract clearly stated that Manuzio was to 'run in Rome a press which brings out

²³ M. Lowry, *Facing the Responsibility of Paulus Manutius*, Los Angeles 1995.

²⁴ See esp. Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 84-85, nos 1006, 1010.

correct and emended books dealing with Sacred Letters as well as with whatsoever subject'.²⁵ The new evidence presented by Lowry was crucial for our understanding of the press; but as I shall show below, the single leaf purchased by UCLA in 1990 was only a part of the contract, which originally consisted of three folios (ff. 158, 159 and 160), all previously held in the Archivio di Stato of Rome.

Since the mid-1990s, no scholarship specifically focused on the Manuzio's Roman press has appeared. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning a few studies which have touched on closely related topics. Annaclara Cataldi Palau reconstructed the bitter strife between the Manuzio and Torresani families in her 1998 monograph on Gian Francesco Asolano;²⁶ and, more recently, Maria Cristina Cianferotti, Tiziana Sterza and Lodovica Braidà have examined Manuzio's Venetian period (1533-1561), exploring in detail his book production and his religious beliefs.²⁷

²⁵ MS Los Angeles, UCLA Special Collections, 170/658: 'condu in Roma una stampa, dalla quale escano libri ben corretti et emendati così della Sacra scrittura come d'ogn'altra sorte'.

²⁶ A. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola e la tipografia aldina: la vita, le edizioni, la biblioteca dell'Asolano*, Genoa 1998, esp. pp. 147, 267-373.

²⁷ M. C. Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio tra arte della stampa e inquietudini religiose', Tesi di Laurea, Università degli Studi di Firenze 1995-1996 (I am grateful to the author and to Gigliola Fragnito for enabling me to gain access to this valuable dissertation); T. Sterza, 'Paolo Manuzio editore a Venezia (1533-1561)', *Quaderni di ACME*, LXI, 2008, pp. 123-167; L. Braidà, *Libri di lettere: le raccolte epistolari del Cinquecento tra inquietudini religiose e "buon volgare"*, Rome and Bari 2009, esp. pp. 40-46, 54-98, 160-82, 178-179, 218-244, 270-271.

8. A Humanist Printer on the Way to Rome

This chapter is centred on Paolo Manuzio's attempts to settle in Rome. It explores his reasons for wanting to make this move and the support he received from high-ranking Catholic prelates.¹ The timeframe, which spans the late Renaissance and the early Counter-Reformation, will allow me to highlight significant features of the Roman Church in his day, especially its cultural attitudes and its attempts to interact with the printing industry in Rome.

8.1. Reasons for moving to Rome

The link between Rome and the Manuzio family dated back to the time of Aldo, who was born in Bassiano and liked to call himself 'Aldus Pius Romanus'.² Paolo's fascination with the Eternal City, however, was not merely a nostalgic desire to return to his family's roots. Over the course of his working life, he tried to leave Venice several times. But among the many possibilities offered to him by various local authorities (Milan, Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, as well as France and the Palatinate),³ Rome was always, in his opinion, the ideal place to combine the *humanae litterae* with his activities in the book trade. On the one hand, the printing

¹ An earlier and longer version of this chapter, under the title 'A Humanist Printer Moves from Venice to Rome: The Curial Patronage of Paolo Manuzio', is forthcoming in *La stampa romana nella Roma dei Papi e in Europa/The Roman Press in the Papal City and in Europe: CERL Seminar 2011, Rome, Vatican Library, 11 Nov. 2011*, ed. by C. Dondi, A. Roth and M. Venier, Roma 2015, pp. 313-329.

² On Aldo's relationship with his hometown, see F. Bertolo, 'Aldo Manuzio bassianese e romano', in *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. by S. Colonna, Rome 2004, pp. 159-165.

³ See esp. Manuzio's plea to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi in Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, pp. 66-69, in which he enumerated, very purposefully, the offers he had received before 1556.

market in Rome was far less crowded than in Venice and seemed to present good possibilities for growth. The absence of humanist printers on his own level would have been particularly appealing for him. Only Antonio Blado, who printed remarkable editions of classics during the 1540s, might have been a competitor; but his output was generally taken up with official publications for the Curia. Blado and Manuzio, in fact, had a good commercial relationship, helping each other out when in need.⁴ On the other hand, after the Sack of 1527, Rome was at the centre of late Italian Renaissance antiquarian scholarship and of punctilious textual criticism of the Latin classics, especially Cicero.⁵ Although these subjects were no longer at the forefront of Italian and European humanism, as they had been in Aldo's day, they nevertheless perfectly matched Paolo Manuzio's interests and aims. He devoted much of his scholarly effort to producing critical editions of the letters and other works of Cicero and to investigating ancient Roman numismatics, genealogy and chronology.⁶

Manuzio first went to Rome in 1535, and he enjoyed his stay so much that he probably remained there until 1537.⁷ At that time, he was in his early 20s, the

⁴ See Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 41.

⁵ On antiquarianism, see I. Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari: cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento*, Rome 2012. On Ciceronianism in Rome, see V. Fera, 'Dionisotti e il ciceronanesimo', in C. Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, ed. by V. Fera, Milan 2003, pp. VII-XXV, and J. F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*, Baltimore and London 1983, pp. 123-143.

⁶ A list of the works which Paolo Manuzio wrote and also published himself can be compiled on the basis of Renouard, *Annales des Aldes* and *The Aldine Press: Catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy Collection of Books by or relating to the Press in the Library of the University of California, Los Angeles Incorporating Works Recorded Elsewhere*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 2001. Manuzio's works were successfully reprinted throughout Italy and Europe. On the non-Italian editions, see the useful list in Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio', pp. 345-348.

⁷ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 21, n. 1. This can be inferred from his letters in Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 38, nos 290, 293-295; p. 100, no. 1260. According to nos 291-292, *ibid.*, p. 38,

offspring of a famous family, now seeking recognition for himself. He had just reopened the family press in Venice in partnership with his cousins, the Torresani; but this proved to be a difficult enterprise.⁸ Despite his impressive literary education, he did not publish any works of his own. Although he had gained some scholarly recognition in Padua and Venice, this was primarily thanks to his father's acquaintances, including Giovan Battista Egnazio, Lazzaro Bonamico, Benedetto Ramberti, Pietro Bembo, Iacopo Sadoletto and Gasparo Contarini.⁹ It was in Rome, at the Curia of Paul III, that he was first acknowledged as a man of letters in his own right. Bernardino Maffei and Marcello Cervini introduced him to the household of the pope's nephew Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, for whom they acted as secretaries.¹⁰ Moreover, Onorato Fascitelli and Annibale Caro, as well as the learned printer Blado, appreciated Manuzio's skills, laying the foundation for their long-lasting friendship with him.¹¹ Through these figures, along with Francesco Maria Molza a bit later,¹² Manuzio acquired privileged access to the curial élite who were at the heart of Roman academies in the 1530s and '40s. It was not by chance that in

Manuzio was in Venice in the summer of 1536. The first epistle, however, is simply a dedicatory letter of a book published by him in Venice, and I cannot see any specific reason to attribute the second letter to 1536, as it is undated and lacking in detail.

⁸ For an account of both the strife and the collaboration between the Manuzio and Torresani families, see Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola*, pp. 267-373. See also, on the reopening of the press, R. Mouren, 'Paul Manuce: les débuts d'un imprimeur humaniste', in *Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'humanisme*, ed. by C. Bénévent, A. Charon, I. Diu and M. Vène, Paris 2012, pp. 57-74.

⁹ Sterza, 'Manuzio, Paolo', p. 251, and Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio', pp. 46, 50, 53-73.

¹⁰ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 60, no. 650; p. 100, no. 1260. On Alessandro Farnese, see S. Andretta and C. Robertson, 'Farnese, Alessandro', in *DBI*, XLV, Rome 1995, pp. 52-70; G. P. Pozzi, *Le porpore di casa Farnese*, Piacenza 1995, *ad indicem*, and the articles on him in *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi*, XLII, 1990, pp. 275-450.

¹¹ Caro, *Lettere, ad indicem* (Blado Antonio; Manuzio Paolo) and Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem* (Caro Annibale; Onorato Fascitelli). See also Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 429.

¹² Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 42, nos 347, 351.

1538, having returned to Venice, he planned to publish a collection of satirical poems in the manner of Francesco Berni and sought the help of Caro and, indirectly, Benedetto Varchi.¹³ Although this edition never appeared, Manuzio seems to have conceived it mainly as a means of promoting himself in Roman circles. Its theme and style were well suited to the literary taste of the early Farnese Curia.

After this first trip, we find frequent references in Manuzio's letters to Rome as the city of his dreams, as well as mentions of upcoming plans to travel there;¹⁴ in 1555, he wrote to his brother that the wish to live and die in Rome was constantly on his mind.¹⁵ This obsession with Rome remained a fixture of his thoughts, despite his somewhat dithering and indecisive personality. As far as his responsibilities in Venice and his poor health permitted, he returned there for short periods in 1539, 1542, 1543, 1545, 1551 and 1552.¹⁶ In 1558, as we shall see, he received an invitation from Paul IV, but turned it down, preferring to become the printer of the Venetian *accademia della Fama* and a professor of rhetoric at the Scuola di San Marco.¹⁷ It was not until July 1561 that he moved permanently to Rome, in order to

¹³ A. Sorella, 'Letteratura burlesca e impegno intellettuale', in *Annibal Caro a cinquecento anni dalla nascita: atti del convegno di studi, Macerata 16-17 giugno 2007*, ed. by D. Poli, L. Melosi and A. Bianchi, Macerata 2009, pp. 73-105, at pp. 74-76.

¹⁴ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 47-55, nos 443, 450, 462, 466, 472, 551, 561, 568, 571, to cite only the most significant occurrences.

¹⁵ Paolo Manuzio, *Lettere ... copiate sugli autografi esistenti nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Paris 1834, p. 23: '... Mi sono stati offerti da pochi giorni in qua utilissimi partiti. I quali tutti ho rifiutato e rifiuto. Perché ho fisso il chiodo di voler vivere e morire in Roma, se voi mi aiutate.'

¹⁶ There has been disagreement in earlier scholarship over the dates of Manuzio's sojourns in Rome: Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, pp. 429-434 (1535, 1543, 1552); Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 21-24 (1535-37, 1539, 1543, 1553); Sterza, 'Manuzio, Paolo', p. 252 (1535, 1539, 1541). My reconstruction relies on a comparison between Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem* (Manuzio Paolo) and her note in *Inedita manutiana*, p. 58.

¹⁷ On Manuzio's involvement in the Venetian academy of Federico Badoer, see S. Graheli, 'Reading the History of the "Accademia Venetiana" through its Book Lists', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by M. Walsby and N.

manage the first papal press, which was set up by Pius IV. The atmosphere was changing rapidly at this time: the Catholic hierarchy increasingly regarded the *humanae litterae* as an instrument to support the Tridentine papacy and its efforts to challenge the scholarship produced in the wake of the Reformation. Manuzio did not immediately understand this new cultural climate and found himself trapped in a subordinate role which did not allow him free control of the press he had come to Rome, so he believed, to run. Exasperated by his lack of independence, he headed back to northern Italy in 1570, returning two years later to Rome, where he died in 1574.

After this overview of Paolo Manuzio's relations with Rome, I would now like to explore his motives for wanting to move there and the patronage which he received from various popes and cardinals. Manuzio had two main aims: firstly, obtaining a salary to finance his scholarly work, possibly by teaching rhetoric at the University of Rome, the *Studium Urbis*; secondly, setting up an Aldine press in the city with the legal protection of the papacy. These two aims were not in conflict, since Manuzio would be able to entrust a partner with the day-to-day management of the press, as he did with his Venetian shop between 1568 and 1573, appointing Damiano Zenaro and Domenico Basa.¹⁸ A quick look at the general context will help to explain the reasons behind his intentions.

Italian scholars tended to regard the Church as a safe haven, especially when political crises arose in the peninsula. This meant, in effect, either joining the

Constantinidou, Leiden and Boston 2013, pp. 283-319.

¹⁸ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 106, nos 1364, 1367.

Catholic hierarchy for economic motives or moving to Rome in order to attach themselves to the courts of cardinals and popes. This tendency culminated with the Medici papacies – even Paolo’s father Aldo had dreamt of founding a Greek academy in Rome under the auspices of Leo X.¹⁹ Abruptly interrupted by the Sack in 1527, the Roman Renaissance had its last gasp during the papacy of Paul III Farnese, who pumped new energy and funds into the city’s cultural life, resulting in a splendid revival. Manuzio experienced this golden period as a young and enthusiastic visitor to Rome. By coincidence, during his first stay in 1535-1537, a large number of his Venetian friends and patrons (Contarini, Sadoletto, Pole, along with Gregorio Cortese) had been summoned to Rome by the pope to devise a plan for the internal reformation of the Church, producing the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*. Onorato Fascitelli had also moved to the city as Cortese’s secretary.²⁰ In addition, the appointment of Contarini and later of Sadoletto and Bembo to the cardinalate appeared as a papal confirmation of the instrumental role of humanism in the administration of the Church.²¹ Although it is likely that Manuzio was excited by this development, he failed to play any part in it; and by the time he was eventually ready to move to Rome, in the 1550s, that era had definitively ended. The final break with Protestantism, between 1542 and 1547, led the papacy to a profound reconsideration of the humanist legacy. Alongside the discussions going on at Trent, the Catholic hierarchy began to reform the culture of Rome, with the intention of

¹⁹ See the insightful account of M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1979, pp. 195-207, and the well-known preface by Aldus addressed to Leo X in 1513, in *Aldo Manuzio editore: dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, ed. by G. Orlandi, I, Milan 1975, pp. 120-123.

²⁰ G. Fragnito, *Il cardinale Gregorio Cortese nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento*, Rome 1983, p. 63.

²¹ C. Dionisotti, ‘La letteratura italiana nell’età del Concilio di Trento’, in his *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, Turin 1967, pp. 183-204, at p. 187.

turning the city into the centre of Catholic orthodoxy and shedding its previous image as a flourishing Renaissance court. This change took place not only in the arts and in architecture, but also, more subtly, in cultural institutions. I shall focus on two overlooked aspects of this transformation which were directly related to Manuzio's aims: the Church's intervention in the University of Rome and its attempt to establish a papal press in the city.

In 1534 Paul III resolved to reopen the *Studium Urbis*, which had remained closed since the Sack, and to appoint a number of new professors. This decision was made solely for the sake of renewing Roman culture, resembling the fasts ordered by the popes of the late Renaissance: the city of Rome and the Curia could not remain without a high-profile university.²² The chair of rhetoric was first entrusted to the aged Bolognese humanist Giovan Battista Pio – who some decades earlier had spent a difficult two years (1512-1514) as a professor at the *Studium Urbis*, coming under fierce attack from Roman scholars – and then to Romolo Amaseo.²³ Eighteen years later, Julius III provided the university with additional funds and set up a committee of cardinals (*protectores*) to supervise its finances and reform both academic life and

²² In the bull appointing the physician Girolamo Accoramboni, the pope declared: 'Cum nostro officio, et Patriae caritate adducti ad communem Civium Romanorum, et Curialum nostrorum utilitatem Studium universale bonarum Artium, et Litterarum in hac alma Urbe nostra restituere decreverimus, proptereaue undique viros insignes quavis Facultate conquiramus ...', quoted in Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università*, II, pp. 95, 243. The tone and vocabulary are similar to the preamble of Leo X's pronouncement on 5 November 1513, in *Bullarum ... editio*, V, Turin 1860, p. 568.

²³ Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università*, pp. 110-112, and *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli e altre fonti*, ed. by E. Conte, Rome 1991, pp. 7-8. On the *affaire* provoked by Pio's earlier appointment, see Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti*, pp. 70-113, esp. pp. 87-92. For an historical overview of rhetoric teaching in the University of Rome, see the contributions by Francesca Loverci and Giovanni Rita in *Storia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia de 'La Sapienza'*, ed. by L. Capo and M. R. Di Simone, Rome 2000.

graduation procedures.²⁴ Unlike Paul III, Julius adduced additional religious reasons for his policy, introducing into the Roman context the notion of employing culture as a weapon against the Reformation and as a means of promoting internal discipline and adherence to orthodoxy. In the *breve* of 23 January 1552 concerning the *Studium*, the ability to discern the difference between right and wrong and the reinforcement of the Catholic faith were explicitly listed among the benefits of a university education.²⁵ In line with this agenda, the pope appointed to the committee in charge of the *Studium* five of his leading cardinals: Marcello Cervini, Giovanni Morone, Bernardino Maffei, Reginald Pole and Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora, as well as, initially, the papal legate to the Tridentine Council, Marcello Crescenzi.²⁶ These measures did not, however, prevent the university's reputation from being damaged by a scandal in 1555, when students, professors and even the dean were involved in a wild party.²⁷ As a mark of Julius III's interest in education, in the space of a few years he founded the Collegio Romano, the Collegio Germanico and the University of Dillingen.²⁸ These three institutions – entrusted to the Jesuits and supervised by at least one cardinal – significantly bolstered the Catholic response to the cultural challenge posed by the Reformation. The Collegio

²⁴ Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università*, pp. 132-135. The crucial role of Julius III in initiating a new policy towards education in Rome and, in particular, the university, was pointed out by E. Conte, 'Università e formazione giuridica a Roma nel Cinquecento', *La Cultura*, XXII, 1985, pp. 328-346, at pp. 330-332, 341.

²⁵ Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università*, p. 253: 'Dum attentae considerationis indagine perscrutamur, quod per litterarum Studia cooperante illo, quo omnium charismatum dona proveniunt, viri efficiuntur in scientiis eruditi, et per eos aequum ab iniquo discernitur, rudes erudiuntur, proveci ad altiora conscendunt, fides catholica roboratur, loca ubi huiusmodi vigent Studia nostrae provisionis ope manuteneri studemus ...'

²⁶ See the three documents transcribed in *ibid.*, pp. 252-255. This was the origin of the Congregation in charge of the *Studium*, to which Renazzi drew attention, *ibid.*, pp. 141-142, 152-155.

²⁷ A report of the trial which followed this event is partially published in A. Bertolotti, 'Gli studenti in Roma nel secolo XVI', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, II, 1883, pp. 141-148.

²⁸ *Bullarum ... editio*, VI, Turin 1860, pp. 425-426, 455-462, 465-467.

Romano, in particular, quickly entered into competition with University of Rome in subjects such as the *humanae litterae*.²⁹

Julius's successor, Paul IV, showed little interest in the *Studium*; however, a vast restoration was undertaken by the next pope, Pius IV. In 1560, the first year of his pontificate, Pius renewed the committee of cardinals and promoted a reorganisation of the curriculum and of the teaching staff designed to improve both academic quality and religious orthodoxy.³⁰ The Church's control over the university culminated in a compulsory *professio fidei* for lecturers as well as for students taking their doctorate.³¹ Simultaneously, the link between the Curia and the academic staff was strengthened by appointing as deputy dean (*coadiutoria*), a position which was now made for life, the wide-ranging scholar and later cardinal, Silvio Antoniano.³² This decision was made on account of the dean, a scholar by the name of Camillo Peruschi, who had held the position since the early 1530s and whose advanced age was now hindering his effectiveness. The main reason cited in the official documentation, however, was that, as bishop of Alatri (Frosinone), Peruschi was compelled to visit his diocese and pay more attention to his pastoral duties than in the past,³³ so, as early as 1564, the new guidelines imposed by the Council of Trent were penetrating into the University of Rome. A year later, the Jesuits, supported by Carlo Borromeo, *cardinal nipote* of Pius IV, strengthened their position in the

²⁹ J. W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge MA and London 1993, p. 216.

³⁰ Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università*, pp. 135-139.

³¹ *Bullarum ... editio*, VII, Turin 1862, pp. 323-327.

³² Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università*, pp. 155-156, 264-266.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 264: '... ut commissum sibi pastorale officium decentius exequi possit, nuper ad Ecclesiam suam ad effectum in ea residendi recesserit, vel de proximo recedere, aut illam saepius visitare intendat ...'

Roman education system when they were entrusted with management of the newly founded Seminario Romano.

Paolo Manuzio competed three times for the chair of rhetoric in Rome. Around 1546, he was asked by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to take over from Romolo Amaseo, who was continually complaining about his university duties.³⁴ The death of Paul III, however, and the uncertain conclave which followed, caused this opportunity to evaporate.³⁵ In 1552, when Amaseo died, Manuzio's appointment seemed to be certain; but he was thwarted again by the sudden death of his main patron in the Curia, Cardinal Bernardino Maffei.³⁶ As soon as Manuzio heard about Pius IV's attempts to reform the university, he put himself forward and asked an unidentified high-ranking prelate, possibly Francesco Gonzaga, to support him, claiming that the pope had already promised him a chair.³⁷ In the end, however, nothing came of it. Even worse, he watched his friends Marc-Antoine Muret and Silvio Antoniano become professors in 1563. The only member of the Manuzio family to secure a position in the university was Paolo's son Aldo the Younger, who

³⁴ R. Avesani, 'Amaseo, Romolo Quirino', in *DBI*, II, Rome 1960, pp. 660-666, at p. 663, and Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, p. 66.

³⁵ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 47, no. 443.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50, no. 491.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82, no. 969. The letter offers some clues to the identity of the prelate: he is referred to as 'Molto Reverendo Monsignore'; he was at the papal court; and his uncle was said to be a cardinal as well as Manuzio's patron. The addressee could therefore be Francesco Gonzaga (1538-1566): a nephew of the powerful Cardinal Ercole, he had been summoned to Rome by Pius IV in the early 1560s and appointed as *protonotarius apostolicus*; see F. Crucitti, 'Gonzaga, Francesco', in *DBI*, LVII, Rome 2002, pp. 760-762, and R. Tamalio, *Francesco Gonzaga di Guastalla cardinale alla corte romana di Pio IV nel carteggio privato con Mantova (1560-1565)*, Guastalla 2004. Moreover, around 1557, Francesco, then a student in Padua, received a warm letter from Manuzio, together with a copy of his *Antiquitatum Romanarum liber de legibus*; see Pastorello, *L'epistolario*, pp. 62-63, nos 684-685.

did not make a success of it.³⁸

Manuzio's other main goal was to establish a branch of the Aldine press in Rome under the auspices of the papacy. As I have shown in Part I of this dissertation, the plan to set up a centralised Catholic printing house went back to editorial projects of Cardinal Marcello Cervini. Manuzio played a tangential part in Cervini's endeavour by lending his fonts to Blado and by issuing, very likely at his request, a Latin translation of three speeches by John Damascene in 1554.³⁹ For over thirty years, the idea of a papal publishing house continued to crop up; but lack of funds and the resistance of the Roman bureaucracy to any change in the balance of power doomed them to failure until an official Vatican press was established in 1587. Manuzio was one of the main players in this string of failures, for between the 1550s and 1570s, he was the printer asked to head these pioneering attempts. There is a hint in his letters that Julius III was thinking of setting up a press financed by the papacy: in July 1552, Manuzio was informed by his friend Ottavio Pantagato that 'quel Monsignore', meaning either Maffei or Cervini, had reported a delay in establishing the papal press until at least the following year.⁴⁰ Significantly, this was about the same time as Cervini's attempt to set up a Syriac publishing house for the Vatican Library. The preliminary condition for such a bold endeavour was the

³⁸ E. Russo, 'Manuzio, Aldo il Giovane', in *DBI*, LXIX, Rome 2007, pp. 245-250, at p. 249. M. Muccillo, 'Il platonismo all'Università di Roma: Francesco Patrizi', in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis: spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento: atti del convegno, Roma 7-10 giugno 1989*, ed. by P. Cherubini, Rome 1992, pp. 200-247, at p. 217, n. 41, states that Paolo Manuzio was a professor of rhetoric at La Sapienza in the 1590s together with the philosopher Francesco Patrizi. It was, however, Paolo's son, Aldo the Younger, who taught at the university from 1588 to 1595, not Paolo, who died in 1574.

³⁹ John Damascene, *Adversus sanctarum imaginum oppugnatores orationes tres*, Venice, Paolo Manuzio, 1554.

⁴⁰ Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, p. 49: 'De la stampa non è da gettarne la speranza, per che quel Monsignor ci pensa molto et ci spera e promette con tempo, il quale non è meno d'un anno.'

casting and moulding of a Syriac alphabet. Although mentioned in the library's account books, it seems that the font was never made. This project, as we have seen in Part I, was certainly connected to the plans to publish the ancient Syriac version of the Bible (Peshitta), of which the New Testament eventually appeared in Vienna in 1555.⁴¹ Its failure might be linked to the embarrassing epilogue of the second period of the Council of Trent and the outbreak of the last of the Italian wars, which gave the pope more urgent matters to address.⁴² Since Manuzio had no knowledge of Syriac, it is highly unlikely that the papal press he was supposed to run can be equated with Cervini's plans for a Syriac press, though it is possible that this specialist project (for which expert collaborators would have to be recruited) was intended to be one part of Manuzio's larger printing enterprise. About five years later, when Paul IV began revising the Missal and the Breviary, he devised plans to oversee their publication and distribution through his own publishing house. The pope's concern to limit and control the circulation of the printed word is well known and demonstrated, above all, by the publication of the first Roman Index of Forbidden Books during his papacy. In 1558, Manuzio was asked by Cardinal Antonio Trivulzio, former nuncio to Venice, to manage the new papal press.⁴³ He was already committed to the Venetian Academy, however; and the following year, the death of Trivulzio and of Paul IV scuppered the initiative. As I shall explain in detail in the following chapters, a papal press was eventually established three years later by Pius IV. In 1561 he hired Manuzio, who was given generous conditions; and

⁴¹ Coakley, *The Typography*, pp. 31-34, esp. p. 32, n. 15; and, despite some inaccuracies, Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 69-75, 83-84.

⁴² On the rationale behind the sudden suspension of the council in April 1552 and this new Italian war, see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, III, Brescia 2010, pp. 533-559, esp. pp. 553-554.

⁴³ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 24, 29, 33.

he also appointed a committee of cardinals to be in charge of selecting appropriate publications and to report any problems to the Curia. Despite this promising start, a myriad of difficulties soon ensued; and within two years the pope was forced to ask the Commune of Rome to take over the press's finances; the Commune, in turn, tried to bend the publishing programme to its own purposes and succeeded in making some profit from the enterprise. The papal press rapidly became the Stamperia del Popolo Romano, which served the city of Rome as well as the Church. Manuzio continued to manage the firm until 1570, when he finally decided to resign his post and to leave Rome.

The letter which he wrote to two of his Roman pupils (Enrico and Camillo Caetani) reveals his disappointment:

[In Rome] I had no time for studies and no leisure, while carrying out extremely burdensome commitments – the very memory of which now upsets me It was neither the salary, nor any other desire for profit which brought me to Rome; ... I was lured instead by the almost certain hope of spending my life in dignity, enjoying from time to time my studies, the company of my friends and all the interests which are appropriate for a free-born and well-educated man. You know full well the extent to which things went in the opposite direction.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Manuzio, *Epistolarum libri XII*, pp. 484-485: 'Hoc bono Romae carebam, quia carebam litteris, et otio, molestissimis implicatus occupationibus, quarum ipsa nunc recordatione commoveor ... Non enim aut stipendium illud, aut ulla me lucri cupiditas Romam perduxit ... sed spe sum allectus prope certa, vitae cum dignitate traducendae, fruendis nonnumquam studiis meis, amicorum consuetudine, voluptatibus etiam homine ingenuo, et liberaliter educato non indignis. Quam contra ceciderit, vos optime nostis.'

Nevertheless, in 1572, he was back in Rome. Gregory XIII renewed the appointment given to Manuzio in the Tridentine Index of Forbidden Books to edit an expurgated version of Erasmus's *Adagia* and also entrusted him with the task of editing the Dutch humanist's *Apophthegmata*. He worked hard to fulfil this prestigious and profitable assignment, under the supervision of the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tomás Manrique, and another theologian. In January 1574 the undertaking seemed on the brink of collapse due to the severity of the new Master, Paolo Constabili. The edition of the *Adagia*, however, was eventually printed in 1575, after Manuzio's death, by the Giunta press in Florence; and the *Apophthegmata* came out in 1576 in Venice, printed by Damiano Zenaro.⁴⁵ While in Rome, Manuzio received another proposal from the Curia, asking him to manage a new press which would publish the works being emended by the Catholic Church according to the Tridentine decrees.⁴⁶ This would entail a close collaboration between him and the Congregation of the Index, set up in 1571 and run for more than a decade by Guglielmo Sirleto, one of Manuzio's supporters. By then seriously ill, he rejected the offer and instead devoted such energy as he could muster to his scholarly work on Cicero. Four months later, he was dead.

⁴⁵ The story is reconstructed in P. F. Grendler, 'The Adages of Paolo Manuzio', in *In Laudem Caroli: Renaissance and Reformation Studies for Charles G. Nauert*, ed. by J. V. Mehl, Kirksville MO 1998, pp. 1-21.

⁴⁶ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 124, no. 1647.

8.2. Manuzio's network in the Curia

Manuzio consistently received curial sponsorship over the middle decades of the sixteenth century. This continuity is remarkable, given the rapidly changing context of the papal court, where the death of a pope could result in the fall from grace of his protégés. But it is even more remarkable in light of the high level of instability and factionalism in the Catholic hierarchy at the time. The Roman Curia was split into different groups, which were quickly formed and then disbanded according to the particular issue at stake. Nationality, political affiliations, family relationships, private loyalty, religious belief and personal interests often determined the alliances of a prelate and, especially, of a cardinal. There were the French and the imperial parties, Spanish sympathisers, reformers and defenders of curial privileges, and, most importantly, promoters and opponents of reconciliation with Protestants on certain theological matters.⁴⁷

Since this last point became a pivotal issue in contemporary Italian society, it is worth touching on Manuzio's religious beliefs. The topic has to be treated with caution, as we have little, if any, information directly from him – he was a careful censor of his own writings, as well as a prudent businessman.⁴⁸ On the grounds, mostly, of his output as a publisher, Manuzio's name has frequently been connected to the *spirituali*,⁴⁹ a group who professed a humble, inner religiosity, centred on

⁴⁷ On curial politics at the time, see Firpo, *La presa di potere*; A. Menniti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della Curia nepotista: papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo*, Rome 1999, and his *Il governo dei papi nell'età moderna: carriere, gerarchie, organizzazione curiale*, Rome 2007; *Court and Politics in Papal Rome (1492–1700)*, ed. by G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia, Cambridge 2002, (esp. the essays by Fosi, Fasano Guarini and Visceglia).

⁴⁸ See Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio', p. 254, and Braida, *Libri di lettere*, pp. 173-177, with regard to the alterations in Paolo Manuzio's collections of letters between 1556 and 1560.

⁴⁹ A. Jacobson Schutte, 'The "lettere volgari" and the Crisis of Evangelism in Italy', *Renaissance*

Christ's sacrifice and on faith in God's grace, ideas which were inspired by the teachings of Juan de Valdés and were adopted by several Italian noblemen in the Catholic Church. Since the *spirituali*, or Valdesians, tended to look to Emperor Charles V for political support, they were undermined by the failure of the imperial policy of peace in Germany. As we shall see, there were many connections and collaborations between Manuzio and the imperial-*spirituali* circle. His own faith, however, seems to have been more complex and was certainly not at all sectarian. Evidence from his personal and dedicatory letters suggests that he not only remained close to Gasparo Contarini's conciliatory line, but was also politically affiliated to the French monarchy through its heterodox ambassadors in Venice. Moreover, Manuzio never abandoned his 'pagan' studies in order to devote himself exclusively to the *divinae litterae*, as Pole exhorted Sadoletto to do.⁵⁰ Throughout his life, he presented himself, not always credibly, as a surviving representative of that irenic European humanism which had broadly contributed to the conceptual universe of the early Reformation. He tried to revive the peaceful republic of letters of his father's time, corresponding in a friendly manner on either learned or private matters with Protestant scholars such as the prominent Calvinists Johannes Sturm and François Hotman. This idealistic attachment to Erasmian humanism probably exerted more influence over his religiosity than Italian Valdesianism.⁵¹ Whatever his religious position may have been, it was not the most important concern in his

Quaterly, XXVIII, 1975, pp. 639-688; P. Simoncelli, *Il caso Reginald Pole: eresia e santità nelle polemiche religiose del Cinquecento*, Rome 1977, pp. 40-42, 240 and his *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento: questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico*, Rome 1979, pp. 284-290, 303-304; G. Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini*, pp. 338-340.

⁵⁰ The differences between Manuzio's beliefs and Pole's spirituality are discussed in Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio', 57-71, 137-241, 265, 269-270.

⁵¹ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 59-65, nos 642, 657, 670, 696, 726.

public life as a printer and scholar. Certainly, it in no way affected the numerous relationships which he wisely established with members belonging to different groupings within the Roman Curia, including the intransigent faction, which was opposed to any compromises with the Protestants and was led by the inquisitor, Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa. In other words, Manuzio pursued a policy of self-promotion which was divorced from any personal beliefs he might have held. This inclusive strategy was one of the main reasons for his successes.

Six popes – from Paul III to Gregory XIII – served as patrons to Paolo Manuzio, despite their differences in policy and belief. Marcellus II Cervini, whose papacy lasted for only three weeks in the spring of 1555, would very likely have been the seventh and perhaps the most generous. Cervini and he had had a close relationship since the first of Manuzio's Roman stays in 1535-1537. As a book collector, publisher, head of the Vatican Library and promotor of the *studia humanitatis*, of ecclesiastical erudition and of patristics, Cervini's interests frequently intertwined with Manuzio's expertise. Not only did he contribute to Cervini's editorial projects, but he was also entrusted with tutoring Cervini's beloved step-brother Romolo in Latin.⁵² Cervini's friend Bernardino Maffei, a learned collector of antiquities and Roman nobleman who had ascended the curial hierarchy, reaching the cardinalate and becoming head of the papal *Dataria*, was the most enthusiastic and supportive of Manuzio's curial patrons, until his sudden death in 1553.⁵³ He found a third Roman sponsor in Cardinal Reginald Pole, the leading figure of the Italian *spirituali*. He and Pole probably met in Padua and Venice in the

⁵² Ibid., pp. 38-45, nos 314, 343, 346, 357, 383-384, 395-396, 401-403, 407-410.

⁵³ Ibid., *ad indicem* (Maffei Card. Bernardino; Maffei Giovanni).

1530s and shared similar opinions regarding justification *ex sola fide* and reconciliation with Protestants; and both were fascinated by the Venetian patrician and later cardinal, Gasparo Contarini.⁵⁴ Between 1541 and 1542, Pole somewhat abandoned Contarini's conciliatory theology of salvation and embraced Valdés's ideas as expressed by Marcantonio Flaminio. Churchmen, scholars and noblewomen gathered around Pole in an informal religious circle (the so-called 'Ecclesia Viterbiensis'). Although Manuzio was not among them, he was publicly linked to important members of the imperial-*spirituali* circle, including Pietro Carnesecchi, Ludovico Beccadelli, Carlo Gualteruzzi, Onorato Fascitelli, Alvise Priuli, Stefano Sauli, Germano Minadois, Scipione Capece, Gian Francesco Alois, the young Girolamo Seripando, Duke Gian Bernardino Bonifacio of Oria and the Spanish ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.⁵⁵ Between 1542 and 1545, Manuzio's press published various writings associated with the *spirituali*, and this continued, to some extent, up to the 1560s. Together with his brother Antonio, Paolo included several heterodox letters in his famous epistolary collections and published some works arguing for a reconciliation between human free will and God's grace, as well as writings by Pole, Flaminio and Vittoria Colonna.⁵⁶ We know, furthermore, that he received (at least twice) financial support for his press from Pole and Beccadelli.⁵⁷

Evidence of the key role played by Cervini, Maffei and Pole as supporters of

⁵⁴ Fragnito, *Il cardinale Cortese*, pp. 53-56, and Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio', pp. 76-77.

⁵⁵ For each of them, see Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem*.

⁵⁶ Cianferotti, 'Paolo Manuzio', pp. 255, 275-344, and Braidà, *Libri di lettere*, 54-98, 160-182, 218-244. A special case was the publication in Rome in 1562 of Pole's *De Concilio, Reformatio Angliae* and *De Baptismo Constantini*, which is discussed below in Chapter 10.

⁵⁷ Braidà, *Libri di lettere*, p. 64. See also Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 52, no. 514.

Manuzio is provided by a letter he wrote in Rome to Roberto Geronda, in which their names appeared one after another. Manuzio told his friend that he remained in Rome, against his will, on account of the *carezze* of ‘tre Reverendissimi Santa Croce [Cervini], Inghilterra [Pole] e Maffeo’.⁵⁸ The letter is dated 7 May, but without a year. It can, however, be placed in the years following 1549, when Maffei was created a cardinal, and was very likely written during Manuzio’s Roman stay in 1552,⁵⁹ when Cervini’s position in the Curia was becoming increasingly powerful and Pole had not yet left for England. That Manuzio at this time mentioned the three cardinals, and especially Cervini and Pole, in the same breath is striking. Although the two prelates had been close acquaintances in the early days of their curial careers, we have seen in Chapter 4 that Cervini gradually moved towards a strict religious policy and joined the Roman Inquisition, which nurtured deep suspicions about Pole and his group. The distance between them became apparent in the conclave of 1549, with the collapse of Pole’s candidacy for the papacy;⁶⁰ and a further hardening of positions occurred in 1552.⁶¹ Manuzio seems not to have regarded this as a problem and remained confident, during his brief sojourns in 1551 and 1552, of gaining a permanent position in the city, either as a lecturer or a printer. The context was potentially favourable. His three patrons were part of the committee

⁵⁸ Paolo Manuzio, *Tre libri di lettere volgari*, Venice, Paolo Manuzio, 1556, f. 46v: ‘... dove l’esser in Roma per altre cagioni dovrebbe essermi a contentezza grande, io ci sto contra mia voglia, vinto dalle carezze di tre Reverendiss. Santa Croce, Inghilterra, Maffeo; due de quali mi muovono con l’auttorità, l’altro con la sua gentile et benigna natura, e con l’infinito amore, che mi mostra a tutte l’hore. Non dimeno e mi pare hormai tempo di sodisfare a me stesso, poi che ho già loro sodisfatto in parte.’

⁵⁹ Pastorello, *L’epistolario manuziano*, p. 38, no. 294 erroneously dates the letter as written in 1537, identifying the Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme as Francisco de Quiñones (1482-1540).

⁶⁰ Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 324-337.

⁶¹ M. Firpo, ‘Da inquisitori a pontefici: il Sant’Ufficio romano e la svolta del 1552’, *Rivista storica italiana*, CXXII, 2010, pp. 911-950. For a shorter version of the essay, focusing on Cervini, see his ‘Marcello Cervini’.

in charge of the University of Rome and were also involved in Julius III's cultural policy. This attempt, however, proved to be a failure, just like his earlier efforts to establish a place for himself in Rome.⁶² A few years later, moreover, both Maffei and Cervini were dead, while Pole's influence declined when questions concerning his orthodoxy were raised by the Roman Inquisition. Julius III, rejecting the suspicions surrounding Pole, resolved to send him to England as his legate *a latere* to manage the Catholic restoration in the country. Pole died there in November 1558. Manuzio cherished the memory of his patrons,⁶³ but he found himself deprived of curial supporters. Winning over Ludovico Beccadelli when he was in Venice as papal nuncio in 1553 was hardly sufficient to compensate for the loss of Maffei's patronage.⁶⁴ In mid-1555, Paul IV (the inquisitor Gian Pietro Carafa) was elected pope; and his stern approach to Catholic orthodoxy caused a major shift of influence within the Curia.

This turnabout led Manuzio to alter his strategy and rapidly adapt his plans to the changed circumstances. Firstly, he sought to recast his public image by publishing the first collection of his letters in the Italian vernacular, in which, to

⁶² In a letter to Stefano Sauli in July 1553, Manuzio expressed his bitter disappointment over these unsuccessful sojourns (Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 51, no. 508).

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 50-55, nos. 491, 506-509, 515, 517, 528-529, 561-565, mourning Maffei and Cervini. See also Manuzio's encomium of Pole as introduction to Reginald Pole, *De Concilio liber*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1562.

⁶⁴ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 52, no. 517. For the close relationship between the two, see *ibid.*, *ad indicem* (Beccadelli Ludovico). On Beccadelli, see the following works by G. Fragnito: *Memoria individuale e costruzione biografica: Beccadelli, Della Casa, Vettori alle origini di un mito*, Urbino 1978; 'Per lo studio dell'epistolografia volgare'; *In museo e in villa: saggi sul Rinascimento perduto*, Venice 1988, pp. 65-108; 'Le contraddizioni di un censore: Ludovico Beccadelli di fronte al Panormita e al Boccaccio', in *Studi in memoria di Paola Medioli Masotti*, ed. by F. Magnani, Naples 1995, pp. 153-171, reprinted in her *Cinquecento italiano*, pp. 265-288.

some extent, he distanced himself from Italian heterodox circles.⁶⁵ Secondly, he took advantage of both new and old connections. From his youth, he had had close ties to the private courts (*familiae*) of cardinals Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese and Rodolfo Pio da Carpi. He got in touch with them in 1555 and 1556, emphasising his long-standing loyalty.⁶⁶ As grandsons of Paul III, Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese remained very influential, and Alessandro, in particular, led a faction of his own which often held the balance of power in the Curia. Rodolfo Pio had recently embraced the cause of the Roman Inquisition and the new pope. Manuzio's hopes of moving to Rome, either as a scholar or as a printer, were largely riding on Pio, as he wrote to him on 31 May 1555. The timing reflected his capacity to make swift changes of strategy: only eight days had passed since the election to the pontificate of Gian Pietro Carafa, whose stern orthodoxy he promptly praised.⁶⁷ Simultaneously, he dedicated one publication to Antonio Elio, former secretary of Marcellus II and now in the service of the *cardinal nipote* Carlo Carafa, and another to the new chief inquisitor, Cardinal Michele Ghislieri (later Pius V).⁶⁸ He made a special effort to curry the favour of Alfonso Carafa, the young, learned scion of the papal family and later cardinal librarian. By dedicating one of his commentaries on Cicero's letters to

⁶⁵ Braida, *Libri di lettere*, pp. 165-173.

⁶⁶ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 57-60, nos 606, 636, 641, 650. On Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, see Fletcher, *Paulus Manutius*, pp. 289-292; F. Capanni, *Rodolfo Pio da Carpi: diplomatico cardinale collezionista*, Meldola 2001; and the essays in *Alberto III e Rodolfo Pio da Carpi collezionisti e mecenati: atti del seminario internazionale di studi, Carpi 22-23 novembre 2002*, ed. by M. Rossi, [Carpi 2004].

⁶⁷ The letter is published in Fletcher, 'Paulus Manutius', pp. 307-309, at p. 307: 'Con Vostra Signoria Revendissima tanto me ne rallegra, quanto se che ella se n'è rallegrata e con se stessa, e con tutti i buoni, e virtuosi, per l'infinito beneficio, che aspetta il mondo dalla virtù e sapienza di Sua Santità la quale stimo durerà poca fatica nella riforma de' costumi e modi corrotti. Percioché l'opinione della sua severità, e l'esempio della sua vita opererà incontanente più che qual si voglia commandamento, e disporrà ogniuno ad essere giudice di se medesimo, et a punire gli errori con volontaria penitenza ...'

⁶⁸ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 54, nos 560-561; p. 59, no. 635, 641; p. 72, no. 824.

him, as well as another publication by the Venetian Academy, Manuzio, no doubt, hoped to initiate a friendship; and that he succeeded in doing so is shown by the fact that he was entrusted by Pius V with the composition of Alfonso's epitaph.⁶⁹ The link with the Farnese and with the intransigent faction helps to explain why, in 1558, Manuzio was approached to run a publishing house by a pope as suspicious as Paul IV, why in 1566 he was supported by the rigorous Pius V Ghislieri in a critical phase of his management of the papal press and why he received patronage from cardinals of strict orthodoxy such as Guglielmo Sirleto and Antonio Carafa.⁷⁰ In the perception of all four figures, Manuzio's religious beliefs were sound.

His lack of scruples with regard to the internal divisions in the Catholic hierarchy is apparent from the baptismal ceremonies which he arranged for his sons Aldo, Girolamo and Ottavio. Aldo was christened in 1547, in the presence of Pietro Carnesecchi, who sent his benediction, along with that of the papal nuncio Beccadelli, to Girolamo in 1554.⁷¹ Ottavio, however, received a very different treatment. His baptism took place in August 1559, when the struggle in the Curia was more bitter than ever. Paul IV, sensing his impending death, was stubbornly determined to conclude the trial against Cardinal Morone and the other *spirituali*. By April, the Roman Inquisition had already sentenced Carnesecchi to death; he managed to avoid execution only by hiding in Venice and waiting for the pope to

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 62, nos 674, 677; R. De Maio, *Alfonso Carafa cardinale di Napoli (1540-1565)*, Vatican City 1961, pp. VIII, 6-10, 199, 202, and Graheli, 'Reading the History', p. 309. The *Opera omnia* of Thomas Aquinas was also intended to be dedicated to Alfonso Carafa, but the edition was never completed by the Academia (ibid., p. 301).

⁷⁰ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 64-69, and Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem* (Sirletti Card. Guglielmo). See also Antonio Carafa's warm letter to Manuzio, transcribed in Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, p. 325.

⁷¹ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 52-54, nos 562, 528.

die.⁷² It was at this moment that Manuzio chose as Ottavio's godfathers: Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Giacomo Puteo, Agostino Lippomano, Vincenzo Diedo, Antonio Elio and Michele della Torre. Ottavio Manuzio was therefore blessed by prelates belonging to the intransigent faction: two cardinal inquisitors (Carpi and Puteo), two bishops of the Republic of Venice who were very close to the pope (Lippomano, bishop of Verona and brother of the pope's advisor Alvise; and Diedo, patriarch of Venice) and, finally, Paul IV's secretary, Elio, and his private butler, della Torre.⁷³

When Paolo Manuzio was eventually called to Rome at the beginning of Pius IV's pontificate, the support of the cardinals in the Curia was decisive. The surviving members of the imperial-*spirituali* party, reassembled around Giovanni Morone, endorsed Manuzio's candidacy for religious reasons, while Pio da Carpi and some Carafa's protégés (Vitelozzo Vitelli, Gian Bernardino Scotti and Clemente D'Olera) may have had sympathy for the revival of Paul IV's project for a papal press. The three Farnese cardinals – Alessandro, Ranuccio and, to a lesser extent, their cousin Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora – were among Manuzio's backers, as was the powerful Ercole Gonzaga and the *cardinal nipote* Carlo Borromeo.⁷⁴ Finally, on 26 February 1561, the pope elevated to the cardinalate a large number of Manuzio's friends: along with Girolamo Seripando, who was an enthusiastic supporter, there

⁷² For a precise account of the trials, see *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone: edizione critica*, ed. by M. Firpo and D. Marcatto, 6 vols, Rome 1981-1995 (a *nuova edizione critica* has been in course of publication since 2011), and *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi (1557-1567)*, ed. by M. Firpo and D. Marcatto, 2 vols, Vatican City 1998-2000, esp. I: *I processi sotto Paolo IV e Pio IV (1557-1561)*.

⁷³ The letter is published in Fletcher, 'Paulus Manutius', p. 317. On Ottavio's baptism, see also Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 77-78, nos 903-904, 914.

⁷⁴ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 83-85, nos 992, 996-997, 999, 1001-1002, 1006, 1010-1012, 1015, 1018.

were Venetian acquaintances of his such as Marco Antonio da Mula and Bernardo Navagero, learned churchman, such as Stanislaus Hosius and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, and even some of his former pupils, such as Luigi d'Este and Francesco Gonzaga. Three months later, Manuzio signed a twelve-year contract to act as the papal printer in Rome.

His network of curial relationships was much more extensive than that of the printers with whom he was in competition. No one else could present himself as a humanist and a teacher, as well as a learned publisher, and no one else was in contact with so many figures within the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In a rapidly changing institution such as the Roman Curia, seeking protection from different areas of the political spectrum was the key to success. An expert in this domain, at the height of his enthusiasm in September 1561, Paolo wrote to his brother:

I have a dozen cardinals who are ready to do any favour to me before the pope, if need be, and I have not even been here for three months. I hope, in this way, to win over the rest of the Curia before the next three months are up. Everyone loves me here already. Still, I cannot court all of them as they wish, and I understand that some may have cause for complaint.⁷⁵

While this statement exaggerates the reality of the situation and reveals some

⁷⁵ Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, pp. 67-68: 'Et ho una dozzena di Cardinali che bisognando faranno per me ogni officio col Papa. E non è ancora tre mesi che son qui. Onde spero che in altri tre mesi m'impadronirò del resto della Corte. Benché vedo che già tutti mi amano, ma non posso corteggiarli tutti, come vorrebbero, et intendo che alcuni se ne lamentano.'

naivety in his understanding, it is doubtless true that he had managed to put together a cross-party group of powerful protectors. Yet, even so, his Roman dream, which had taken shape during the glittering years of the late 1530s, ultimately did not come true. In his attempts to settle in the Eternal City, he was witness to a great transformation in the relationship between curial patrons and men of letters. His unhappy experiences show that the attempt to mobilise Roman cultural life for the purposes of Catholic propaganda, which strongly marked the Counter-Reformation from Gregory XIII and Sixtus V onwards, had its origins in the mid-sixteenth century, at the twilight of Paul III's pontificate. Manuzio, however, either ignored or failed to grasp the implications of this development, in particular that his position as papal printer could not be treated merely as a lucrative office bestowed by a generous prince of the Renaissance but instead required him to behave as a subordinate in the exclusive service of the pope's interests, a role which entailed more restrictions than benefits. For all his well-honed skills in establishing useful contacts, he was not able to recognise or respond appropriately to the increasing confessionalisation of Italian and, above all, Roman culture.

9. The Establishment of a Papal Press

Paolo Manuzio arrived in Rome in mid-June 1561, at the height of his fame and full of enthusiasm and dreams of glory. As we have seen in the previous chapter, he had been summoned by Pope Pius IV to establish and run a printing press to serve the needs of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, when he eventually left the city in 1570, he was eager to quit his position, having, in his view, spent ten years continually facing a variety of problems and obtaining very little gratification. Looking at the facts objectively, his frustration seems justified. Soon after he set up the press, his managerial role was drastically reduced by the transfer of ownership from the Apostolic Chamber to the Commune of Rome; this led to him being frequently caught up in a clash of interests between the two institutions and, in the end, his business venture failed. In what follows, I shall examine the original plan and the agreement to establish the press.

9.1 A brief history of the press

It is worth starting with a summary of the complex history of the press, as reconstructed by Francesco Barberi.¹ The Stamperia was set up in the autumn of 1561 and issued its first book the following January. A special committee of four cardinals was promptly entrusted with the supervision of the press's activity. Enthusiasm for the enterprise seems to have vanished in the space of a few years, however, due to the high running costs. The reopening of the Council of Trent at the

¹ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, esp. pp. 21-97.

same time was a considerable strain on papal finances, which had already been drained by a series of wars in the previous decades.² As early as August 1561, the Apostolic Chamber was unable to meet all its expenses, and Pius IV ordered that Manuzio's salary should be paid out of the tax on foreign wine.³ Since the pontificate of Eugenius IV, this tariff, also known as the *gabella dello Studio*, had been dedicated to the *Studium Urbis*; but on several occasions various popes had drawn on it for different purposes.⁴ Despite this additional funding, the cost of keeping the press going proved to be unsupportable, which led to it being underfinanced. Apart from the initial endowment, the Stamperia received the derisory sum of 63 *scudi* per month. In late 1563, Pius IV decided to donate the physical plant of the press – along with the economic burden of supporting it – to the Commune of Rome; the control over its publications, however, was to remain in the hands of the congregation of cardinals. The Commune, or Popolo Romano, tried to avoid accepting this financially onerous gift by postponing its approval. Manuzio therefore stepped in and put himself forward, obtaining the donation by *motu proprio* on 26 April 1564.⁵ The claims of the Commune to its rights of ownership of the press were immediate. The ensuing dispute between Manuzio and the Commune lasted for two years and even led to Paolo being evicted from his home.⁶ Then, in 1566, the new pope, Pius V, decisively resolved the situation: the two parties agreed

² On the papal finances in this period, see J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans le second moitié du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1957-1959 and M. C. Giannini, *L'oro e la tiara: la costruzione dello spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede (1560-1620)*, Bologna 2004.

³ See the *motu proprio* of 8 August 1561 in Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 168.

⁴ Beltrani, 'La tipografia romana', pp. 992-997; and Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 47-48, who reported that Paolo appeared in the accounts of the University of Rome for the year 1561 as 'praefectus pro libris sacris emendandis'.

⁵ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 169-171, for a transcription of this document.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64, for the quarrel about Paolo's house.

to divide between them both the profits and the tools and machinery belonging to the press, while the finances were to be administered solely by the Commune.⁷ A new beginning for the press seemed to be in the offing, sealed by its obtaining of the lucrative privilege to publish the revised Breviary of 1568. Yet, the problems which had persistently dogged the press since its establishment soon re-emerged: a lack of funds and investments, on the one hand, and an absence of clarity in its management structure and editorial strategy, on the other. Manuzio, ill and exasperated, tried to resign in 1569; but he was allowed to leave Rome only in the summer of 1570, after he had sold his half of the property to the new manager of the press, the Roman nobleman Fabrizio Galletti.⁸ In the end, Manuzio had worked as the printer of the Catholic Church for only nine of the twelve years which he had originally demanded as the tenure of his employment. Afterwards, the Stamperia became a troubled communal institution, progressively emancipating itself from the control of the Curia and the pursuit of its interests.⁹

In my view, the history of the papal press under Paolo Manuzio can be divided into three phases. The first ran from late 1561 to November 1563 and was the closest attempt to realise the original cultural plan behind the press, that is, publishing Catholic editions of sacred texts (the Bible and the works of the Church Fathers) through the agency of a centralised institution, with a tight control on the theological orthodoxy of its output. The second phase, ending in May 1566, coincided with the

⁷ Ibid., pp. 173-176, for a transcription of the contract.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 201-204, for the sale agreement. On Galletti, see the short entry by L. Spera, 'Galletti, Fabrizio', in *DBI*, LI, Rome 1998, pp. 575-576.

⁹ Amid myriad difficulties, the press was managed by Fabrizio Galletti until 1573, by a company of printers and booksellers led by Domenico Basa until 1584 and by Giorgio Ferrari until 1598. On the press after 1570, see A. Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*.

quarrel between Manuzio and the Commune. This was a period of change and difficulties due to the uncertainty about the rightful ownership of the press. It is possible that assigning the press's property to Manuzio might have resolved some of its economic problems. What is certain, however, is that the donation to the Commune was the breaking-point for his management of the press: he was increasingly forced to act merely as a printer, a role for which, unlike his father, he had no particular talent. The impact of this shift is apparent if we compare the title-pages of Aldine publications issued in Rome between 1562 and 1570. The name of Paolo Manuzio, which once dominated the title-page, was gradually demoted to a secondary position and then, from 1568 onwards, disappeared completely. Likewise, the famous Aldine device was first marginalised and then dropped entirely.¹⁰ In the meantime, the editorial programme of the press began to move towards institutional publications, beginning with the edition of the decrees of the Tridentine Council in 1564 – a watershed in the press's history, which will be treated extensively in Chapter 11. The third phase covered the last four years of the press, from 1566 to the mid-1570s. During that time, the philological and humanist dimension of the enterprise was, for all intents and purposes, abandoned, in line with the demands of Pius V, who wanted the press to have a monopoly over the official Tridentine books of the Catholic Church – the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Index of Forbidden Books, the Catechism and the revised Breviary – in order to control their distribution. Manuzio and the Commune were attracted by the potential rewards of exercising an exclusive privilege to publish these texts. The press, however, was too small and too remote from the book market to take advantage of such an

¹⁰ For the different devices used by the press, see Fletcher, 'Paulus Manutius', p. 296, and the facsimile reproduction in *The Aldine Press*, pp. 562-563, nos A21-A23, A25 and p. 573, nos D1-D3.

opportunity. These three phases were reflected not only in the output of the press, but also, as we shall see in Chapter 10, the constitution of the committee charged with its supervision.

Before moving on to the main body of this chapter, I want to clarify a point regarding the press's name. Paolo Manuzio's Roman press is generally known as the Stamperia del Popolo Romano. Yet this name was never employed either by Manuzio or by the Commune, even after 1570. Various different formulas appeared on the title-pages of the books issued by the press: *Apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F.; In aedibus Populi Romani* (sometimes abridged to *Pop. Romani, Pop. Rom. and Po. Ro.*); *In aedibus S.P.Q.R.*; *Nelle case del Popolo Romano*.¹¹ The convention of referring to the Stamperia del Popolo Romano originated with the title of Barberi's 1942 monograph *Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561-1570)*.¹² In my opinion, this name has the serious shortcoming of over-emphasising the role of the Commune, suggesting that it was the main sponsor and sole owner of the press. For the first phase of the Stamperia (1561-1563), in particular, this is

¹¹ The first site of the press – Palazzo d'Aragonia, now a part of Palazzo Poli – was bought by the Commune on 12 June 1563. For a short time, therefore, the Popolo Romano owned the printing establishment, though not the press itself; see Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 57, 58, 126. This was the origin of the imprint *In aedibus Populi Romani*.

¹² Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*; Tinto, 'Tipi della Stamperia del Popolo Romano'; Ascarelli and Menato, *La tipografia del '500*, pp. 115, 118-119, 326; *Index Aureliensis: Catalogus librorum sedicesimo saeculo impressorum*, Baden-Baden, 16 vols, 1962-, III/3, p. 216 (only from 1570 onwards). The following catalogues opt for other names: G. Borsa, *Clavis typographorum librorumque Italiae 1465-1600*, 2 vols, Baden-Baden 1980, II, p. 226 (Typographia in aedibus Populi Romani, only from 1571 onwards); *Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy and of Italian Books printed in other Countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum*, London 1958, p. 919 (Casa del Popolo Romano, only from 1571 onwards); H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of the Books printed on the Continent of Europe (1501-1600) in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols, Cambridge 1967, II, pp. 639-640, 785 (In aed. Populi Romani, only from 1565 onwards); R. Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts: Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts: Second Part: Italian Sixteenth-century Books*, 2 vols, Cambridge MA 1974, II, p. 696, no. 504 (Tipografia del Popolo Romano, but not included in the index of printers and publishers).

inaccurate. During this period, the press was managed by Paolo Manuzio, who employed his own name and device in the service of the papacy; so, I believe that it should instead be called Manuzio's press in Rome. As the influence of the Commune progressively increased from 1563 onwards, the name devised by Barberi becomes more and more appropriate. Nonetheless, it is important to bear in mind that throughout Manuzio's management of the press, that is, from 1561 to 1570, its mission press was closely connected to the cultural policy of the Catholic Church; so, in this decade, it was far more a papal press than a civic institution.¹³

9.2. The agreement to establish a papal press in Rome

The story of the first papal press in Rome is closely connected to the pontificate of Pius IV (Giovanni Angelo Medici, 1559-1565).¹⁴ By inviting Paolo Manuzio to Rome in order to establish a press, the pope was not initiating a new plan. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Manuzio had received similar offers during the 1550s, culminating in the invitation by Paul IV in the last months of his reign. Pius IV, therefore, put into action the project devised by his predecessor. Yet, despite this apparent continuity, the new pope imposed his own policy on the plan. His approach to the papacy was very different, if not diametrically opposed, to that of Paul IV. With regard to foreign affairs, during the six years of his papacy, he re-

¹³ There are no grounds, however, for referring to it as the Tridentine press, as does Flether, 'Paulus Manutius', pp. 289, 293-294.

¹⁴ Pius IV's family, the Milanese Medici da Marignano, was not related to the de' Medici of Florence; nevertheless, he was allowed to employ their renowned coat of arms and name, probably after he became a cardinal in 1549. There is as yet no full-scale biography of Pius IV: C. Amelli, *Il cuore e la legge: Giovanni Angelo Medici papa Pio IV*, Melegnano 1995, is far from exhaustive; still fundamental are: J. Šusta, *Die römische Curie und das Concil von Trient unter Pius IV: Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Concils von Trient*, 4 vols, Vienna 1904-1914, and Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, which is entirely devoted to Pius IV. For further bibliography, see F. Rurale, 'Pio IV', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, III, pp. 142-160. See also E. Bonora, *Roma 1564: la congiura contro il papa*, Rome and Bari 2011.

opened the Council of Trent and brought it to a conclusion, as well as working to establish peaceful relations between Italy, France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. Internally, he sought to limit the power of the Roman Inquisition over the Curia and also promoted a rehabilitation of the imperial-*spirituali* party, which Paul IV had tried to eradicate. The first decisions of his pontificate were particularly significant. On the one hand, he confirmed the release of Cardinal Giovanni Morone from prison and his reinstatement as one of the pope's most trusted counsellors.¹⁵ On the other, he undermined the power of his predecessor's family by bringing to trial Giovanni Carafa, Duke of Paliano, and the cardinals Carlo and Alfonso Carafa.¹⁶

In order to see how well the plan to establish a papal press fit in with aims of the Curia, it is necessary, first of all, to describe the relevant events in detail, starting with the election of Pius IV on 26 December 1559. In an undated letter, probably written a few days after the conclusion of the conclave, Paolo Manuzio congratulated the new pope. He pretended to speak not in his own voice but that of the *liberales artes*, who praise Pius for his support in the past and who encourage him to pursue the same path now that he has deservedly risen to such a high position within the Church. The letter was analysed by both Fickelscherer and Barberi, though they put forward differing interpretations of its purpose: Fickelscherer supposed that Manuzio was attempting to prepare the way for a possible invitation

¹⁵ On Morone, see *Processo Morone*; M. Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma: studi sul cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580) e il suo processo d'eresia: nuova edizione riveduta e ampliata*, Brescia 2005; *L'uomo del concilio: il cardinale Giovanni Morone tra Roma e Trento nell'età di Michelangelo*, ed. by R. Pancheri and D. Primerano, Trent 2009; *Il cardinale Giovanni Morone e l'ultima fase del concilio di Trento*, ed. by M. Firpo and O. Niccoli, Bologna 2010; and, most recently, A. P. Robinson, *The Career of Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580): Between Council and Inquisition*, Farnham 2012.

¹⁶ Among the vast literature on this trial, see esp. De Maio, *Alfonso Carafa*, pp.79-110, and A. Aubert, *Paolo IV: politica, inquisizione e storiografia*, Florence 1999, pp. 13-107.

to Rome, while Barberi claimed, without any evidence, that he was seeking financial patronage from the pope.¹⁷ While Fickelscherer's hypothesis is more convincing than Barberi's, both views need to be revised in light of Pastorello's discovery of a previous version of the letter, also undated but addressed to Cardinal Reginald Pole as if he had become pope. In her inventory, Pastorello placed Manuzio's letters to Pius IV and Pole together, using the date of Pius's election as a *terminus ante quem* for the letter to Pole and a *terminus post quem* for the one to Pius.¹⁸ The leader of the imperial-*spirituali* party from 1542, Pole was one of Manuzio's most powerful patrons,¹⁹ and, as we have seen in Chapter 8, he was quite close to him in terms of religious beliefs. The support of Paul III and Charles V was not enough to secure the papacy for Pole, who died in Lambeth on 17 November 1558 as the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury. Why, then, did Manuzio write to him as 'Reginaldo Polo, Pontifici Maximo'? The answer to this question will enable us to date the document more accurately. At only one point was Pole widely expected to be elected pope: the conclave after Paul III's death (29 November 1559 to 8 February 1550). In the first two scrutinies, which took place on 3 and 4 December 1549, Pole missed being elected by only four votes. Before the voting on 5 December, one of the leaders of the opposing faction, the General Inquisitor Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa (later Paul IV), openly denounced him as a heretic, placing a dossier of incriminating documents before the assembly; in the balloting on that day Pole lost by a single

¹⁷ Fickelscherer, 'Paolo Manutio', p. 19; Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 24-26. Barberi also made a connection between Paolo's letter and Aldo's famous dedication of Plato's works to Leo X in 1513. This suggestion is misleading, since the two texts are very different in style and tone; moreover, in the dedicatory letter Aldo, writing in his own name, explicitly asked the pope for support to create an academy in Rome. See *Aldo Manuzio editore*, I, pp. 120-123.

¹⁸ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 4 and p. 80, nos 939-940.

¹⁹ Fragnito, 'Per lo studio dell'epistolografia volgare', pp. 74-75, nt. 46; Lowry, *Facing the Responsibility*, pp. 20-26; Braida, *Libri di lettere*, pp. 54-98, esp. p. 64.

vote, but afterwards his candidacy gradually collapsed.²⁰ The letter must have been composed during those months, when Manuzio was confident enough of his patron's election to have drafted a congratulatory epistle.²¹ The final result of the conclave, which proclaimed the outsider Cardinal Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte as Julius III, was, no doubt, a great disappointment to him.²² Almost ten years elapsed, therefore, between Manuzio's letters to Pole (*ante* 8 February 1550) and to Pius (*post* 25 December 1559). The texts, however, are almost identical, apart from the change of names and the references to the personal history of the two cardinals; however, the references to his addressee's piety are better suited to Pole's life than to that of Pius before his pontificate. It is clear, nonetheless, that Barberi's view of the letter as no more than a flattering request for money, specifically tailored to Pius IV, does not stand up. Fickelscherer's opinion, as I have already indicated, seems more plausible, though it is necessary to see the letter as an example of rhetorical celebration, aimed at winning patronage, but without saying so explicitly or specifying the nature of what was sought. Furthermore, it is relevant that Manuzio decided to recycle a letter which he had written a decade earlier, clearly considering Pius's election as a good opportunity for himself.

²⁰ The impact of Carafa's attack on Pole is still debated; see Firpo, *Inquisizione romana*, p. 464 and passim, and now extensively in his *La presa del potere*, and the less convincing interpretation of T. F. Mayer, 'The War of the Two Saints: The Conclave of Julius III and Cardinal Pole', in his *Cardinal Pole in European Context*, Aldershot 2000, pp. 1-21. Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 327-329, who leans towards Firpo's view, presents new details about the plot. Although his name continued to carry some authority in the two further conclaves during his lifetime, Pole was significantly disadvantaged by his move to England; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, pp. 303-310, 340-346. On the conclave which elected Marcellus II, see Quaranta, *Marcello II*, pp. 459-466.

²¹ Since no information about the conclave was revealed until it was over, Paolo was unaware that Pole's candidacy, contrary to expectations, had failed. As late as 28 December 1549, he wrote to his brother (Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 7): 'È vero che, se fusse creato Papa il Cardinale Polo inglese, il quale finora s'intende che ha meglio di tutti, io spererei che la mia fortuna, cioè la vostra, non fusse ancor morta; perché Sua Signoria Reverendissima mi ama molto, et conosce e stima le mie lettere. Si crede certo, che sarà ò lui, ò Salviati. Salviati è misero, e non stima le lettere ...'

²² Taking Julius III's proclamation on 8 February 1550 as the *terminus ante quem*, the letter should be re-numbered 447a in Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*.

In the scholarly literature, it is generally agreed that Pius IV's project to establish a Catholic press was conceived in the first months of 1561.²³ Reading through the corpus of Manuzio's letters from 1559 onwards, however, it becomes evident that this plan had been in the minds of the Church hierarchy since the very beginning of Pius's papacy. As early as 17 February 1560, writing to his friend Ottaviano Maggi, Manuzio explicitly mentioned the Roman project:

It would be a very honourable assignment to move to Rome in order to supervise the press which his Holiness wishes to establish; and I would willingly accept it, if my business affairs – which are now going quite well – allow me to do so. Should things work out, I will always follow the advice of my friends.²⁴

Re-dating the inception of the project to a year earlier makes the link to Paul IV's plan much clearer and stronger. As is apparent from the quotation above, the same printer, that is, Paolo Manuzio, was contacted as in the previous year; and Manuzio, for his part, was ready to participate in the endeavour. As I have already mentioned in Chapter 8, the continuity between the plans of Paul IV and Pius IV to establish a papal printing press raises new questions about the identity of the

²³ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 442; Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 30; and Fickelscherer, 'Paolo Manutio', pp. 19-20, who, however, hints at earlier dealings.

²⁴ Paolo Manuzio, *Lettere volgari ... divise in quattro libri*, Venice, Paolo Manuzio, 1560, f. 155r: 'Quanto al venir a Roma, per sopra intendente della stampa, che disegna sua Santità di ridurvi: sarebbe carico honoratissimo; et io l'accetterei più che volentieri, se dallo stato delle cose mie, che sono hora assai bene incaminate, mi fosse permesso. Di che però, quando la pratica più oltre proceda, mi rimetterò sempre al consiglio de gli amici ...' The letter is dated 17 February 1559 *more veneto* and therefore refers to 1560.

cardinals who supported the project. It seems plausible to include among them some created by Paul IV such as his nephews, Vitelli and Scotti. The cardinals who most promoted Manuzio's interests in these years, however, were almost certainly his long-term protectors, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi and Alessandro Farnese. After the election of Pius IV in 1559, both managed to maintain and, in some respects, even increase their influence with the new pope. In particular, Pio da Carpi remained one of the leaders of the intransigent faction and won over the trust of the Spanish court of Philip II, whose religious views were much stricter than those of his father, Charles V.²⁵

Despite such high-ranking support, Manuzio had to wait several months before the papal bureaucracy moved into action.²⁶ Not until early July does a sort of informal agreement seem to have been reached, as Ludovico Beccadelli, archbishop of Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik), reported to his close friend Manuzio in a letter of 21 July 1560: 'Here in Bologna, where I arrived 15 days ago, I received your letter of the 6th, in which you gave me information about your affairs and about the offer coming to you from Rome.'²⁷ Unfortunately, Manuzio's letter of 6 July has not been located; nevertheless, it seems clear that the offer from Rome which he told his

²⁵ Some slight friction arose between the two cardinals and Pius IV over the affair of Paul IV's nephews (7 June 1560 to 5 March 1561), since neither Pio nor Farnese was in favour of putting them on trial. Pio, in particular, tried to stand up for them; afterwards, however, his career continued to advance, and in May 1562 he became Dean of the College of Cardinals; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 111, 118, 125, and Firpo, *Inquisizione romana*, pp. 356-366.

²⁶ On 13 May 1560 Manuzio wrote to his friend Giovanni de' Nobili (Manuzio, *Lettere volgari*, 1560, f. 160r): 'Nella pratica di Roma, oltre quello che sapete, altro non è avvenuto: et in questo pensiero è veramente così giusta la bilancia dell'animo mio, che non pende punto in una parte più che nell'altra, e senza alcuna passione, o desiderio rimetto il tutto alla volontà di Nostro Signore Dio, per essere a noi occulto il fine delle cose umane.'

²⁷ Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, p. 151, no. 971: 'Qui in Bologna ove giunsi già XV giorni, ho ricevuto la vostra delli VI del presente, per la quale mi date conto del stato vostro, et dell'offerta che vi viene fatta da Roma.'

friend about concerned the plan for a papal press.

This sheds new light on another letter (which I briefly touched on in Chapter 8) sent by Manuzio on 10 July 1560 to an important figure in the Curia, almost certainly Francesco Gongaza di Guastalla. The document contains two pleas. First, Manuzio begged his patron to recommend him to the pope for a lectureship at the University of Rome, which he had heard was undergoing a reform.²⁸ Second, he wanted cardinals Cesi,²⁹ Morone and Borromeo to intercede on his behalf with the pope to help him obtain ‘a position [*deputatione*], decent accommodation and a good salary’, which would enable him to move his library and home from Venice to Rome and ‘to live honestly’.³⁰ This letter is not easy to interpret; and, in particular, the precise meaning of *deputatione* is unclear. Barberi assumed that the two requests were the same and that ‘the position’ Manuzio sought was the lectureship at the university.³¹ It seems more likely, however, that he was referring to his supervision of the papal press, which was the main reason for his planned move to Rome and the

²⁸ The reform of the *Studium Urbis* started to be discussed before 26 June 1560; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, p. 552, esp. n. 7. Papal intervention in the university had three objectives: regulating the tax on foreign wines (*gabella dello Studio*), which had been the university’s main source of funding since Eugenius IV; increasing the number of lecturers; and enlarging the building in which the university was housed (this plan failed due to the continuing opposition of the Commune). See Renazzi, *Storia dell’Università*, II, pp. 135-139, with documentation at pp. 257-262, and A. Bedon, ‘La fabbrica della Sapienza da Alessandro VI alla fine del Cinquecento’, in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis*, pp. 477-480, esp. n. 25.

²⁹ On the Roman Cardinal Federico Cesi (1500-1565) see A. Borromeo, ‘Cesi, Federico’, *DBI*, Rome 1980, XXIV, pp. 256-259.

³⁰ A. Ceruti, ‘Lettere inedite dei Manuzii’, *Archivio Veneto*, XXI, 1881, pp. 263-291, at pp. 274-275: ‘Sono avvisato da diverse bande, che d’alquanti giorni in qua s’attende gagliardamente alla riforma dello studio di Roma, e così parmi tempo atto e convenevole a tener modo d’esser ricordato a Sua Beatitudine per la lettura promessami più volte da quella ... hora con ogni fede ricorro all’aiuto et favor suo, supplicandola si degni raccomandarmi caldamente alli illustrissimi et reverendissimi Cesis, Morone, Borromei, che circa la deputatione, luoc’ honorevole et buon salario atto al poter trasportar la libreria et casa mia di qui in Roma et honestamente tratenermici, vogliano degnarsi intercedere per me appresso di Sua Santità.’

³¹ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 30.

details of which were a cause of concern to him. As we have seen, Manuzio was never appointed to a chair. Nor, at first, did he receive any information from Rome about the establishment of a papal publishing house,³² since the pope and his Curia had to deal with far more pressing matters. The trial of the Carafa nephews, who were imprisoned on 7 June 1560, did not come to an end until 5 March 1561, while the entire Curia, especially after 3 June 1560, was busy with negotiations for the re-opening of the Council of Trent.³³

At the start of 1561, the situation in the Curia became increasingly favourable to the publishing enterprise. On 26 February, in his second creation, Pius IV made 18 new cardinals, among whom were many supporters and friends of Manuzio:³⁴ Marcantonio da Mula, Bernardo Navagero, Stanislaus Hosius, Francesco Gonzaga, Ludovico Este, Antoine Perrenot de Grenville and, above all, Girolamo Seripando.³⁵ Moreover, in January 1561 the pope had begun a revision of the severe Index of Forbidden Books promulgated by his predecessor in December 1558, setting up a

³² Nevertheless, by the end of 1560, news of his impending move from Venice to Rome in order to supervise the papal press was circulating among Paolo's acquaintances; see A. M. Bandini, *Collectio veterum aliquot monimentorum ad historiam praecipue litterariam pertinentium*, Arezzo 1752, p. 111, and Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, pp. 153-154.

³³ On the significance of this date for the convocation of the council, see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 133-176, esp. p. 138, and Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/1, pp. 17-75.

³⁴ See Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, p. 122-123. On Paolo's relationship to these cardinals, see Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem*.

³⁵ On this key character in the history of the sixteenth-century Catholic Church, see G. Algranati, *Girolamo Seripando*, Naples 1923; the still unsurpassed H. Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando: sein Leben und Denken in Geisteskampf des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Würzburg 1937; A. Mazzarini, *Dibattito Lutero Seripando su 'Giustizia e libertà del cristiano'*, Brescia 1981, and his *Il Cardinale Girolamo Seripando Arcivescovo di Salerno e Legato Pontificio al Concilio di Trento*, Salerno 1994. For new insights into his religious beliefs, see A. Prosperi, 'Evangelismo di Seripando?', in *Girolamo Seripando e la Chiesa del suo tempo nel V centenario della nascita: atti del convegno di Salerno, 14-16 ottobre 1994*, ed. by A. Cestaro, Rome 1997, pp. 33-49.

special committee of cardinals and prelates, which included Seripando.³⁶ From that time onwards, Seripando became Manuzio's key supporter in the Curia, helping him to attain an official appointment as supervisor of the papal press by facilitating connections between him and his patrons (the cardinals Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Ercole Gonzaga and Giovanni Morone). Rather than acting as a patron himself, Seripando behaved towards Manuzio as a close and considerate friend.³⁷

When the committee for the revision of the Index met for the first time, on 8 February 1561, the plan to set up a papal press was once again on the Church's agenda. Soon afterwards, Seripando gave Manuzio a report on the discussions:³⁸

Finding myself in a congregation of cardinals and other prelates before the pope, we came to consider the running of a press in Rome on behalf of the Council [of Trent]. Not wanting to waste such a good opportunity, I did not hesitate to put you and your firm forward; and my proposal went down well. Some people there, however, replied that this matter had already been discussed, but nothing had come of it because you were aiming too high and demanding an unreasonable salary. Nevertheless, his Holiness ordered me to write you, in any case, about this, as I am doing, and then to refer your answer to the most illustrious

³⁶ *ILI*, VIII, pp. 51-54.

³⁷ They had carried on a warm correspondence since at least 1534; see Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem*. On 19 April 1560, Seripando even signed a letter to Paolo (Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 364): 'Prontissimo come fratello Il Card. Seripando'.

³⁸ Even though Seripando did not mention the date of the meeting, it is clear that he was referring to the session held on 8 February; see *CT*, VIII, p. 250, n. 2.

Cardinal Borromeo. So, I say to you that if you are happy to accept this task – which I see you very much want – write me without delay about your needs, especially as regards your terms. I shall not fail to do what I owe you on account of our long friendship; however, I am persuaded as much by the public benefit which will ensue from your virtue as by our relationship.³⁹

Seripando's letter has been analysed in the past and has often been mistakenly regarded as the earliest evidence we have for the Church hierarchy's plan to establish a press. Though that is not the case, as we have seen, there are nonetheless five aspects of the letter which deserve further attention. The first and most significant of these is the context in which the plan was discussed. It was certainly not by chance that the possibility of the Church making active use of printing was canvassed in a committee with the remit of revising the Index: the papacy clearly recognised that its two main concerns with regard to books and the printed word – banning some ideas from circulation and promoting the spread of others – should be treated together.

The second aspect of the letter worth dwelling on is the terminology used by

³⁹ *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini... Libro terzo*, Venice, Paolo Manuzio, 1564, f. 62r: 'Essendomi ritrovato in una congregazione di Cardinali, et altri Prelati avanti Nostro Signore, si venne a ragionar di condurr' una Stampa in Roma per conto del Concilio. Io non volendo perdere così buona occasione, non lasciai di proponere et la Stampa, et la persona vostra; et fui ben' ascoltato: però alcuni risposero, che di questo s'era parlato altre volte, et che non era stato concluso, perché voi andavate troppo per l'alto, dimandando prezzo fuor di misura. Non ostante questo, Sua Santità mi comandò, ch' ad ogni modo io ve ne scrivessi, come già fo, et che poi riferissi la risposta all' Illustrissimo Cardinal Borromei. Vi dico adunque, che, quando vi piaccia di accettar' il partito, al quale veggo che sete desiderato; mi scriviate risolutamente quanto vi occorre, et massime intorno alle condizioni. perché io non mancherò di far per voi quel, che debbo per la nostra antica amicitia: la quale però non mi muove più, che il beneficio publico, che può nascer dalla virtù vostra.' The letter is dated *more veneto* 10 February 1560.

Seripando to describe the press: ‘the running of a press in Rome on behalf of the Council’ (‘condurr’ una Stampa in Roma per conto del Concilio’). This seems to be the sole statement indicating a direct connection between the Roman press and the Council of Trent. In the rest of the documentation from these years, the main objective of the papal press is said to be the publication of religious texts, especially works by the Church Fathers; and this did not change until the closure of the council.⁴⁰

The third noteworthy feature of the letter is that we learn of the opposition to Manuzio on the part of some unspecified prelates, almost certainly cardinals. Even more interesting is the mention of previous negotiations with Manuzio, which had fallen through because of his excessive salary demands. Although Seripando does not go into any detail, he was very likely referring to the negotiations of the past three years (1558 and 1560), if not earlier ones. This implies that the criticism of Manuzio came from senior cardinals, who had been in the Curia since the papacy of Paul IV; and the emphasis on monetary considerations suggests an administrator of papal finances such as Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora, who had been *cardinale camerlengo* since 1537.⁴¹ The fourth point revealed by the letter is the entrance of Carlo Borromeo, Pius IV’s *cardinale nipote*, into the story; his support for Manuzio

⁴⁰ Fletcher’s reference to the Roman press run by Manuzio as ‘Tridentine’, in his ‘Paulus Manutius’, pp. 289, 293, therefore seems somewhat misleading, at least with regard to its original aims.

⁴¹ Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora (1518-1564) was a scion of the cadet branch of the Sforza family, which ruled over Santa Fiora (Grosseto) and Cotignola (Ravenna) from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. He became a cardinal, along with his cousin Alessandro Farnese, in 1535 and spent the rest of his life in the service of the Curia. There is no study devoted to him, but see G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, LXV, Venice 1854, pp. 93-95.

and the press was crucial.⁴² The fifth and final aspect of the letter to which I would like to draw attention is Seripando's statement that he supported the project not only because of his friendship with Manuzio, but also because of the public benefit which he believed it would produce.

The lengthy procedure of formalising the agreement and establishing the venture began on 8 February 1561. We can follow the stages in detail thanks to surviving letters and archival documents. At some point before 1 March, Manuzio sent Seripando his conditions, which he summed up on a single sheet, now held in Biblioteca Ambrosiana and entitled: 'Partiti di messer Paolo Manuzio sopra la stampa'.⁴³ The document was given to Cardinal Borromeo, as the pope had requested, and was later shown to Cardinal Farnese.⁴⁴ Manuzio demanded free accommodation, an annual salary of 500 gold *scudi*, a knighthood or a pension for his son Aldo the Younger and reimbursement for his own expenses in moving to Rome. He would handle both the printing and the sale of books. The Apostolic

⁴² Only a few studies have been devoted to Borromeo's Roman period (1560-1566): P. Paschini, 'Il primo soggiorno di S. Carlo Borromeo a Roma (1560-1565)', in his *Cinquecento romano*, pp. 93-181; M. Fois, 'Carlo Borromeo cardinale nipote di Pio IV', *Studia Borromaica*, III, 1989, pp. 7-44; E. Cattaneo, 'La cultura di san Carlo: san Carlo e la cultura', in *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, ed. by N. Raponi and A. Turchini, Milan 1992, pp. 5-37, esp. pp. 8-16 for further bibliography.

⁴³ MS Milan, BAM, S. 219 inf. For the transcription, see Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 524, who also suggests that this may be the personal copy of Cardinal Borromeo. The *terminus ante quem* of 1 March can be inferred from a letter by Seripando of 11 March, to Paolo, in which he confirmed receipt of his two previous letters: the first, now lost, in the vernacular, to which Paolo's terms were very likely attached; and the second in Latin, which was unquestionably the letter he sent to Seripando on 1 of March to congratulate him on becoming a cardinal. See Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 84, nos 995-996.

⁴⁴ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 525: 'Quanto prima mi fu permesso, diedi la vostra informazione intorno alle stampe al Monsignor Illustrissimo, et Reverendissimo Borromei, dal quale mi fu promesso, che ne farebbe relatione a Sua Santità et me ne darebbe risposta.' Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, p. 155, no. 997: 'Gli Caratteri che m'ha mandati Vostra Signoria, sono venuti assai guasti dal'acqua per esser piovuto tanto, e Monsignor Illustrissimo Seripando m'ha detto ch'io gli mostri al mio Cardinale quando sarà tornato.' The cardinal mentioned here was without doubt Alessandro Farnese, since the author of the letter was his secretary Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola.

Chamber, for its part, would bear all the costs of the press and appoint a book-keeper to record income and expenditure. Earnings from the sale of books would first be used to repay the Chamber's outlay and then would be equally divided between Manuzio and the Chamber. Finally, he wanted a contract for at least twelve years and specified that his payment should not be interrupted even if the press had to be closed down temporarily due to calamities such as pestilence or war. Again and again, he insisted that he should have a free hand as the manager of the press. His demands were very high; but, as he pointed out at the very beginning of the document, publishing beautiful sacred books required considerable money and work.⁴⁵

During the consistory of 10 March, Pius IV created a congregation to establish the press. Once again, Paolo was informed of the fact by Seripando, who had been appointed a member of this committee.⁴⁶ In a letter of 11 March he promised to present Paolo's terms as soon as the congregation was summoned, and he referred again to the opponents of the project in the Curia.⁴⁷ Paolo was asked to nominate a

⁴⁵ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 524: 'Per sostentamento de la stampa di Roma volendo mandare in luce i sacri libri corretti eccellentemente e benissimo lavorati, è da sapere in generale, che vi si richiede maggior spesa che in qualunque altro luogo, et maggior cura che in qualunque altra sorte di libri.'

⁴⁶ Seripando, therefore, was involved in the revision of the Index as well as the establishment of the press. A note in his diary seems to suggest that both tasks were dealt with by the congregation for the revision of the Index; see *ILL*, VIII, p. 52, n. 58. In the consistory of 10 March, Seripando was also appointed as one of the *legati* to the Council of Trent; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 177, 179.

⁴⁷ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 525: 'Hierì in concistoro Sua Santità fece una deputatione de' Cardinali sopra questo effetto, tra i quali fui chiamato ancor' io; et hebbi campo di dir quello che dovevo della persona vostra: mi fecero ottimo tenore l'Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo Morone, et Farnese, caeteris assentientibus. Ci congregaremo, quando saremo intimati, ove io porterò l'informazione da voi mandatami, et farò quell'officio, che devo, non tanto per voi, quanto per la riputatione di questa Sede, et perfettione dell'opera. Non lassiarò di dirvi, che non mancano alcuni, che come credo sono qui presenti, da mesi in qui non conosciuti, i quali per varie vie et modi s'insinuano, forse non bene intendendo che importi l'impresa della stampa, come mi ricordo, che già voi mi scrivevate.' It is worth noting that when Manuzio published the letter three years later, he edited

trustworthy person who could act on his behalf in Rome. Since the obvious candidate, Seripando himself, was about to move to Trent as a papal legate,⁴⁸ Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola, Cardinal Farnese's secretary and bishop of Caserta, put himself forward and solicited a notarial proxy, as he informed Paolo on 20 March and again nine days later.⁴⁹ In mid-April Paolo sent the documentation to Rome,⁵⁰ presumably happy for Bernardi to take on this role. A scholar and a friend of Paolo, as well as being very close to his patron,⁵¹ Bernardi had also acted as a mediator in the recent correspondence between Paolo and Seripando.⁵²

Despite Bernardi's concerns about the slow pace of curial bureaucracy,⁵³ on 19 April Seripando informed Paolo that his conditions had been accepted in the most recent consistory. Now, he wrote, Paolo should inform Cardinal Carlo Borromeo about his planned move to Rome and should leave Venice as soon as he received a reply, since the matter was becoming urgent ('poiché il negozio si riscalda').⁵⁴

the text and deleted the final sentence; see *Lettere di nobilissimi huomini*, f. 62r-v.

⁴⁸ The other cardinal legates (Ercole Gonzaga, Giacomo Puteo, Ludovico Simonetta and Stanislaus Hosius) were already on their way to Trent, but Seripando remained with the pope until 26 March; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, p. 180.

⁴⁹ See Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, pp. 154-155, no. 997 and Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 361.

⁵⁰ The proxy is now in ASR, *Notari segretari e cancellieri della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, prot. 453 (Hieronymus Cecholus Da Tarano), f. 163r-v.

⁵¹ See *Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola (1502-1565): un aristotelico umanista alla corte dei Farnese: atti del convegno, Mirandola 30 novembre 2002*, ed. by M. Forlivesi, Florence 2009. In 1562, Paolo published in Rome a reprint of Bernardi's first important treatise *Institutio in universam logicam*, previously issued in Basel in 1545.

⁵² See, in particular, the references in Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 84, nos 996, 999, 1002.

⁵³ On 12 April 1561, Bernardi wrote to Paolo, addressing him as 'Padron mio' (Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 362): '... invero quando questi Cardinali s'hano a congregare, et a parlare al Papa, non si finisce così presto'.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 363: '... vi dico che in un Concistoro avante sua Santità et in presentia delli Reverendissimi et Illustrissimi Cardinali Morone, Farnese, Camerlengo, Boromei et forse qualch'altro, miei Signori, fu concluso che s'exeguisse l'impresa della stampa, et che vi si facessero buone tutte le condizioni

Soon afterwards, the parties formalised their deal with an official contract. This contract was for a long time thought to be lost, until a single folio recording the main points of the agreement turned up and was purchased by UCLA at Sotheby's London sale in 1990.⁵⁵ The UCLA document, however, is incomplete: it is not the contract itself,⁵⁶ but instead a private and undated deed drawn up in the Italian vernacular around the end of April 1561. The complete contract contains two additional leaves held in the Archivio di Stato of Rome. These leaves record the notarial act of the contract. Like similar contemporary documentation of the Apostolic Chamber, the act, written in Latin, begins with the date (2 May 1561), introduces the witnesses and the parties, and closes with the apostolic notary's guarantee.⁵⁷ Instead of setting out in Latin the specific clauses of the agreement, the vernacular text in the UCLA folio, originally an independent and unofficial arrangement, was included in the contract as the second of the three leaves.⁵⁸

The contract basically accepted all the requests which Manuzio had made in

che con la vostra Informatione domandavate ... Dicovi dunque che respondiate subito all'Illustrissimo Cardinale Boromeo tutto quelche vi occorre, accioché havendo poi risposta da Sua Signoria Illustrissima possiate mettermi in viaggio: poiché il negotio si riscalda.⁷

⁵⁵ Sotheby's London, *Continental and Russian Books and Manuscripts, Science and Medicine: Thursday 26th April 1990*, London 1990, lot. 458.

⁵⁶ Lowry, *Facing the Responsibility*, p. 6 and *passim*.

⁵⁷ For a more detailed account, see my article, 'Il contratto tra Paolo Manuzio e la Camera apostolica (2 maggio 1561): la creazione della prima stamperia vaticana privilegiata', *La Bibliofilia*, CXV, 2013, pp. 245-261.

⁵⁸ There are several similarities between this curious structure and other contemporary documents produced by the Apostolic Chamber. Using the vernacular to draw up the points of agreement in contracts and concessions was a well-attested practice, as is apparent from ASR, *Notari segretari e cancellieri della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, prot. 453, which provides examples that correspond closely to Paolo Manuzio's contract: see, e.g., ff. 22r-25v, 48r-51v, 56r-63v, 76v-79r, 118r-122r, 135v-137r, 368v-374r, in which the *capitoli* are written on a separate leaf which was later included in the relevant notarial act.

March in his *Partiti sopra la stampa*. No wonder he was delighted to announce the details of the deal to his brother.⁵⁹ The resistance by some members of the curia to the cost of the project seemed at last to be overcome, since Cardinal Morone easily obtained 100 additional *scudi*, beyond the original budget of 200 *scudi*, in order to fund Paolo's move to Rome.⁶⁰ On paper, Paolo had achieved a privileged position over all his competitors and an assured monopoly: for twelve years he would have the prospect of earning substantial profits, with very few risks. Granting Paolo these rights, however, while imposing a relatively small amount of duties, entailed significant economic exposure for papal finances. This was very soon to become a problem; nevertheless, it highlights the extraordinary importance assigned to the project by the Roman Church. The same can be said concerning other exceptional aspects of the contract. First of all, the two signatures below the *capitoli* are highly unusual: even in very important deals struck by the Apostolic Chamber, it was rare for its head, the *camerarius*, Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, to sign a document; but the signature of a second delegate specifically appointed by the pope, as Morone was, seems to be unprecedented.⁶¹ Secondly, the large number of people involved, especially from the Curia, was beyond what one would expect for a normal contract. As well as the notary Girolamo Ceccolo da Tarano,⁶² there was a delegation of the highest Apostolic Chamber officials,⁶³ made up of the general treasurer Donato

⁵⁹ Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, pp. 54-57.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁶¹ Before his signature, Morone specifies: 'Sanctissimus Dominus Noster mandavit ut fieret contractus.' See the transcription of the contract in my 'Il contratto tra Paolo Manuzio'.

⁶² On Ceccolo da Tarano and his superior status among the notaries of the Apostolic Chamber, see *Mandati della Reverenda Camera Apostolica (1418-1802)*, ed. by P. Cherubini, Rome 1988, p. 51.

⁶³ On the bureaucratic structure of the Apostolic Chamber, see Table 1 in M. G. Pastura Ruggiero, *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica e i suoi archivi (secoli XV- XVIII)*, Rome 1984.

Matteo Minali,⁶⁴ the dean of clerics Giulio Sauli,⁶⁵ and his colleagues Ludovico de Torres,⁶⁶ Annibale Bozzuto⁶⁷ and Luigi Pisani,⁶⁸ the chairman Francesco Odescalchi, the general commissioner Giovanni Battista Curti⁶⁹ and, finally, the *advocatus pauperum* Marcantonio Borghese;⁷⁰ in addition, there were two witnesses, Simone Paluzio and Francesco Sottocasa.⁷¹ Lastly, the final passage in the *capitoli* indicates that the Curia, after many delays, suddenly decided to accelerate events,⁷² as is also apparent from Paolo's correspondence in April and May.⁷³ On 10 May, as requested in the contract, Paolo ratified the agreement in Venice, and his approval reached the

⁶⁴ On this trusted executive of Pius IV, see M. C. Giannini, 'Minali, Donato Matteo', in *DBI*, LXXIV, Rome 2010, pp. 555-557, and also his 'Note sui tesoreri generali della Camera apostolica e sulle loro carriere tra XVI e XVII secolo', in *Offices et Papauté (XVI^e-XVII^e siècle): charges, hommes, destins*, ed. by A. Jamme and O. Poncet, Rome 2005, pp. 859-883.

⁶⁵ Little is known about him. He was bishop of Bugnato from 1565 until his death in 1570 and, from 1567, chaired the Congregatio super viis, pontibus et fontibus; see *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi: sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, ed. by K. Eubel et al., 6 vols, Münster 1913-1967, III, p. 156, and D. Sinisi and C. Genovese, *Pro ornatu et publica utilitate: l'attività della Congregazione cardinalizia super viis, pontibus et fontibus nella Roma di fine '500*, Rome 2011, *ad indicem*.

⁶⁶ P. Messina, 'De Torres, Ludovico', in *DBI*, XXXIX, Rome 1991, pp. 478-480. De Torres (1533-1584) entered the Curia under Julius III, thanks to his uncle Ludovico, bishop of Salerno. In 1574, he was appointed archbishop of Monreale. He is not to be confused with his nephew Ludovico de Torres (1551-1609), on whom see *ibid.*, pp. 480-483.

⁶⁷ R. Zapperi, 'Bozzuto, Annibale', in *DBI*, XIII, Rome 1971, pp. 592-595. An exiled Neapolitan nobleman related to the Farnese, he was archbishop of Avignon from 1551 to 1562; a close advisor of Paul IV, he was created a cardinal by Pius IV in 1565.

⁶⁸ A nobleman of an ancient Venetian family, he received from his uncle, Cardinal Francesco Pisani, the bishopric of Padua in 1555 and was created a cardinal by Pius IV in 1565; see *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, pp. 44, 284.

⁶⁹ I have been unable to find any literature on these two figures.

⁷⁰ He was a celebrated lawyer and the father of Paul V; see G. De Caro, 'Borghese, Marcantonio', in *DBI*, XII, Rome 1971, pp. 598-600.

⁷¹ On Paluzio, the secretary to the general treasurer, see *Mandati della Camera Apostolica*, p. 51, n. 8. The only information I have found on Sottocasa is that he was a member of the *cursores apostolici*, the papal couriers responsible for deliveries to cardinals and legates.

⁷² As transcribed in my 'Il contratto tra Paolo Manuzio', p. 260: 'E di rincontro il detto messer Pavolo si debba per il detto effetto metter' in viaggio per Roma come prima gli sia provisto delli detti scudi trecento per le spese d'esso viaggio ...'

⁷³ See esp. the letters of 19 April, 3 May and 17 May, in Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 84, nos 1002, 1006, 1010.

apostolic notary's office eight days later.⁷⁴ The lengthy negotiations had at last come to a positive conclusion. After receiving congratulations from his friends, he left Venice on 7 June 1561.⁷⁵

Seripando played a decisive part in Paolo Manuzio's appointment as the manager of the new papal press. Even after he became absorbed in his duties as legate to the Council of Trent, he remained in contact with Paolo and continued to follow the progress of the enterprise. He also kept in touch with the cardinals of the congregation in charge of the press, advising them on texts to be published until his death in Trent in 1563.⁷⁶ Seripando was eager to provide the Church with a press and believed Paolo to be the best manager for such an enterprise. He was convinced that it was as necessary for the Catholic Church to respond actively to the Reformation on a cultural level as it was to impose bans and condemnations. This implied, in his view, challenging the Protestants in the field of biblical and patristic studies and textual criticism. His letter to Cardinal Da Mula in September 1561 is revealing: 'Those who have wisely prohibited so many books should take on the task of providing the equivalent amount – or at least a part – of good editions which are of no danger to anyone.'⁷⁷ In other words, the Catholic Church needed to produce

⁷⁴ ASR, *Notari segreti e cancellieri della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, prot. 453, f. 162r-v.

⁷⁵ On 3 May, Beccadelli congratulated him from Rome (Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, pp. 155-156), as did Giovan Battista Amalteo from Dubrovnik two days later (*Lettere di nobilissimi uomini*, f. 193v). The humanist Giulio Poggiani and Latino Latini were also informed on Manuzio's appointment, as is apparent from their letters in May 1561 in Giulio Poggiani, *Epistolae et orationes*, ed. by G. Lagomarsini, 4 vols, Rome 1762-1768, I, pp. 328-334. On 7 June, Paolo finally notified Seripando of his imminent departure for Rome (Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 525), though he had originally planned to depart from Venice four days after 17 May (Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 54).

⁷⁶ Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto', pp. 270-273, and Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando*, pp. 632-633, 636-637.

⁷⁷ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 27: 'Coloro che saviamente condannano tanti libri, dovrebbero haver la fatiga di darne se non altrettanti almeno una parte di tanto buoni, che non potessero nuocere a

viable alternatives to Protestant publications for its followers, and this should be the task of the experts responsible for the Index of Forbidden Books, as Seripando himself was at the time.

Nevertheless, Seripando's role in approving and supporting the project of the papal press has been over-emphasised in the past, and he has been seen as the *éminence grise* behind the pope's support for the initiative. Consequently, his death has been associated with the lessening of the press's philological interests and the weakening of Paolo Manuzio's position in the enterprise.⁷⁸ Such a reductive analysis, however, fails to do justice to the importance which the papacy had assigned to the press since at least the time of Julius III. Furthermore, between 1561 and 1563, Seripando, only recently raised to the cardinalate, lacked the prominence and authority necessary to orchestrate the whole operation. As far as the press was concerned, he himself recognised the need to procure the sponsorship of more powerful colleagues, starting with Borromeo, Farnese, Morone and Sforza di Santafiora.⁷⁹ As we have seen in Chapter 8, the reason for Paolo's success was that he could count on many influential cardinals to support both himself and the plan to

persona.'

⁷⁸ The connection was already suggested by Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 12, and was later repeated in V. Bonani, 'Girolamo Seripando, la Biblioteca di S. Giovanni a Carbonara e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano', in *Dal torchio alle fiamme: inquisizione e censura: nuovi contributi dalla più antica Biblioteca Provinciale d'Italia: atti del convegno nazionale di studi, Salerno 5-6 novembre 2004 - Censura e libri espurgati: le Cinquecentine della Biblioteca Provinciale di Salerno: catalogo della mostra bibliografica*, ed. by V. Bonani, Salerno 2005, pp. 293-299, esp. pp. 294-295.

⁷⁹ See Algranati, *Girolamo Seripando*, pp. 104-105, for Seripando's reply, of 19 June 1561, from Trent to Paolo's thanks: 'Non vi ingannate; voi mostrate essere in openione che l'opre mia sia stata grande per farvi havere quella honorata impresa meritata da voi come in ogni luogo da i virtuosi et dotti, è stato giudicato. Vi dico veramente che io non vi ho servito se non pochissimo, né ci ho durato fatica d'importantia, il tutto nacque dalla ottima volontà di Nostro Signore et dal buon concetto che haveva d'eccellente valor vostro in ogni impresa litteraria, aggiuntovi poi il caldo patrocinio dell'Illustrissimi Signori Borromeo, Morone, Farnese, et Santafiora, la cosa riuscì con molta facilità.'

establish a press. The efforts made by his longstanding patron, Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, were particularly instrumental in 1555 and very likely in the early 1560s as well.⁸⁰ It has escaped the attention of previous scholars that ‘Carpi nostro’, as Paolo called him, continued to help him during the establishment of the press and in the first months of its activity.⁸¹ He was able to protect Paolo’s interests for only a short time, however, since he died on 2 May 1564. Even more than Seripando’s death, this must have had a huge impact on Paolo’s standing in the eyes of the Roman Curia.

Although Paolo’s prestige as a humanist printer was a vital factor in the plan to establish a centralised Catholic press in Rome, the project itself was, first and foremost, an initiative of the papacy; similarly, its collapse was connected much more to the economic and entrepreneurial shortcomings of the Catholic hierarchy than to Paolo’s failings and his loss of support from powerful patrons. An examination, in the next chapter, of the committee of cardinals which supervised and ultimately directed the papal enterprise will highlight these shortcomings.

⁸⁰ Fletcher, ‘Paulus Manutius’.

⁸¹ See Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, pp. 60-61, for Paolo’s letter of 15 August 1561, in which he informed his brother Manuzio, that ‘Carpi nostro fa miracoli per me, e mi ha dimandato di voi. Ma ci sono degli altri Cardinali, dico delli grandi, che non mi amano manco di lui.’ The informal name ‘our Carpi’ is also used in an earlier letter: *ibid.*, p. 54.

10. The Congregation of Cardinals in Charge of the Press

In early September 1561, Pius IV appointed a congregation of four cardinals who were charged with supervising the activities of Paolo Manuzio and his press: Morone, da Mula, Scotti and later Vitelli.¹ Establishing the role played by this congregation is essential for any analysis of the Church's attitude towards printing during the 1560s; and the reports of its meetings would, no doubt, shed new light on projects which were planned but never realised. Unfortunately, however, I have not been able to locate this documentation – at least at this stage of my research – which is a considerable hindrance. The problem rests with the nature of the congregation. With the notable exception of the Holy Inquisition, curial congregations at this time were not bureaucratic institutions with their own regulations and archives; instead, they were informal groups of cardinals who dealt on a temporary basis with a specific issue. This remained the situation up to papacy of Sixtus V.² Consequently, we do not currently have any evidence regarding either the frequency or the location of the meetings of the congregation in charge of Paolo Manuzio's press. It must certainly have produced documents; but we do not know who was responsible for this, nor where such documents might now be stored, if indeed any survive.

¹ Neither Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, p. 28, nor Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 43, indicate the date on which the congregation was created. It is first mentioned in a letter by Paolo to his brother Manuzio on 8 September 1561 (Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 66): 'Et ultimamente in concistoro, ... [il Papa] chiamò tre Cardinali, Morone, il Mula, e Trani, che sono tra li miei maggiori amici, e disse: Habiate cura, che al Manutio, et alla stampa non manchi, perché vogliamo fare una impresa honoratissima.' Since Manuzio did not refer to it in the earlier update to his brother of 30 August (ibid., pp. 64-65), it is reasonable to assume that the congregation was created within this short time-span. On 10 September, Manuzio addressed the cardinals in charge directly (Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, pp. 157-158, no. 1024), while da Mula informed Seripando that 'Sua Santità vuole ch'io abbia la cura di queste stampe con gl'Illustrissimi Moroni e Trani', as reported in Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto', pp. 270-271. Vitelli was appointed in March 1562 (ibid., p. 271, n. 1).

² On the evolution of sixteenth-century congregations, Del Re, *La Curia*, pp. 15-25.

Nevertheless, it is possible to find valuable information in known sources which can help us to determine the congregation's remit.

10.1. The four supervisors

One fruitful avenue of research entails exploring the profiles of the four cardinals who were put in charge of supervising Manuzio and his press, paying particular attention to: firstly, their political and ecclesiastical position with regard to the reorganisation of the Catholic Church and its response to the Reformation; secondly, their influence during the decade of Manuzio's activity in Rome, that is, in the papacies of Pius IV and Pius V; and, finally, their cultural interests and their attitude towards printing.

Cardinal Giovanni Morone was undoubtedly the leader of the congregation, on account of his powerful position in the first years of Pius IV's pontificate and – to some extent – his personal involvement in the plan for the Roman Church to use printing as means of countering the challenge of the Reformation. Since, as we have seen in the previous chapter, he had actively sponsored Manuzio as the manager of the press, we can assume that the project had his approval. This is not the place to delve into his fascinating and complex life, which was twice marked by dramatic events: when he joined the *Ecclesia Viterbiensis* in 1542 and when he stood trial for heresy from 1557 to 1559. The central role he played in the congregation charged with supervising Manuzio's press was a relatively minor task in comparison to his lengthy diplomatic service for the Church and his presidency of the Council of

Trent. Even so, it is noteworthy that studies of Morone have devoted very little attention to it. When the press is mentioned at all in the scholarly literature, it is rapidly dismissed as a failed experiment by the surviving group of *spirituali* in the Catholic hierarchy. As often as not, the focus is solely on the first two books issued by Manuzio in Rome: Cardinal Reginald Pole's *De concilio liber*, issued together with his *De baptismo Constantini*, and his *Reformatio Angliae*.³ The publication of these works in 1562 was certainly a striking attempt, in which both Manuzio and Morone took part, to rehabilitate the posthumous reputation of Pole, who had been a key figure in the spiritual wing of the Church.⁴ The history of Manuzio's Roman press, however, needs to be considered from a much broader perspective, bearing in mind that it continued to operate for the next eight years, publishing books unrelated to the theological concerns of the *spirituali*. Most importantly, the first books originally planned for the press were not these treatises by Pole, but instead an emended version of the Vulgate and possibly an official Greek Bible of the Catholic Church.⁵

How, then, did Morone's fortune and misfortune intertwine with the fate of Paolo Manuzio's Roman press? The relationship between Morone's religious beliefs and the events surrounding the press is by no means as clear and straightforward as is generally assumed. In 1561, his approval was important, but not essential, for the

³ Reginald Pole, *De concilio liber* and his *Reformatio Angliae ex decretis ... anno MDLVI*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1562.

⁴ Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini*, pp. 334-340; T. F. Mayer, *A Reluctant Author: Cardinal Pole and his Manuscripts*, Philadelphia 1999, pp. 25-28, and his *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 356-357; Firpo, *Inquisizione romana*, pp. 424-425, 486; and G. Fragnito, 'La terza fase del Concilio di Trento, Morone e gli "spirituali"', in *Il cardinale Morone e l'ultima fase*, pp. 53-78, esp. p. 56; Robinson, *The Career of Morone*, pp. 118-120.

⁵ Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto', pp. 270-274.

establishment of the press, while the decrease of his influence in the Curia predated the failure of the enterprise. As early as the end of 1561, Pius IV's illness unveiled Morone's ambitions to attain the papal throne, and this cost him his role as the pope's most trusted counsellor, which was taken over by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo.⁶ From then on, Morone was fully engaged in diplomatic duties on behalf of the Church: he brought the Council of Trent to a successful conclusion, acted as the spokesman of the papacy in the Holy Roman Empire,⁷ served as an ambassador to the Holy League which fought at the battle of Lepanto and was hailed as the saviour of the Republic of Genoa.⁸ Not only did persistent rumours about his orthodoxy prevented him from becoming pope, but, in 1566, the former inquisitor Michele Ghislieri was elected to the papacy as Pius V and immediately questioned the absolutions given by his predecessor, which reopened a number of trials. Morone was in serious danger of facing the Roman Inquisition again but was eventually spared for reasons of political convenience.⁹ Pius V would not have made use of the Stamperia throughout his reign, nor would he, soon after his election, have helped Manuzio to recover his home had he thought that Morone's religious beliefs played a significant role in its activity. If the press had really been closely associated with the remnants of the *spirituali* in the Church, this severe pope would surely have closed it down.

⁶ A. Drei, 'La politica di Pio IV e del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga', *Archivio della società romana di storia patria*, XL, 1917, pp. 65-115, 205-245; XLI, 1918, pp. 171-222; XL, pp. 220-222.

⁷ In this capacity, Morone had to defend the most contested decisions of Pius IV such as allowing German laymen to take communion in both kinds and German priests to marry; see E. Bonora, 'Morone e Pio IV', in *Il cardinale Morone e l'ultima fase*, pp. 21- 52, esp. pp. 47-50.

⁸ On Morone's last years, see the brief account in Robinson, *The Career of Morone*, pp. 201-214.

⁹ *Processo Morone*, VI, pp. 50-125, and Firpo, *Inquisizione romana*, pp. 399-536.

Morone's cultural interests are not well documented. As regards his patronage, he is known to have supported one of the most exemplary Catholic scholars of the time, Mariano Vittori, who was a former collaborator of Cervini and edited St Jerome's letters for Manuzio's Roman press.¹⁰ Three juridical dissertations from the University of Bologna were also dedicated to him.¹¹ He had dealings with the early Jesuits:¹² he was instrumental in establishing the Collegium Germanicum in 1552 and encouraging the development of the Collegio Romano.¹³ A partial record of his library was made at the time of his arrest in 1557. The compiler registered and seized those books which he considered to be either heretical or suspicious, with the specific aim of collecting evidence against Morone. This document is not, therefore, a reliable source beyond the context of his trial.¹⁴ Without further evidence of Morone's cultural activities, his leadership of the congregation in charge of supervising the press should be regarded as primarily a position of prestige given to him by Pius IV.

Known as 'Amulio', Marcantonio da Mula (1506-1572) belonged to a

¹⁰ A. Sacchetti Sasseti, *La vita e gli scritti di Mariano Vittori*, Rieti 1917, pp. 38-39; see also Chapter 4 below.

¹¹ Z. Zanardi, 'Ancora sulle tesi dei lettori dello Studio bolognese: una raccolta sconosciuta del XVI secolo', *La Bibliofilia*, CV, 2003, pp. 117-166, nos 46, 57, 65. Cardinal Morone was legate of the city between 1544 and 1548.

¹² This somewhat ambiguous link merits further research; see the small amount of information in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, esp. pp. 315-317.

¹³ P. Schimdt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker: zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552-1914)*, Tübingen 1984, pp. 12-13, 22-23; García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, pp. 24-25, 29, 53-54.

¹⁴ See the introduction and the transcribed document in *Processo Morone*, VI, pp. 126-127, 385-395; for an analysis of these holdings of Morone, see A. Paris, "'Quando io leggo un libro o odo una predica, io piglio quello che è buono et che può fare edificazione": i libri del cardinal Morone e il suo processo inquisitoriale', in *L'uomo del Concilio*, pp. 64-81.

Venetian family of the minor nobility.¹⁵ Da Mula received a humanist education and studied law, receiving his doctorate from the University of Padua. A typical learned Venetian aristocrat, he was in contact with Pietro Aretino, Pietro Bembo, Gian Giorgio Trissino, Onofrio Panvinio, Bernardo Tasso and Francesco Sansovino. From 1531 onwards, the Republic of Venice entrusted him with important diplomatic offices, and he employed his highly regarded abilities as an orator on the legations to Charles V (1552-1554) and Philip II (1559). But da Mula's most rewarding assignment was the legation to the papal court: when he arrived at the Curia in January 1560, he could scarcely have imagined that within a year he would become a cardinal. Pius IV, impressed by his skills and elegant manners, consulted him on foreign and internal affairs, even though he was the ambassador of another state; and in the creation of 26 February 1561, he preferred da Mula and his colleague Bernardo Navagero to the Venetian candidate, Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia. This promotion led to da Mula's exile from his homeland for the rest of his life.¹⁶ He was amply rewarded, however, in Rome: he was appointed bishop of Rieti;¹⁷ he contributed to the reconvening and running of the Council of Trent; and

¹⁵ G. Gullino, 'Da Mula, Marcantonio', in *DBI*, Rome 1986, XXXII, p. 383-386, gives more attention to his life as layman and is inaccurate here and there: for instance, the establishment of the press and da Mula's appointment as one of its supervisor is incorrectly dated to 1564. Some information on his curial career can be found in Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, II, p. 25; XCII, pp. 366-368, 394, 684, 686, 697, later repeated in Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, *ad indicem*; according to Pastor, p. 599: 'Mula meriterebbe una monografia anche a causa delle sue relazioni letterarie'. For a preliminary insight into his Roman years, see V. Di Flavio, *Il vescovo di Rieti Card. Marcantonio Amulio e le costituzioni sinodali del 1566*, Rieti 1993, pp. 6-9. *Ibid.*, p. 3, n. 2 refers to E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols, Venice 1824-1861, VI, pp. 611-629, 737-744, 826, 940-941 as the best account of da Mula's life.

¹⁶ *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, p. 42. On the affair, see P. Paschini, 'Come fu cardinale Marco Antonio da Mula detto l'Amulio', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, XI, 1957, pp. 393-406, and his *Tre illustri prelati del Rinascimento: Ermolao Barbaro, Adriano Castellesi, Giovanni Grimani*, Rome 1957, pp. 152-167.

¹⁷ *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, p. 301.

he became a member of the Holy Inquisition and the Segnatura.¹⁸ By the time of Pius IV's death, he had attained a sufficiently powerful position in Curia to be considered the candidate favoured by Pius IV's nephews in the conclave and – it was claimed – the designated heir of the pope himself; yet, nothing came of it, as he was vetoed by the cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Ippolito Este.¹⁹ The new pope, Pius V, also appreciated da Mula's knowledge of foreign affairs and appointed him to be a member of the recently formed congregation for the conversion of infidels.²⁰ He died in Rome in March 1572.²¹

Da Mula took his position as a churchman seriously. He fulfilled his duties as bishop of Rieti according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, residing in the city, where he set up the first ever Tridentine seminary.²² His political opinions are harder to discern; but his education and acquaintances suggest that he was a moderate, perhaps inclined to the Hapsburg faction, more or less as Pius IV was.²³ His certainly did not hold strict views on theological matters. He maintained a long-lasting friendship with Seripando, who was close to the *spirituali* and was positively inclined towards belief in salvation *sola gratia*.²⁴ He recommended Seripando to

¹⁸ Contrary to Gullino, *Da Mula*, p. 386, it seems that he never attended the Council of Trent. See Di Flavio, *Il vescovo di Rieti*, pp. 7-8; and on his appointment as inquisitor, see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, p. 484, n. 8.

¹⁹ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 8, 15, 17, 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57, 509, 514.

²¹ Di Flavio, *Il vescovo di Rieti*, p. 9, n. 25, correcting Gullino, *Da Mula*, p. 386.

²² See Di Flavio, *Il vescovo di Rieti*.

²³ I disagree with Di Flavio, *Il vescovo di Rieti*, pp. 8, 54, who maintains that da Mula was close to the intransigent party because of his interest in the reform of curial abuses. The two issues were very different, and support for reform did not imply sympathy for the views of the intransigents.

²⁴ Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando*, I, pp. 102-145, 345-426, II, pp. 239-268; but see the more recent interpretations in Mazzarini, *Dibattito Lutero Seripando*, and Prosperi, 'Evangelismo di Seripando?'

Pius IV as a very useful consultant and supported him at difficult times, notably, when Seripando, then the second chairman of the Council of Trent, received serious and unfair reprimands from the Roman Curia. The Spanish delegates in Trent wanted to stress that the compulsory residence for bishops was due to *ius divinum* rather than to pope's will; and Seripando was reported to have indirectly approved this view, which was seen in Rome as a Conciliarist move to diminish papal primacy.²⁵ Yet despite these allegations, da Mula remained Seripando's chief advisor.²⁶

Da Mula was a renowned man of letters during his career both as a layman and as a cardinal.²⁷ He always maintained strong links with the University of Padua: in 1556 he was elected *reformatore Studii* and, at his death, he bequeathed a substantial portion of his assets to found a college in the city for his heirs and other Venetian students from noble families.²⁸ He became increasingly gripped by the study of ecclesiastical history after becoming a cardinal and was described by Pastor as one

²⁵ H. Jedin, 'Der Kampf um die bischöfliche Residenzpflicht 1562/63', in *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina: atti del convegno storico internazionale, Trento 2-6 settembre 1963*, 2 vols, Rome 1965, I, pp. 1-26, and M. Cassese, 'Girolamo Seripando, il Concilio di Trento e la riforma della Chiesa', in *Girolamo Seripando e la Chiesa del suo tempo*, pp. 216-223.

²⁶ See their correspondence in Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, I, pp. LXIII-LXIV; II-III, *ad indicem* (Seripando). On 3 September 1562, Seripando recommended to Sirleto, *ibid.*, II, p. 345: 'Questo resti con voi. Voglio però che quando dico voi, non si intendano esclusi i miei Illustrissimi Signori Trani [Scotti] e Amulio.'

²⁷ The letter from the Spanish ambassador to Philip II, in Algranati, *Girolamo Seripando*, p. 87, n. 1, depicts da Mula as a 'Veneciano de sesenta años y des muy buen sugeto y persona. Save las lenguas y es leido en historia y letras humanas, aunque no tiene profesion de teologo in de jurista. Es muy prudente y hombre de negocios.' On da Mula's works, see Di Flavio, *Il vescovo di Rieti*, pp. 4-5. Gullino, *Da Mula*, p. 383, states that his writings and speeches went through several editions; but this is misleading, since the references provided are to nineteenth-century editions. The sole piece by him which was printed at the time is the Tridentine pamphlet: Abdisu, *De Sacro Oecumenico Tridentini [sic] Concilio approbatio, et professio, et literae Illustrissimi Domini Marciantonii Cardinalis Amulii ad legatos Sacri Concilii Tridentini*, Riva di Trento, [Giacobbe Marcaria], 1562.

²⁸ Unsurprisingly, one of the rare works in praise of da Mula was published in Padua: Giacomo Filippo Zanardi, *De laudibus illustris. et reuerendissimi d. Marci Antonii Amulii S.R.E. cardinalis amplissimi ...*, Padua, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1567.

of the predecessors of Cardinal Cesare Baronio, the author of the *Annales ecclesiastici*.²⁹ Although we have no evidence about his private library, his official duties in implementing the cultural policy of the Catholic Church testify to his interest in books. In 1563, for example, da Mula was the sole referee of the manuscript research undertaken by Francesco Davanzati in southern Italy.³⁰ In August 1565, Pius IV involved him in the creation of a consistorial archive and entrusted him with the transfer of the relevant documents from Avignon to Rome.³¹ Finally, on 11 September 1565, he was appointed cardinal librarian, in which capacity he devoted himself to the enlargement and reorganisation of the Vatican Library, especially its archive.³²

Gian Bernardino Scotti was born into a noble family of Magliano Sabina (Rieti) around 1478.³³ He had brilliant career as jurist, becoming an *advocatus concistorialis* in Rome. The year 1525 marked a watershed in his life: he decided to abandon his possessions and social position and to devote himself to God. He was the first layman to join the Theatine Order, founded by Gian Pietro Carafa and

²⁹ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, IX, p. 191.

³⁰ On this survey, see Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova*, 32-40, 149-155; on p. 37, da Mula is referred to, without explanation, as the effective leader of the congregation for the press.

³¹ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, p. 552.

³² The present-day division between the Vatican archive and library began with Paul V in 1612 and was completed by Urban VIII in 1630. On da Mula's activity as cardinal librarian, see Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane, ad indicem*.

³³ Since there are no recent studies on Scotti, it is necessary to consult the out-of-date entries in F. Vezzosi, *I scrittori de' Chierici Regolari detti Teatini*, 2 vols, Rome 1780, II, pp. 271-276, and Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, LXII, p. 235. Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, p. 427, n. 3, mentions an unpublished life of Scotti in the archive of the Theatines in S. Andrea della Valle in Rome. According to *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, p. 38, n. 6, he died at the age of seventy-five, which would mean that he was born in 1493, not 1478.

Gaetano da Thiene a year earlier.³⁴ On the account of his reputation as a scholar, he was asked in 1548 by the bishop of Verona, Luigi Lippomano, to take part in a papal legation to the Holy Roman Empire.³⁵ The election of his patron and friend Gian Pietro Carafa to the papacy as Paul IV in 1555 opened the door to the Curia for him; and he soon became one of the pope's most trusted advisors.³⁶ By the end of the year, he was named bishop of Trani – he later moved to the see of Piacenza – and created a cardinal.³⁷ He was also appointed as an inquisitor in the autumn of 1556.³⁸ For more than a decade, he was to fulfil this task with scrupulous care, acting in accordance with his and Carafa's strict beliefs.³⁹ Alongside Michele Ghislieri, Scipione Rebiba and Giovanni Reumano (Jean Suau), he was in charge of the controversial trial of Morone.⁴⁰ Scotti, who had feared for his life during the trial of the Carafa nephews, was reassured when Pius IV summoned him to Rome in 1561 in order to take advantage of his expertise, as he was to do many times during his pontificate.⁴¹ Pius V, as soon as he was elected in early 1566, gave Scotti back many

³⁴ A. Vanni, “*Fare diligente inquisitione*”: *Gian Pietro Carafa e le origini dei chierici regolari teatini*, Rome 2011, *ad indicem*, esp. pp. 110-111.

³⁵ B. Mas, ‘El p. Bernardino Scoti y la legación de Paulo III a Carlos V en 1548’, *Regnum Dei*, III, 1947, pp. 181-195.

³⁶ After dismissing his nephews, on 3 February 1559 Paul IV delegated the entire management of the state, until his death on 18 August, to the cardinals Scotti and Virgilio Rosario and to the nobleman Camillo Orsini; see G. Brunelli, *Il Sacro Consiglio di Paolo IV*, Rome 2011, *ad indicem* and esp. pp. 52-53.

³⁷ *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, pp. 38, 337. On his role as bishop, see also F. Molinari, ‘Il Cardinale Teatino Bernardino Scotti e la visita pastorale di Piacenza (1559-1568)’ and his ‘San Carlo Borromeo e il Cardinale Teatino Bernardino Scotti’, *Regnum Dei*, XXII, 1966, pp. 3-40 and 41-57.

³⁸ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, p. 482.

³⁹ This did not prevent him from maintaining strong friendships with controversial churchmen such as Pole (Meyer, *Reginald Pole*, pp. 230, 240-242, 307, 339) and Seripando (Šusta, *Die römische Curie*, II, p. 345 and Paschini, ‘Guglielmo Sirleto’, p. 251).

⁴⁰ See esp. *Processo Morone*, V, pp. 298, 324, 364, 442, 444, 479, 563.

⁴¹ According to a contemporary Roman *avviso*, Scotti fled from Rome soon after the imprisonment of his fellow inquisitor Cardinal Scipione Rebiba; see *Processi Carnesecchi*, I, p. LXXXIV, n. 243. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga interceded on his behalf; see Drei, ‘La politica di Pio IV’, pp. 101-102, 244.

of the appointments which he had held under Paul IV, including his roles as a counsellor and as a reformer of the *Dataria*; he was also made an inquisitor in the renewed trials against the last of the *spirituali*.⁴² The pope, moreover, offered him a room in the Vatican Palace in deference to their old friendship. Scotti died in Rome on 11 December 1568.

Cardinal Scotti was a very learned and pious man: he mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic and was famous for his liturgical expertise. Under both Paul IV and Pius IV, he undertook the laborious revision of the Roman Missal and the Breviary.⁴³ He also made a significant contribution to compiling Paul IV's Index of Forbidden Books, as the chairman of the commission in charge of revising the first Index of 1557.⁴⁴ He counted among his friends scholars such as Seripando and Sirleto, as well as Fausto Sabeo, who sponsored him as a possible candidate for cardinal librarian in 1564.⁴⁵ He is supposed to have written, on Pius V's request, some treatises on the role of bishops and cardinals, which might still lay unpublished in the notarial archive of S. Paolo in Naples.⁴⁶ A significant portion of his library

⁴² Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VIII, *ad indicem*. Scotti played a key role in the trials against Pietro Carnesecchi; not by accident, he was the first inquisitor to sign the act definitively convicting Carnesecchi on 16 August 1567; it is published in *Processi Carnesecchi*, II/3, pp. 1363-1379.

⁴³ H. Jedin, 'Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des römischen Meßbuches', *Liturgisches Leben*, VI, 1939, pp. 30-66, at pp. 33-34; A. P. Frutaz, 'Contributo alla storia della riforma del Messale promulgato da san Pio V nel 1570', in *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento: atti del convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, Padua 1960, pp. 187-214, at p. 195, and his, 'Sirleto e la riforma del Messale Romano di S. Pio V', *Regnum Dei*, XXX, 1974, pp. 84-111.

⁴⁴ A contemporary *avviso* mentions that a meeting of the commission at which heretical books were discussed took place at Scotti's home on 5 February 1558; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, p. 492, n. 1. See also *III*, VIII, p. 35, and for a comparison of the two indexes, *ibid.*, pp. 114-116.

⁴⁵ Sirleto was one of Scotti's partners in the revision of the Missal. On Sabeo and his sponsorship of Scotti, see R. De Maio, 'La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana sotto Paolo IV e Pio IV (1555-1565)', in *Collectanea Albareda*, I, pp. 265-313, at p. 277.

⁴⁶ Vezzosi, *Scrittori teatini*, pp. 275-276.

was successfully claimed by the Theatine Order.⁴⁷

Born in 1531 at Città di Castello (Perugia), Vitellozzo Vitelli was the son of Alessandro, *capitano* of the city and a *condottiero* in the service of the papacy.⁴⁸ Julius III made him part of his papal family and gave him the bishopric of his hometown in 1554.⁴⁹ Through Cardinal Carlo Carafa, he gained influence over Paul IV, who raised him to the cardinalate on 15 March 1557.⁵⁰ He had an important role in papal policy, especially as regards the bitter conflict with Philip II in the kingdom of Naples, helping to negotiate the Treaty of Cave (12 September 1557), which established peace between Paul IV and the duke of Alba.⁵¹ Even though he openly remained a client of the Carafa,⁵² he emerged without harm from the family's ruinous fall after the death of its leader Paul IV. During Pius IV's pontificate, his career continued to flourish. Presumably because Vitelli had helped him to get elected,⁵³ the pope involved him in many important affairs. Along with Cardinal Cicada, he was asked to draw up plans for a reform of the Apostolic Penitentiary. In 1564, he was appointed to the newly formed *Congregatio Concilii*; soon afterwards,

⁴⁷ The details are unclear; see R. De Maio, *Riforme e miti della Chiesa del Cinquecento*, Naples 1973, pp. 209-210.

⁴⁸ The account by Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, CI, pp. 194-196, is still the main source on Vitelli's life; I have, however, added further information, taken from other studies.

⁴⁹ *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, p. 184. On Vitelli as bishop, see V. Corbucci, *La tirannia del cardinale Vitellozzo Vitelli e di Angela Rossa in Città di Castello su nuovi documenti tratti dall'archivio segreto Vaticano e dal comunale tifernate*, Foligno 1925.

⁵⁰ On their relationship, which has been much debated, see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, *ad indicem*; for his creation, see *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, p. 40.

⁵¹ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, pp. 417-418.

⁵² Vitelli kept in close contact with Alfonso Carafa during his trial and later on; see De Maio, *Alfonso Carafa*, pp. 97, 127, 198-199. He also clearly acted as the leader of Carafa cardinals in the conclave of 1565-1566; see Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VIII, pp. 16, 21-22, 25.

⁵³ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 47-52; and for further details, see De Maio, *Alfonso Carafa*, pp. 85-86, 284-285.

he joined the Inquisition. In the same year, Vitelli was allowed to purchase the prestigious office of *camerarius*, which was vacant due to Cardinal Alessandro Sforza's death. He was also in charge of setting up the Roman seminary along with the cardinals Pio da Carpi, Savelli, Borromeo and da Mula. In addition, he was given responsibility for the administration of Campagna and Marittima and the prefecture over the tribunal of the Segnatura. The election of Cardinal Ghislieri as Pius V strengthened Vitelli's position in the Roman Curia. He lost the pope's favour, however, first in 1566 and then definitely in 1567, when his plots to promote Cardinal Ippolito Este in a future conclave were uncovered. He immediately fell into disgrace, from which he seems not to have recovered at the time of his premature death on 19 November 1568. As for his political and ecclesiastical opinions, whenever he had enough power to operate freely – as in conclaves, for instance – he always acted as a member of the intransigent faction of the Curia. Yet, he was, above all, an artful courtier, ready to change or disguise his ideas when they were not in line with the current situation, as happened under the relatively moderate Pius IV.

Cardinal Vitelli was a generous patron of the arts, a man of letters and a highly skilled jurist of both Canon and Civil Law. He had a profound knowledge of Latin and Greek and, most importantly for our purposes, he was a bibliophile and book collector.⁵⁴ His primary interests were historiographical: he gathered numerous texts related to the history of popes and cardinals and made many personal notes on them;⁵⁵ of this rich material, however, he managed to edit only two works by

⁵⁴ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, pp. 440, nn. 1, 3; see also the contemporary note in Cornelio Firmano's diary cited *ibid.*, VIII, 610.

⁵⁵ Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, CI, p. 195, and Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, IX,

Cardinal Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468), dedicating them to Pius IV and Cardinal Borromeo.⁵⁶ He was also involved in some pioneering archival enterprises.⁵⁷ Given this background, it is no surprise that he became deputy cardinal librarian late in 1564. Up to September 1565, Vitelli energetically carried out the duties formerly assigned to his superior and friend, Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, who had escaped Pius IV's disfavour by withdrawing to his properties in Naples in June 1562.⁵⁸ In 1570, Vitelli's extraordinary collection of books was confiscated by the Apostolic Chamber as a repayment for his debts – to the chagrin of contemporaries such as Carlo Borromeo and Pius V who had tried in vain to acquire it.⁵⁹

10.2. The congregation's tasks and development

Although we do not know how frequently the four cardinals met, it seems that they assembled in one of their Roman residences. This assumption rests on an

p. 191. See C. M. Grafinger, *Die Ausleihe Vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke (1563-1700)*, Vatican City 1993, pp. 296-297, for the twenty codices in the Vatican Library which were copied for Vitelli.

⁵⁶ Juan de Torquemada, *Summa de Ecclesia ... una cum eiusdem apparatu, nunc primum in lucem edito, super decreto Papae Eugenii III*, Venice, Michele Tramezzino, 1561. The concise dedication to Pius IV is at sig. aiiir-v. The book contains Torquemada's treatise on papal supremacy (a strong clue to Vitelli's position on ecclesiastical government) and his unpublished commentary on the Decree of Union issued at the Council of Florence.

⁵⁷ De Maio, 'La Biblioteca Apostolica', pp. 269, n. 4 and 278, n. 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 276-278, and J. Card. Mejía, C. Grafinger and B. Jatta, *I Cardinali Bibliotecari di Santa Romana Chiesa: la quadreria nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City 2006, p. 380.

⁵⁹ Borromeo received a short note from Pietro Galesini on 1 December 1568 (MS Milan, BAM, F. 79 inf., f. 318r): 'È morto il Cardinale Vitelli, haveva questo signore libri scritti a mano di cose molto importanti a quella Santa Sedia, se pare a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima scrivere al Carmiglia, che quando quella libreria si vendesse, cercasse havere i libri scritti.' Two years later, on 18 March 1570, Borromeo's agent in Rome, Cesare Speciano, informed his patron that Vitelli's library could not be purchased because it had been confiscated by the Apostolic Chamber: BAM, F. 118 inf., f. 328v. Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VIII, p. 91, discusses the failed attempt by Pius V to acquire Vitelli's library in 1568; according to Pastor (ibid., VI, p. 440, n. 1), a large portion of Italian manuscripts in the Vatican Library derive from this collection, and there are also many copies in German and Swedish libraries.

analogy with the informal congregation in charge of revising the Index of 1557, which met, at least once, in the residence of Cardinal Scotti.⁶⁰ Scattered evidence confirms this hypothesis: in a letter to Seripando on 24 July 1562, Manuzio mentioned that he had been in da Mula's house, as usual, and that he discussed the books to be printed with 'molte onorate persone'.⁶¹ In 1567, the congregation in charge of the press – the composition of which had by then changed – convened three times at Morone's palace.⁶²

The precise duties of the congregation are also unclear. The four prelates were usually referred to as *cardinali protettori* by Manuzio, as well as in the official documentation.⁶³ But what precisely did this vague title mean? As far as can be reconstructed, they were, first of all, in charge of approving the press's finances, which the accountant Marsilio Cafano submitted to them every four months.⁶⁴ Secondly, they acted as a link between the hierarchy and the press when a problem arose or a complaint need to be reported – they intervened frequently, for instance, in the quarrel between Manuzio and the Commune from 1563 to 1566.⁶⁵ Thirdly, they were asked to nominate theologians to judge the orthodoxy of the works being

⁶⁰ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VI, p. 492, n. 1.

⁶¹ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 531.

⁶² Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 95.

⁶³ Among the numerous occurrences of this phrase in Manuzio's letters, the examples in Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 99, nos. 1250-1251, are particularly significant, since it was used as form of address, substituting for the names of the four prelates. In addition, the phrase appears in the donations of 1564 and 1566, as well as in a *motu proprio* of 6 March 1567; see Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 170, 174, 179.

⁶⁴ Five balance sheets for the period 1561-1563 have been edited and discussed; see Beltrani, 'La tipografia romana', and Lodolini, 'La tipografia Vaticana'. Others accounts were compiled between 1566 and 1569; see Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁵ See the thorough reconstruction in Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 47-69.

considered for publication.⁶⁶ Finally, their most important duty was the selection of the books to be published, which entailed bringing to light material which had remained in manuscript, supporting on-going projects and relaunching them when necessary,⁶⁷ and commissioning trusted scholars to embark on new editorial enterprises.⁶⁸ All these tasks would normally be handled by the manager of a press; so, putting them in the hands of a congregation of cardinals imposed restrictions on Manuzio's freedom as an entrepreneur and ultimately resulted in distancing the press from the realities of the book market. The donation of the press made by Pius IV to Manuzio in 1564, but never put into effect, was indicative of the limited room for manoeuvre given to its manager, who in this case would also have been its legal owner.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ While the press was being set up, Manuzio wrote to the Congregation on 10 September 1561 (Pastorello, *Inedita manutiana*, p. 158): 'Quali opere debbano prima esser stampate, e quali siano più necessarie rispetto alla qualità de' tempi, non è bisogno darne ricordo alle Signorie Vostre Illustrissime le quali sopra questa parte con eccellente giudizio discorreranno e conchiuderanno. Quanto a' correttori di due sorti bisogna che siano, alcuni ottimi theologhi, e ben intendenti della lingua greca, per correggere l'opere contaminate, e guaste da gli heretici; et alcuni di mezzana dottrina, ma di somma vigilanza, e diligenza, per provvedere a gli errori, che per sua natura la stampa produce ... La elettione delli theologhi tutta dependerà dalla prudenza delle Signorie Vostre Illustrissime ...' It is likely that the Master of the Sacred Palace also involved in the theological evaluation of texts; see Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 170.

⁶⁷ The edition of Cyprian's works, e.g., was assigned to Gabriele Faerno and, at his death in 1561, to Latino Latini; see Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto', pp. 274-275, and Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 122-123.

⁶⁸ E.g., in 1561 the revisions of the Vulgate and the Greek Bible were entrusted to Sirleto and Faerno, while Giulio Poggiani complained about being commissioned to translate the commentary on Psalms by Theodoret; see Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto', pp. 270-275.

⁶⁹ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 170: 'electio correctorum et traductorum, qui pro impressione librorum necessarii erunt, ad dictos Cardinales protectores tantum pertineat, quodque ipse Paulus non possit de cetero aliquos sacros libros imprimere seu imprimi facere, nisi eos tantum, quos ipsi Cardinales Protectores elegerint et probaverint, ad quos imprimendos teneatur precise dictus Paulus, nec alios libros prius imprimere possit, quam eos, quos dicti Cardinales protectores mandaverint imprimendos absolverit, quibus quidem Cardinalibus protectoribus ex nunc tres aut quatuor Theologos, qui una cum magistro Sacri Palatii, aut duo ex eis arbitrio ipsorum Cardinalium Protectorum revisioni ipsorum sacrorum librorum in ea tantum parte, quae ad religionem pertinet, operam dent, eligere et deputare possint et valeant, concedimus et facultatem impartimur. Volumus propterea, quod dictus Paulus omnes et singulos libros, quos dicti Cardinales Protectores mandabunt, imprimere teneatur ... ultra sacros libros predictos, etiam libros legum, et aliarum scientiarum cuiuscumque linguae et generis, dummodo heresim non sapiant et indice librorum prohibitorum non contineantur, dictorum Cardinalium Protectorum semper accedente consensu, imprimi possit et valeat, concedimus, et

The four cardinals were therefore responsible for the economic, political and editorial aspects of the Stamperia. None of them – indeed, no one in the Roman hierarchy – had any expertise in managing a capitalist enterprise of the likes of an early modern press. All four cardinals were, however, quite powerful and, most importantly, were located at different bandwidths on the political spectrum of the Curia, from the intransigent Vitelli to a reticent sympathiser with the late *spirituali* such as Morone. In light of their wide-ranging cultural interests, it is very likely that da Mula, Scotti and Vitelli played a decisive role in planning the press’s editorial programme, though lack of documentation makes it difficult to substantiate this hypothesis.⁷⁰

The complex history of the press’s administration may well have caused the composition and the tasks of the congregation to change. The available evidence is fragmentary but clearly points in this direction. Although Scotti’s name rarely appears,⁷¹ it seems that all four cardinals remained in office until 1564. Later that year, however, only da Mula and Vitelli are mentioned as supervising the donation of the press to Manuzio.⁷² Although this donation never came into effect, these

facultatem ac licentiam liberam impartimur.’

⁷⁰ Only da Mula’s editorial involvement is well documented: see his correspondence with Seripando in Paschini, ‘Guglielmo Sirleto’, pp. 270-175, and references to him in Pastorello, *L’epistolario manuziano*, pp. 88-94, nos 1073, 1080, 1155, 1169, and Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 144. In the same vein, a memorandum on the history of the press up to 1566 (undated, unaddressed and anonymously compiled; ASV, *Misc.*, *Arm. XI*, tom. 93, f. 70r) states that Manuzio: ‘ha atteso a stampare quei libri, che gli sono stati dati dalli Cardinali Protettori della stampa, come può far fede il Cardinale Amulio’.

⁷¹ Scotti only appears in Manuzio’s letter to his brother Manuzio (8 September 1561), in Pastorello, *L’epistolario manuziano*, p. 85, no. 1023, and in a letter by Cardinal Otto Truchsess to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (14 March 1562), in Poggiani, *Epistolae et orationes*, III, p. 38.

⁷² Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 170: ‘Et insuper cum Nos venerabiles fratres nostros Marcum Antonium tituli Sancti Marcelli presbyterum, Amulium; et Vitellosium Sanctae Mariae in Porticu

documents indicate that the two cardinals were the most powerful protectors of the press at the time. Indeed, in the first half of 1564, Scotti may have already left the scene due to his advanced age, while Morone, as we have seen, was, no doubt, engrossed in curial debates over the liturgical and doctrinal concessions to the Holy Roman Empire following the closure of the Council of Trent;⁷³ but there are reports of the activities in relation to the press of Vitelli until late 1565 and of da Mula until early 1566.⁷⁴

The election of Pius V at the beginning of 1566 was a turning point for the Stamperia, as well for the congregation. Firstly, the pope imposed an agreement between the Commune and Manuzio, who had been quarrelling over the press's property for two years. The resulting contract between the two parties, drafted in May 1566, makes a passing reference to the role of the *cardinali protettori* in selecting appropriate texts for publication.⁷⁵ *Pace Barberi*,⁷⁶ the identity of these cardinals is unknown and cannot be inferred from the documentation. It is likely, however, that da Mula, Vitelli and perhaps also Morone were involved. Secondly, Pius V reshaped the committee through a *motu proprio* on 6 March 1567, appointing

diaconum Vitellosium nuncupatos S. R. E. Cardinales in dictae stampae protectores elegerimus et deputaverimus, ita tamen, quod unus in absentia alterius solus ea que ad protectorum huiusmodi officum pertinent, facere et prestare possit, volumus ...'

⁷³ Bonora, 'Morone e Pio IV', esp. pp. 47-49.

⁷⁴ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 99, nos 1242, 1251. The long-lasting relationships of both cardinals with Manuzio – but no longer with the Roman press – is apparent from the references to them in Manuzio's correspondence after 1566: *ibid.*, *ad indicem*.

⁷⁵ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 175: 'Che li Signori diputati [of the Roman Commune] habbiano cura di riscuoter' il danaro assignato alla spesa et proveder' di buone opere, per via delli Cardinali protettori della stampa ...'

⁷⁶ At the end of the notarial act of 1566, the cardinals Giovanni Morone, Alessandro Farnese, Guglielmo Sirleto, Prospero Santacroce and Vitellozzo Vitelli are mentioned as delegates for the pope. For the document and the related papal ratification, see *ibid.*, pp. 175, 177. Barberi inaccurately reports their names and mistakes these cardinals for the press's supervisors: *ibid.* p. 68.

Morone as sole cardinal supervisor.⁷⁷ This explains why Manuzio pleaded with him so insistently for permission to resign.⁷⁸ It is clear from the evidence that Morone remained the curial supervisor of the press even after Manuzio's departure in 1570. That year he was consulted by the Commune concerning the election of a new manager of the press and appeared as the supervisor of books in the ensuing agreement between the Popolo Romano and Fabrizio Galletti. Later, he was mentioned in the civic assembly of 22 April 1572 and is said to have summoned the congregation in charge of the press as late as July 1580.⁷⁹

10.3. Guglielmo Sirleto and the committee of the commune

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to raise two additional points concerning the history of the congregation of cardinals in charge of the press. The first involves an important sixteenth-century scholar whose name has cropped up several times in the course of this dissertation: Guglielmo Sirleto. A respected 'Catholic humanist', he perfectly embodied the ideal – largely unfulfilled in reality – of a dynamic cultural response to the Reformation led by Rome and achieved not only by harnessing repressive means such as censorship and inquisition, but also by

⁷⁷ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 179: 'eis protectorem, et etiam apud nos futurum intercessorem venerabilem fratrem Johannem Episcopum Portuensem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem Moronum vulgariter nuncupatum, deputamus, constituimus, et concedimus, cum omnibus et singulis facultatibus similibus Protectoribus concedi consuetis, et tam de iure, quam de consuetudine competentibus'.

⁷⁸ Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 109, 112-113, nos 1410, 1449, 1466. Cardinal Morone continued to be one of Manuzio's supporters when he returned to Rome in 1572: see the numerous references to him, *ibid.*, pp. 119-124, nos 1573, 1578, 1582, 1589, 1622, 1635, 1647.

⁷⁹ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 87-88, 194. See also Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*, pp. 19-20, 44; introducing her study (p. 13), she refers in the plural to the 'onnipotente vigilanza dei cardinali protettori', but this is not justified by the contemporary documents presented later on in the book.

sponsoring well-funded and coordinated studies of the Church's past using philological, antiquarian and historical tools. Given his profile, it is no accident that Sirleto took part in all the attempts to set up a papal press in Rome, from Cervini's projects in the 1540s to his personal commitment as *praefectus* of the Congregation of the Index from 1571 onwards. As the most learned churchman of the Curia since the papacy of Julius III, his involvement in the publishing programme of Manuzio's Roman press is well documented.⁸⁰ There is also a great deal of evidence regarding his friendship with Manuzio and their common interest in the *humanae litterae*.⁸¹ That he supported the press and clearly acted as its unofficial protector after his promotion to the cardinalate in 1565 is less well known. In the first place, when Manuzio was deprived of his home by the Commune in late 1565, Sirleto was one of the cardinals who interceded on his behalf with the newly elected Pius V.⁸² Secondly, he played a part in the contract of 1566 between Manuzio and the Commune.⁸³ Finally, in 1570, when Manuzio was trying to convince the pope to pay for his trip back to Venice, he sought the help of Morone, the official protector of the press, and Alvise Corner, cardinal *camerarius*, as well as, significantly, Sirleto.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Paschini, 'Guglielmo Sirleto', pp. 269-279.

⁸¹ See Manuzio, *Epistolarum libri XII*, pp. 329-330, for his letter, on leaving Rome in October 1570, to Sirleto: 'Dici non potest, quo desiderio teneor studiorum nostrum, quasi cervus ad fontem, si per valetudinem licebit, sitibundus accurram. Tua mihi consuetudo, tua virtus ante oculos erit, quam imitari non desinam ... Cupio conservari veterem amorem in me tuum ...' See also the letters in Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, p. 94, no. 1169, pp. 99, nos 1240, 1242, p. 113, nos 1466, 1472, 1475, 1480, pp. 118-124, nos 1561, 1582, 1591, 1622, 1635, 1647, 1655, 1660. Sirleto also had a warm relationship with Aldo the Younger: see *ibid.*, *ad indicem* and Aldo's dedication to him of Censorinus, *De die natali liber ad Q. Caerellium ab Aldo Mannuccio ... emendatus, et notis illustratus*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio the Younger, 1581.

⁸² Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano*, pp. 99, no. 1251

⁸³ Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 175, 177.

⁸⁴ Manuzio's plea was not successful; see his bitter letter to Sirleto, in Manuzio, *Epistolarum libri XII*, p. 328: 'Et quamquam neque tua, neque collegarum tuorum, Moroni, et Corneli, de viatico mihi impetrando summa contentio quidquam profecerit, aequae tamen vobis omnibus debeo, ac si profecissent plurimum.'

The second point I would like to make is that the congregation of cardinals continued to exist even after the Roman Commune had become the owner of the Stamperia. This reveals the disdainful attitude of the Curia towards the Commune: the main motive behind its donation of the press was to divest itself of running expenses, while maintaining strict curial control over the press's activities.⁸⁵ The Commune sought to resist and claim its right to autonomous decision-making by forming a parallel committee to that of the Curia. As early as December 1563, the congregation appointed three *deputati* or *provveditori* – not to be confused with the cardinal *protettori* – to represent its interests. This civic committee was composed of the Roman citizens Pirro Tari, Ippolito Salviani and Antonio Massa, although Massa was replaced by Angelo Albertoni Paluzzi in 1568.⁸⁶ At first they had no influence over the running of the press, except as players in the unequal contest between Manuzio and the Popolo Romano. As the years went by, however, the Commune gained more power. After finally acquiring the property of the press in 1566, it imposed on Manuzio a requirement to reveal the press's balance sheets, almost certainly to the communal accountant Girolamo Ceuli.⁸⁷ A year later, the three-man civic committee probably merged with the curial congregation, to which by that

⁸⁵ The communal magistrates immediately spotted the true intent of the Curia, as is clear from a statement made at the public council of 17 February 1564 (transcribed by Barberi, *Paolo Maunzio*, p. 51): 'havendocisi hora a' fare ancora una grossa spesa di dieci o di dodicimilia scudi, prima che se ne senta alcun utile, vogliono [the pope and the cardinals] si provvegga di poter spender' 300 scudi il mese et inoltre che non si stampino opere, senon di consenso di loro Signorie Illustrissime e Reverendissime, et anco di mettere i ministri, così el Popolo non saria padrone di altro, che allo spendere'.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50, for their various appointments and profiles.

⁸⁷ The accountant is not mentioned explicitly in the contract of 3 May 1566, because Ceuli was elected as *depositario della stampa* only seven days later: *ibid.* pp. 69, 173-175. With respect to the press's accounts, the ones compiled by the officer of the Apostolic Chamber, Marsilio Cafano, terminate at the end of 1563. Barberi (*ibid.*, p. 17) has convincingly suggested that no account book was produced between 1563 and 1566 due to the ongoing quarrel over the property of the press.

point only Cardinal Morone belonged. There are clear references to two separate bodies until 1567; but from that year onwards, only one is mentioned, chaired by Morone and most likely including all the communal officers, at times together with the *magister sacrii palatii*.⁸⁸ Manuzio had close relations with several of the communal officers, including those who were supervising him such as Tari, Albertoni Paluzzi and the notary Orazio Fosco.⁸⁹ This did not pass unnoticed by the ever suspicious Popolo Romano. In 1569, this oligarchical and decadent institution, unable to pursue a coherent plan for the development of the press, went so far as to doubt the loyalty of its closest collaborators.⁹⁰ Despite this internal disagreement, the range of communal intervention continued to expand to the detriment of the prerogatives of the Curia, even in terms of the books selected for publication. By the end of the last two years of Manuzio's management, the press had become a communal institution far more than a means of spreading the cultural policy of the Catholic Church.

Having told the story of Paolo Manuzio's press in Rome and discussed the

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 157; and Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia*, p. 44. Barberi (p. 94) reports Manuzio's complaints about some cardinals who were going to consider – improperly, in his view – his request to leave Rome. These cardinals are erroneously identified by Barberi as the curial congregation. Manuzio was instead referring to the committee of cardinals in charge of the University of Rome; see Manuzio, *Epistolarum libri XII*, p. 464: 'Postea vero quam de Mariano Victorio ... cognovi acturum te esse de negotio in eo conventu, qui primus habebitur eorum Cardinalium, quibus alendorum in Urbe studiorum, moderandique Gymnasii publice demandata cura est ...'

⁸⁹ When the Popolo Romano took possession of his home, Manuzio received hospitality from his old friend Albertoni Paluzzi; see Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, p. 64, n. 3. Manuzio sold his half of the press's property to Fosco before offering it to Galetti and entrusted him with the collection of a payment: *ibid.*, pp. 92, n. 1, 124, n. 4, 201. Also noteworthy is the confidential tone in which Manuzio mentioned Fosco (Messer Horatio), Tari (Messer Pyrro) and Salviani (Messer Hippolito) in his correspondence; see Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano, ad indicem*.

⁹⁰ See the letter of 9 July 1569 from Manuzio to his son Aldo, in Manuzio, *Lettere copiate sugli autografi*, p. 171: 'Quei di Campidoglio [the Commune] o sia ignoranza, o sia malignità, hanno preso a dir male de' Deputati, di Messer Horatio Fosco, et di me. E ci sono stati de gran romori e ne consigli pubblici, e ne' secreti, dicendo che tutti siamo d'accordo a rubbar il Popolo.'

congregation in charge of it, in the next chapter, I shall draw together the various themes which run through this dissertation by presenting a case study. This will illustrate how the Curia mobilised the press, through the agency of the congregation of cardinals, to make institutional use of printing for the first time, in a groundbreaking attempt to centralise the dissemination of the Church's propaganda.

11. The Printed Legacy of the Council of Trent: A Privilege of Rome?

In the early spring of 1564, Paolo Manuzio signed the prefatory letter of his latest publication, just as he had done many times before in the course of his publishing career.¹ The book was the first edition of the Tridentine Decrees, which had taken several weeks to prepare. Not much scholarly attention has been paid to the history of this *editio princeps*, despite its vital importance in defining and disseminating the results of the Council of Trent.² No information is provided in the modern editions of the decrees issued by Stefan Eshes for the Görres-Gesellschaft or by the FSCIRE team under the directorship of Giuseppe Alberigo.³ Ludwig von Pastor, in his history of the popes, and Hubert Jedin, in his history of the council, briefly sketched the events which led Manuzio to work on the *Decreta*, but neither delved into the details.⁴ As a result, this is only hinted at in the valuable accounts of

¹ An earlier and longer version of this chapter, under the title ‘Privilege of Rome: The Catholic Church’s Attempt to Control the Printed Legacy of the Council of Trent’, is forthcoming in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond*, ed. by V. Soen, W. François and A. Soetaert, 3 voll, Göttingen 2015.

² See *Canones, et decreta ... Concilii Tridentini ... juxta exemplar authenticum Romae M. D. LXIII. Editum ...*, ed. by J. Le Plat, Antwerp 1779, pp. XXII-XXX. The only scholarly treatments are G. Calenzio, *Esame critico-letterario delle opere riguardanti la storia del Concilio di Trento*, Rome and Turin 1869, pp. 137-8, and his ‘Delle rarità e preziosità tipografiche del Tridentino’, in his *Documenti inediti e nuovi lavori sul Concilio di Trento*, Rome 1874, pp. 437-574, at pp. 439-482. Relevant data can also be found in *Decreta septem priorum sessionum Concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III Pont. Max. ex autographo Angeli Massarelli (codice Morganiano ms. A.225A Neo-Eboracensi) hic phototypice recuso*, ed. by S. Kuttner, Washington DC 1945, pp. XVII-XXI, and S. Kuttner, ‘Addenda to the Catholic University Edition of the Decrees of the Council of Trent’, *Seminar: An Annual Extraordinary Number of The Jurist*, VI, 1948, pp. 72-76.

³ *CT*, V, p. XXXIII, esp. n. 4. Eshes focuses mainly on the attempt to publish the Tridentine acts: *ibid.*, pp. XXVI-XXXVIII. *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. by G. Alberigo et al., Bologna 1973, does not offer an account of the earlier editorial history, nor does the more recent *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, III.

⁴ Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 276-8, and Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/2, pp. 324-330, esp. p. 327, n. 3.

the Tridentine Council which have recently appeared.⁵ This edition, however, provides a crucial case study of the Catholic use of printed propaganda, since it was the first time the Church attempted to implement a long-term strategy towards one of its official publications by intervening in the European book trade. I therefore felt that a study of the printing history of the book would be both more revealing and more relevant to the main thesis of this dissertation than a general overview of the entire output of the papal press (a short-title catalogue of which is given in Documentary Appendix B).

11.1 Multiple editions and the context of a pioneering *editio princeps*

According to Antoine Augustin Renouard's *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* – published in the nineteenth century, but still the standard reference work on the Manuzio family press – in 1564 Paolo brought out three different folio editions of the decrees in Rome, followed by several further editions in smaller formats: Renouard mentions a quarto and six octavos.⁶ Since his day, the picture has begun to alter, and it now seems likely that there was probably a fourth folio and a second quarto edition.⁷ In order to make further progress, a systematic investigation of all

⁵ Prosperi, *Il Concilio di Trento*, pp. 90-91, and J. W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, Cambridge MA and London 2013, p. 267. A. Tallon, *Le Concilie de Trente*, Paris 2000, does not even mention the first edition of the decrees.

⁶ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, pp. 190-194, 348, also provides useful information on notable copies scattered in libraries at the time, either public or private. Renouard also considers a quarto edition based on the second folio edition as doubtful. The bibliographical entries in Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 130-133 and *The Aldine Press*, pp. 359-362, nos 720-729, rely on Renouard's account. A. A. Renouard, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque d'un amateur*, I, Paris 1819, p. 47, describes two volumes from his own library, both containing the same account of the Council of Trent up to 1547 by its secretary, Angelo Massarelli. The codices – now in the Pierpont Morgan Library together with other highlights from Renouard's Aldine collection – are edited in *Decreta septem*.

⁷ This was first suggested by *Canones, et decreta*, 1779, pp. xxvii-xxviii, which mentioned an annotated exemplar (possibly by Angelo Massarelli) held in the Corsiniana library in Rome and referred to in the Roman reprints of the *Decreta* by Girolamo Mainardi in 1732 and 1733 (the latter erroneously dated 1763). Le Plat described it as paginated with Roman and Arabic numerals, and

surviving copies of the *Decreta* is needed. For the time being, however, I shall consider only the three well-known folio editions, asking, firstly: what changed from one edition to another? The answer is very little, at least superficially. The first folio edition contained just the text, introduced by the papal privilege given to Manuzio's Roman publications in 1562 and a short address to the pious reader by Manuzio himself. In the second folio edition, indexes of dogmas and reforms were added, while the general papal privilege was replaced with one specifically promulgated for this edition. The third folio edition provided a more accurate text and reproduced the famous papal bull *Benedictus Deus* confirming the decisions taken by the council.

My second question concerns a bibliographical puzzle: why were so many different editions issued within the space of a single year? To answer this, we have to take into account the unusual circumstances in which the book was produced, as a publication of the first papal press in history. We have seen in previous chapters that during the first three years of the press's activity, important critical editions of the Church Fathers were published but that 1564 marked an important watershed, since the firm was affected by the growing quarrel between the Roman Commune and Manuzio over the right of ownership, which the pope had ambiguously granted to both parties. Moreover, the closure of the Council of Trent meant that the efforts of the press were largely devoted to publishing 'Tridentine books' such as the *Decreta*, the new Index of Forbidden Books, the Catechism and the Breviary. As the first

missing the phrases 'Index dogmatum et reformationis' and 'In aedibus Populi Romani' in the title. Copies in the British Library and in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice apparently match this description. Also, Calenzio, 'Delle rarità', p. 459, saw at least one copy with Arabic numerals from pages 84 to 96; in addition, he mentions (*ibid.*, p. 460) a quarto exemplar based on the second folio edition and held in the library of Barberini family, now BAV: Stamp. Barb. CCC, V, 30. Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 348, regarded the latter edition as doubtful, since he was unable to identify any copy of it.

example of this new trend, the publication of the council's decrees was a pioneering project within the context of a pioneering (and troubled) enterprise.

The book's production was also caught up in curial politics during the first months of 1564. On the one hand, a large part of Pius IV's Curia was determined to delay the publication of the papal confirmation of the decrees, because they were opposed to the compulsory residence for prelates holding benefices.⁸ The changes made to successive editions of the decrees reflected, to some extent, the pope's increasing ability to impose his will on the Curia. Therefore, the first folio edition, completed on 18 March, contained only a final declaration by the vice-chancellor, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, reporting the oral approval of the pope. A month later, the pope was able to promulgate a restrictive privilege to safeguard Manuzio's second edition. Finally, on 1 July, the third folio edition was printed, including the bull of confirmation, which had been approved on 26 February but postponed until 30 June.⁹ On the other hand, control over the papal press became tighter, as the progress of the edition had to be reported not only to the congregation of cardinals in charge of the press, but also to a specific supervisory board, which was responsible for making all decisions related to the text and the final proof-reading. The identity of the supervisors is not known, apart from Gabriele Paleotti.¹⁰ Angelo Massarelli,

⁸ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/2, pp. 330-332, and Prosperi, *Il Concilio di Trento*, pp. 88-91. It should be borne in mind that the decisions taken in the first and the second period were not officially ratified by Paul III and Julius III.

⁹ See Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, VII, pp. 276-277, along with P. Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597)*, I, Rome 1959, pp. 191-199.

¹⁰ Prodi, *Il cardinale*, pp. 198-199, and Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio*, pp. 131-132. Despite the extensive and very detailed correspondence of Paolo Manuzio, only one letter by him concerning the final stage of the editorial work for the *Decreta* has so far come to light. The copy found by Barberi is ASV, *Conc. Trid.*, vol. 97, f. 161r.

bishop of Telese, almost certainly took part in his capacity as secretary of the Council of Trent during all three periods, as well as having responsibility for preserving the original documentation. For the rest, it is likely that the board resembled the committees in charge of preparing the papal confirmation of the council and the publication of the conciliar acts. The juridical and theological skills required were very similar. The first of these committees was made up of the president legate of the council, Cardinal Giovanni Morone, along with Ludovico Simonetta, Carlo Borromeo, Giovan Battista Cicada, Vitellozzo Vitelli and Francesco Alciati, with Gabriele Paleotti and Ugo Boncompagni, serving as consultants.¹¹ The second included the cardinals Simonetta, Vitelli, Paleotti, Marcantonio da Mula and Guglielmo Sirleto.¹² Apart from the composition of the board supervising the *Decreta*, it is noteworthy that this was the first time in which curial officials were directly involved in the activities of a publishing house – a clear indication of the importance attributed to this publication by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Notwithstanding, the first two folio editions were marred by several mistakes and errors in the pagination, which had to be corrected in the third edition.¹³ Manuzio's publication of three folio editions of the *Decreta*, one right after the other, was thus due to struggles within the Curia and dissatisfaction with the performance of the papal press and (possibly) with the supervisory board.

11.2. Motives and strategies

My third (and most important) question is: why did the papacy embark on

¹¹ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/2, p. 326.

¹² *CT*, V, pp. XXIX, XXXIII.

¹³ For a list of *errata*, see Calenzio, 'Delle rarità', pp. 460-477.

such an ambitious project as preparing and carrying out a publication by its own? Three main motives can be detected: firstly, to provide an official and accurate text of the decrees as soon as possible, in contrast to their earlier circulation; secondly, to safeguard the text in the form approved by the Roman Curia; and thirdly, to gain better control over the distribution of the edition and of reprints both in Italy and throughout Europe.

In January 1564, the papacy had to tackle the difficult issue of dealing with the entire corpus of the Council of Trent's decrees. Lacking the ratification by earlier popes, all the conciliar decisions from 1545 on needed to be approved by Pius IV and then published in an official version. This had to be done quickly, moreover, since strenuous diplomatic efforts were afoot to get Catholic countries to accept the Tridentine pronouncements.¹⁴ The main obstacle to the publication of an official papal edition was that material related to the council, from speeches to decrees, had been circulating unofficially since the late 1540s. This is hardly surprising if we consider the lively contemporary interest in news, especially when it concerned such an international and multi-faceted event as the Council of Trent. Attention has been drawn recently to the need to look into the reception of the council, analysing the spread of printed news at the time.¹⁵ I have uncovered four ways in which this circulation occurred. Firstly, there was the publication of individual decrees.¹⁶

¹⁴ On the political issues surrounding the immediate reception of the Tridentine Decrees by France and the Holy Roman Empire, see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/2, pp. 328, 365-367, and O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened*, pp. 250-251.

¹⁵ Ditchfield, 'Trent Revisited', p. 365.

¹⁶ See the records in L. Fè D'Ostiani, 'Bibliografia degli opuscoli relativi al Concilio di Trento e stampati in Brescia durante lo stesso Concilio: appendice seconda al Muzio Calini', *Archivio Veneto*, XXIV, 1882, pp. 235-248; L. Borrelli, 'La collezione delle Cinquecentine relative al Concilio Ecumenico Tridentino della Biblioteca comunale di Trento', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-*

Secondly, *summae conciliorum* or historical accounts of all the ecumenical assemblies provided another route of diffusion. Early sixteenth-century interest in councils as a means to restore Christian unity led to the production of two major collections in the decades of the Council of Trent. The first, which went up to Pope Eugenius IV, was the work of the Franciscan scholar Peter Crabbe.¹⁷ The second was compiled by the Dominican friar and later Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza. An immediate best-seller, this *Sammlung* was issued a hundred times throughout Europe until the eighteenth century and was updated by various contributors, so that it went up to ('usque ad') the current pope.¹⁸ Thirdly, there were contemporary commentaries, since virtually every spiritual leader of the Reformation – from John Calvin and Philipp Melancthon to Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger, Theodor Bibliander, Matthaeus Flacius Illyricus and Pier Paolo Vergerio the Younger – wrote on specific Tridentine decrees. Some Catholic controversialists who tried to refute their arguments such as Johannes Cochlaeus and Willem van der Lindt also contributed to the dissemination of the decrees.¹⁹ Rather than trying to

germanico in Trento, VI, 1980, pp. 447-545; and E. Ferraglio, *Il Concilio di Trento e l'editoria del sec. XVI: bibliografia delle edizioni cinquecentesche*, Trent 2002.

¹⁷ Pierre Crabbe, *Concilia omnia, tam generalia quam particularia ab Apostolorum temporibus in hunc usque diem ...*, 2 vols, Cologne, Peter Quentel, 1538; a third volume was published in 1551, including the early Tridentine decrees. Crabbe's work was the basis for the famous *summa* by Lorenz Surius issued in 1567.

¹⁸ Bartolomé Carranza, *Summa conciliorum et pontificum a Petro usque ad Paulum tertium succincte complectens omnia, quae alibi sparsim tradita sunt ...*, Venice, Ad signum Spei, 1546. The 1564 Lyon edition claimed to be the first to reproduce all the Tridentine acts and the decrees: *Summa conciliorum ... usque ad Pium IV: adjecta sunt etiam acta et canones generalis concilii Tridentini, qua ante non habebantur*, Lyon, Giacomo Giunta's heirs, 1564.

¹⁹ To the best of my knowledge, there is no thorough study of this literature nor of the textual sources employed by these authors. How the news from Trent circulated in Europe during the conciliar period is still a challenging research question. For a general analysis of Reformed and Catholic publications in Germany on the Council of Trent, see T. Brockmann, 'Il Concilio di Trento nella pubblicistica dell'area di lingua tedesca 1545-1563', in *Il concilio di Trento nella prospettiva del terzo millennio: atti del convegno, Trento 25-28 settembre 1995*, ed. by G. Alberigo and I. Rogger, Brescia 1997, pp. 185-212, esp. at pp. 207-210, and his *Die Konzilsfrage in den Flug- und Streit-schriften des deutschen Sprachraumes (1518-1563)*, Göttingen 1998, together with S. Ozment, 'Pamphlets

examine the vast number of the publications pertaining to these three groups, I shall focus instead on the fourth and most important channel of circulation: the collections of the Tridentine decisions.

Of the collections which had already appeared before 1564, the first was published in Paris in 1546.²⁰ This volume, which exerted considerable influence on the early circulation of the first conciliar decisions, was reprinted in Antwerp in the same year and the year after, while expanded editions were issued in 1550 and 1551 in Paris.²¹ As was mentioned in Chapter 4, an official edition containing the pronouncements of the first conciliar period was published in Bologna in 1548, under the supervision of the papal legates, the cardinals Del Monte and, in particular, Cervini. The same year, a partial collection of these decrees appeared in Milan, also containing some religious and diplomatic orations delivered at the council (*acta*). It is not certain whether the secretary of the council, Massarelli, supervised this publication, as the colophon and the final lines of the book seem to suggest.²² In

Literature of the German Reformation', in *Reformation in Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. by S. Ozment, St Louis 1982, pp. 85-105. For an overview of the major Reformed pamphlets, see G. Caravale, 'La polemica protestante contro il Tridentino', in *L'uomo del concilio*, pp. 47-61.

²⁰ *Acta Concilii Tridentini quorum catalogus in proxima inest pagina*, Paris, Regnault and Claude Chaudière, 1546.

²¹ *Acta Tridentini Concilii quorum catalogus in sequentibus habetur paginis*, Antwerp, Martin Nutius, 1546; *Tridentini Concilii Acta, quorum catalogus ... accessit iam recens quinta sessio facta XIII. Ianuarii 1547*, Antwerp, Martin Nutius, 1547; *In hoc libello contenta: Concordata inter Leonem X, ... Sacrosancti oecumenici Concilii tridentini sessionis primae, secundae, tertiae, quartae, quintae et sextae decreta. Omnia recens diligenter et accurate emendata ...*, Paris, Galliot Du Pré, 1550. The 1551 edition was issued under the same title by the same printer. On these and similar contemporary French publications, see A. Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518-1563)*, Rome 1997, pp. 533-547.

²² *Acta ac decreta sacrosanctae Tridentinae Synodi ann. MDXLVI et XLVII: una cum admonitione legatorum Sedis Apostolicae, ad patres lecta, in prima sessione ac orationibus tribus per diversos praelatos ibidem habitis*, Milan, Innocenzo Cicognara, 1548, esp. sig. [Kiir-v]. Massarelli's signature is indeed printed at the end of each session. On this basis, Calenzio argued that the edition was printed from Massarelli's diary and therefore revised by him: Calenzio, *Esame critico-letterario*, pp. 131-132, as well as his *Saggio di storia del Concilio generale di Trento sotto Paolo III*, Rome 1869,

1552, a reprint of the Milanese edition was issued in Venice by the ‘Ad signum Spei’ press, including speeches delivered during the second period. The volume was intended to be the first in a series of collections of documents from ecumenical councils, as advertised on the title-page.²³ The decrees from the second period were published in Zaragoza and reprinted in various Spanish editions,²⁴ as part of the attempts made by local bishops to apply the Tridentine reforms independently of Rome.²⁵ It was with the reopening of the council in 1561, however, that publications really began to spring up, mainly due to the bookseller Giovan Battista Bozzola.²⁶ On the suggestion of the bishop of Brescia, his hometown, Bozzola moved to Trent, with the specific purpose of acting as publisher for the council.²⁷ Since there was no press in Trent, Bozzola employed the Hebrew printer Giacobbe Marcaria in Riva di Trento, as well as Ludovico Nicolini da Sabbio and Damiano Turlino in Brescia. It is also likely that he was in a partnership with the Paduan bookseller Pietro Antonio Alciati. Thanks to his political and commercial connections, Bozzola had a conciliar

p. 331, and his ‘Delle rarità’, p. 440. Many doubts, however, remain: e.g., there is no mention of the Milanese edition in Massarelli’s correspondence with Cervini, who would certainly have been the promoter of this enterprise; and in many copies, the printer’s name is missing from the title-page, as if this was a pirate edition. See also the interpretation in *Decreta septem*, pp. XXII-XXIII.

²³ *Generale Concilium Tridentinum continens omnia quae ab initio usque [sic] ad finem in eo gesta sunt ... Cito habebis (Deo favente) candide lector concilia omnia hac forma impressa, quibus haec commode annecti poterunt*, Venice, Ad signum Spei, 1552. This edition appears in three variants (var. A: [56] leaves; var. B: [58] leaves; var. C: [62] leaves), depending on the inclusion of one or two additional orations: see *EDIT16*, CNCE 12950

²⁴ *Generale concilium Tridentinum continens omnia quae ab eius reductione per Iulium tertium ... usque ad finem in eo gesta sunt*, Zaragoza, Agustín Millán, 1553; see C. Gutiérrez, ‘Una edición española en 1553 de los decretos conciliares tridentinos’, *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, XXVIII, 1954, pp. 73-105.

²⁵ Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/1, pp. 21-24, and J. Goñi Gaztambide, ‘Los cabidolos españoles y la confirmacion del Concilio de Trento’, *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, VII, 1975, pp. 425-458.

²⁶ See A. Cioni, ‘Bozzola, Giovan Battista’, in *DBI*, XIII, Rome 1971, pp. 589-591; F. Fanizza, ‘Bozzola, Giovan Battista’, in *Dizionario dei tipografi*, pp. 190-191; E. Ferraglio, ‘Giovanni Battista Bozzola, un editore per il Concilio di Trento’, *Civis*, XXIII, 1999, pp. 109-121.

²⁷ Bozzola’s relationship with the bishop of Brescia and reformer, Domenico Bollani, seems to have escaped the notice of C. Cairns, *Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Brescia: Devotion to Church and State in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century*, Nieuwkoop 1976.

decree printed in the form of a pocket-sized leaflet as soon as it was officially approved.²⁸ In early November 1563, he was able to publish an almost complete collection, entitled *Universum sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum*, which included his own publications, as well as earlier collections.²⁹ This edition was not entirely complete because the council was still ongoing. Yet, within a few weeks, Bozzola managed to publish the decrees of the final two sessions, in a format which enabled them to be easily bound in with his *Universum Concilium*.³⁰ In the introductory letter to the reader in the main collection, Bozzola claimed that he had been asked by the bishops in Trent to publish the decrees and that the text had been thoroughly revised by trustworthy theologians.³¹ There is no reason to doubt him, though publication of conciliar deliberations was strongly discouraged in the last period of the assembly. As early as 17 February 1562, significantly during discussions to formulate the decree on the Index of Forbidden Books, Massarelli firmly forbade the participants at the council to disseminate drafts of the decrees, even among their families.³² Bozzola, who seems to have been the unspoken target

²⁸ On these rare publications, see the literature cited in n. 16 above.

²⁹ *Universum sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, oecumenicum, ac generale, legitime tum indictum, tum congregatum ... Nunc recens, multo quam antea limatius, emendatiusque, in lucem prodit*, Brescia, Giovan Battista Bozzola, 1563.

³⁰ *Decreta de sacramento matrimonii, et de reformatione, publicata in sessione octava ... die XI Nouemb. MDLXIII*, Brescia, Giovan Battista Bozzola, 1563; *Decreta, publicata in sessione nona et ultima ... diebus III et IIIII Decemb. MDLXIII*, Brescia, Giovan Battista Bozzola, 1563.

³¹ *Universum sacrosanctum Concilium*, Brescia 1563, sig. +ivr: ‘Cum a nonnullis [sic], qui Concilio interfuerunt, et a quamplurimis, qui non adfuerunt, rogatus fuerim, ut cunctas, Sacrosanctae Tridentinae Synodi quae a fel. re. Paulo III P. M. ad Pium quartum usque Sessiones celebratae fuerunt, corrogarem, atque prelo committerem, uti studiosorum omnium desiderio facerem satis, atque ut opus ipsum, undequaque perfectum, ac consummatum efficerem, tum priscas, tum novissimas Sessiones collegi, utque sessionum accessoria, ac contingentia, mihi suppeditarentur, omnem diligentiam adhibui Insuper, eruditos Theologos, atque in corrigendi munere exactissimos, accersivi, qui e diversarum impressionum exemplaribus, atque novissimarum Sessionum prototypis, ipsis, nostra has, quam expurgatissimas perficerent Quam sparsim alias, nunc collectim. Quod per partes dissectum erat, nunc impressum totum benigne habes lector.’

³² See *CT*, VIII, pp. 329-330; and see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/2, p. 298, for related complaints within the circle of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.

of Massarelli's reproach, was probably able to side-step this regulation on account of the protection which he enjoyed: he could take advantage of the authority not only of Bollani, who was at the council in 1561 and continuously from 1562, but also of the prince-bishop of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo, the main patron of the press of his collaborator, Giacobbe Marcaria. Whatever the case, Bozzola published and distributed a semi-official Catholic edition of the decrees as early as December 1563. The following year, there were six reprints of this edition: one in Turin, another in Lyon, two in Cologne and three in Antwerp.³³ In addition, a curious leaflet, summarising the decrees approved in the last period, was published in Padua by Cristoforo Griffio under the title: *Omnia acta in sacro Concilio Tridentino sub s.d.n. pp. Pio IIII in novem sessiones digestae*. The Roman Curia had not been quick enough in issuing an official text. Even worse, Bozzola included in his book unrevised versions of the decrees, drawing on earlier corrupt editions for those from the period prior to 1561. By the second half of 1564, however, Bozzola's collection had been displaced by Manuzio's Roman edition. The primary concern of the papacy – to have a single, official Roman Catholic text in print – was now successfully accomplished.³⁴

³³ *Universum sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum ...*, Turin, Giovan Antonio Strobino and Francesco Dolce, 1564; two editions, with the same title, were published in Cologne by Maternus Cholinus (the second one bearing the imperial privilege), as well as two reprints in Antwerp by Joannes Steelsius and Martin Nutius's widow. A third reprint was issued in Antwerp under a title resembling the Roman edition: *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini ... cum Pii IIII Pontificis Max. confirmatione quam ad calcem reperies ...*, Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1564.

³⁴ According to *Canones, et decreta*, 1779, pp. XXII-XIII, Bozzola's edition differs from the Roman publication only in minor respects. This claim, however, needs to be verified, since, according to conventional wisdom from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Bozzola's text was closer than the Roman edition to the original deliberations at the council. For a collation of the first decrees, see *Decreta septem*.

The text of Manuzio's Roman edition, nevertheless, needed to be safeguarded as it circulated throughout Europe. To achieve this aim, the papacy employed the traditional legal means at its disposal, the *privilegio* (privilege). By means of a privilege, an authority gave exclusive rights over an edition, in the territory under its jurisdiction and for a certain number of years, to a printer, publisher or author. Recent studies have dwelt on the distinctive use which popes, in their capacity as both temporal and spiritual authorities, made of this legal instrument.³⁵ Typically, they promulgated a *motu proprio*, threatening printers outside the Church's domain who failed to respect the privilege with immediate excommunication; inhabitants of the Papal States were additionally liable to monetary penalties. This two-fold strategy was increasingly used from the early decades of the Cinquecento; and, later on, when the papacy began to publish its own books, a new form of privilege was introduced, aimed at protecting, both inside and outside the Papal States, the edition far more than the interests of the printer. The *motu proprio* given by Pius V to the Roman edition of the Catechism in 1566 is generally regarded as the first instance of this change.³⁶ Evidence suggests, however, that the earliest example is the 1564 *editio princeps* of the Tridentine decrees. As we have seen, two privileges appeared in the Roman editions of this book. The first folio edition reproduced the general concession given to Manuzio in 1562,³⁷ which was directed at printers and

³⁵ Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, pp. 169-181; Blasio, "*Cum gratia et privilegio*"; B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge 1999, p. 40; C. L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the "privilegio" in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, Leiden and Boston 2004, pp. 45-50, 73-4; Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 391-401; A. Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden and Boston 2013, pp. 231-257; Ginsburg, 'Proto-Property'.

³⁶ Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, p. 170; Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, p. 396; Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, p. 251.

³⁷ *Canones, et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici, et generalis Concilii Tridentini ...*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1564, 1st edn, p. II.

booksellers inside and outside of Italy and which protected, for five years, all the works in Greek, Latin and the Italian vernacular published by him in Rome.³⁸ Although this was initially considered valid for the Tridentine decrees as well, within weeks the pope changed his mind and promulgated a new privilege, which was, very unusually, more limited than the earlier one:

Since we desire that the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent can be conveniently possessed by everyone, we command, with a similar [second] *motu proprio*, for the benefit and utility of the Christian Republic, that the act of excommunication and the other penalties imposed by us in the said [first] *motu proprio* will not affect and include booksellers and whoever else prints, commissions or profits from the book of the canons and decrees outside our ecclesiastical state, provided that the volumes printed by them at the time do not differ in any respect from those which have been printed in our illustrious city by the previously mentioned Paolo.³⁹

Had it been covered by the first universal *privilegio*, Manuzio's papal press could have made enormous profits from such an important publication. Far from

³⁸ For the first appearance of this privilege, see Thomas Aquinas, *In librum b. Iob expositio ... cum privilegio Pii III. Pont. Max.*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1562, p. [2]. It concerned '... universis, et singulis librorum impressoribus, et bibliopolis tam extra, quam intra Italiam'.

³⁹ *Canones, et decreta ... Index dogmatum, & reformationis*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1564, 2nd edn, p. ii: 'Nos ... volentes quos Canones et Decreta ... Concilii Tridentini, ... ab omnibus commode haberi possint, motu simili etc. quod excommunicationis, et aliae poenae ... in dicto motu proprio nostro per nos inflictæ, bibliopolas, et alios quoscumque volumen Canonum et Decretorum ... extra statum nostrum Ecclesiasticum ... imprimentes, aut imprimi facientes, venalesve tenentes, dummodo illi sic ab eis pro tempore impressi, a codicibus, qui in alma Urbe nostra per Paulum prædictum impressi sunt, in aliquo non discordent, minime afficiant, aut eos comprehendant, ... ad Reipublicæ Christianæ commudum, et utilitatem statuimus ...'

protecting the interests of the firm, however, this second, restricted, privilege was entirely to its disadvantage. It legitimated reprints of Manuzio's edition outside the Papal States and exposed his Roman press to powerful competition from larger European printing centres, especially Venice. The papacy seems to have been aware that entrusting the entire production and distribution to its own small publishing house was unrealistic. Its priority was to ensure that the council's decrees were distributed as widely as possible. Yet, the text, as edited by the Curia and printed by Manuzio, had to be preserved intact while circulating.⁴⁰ This constant concern to safeguard the official text extended to other elements in the edition; in particular, a statement of *concordantia cum originalibus* was printed at the end of the decrees, before Farnese's final confirmation of the pope's approval, and signed by the secretary of the Council of Trent, Massarelli, and his fellow notaries, Marco Antonio Peregrino and Cinzio Pamphili.⁴¹ Moreover, a hand-written statement and the autograph signatures of the three notaries can be found on the last leaf of several copies of both the first and second folio editions, guaranteeing the textual authenticity of that very printed exemplar ('in praesenti volumine').⁴² These

⁴⁰ That this was the contemporary understanding of the second privilege is supported by a letter from Tullio Albonese to Carlo Borromeo. The document is dated 19 April 1564, soon after the publication of the second edition. MS Milan, BAM, F. 104 inf., f. 110r: 'Ho datt'ordine che qua si stamperà il Concilio Tridentino conforme al testo del Manutio come Vostra Signoria Illustrissima scrisse <. S>i potrà far havendo Sua Santità levate sopra ciò le prohibitioni che vi erano. Il che è piacciuto molto a questa città sendo che se ne potrà haver con miglior comodità. Ho fatto elettione d'una bella stampa che sarà ben corretta, et spero con l'ordinario seguente mandargline un' foglio o duoi perché veda se ne restarà sodisfatta, né mancarò far che il Vicario et padre Inquisitore confrontino quello si stamperà con il detto testo del Manutio secondo l'ordine di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima.'

⁴¹ *Canones, et decreta*, Rome 1564, 1st edn, p. CCXXVIII [recte: CCXXXVIII]: 'Concordat cum originalibus in cuius fide subscripsimus: Ego Angelus Massarellus ... Ego Marcus Antonius Peregrinus ... Ego Cynthius Pamphilus ...' The statement is to be found on the same page in the second edition and on p. 238 in the third edition.

⁴² *Canones, et decreta*, Rome 1564, 1st edn, p. [CCXL]: 'Nos sacri oecumenici, et generalis Concilii Tridentini Secretarius, et Notari infrascripti decreta ipsius sacri Concilii in praesenti volumine contenta cum originalibus contulimus et quia cum eis concordare reperimus ideo hic in fidem manu propria subscripsimus: Ego Angelus Massarellus ... Ego Marcus Antonius Peregrinus ... Ego

autograph additions delighted collectors in the past, since they were thought to appear in only 12 or 30 copies.⁴³ It is evident, however, that there were far more signed copies,⁴⁴ which gives them a broader historical significance: it is very likely that the autograph signatures were added throughout the initial press run of both the first and second editions, serving as the final certification of authenticity.

The reason behind this concern for textual conformity was, no doubt, the desire to avoid the risk of interpolation, especially of derogatory comments. This possibility was particularly feared by the papacy on the basis of earlier experience of secret documents and decisions being published without authorisation and leading to disastrous consequences. For instance, the text of *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*, a curial report of 1536-1537 on Church reforms to be urgently undertaken, circulated widely in Europe in editions with commentaries by Reformed scholars.⁴⁵ The document, openly lamenting a large number of abuses, was not intended for dissemination. Nevertheless, it was immediately published in Rome by Antonio Blado, perhaps with the intention of demonstrating that concrete efforts were being

Cynthius Pamphilus ...', cited from the copy in British Library: Gen. Ref. Coll. C.73.e.4.

⁴³ Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, p. 191.

⁴⁴ After only a preliminary investigation, I have been able to locate authenticated copies of the first and second edition in the following libraries: Biblioteca Angelica, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Casanatense, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Biblioteca della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Biblioteca Queriniana, Biblioteca dell'Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Bibliothèque Municipale de Dôle, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, British Library, Cambridge Libraries (University, Selwyn and Trinity), Pierpont Morgan Library, John Rylands Library, UCLA Library, University of Illinois Library. Le Plat used as his base text the autograph exemplar of the first edition formerly in the Moretus's library, which he claimed contained annotations by Marco Antonio Peregrino: *Canones, et decreta*, 1779, p. XXIV.

⁴⁵ On this memorial, see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, pp. 473-483, and Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini*, pp. 42-47. For the text and earlier bibliography, see *CT*, XII, 1930, pp. 131-145. On its circulation, see W. Friedensburg, 'Das "Consilium de emendanda ecclesia"', Kard. Sadolet und Johann Sturm von Strassburg', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XXXIII, 1936, pp. 1-69.

made by the Curia. Given Blado's connections in the Curia, it seems plausible that the text was passed on to him by a disappointed supporter of internal reformation who wanted it to circulate even after its rejection by the papacy in late 1537. The pamphlet was, in fact, presented as an official publication, with Paul III's coat of arms appearing in the two woodcuts on the recto and verso of the title-page. Although it was quickly prohibited from being printed or sold by the papacy,⁴⁶ Protestants immediately picked it up and reprinted it with hostile annotations: first Johannes Sturm and soon after Luther himself.⁴⁷ As a result, an early attempt at Catholic renewal was turned into a propagandistic tool in the hands of Protestants. The apologetic attempts by Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto and Johannes Cochlaeus were unable to halt the polemical use of the text,⁴⁸ so that Paul IV resolved to include it in his Index of Forbidden Books.⁴⁹ A decade later, other Catholic documents suffered a similar fate: a commented edition of a confidential letter from Pope Paul III to Emperor Charles V concerning the Council of Trent was published anonymously by Calvin,⁵⁰ while Tridentine deliberations and related papal pronouncements were

⁴⁶ *Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum de emendanda Ecclesia*, Rome, Antonio Blado, 1538. On the prohibition, see Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, 480-3, esp. n. 70. The contemporary Milanese edition by the Belgian printer Gothard Van der Bruggen (Da Ponte) was published with the same title. A further Catholic edition appeared in 1538 in Cologne by Melchior von Nuess.

⁴⁷ *Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum, de emendanda Ecclesia: epistola Ioannis Sturmii de eadem re ...*, [Strasbourg], Kraft Müller, 1538; *Ratschlag von der Kirchen ausschus etlicher Cardinel ... Mit einer vorrede D. Mart. Luth.*, Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1538. This vernacular edition was frequently reprinted.

⁴⁸ Sadoleto merely corresponded with Sturm on the subject (see Friedensburg, 'Das Consilium', pp. 28-68), but Cochlaeus wrote a pamphlet: *Aequitatis discussio super consilio delectorum cardinalium &c. ad tollendam per generale concilium inter germanos in religione discordiam*, Leipzig, Nikolaus Wolrab, 1538. A year later, this work was twice reprinted as an appendix to *De emendanda ecclesia*, once in Antwerp by Steelsius and once in an edition without an imprint.

⁴⁹ See *ILL*, VIII, pp. 586-587, no. 670, and Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, I, p. 483, n. 70.

⁵⁰ *Admonitio paterna ... ad invictiss. Caesarem Carolum V ... cum scholiis*, [Mainz, Ivo Schöffler], 1545 and [Basel, Robert Winter], 1545. The letter had been translated into German, presumably a year before: *Väterliche Ermanung Pauli III ... zum .. Keyßer Carolo den fünfften*, s.l., s. n., [1544].

issued with commentaries by Melanchthon, Calvin and Vergerio.⁵¹ Vergerio was particularly keen to mock official Catholic documents by republishing them with caustic notes, as he did, for instance, with the Venetian Index of 1549 and some papers from the trial of Cardinal Giovanni Morone.⁵² These and many other examples show how effectively Reformed authors were able to employ annotated editions in their controversies with the Catholic Church. This was a shrewd tactic, displaying the confident use which Protestants made of the medium of printing.

The Roman Church also had another issue to cope with, since even Catholic editions of official documents sometimes included unauthorised alterations. A version of the Tridentine decree on original sin, omitting the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, had circulated for years in the 1546 Parisian collection and related French publications;⁵³ and during the 1550s, in unofficial collections of conciliar decrees published in Spain, certain passages were modified in accordance with the claims of the Spanish bishops in Trent.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Acta Concilii Tridentini, anno MDXLVI celebrati una cum annotationibus piis et lectu dignissimis: Item Ratio ... per Philippum Melanchthonem*, [Basel, Johann Oporinus], 1546. *Acta synodi Tridentinae cum antidoto per Ioann. Calvinum*, [Geneva, Jean Gérard], 1547; Calvin made a French translation a year later. Among other conciliar documentation, Vergerio published and commented on Pope Julius III's *Bolla della indittione, & convocazione del concilio che si ha da incominciare in Trento ...*, [Poschiavo, Dolfino Landolfi, 1550] and later translated this edition into Latin: *Bulla ... Petrus Paulus Vergerius commentariolum ... fecerat*, Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart, 1553.

⁵² *Il catalogo de libri ... condannati, & scomunicati per heretici, da m. Giovan della Casa legato di Vinetia & d'alcuni frati. E aggiunto sopra il medesimo catalogo un iudicio, & discorso del Vergerio*, [Poschiavo, Dolfino Landolfi, 1549], and *Articuli contra cardinalem Moronum ... cum scholiis*, Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart, 1558, transcribed in Simoncelli, *Il caso Reginald Pole*, pp. 253-262.

⁵³ See Calenzio, *Esame critico-letterario*, pp. 123-125, for the omission of Mary at the end of the decree on original sin ('Declarat tamen') and other failings of the Paris edition. *Decreta septem*, p. XXIV, and Tallon, *La France et le Concile*, pp. 535-537, are, no doubt, right that this omission was intentional. On the much debated question of whether or not the council should pronounce on the immaculate conception of the Virgin, see esp. J. Sagüés, 'Trent y la Inmaculada Naturaleza del Dogma Mariano', *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, XVIII, 1954, pp. 323-367, and Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, II, pp. 163-164, 177-178, 182-185, 189, esp. p. 187, n. 31.

⁵⁴ Gutierrez, 'Una edición española', pp. 74-75, 83-85, and Jedin, *Storia del Concilio*, IV/1, pp. 21-

The Curia gradually became aware of the risks entailed by the leak of sensitive administrative and legal documents in the era of the Reformation, given the vast expansion of printing and the rapid circulation of information. The notions of state secrets and state archives became ever stronger in the palaces of popes and cardinals. The closing of the Council of Trent played a pivotal role in this. The first measures to create a separate and efficient central archive were taken by Pius IV and Pius V in connection with the recovery of documentation from the council.⁵⁵ This development was complementary to the growth of papal bureaucracy, which became one of the most forward-looking and centralised state systems of the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, in 1574, a curial memo reported that official Church documents, which should be stored in the papal archives, were instead lying scattered in private hands and were being widely traded. Not only did foreign princes and many other people hold papal papers in their collections, but even heretics had copies of them, from which they had been printing forgeries with damaging annotations.⁵⁷

22, n. 13.

⁵⁵ See G. Gualdo, 'L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano da Paolo V (1605-1621) a Leone XIII (1878-1903): caratteri e limiti degli strumenti di ricerca messi a disposizione tra il 1880 e il 1903', in his *Diplomatica pontificia e umanesimo curiale: con altri saggi sull'Archivio Vaticano, tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by R. Cosma, Rome 2005, pp. 561-591, at pp. 562-564.

⁵⁶ See the still influential interpretation by Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice* along with the remarks and modifications by other scholars recently collected together by Ditchfield, 'Tridentine Catholicism', pp. 24-28.

⁵⁷ *CT*, I, p. XIX: '... raccogliere scritture appartenenti a negotii di secretaria, non già quelle che vivono nella penna e nelle mani del secretario secreto, ma tutti gli altri registri et lettere di papi, di legati, di nuntii, di governatori et di altre persone che hanno servito la sede apostolica, le quali memorie o sono restate in mano d'heredi o vanno disperse et si comprano e vendono pubblicamente, e li principi forestieri et molte persone private ne fanno archivii in Roma, e sino li heretici ne hanno havute copie et falsificatole et con postille perniciosissime stampate.'

In order to prevent this from happening to the official Roman edition of the Tridentine Decrees, the papacy decided to exploit the propagandistic potential of printing to the maximum and to exert as tight a control as possible over it. So, while attempting to take an active part in the international book trade with a trusted publishing house, it also sought to forestall the risks of large-scale media exposure. This is why all three folio editions contained only the plain text of the decrees, as Manuzio stressed in his letter to the pious reader.⁵⁸ No marginal indications of biblical passages were inserted, nor was there, initially, an index. The inconvenience which this might cause to readers was clearly not a concern for either the Curia or the pope. In the eyes of curial officials, publishing the bare text would discourage any interventions by either Protestant or Catholic scholars and would make them easily recognisable if inserted. That this was the intention is openly stated in Pius IV's bull *Benedictus Deus* confirming the conciliar decrees, in which any addition to the printed text was forbidden, unless it had received prior approval by the papacy:

To avoid the corruption and confusion which could arise if everyone were permitted to publish his own expositions and interpretations of the council's decrees, we, by apostolic authority and under the threat of immediate excommunication, prohibit anyone – whether a prelate or a layman – from daring to publish without our consent any comment, gloss, annotation, marginal note or any kind of interpretation at all of these conciliar decrees in any way or to take any decision, under

⁵⁸ *Canones, et decreta*, Rome 1564, 1st edn, p. III: 'Hoc beneficium disseminari quamprimum, ac distribui per orbem terrarum, ad propaganda veritatem, et divulgandam Ecclesiae Catholicae sententiam, necesse est. Itaque nunc eduntur puri Canones, et ipsa Decreta, cum appendice nulla.' The quotation occurs on the same page in the second edition and on p. 3 in the third.

whatever authority, not even with the excuse of reinforcing and improving the execution of the decrees or for any other reason.⁵⁹

Instead, the pope arrogated to himself alone the right to resolve all interpretative issues, laying the foundation for future restrictive actions concerning the council's legacy such as creating a dedicated congregation of cardinals to supervise its implementation (the *Congregatio Concilii*), suspending the further publication of the Tridentine acts and, ultimately, storing them in the Vatican Archive.⁶⁰ Employing a subtle and unprecedented policy of centralised control, with the use of bans and *privilegi*, access to the Tridentine legacy became, so to speak, the privilege of Rome, as I have suggested in the title of this chapter. Exacerbated by Paolo Sarpi's embarrassingly satirical account of events at the council, this situation lasted until 1881, when Pope Leo XIII finally opened the Vatican archives to qualified scholars, enabling the Catholic German Görres-Gesellschaft to embark on the publication of the original documents, especially the Tridentine acts.

This policy seemed to be directed against Catholics even more than Protestants, so that for a long time even those Catholic scholars eager to defend the

⁵⁹ *Canones, et decreta ... Index dogmatum, & reformationis*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1564, 3rd edn, p. [243]: 'Ad vitandum ... perversionem, et confusionem, quae oriri posset, si unicuique liceret ... in Decreta Concilii commentarios, et interpretationes suas edere; Apostolica auctoritate inhibemus omnibus, tam ecclesiasticis personis, ... quam laicis, ... sub excommunicationis latae sententia poenis, ne quis sine auctoritate nostra audeat ullos commentarios, glossa, annotationes, scholia, ullumve omnino interpretationis genus super ipsius Concilii decretis quocumque modo edere, aut quidquam quocumque nomine, etiam sub praetextu maioris decretorum corroboracionis, aut executionis, aliove quaesito colore, statuere.'

⁶⁰ See the accounts in *CT*, V, pp. XXVI-XXXVIII, and H. Jedin, *Das Konzil von Trient: Ein Überblick über die Erforschung seiner Geschichte*, Rome 1948. For new information concerning the relocation of the Tridentine documentation, see C. M. Grafinger, 'Der Transport von Konzilsakten von der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana in Das Vatikanische Archiv und ihre Benützung im 17. Jahrhundert', *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, XXXIV-XXXV, 1992-1993, pp. 139-146.

Roman Church and the Council of Trent were discouraged from examining the original papers.⁶¹ The primary aim of the papacy was to protect from criticism the corpus of Tridentine rulings, which provided new guidelines for the Church's internal reform and disciplinary procedures, established the boundaries of Catholic orthodoxy and anathematised heretics. The first edition of the decrees can therefore be regarded as an early attempt on the part of the papacy to handle the potentially divisive legacy of the Council of Trent. The plain text and uncluttered *mise en page* of the *Decreta* conveyed a monolithic and unproblematic account of the work accomplished by the council and also promoted an image of total harmony between the papacy and the Curia, on the one hand, and the universal Church of Catholic believers, as represented by the bishops assembled in Trent, on the other. Polemics at the council and the opposing interpretations of the decrees put forward by the participants and later on in the Catholic monarchies, notably in Spain, France and the Holy Roman Empire, were entirely absent from the book. The readership of the edition was offered a uniform and homogeneous picture of Tridentine Catholicism as the sole true faith.⁶²

11.3. Impact of the papacy's policy of control

Whether all these stratagems were effective in controlling the circulation of reprints of the Tridentine decrees is another question. The papal press's limited

⁶¹ A telling case concerns the Jesuit Terenzio Alciati, who was asked by the pope to write a refutation of Sarpi's conciliar history but was not allowed to have personal copies of the official documentation (Jedin, *Das Konzil von Trient*, pp. 98-104). As late as the mid-nineteenth century, Augustin Theiner encountered fierce opposition from Pius IX to his project of publishing the Tridentine acts: *ibid.*, pp. 179-182, 185-187.

⁶² On the overlap between the council and the papacy in the aftermath of Trent, see J. W. O'Malley, 'The Council of Trent: Myths, Misunderstandings, and Misinformation', in *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padburg, S.J.*, ed. by T. Lucas, Chicago 2002, pp. 205-226.

capacity to issue large press runs and the inexperience of Manuzio in this sort of mass distribution raises a number of doubts. Preliminary results indicate, nevertheless, that, at least in 1564, the official text was maintained, and the book's circulation, though far from being controlled, was made more orderly by the privilege.

A few months after the publication of Manuzio's Roman editions, the Tridentine decrees were reprinted, according to the officially established text, once each in Florence, Naples, Milan and Padua, twice in Novara and four times in Venice, with two of the reprints issued by the Manuzio family press. So, each of the major states of the Italian peninsula had its own official publication of the decrees. The circulation outside of Italy was more complex. In the Low Countries and the Catholic areas of Germany, official editions published in Leuven and Dillingen replaced Bozzola's earlier collection.⁶³ A Lisbon edition, sponsored by Cardinal Dom Henrique de Portugal and printed by Francisco Correia, met the demand in Portugal and its domains overseas. Problems arose in Spain and France, however, because of the relative independence of their national churches from Rome and the resistance of both countries to the socio-political invasiveness of the Tridentine pronouncements with respect to royal prerogatives. In both countries, the reprints based on Manuzio's editions co-existed for a time with other editions. In the Spanish kingdom, as we have seen, a slightly modified text had begun to circulate soon after the second conciliar period, so that the official publication struggled to impose

⁶³ Three official editions appeared in Leuven, printed by Merten Verhasselt, Petrus Zangrius and Jean Bogard. Sebald Meyer, the official printer of the prince-bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, issued the decrees in Dillingen.

itself.⁶⁴ This was due to the ten-year fight – involving the papacy, Charles V and later Philip II – between the Spanish bishops and local chapters over the expansion of episcopal authority. Philip put particular effort into the implementation of the Tridentine decrees, which he introduced into his kingdom on 12 July 1564, after receiving the third folio edition from Rome.⁶⁵ In September, he prohibited any of the altered summaries of the conciliar decrees from circulating in the Spanish vernacular and imposed Manuzio's edition as the only official text, in line with the papal privilege.⁶⁶ In 1564, France was on the verge of civil and religious war once again. The initial conflict between Catholics and Huguenots had been resolved to some extent, but the nobility was split into two confessional parties, both attempting to pressurise the young King Charles IX and his powerful mother Catherine de' Medici. Approval of the Tridentine decrees by the crown was out of question in such a delicate situation, as it would exacerbate the growing conflict. The conciliar deliberations were to be confirmed as late as 1615, solely by an assembly of French bishops and without being ratified either by the king or the Estates General.⁶⁷ Yet, Cardinal Charles de Lorraine – the French legate to the Council of Trent and a key member of the leading Catholic House of Guise – encouraged the count-bishop of

⁶⁴ In 1564, the decrees were issued in Zaragoza (Miguel de Suelves and Bartolomé de Nágera's widow), Salamanca (Juan de Cánova), Granada (Antonio de Nebrija and García Briones for Juan Díaz and Martín de Salvatierra), Barcelona (Claudio Bornat), Valencia (Juan Mey) Valladolid (Adrián Ghemart) and three times in Madrid (one by Andrés de Angulo and two other printings in the summer and fall of 1564 by Pedro de Robles and Francisco de Cormellas for Juan de Escobedo and Alonso Gomez). The Granada edition seems to differ significantly from the official text, relying extensively on Bozzola's collection.

⁶⁵ J. I. Tellechea Idígoras, 'Filippo II e il Concilio di Trento', in *Il Concilio di Trento come crocevia della politica europea*, ed. by H. Jedin and P. Prodi, Bologna 1979, pp. 109-135. In the *Real Cédula* (ibid., 134-135), Philip II ratified the Tridentine decrees: 'habiéndonos S. S. enviado los decretos del dicho santo Concilio impresos en forma auténtica ...'

⁶⁶ B. Llorca Vives, 'Aceptación en España de los decretos del Concilio de Trento', *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, XXXIX, 1964, pp. 341-360, 459-482, at p. 460.

⁶⁷ See H. Weber, 'L'accettazione in Francia del Concilio di Trento', in *Il Concilio di Trento come crocevia*, pp. 85-107.

Verdun, Nicolas Psaume, to publish the conciliar decrees in 1564. A priest of exemplary reputation, Psaume participated in the second and third periods of the council, keeping diaries of the events.⁶⁸ Although it had probably been conceived two years earlier, his edition of the Tridentine decrees was published as soon as he returned to Lorraine in 1564. Significantly, the book, intended for a French readership, was first printed in Verdun, Psaume's fief and a formerly free imperial city occupied by Henri II in 1552 but not officially part of France.⁶⁹ Psaume presented his edition as preparatory to the synod which he was about to convene for the immediate application of the Tridentine decrees in his bishopric. The collection was deliberately divided into three parts: the first dealing with the canons for compulsory provincial councils to be held in every diocese; the second with the doctrinal pronouncements; and the third with the decisions concerning internal reform.⁷⁰ The decrees were therefore not presented in chronological order, but rather by subject. Psaume's sources were the earlier published collections, together with his own personal notes. The closing acts of the council and Cardinal Farnese's confirmation were, however, copied from Manuzio's edition; thus, the printed statement of *concordantia cum originalibus* by Massarelli and the other two notaries

⁶⁸ On this distinguished figure in Counter-Reformation France, see B. Ardura, *Nicolas Psaume (1518–1575): évêque et comte de Verdun*, Paris 1990, and Tallon, *La France et le Concile, ad indicem*.

⁶⁹ *Canones et decreta ... Concilii Tridentini ... nunc primum revocata in artem et ordinem, et in rubricas, certaue capita convenienti methodo digesta ...*, ed. by Nicholas Psaume, Verdun, Nicolas Bacquenois, 1564. This edition was simultaneously issued in Rheims by Joan de Foigny, son-in-law of Bacquenois, and another was published by Nicolas Chesneau in Paris in the same year. Psaume apparently had planned the publication earlier, since the royal privilege requested by de Foigny is dated 30 October 1562: *Canones et decreta ...*, ed. by Nicholas Psaume, Paris, Nicolas Chesneau, 1564, sig. +1v. See the remarks in Tallon, *La France et le Concile*, pp. 544–547.

⁷⁰ See Psaume's dedicatory letter to the cardinal of Lorraine, in *Canones et decreta*, ed. by Nicholas Psaume, Paris 1564, sigs +2r-+3v.

was included by Psaume, even though this was certainly not the case.⁷¹ Psaume's edition, which was reprinted twice, was initially in competition with one based on the official Roman text, published, probably a few months later, in Lyon by Guillaume Rouillé.

The majority of complete editions of the Tridentine decrees published in 1564 contained the official Roman text. These publications often included the privilege given to Manuzio's second edition and/or his dedicatory letter to the pious reader. Some publishers – such as Guillaume Rouillé in Lyon, Merten Verhasselt in Leuven and Sebald Meyer in Dillingen – scrupulously claimed on the title-page that their editions conformed to the authorised text.⁷² None of them, however, dared to issue a folio edition, all opting instead for smaller formats. Apart from any respect they might have felt for Manuzio's majestic folios, marketing reasons came into play. It is likely that the folio editions issued in Rome by Manuzio circulated in sufficient number to accommodate the needs of the wealthy and of local authorities. The official text of the Tridentine decrees was spread throughout the Continent in quarto and octavo volumes, some of which may have been based on the widely diffused

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁷² *Canones, et decreta ... cum prototypis et originalibus a Secretario et notariis dicti concilii collati, qui in operis fine subscripserunt, summa fide et diligentia nunc postremo excusi ...*, Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1564; *Canones et decreta ... opus nunc primum in Germania excusum integre, et ad fidem autographi Venetique exemplaris, quod a prioribus editionibus variat saepe ...*, Dillingen, Sebald Meyer, 1564; *Canones et decreta ... omnia sanctae Sedis Apostolicae auctoritate confirmata: in hac nostra editione Romanum exemplar, cum ipso originali summa fide collatum, ac Pii III ... auctoritate in lucem editum, fideliter sumus in omnibus secuti ...*, Leuven, Merten Verhasselt, 1564. In 1566, Wilhelm Silvius also claimed on the title-page that his edition was 'in forma authentica uti a summo Pontifice missum est'. He may have done so because he had previously published the *Decreta* from Bozzola's text, even though using Manuzio's title.

Venetian reprints, as Meyer's edition, according to the announcement on the title-page.⁷³

11.4. Conclusion

Unsurprisingly, this form of control over the thriving European book trade did not last for very long. In a couple of years, the first commented editions were published, new speeches and documents were released and the decrees were translated into the vernacular.⁷⁴ Yet, even though the strategy was short lived and not particularly effective, what is important, from our perspective, is the monopolistic idea underpinning it. A similar scheme was adopted for other Tridentine books, from the revised Breviary and the Missal, up to the Sixto-Clementine edition of the Vulgate. As we have seen in Chapter 2, able popes such as Pius V, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V further developed the policy inaugurated by Pius IV with Manuzio's edition of the Tridentine decrees. Sixtus V was the most audacious in using printing as a means of propaganda. He undertook a restoration of Vatican Library, which involved the construction of a well-funded Vatican press. In his extensive reformation of the Curia in 1588, he created a specific congregation to supervise the new *Typographia Vaticana* and even acted as the editor of the revised version of the Vulgate, linking the authority of his philological work to his spiritual authority as pope: anyone who refused to adopt his edition, which was of little scholarly value and was promptly

⁷³ See n. 72 above.

⁷⁴ As early as 1566, Orazio Luzi provided readers of his edition with biblical and juridical references: *Canones, et decreta ... cum citationibus ex utroque Testamento, et iuris pontificii constitutionibus ... collectis ... ab Horatio Lutio*, Venice, Giordano Ziletti, 1566. The conciliar *acta* were published in 1566 by Rouillé and in the collection by Zangrius a year later. By that time, vernacular editions had already appeared in Spain, France, German and the Low Countries, but, significantly, not in the Italian peninsula.

withdrawn at his death, was threatened with excommunication.⁷⁵ The monopolistic tendency of the sixteenth-century Catholic Church with regard to information and the printed word found little practical application. Yet, it perfectly paralleled and complemented the idea of restricting access to the Bible to clergymen and proficient readers of Latin by prohibiting vernacular translations of the Sacred Scriptures, as well as of controlling the entire production and circulation of printed works by means of an Index of Forbidden Books. It is no coincidence that the Tridentine Index was sometimes added to early editions of the conciliar decrees, forming the second part of a compendium which not only completed the Tridentine regulations, but also provided a clear expression of the contemporary cultural attitude of Catholicism.⁷⁶ On the one hand, there were prohibitions and bans, expurgations and inquisitorial trials, casting suspicion on printed books and private reading in general; on the other, more sophisticated attempts were made to gain control over the means of publication, distribution and communication. These were the two sides of the cultural policy of the Catholic Church in relation to printing during the sixteenth century, and both were closely connected to each other, to the growing notion of absolute papal supremacy and to the empowerment of the Church Domain as a state system. The first edition of the Tridentine decrees was a crucial turning-point in the development of this policy.

⁷⁵ On the Sixtine Vulgate, see Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, pp. 139-147, with earlier bibliography. See also V. Baroni, *La Contre-Réforme devant la Bible: la question biblique*, Lausanne 1943, pp. 218-222.

⁷⁶ E.g., the editions of the decrees by Rouillé and Mayer; see n. 72 above.

12. Conclusion

This dissertation was undertaken in response to the lack of scholarly interest in the sixteenth-century Catholic Church's use of printing as a means of communication in the wake of the Reformation. I hoped to fill this gap in the literature, at least in part, by focusing on the situation in Rome and by investigating, in particular, the attitude of the Curia and of the popes who reigned between 1527 and 1587. The principal thrust of my research was to question the assumption that while Catholics, and especially the Roman hierarchy, sought to impose a tightly controlled and wide-ranging censorship on the Italian market for printed books, they were unable, in contrast to Protestant leaders and publicists, to exploit the potential of printing to the full and were even resistant to any positive involvement with it. I stated in the Introduction (Chapter 1) that, in order to revise this outdated perspective and offer an alternative interpretation of the goals pursued by the Catholic Church in relation to printing, it was necessary to establish four points, which I have tried to address in the preceding chapters.

My first point concerned the need to reconstruct the Church's experiments with printing between 1527 and 1587 and to determine the degree of continuity between them. In Chapter 2, I provided the first comprehensive overview of the Church's many – and up to now largely overlooked – attempts to harness the medium of printing over sixty years, comprising not only scattered support for Catholic authors and editorial enterprises, but also, and more importantly, the setting up of a dedicated papal press in Rome. The number and general similarity of these

attempts, in itself, called into question the conventional wisdom mentioned above; and by examining in detail the degree of continuity between them, I believe I have shown that, taken together, they constituted an important feature of the cultural policy of the papacy in the early Counter-Reformation.

After discussing precursors such as Giberti in Verona and Fabri and Cochlaeus in Germany, I demonstrated that the Curia became ever more engaged in devising plans for publishing houses in the service of the papacy and of the Catholic struggle against Protestantism. Alongside the increasingly intensive employment of Antonio Blado's press for the Church's administrative publications, the pioneering use of printing made by Cardinal Marcello Cervini in the 1540s and early 1550s, in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, ushered in a period of experimentation with the medium of printing. At first, it was merely a matter of isolated initiatives approved by the papacy: the press in the convent of St Bridget in Rome, sponsored by the Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus; the publishing enterprise of the Collegio Romano; and one or two unsuccessful plans for presses apparently intended to be attached to the Vatican Library. Then came the brief pontificate of Cervini, followed by the earliest clear plan for a papal press drafted by a pope. Paul IV, the intransigent head of the Holy Inquisition and the promoter, in those very years, of the first Index of Forbidden Books promulgated by the Catholic Church, produced a design which was realised by his successor, Pius IV, who summoned Paolo Manuzio to Rome and entrusted him with the establishment and management of the first official papal press. Despite ensuing difficulties and changes in policy, it continued to function as a papal press under Pius V, until at least 1570. During the long reign of Gregory

XIII, the issue of an official, centralised, Catholic publishing house to disseminate the Church's propaganda was very much in the air: a vague plan for a press to publish books 'purged' by the Congregation of the Index was devised in 1573, while four proposals were later presented to the pope by a Serbian-Venetian entrepreneur (Giovanni Vincenzo Vuković) and four middle-ranking figures in the Curia (Giovanni Carga, Erennio Cervini and Giovanni Domenico Traiani with Gaspare Viviani). In the meantime, the Roman printing industry made efforts to meet the demands of the Curia. In particular, the Blado family press began to extend its traditional monopoly over bureaucratic pamphlets to include patristic and institutional publications, an area of publishing which had been adversely affected by the crisis in the Stamperia del Popolo Romano, that is, the former papal press of Pius IV and V. In the late 1570s, the papacy started to redraw the map of the local book trade. First of all, it endorsed the return of a Greek publishing house in the city after some thirty years, lending its support to the scribe and printer Francesco Zanetti. For Latin books, it built up an exclusive relationship with the skilled and experienced book dealer Domenico Basa, who managed to get his foot in the door of every printing enterprise sponsored by the Catholic Church. There was also a growing need for religious publications in Oriental languages in order to implement Gregory's grand plans for proselytising in the East, as well as similar missionary programmes by the Jesuit order. Gregory hired the punch-cutter Robert Granjon to design the requisite fonts, while Basa was appointed as director of a new polyglot papal press, the output of which, however, was not distinguishable from that of his personal workshop. A few years later, the challenging task of printing books in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Serbian, Armenian and Ethiopic was taken over by the

Medici Oriental Press, both a commercial and a scholarly enterprise, which was named after its main sponsor, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, but which was warmly welcomed by the papacy. In 1587, Basa's unofficial papal press was moved inside the premises of the Vatican Library and turned by Sixtus V into the *Typographia Vaticana*; the following year, a permanent congregation of cardinals put in charge of it. Finally, in 1589, the press of the Apostolic Chamber for administrative publications (*Stamperia Camerale*) was created and assigned to the Blado family in recognition of their longstanding monopoly over this type of material. Part I of this dissertation showed that Cervini's forays into publishing anticipated most, if not all, of these experiments, while Part II demonstrated that Paolo Manuzio's papal press, despite its fairly rapid demise, was a watershed in the history of papal use of printing as a means of communication. All in all, we can say that not only has the traditional view that there was substantial continuity between Cervini's printing enterprises, Manuzio's papal press, the Medici Oriental Press and the Vatican Press been proven to be correct, but that closer scrutiny of the projects and their many common features has substantially strengthened it.

My second point had to do with the people involved in these enterprises and the books which they published. It is important to stress that the sponsors of Catholic presses were well aware of earlier attempts in the field. So, for instance: Fabri, Giberti and Cervini tried to help Cochlaeus with his Catholic presses in Germany;¹ Cervini had among his papers an annotated copy of Fabri's

¹ See, e.g., Friendensburg, 'Beiträge', XVIII, pp. 236, 239-240, 251, 420-428.

Preparatoria,² and, significantly, Jean de Gagny, a French Catholic scholar of the Bible and the Church Fathers, mentioned him together with Giberti as enlightened supporters of printing;³ Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, later Paul IV, was given a copy of a publication by Cervini's Greek press in Rome and participated in one of Cervini's printing initiatives in the mid-1550s;⁴ Manuzio was also involved in Cervini's projects, together with Seripando and Sirleto, and the three of them revived unfilled projects started by Cervini when they worked together in Pius IV's papal press;⁵ Basa came to Rome as Manuzio's partner and later took over his role as the privileged printer of the Curia in Rome, from his direction of the Stamperia del Popolo Romano to his management of the Typographia Vaticana (where he employed Paolo's son, Aldo, as one of the scholars correcting texts); finally, Carga, in his plan to employ printing to promote the papacy, began by referring explicitly to the previous attempts under Paul IV and to the papal press run by Manuzio between 1561 and 1570.⁶ The sponsors of these printing projects include all the popes who reigned in the six decades covered by this dissertation, from Paul III, with his timid

² MS Florence, ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 30, ff. 1r-43v.

³ Dedicating to Cervini the work of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, *De elementis et eorum mixtionibus*, Paris, Nicolas Le Riche, 1548, sig. Air-v, de Gagny professed himself to be following in the footsteps of the editorial enterprises of Giberti and Cervini: 'Itaque cum annum fere abhinc tuo et Gilberti Matthaei Veronensis episcopi exemplo adductus (si licet magna parvis componere) typos exculpi curavisset quod proxime fieri potuit ad Aldinos Graecos et Latinos, nihilque antiquius haberem quam ut boni libri in publicum exirent, ... optimos quosque tum veterum tum recentiorum libros typis nostris per affinem nostrum Nicolaum Divitem typographum excudi fecimus.' Giberti had died in 1543. See A. Jamme and N. Barker, 'Jean de Gagny: A Bibliophile Re-Discovered', *The Library*, XI, 2010, pp. 405-446.

⁴ ASF, *Cervini*, fil. 51, f. 129r ('Al Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Cardinale Teatino hora di Napoli') and Carafa's coat of arms on the title-page of John Damascene, *Λόγοι τρεῖς ἀπολογητικοὶ ...*, Rome, Stefano Niccolini, 1553.

⁵ See, e.g., the dedication of John Chrysostom, *De virginitate liber*, Rome, Paolo Manuzio, 1562, sigs aiiir-biiir.

⁶ ASV, *Misc.*, *Arm. XI.*, tom. 93, f. 106r. Pansa, *Della Libreria Vaticana*, pp. 321-324, produced a similarly linear account of the history of the papal press, including as well the many attempts made by Gregory XIII and Sixtus V's Typographia Vaticana.

support for Cervini, to Sixtus V, with his bold and centralising manoeuvres aimed at transforming Roman cultural life. Given the diversity of their political and ecclesiastical visions, it is remarkable that none of these popes either abandoned the project for a papal press or discouraged cardinals and Jesuits from exploiting printing – especially when these endeavours took place in Rome under their own watchful eyes. In addition, a large and influential portion of the Curia was involved, sometimes repeatedly, in these projects, in particular from the pontificate of Pius IV onwards; to cite only the most illustrious names: Bernardino Maffei, Reginald Pole, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Alessandro Farnese, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Gian Bernardino Scotti, Giovanni Morone, Marco Antonio da Mula, Girolamo Seripando, Carlo Borromeo, Guglielmo Sirleto, Ferdinando de' Medici and Giulio Antonio Santori. Among the scholars entrusted with the intellectual side of the business, Gentian Hervet, Pier Francesco Zini, Mariano Vittori, Latino Latini, Giulio Poggiani, Giovan Battista Gabia and Pietro Galesini stand out on account of their continuous engagement over many years. The most important figure, however, was unquestionably Sirleto: one of the earliest collaborators of Cervini, he afterwards took part in all the cultural enterprises and presses supported by the papacy, while silently climbing the curial ladder until his appointment as cardinal librarian and head of the Congregation of the Index.

There is also a notable continuity in the type of works selected for publications – a clear pointer to the aims envisaged by the papacy in relation to printing. I have indicated four main areas of specialisation in the editorial programmes of the various presses engaged in publishing for the popes. The first area was writings of the

Church Fathers and of early Christian thinkers. In some cases, the intention was to publish these works for the first time; in others, it was to replace earlier editions by Protestant scholars. In the Italian context, this second issue became particularly pressing since, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, the most distinguished of all patristic scholars, Erasmus, began to be regarded as a heresiarch, mainly due to the vein of anti-ecclesiastical satire which ran through his writings. Among the many examples of continuity in the field of patristics,⁷ it is worth singling out the publication of Theodoret of Cyrrhus's anti-heretical and exegetical writings, which took several decades to accomplish. As a result of the Council of Trent's condemnation in 1546 of any version of the Bible other than the Vulgate, the Roman Church also needed to publish a philologically sound edition of the Bible. This work was started by Cervini and Sirleto, but went on to involve the best minds of the Curia and was brought to completion in the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate printed in 1592, 1593 and 1598. The second area was official books of liturgy, devotion, canon law and suchlike, which the Catholic Church was under pressure to reform and distribute in print following the closure of the Council of Trent in December 1563. In this area, the best instance of continuity is provided by the publication of the Tridentine decrees, with the many problems I have discussed in Chapter 11. Also to be taken into account, however, is the attempt to reform and publish the Breviary and the Missal, initiated by Paul IV and completed some ten years later. The third area was ecclesiastical history. For an institution such as the Roman Church, which based its authority and ultimately its existence on the notion of tradition, the study of

⁷ A partial and yet revealing list of Catholic patristic edition is provided by P. Petitmengin, 'Les éditions patristiques de la Contre-Réforme Romaine', in *I Padri sotto il torchio: le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV-XVI: atti del convegno di studi, Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze 25-26 giugno 1999*, ed. by M. Cortesi, Florence 2002, pp. 3-31, at pp. 22-27.

the past was crucial, not only in order to cope with the threat posed by the Reformation (the unique features of which it greatly underestimated), but also to provide support for its own arguments against both Protestants and dissenters within the Catholic fold such as advocates of Conciliarism. Cervini's early edition of decretals of Nicholas I and Innocent III, along with his personal investigation of the history of the papacy, the Curia and the ecumenical councils, laid the foundation for later enterprises coordinated by the Curia, through congregations of cardinals, and culminating in Cardinal Cesare Baronio's *Annales*. The fourth area was religious publications in Oriental languages. These were addressed, on the one hand, to the Eastern Christian churches (Coptic, Syriac, Armenian and Orthodox) with which the papacy hoped to establish closer relations in order to expand its influence, to prevent a similar move on the part of the Protestant camp and to undermine the increasing power of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, especially during the papacy of Gregory XIII, these publications were meant to be tools for the conversion of Muslims. Once more, it was Cervini who inaugurated this editorial line, which was taken over by the Medici Oriental Press and, later in the seventeenth century, by the press of the Propaganda Fide (which extended its efforts at proselytisation to non-Christian nations in the Levant and the New World).

A remarkable feature of this editorial programme is the almost complete absence of both humanist editions of the Latin and Greek classics and polemical literature. From this we can infer that the Curia became eager, somewhat belatedly, to put an end to the 'pagan' dimension of the Italian Renaissance, which had flourished in Rome until a few years earlier, and recognised the failure of the

polemical campaigns conducted by German Catholic controversialists in the 1520s and 1530s.

My third point pertained to the political and religious context in which the whole story took place. I have dwelt extensively on the many connections between the printing projects and the Council of Trent, the most important event for the sixteenth-century Catholic Church, coinciding – if we consider its lengthy preparation, long duration and direct aftermath – with the six decades examined in this dissertation. It was during the first period of the council, mostly through Cervini's discreet string-pulling, that a problem perceived at the time by a large part of the Catholic establishment was put down on paper: the circulation in print of unofficial and 'corrupt' Bibles and patristic works. The council raised this issue, leaving the difficult task of finding a feasible solution to the papacy. The establishment of a papal press was a major step towards achieving this goal. The council, however, was generally regarded with extreme suspicion by the Roman Curia, which took every opportunity to gain control over it. Among the papacy's main concerns was managing the Tridentine legacy, which included, as was shown in Chapter 11, ensuring that the 1564 *editio princeps* of the conciliar decrees was textually accurate, well printed and widely distributed. My study of this key publication allowed me to shed light on a typical feature of the Counter-Reformation era: the tendency of the Curia to seize any chance offered by the fight against Protestantism to increase the power of the pope and the Roman establishment to the detriment of bishops and other clergy at the periphery of ecclesiastical power. The Curia actively pursued a policy of centralisation, insisting on the indisputable

primacy of the pope and keeping a careful eye on the episcopate by means of local branches of the Roman Inquisition, the newly established congregations of cardinals and, to a lesser extent, the recently founded religious orders. The idea of a centralised papal press, charged with publishing official Catholic editions, fits very neatly into this policy, revealing, in particular, the Curia's mistrust of independent initiatives (such as the campaign of the German controversialists, to which it gave very little support). The establishment of a papal press paved the way for a two-fold strategy, involving not only a new cultural confrontation with Reformed scholarship, but also the implementation – especially after the closure of the Council of Trent – of a homogeneous Catholic position with regard to the Church's past and present, centred on the glorification of the papacy. In other words, the Roman hierarchy saw printing as a weapon against Catholics who challenged its authority as well as against Protestants. Finally, the Church's attempts to set up presses pointed to the need of early modern states to equip themselves with an institutional channel for conveying their propaganda. These unprecedented attempts to use printing at an official level should be regarded as part of the pioneering development of bureaucratic and governmental structures by the papacy – a sixteenth-century phenomenon which, for a short while, placed the Papal States at the forefront of European state-building. These attempts were also part of a major effort to transform Rome from a centre of late Renaissance culture, with its paganising tendencies, to the capital of the Papal States and of Counter-Reformation Catholicism – a transformation which involved, as we have seen, the University of Rome and local institutions for clerical education.

With regard to the religious context, I showed that the idea of harnessing the potential of the press had cross party support in the Curia, even transcending the conflict between the intransigents and the *spirituali*. It would be wrong to interpret this fierce battle as a cultural conflict, portraying the intransigents as rejecting printing per se and the *spirituali* as open to it. As this dissertation has shown, Paul IV, Pius V, Sirleto and Santori engaged with printing just as much as Pole, Morone, Seripando and Pius IV. The predecessor of these high-ranking prelates, after all, was Marcello Cervini, who never took sides in this conflict but instead used it to his own advantage, while the *Typographia Vaticana* was finally established by Sixtus V, a strict churchman and former Franciscan inquisitor who was expelled from Venice on account of his excessive zeal against heretics and heterodox books. If there was a difference of approach towards printing between the two camps, it was a slightly greater willingness by the intransigents to make institutional use of the various papal presses and a somewhat greater emphasis by the *spirituali* on editing Catholic editions of the Bible and patristic works.

The fourth and final point which I made in the Introduction goes right to the heart of the problem of interpreting the attitude of the Roman hierarchy towards printing in the sixteenth century. It concerned the complex relationship between the Church's attempts, on the one hand, to employ printing as a means of official communication and, on the other hand, to gain control over the free circulation of books through a system of strict censorship. At first glance, these two endeavours appear to be diametrically opposed. Evidence presented in this dissertation, however, has revealed this to be a superficial judgement, arising from a Whig

interpretation of history, which sees the invention and spread of printing as a key factor in the progress of liberalism – a new technology which made possible the expansion of free thinking, writing and speech embodied in the sixteenth century by the Reformation, in opposition to the constraints imposed by repressive early modern governments, above all, those of the Papal States and the Catholic nations of southern Europe. With regard to the history of the book, it seems to me that this viewpoint has encouraged surveys centred on the private book trade and institutional – both religious and secular – censorship. By contrast, little attention has been devoted to the use made of printing by state authorities in the early modern era, as if their role was confined merely to control and prohibition. As I have tried to argue, the sixteenth-century Catholic Church is an exemplary case of a different approach towards printing adopted by a prominent institution, one in which censorship and promotion coexisted. In Chapter 2, I made clear that the Church's attempts to mobilise printing developed in parallel with the growth of the extensive censorship system which it built up. Most importantly, the two policies were pursued by the same figures, as the profiles of Cervini, Paul IV, Scotti, Sirleto and Sixtus V amply demonstrate. In the minds of these and many other high-ranking prelates, the two policies were broadly in line and not perceived to be contradictory – indeed, the same high level of scholarship and knowledge was needed whether selecting books for prohibition or for promotion. There is a further connection in terms of timing. Reformers began to issue printed propaganda in the early 1520s; yet it was not until Cervini's endeavours in 1539 and 1540 that the Roman Church took its first steps towards the centralised use of printing. And it was a few years after that, in 1542, the Catholic hierarchy began to respond to the flood of Protestant publications

throughout the Italian peninsula by establishing the Roman Inquisition and charging this new congregation with the task of controlling the book trade. Recent studies on Catholic censorship have brought to light different opinions within the Roman Curia regarding the extent of prohibition which should be imposed; but they have also shown that no one, whatever his political and religious belief, questioned *in toto* the urgent need for ecclesiastical censorship. Likewise, as far as we know, the plans to employ printing as a means of distributing institutional propaganda met with neither ideological nor factional opposition among the cardinals of the Curia – the many failures which these plans suffered were not due to any internal sabotage, but rather to the financial and managerial shortcomings of the papal bureaucracy.

In the light of the four points dealt with in this dissertation, it seems valid to interpret the aims pursued, more or less coherently, by the Church in relation to printing as a cultural policy. Its two-fold policy of prohibition and promotion was characterised by a utopian monopolistic vision, in which the Catholic Church, as the supreme judge of heresy and morality, would refashion contemporary cultural life by banning printed books it considered harmful, while, at the same time, promoting salutary alternatives by means of printing or expurgation, especially for patristic, liturgical and biblical literature and popular vernacular works such as the *Decameron*. In such an outlook, the notions of centralised propaganda, the control of information, the prohibition and expurgation of books and their replacement by official printed publications could all be accommodated. The iconographic programme of the frescoes still adorning Sixtus V's new Vatican Library illustrates the two sides of the Church's cultural policy towards printing in the early Counter-

Reformation, displaying images, on the one hand, of the burning and solemn prohibitions of books and, on the other, of book production, distribution and collecting. The papacy not only claimed for itself the right to burn books and condemn heretical publications, but also perceived itself as the moving force behind a centralised cultural programme, the main medium of which was the printed book. As is often the case, however, repressive measures were much easier, quicker and less expensive to implement than constructive ones, so it was prohibition rather than promotion which came to define Catholic cultural policy towards printing. This fact should not, however, either diminish or overshadow the historiographical importance of the Catholic hierarchy's ideas and plans to make use of printing from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, especially in Rome. This is not to deny that the Curia harboured some serious doubts in relation to printing, but these were mostly concerned with the excessive profit-seeking of the book trade and the inaccuracy of the texts which were produced and distributed in print. It was not the medium of printing nor printed books in themselves which posed the greatest threat to the Catholic establishment, but instead the agents of this technology, that is, printers and booksellers.⁸ This explains why its plans to employ printing were inextricably connected to establishing a papal press in Rome managed by a trusted (and closely supervised) printer and publisher.

The investigation I have carried out in this dissertation could, of course, be broadened in the future. Firstly, there is more work to be done on the cultural milieu

⁸ Along with the complaints about printers by Cochlaeus and Fabri discussed in Chapter 2, see, e.g., the Tridentine decree on Tradition (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, III, p. 17), the edict of the Roman Inquisition issued on 13 May 1562 (Hilgers, *Der Index*, p. 498), the projects of Vuković and Possevino (Tinto, 'Per una storia', pp. 78, 289) and Pansa, *Della Libreria Vaticana*, p. 321.

of Rome at the time. Support for ecclesiastical and patristic studies by cardinals such as Reginald Pole and Gregorio Cortese needs to be researched in more depth; although their activity in this area was less prominent and influential than Cervini's, it was nonetheless significant. The same can be said, with specific reference to Pius IV's papal press, for the initiatives of Cardinal Otto Truchsses and Stanislaus Hosius, as well as the interest in and concerns about publishing patristic literature shown by Italian churchmen and scholars such as Francesco Maurolico, Egidio Foscarari and Latino Latini. An in-depth analysis of the pontificate of Gregory XIII also seems necessary, given that it has emerged as a vital turning point in the Church's cultural policy towards printing, foreshadowing the achievements of Sixtus V's papacy.

Secondly, it would be worth trying to identify the target readership of papal publications in order to gain a better understanding of the Church's aims in employing printing. Preliminary evidence points towards a very selective group of prospective readers, as indicated by the fact that the publications usually contained bare texts in Latin or Greek in a period when the use of the Italian vernacular was flourishing, including translations of patristic literature. This may suggest that books published by the papal presses, especially the works of the Church Fathers and ecclesiastical histories, were primarily intended for learned secular and regular Catholic clergy, with the purpose of achieving internal conformity and discipline. Such an exclusive communication strategy would be the opposite of the policy pursued towards common believers in Italy, in which the various Indexes of Forbidden Books sought to keep the 'simple folk' as ignorant as possible of the

arcana fidei, as well as ‘protecting’ them from immoral and anti-clerical material.⁹ Further studies devoted to the economic aspects of the papal presses would also be valuable, especially if they lead to the discovery of new documentary evidence, and would provide insight into the reasons for their frequent failures, which are likely to include, on the one hand, poor sales’ figures due to inadequate distribution and, on the other, the dithering of the Curia, which seemed unable to decide whether a papal press should be a non-profit endeavour funded by the papacy or instead a lucrative commercial enterprise. Finally, it would be useful to know more about the reception of the books published in Rome by the papal presses, perhaps through some representative case studies. In particular, this would help establish the scholarly value of the many papal patristic editions in comparison with those by Reformed scholars.

Such future research will not, I believe, significantly alter the picture which I have presented in this dissertation. Rather, it is likely to produce an even sharper image of the many interlocking facets of the sixteenth-century Catholic Church’s cultural policy towards printing.

⁹ In some cases, this discouraged reading and demonised printed books per se: see G. Fragnito, “‘Zurai non legger mai più’: censura libraria e pratiche linguistiche nella penisola italiana’, in *Le sentiment national dans l’Europe méridionale aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles (France, Espagne, Italie)*, ed. by A. Tallon, Madrid 2007, pp. 251-272, and her ‘La colpa di leggere nella prima età moderna’, in *Per Adriano Prosperi: I*, pp. 171-182.

Documentary Appendix A

Short-Title Catalogue of Books Sponsored by Cervini

This is a working list of the editions planned, supported or inspired directly by Cervini from 1542 on. It is arranged first according to place of publication and then by printer in roughly chronological order. Books published after Cervini's death in 1555 and three works left unpublished are also included. When identifiable, editors are indicated.

Rome

Cervini's Greek press (Antonio Blado with Stefano Nicolini and Benedetto Giunta)

Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν*, 1542 [vol. I only; ed. by Niccolò Majorano?]

Theophylact of Ohrid, *Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια*, 1542 [ed. by Francisco Torres and Guglielmo Sirleto]

Cervini's Latin press (Francesco Priscianese)

Nicholas I, *Epistolae*, 1542

Arnobius, *Disputationum adversus gentes libri*, 1542-1543 [ed. by Fausto Sabeo, Francesco Priscianese and Girolamo Ferrario]

Innocent III, *Decretalium atque aliarum epistolarum tomus primus*, 1543 [ed. by Guglielmo Sirleto?]

Bessarion, *Orationes*, 1543

Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, 1543

Henry VIII, *Literarum ad quendam epistolam Martini Lutherum exemplum*, 1543

Oribasius, *De aquis: περὶ ὑδάτων*, 1543

Aegidianae constitutiones, 1543 [printing completed in 1545 by Girolama Cartolari]

Antonio Blado

Pseudo-Gregory of Nazianzus, *Τραγωδία, Χριστός πάσχων*, 1542

Euripides, *Ἡλέκτρα*, 1545 [ed. by Piero Vettori]

Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Περὶ προνοίας λόγοι δέκα*, 1545 [ed. by Niccolò Majorano]

Modus Baptizandi, preces et benedictione quibus Ecclesia Ethiopicum utitur, 1549
[ed. by Bernardino Sandri and Pietro Paolo Gualtieri]

Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν*,
1549-1551 [vols II-IV, ed. by Niccolò Majorano and Matthaios Devaris]

Stefano Nicolini

Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Διάλογοι τρεῖς κατὰ τινων Αἰρέσεων*, 1547 [ed. by Camillo Peruschi]

Aelianus et al., *Ποικίλης ἱστορίας βιβλία ...*, 1545 [usually misattributed to Blado as printer; ed. by Camillo Peruschi]

Damascene, John, *Λόγοι τρεῖς ἀπολογητικοί*, 1553 [ed. by Niccolò Majorano]

Dorico Brothers

Testamentum Novum cum Epistola Pauli ad Hebreos et Missale [in Ge'ez], 1548-
1549 [ed. by Tasfâ Sion, Pier Paolo Gualteri and Mariano Vittori]

Vittori, Mariano, *Chaldaeae, seu Aethiopiae linguae institutiones*, 1552

Gregory I and Pucci, Antonio, *Expositio in omnes libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti et Antonii Puccii Card. ... homiliae XIII ...*, 3 vols, 1553-1554 [ed. by Marco Antonio Giorgi?]

Ruano, Ferdinando, *Sette alphabeti*, 1554

Ippolito Salviani

Salviani, Ippolito, *Aquatilium animalium historiae*, 1554-1558

Bologna

Anselmo Giaccarelli

Decreta Concilii Tridentini, 1548

Translatio Concilii ex Tridento ad civitatem Bononiae, 1548

Politi, Ambrogio Catarino, *De optimis vel ineundi, vel proseguendi concilii rationibus liber*, 1549

Venice

Andrea Arrivabene

Decretum de iustificatione Concilii Tridentini, [1547]

Gabriele Giolito

Politi, Ambrogio Catarino, *Interpretatio decreti de iustificatione*, 1547

Il decreto del Concilio di Trento sopra la materia della giustificazione, 1548

Augustine et al., *Varii sermoni di catholici, et antichi dottori*, 1553 [vol. I ed. by Galeazzo Florimonte; vol. II printed in Venice in 1564 by Girolamo Scoto]

Brucioli brothers

Cabasilas, Nicholas et al., *De divino altaris sacrificio ...*, 1548 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Farri brothers

Theodoretus of Cyrrihus, *Eranistes seu Polymorphus*, 1548 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Ad signum Spei

Chrysostom, John, *Opera Latina donata omnia*, 5 vols, 1548-1549 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Lippomano, Alvise, *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae*, 5 vols, 1551-1556 [vols VI-VIII printed in Rome between 1558 and 1560 by Salviani and Blado]

Giunta (heirs of Lucantonio)

Simplicius of Cilicia, *Commentarii in octo Aristotelis Physicae auscultationis libros*, 1551 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Paolo and Aldo Manuzio the Younger

Damascene, John, *Adversus sanctarum imaginum oppugnatores orationes tres*, 1554 [ed. by Pier Francesco Zini]

Gregory of Nazianzus and Cyprian, *Due orationi et il primo sermone di s. Cecilio Cipriano sopra l'elemosina*, 1569 [ed. by Annibale Caro]

Girolamo Discepolo

Panvinio, Onofrio, *De primatu Petri et Apostolicae sedis potestate libri*, 1589

Florence

Lorenzo Torrentino

Clement of Alexandria, *Tà εὐρισκόμενα ἅπαντα ex Bibliotheca Medicea*, 1550 [ed. by Piero Vettori]

Clement of Alexandria, *Omnia quae quidem extant opera*, 1551 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Theodoretus of Cyrhus, *In quatuordecim sancti Pauli Epistolas commentarius*, 1552 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Hervet, Gentian, *De Domini in coelos Ascensione oratio*, 1552

Basel

Johann Oporinus

Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Quaestiones*, 1548 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Paris

Martin Le Jeune

Palladius of Galatia and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Lausiaca ... historia .. et Theodoreti ... religiosa historia*, 1555 [ed. by Gentian Hervet]

Vienna

Michael Cymbermannus and Caspar Craphtus

Ketābā d-Ewangeliyōn: Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii (in Syriac), 1555 [ed. mainly by Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter and Mose of Mardin]

Unpublished works

Sirleto, Guglielmo, *Annotationes* [on the New Testament]

Majorano, Niccolò, *Annotationes* [on the Septuagint]

Massarelli, Angelo [Draft history of papal elections]

Documentary Appendix B

Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Rome by Paolo Manuzio

This is a chronological working list of the editions printed by Paolo Manuzio from 1562 to 1570, as manager of his Roman press, later renamed Stamperia del Popolo Romano. Format is indicated only for multiple editions published in the same year. When identifiable, editors are indicated.

1562

Pole, Reginald, *De Concilio liber*

Pole, Reginald, *Reformatio Angliae*

Chrysostom, John, *De virginitate liber*, ed. by Giulio Poggiani

Gregory of Nyssa, *Liber de virginitate*, ed. by Pietro Galesini

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *In visiones Danielis commentarius*, ed. by Giovan Battista Gaba

Aquinas, Thomas, *In Iob Expositio*

Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, *De virginitate opuscula*

Bernardi, Antonio, *In Logicam universam institutio*

Corti, Matteo, *De prandiis ac caenae modo libellus*

Ptolemy, *Liber de Analemmate*, ed. by Federico Commandino

Vittori, Mariano, *De Sacramento confessionis historia*

1563

Cyprian, *Opera*, [ed. by Latino Latini]

Faerno, Gabriele, *Fabulae centum explicatae* [printed for Vincenzo Luchino]

Vargas Meija, Francisco de, *De episcoporum iurisdictione*

Sallust, *Opera*, ed. by Aldo Manuzio the Younger

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *In Canticum Canticorum explanatio*, ed. by Pier Francesco

Zini

Theodoret of Cyrrihus, *In Ezechielem commentarius*, ed. by Giovan Battista Gabia
Gregory of Nyssa, *Conciones de oratione Domini*, ed. by Pietro Galesini

1564

Faerno, Gabriele, *Fabulae centum explicatae* [printed for Vincenzo Luchino]
Manuzio, Paolo, [*Epistola*] *Andreae Duditio*
Canones et decreta Concilii Tridentini [4 folio, 2 quarto and 7 octavo]
Cicero, *Epistolae familiares*, ed. by Paolo Manuzio
Eucherius of Lyon, *Commentarii in Gesim et libros Regum*, ed. by Pietro Galesini
Salvian et al., *De vero iudicio et providentia Dei libro...*, ed. by Pietro Galesini
Index librorum prohibitorum

1565

Faerno, Gabriele, *Fabulae centum explicatae* [printed for Vincenzo Luchino]
Porzio, Camillo, *La congiura de' Baroni*
Angelomus of Luxeuil, *Enarrationes in libros Regum*
Jerome, *Epistolae et libri contra Haereticos*, 3 vols, ed. by Mariano Vittori
Hosius, Stanislaus, *Confessio*
Taxaquet, Miguel Tomás, *Disputationes*
Manuzio, Paolo, *Epistolae tres*

1566

Manuzio, Paolo, [*Epistola*] *Cardinali Alexandro Farnesio*
Jerome, *Epistolae et libri contra Haereticos*, 4 vols, ed. by Mariano Vittori
Vittori, Mariano, *De Sacramento confessionis historia*
Catechismus ad Parochos [folio and octavo, plus 2 undated octavo]
Catechismo a' Parochi, ed. by Alessio Figliucci
Corti, Matteo, *De prandiis ac caenae modo libellus*
Bando et dechiaratione sopra la riforma del vestire
Statuta nobilis artis agriculturae Urbis

1567

Catechismus ad Parochos

Catechismo a' Parochi

Peto, Lucio, *De iudiciaria formula Capitolini libri IX*

1568

Breviarium Romanum [2 folio, 2 octavo and a lost sedicesimo edition]

1569

Breviarium Romanum

Catechismus ad Parochos

1570

Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland, *Ad populum Londinensem concio*

Breviarium Romanum

Jerome, *Tomus quartus operum*, ed. by Mariano Vittori

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Acta ac decreta sacrosanctae Tridentinae Synodi ann. MDXLVI et XLVII: una cum admonitione legatorum Sedis Apostolicae, ad patres lecta, in prima sessione ac orationibus tribus per diversos praelatos ibidem habitis, Milan, Innocenzo Cicognara, 1548

Acta Concilii Tridentini quorum catalogus in proxima inest pagina, Paris, Regnault and Claude Chaudière, 1546

Acta Concilii Tridentini, anno MDXLVI celebrati una cum annotationibus piis et lectu dignissimis: Item Ratio ..., per Philippum Melancthonem, [Basel, Johann Oporinus], 1546

Acta synodi Tridentinae cum antidoto per Ioann. Calvinum, [Geneva, Jean Gérard], 1547

Acta Tridentini Concilii quorum catalogus in sequentibus habetur paginis, Antwerp, Martin Nutius, 1546

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Admonitio paterna ... ad invictiss. Caesarem Carolum V ... cum scholiis, [Mainz, Ivo Schöffer], 1545 and [Basel, Robert Winter], 1545

Aegidianae constitutiones, Rome, Francesco Priscianese and Girolama Cartolari, 1543-1545

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Arnobius of Sicca and Arnobius the Younger, *Commentarii ... in omnes Psalmos, per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum prodicti et emendati ... eiusdem Disputationum adversus Gentes libri VIII. Sigismundi Gelenii cura castigati*, Basel, Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus, 1560

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