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# Books and Devotion in Milan (1570-1590)

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## Abstract

Carlo Borromeo's publishing policy was central to his plans for reform. His acute use of the press's potential as a medium with which to reach the whole flock had both a religious/educational and a cultural aspect. It was one of several attempts at expanding the audience for this medium during the modern era, an expansion that was usually directed quite strictly by authorities and institutions in cooperation with book printers and traders. In this particular case study, the publishing policy of the Archiepiscopal Printworks of Milan reveals an interaction between the Archbishop's political designs and the action of market forces, which together regulated the printworks' management. Moreover, powerful financial backing made it possible to explore (and even to change) the borders of this market, thus having an editorial and cultural effect that went far beyond the Archbishop's original intentions.

*La stamperia della famiglia Da Ponte rappresentò un punto di riferimento nel panorama editoriale milanese del tardo Cinquecento: non solo era l'officina più antica della città, ma la famiglia poteva contare anche sui titoli di «Stampatore Camerale» e «Arcivescovile». Da una parte gli stampatori si muovevano sul mercato, in un periodo in cui la carta stampata stava rapidamente allargando il suo bacino d'utenza, dall'altra erano oggetto delle attenzioni del Borromeo, che aveva individuato nella stampa un efficace mezzo per la sua opera pastorale. Tenendo ben presente questi due poli in tra cui i Da Ponte si mossero con acume, una rapida escursione nella loro vasta produzione ci permette di osservare le strategie editoriali che gli stampatori misero in atto per trarre effettivamente vantaggio dalla loro collaborazione con le istituzioni (Città e Curia), e soprattutto ci permette di inquadrare le potenzialità che il medium stampa aveva, all'epoca, e che il cardinale poté usare per portare avanti una (per certi versi) politica culturale, la cui ampiezza si misura su quella del pubblico cui le pubblicazioni da lui promosse erano destinate.*

## THE PRINTING PRESS AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The Reformation's connection with the printing press is well known, and indeed, has become somewhat commonplace since the 19th century. We know, for example, that the press was used to disseminate Reformist propaganda and win over converts, and the literature about these pamphlets, or *flugschriften*, abounds<sup>1</sup>.

From the outset, the Reformists were aware of the importance of the press for achieving their goal. It was considered a powerful weapon, a "gift from God" to the German nation in their fight against the evil pope. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that this topic has been extensively studied in Germany and, to a lesser extent, in England (maybe because there the "war of pamphlets" was fought during the Civil War that brought Cromwell to power, not during the "Glorious Revolution").

Febvre-Martin's *L'apparition du livre*<sup>2</sup> (1958) perhaps represents the starting-point for modern research into the "world of the book", according to which the study of books is perceived as an opportunity to explore the "history of mentalities" (or the "history of ideas", as it is known in Italy). But even before this work appeared, it was quite clear that the printing press represented a revolution in communication and thought, and undermined traditional society and its religion. Printed books could enter any household and foster a direct relationship between the believer and God, reducing the need for a Church, or at least for its hierarchy (thereby initiating the secularization process).

In more recent times, the connection between the press and the Reformation has been analysed in more depth. In 1979, for example, Elizabeth Eisenstein<sup>3</sup> redefined the influence that the appearance of the printing press had on the construction of the modern mindset; in a chapter entitled "The Scriptural Tradition Recast: resetting the stage for the Reformation", she traced an unconventional profile of the effect of the printed press on the expansion of the new ideas. Gawthrop and Strauss<sup>4</sup>, on the other hand, put the Lutheran contribution to the literacy back in perspective. Gilmont<sup>5</sup>, for his part, defined the interaction between reading and the Reformation as "a circular game of mutual influences between societies and religions"; from the reader's point of view, the effect of the printing press is related to the society (with its cultural background, its literacy, its social networks) and the social class to which the reader belongs.

Contrary to received wisdom, the press also had a notable impact in Counter-Reformation Europe. In fact, the classic opposition between a literate, dynamic, freedom-hungry, modern Northern Europe and an illiterate, lazy, submissive, traditional South is very much a 19th-century perspective. And although there were clearly social, cultural and economic differences in the 19th and early 20th centuries between the Catholic world (Italy, Spain and Portugal; France needs to be treated separately) and the Protestant one (England and Holland on one hand, Prussia and Scandinavian countries on the other) that seemed to confirm such a paradigm, it is no longer possible today to find such a clear-cut boundary between an underdeveloped Catholic South and a modern

Protestant North. A new idea of modernity has developed that is no longer based upon a linear notion of historical evolution; rather, this is a “modernity” that every European society has reached in different ways. Recently, the notion of “social disciplining”<sup>6</sup> has been suggested as a cornerstone of state development, and from this perspective, the Catholic Church has been a protagonist in that historical process; even the conduct of the Tridentine Church has been considered as a “progressive” force, in some of its aspects<sup>7</sup>.

Though this may be a little excessive, historians have nevertheless rediscovered the Counter-Reformation, not as a dark era unworthy of investigation, but as a period to be explored like any other, during which state and church institutions attempted to mould society, in accordance with a plan and the circumstances of time and place<sup>8</sup>.

The press, the first mass medium in history, would naturally have been a very useful tool for this goal, but only for someone who was clever enough to recognise its potential, because it was a novelty, of course, and therefore unprecedented. For this reason, research into the ways in which ecclesiastical institutions used the press as a tool for the Catholic Reformation, or more generally, as an instrument of social discipline, offers a new perspective on this particular period.

Unfortunately, there are few studies that focus upon Milan, which was the core, or testing-ground, of the Counter-Reformation. One interesting exception, however, is a collective volume edited by Raponi and Turchini<sup>9</sup>, which provides useful insights into the “world of the book”. In it, Di Filippo describes aspects of Milanese editorial production that expressed the new cultural model, with particular attention to Archbishop Borromeo’s publishing policy as part of his whole pastoral strategy; Stevens analyzes the institution of the Seminary Press, an (expensive) attempt by the Cardinal to establish a printworks under his complete (editorial and even jurisdictional) control; Zardin studies the “Tridentine turn” from the perspective of an inventory of books of St. Catherine’s nuns; and Bottoni looks at Milanese confraternities, a relatively unexplored field. Elsewhere, Di Filippo has examined in more depth some of the uses Borromeo made of the press to pursue his Counter-Reformation plan in Milan, such as the project for a model library<sup>10</sup>, or the blueprint for this cultural project, which took shape in the form of his personal library<sup>11</sup>.

We should not be surprised at the lack of studies in this field: the ‘assertive’ aspect of the Counter-Reformation is somewhat novel, and quite opposed to its conventional ‘repressive’ image. Throughout the 16th century, and after it, (Northern) Italy was a very important region for the geography of the book, and one of main events of that time, a watershed in its history, the Counter-Reformation, cannot be studied without the contribution of the history of printing press.

Unfortunately, the belated development of academic interest in the connection between the press and religious dynamics in Catholic countries (when compared to the

Germanic region, for example) has left us with few materials to work with. Some years ago, Ottavia Niccoli<sup>12</sup> complained of the lack of research into the use of pamphlets and flyers for religious propaganda, and pointed out that there were few inventories or catalogues of such publications. In Germany, in contrast, these have been completely catalogued until 1555<sup>13</sup> – though of course, the whole phenomenon was scaled-down in Italy, in comparison to what took place in the German world.

Fortunately, modern instruments (i.e. computer networks) have helped us to make a start on such research, allowing us to prepare a catalogue, or at least a review, of the books we would like to examine. In fact, in recent years, the compilation of OPACs has made possible a kind of research that was unthinkable not so long ago. Now, with an Internet connection, it is possible to gain access to national bibliographies and important library catalogues, and view publications whose very existence was unsuspected in the past. The British Library has, for several decades, made available short-title catalogues of its immense collections, and its example has, to some extent, been followed by other libraries, national and otherwise. But the operation has been limited to the largest (and richest) institutions. OPACs, on the other hand, allows us to view even small treasures kept in tiny provincial libraries. There are also instruments such as Edit16<sup>14</sup> (the census of Italian Cinquecento publications), which complement these resources. The quantitative methods applied to the history of the printing press have been criticised for producing poor results, on the basis that the resources they offer provide only an outline or reconnaissance of the subject, without providing in-depth information, which still has to be investigated using qualitative methods. But although this argument still holds, their potential has been vastly increased thanks to the tools provided by the web.

Obviously there are some considerations of a different nature to be made here: in the first place, these tools are able to track down particular editions, and can provide detailed data about their location and state of conservation, but they do not give exhaustive information about quality, the weight of the paper, borders, the quality of the print and pictures, etc. (features that indicate whether it is a cheap or deluxe edition). Catalogues do not distinguish between an Aldine edition and a two-penny prognostic edition. So, while they are helpful for providing an overview, we have to be very careful about how we use them.

Another factor to be kept in consideration is that catalogues like SBN-ICCU collect data from the different libraries participating in the Institute's project (*Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico*<sup>15</sup>); this can create discrepancies and sometimes diversity in the data, especially with regard to collections of pamphlets and heterogeneous publications, rearranged in different ways across the centuries. Thus, the data becomes less reliable as we move from books to flyers, sheets, pamphlets, reprints (authorized or not) and, in general, typographical operations that are not clearly delimited. In some cases, there may be different editions with the same title page; in others, instalments of the same edition may be bound differently (for example, with pictures interposed or paratext

added); and of course, the catalogue does not say whether these operations were carried out by the publishers, book sellers, customers or librarians (which would be unlikely, as even before the development of scientific methods for book conservation, librarians were very careful in their handling of works).

Other disadvantages are the geographic, chronological and alphabetical constraints of the bibliographic tool. Geographically, there are other areas, besides well-known regions such as Venice, that have been largely unexplored – Milan, for example. With regard to chronology, a lot of work has been done on the period up to the year 1600 (Edit16 is just one example) but much more could be done. The problem is that, in Italy, there is an old prejudice<sup>16</sup> that contrasts the glorious Renaissance era of the Cinquecento (16th century, the age of primacy in Europe) with the dark Baroque Seicento (17th century, the age of foreign domination), which is perceived as characterised by ecclesiastical censorship and Tridentine bigotry, unworthy of investigation. Even today, we have to rely on the old (but still good) works by Sandal<sup>17</sup>, limited to the 16th century. ‘Alphabetical’ constraints concern an important genre of works, namely dictionaries, such as the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*<sup>18</sup> [Biographical Dictionary of Italians] or the *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani*<sup>19</sup> [Dictionary of Italian Printers and Publishers]. They are both still a long way from completion.

#### THE PRINTING PRESS IN MILAN: PRELIMINARY NOTES

The printing press was introduced into Milan in 1469 by Panfilo Castaldi and Antonio Zarotto – Italian men, as Italian scholars have proudly boasted for many decades (although this is not the place to discuss what it meant to be “Italian” in the 15th or 16th centuries). In any case, there were many foreign master printers in Milan, of whom the Flemish Gottardo Da Ponte, the Bavarian Scinzenzeller and the Da Meda brothers from Alsace were the most successful. The crucial year for the printing press (and not only that) was 1524. The French army occupied the city, the plague ran rife, and no books were published. After this “sinking” (as Sandal called it<sup>20</sup>), all printworks except Da Ponte’s went bankrupt.

Milan was then the second biggest city in Italy, after Naples. In the following decades, the press industry recovered, slowly but surely, in particular circumstances. In Milan there was a great uncertainty about the future, on the political and diplomatic level: a ‘lame-duck’ duke (Francesco II Sforza) ruled a duchy that had been seriously affected by the recent wars, and was still embroiled in the Habsburg-Valois conflict. Moreover, across Europe as a whole, Castile was becoming increasingly powerful in Charles V’s Empire and, by the late 1540s, it was clear that the State of Milan would become part of the Spanish monarchy. As a result, there was no court in Milan when the press collapsed (neither was there a University – that was in Pavia) and it had to rely on its own efforts

to recover. Court patronage was very important in this pioneering era, and the Sforza court had encouraged the development of the printing press in previous years.

Thereafter, Milan was ruled by a wave of successive governments that were very heterogeneous. Alfonso D'Avalos (1538-1546) and Ferrante Gonzaga (1546-1554) were the only governors that tried to rebuild a court in Milan, and although their attempts were very dissimilar, they managed to encourage a kind of small-scale cultural renaissance that fed a printing press that would otherwise have stagnated. In any case, these were mere episodes which, in many respects, were not followed up. The Milanese printing press gained a provincial dimension, and – for the most ambitious enterprises – had to count on some kind of patronage. In the second half of the 16th century, book production in Milan flourished, with the financial backing of booksellers/publishers like Matteo Besozzi and the powerful Degli Antoni family<sup>21</sup>, and the patronage of the Chamber and the Archbishop.

## RELIGIOUS BOOKS IN ITALIAN

Publications aimed at a broad undifferentiated public had, of course, to be written in the vernacular (though scholars disagree about the extent to which the public at large could actually understand books<sup>22</sup>). Grossly simplifying, we might say that on the one hand, there were books published that aimed at a particular readership (such as noblemen, priests, nuns, “popular readers”<sup>23</sup>, etc.), while on the other, there was a growing market for editions that targeted an undifferentiated public and were potentially comprehensible for almost any level of urban society. In the midst of all this, we find the publishers trying to expand the market for their books, popularising highbrow literature, inventing formats that would appeal to large numbers of people, or simply by selling through cheap channels, such as the ‘colporteurs’, or hawkers. Publishers, booksellers and printers were inventing the market for the books and goods.

In truth, the publishers had no real idea of the potential of the markets they were producing for, as the whole concept was still a novelty, especially for the lower classes. It was a novelty of the Cinquecento (in Milan from 1525): books released from the printing presses were designed to appeal to as broad a public as possible. Across Europe, the first generation of printers fervently reproduced the classics (all the books that had previously circulated as manuscripts) with remarkable speed and accuracy. For, although knowledge was now being transmitted in a different way, it was still the same knowledge. This meant that the market soon reached saturation point. By the end of the 15th century, enough classics had been published to last for several decades, and, as result, the first generation of printers quickly went bankrupt. Consequently, the following generations used the press to produce new material – a wide range of printed books and pamphlets that were novelties compared to the great manuscript classics. These included works by contemporary authors, novelties, newspapers, instant-books, cheap

pamphlets, etc. The success of these publications was largely due to their broad appeal, aiming at a public that was as large and undifferentiated as possible. In short, even with the limited print runs and a relatively small market, a ‘mass’ public was gradually being created. These were the very first steps towards the development of the press as a mass medium, a path that started, in Milan, towards the middle of the 16th century and lasted for some two hundred years.

Milan, in the 16th century, was a small publishing centre, which produced for a regional market, while nevertheless interacting with a larger European-wide market such as Venice’s. High literacy rates, a prosperous economy, and good district integration, created a fertile ground for the circulation of books: indeed, the growth of the printing industry after 1524 tended to favour new texts, forms of “written communication that were ephemeral and up-to-date in character”, rather than “texts designed to transmit an established and long-lasting message”<sup>24</sup>. The focus on “new” texts as opposed to “established” ones did not mean that there was a huge market instead of a restricted one; rather, they indicated a market with potential still to be exploited, a market whose numbers were slowly but surely growing throughout the whole of the second half of the 16th century.

Religious publications offer an interesting perspective on the quality of such growth. On the one hand, there were Latin editions addressed mostly to the clergy or to a specialized public; on the other hand, there were other texts in Italian (catechisms, devotional books, sermons, etc.) designed for a less-defined public. The Archiepiscopal Printworks provides an even more specific point of view, because the books published there revealed Cardinal Borromeo’s desire to reform the church; from many points of view this was not just a matter of publishing “regular” religious literature, it was also an early attempt at cultural politics.

After this brief overview, let us now move on to look at some of the Italian publications produced by the Archiepiscopal Printworks. As it is impossible to cover the topic exhaustively in few pages, I will merely indicate the most interesting material, and the rest will have to await further study.

## THE DA PONTE FAMILY

The Da Ponte family was one of the most important families of printers/publishers in Milan between the 16th and early 17th centuries. It was the only one that survived the 1524 crisis, and from its presses was released what is considered the most beautiful printed book from Renaissance Milan – Vitruvius’ *De Architectura*<sup>25</sup>, a book of rare beauty, which was a great test of the printers’ skill.

The firm was owned by Gottardo Da Ponte, who died in 1552, and then, for few years, by his nephew, Pietro Paolo. Not only was it the oldest printing works in Milan, it was also one of the most important, and the family became a reference point for State

and Church, obtaining and keeping the privileges of the Chamber and Archiepiscopal Printers. Shortly after the death of Pietro Paolo, in 1559 his four sons divided up his legacy, and three (we have no information about Giacomo Paolo) started careers in the field, sometimes separately though often intersecting. Giovanni Battista, the eldest, “brought about a transformation in the history of the family business, putting it at the service of power”<sup>26</sup>; he won the privilege of Municipal Printer until 1581 (when he died<sup>27</sup>), to be succeeded by his brother, Paolo Gottardo. The Archiepiscopal privilege was also obtained by Giovanni Battista in 1565, and in around 1570 transferred to Pacifico, the youngest brother.

As regards partnerships, documents have been found that suggest that Pacifico and Paolo Gottardo entered into at least three business partnerships, in 1578, 1585 and 1590. Leonardo, the son of Giovanni Battista, worked with his uncle Paolo Gottardo for 1582-93 and then in 1596-97 moved to Vercelli. The title pages of the books also state that “Giovanni Battista and his brothers” worked together between 1554 and 1573, with a peak in 1566-67; in 1568, we find only Giovanni Battista and Paolo Gottardo, while Pacifico, upon achieving maturity, chose not to work with his elder brother Giovanni Battista, and waited until he was close to death (1578) to restore relations. Meanwhile, around 1570, Pacifico obtained the title of Archiepiscopal Printer, which marked the beginning of his rise to become the most influential printer of the largest archdiocese in Italy, Milan.

The relations between the siblings, their rivalry, quarrels and truces are described in an interesting article by K. Stevens, which explores the area between the “personal” and the “professional”, while at the same time providing a wealth of information about the management of the printworks<sup>28</sup>. The powerful sibling rivalry, while shaping the business, does not seem to have damaged it. Their publications suggest that a “principle of complementarity” was at work, for the various collaborations between the siblings, whether temporary or long-lasting, and whether or not they resulted from disputes, clearly demonstrate an impulse to put the family business first and ensure that it was well run at all times.

Giovanni Battista and then his brother Pacifico were Archiepiscopal Printers, and the former was a Chamber printer too. He was succeeded by his son Leonardo, who renewed the privilege in 1593 and later achieved the title of Episcopal Printer in Vercelli (suffragan diocese of Milan). Paolo Gottardo was also a Municipal Printer, who worked with his nephew Leonardo and brother Pacifico. It is clear that the family’s overall strategy was to take advantage of their complementary skills to share and monopolize the ‘official press’ market, in a period when patronage was important to stimulate business, in order to rise from small craftsman to a merchant-like status<sup>29</sup>.

If we take a closer look, we notice some more specific collaborations that are particularly interesting. In 1573, when the Archiepiscopal Printer was supposed to be Pacifico,

“Giovanni Battista and brothers” published the *Istruzione generale* [“General Instruction”] by appointment to the Archbishop; the following year Paolo Gottardo published for the archdiocese, and in 1575 it was Pacifico who printed a bill for a magistrate of the city. In 1576, there was an outbreak of plague, and the city authorities made great efforts to contain its terrible effects: thus, there was a spate of publications of edicts, orders, bans and so on. Probably because of this sudden amount of work, Giovanni Battista was helped by his brother Pacifico, who printed some 15 notices.

Another area of interest was the printing of rules and instructions for the Orders and Confraternities. Of course, these should be dealt with separately, but as I am concerned with Italian books, it seems appropriate to consider them together; the rules for the Orders were normally published in Latin (16 titles were printed by Pacifico), which suggests that the Italian titles were addressed to a wider public, also including laymen. The reorganization of the Confraternities was a central feature of Borromeo’s reformist policies<sup>30</sup>, as they formed the very core of lay devotion and were considered by him as an instrument of religious renewal. Thus, new rules were imposed under his strict control, and the printing was undertaken, not only by the official printer, Pacifico (who published 12 titles), but also by Paolo Gottardo (3 titles); there was also one published by them both together.

While Pacifico Da Ponte’s degree of specialization is remarkable (Baldacchini says that his business revealed a distinctly “Tridentine” inclination<sup>31</sup>), there was no monopoly over the publishing of religious books. Clearly, Pacifico was not the only one in Milan publishing religious works; but as he was the Archiepiscopal Printer in the family, we might have expected a more thorough control of this area. Instead, we find collaboration between brothers, as may be exemplified in the following account.

In 1584 Paolo Gottardo published the *Historia del glorioso martirio*<sup>32</sup> by William Allen, a reprint of the Macerata edition of the previous year (there were a total of 4 editions across the whole peninsula). It was not a large book (200 pages in octavo) but was exacting work, which targeted a new and rapidly expanding market that was keen to get up-to-date news<sup>33</sup>. This book was attractive on many counts: it satisfied the growing demand for news (and news that had come from afar was even more highly valued), for ‘political’ information (it was concerned with the attempt to bring England back to the Catholic fold), and it was ‘pious’ too, as it told an edifying story of martyrs. But it was an oversized publication compared to the average news editions (which would normally occupy one or two printed sheets, folded two or three times to give 8-32 pages in quarto or in octavo). From the editorial point of view, it was a successful attempt, as Pacifico, the following year, published a work that was, in publishing terms, not so different: *Lettera annale delle cose del Giappone*<sup>34</sup> [“Annual Letter on Affairs in Japan”], 120 pages in octavo. This too combined information from even more exotic places with an account on the progress of the “true faith” and a detailed description of the martyrdom of five members of the Company of Jesus<sup>35</sup>. Pacifico took advantage of his position as

Episcopal Printer to establish connections with the Jesuits in order to gain access to these materials (this particular work was obviously Jesuit correspondence)<sup>36</sup>. He also took advantage of his brother's experience to publish it in that format. This operation was very successful (further stimulated by a visit of a delegation of five Japanese men to Milan in 1585), and was repeated in following years<sup>37</sup>. After the death of Pacifico, his heirs and followers published 6 volumes of news from the Far East, as did many other Milanese printers (11 editions).

The Da Ponte family worked in a coordinated way, although Cardinal Borromeo attempted to exert direct control over the press, in order to pursue his pastoral goals. In fact, he invested a considerable amount of money in setting up a new enterprise, the Tipografia del Seminario [Seminary Press], assigned to Michele Tini, a printworks where the Archbishop was not only the sole client (the City, too, was a client of Da Ponte family), but which was also removed from civil jurisdiction (this attempt was promptly curbed by Governor Ayamonte<sup>38</sup>). Perhaps, then, the Da Ponte family's hold over their business was really one of the reasons why Borromeo invested in a new printworks, as suggested by Di Filippo<sup>39</sup>.

Let us now turn now to the specific production of Pacifico Da Ponte, the Archiepiscopal Printer, between the years 1572-1594. I will present this as a chronology of his publishing career, starting from his appointment as official printer (he was actually appointed c.1570, but he did not published Italian books until 1572). It does not end with the death of the Cardinal, but some years later, with the death of Pacifico himself, so as to show how the editorial dynamics did not end at the change of episcopate. Nevertheless, the range covers most of Borromeo's episcopate (he entered Milan on 23 September 1565 and died on 3 November 1584).

Between 1572 and 1590, Pacifico published 136 books in Italian (and another six only partially in the vernacular), 80 of which were on religious topics. Most of these (45) were in quarto, which was a versatile format for books that were not very demanding, and had on average 59 pages. In fact, all editions but one are in tiny format: the larger one (Benedetti's work<sup>40</sup>) is the result of a collaboration between the brothers, as it deals with the affairs of the Republic of Genoa, like six other publications (4 by Paolo Gottardo, 2 by Giovanni Battista). Other commonly-used formats were in octavo (30 editions) and in duodecimo (26); these were quite similar in Pacifico's production, though the latter (which is a bit smaller) generally has more pages (an average of 102 instead of 59).

If we examine the list of titles, their pages and format, we can see that over half of Pacifico's output was published in quarto. These were manageable books, which were not expensive; but neither were they handy, and most would probably have been intended for thorough reading. They were published in a small size first to be cheap rather than for convenience or ease of handling. This was what happened with *Regole della con-*

*fraternita del ss. Sacramento in Duomo* [Rules of the Blessed Sacrament in Duomo<sup>41</sup>]; *Regola della compagnia delle vergini*: [The Rule of the Company of Virgins<sup>42</sup>], “*Regola generale*”<sup>43</sup> [General rules] and *Interrogatorio della dottrina Christiana*<sup>44</sup> [Interrogation on Christian Doctrine]. It was also the case with some publications in duodecimo, such as *Avvertenze a ciascun curato* [Instructions to any Priest<sup>45</sup>]. These books were not supposed to be brought and read anywhere, as a pocket book might be, but they were cheap and could be afforded by most of the clergy they were aimed at<sup>46</sup>. Their small size also meant that they could be lent or borrowed: Cardinal Borromeo’s librarian complained of the custom of lending too many books, as it was quite impossible to manage them properly, and a great many got lost. Not all the small books were designed for circulation, however: we could reasonably assume that the *Regole della compagnia* [Rules of the Company] of Ursulines was supposed to remain in the convent, even if was published in duodecimo.

Therefore, amongst Pacifico’s production, there are many medium-to-small formats for economic reasons (i.e. to be cheap). In fact, only 14 out of 136 editions have any kind of imagery, and his formats were also smaller than his brothers’, on average. If we consider the production of the whole family, most of it is in quarto – four times the amount of what is in octavo and in duodecimo together (in terms of the number of print sheets).

Pacifico’s Italian editions were extremely cheap, which would have been a marketing decision, given that the market was still modest, in terms of size, and it was not easy to find a niche in it. In short, printers required some degree of circumspection (and indeed, would typically have had some kind of financial backing in Milan at that time<sup>47</sup>). This situation suited Borromeo’s needs. He made huge investments in publishing, choosing not to sponsor Italian deluxe editions, but rather stimulating large circulation of “good” books: he was interested in sponsorship of quite cheap books. Pacifico, for his part, found it convenient to produce just this sort of book in a market like Milan. Hence, the Cardinal, in pursuing his pastoral goals, found that his intentions coincided with the publisher’s, as they aimed for as broad a public as possible, thereby contributing to the early phase of the development of a ‘mass’ medium.

In order to understand this agreement, we should quickly look back over Pacifico’s career. In the years 1565-67, the brothers worked together, and their production in Italian is quite clearly defined. Only a few editions are on religious topics (*La Vita di Santa Radegonda*, 1566<sup>48</sup>; Vallisneri, 1567<sup>49</sup>), compared to the abundant normative production (Borromeo’s ‘greeting card’: *Ordini* [Orders], 1565; *Ordini* for the recently founded Confraternita di Carità, 1566; *Regola*, 1567).

In 1567-68, Pacifico start to work alone, and Giovanni Battista published just two Italian books for the clergy: *Sommario delle grandi gratie* [Summary of the Great Graces] (1576) and, for the archdiocese, *Forma et instruzione per le quarantene* [Form and Instructions for Quarantine] (1579). Pacifico’s own production reveals a different edito-

rial mindset. For, although Latin production outnumbered the Italian, the latter included, apart from *Regole* [Rules] and *Avvertenze* [Notices], books such as Bartolomeo Scalvo's *Le meditazioni del Rosario*<sup>50</sup> (1569), which was a translation of the Latin book published the same year. This edition reveals the publisher's early intention to reach a wider public, a tendency which is confirmed by the use of small formats with few pages for the Italian editions, whether religious or not (82 pages on average for the 1572-1594 editions, only eight of which have more than 200 pages).

We find this same attitude with regard to books on religious topics, too. Of some 60 Italian editions printed between 1572-1594, half were aimed at, or could have been appreciated by, a general public; half were printed in quarto, half in duodecimo (with only a few editions in octavo and only one in 24<sup>o</sup>). They were all small books, and apart from 4 editions that have more than 200 pages (all in duodecimo), they have an average of 40 pages.

In this group, the list of authors is interesting. They include Iacopo Sannazaro<sup>51</sup>, a Neapolitan humanist; Giulio Cesare Albicante<sup>52</sup> and Bonaventura da Bagnoregio (3 titles<sup>53</sup>); and above all, Cardinal Borromeo himself (3 titles<sup>54</sup>) and his collaborators and acquaintances, Botero<sup>55</sup>, Loarte<sup>56</sup> (3), Panigarola<sup>57</sup>. There is a work in three parts<sup>58</sup>, the first part of which is by Borromeo, the second a partial reprint of a work by Loarte, and the last by Bascapé (a collaborator of the Cardinal, who later became Bishop of Vercelli).

This is a good 'mix' of literature, (Medieval) philosophy and contemporary treatises, produced or 'published' by the Cardinal's office. Everything is in an affordable format, and (particularly with the works of Bonaventura) designed for wider circulation. All the works by the Archbishop himself are explicitly addressed (in the title) to "his people" (*al suo popolo*).

If we categorise the works by topic, we get a good idea of the kind of material that was on offer to the flock:

- Pastoral letters and "instructions": 3 works by Borromeo himself (two in 1574, one in '75); one by Braschini ('72); two by Loarte ('75, '76), and a miscellany for the jubilee;
- "Treatise writing" at a higher level: 3 works by Bonaventura (though one is very short); one in three volumes by the Jesuit Androzzi; one in five by Uberto Cipriani, an inquisitor; and one by Caneparo, who also translated one of the works by Bonaventura;
- "Works for mystical meditation": one by Loarte, one by Biondi, one by D'Arabia;
- A work by the humanist, Sannazaro;
- One hagiography, the life of St. Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, by Bonomi;

- A group of heterogeneous works: a collection of songs; a “guide” to the jubilee (addressed to a public wider beyond the mere clergy, for which there are many others); a collection of “reasonings by saints”;
- Booklets printed for a specific occasion, that were not exactly religious literature, but rather transmitted ‘pious information’ that would help mould the figure of the good Christian: a congratulation by the Bishop of Cremona (Niccolò Sfrondati, future Pope Gregory XIV) for the extinction of the plague; an account of the canonization of Diego of Alcalá<sup>59</sup>; three works (by Botero, Tarugi and Santi) on the occasion of the death of Borromeo.

Botero’s work giving an account of the Archbishop’s last days was printed by many different Milanese printers and publishers at the same time (it was very easily sold) a few days after the Cardinal’s death. There was no need for any press to spread the news of the death of Borromeo in Milan, so this edition is considered a celebratory, rather than informative, work. Aside from the debatable differences between these genres, this booklet raises an important issue that was beginning to make its mark in the late 16th century – namely the appearance of news (which of course had traditionally been circulated orally) in printed form. Now news began to have an author and could be better controlled<sup>60</sup>. “The Miracles in Sicily” (1576) can perhaps be considered as religious news, like the accounts from Japan mentioned above (although they were published in a different format, and are therefore not exactly assimilable).

As I have already mentioned, this is not exactly a study of the Archiepiscopal Printworks in late 16th century, but rather a seed for further research. Different approaches may be taken to the subject. Firstly, there is the publisher’s point of view, focusing upon the situation of the market and the business, both from an internal perspective (family strategy) and an external one (the firm’s niche in the market). Then there is the point of view of the patron – for even if a historical character like Borromeo and his pastoral strategy are very well known, his actions in the field of publishing are still worthy of investigation. He was, on the one hand, able to operate within the limits of the market and social framework (as defined by the extent of literacy); on the other, he had enough power to manipulate those limits. Indeed, he was able to shape directly Da Ponte’s production, and, indirectly, all Milanese production as well, not to mention his efforts reorganize schools and extend literacy. In any case, the production of cheap Italian literature provided an incentive to literacy; for an abundance of written (printed) texts is one of the conditions for high literacy rates. Of course, these efforts were all in the interests of a pastoral goal, so their effect on literacy could only be indirect. The many Italian editions of “rules” illustrate the situation well: these were Italian texts for a larger-than-average public; on the other hand, the texts were compiled with the purpose of affirming new rules, rather than increasing the average cultural level. In this field, the desire to reorganize the archdiocese coincided with the need for a greater circulation of texts, the boundaries of which were set by the (mobile) limits of literacy.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Even a brief review of the most important publications on this topic would require many pages. See for example, R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge 1981; A.E. Baldini, *Istanze utopiche e dibattito politico agli inizi della Riforma luterana. Dalla «Wolfaria» di Johann Eberlin alla “Newen Wandlung eynes christlichen Lebens”* in P. Scaramella (ed.), *Alberto Tenenti. Scritti in memoria*, Naples 2005, pp. 543-544.
- <sup>2</sup> L. Febvre, H.-J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, Paris 1958.
- <sup>3</sup> E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1979.
- <sup>4</sup> R. Gawthrop, G. Strauss, *Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany*, in “Past and Present”, 1984, 104, pp. 31-55.
- <sup>5</sup> J.-F. Gilmont, *Riforma protestante e lettura* in G. Cavallo, R. Chartier (eds.), *Storia della lettura nel mondo occidentale*, Rome - Bari 1995.
- <sup>6</sup> The term *Sozialdisziplinierung* was coined by Gerard Oestereich (*Strukturprobleme des europäischen Absolutismus*, in “Vierteljahresschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte”, 55, 1968, pp. 329-47), who borrowed the ideas of the “process of civilization” and “disciplined society” from Elias and Foucault, in the greater framework of the “rationalization process” individuated by Weber. In its original intention, “social disciplining” provided a version of absolutism based upon social history, instead of the traditional one based upon constitutional history (W. Schulze, *Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff der Sozialdisziplinierung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in “Zeitschrift für historische Forschung”, 14, 1987, pp. 265-302). On the state-building process in Italy, see G. Chittolini, A. Molho, P. Schiera, *Origini dello Stato: Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra Medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna 1994 (also in J. Kirshner (ed.), *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300-1600*, Chicago 1996). See also M. Verga, *Il Seicento e i paradigmi della storia italiana*, in “Storica”, 11, 1998, pp. 7-42, and G. Petralia, “Stato” e “moderno” in Italia e nel Rinascimento, in “Storica”, 8, 1997, pp. 7-48. A starting-point for this debate is P. Prodi, *Riforma interiore e disciplinamento in Carlo Borromeo*, in “Intersezioni”, 1985, 5, pp. 273-285, and Id., *Controriforma e/o riforma cattolica: superamento di vecchi dilemmi in nuovi panorami storiografici*, in “Römische Historische Mitteilungen”, 1989, 31, pp. 227-238; Id. (ed.), *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna 1994 (exp. H. Schilling, *Chiese confessionali e disciplinamento sociale. Un bilancio provvisorio della ricerca storica*, pp. 125-160); see also G. Signorotto, *Inquisitori e mistici nel Seicento italiano. L'eresia di Santa Pelagia*, Bologna 1989, pp. 15-18 and W. De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul. Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter Reformation Milan*, Leiden - Boston - Cologne 2001. The concept of “social disciplining” was later complemented with “confessionalization”: see H. Schilling, *Confessional Europe*, in T.A. Brady Jr, H.A. Oberman and J.D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, vol. 2: Visions, Programs and Outcomes*, Leiden 1995, pp. 641-81). The *Centro per gli Studi Storici Italo-Germanici* (former *Istituto storico italo-germanico*) carried on the task of spreading this ‘German’ approach in Italy. Its goals were (and are) “to restore political history as *Verfassungsgeschichte* [constitutional history], paying attention to political, social, ecclesiastical, cultural and scientific institutions; to suggest interpretative models like social disciplining and confessionalization” (A.G. Manca, *Il Centro ITC-isig (Centro per gli studi storici italo-germanici – Italienisch-Deutsches Historisches Institut) di Trento*, in “Historia Constitucional (Revista Electrónica)”, 2005, 6, pp. 475-487, p. 481 (available from <http://hc.rediris.es/06/index.html>).
- <sup>7</sup> The germinal idea belongs to W. Reinhard, *Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des Konfessionellen Zeitalters*, in “Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte” 1977, 68, pp. 226-52. “Criticizing both the terms ‘Counter-Reformation’ and ‘Catholic Reform’ as inadequate concepts in understanding the totality of historical development, and not just ecclesiastical history, Reinhard

- argues in favor of the term 'Confessional Age' (*konfessionelles Zeitalter*) whereby Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism can be analyzed as parallel developments in a still larger historical unfolding of structures" (R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 2005 p. 4). The educational aspects of confessionalization in Milan were studied by A. Turchini, *Sotto l'occhio del padre. Società confessionale e istruzione primaria nello Stato di Milano*, Bologna 1996.
- <sup>8</sup> In general, a renewed interest in the study of Milan under Spanish rule was marked by two conferences, that approached the matter from many different perspectives: P. Pissavino, G. Signorotto (eds.), *Lombardia borromaica, Lombardia spagnola (1554-1659). Atti del Convegno tenuto a Pavia nel 1991*, Rome 1995 and E. Brambilla, G. Muto (eds.), *La Lombardia spagnola: nuovi indirizzi di ricerca. Relazioni presentate al convegno tenuto a Milano nel 1995*, Milan 1997.
- <sup>9</sup> N. Raponi, A. Turchini (eds.), *Libri e letture nella milano di san Carlo Borromeo*, Milan 1992.
- <sup>10</sup> C. Di Filippo, *Fra libri e lettere, appunti e progetti manoscritti: la biblioteca ecclesiastica 'selecta' per il governo della Milano di Carlo Borromeo*, in "Studia Borromaica. Saggi e documenti di storia religiosa e civile della prima età moderna", 1998, 12, pp. 17-37.
- <sup>11</sup> Id., *La biblioteca di san Carlo*, in F. Buzzi, D. Zardin (eds.), *Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della "Grande Riforma", Cultura, religione e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento*, [Milan] 1997, pp. 337-349.
- <sup>12</sup> O. Niccoli, *Un aspetto della propaganda religiosa nell'Italia del Cinquecento: opuscoli e fogli volanti*, in *Libri, idee, e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano*, Modena [1987], pp. 29-37.
- <sup>13</sup> G. Ecker, *Einblattbrücke von den Anfängen bis 1555*, 2 vols., Göppingen 1981.
- <sup>14</sup> *EDIT16-ICCU* [online], Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali [cited September 2008]. Available from <<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>>.
- <sup>15</sup> *Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico* [online], Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali [cited September 2008]. Available from <<http://www.iccu.sbn.it>>; it is important to note that Edit16 is not a mere collection of data sent by different libraries, but any bibliographic record that is (or will be) controlled by ICCU staff: at the moment the work is not complete.
- <sup>16</sup> W. V. Hudon, *Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy – Old Questions, New Insights*, in "The American Historical Review", 101, 1996, pp. 783-804.
- <sup>17</sup> E. Sandal, *Editori e tipografi a Milano nel Cinquecento*, 3 vols., Baden-Baden 1977-81, and Id., *L'arte della stampa a Milano nell'età di Carlo V: notizie storiche e annali tipografici (1526-1556)*, Baden-Baden 1988.
- <sup>18</sup> *Dizionario biografico degli italiani, a biographic encyclopaedic dictionary*, edited by Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, which was started in 1960 and has reached the "Marsilio" entry (2008).
- <sup>19</sup> M. Menato, E. Sandal, G. Zappella (eds.), *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, Milano, 1997. The first volume (A-F) is the only one currently available. Its defects are discussed by C. Zannoni, *Recensioni e segnalazioni*, in "Associazione italiana biblioteche. Bollettino AIB", 1998, 4, pp. 540-542 (available online at <http://www.aib.it/aib/boll/1998/98-4-540.htm>) and N. Harris, *Recensioni*, in "Discipline del libro", 1999, 1. (available online at <http://web.uniud.it/libroantico/discipline/disci1/d1harr.html>).
- <sup>20</sup> E. Sandal, *Editori e tipografi a Milano nel cinquecento*, Baden-Baden 1977-81; see also Id., *L'arte della stampa a Milano nell'età di Carlo V: notizie storiche e annali tipografici (1526-1556)*, Baden-Baden 1988.
- <sup>21</sup> See A. Nuovo, *La bottega libraria di Antonio degli Antoni (Milano, 1603)*, in "Discipline del libro. Bollettino della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Udine", 2000, 4. (<http://web.uniud.it/libroantico/discipline/disci4/disci4Nuovo.htm>)

- <sup>22</sup> See G. Cavallo, R. Chartier (eds.), *Storia della lettura*, Rome - Bari 1995. This is a work of reference that can orient further studies in the field. On this topic, see also C. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del cinquecento*, Turin 1976.
- <sup>23</sup> For a critical approach to the concept of “popular reader”, see A. Petrucci (ed.), *Libri editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna. Guida storica e critica*, Rome - Bari, 1977 (I have seen 1989<sup>2</sup>), especially the editor's preface. pp. XVII-XXIII. As regards Milan in particular, see also K. Stevens, *Vincenzo Girardone and the Popular Press in Counter-Reformation Milan: A Case Study*, in “Sixteenth Century Journal”, 1995, 26, pp. 639-659.
- <sup>24</sup> Sandal, *L'arte della stampa a Milano* cit., p. 21.
- <sup>25</sup> Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare affigurati*, Gottardo Da Ponte, Como 1521.
- <sup>26</sup> L. Baldacchini, *Da Ponte, Gottardo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, sub voce.
- <sup>27</sup> F. Ascarelli, M. Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia*, Florence 1989, claims that he died in 1591, but does not explain why. This may be an error.
- <sup>28</sup> K. Stevens, *Sibling Rivalry* cit. pp. 118-122.
- <sup>29</sup> The behaviour of Pacifico is exemplary in this respect. When his business had become established, he left to attend to the bookshop and printworks, and left the daily management to his brother Paolo Gottardo. See K. Stevens, *Sibling Rivalry. Honor, Ambition and Identity in the Printing Trade in Early Modern Milan*, in “Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome”, 2003, 115, pp. 107-122.
- <sup>30</sup> A bibliography on this topic requires many pages. With regard to the ‘editorial aspects’ of this reform, see for example C. Di Filippo, *Libri e letture* cit., and R. Bottoni, *Libri e lettura nelle confraternite milanesi del secondo Cinquecento*, in Raponi, Turchini (eds.), *Stampa, libri* cit.
- <sup>31</sup> Baldacchini, *Da Ponte* cit., says that he carried on the “Tridentine turn” of his family's enterprise.
- <sup>32</sup> W. Allen, *Historia del glorioso martirio di 16 sacerdoti* [The History of the Glorious Martyrdom of 16 Priests], in Milano: per Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1584. I have not standardised the spelling of old books or translated the place of publication into English; instead, I have reproduced the titles as they are in the census Edit 16, in order to help the reader locate them.
- <sup>33</sup> See M. Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: alle origini della pubblica informazione*, Rome - Bari 2002, and also V. Castronovo, *I primi sviluppi della stampa periodica fra Cinque e Seicento*, in C. Capra, V. Castronovo, G. Ricuperati (eds.), *La stampa italiana dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento*, Rome - Bari, 1986, pp. 1-66, and G. Ricuperati, *Giornali e società nell'Italia dell'ancien régime (1688-1789)*, in Capra, Castronovo, Ricuperati (eds.), *La stampa italiana* cit. pp. 67-187, esp. pp. 71-79.
- <sup>34</sup> G. Coelho, *Lettera annale delle cose del Giappone del M.D.LXXXII* [Annual Letter on Affairs in Japan], in Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1585; pp. 120, in-8°. The previous year had seen the release of *Alcune lettere delle cose dal Giappone. Dell'anno 1579. insino al 1581* [Some Letters on Affairs in Japan from 1579 to 1581]. in Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1584, pp. 160, in-8°.
- <sup>35</sup> Pages 105 to 118 contain *Relatione della felice morte di cinque religiosi della Compagnia di Gesù. Et di alcuni altri secolari ammazzati da gentili per la fede, nell'India orientale. Anno 1583. Etc.* [Account of the Happy Death of Five Jesuits. And of Some People Killed for their Faith by Pagans in Eastern India. 1583].
- <sup>36</sup> In 1584, Pacifico obtained the exclusive right to print and sell any work by Jesuits in the State of Milan. See K. Stevens, *The Politics of Liturgical Publishing in Late Sixteenth-Century Milan: Solving the Puzzle of the Missale Ambrosianum (1594)*, in “La Bibliofilia”, 2006, 108, pp. 39-70.
- <sup>37</sup> Pacifico's editions of news from the Far East were as follows:  
*Alcune lettere delle cose del Giappone. Dell'anno 1579. insino al 1581*, in Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1584; pp. 160, in-8°. As the following titles are very similar, a translation is not included.

G. Coelho, *Lettera annale delle cose del Giappone del 1582. Del P. Gasparo Coeglio* [Some Letters about Affairs in Japan], in Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1585, pp. 120, in-8°.

*Avisi venuti novamente da Roma, datti alli XXIII di marzo MDLXXXV. Dell'entrata nel publico Conci-storo, de duoi ambasciatori mandati da tre re potenti del Giappone* [New Notices from Rome, dated March 23rd 1585. Concerning the Entrance into the Public Consistory of Two Ambassadors sent by Three Powerful Kings of Japan], in Milano: per Pacifico Pontio, [1585]; pp. 4, in-4°.

G. Coelho, *Lettera annale delle cose del Giappone del MDLXXXII etc.*, in Milano, appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1585, pp. 120, in-8°.

*Avisi del Giappone de gli anni MDLXXXII, LXXXIII et LXXXIV. Con alcuni altri della Cina del- l'LXXXIII e LXXXIV. Cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù*, in Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1586, pp. 192, in-8°.

*Avisi del Giappone de gli anni MDLXXXII, LXXXIII et LXXXIV. Con alcuni altri della Cina del- l'LXXXIII e LXXXIV. Cauati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù*, in Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1586, pp. 192, in-8°.

*Avvisi della Cina et Giappone del fine dell'anno 1586*, in Milano: per Pacifico Pontio, 1588, 1589<sup>2</sup>, pp. 63, in-8°.

L. Frois, *Lettera annale del Giappone scritta al padre generale della Compagnia di Giesu Alli 20. di febraro 1588*, in Milano: per Pacifico Pontio, 1590, pp. 164, in-8°.

*Lettere del Giappone et della Cina de g'anni 1589 & 1590. Scritte al R.P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesu*, in Milano: per Pacifico Pontio, 1592, pp. 116, in-8°.

*Copia di due lettere annue scritte dal Giappone del 1589 et 1590. L'una dal p. viceprovinciale ... l'altra dal p. Luigi Frois ... Et dalla spagnuola nella italiana lingua tradotte dal p. Gasparo Spitilli*, in Milano: per Pacifico Pontio, 1593, pp. 106, in-8° [copy of two annual letters written from Japan in 1589 and 1590...].

<sup>38</sup> Stevens K., *Printing and Politics*, in N. Raponi, A. Turchini (eds.), *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, Milano, 1992, pp. 97-133. The jurisdictional conflict between archbishop and governor is one of the most studied topics of the Milanese Cinquecento: a useful focus of the discussion is A. Borromeo, *L'arcivescovo Carlo Borromeo, la Corona spagnola e le controversie giurisdizionali a Milano*, in F. Buzzi, D. Zardin (eds.), *Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della "Grande Riforma"*, Cultura, religione e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento, Milan 1997, pp. 257-272; A. Borromeo, *Arch-bishop Carlo Borromeo and the Ecclesiastical Policy of Philip II in the State of Milan*, in J.M. Headley, J.B. Tomaro (eds.), *San Carlo Borromeo, Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, Washington - London - Toronto 1988, pp. 85-111. A. Borromeo, *Le controversie giurisdizionali tra potere laico e potere ecclesiastico nella Milano Spagnola sul finire del Cinquecento*, in "Atti della Accademia di San Carlo. Inaugurazione del IV Anno Accademico", 1981, pp. 43-89.

<sup>39</sup> Di Filippo, *Libri e letture cit.*

<sup>40</sup> S. Benedetti, *Narratione del sindacato dell'illus. sign. Gio. Battista Lercaro, nel suo gouerno de duce della serenissima republica di Genoua, raccolto per Steffano de Benedetti*. In Milano, appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1584; pp. 180, in folio.

<sup>41</sup> Confraternita del SS. Sacramento in Duomo, *Le regole della Compagnia generale del Santiss. Sacra-mento, fundata nella chiesa Metropolitana di Milano*. In Milano, appresso Pacifico Pontio, 1583; pp. 24; in 8°.

<sup>42</sup> Orsoline, *Regola della Compagnia delle vergini della gloriosa vergine, e martire s. Orsola*. In Milano, ap-presso Pacifico Pontio, impressore della Corte Archiepisc., 1585; pp. 48, in 8°.

<sup>43</sup> Orsoline, *Regola generale per tutte quelle vergini della Compagnia di s. Orsola*. In Milano: appresso Pa-cifico Pontio, 1585; pp. 52, in 4°.

- <sup>44</sup> Milano (Arcidiocesi), *Interrogatorio della dottrina christiana. Visto, et corretto per ordine dell'illustriss. ... cardinal Borromeo ... in esecuzione del concilio prouinciale dell'anno MDLXIX*. In Milano: appresso Pacifico Pontio, ad istanza di Matteo Besozzo, 1575; pp. 36, in 8°.
- <sup>45</sup> Milano (Arcidiocesi), *Auvertenze a ciascun curato per fare i libri del stato delle sue anime*. In Milano, appresso Pacifico Pontio, impressore dell'illustriss. et reuer. cardinal Borromeo arcuescouo, 1574. pp. 12, in 12°.
- <sup>46</sup> The First Provincial Council of 1565 also decreed that it was compulsory for the clergy to have certain books (though not many). See C. Di Filippo, *La biblioteca di san Carlo* cit.
- <sup>47</sup> K. Stevens, *Liturgical Publishing in mid-Sixteenth-century Milan: The Contracts for Breviarium Humiliatorum (1548) and Breviarium Ambrosianum (1557)*, in "la Bibliofilia", 1997, 99, pp. 111-134.
- <sup>48</sup> Antonino (santo), *Vita di santa Radegonda reina di Francia, nuouamente tradotta dalla latina in uolgar lingua per il reuerendo don Angelo Ongarello da Ferrara, et estratta dalle Croniche di s. Antonio arciescouo di Fiorenza*. In Milano, dalla stampa di Gio. Battista de' Ponte, & fratelli alla Douana, 1566; pp. 104, in 8°.
- <sup>49</sup> A. M. Vallisneri, *Lettoni venti sopra gli alti, et ineffabili misteri della Messa, in publico lette nella Chiesa di San Giouanni à Conca, da fr.te Alberto Maria Valesnieri da Ferrara Carmelita osseruante. Date in luce ad istanza delli auditori*. In Milano, appresso di Gio. Battista et fratelli de' Ponte à la Douana, 1567; pp. 400, in 8°.
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<sup>59</sup> Santa Sede, *Relatione della canonizatione di San Diego di Alcalá di Henares*, in Roma et ristampata in Milano: per Pacifico Pontio, 1588; pp.35 in-4°. Although it bears the typical title of news editions, ("relatione"), this work is notably thicker than usual for such editions (8-16 pages).

<sup>60</sup> This topic has not received the attention it deserves. Nevertheless, Infelise, *Prima dei giornali* cit., is a very good starting point. See also Capra, Castronovo, Ricuperati, *La stampa italiana* cit.

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