# The Council of Trent and Print Culture: Documents in the archive of the Congregatio Concilii[1]

von David d'Avray and Julia Walworth

One of the richest archives for the history of Catholic Christianity is also one of the most neglected.[2] The "Positiones" Fondo of the Congregatio Concilii contains huge amounts of material of great interest for social and religious history. The Congregation of the Council was set up to implement the non-dogmatic decrees of the Council of Trent, and was to continue until 1967 when it was transformed into the Congregatio pro Clericis.[3] The establishment of the Congregation marked a watershed in the history of the Catholic Church's law: instead of being integrated into the Corpus of Canon Law, and commented on by Canonists, the disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent were kept as a category of their own, and the interpretation of them was assigned to the Congregation, effectively a committee of cardinals.[4] The infrastructure of the Congregation – the administration and system of consultation underpinning it – clearly needs further investigation. In the "Positiones" Fondo

---

[1] We would like to thank Martin Davies, Neil Harris, Tony Grafton, Jill Kraye and especially Benedetta Albani for their help.

[2] Pietro Caiazza, L'Archivio Storico della Sacra Congregazione del Concilio (Primi appunti per un problema di riordinamento), in: Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa, NS 42 (1992), 7–24; and Francis X. Blouin et al., Vatican Archives. An inventory and guide to the historical documents of the Holy See, New York–Oxford 1998, 21–27. For practical purposes the most useful guide is Vatican Secret Archives. Collection Index and Related Description and Research Resources, Vatican City 2006, 28.

[3] Blouin, Vatican Archives (cf. fn. 2), 21–22.

[4] Paolo Prodi, Note sulla genesi del diritto nella Chiesa post-tridentina, in: Legge e Vangelo. Discussione su una legge fondamentale per la Chiesa, Brescia 1972, 190–223, esp. 198–199 "Lo strumento che il papato forma per esercitare il monopolio interpretativo revendicato … e … 'Sacra Congregatio Concilii Tridentini Interpretum': le interpretazioni della Congregazione manifestate non come legislazione generale ma come sentenze emesse di volta in volta sui singoli casi con suprema autorità giurisdizionale rappresentano la base del nuovo diritto pontificio dei secoli dell'età moderna", at 198–199. My impression from this paper is that Prodi had not worked on the actual archival *fondi* of the Congregazione del Concilio. The silence about the *Positiones* fondo of W. Henkel in his very useful paper on another section of the Congregation's archive, where he refers to other important fondi, is symptomatic of the oblivion in which the Positiones were so long shrouded. See Willi Henkel, Das Inventar des 'Fondo Concili' im Archiv der Konzilskongregation, in: AHC 15 (1983), 430–451.

one finds free and quite wide-ranging theological, canon legal and practical discussion of the myriad difficult cases that extensive legislation almost inevitably produces. Its remit was apparently wide enough at the beginning of its history to allow it to consider a business plan for setting up a Vatican Press, a document which has much interest for Counter-Reformation Church history, for the History of the Book, and for the connection between the two themes.

The authorities of the Catholic Church were slower than the Protestant Reformers to mobilize the power of the press. Initially the papacy's attitude was cautious and negative.[5] That rapidly had to change.[6] There was a period of experimentation and flux. From 1539 Cardinal Cervini led an attempt to start publishing ecclesiastical and some other works, using primarily the printer Antonio Blado, who was appointed printer to the Apostolic Camera.[7] It was unsuccessful ultimately for want of proper financing.[8] A press was established in 1556 at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, but it did not aim to meet the need for up market scholarly religious works.[9] Pius IV tried to make adequate means available for a printing press.[10] He arranged for Paolo Manuzio (son of the famous Aldo) to come to Rome in 1561 to direct a press to produce, among other books, the publications and editions required by the Council of Trent. This venture got off to a good start but finance was a problem, and in 1563

---

[5] "Il papato si era illuso in un primo tempo di poter contenere i libri dei novatori alimentando una discreta produzione libraria, fosse essa di contenuto liturgico, biblico, dottrinale, patristico e devozionale. Ma aveva creduto principalmente di poter sconffere gli stampatori, gli autori e i librai antiromani con pene spirituali e pecuniarie, processi inquisitoriali e restrzioni carcerarie." Cf. Giuseppe Finocchiaro, Cesare Baronio e la tipografia dell'oratorio. Impresa e ideologia, Florence 2005, 14; Dominique Julia, Reading and the Counter-Reformation, in: Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (edd.), A History of Reading in the West, Cambridge 1999, 238–268, at 238–239. See also Paul F. Grendler, The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605, reprinted as number IX in his Culture and Censorship in Late Renaissance Italy and France, London 1981. For printing in Venice, a sharp contrast with the backwardness of Rome in this regard, see also his Critics of the Italian World, 1330–1560. Cf. Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco and Ortensio Lando, Madison 1969, 3–7.

[6] "Difatto soltanto alla fine del Concilio de Trento la Chiesa cominciava a comprendere che per sconfiggere l'eresia, ormai infiltrata anche in Italia, aveva l'onere di usare metodi e strumenti nuovi. Per contenere l'onda eversiva doveva necessariamente respondere agli oppositori replicando punto per punto alla contestata potestà romana ed opponendo il 'vero al falso': e per fare questo si impegnava [...] a fondare unn'attività tipografica gestita sotto la propria diretta responsabilità, [...]." See Finocchiaro, Cesare Baronio (cf. fn. 5), 14; Julia, Reading, 241 (cf. fn. 5).

[7] Blado printed bulls, briefs and other official papal documents. He died in 1567, and the business was continued by his widow and heirs until 1593. Francesco Barberi, Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561–1570), con documenti inediti, Rome 1942, 28. A brief summary of the activity of the printing house of Blado and heirs is provided, with further references in Fernanda Ascarelli/Marco Menato, La Tipografia del '500 in Italia, Florence 1989, 100–101.

[8] Barberi, Paolo Manuzio (cf. fn. 7), 28–29.

[9] "Ad essa [the new press] l'ideatore e fondatore, Ignazio di Loyola, aveva assegnato una missione caritatevole e pedagogica (libri a poco prezzo per i non abbienti, testi purgati per i giovani), e tale carattere popolare mantenne fina alla sua estinzione nel 1615, nonostante i suggerimenti del Canisio, che avrebbe voluto imprimerle un indirizzo più elevato, con la pubblicazione di qualche testo raro." See Barberi, Paolo Manuzio (cf. fn. 7), 29.

[10] Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento. Documenti inediti, Rome 1980, 170.

the Pope seems to have entrusted the task of providing a publishing house to the people of Rome as a collectivity. From 1564 Manuzio ran the press as a sometimes uneasy collaborative arrangement with the "Popolo Romano".[11] Manuzio did not last long; in addition to the financial problems, he may have been disappointed that the plans to revise the Vulgate and other prestigious projects did not materialize, his health was bad, and he missed Venice and his family. He reduced his commitments and then abandoned his task and privileges to the "Popolo Romano", in 1570.[12]

This is the context of Giovanni Carga's proposal to set up a really major religious press at Rome. Carga (*c.*1520-*c.*1600) was a second rank curial administrator in Counter-Reformation Rome.[13] He acquired some benefices and some powerful patrons: notably Cardinal Carlo Carafa, and Carlo Borromeo. Tolomeo Galli, head of the papal Segreteria, chose Carga as assistant in 1560. Galli's replacement and eye problems lead him to give up his post and to travel around Italy in search of a cure, without success. He spent a short period in Milan with his old patron Carlo Borromeo, but returned to Rome. After 1572 (when his patron Galli resumed the directorship of the Segreteria) he was a trusted consultant. (A detailed description, with proposals for improvements, of the *Segretaria*, written by Carga in 1574 shows that he was free with his advice on other matters also).[14]

Carga's curriculum vitae helps us understand why his plan for printing was taken seriously by the Congregation of the Council. His own main memorandum has been printed in full by Baumgarten[15] (as a document addressed to Cardinal Lomellini) and analysed also by Höpfl.[16] As Carga's memorandum is the basis for the submission by

---

[11] Masetti Zannini, Stampatori (cf. fn. 10), 170: "Nel novembre 1563i magistri capitolani, sollecitati a prendersi il carico dell' impresa lo accettararono, pur coscienti dell'onere imposto al Popolo romano [...] ma [...] (il 26 aprile 1564) Pio IV donò la stamperia a Paolo Manuzio che la retrocesse al Popolo romano, non senza contrasti circa la revisione dei conti. Il 3 maggio 1566 furono firmati i capitoli per la conduzione dell'impresa." The fundamental study of Paolo Manuzio and his Roman publishing venture remains Barberi, Paolo Manuzio (cf. fn. 7) *passim*; but further information gleaned through recently edited documents is found in H. George Fletcher, Paulus Manutius *In Aedibus Populi Romani*. The Campaign for Rome, Florence 1998; and Martin Lowry, Facing the Responsibility of Paulus Manutius, Los Angeles 1995. See also Julia, Reading (cf. fn. 5), 241; Paul Maria Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 und ihre Einführungsbulle. Aktenstücke und Untersuchungen, Münster i. W. 1911, 4; Edvige A. Barletta (ed.), La Stamperia Romana di Paulo Manuzio dal 1561 al 1563, in: Aspetti della Riforma Cattolica e del Concilio di Trento. Mostra documentaria, Rome 1964, 126–136.

[12] Masetti Zannini, Stampatori (cf. fn. 10), 170–171; Lowry, Facing the Responsibility, (cf. fn. 11), 62–63.

[13] The summary of Carga's life that follows is derived from the article by Maria G. Cruciani Troncarelli, Carga, Giovanni, in: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 20 (1977), 86–88.

[14] Informatione de segretario et secreteria di nostro signore et di tutti gli offitii che da quella dependono del Sgr. Giovanni Carga. 1574. Printed as Appendix II in Hugo Laemmer, Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Ecclessiasticam saeculi XVI illustrantia, Freiburg i.Br. 1861, 457–468, citing BAV Cod. Urb. 859 fol. 72ff = Cod. Urb. 854, fol. 29ff.

[15] Giovanna Carga, Sopra un modo facile, et sicuro, di essequire in Roma, senza grauar la Camera, il Decreto della Quarta Sessione del Concilio di Trento [...], edited as a Beilage Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 141–150. We have based our summary of Carga's memorandum on Baumgarten's précis and edition; his edition of Carga's text has been compared with the copies in the *Positiones*.

[16] Hildebrand Höpfl, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sixto-Klementinischen Vulgata, nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen, Freiburg i. Br. 1913, 58, 116–118.

the printers and reveals much about at least one possible way in which a press might be incorporated into the papal administration, it is helpful to summarize it here.

Carga's proposal deals with: the editing of authoritative texts; the establishment of a Vatican Press; and the preservation and dissemination of approved texts. From the outset Carga reminds his reader that the whole operation will not be a financial burden on the church and may even produce income, demonstrating perhaps his familiarity with the financial problems of the Manuzio enterprise just over ten years earlier.

## Editing

The memorandum refers to the requirement of the Council of Trent for the production and diffusion of the Bible and other sacred books to the highest scholarly standards.[17] After an introduction in which Carga makes the case for his initiative by citing the high incidence of printing errors in such key texts as reprinted editions of the 1564 Decrees of the Council of Trent,[18] he proposes that scholars be brought together to edit texts as a team. He suggests that many of the best people for this scholarly undertaking will already be found in Rome, either among the various Cardinals and others officially attached to the papal court or among the many scholars from foreign countries who naturally gravitate to Rome. (Something of the sort actually happened with the editors of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* which was in progress around this time).[19]

As for remuneration of the correctors etc., Carga points to mechanisms already in use in the papal administration for remunerating officials working for other offices such as the Penitentiary, Chancery, Camera or Rota.

## Establishment and organisation of a Vatican Press

The greater part of the memorandum concerns guidelines for the operation and administration of a Vatican press. Carga adds weight to this suggestion by citing the steps taken in this direction by Paul IV (1555–1559) who issued the first Index of prohibited books and who had been involved with the emendation of the Breviary and Missal. Skilled printers would be attracted to Rome by the incentive of working without repeatedly having to seek the approval of the Inquisition and local authorities. They would also be producing books for which there was a guaranteed market. Carga refers to the papal initiative that brought Paolo Manuzio to Rome, and

[17] Council of Trent, Fourth session, Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis, in: Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta, ed. Josephus [Giuseppe] Alberigo et al., Bologna $^{3}$1973, 664–665.

[18] Manuzio's folio editions were carefully corrected, but the text was rapidly taken up and reprinted elsewhere throughout Europe. See Barberi, Paolo Manuzio (cf. fn. 7), 131–132; and Lowry, Facing the Responsibility (cf. fn. 11), 51–52.

[19] See Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 146. On the membership of the *Correctores Romani* see Mary Sommar, The Correctores Romani. Gratian's *Decretum* and the Counter-Reformation Humanists, Zürich et al. 2009, *passim* but on the scholars involved, especially 14–21.

observes that the printers of the *Populo Romano* at present are not skilled enough for the type of work required by a papal press. Carga draws a number of analogies between the tasks of the printers of the proposed press and other functions in the papal administration, more familiar to him and perhaps also to his readers, for example: the work of copyists, registrars, and notaries. The detailed analogies conclude tellingly with the printers' obligation not to print anything that differs in any way from their exemplum. Any printer found guilty of such mistakes would be subject to the same punishments as false coiners.

Carga lists four regulations for the administration of printers: 1) sums collected through fines will be distributed with half going to the Fisc, one quarter to the accuser and one quarter to the leaders of the guild; 2) no one is allowed to print without revisers, correctors or masters or regents; 3) all previous privileges relating to printing must be lifted, as they had led only to abuse;[20] and 4) in future there would exist only one "privilege": the freedom of any printer in any Catholic country to print any book with the sole condition being that they were to make no changes of any kind to the Roman edition of the work. (Carga envisages that the printers will submit to the foregoing conditions, and that in return they will produce a set of "capitoli" of their own. The last two regulations would have affected the printing industry as a whole, effecting dramatic changes in current practice had they been implemented, since privileges, while restrictive, also protected a printer's financial investment in a given work.)[21]

## Dissemination of Roman 'approved' texts

The single "privilege" presupposes that printers anywhere would have access to the Roman editions as models, and Carga outlines the following steps in this process.

- Before its distribution, the first edition of any text issued by the Vatican press must be authorised by the Cardinal-Vicar, the *Magister Sacri Palatii* or other person put in charge of printing in order to confirm that the edition has been officially authenticated. Carga once again draws specific parallels with existing practices of authentication in the Datary, the Chancery, etc.[22]

---

[20] Carga adds, allusively and to us rather obscurely: "Et non è il medesimo essere Vivandiero et Contrabandiero, Conduttiero et Venturiero, Notario et Copista." Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 146.

[21] On papal privileges for printers see Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the 'Privilegio' in sixteenth-century Venice and Rome, Leiden et al. 2004, 43. Since, in Carga's time, printers might have had to apply for several privileges (e. g., local and papal), the right to re-print any Roman edition, although restricting them to particular authorized editions, would have theoretically made things much easier for printers.

[22] The reference to the Master of the Sacred Palace reflects current practice. The Bull of Leo X, *Super impressione librorum* of 15 May 1515 (subsequent to the tenth session of the Fifth Lateran Council) states fines and punishment for those who print any books without the approval of the Cardinal Vicar and the Master of the Sacred Palace (Magister Sacri Palatii Apostolici). Books would be burnt and the printer fined. See Witcombe, Copyright (cf. fn. 21), 70–71. Baumgarten's summary does not include Carga's citation of analogous practices, although they provide a useful context for understanding Carga's thinking and/or his assumptions about analogies that would make his proposals relating to printing understandable to his readers.

- Documentation of each stage of the editing and publishing process should be deposited in the Vatican Library and the "Secret Archive".[23]
- All authenticated Roman first editions are to be sent to all princes, bishops and inquisitors, just as copies of papal bulls are sent out.
- These master copies are to be kept carefully in a public place so that anyone can check the text.
- Any printer who wants to re-print these texts must use the Roman edition as a model and must compare their edition with the Roman edition, but they can reprint at will without seeking any special privilege.
- Re-printers must give a guarantee (*cautione*) to the local authorities not to make any changes of any kind from the master copy (it is not clear whether this might be interpreted as involving the payment of a fee).
- Re-printers should let themselves be provided, at their own expense, by the ordinary (i. e. the bishop) or the inquisitor with "Ravisori et Corettori".
- The authentic copies of the reprints should also be kept in a public place (presumably for the consultation that Carga mentions towards the end of his proposal), and in general re-printers must make every effort to duplicate the style of the Roman edition as closely as they can.

There follows a passage which seems to urge publication of a decree permitting anyone to make observations on the editions to the nearest inquisitor, bishop, or university rector, or to the "Deputati" in charge of the press at Rome. Good points should be taken on board and registers of the suggestions should be kept, with a view to a review of the editions by a future general council, which could decide to take account of the improvements by putting them in an appendix (but not by simply replacing the original edition).[24]

Towards the end of the businesslike part of his memorandum Carga addresses the possible objection that the proposed Vatican Press would create a monopoly by explaining that unlike monopolies that serve the interest of an individual or group, his organization of printing would serve the honour of God and pastoral purposes, while carrying out an important decree of the Council of Trent. No one would be prohibited from printing the Roman texts, and merchants would carry them all over

[23] "Che si havessero da tenere sotto buona custodia in libraria Vaticana, come in Archivio Sacro à perpetua memoria, i codici antichi, co' i quali occorresse far collatione e gli stampati, sopra i quali apparessero le Correttioni, et similmente i corretti dati alla Stampa, et anco copia delli Stampati, come fanno i Notari, gli Archivisti et i Registratori." See Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 147.

[24] "bisognarebbe decretare che ad ognuno fusse libero et lecito denuntiare al più propinquo Inquisitore, Ordinario ò Rettore di Università, ò à li Deputati sopra le Stampe in Roma tutto quello, che leggendo, ò scontrando annotasse degno di consideratione. Dando insieme un'ordine generale, che si riconoscessero le fatiche, e si tenesse conto di chi in ciò valesse, et che le annotationi si tenessero registrate, et ben custodite, et à tempo debito tutto si riferisse ad un Concilio universale, il quale havesse da giudicare *probanda, et improbanda*, et à risolvere, come senza rinovare, ò guastare le prime stampe, si potesse fare una appendice de i scontri, et meglioramenti, che di tempo in tempo si facessero." See Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 147–148.

Christendom (*Christianità*) and to the new Christendom of the Indies. In fact, he adds, with corrected texts available, even heretics would want to see the corrections and might be encouraged to return to the church.[25]

## The submission by the printers

What Baumgarten, Höpfl and more recent Italian historians of printing in Rome did not know was that Carga's memorandum found its way into the *Positiones fondo* of the Congregatio Concilii. The rationale for this is simple: the Council of Trent's Fourth Session had published a decree on the Canonical Scriptures that included statements about the need for accurate published editions.[26] The presence of Carga's proposal and accompanying documentation in this *fondo* suggests that his idea received consideration at the highest level. In fact his memorandum is in at least two *buste* of the *fondo*: *Positiones* 1 fols. 22–27$^{v}$, and *Positiones* 2, fols. 4–9 (all references are to the newer foliation).[27]

Parts of the dossier were left unedited. In ASV *Congr. Concilio. Positiones* 1, the memorandum by Carga which has been printed, is preceded by two others making the same case. The first is in Italian:

Incipit: "Ordinando il Concilio di Trento, Sessione IV$^{a}$ De editione, et usu sacrorum librorum, Ut sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero vetus, et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur.

Et non havendo ancora hauto effetto il decreto; Et crescendo tutavia gli errori dele stampe, in quelle cose ancora [...]." (ASV, *Congr. Concil., Positiones 1*, fol. 8.)

Explicit: "E la spesa non è grave quando è buona; ne si fà tutta in un tratto; et non puo stare otiosa; et è pur desiderabile che con la suprema auttorità di N. Signore à chi solo tocca, et che solo puo per via facile, et sicura, se esseguisse il decreto importantissimo del Concilio, Ut sacra Scriptura quam emendatissime imprimatur."
(ASV, *Congr. Concil., Positiones* 1, fol. 12$^{v}$)

There follows a Latin memorandum:
Incipit: *Deliberandum de eo, et consultandum, quod in sessione quarta sacrosancta Tridentina synodus decrevit, ut licentia coherceatur impressorum, qui temere, ac 'sine modo sacrae Scripturae libros, et super illis annotationes, et expositiones quorumlibet*

---

[25] We have not summarized Carga's lengthy closing remarks, for which see, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 149–150. His argument about improved and corrected texts attracting heretics to return to the faith is the kind of idea that Carga might have acquired working in the circle of Borromeo.

[26] Hubert Jedin, Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, ii Die erste Trienter Tagungsperiode 1545/47, Freiburg i. Br. 1957, 76–77, 79–82.

[27] If as scholars agree Carga wrote his piece in 1576, it is not so easy to explain why they are found in the *buste* corresponding to *Positiones* 1 and 2, which should correspond, or so one would imagine, with the first two years of the Congregation, 1564–6: see Caiazza, L'Archivio Storico (cf. fn. 2), 13. This is a problem still to be resolved, and an indication of how little we know about the *fondo*. It is conceivable that further investigation may also bring to light other copies in later *buste* of the *fondo*.

*indifferenter imprimunt' et 'ut posthac vetus et vulgata latina editio quam emendatissime imprimatur',*[28] *'omnes magna, mediocrique prudentia cum Dei honor, tum animarum salus huc vocat, quae quisque optima potest, uti dicat'.*[29]
ASV, *Congr. Concil., Positiones 1, fol. 14*

Explicit: [...] *cum maximo emolumento; et gloria, siquidem cedet ad dei honorem, et sanctissimi Domini Nostri bonam et perennem famam, errores e textu sacrae scripturae eripuisse, quam incorruptam, et constantem e sanctae Matris ecclesiae manibus summa pietate populus accipiet christianus.*
ASV, *Congr. Concil., Positiones 1, fol. 19v*

From the angle of the present investigation – into the interaction between the Congregatio Concilii and the printing industry – we focus here on another unpublished section, a text which claims to give the point of view of some printers who supported Carga's proposal.

No doubt Carga had a large hand in the drafting of the document, but discussion with real printers almost certainly lies behind it. It is a sort of business plan, laying out what they had to offer and what they would expect in concrete terms. In summary (with references to the divisions employed in the edition that is appended):

At the pope's invitation printers would come to Rome to do the edition of the Vulgate and anything else assigned to them, in any language (A.1). They would reach an agreement satisfactory to the pope with the "Popolo Romano" (A.2). The background to this strange-sounding clause was that the press of the Popolo Romano enjoyed all the privileges that had been granted to Paulo Manuzio.[30]

The printers would be answerable to the *Deputati* put in charge of them, and subject to the penalties laid down by the Council of Trent (A.3). This presumably refers to the provisions about printers in the "Decretum de Editione et Usu Sacrorum Librorum",[31] relating to uncontrolled annotation, bad quality texts, etc. They would pay those who weeded mistakes from the texts they were going to print at an honest rate, as they would those who corrected the proofs (A.4). The *Deputati* would be shown samples of the paper they were going to use and they would not subsequently use a different kind of paper (A5). This addresses the very real concern about printers using poor quality paper in order to save money. Where typefaces were concerned they would follow the best models (A.6). Orthography would be for the *Deputati* to determine (A.7): and the latter would have general oversight and authority (under the pope) over all practicalities, from title pages to deposit in the Vatican Library (A.8).

---

[28] See Council of Trent, Fourth Session, Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis (cf. fn. 17), 664–665 (abridged quotation).

[29] Sallust, C. Sallusti Crispi Epistulae ad Caesarem Senem de Re Publica, I.1, in: Appendix Sallustiana Fasc. 1. Epistulae ad Caesarem, ed. Alfons Kurfess (BTL), Leipzig 1962, vol. 2 (the quotation is adapted).

[30] Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 4. In the event the 1582 *Corpus iuris canonici* appeared under the imprint of the *Popolo Romano*

[31] See Jedin, *Geschichte* (cf. fn. 26).

Next come some provisions which remind us of the overall objective of making orthodox books as easily available as possible. Prices are to be lower than those of other printers (A.9). Presumably this was not in order to drive the latter out of business but to make their products affordable (though this might have affected the profitability of the press). The next clause specifies that all Catholics should have the right to print or reprint books published by the papal publishing house, provided they were bound by the same rules as the latter (A.10). From one point of view this clause is clear. The pope would prevent princes, bishops and inquisitors interfering with the diffusion of the books. What is not so clear is how these reprints would differ economically from "pirated" editions, at least from the point of view of printers in Rome. Would such editions be in areas where the papal printers could not easily distribute their own products anyway? Were economic considerations secondary to the aim of spreading religious truth? It is unclear, but the likelihood is that the papal publishers would receive some kind of re-publication fee, such as the press run by Paolo Manuzio and the Popolo Romano arranged with a Florentine merchant for rights of reproduction.[32]

The best printers of Germany, France and Italy would be induced to come to Rome to join the team (A.11). They would not be organised like a modern business: arrangements are proposed for setting up "colleges" of 12 "Greater Printers" (half of whom must always be from North of the Alps); this collegiate group would obviously be in charge of the day to day running of the Press (A.12). Similarly, there would be a college of "Minor Printers", who would do the physical printing work (A.13).

This is reminiscent of the papal scribal colleges, whose workings were uncovered in a classic study by Brigide Schwarz,[33] and of curial colleges generally.[34] They were more like guilds than bureaucracies. Two features may be singled out. Firstly, the "Greater Printers" elected their own boss: he was not appointed by the deputies. Secondly, the work would be "rationed" among the "Minor Printers", as it was in the papal scribal colleges in the period studied by Schwarz. It seems likely that they were to be paid by the piece, with care taken to distribute work, and thus income, evenly.[35] Necessary conditions for admission into either college would be skill in the art of printing, a profession of faith, and a promise observe the "Capitoli" (A.14).

Obviously the printing business at Rome would expand rather than contract. All the existing printing presses in Rome would be activated or kept working (A.15), new presses would be introduced as needed (A.16). The new press would work together harmoniously with existing printing enterprises in the papal state, "especially in

---

[32] "Della medesima edizione [of the breviary] il Popolo e Manuzio vendettero [...] al mercante fiorentino Carlo Del Nero i diritti di riproduzione 'per tutti li Regni, Provincie e luoghi di Spagna ... o in qualunqu altra parte delle Indie'. Tale concessione, della durata di cinque anni, impegnava il Del Nero (migliore offerente) a versare al Popolo Romano scudi 1750 in oro, di cui 1000 subito, e il resto entro un anno." Barberi, Paolo Manuzio (cf. fn. 7), 76.

[33] Brigide Schwarz, Die Organisation kurialer Schreiberkollegien von ihrer Entstehung bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, Tübingen 1972.

[34] Thomas Frenz and Sergio Pagano, I Documenti Pontifici nel Medioevo e nell'Età Moderna, Città del Vaticano 1998, 68–69.

[35] Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 4.

Bologna, where the art has already been introduced" (A.17), and would even perform a training function for printers, booksellers and businessmen, with a view to the dissemination, imitation and reprinting "in all the provinces" of books published by the Apostolic Press (A.18), as it is called later in the document (B.5). Clearly this would be a high-status industry. The next article (A.19) puts printers in the same status group as papal scribes, notaries and moneyers: like these professionals, they could be deemed trustworthy by the very fact of belonging to a professional body – which would presumably have self-regulating mechanisms to ensure its members came up to that high standard. (Later on, in the second part of the document (B.7) the printers propose that they enjoy the same privileges as papal scribes, notaries and moneyers.)

The first section then comes to an end with a sort of general mission statement: they are in favour Carga's proposal, and for carrying out the pope's will, etc. (A.20). The second part of the document is in effect the printers' "wish list" for subventions and privileges from the pope.

The first three articles (B.1–3) are about the loan from the pope that they would need to launch the enterprise, since private investment would not be forthcoming for an enterprise on that scale; they promise that the money would be spent on the Press alone. For their part they will provide the materials (paper, type, ink) and the technicians of printing ["Maestri de Ponzoni, et Getti di lettere"] (B.4).

They want the pope to have a suitable palazzo built (B.5). They want him to ensure by his supreme authority that the "Scritture" (Bibles? Religious writings generally?) that they publish are free of errors to a very high degree, and that anyone may reprint them, and everyone must treat them as authentic in the same sense as papal bulls (B.6) They should enjoy the exemptions and immunities as the "Roman People" in its role as official Roman printer (it is unclear whether the "Roman People" is to retain these privileges: perhaps it is) (B.7). The Apostolic Press is to have its own Cardinal Protector.

On the other hand it is to be a self-regulating body. The following clauses presumably relate to the powers of the *Maggiori*. Disputes relating to the craft of printing should be settled in the first instance by judges whom they would delegate for the purpose (B.10). All contracts and official acts relating to the printing business should be registered by Notaries whom they have retained to work for them (B. 11). They would have absolute authority over the membership and affairs of the *Stampatori Minori* (B.12).

Two regulations relate to money (B.13–14). They are not easy to interpret, but seem to say that the *Maggiori* should get a quarter of all the money that comes to the papal Camera and Dataria because of the press, and the *Minori* a quarter of the profits of the *Dogana*[36] from the Press. The final clause (B.15) says that the foregoing are still up for negotiation, as it seems good to the pope.

[36] For background on the *Dogana*, see Ivana Ait, La Dogana di S. Eustachio nel XV secolo, in: Arnold Esch, et. al., Aspetti della Vita Economica e Culturale a Roma nel Quatrocento, Rome 1981, 81–147, at 85.

How was the projected enterprise to be integrated with the bureaucratic structure of the Curia? We can reconstruct much of what Carga had in mind. We have seen that the printers would have a place in the system analogous to that of the *Scriptores*, whose guild-like structures Brigide Schwarz elucidated. More generally, they would probably have been integrated into the 'Collegial' structure which dominated the organisation of the papal curia.[37] A Cardinal Protector would link the printing enterprise to the top level of the Curia. Furthermore, the very presence of these memoranda in the *Positiones* archive of the Congregatio Concilii suggests that Carga hoped it would act as a midwife in the birth of the new Press. Superintendents would settle disputes to do with the press.[38] Finally, any first edition should be authorised officially.[39] This incidentally reminds us that a papal press offered opportunities to exercise official control over the content of publication of a kind hardly conceivable before the invention of printing. We have seen that Carga envisages that the preparation of such an edition would involve a variety of specialists.[40] Recent study of the *Correctores Romani* who produced a new edition of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* gives us a more concrete idea of how this could have worked.

## Summary

Carga's proposal was not put into practice, but two other somewhat similar enterprises took off instead. A Vatican Press was set up on 27 April 1587. Its life was intense but short.[41] The Press established by the Oratorians at Rome in the last decade of the century would have a long history, and a very successful one in its own terms.[42]

The document printed below brought a committee of printers together with a committee of cardinals, a combination symptomatic of the Counter-Reformation curia's effort to get a grip on the changing world around it.

---

[37] Thomas Frenz, Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471–1572), Tübingen 1986, 188–192; Frenz and Pagano, I Documenti Pontifici (cf. fn. 34), 68–69.

[38] "Li sopraintendenti alle stampe deputati da Nostro Signore oltre il servitio proposto, haveriano occasione di farsi pratichi, per esser poi Giudici de appellationi, et Comministri del santo officio in tutte le controversie, che occorressero per conto di stampa, et di fare molte Decisioni et Trattati salutary in questa materia." Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 150.

[39] "Converrebbe ordinare, che la prima editione innanzi che si publicasse, si havesse da autenticare, et sottoscrivere dal Vicario ò dal Mastro [del] Sacro Palazzo et da gli altri Deputati sopra le Stampe", Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 147.

[40] Carga, Sopra un modo facile, in: Baumgarten, Die Vulgata Sixtina (cf. fn. 11), 143.

[41] "Avrà una vita intensa ma breve, la cui durata fu di solo diciassette anni." See Finocchiaro, Cesare Baronio (cf. fn. 5), 21 and note 27. The *Tipografia Apostolica Vaticana* lasted only until 1610, Ascarelli and Menato, La Tipografia del '500 (cf. fn. 7), 128–129.

[42] Finocchiaro, Cesare Baronio (cf. fn. 5), 105 and *passim*.

## EDITION OF THE PRINTERS' "CAPITOLI"

Sigla

Base MS: *P2* = ASV, Congr. Concilio, Positiones 2, fos. 10–11$^{v}$

P1 = ASV, Congr. Concilio, Positiones 1, fos. 28–29

*M* = ASV, Misc., Arm. XI, 93, fos. 117–118$^{v}$ = *M*

This is a diplomatic edition of *P2*, one the copies kept by the Congregazione del Concilio. It is so similar to both *P1* and *M* that they may be in the same hand. The three manuscripts are strikingly similar in general aspect, but the scribes may be different.

The variants are overwhelmingly orthographic. Thus *P2* has "Dogane" against the "Doane" of *M* and *P1* and "agomenti" against their "augmenti".[43] These orthographic and/or trivial variants do not form a pattern. *P1* and *P2* have "mantenirano" against *M*'s "manteneranno" for instance, and *M* and *P2* have "massime" against *P1*'s "et massime". After completing a full collation of these three manuscript versions it was clear that there was no point in signalling the variants in the apparatus, though it is worth noting that the number of trivial differences is not inconsiderable. There are a couple of significant (but not *very* significant) variants:

A.13: si] li *P1*

B.12: facoltà] *om. M, P1*

So a diplomatic edition is justified.

*Orthography*: note that consonantal *u* is rendered as *v* in the transcriptions (and throughout this paper).

P. M. Baumgarten, *Die Vulgata*, op. cit., p. 116, note 1, mentions two copies of Carga's dossier in the Vatican Library. One of the call numbers he gives looks like a mistake: there is no "C. V. l. ... 6742 II" (we say this on the basis of a handwritten catalogue in the Vatican Library: there is no printed catalogue for this section of his holdings.) A little detective work would probably reveal what manuscript he meant, if it were important to do so. The other manuscript, "C. V. l. 3944", i. e. MS BAV Vat Lat 3944 has been briefly examined, as has the unprinted catalogue. It is a very miscellaneous manuscript. For instance the Carga dossier is preceded by the acts of the provincial council of Reims, 1564, and followed by "Modus et ordo celebrandi Classes". The copy of the 'printers' section, edited below, is on fos. 243$^{r}$-244$^{v}$ (where it follows on after Carga's memoire, as with the Archivio Segreto Vaticano copies). It has not seemed necessary to collate it: the focus of this investigation is on the archival copies and above all on that of the Congregazione del Concilio. It is worth noting however that the Vat. Lat 3944 copy is very similar in appearance to *P2* and *M*, which suggests that Carga may have been spreading copies of the dossier around at the time when he mooted the project.

The numbering system (a section A and B, each with arabic-numbered paragraphs) has been introduced by the editors for ease of reference.

---

[43] At B. 14

*Capitoli formati sopra la parola de alcuni Stampatori desiderosi, chele stampe si faccino, et si conservino, emendatissime, conforme alla proposta* [44] *del Carga.*

(A.)

1) Che ricercati da Nostro Signore veneranno à fare in Roma la prima editione della Scrittura sacra, et di tutto quello, che sara loro commandato in tutte le lingue.
2) Che si accomoderanno col Popolo Romano in quel miglior modo, che piacerà à Sua Santità.
3) Che si obligaranno sotto le pene esprese nel Concilio di Trento, e con cautione idonea a non stampare aliter, vel alio modo di quel che gli sara sottoscritto da i Deputati sopra la Stampa.
4) Che pagaranno una honesta tassa per l'emendatione de tutti i libri, che gli saranno dati da stampare, et per la correttione de i fogli, che stamparanno.
5) Che alli Deputati sopra le stampe daranno saggio, et segno della carta, che metterano in opera, et la manteniranno tutta tale quale sarà la mostra.
6) Che serviranno con li migliori caratteri, che si usano tra Stampatori in tutte le forme de libri, che uanno in volta.
7) Che non usaranno altra ortografia, ne stamparanno in altra forma di quella, che conveniranno co i Deputati.
8) Che intituleranno, sottoscriveranno, autenticaranno, consegnaranno alla Biblioteca Vaticana, et publicaranno le loro opere in quel meglior modo, che da Sua Santità et da i deputati sarà ordinato.
9) Che prima che publichino le lore opere, metteranno il prezzo, e lo teneranno sempre più basso di quello che communemente corre hoggi di per le loro fiere, et piazze, et di quello, che per l'avenire lo metteranno gli altri stampatori absenti.
10) Che in tutte le opere che stamparanno, metteranno, et conservaranno inviolabile un perpetuo Decreto di Sua Santità che ognuno tra Cattolici possa stamparle, et ristamparle sotto le conditioni et pene alle quali essi si saranno sottomessi, et obligati, et desiderano che'l Decreto sia in rigorissima forma, et tale, che da Principi, dagli Ordinarii, et dagli Inquisitori si faccia essequire, e sia irremissibilmente castigato chi contraverrà. (fol. 10$^{v}$)
11) Che invitaranno et indurranno a venire in lor compagnia à stampare in Roma i megliori Stampatori di Germania, di Francia, et d'Italia.
12) Che in spatio d'un anno se così parerà à Sua Santità si ridurranno in Collegio, et in numero di xii i quali si chiamaranno Stampatori Maggiori, et la metà sara sempre de Oltramontani, et traloro si eleggeranno uno, che si chiami ò Presidente, ò Decano, ò Regente.
13) Che congregaranno sotto buoni ordini, et Maestri li Stampatori, che lavorano al Torcolo, et saranno per la metà Oltramontani, et [45] si chiamaranno Stampatori Minori, et distribuiranno per Turno tutte le opere, che haveranno da stampare.

---

[44] del] di Gio. *M*
[45] si] li *P1*

14) Che non ammetteranno al collegio de Stampatori Maggiori, ne de Minori, persona che non facci professione di fede, et non sia idonea nell'arte, et non si oblighi à mantenere i Capitoli, che si faranno.
15) Che cominciaranno à far lavorare, et teneranno continuamente in opera quanti Torcoli sono di presente in Roma.
16) Che introduranno et manteniranno tanti Torcoli di piu, quanti saranno necessarii per supplire all' offerta, et albuon servitio di santa Chiesa in tutto quello che gli sarà commandato.
17) Che nelle città dello Stato Ecclesiastico, dove è studio, massime in Bologna, dove già è introdutta l'arte, compartiranno, et accresceranno le faccende à sodisfattione delle parti.
18) Che introduranno con ogni industria in Roma, et dovunque potranno, un perpetuo Seminario de buoni Stampatori, Librari, et Mercanti accioche le Stampe Romane siano disseminate, seguitate et ristampate in tutte le provincie.
19) Che servaranno inviolata la fede publica come fanno gli Scrittori, et i Notarii, et i Zechieri Apostolici.
20) Che in somma si sottometteranno con ogni affetto di devotione à quanto contiene la proposta del Carga, et à quanto Sua Santità commandara, et à quanto l'arte comportarà per stampare et per conservare le scritture emendatissime.

(fol. 11$^{r}$)

(B)

All incontro i detti Stampatori supplicano per le infrascritte sovventioni, et gratie.
1) Che Sua Santità si digni sovvenirli, et prestarli liberamente gratis quella somma de dinari, che giudicarà conveniente per dar buon principio, et incaminare il negotio con dignità della Sede Apostolica.
2) Che daranno cautione Bancaria in Roma di restituir tutta la somma del prestito infra il tempo, che conveniranno, et dimandano il prestito, perche conoscono, che borsa privata, non può, ò non si pigliarebbe questo assunto di principiare da se si grande impresa, et per assicurarsi, che nissuno accidente possa impedirli, ò ritardarli.
3) Che si obligaranno à non spendere il danaro prestato in altro uso, che à beneficio della stampa.
4) Che se ne valeranno per pagare giornalmente tutte le tasse alle quali si obligaranno, et per provedere anticipatamente, et abondantemente di carta, caratteri, stagni, inchiostri, et simil cose necessarie, et percondurre, et trattenere Maestri de Ponzoni, et Getti di lettere, et altri pratichi, che ò compongono, ò correggono ò governano Torcoli, et che sopraintendono, et fanno i principali essercitii dell'arte.
5) Che exnunc se Sua Santità vorà compraranno, ò si metteranno à fabricare un Pallazzo capace et commodo all'habitatione, et alli principali essercitii loro, che si habbia da chiamare perpetuamente Stamparia Apostolica.

6) Dipiù supplicano, che Sua Santità proveda in quel meglior modo, che può venire dalla sua soprema auttorità, che le Scritture, che si daranno alle Stampe siano emendatissime, et si publichino con tali decreti, che ognuno le habbia da ristampare, et da tenere per autentiche, et inviolabili, come sono le Bolle Apostoliche.
7) Che possino godere tutte l'essentioni, et immunità, che ha il Populo Romano come Prefetto della Stampa, et i privilegii, che hanno li Scrittori, et i Notari, et i Zecchieri Apostolici. (fol. $11^{v}$)
8) Che la Santità Sua gli dia per Protettore un Cardinale, alquale possino ricorrere in tutti i bisogni.
9) Che in Roma nessuno possà lavorare in Torcolo sotto nome di Stampatore che non sia approbato da loro.
10) Che tutte le controversie dell'arte in prima instantia siano conosciute da Giudici, che essi deputaranno.
11) Che tutti i contratti, et atti che si faranno nell'arte siano notati, et tenuti da Notarii deputati, et dependenti da loro.
12) Che habbino libera[46] facoltà, et assoluta auttorità di confirmare, riformare, admettere, et instituire Stampatori Minori come di sopra.
13) Che il Collegio de Maggiori habbia la quarta parte de tutti gli Emolumenti, che la Camera, et la Dataria participarà nelli Officii, à i quali si aggiungerà, ò s'applicarà essercitio, ò minuto servitio per conto di questa stampa.
14) Che il Collegio de Minori habbia la quarta parte de tutti gli Emolumenti, agomenti, e frutti, che le Dogane participaranno per conto di detta Stampa.
15) Che diminuiranno, et ampliaranno se sudette conditioni in tutto quello, che con più matura discussione si conoscerà espediente et necessario, et grato à Sua Santità.'

(ASV, *Congr. Concilio, Positiones 2, fos.* $10^{r}$–$11^{v}$)

## ABSTRACT

In the context of the Council of Trent's re-structuring of papal government, the Congregation of the Council was founded in 1564 and entrusted with the task of implementing the Reform Decrees of Trent. In the hitherto little explored 'Positiones' fondo of the Congregation are preserved memoranda laying out a plan for a Printing House directed by the papacy, and entrusted with the publication of the Latin Bible, etc. One of them purports to be from representatives of the printing industry. It explains what would be needed for a papal press, notably with respect to organisation and structure. In this way the papacy was brought into contact with the new printing industry.

Im Rahmen der Tridentinischen Neugestaltung der kurialen Strukturen wurde die 1564 entstandene Congregatio Concilii mit der Verwirklichung der Reformdekrete des Konzils beauftragt. Im bisher wenig erforschten *Positiones Fondo* der Kongregation sind Denkschriften vorhanden, welche Pläne für eine vom Papsttum geleitete Druckerei, die für die Ausgabe von Bibeleditionen usw. zuständig sein sollte, beschreiben.

[46] facoltà] *om. M*

Darunter befindet sich auch ein Dokument von angeblichen Vertretern der Drucker, mit einer Beschreibung dessen, was für eine "päpstliche" Druckerei erforderlich sei, beispielsweise die organisatorische Struktur betreffend. Somit war ein unmittelbarer Kontakt zwischen dem Papsttum und dem neuen Druckhandwerk zustande gekommen.