

NELSON H. MINNICH, *The first printed editions of the modern councils : from Konstanz to Lateran V : (1499-1526)*, in «Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento» (ISSN: 0392-0011), 29 (2003), pp. 447-468.

Url: <https://heyjoe.fbk.eu/index.php/anisig>

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The First Printed Editions of the Modern Councils: from Konstanz to Lateran V (1499-1526)

by *Nelson H. Minnich*

Abstract – From 1499 to 1526 the *editiones principes* of the five late medieval/early modern general councils were edited and printed: Basel-Lausanne (1431-1449) by Sebastian Brant in 1499, Konstanz (1414-1418) by Hieronymus de Croaria in 1500, Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon (1511/12) by Zaccaria Ferreri in 1512, Lateran V (1512-1517) by Antonio del Monte in 1521, and Ferrara-Florence (1438/39) by Bartholomaeus Abramus Siringi in 1526. Their editors were motivated by the desire to carry out the wishes of ecclesiastical authorities ordering their publication, to save the councils from oblivion and encourage the observance of their decrees, to secure personal fame and public benefit, and to promote civic or national pride. The materials included in their conciliar collections grew over time: from basically just decrees to including information on proceedings, participants, sermons, mandates of adhering civil rulers, letters, and votes. While Paolo Manuzio seems to have followed the model of Brant's edition of Basel for his Roman edition of Trent (1564), Gian Battista Bozzola was closer to del Monte's edition of Lateran V when publishing his edition of Trent in Brescia in 1563.

On 18 March 1564 Paolo Manuzio published in Rome the first official edition of all the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent. In his prefatory letter to the pious reader, Manuzio revealed that there was also a plan to publish the conciliar *acta*. This project to put into print the protocols of the proceedings of the Council had been ordered by pope Pius IV, but would never be completed in his lifetime¹. Its final realization over four centuries later in ways that would have exceeded the pope's wildest imaginations is what we commemorate and celebrate with this conference. Exactly one century separates the publication in 1901 of the first tome of the monumental *Concilium Tridentinum* edited by Sebastian Merkle from the appearance of volume 2 of tome 13 edited by Klaus Ganzer. The projected twofold publication of the documents of Trent announced by Manuzio in 1564 can be seen as recapitulating in some way the almost-quarter-century

¹ H. JEDIN, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2 vols, London 1957-1961, vol. 2, pp. 501-502.

publication history of the first printings of the decrees and *acta* of the five councils prior to Trent, from Konstanz to Lateran V. In 1499 the stripped down decrees of Basel first appeared and in 1526 the *acta* of Florence with their fulsome account of the proceedings and summary or text of conciliar speeches was published. My paper this morning will explore a few questions related to this publication history. What led their editors to publish these conciliar collections? What did they chose to include in them? To what extent did they and the first editors of the Tridentine documents possibly model their work on earlier printed editions of councils?

A variety of reasons led Sebastian Brant (c. 1457-1521) to edit the decrees of the Council of Basel (1431-1448). To supplement his income as a professor of law at the University of Basel, he published a number of legal texts. From 1493 to 1494, on the urgings of Johannes Froben, he had produced editions of four basic canon law texts used by students: the *Decretum* (c. 1148) of Gratian (1493), the *Decretales* (1234) of Gregory IX (1493), the *Liber sextus decretalium* (1298) of Gregory IX that were published by Boniface VIII (1494), and the *Extravagantes* (1317) of Clement V (1494). In that year he also edited the *Margarita decretalium*, an alphabetical index to Gregory's *Decretales* and in 1500 he published the treatise *Tractatus de modo studendi in utroque iure* of Giovanni Battista Caccialupi². Having established himself as a major editor of juristic texts, it is not surprising the he was approached by some of the book dealers of Basel to produce an edition of the decrees of the Council of Basel. According to his dedicatory letter, they were fearful that the memory of the council, which had brought fame to their city and benefits to the Church, was in danger of slipping into oblivion³ Brant was personally interested in the council because by its decree

² B. HALPORN, *Sebastian Brant as an Editor of Juristic Texts*, in «Gutenberg-Jahrbuch», 59, 1984, pp. 36-51, here pp. 36-44.

³ *Decreta concilii Basiliensis*, Basel, per Jacobum Wolff de Pforzheim, 1499, sig. aiii-v for his dedicatory letter to cardinal Giovanni Antonio de Sangiorgio dated 15 March 1499 in which he states, among other things that he has dedicated this editon to him because the publisher asked him to dedicate the work to someone from among his preceptors and superiors who was worthy of this honor; Brant chose de Sangiorgio because of his juristic erudition and moral rectitude and the letter he had received from Johann Schelewort, the cardinal's personal secretary and dean of the church of Emmerich, testifying to the cardinal's kindness toward Brant; B. HALPORN, *Brant*, pp. 44-45. Cardinal de Sangiorgio was born of a noble family of Piacenza, became professor of canon law at the University of Pavia, authored works on appeals and the uses of feudal property and wrote commentaries on the decretals, was appointed an auditor of the Rota by Innocent VIII, then referendarius of the Signature, bishop of Alessandria in 1483, and cardinal in 1493 by Alexamder VI, was «noted for his great judicial learning and the blamelessness of his life», and was con-

Elucidantibus of 1439 it had sided with the «immaculists» in defining the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a teaching he ardently supported against the attacks of Dominican friars⁴. He claimed that friars attack the legitimacy of the council because of this decree and that they are joined in their attacks by those who support the cause of Eugenius IV. While asserting that he wished to affirm nothing, Brant went on in his letter to argue the case for the legitimacy of the council: its celebration was ordered by the councils of Konstanz and Pavia-Siena, it was legitimately and properly convoked and assembled, cardinal legate Giulio Cesarini presided, the princes of Christendom and three hundred and sixty-two fathers from various nations attended, it dispelled error, and it worked for the healing of schisms and for the reform of the Church, but Eugenius IV transferred it to Ferrara and dissension followed. Whether it became a conciliabulum or synagogue after the transfer, Brant would not say, but he insisted that at least in its beginnings it had been beneficial and legitimate⁵.

Which manuscripts he used to produce his edition of the decrees of the Council of Basel is unclear, but the edition he published in 1499 became the standard text and was reprinted twice by Zaccaria Ferreri (1479-1524) (Milan: Gotardus Ponticus, 1511; and Paris: Jehan Petit, 1512) and was incorporated into the collection of general councils produced by Jacques Merlin (c. 1470-1541) (Paris: Jean Cornillau for Galliot Du Pré, 1524; reprinted Paris: François Regnault, 1535) and by Peter Crabbe, OFM (c. 1471-1553/4) (Köln: Peter Quentel, 1530; reprinted in an enlarged edition in 1538)⁶.

sidered «one of the six best and most God-fearing of the cardinals» under Alexander VI; see J.F. VON SCHULTE, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, 3 vols, Stuttgart, Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1875-1880, vol. 2, pp. 338-341, and L. VON PASTOR, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols, London 1891-1953, vol. 5, pp. 416, 515. He represented the Rota on the reform commission of Alexander and was active in the Signatura Gratiae; see W. VON HOFMANN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation*, 2 vols, Roma 1914, vol. 1, p. 309, n. 2, vol. 2, pp. 132, 234.

⁴ *Decreta concilii Basiliensis*, sig. aiiir-v; B. HALPORN, *Brant*, p. 45; E.H. ZEYDEL, *Sebastian Brant* (Twayne's World Authors Series, 13), New York 1967, p. 57.

⁵ *Decreta concilii Basiliensis*, sig. aiiir-v.

⁶ J.K. FARGE, *Jacques Merlin*, in P.G. BIETENHOLZ (ed), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols, Toronto 1985-1987, vol. 2, pp. 435-436; *Conciliorum Quatuor Generalium ... Aliorum Aliquot Conciliorum Generalium*, 2 tomes in one (with colophon: Colonie ex officina literaria honesti civis Petri Quentell Anno a nativitate Domini M.CCCC.XXX. mense Martio), II, sig. clover leaf i recto, with letter of Jacques Merlin stating that he has produced only the authentic texts, pure, true,

About a year after this publication of the decrees of the Council of Basel by a professor of both civil and canon law at the university in that town, there appeared in Hagenau on 11 April 1500 from the press of Heinrich Gran the *Acta scitu dignissima docteqe concinnata Constantiensis concilii celebratissimi* edited by an ordinary professor of both laws at the University of Ingolstadt, Hieronymus de Croaria⁷. In a letter to him dated 5 September 1499 from Konrad Summerhart, humanist, professor of theology, and former colleague at the University of Tübingen, Hieronymus was exhorted to save the Council of Konstanz (1414-1418) from oblivion by publishing its acts and to gain thereby great fame and gratitude. Summerhart claimed that this council put others into the shadows because of its great achievements of having healed schism, extinguished heresy, and defended the sacraments of the Catholic faith and because it was so well attended⁸. Responding in a letter addressed to Summerhart and to Jakob Locher, the poet laureate who had taught at Ingolstadt and had furnished a decatisch or ten-line poem to adorn the back of the *acta's* title page, Hieronymus claimed that he was deeply moved on receiving the epistle sent by a scholar so esteemed by men of letters. Among the other reasons that also led him to publish the acts of Konstanz were his love for the Fatherland, the benefit he felt that would accrue to scholars and others by their publication, and the support of Johann Rynman who saw to the careful printing of the material on the Council of Konstanz that Hieronymus was able to obtain⁹.

corrected, and sincere; the *acta* of Basel appear on ff. CXXXVIIv-CXCVIr (but with no acknowledgment that he has used Brant's edition); *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 51, Paris 1929, col. 185 for the Milan 1511 and Paris 1512 editions of Basel reprinted by Ferreri.

⁷ Hieronymus de Croaria had been rector twice (in 1492 and again in 1496) of the University of Tübingen, before leaving that university to become ordinary professor of canon and civil law at the University of Ingolstadt in 1497; see H. HURTER, *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae*, 2nd rev. ed., Innsbruck 1906, reprinted New York, vol. 2, col. 842.

⁸ *Acta scitu dignissima docteqe concinnata Constantiensis concilii celebratissimi*, Hagenau, per industrium Henricum Gran inibi incolam, expensis pervidi viri Johannis Rynman, millesimo quingentesimo die XI mensis Aprilis, sig. A1v. On Konrad Summerhart, a representative of the *via antiqua* and colleague of Gabriel Biel at the University of Tübingen, who was also skilled in humanistic rhetoric, see J.H. OVERFIELD, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany*, Princeton NJ 1984, pp. 47, 99-100.

⁹ *Acta Constantiensis concilii*, sig. A2v. On Jakob Locher (1471-1528), a former student in Basel of Sebastian Brant whose *Narrenschiff* he translated into Latin in 1497, crowned poet laureate that same year by emperor Maximilian I, graduate of the University of Ingolstadt and successor of Conrad Celtis as lecturer in poetry there from 1498 until forced out due to quarreling with a leading theologian colleague, see I. GUENTHER, *Jacob Locher*, in P.G. BIETENHOLZ (ed), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, vol. 2, p. 338 and L.W. SPITZ, *Conrad Celtis*:

Hieronymus began his edition by identifying the source of his materials. He reprinted the decree of the Council of Basel that had set up a commission to gather into one volume the acts of the great Council of Konstanz. Those deputized for this task were the conciliar cardinals Louis de Lapalud, OSB, and Juan Gonzalez de Segovia, bishops Guillaume Didier of Vercelli and Thomas Livingstone, O. Cist., of Dunkeld, the masters of theology Thomas Courcelles of the University of Paris and Martino Bonifilii, and the doctor of decrees Johann Bachenstein, archdeacon of Zagreb¹⁰. After much work, they completed their task on 4 February 1442. The volume consisted of 98 numbered folios. The deputies signed the document and had it sealed by the conciliar notary Michael Galteri. A copy of this volume was made by Johann Huober of Niederdorf (also called Villabassa) in the Pustertal region northwest of Brixen, who was a master of arts and bachelor of sacred theology. He testified on 23 May 1490 that his version faithfully followed the sealed copy made at Basel. The accuracy of Huober's version

The German Arch-Humanist, Cambridge MA 1957, pp. 50, 54, 60. In his poem (sig. aiv), Locher claimed that Hieronymus' edition of Konstanz brought deserved fame to him and to the council and pleasure to scholars.

¹⁰ On Lapalud (also de Varambone) who was a nobleman from Bresse in Savoy, a Benedictine abbot of Tournons, participant at the Council of Konstanz and deputy of the French nation at the Council of Pavia-Siena, initially a personal friend of Eugenius IV who named him bishop of Lausanne in 1431, ambassador of the Council of Basel to Milan and Rome in 1432, transferred to Avignon against his will by Eugenius IV, appointed to the cardinalate by antipope Felix V in 1440 and by Nicholas V in 1449, transferred to Saint Jean de Maurienne by Felix V in 1441, and died at his châteaux de Chamoux en Maurienne in 1451, see K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, 2nd ed. rev. by L. SCHMITZ-KALLENBERG, Münster 1923, vol. 2, pp. 9, 11, 100, 187 and J. SCHWEIZER, *Le cardinal Louis de Lapalud et son procès pour la possession du siège épiscopal de Lausanne* (Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, 20), Paris 1929, pp. 20-25, 36-48, 177-183, 198-199. On Juan Gonzalez de Segovia, the leading intellectual of the council, who was made a cardinal by antipope Felix V in 1440 and almost made bishop of Saint Jean de Maurienne and then of Saint-Paul-trois-châteaux but finally appointed bishop in the universal church, see A. BLACK, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Basel*, London 1979, pp. 118-193 and K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 188 Maurianen. n. 2, 255 Tricestrin. n. 3. On Guillaume Didier, former bishop of Belley who was transferred to Vercelli in 1437, see K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, pp. 103, 265. On Thomas Livingstone, a graduate of St. Andrews, student of theology at Köln, Cistercian abbot of Dundrennan, prominent person at the Council of Basel, appointed bishop of Dunkeld by Felix V in 1440 and as bishop in the universal Church by Nicholas V, see J.H. BURNS, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle*, Glasgow 1962, pp. 12-13, 68, 73. On Thomas Courcelles, see M. PREVOST, *Courcelles, Thomas de*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, vol. 13, Paris 1956, col. 951.

in 123 folios was certified by Mathias Steinbach of the diocese of Eichstätt¹¹. Hieronymus apparently used the copy made by Huober.

The acts of the Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon (1511/12) appeared in two parts without clear indication of the identity of their editor, printer, or date of publication. The identity of their editor is, however, established in the letter of Leo X (1513-1521) dated 11 December 1513 that absolved Zaccaria Ferreri (1479-1524) of his involvement in the Pisan Schism. Among the activities of which he repented, according to the pope, were: «you copied and organized and signed the decrees or constitutions of the said conciliabulum and saw to their printing and publication»¹². The first part of the acts, entitled *Promotiones & progressus sacrosancti pisani concilii moderni indicti & incobati anno domini .M.D.XI.*, covering the first eight sessions from the opening one in Pisa on 1 November 1511 to that in Milan on 19 April 1512, was published in Paris on 23 August 1512 by the press of Jehan Petit according to Augustin Renaudet and was reprinted a century later (1612) also in Paris by the press of «Melchior Mondiere», in the same year in which the fourth tome of the Roman edition of church councils appeared without the material on Pisa. The second part of the acts, that covered sessions nine in Asti on June 12th, ten in Lyon on July 10th, and the anniversary session in Lyon on 1 November 1512, was entitled *Decreta sacrosanctae tertiae pisanae Synodi praelibate de eius e Mediolano translatione* and was not included in the 1612 reprint¹³.

Ferreri, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of S. Amabile on Monte Subasio, who claimed he was a doctor of theology and of both laws, was the logical person to edit these decrees. The year earlier, he had published on the press of Gotardus Ponticus in Milan on 21 June 1511 the version of the acts of

¹¹ *Acta Constantiensis concilii*, sig. A3v.

¹² ODORICO RAINALDO, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII. ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronius*, vol. 12, Lucca, Typis Leonardi Venturini, 1755, 24 (1513, LI). On Ferreri, see among other studies, E. STÖVE, Art. *Ferreri, Zaccaria*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 46, 1996, pp. 808-811 and A. FERRAJOLI, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X (1514-1516)*, ed. V. DE CAPRIO («Europa delle corti»). Centro studi sulle società di antico regime, Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 23), Roma 1984, pp. 531-544 (entry XXV in the reprint of his 1918 study that appeared in «Archivio della R. Società romana di Storia patria», 41, 1918, pp. 87-110, here pp. 91-104).

¹³ A. RENAUDET, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, Paris 1953², reprinted Genève 1981, xxxi, nr. 49, 544 n. 4. The reprint was entitled *Acta primi concilii Pisani celebrati ad tollendum schisma anno Domini .M.CCCC. IX. et concilii Senensis M.CCCC.XXIII. ex codice MS. Item constitutiones factae in diversis sessionibus sacri generalis concilii Pisani ex bibliotheca regia, Lutetiae Parisiorum, Sumptis Melchior Mondiere, 1612.*

Konstanz edited by Hieronymus de Croaria, and on 29 June those of Basel edited by Sebastian Brant, but in both cases without identifying their editors. He prefaced his edition of Konstanz with a dedicatory letter to cardinals Bernardino López de Carvajal, Guillaume Briçonnet, and Francisco de Borja dated 2 April 1511. Ferreri called the attention of the cardinals to the great benefits to the Church that derive from holding councils and noted in particular the achievement of the Council of Konstanz that got rid of three popes and ended the forty-year schism caused by Urban VI. Divine wisdom dwells in these assemblies, their fathers examine the health of the Church, prescribe medicine or amputations, uncover errors and remove heresies, resolve doubts, eradicate vices and plant virtues, stabilize Christian princes, and bind the Christian faithful together in holy love. He ended his letter by referring his readers to a treatise he had earlier published on issues related to general councils¹⁴. By his study of councils and re-publication of the decrees of the two previous councils, Ferreri had clearly established his credentials as a possible editor of the acts of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon.

The council fathers on two occasions ordered that the acts of their proceedings be published¹⁵. That the task was given to Ferreri was probably also based on the intimate knowledge he had of the source materials related to this particular council. He was appointed the protonotary of this council, a scrutator of votes, and preached at the opening, second, fifth, ninth, and anniversary sessions. Together with Nicolas Chalmot, a doctor of laws, vice-chancellor of the University of Poitiers, and conciliar scribe of the Gallican Nation, he signed a copy of the printed acts testifying to their accuracy¹⁶. At the end of the notarized copy of the acts is a statement by Chalmot that the above decrees of the Third [!] Pisan Synod were extracted from the original documents written and signed by the hand of the principal scribe

¹⁴ *Acta scitu dignissima docteqe concinnata Constantiensis concilii celebratissimi*, ed. [Hieronymus de Croaria and] Zaccaria Ferreri, Milano per Gotardum Ponticum, 1511, sig. aiir-v [really air-v].

¹⁵ *Promotiones & progressus sacrosancti pisani concilii moderni indicti & incobati anno domini .M.D.XI.*, f. [XLIV] («suprascripta decreta ex originalibus de mandato synodi ... imprimentur» – autograph note in Ferreri's hand found in the copy preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana as R.G. Concilia II, 55; Membr. II, 23) and *Decreta sacrosanctae tertiae pisanae Synodi praelibate de eius e Mediolano translatione*, sig. [Aiiir] («decreta ex originalibus de mandato synodi imprimentur» – autograph note in Ferreri's hand).

¹⁶ *Promotiones*, ff. 16v (protonotary), 17v (scrutator), 14v (preacher at opening session), 16v (at second), 28r (at fifth); *Decreta* sig. A2r (at ninth) and A3r (at eleventh session or anniversary celebration); for examples of his signature testifying to the accuracy of the acts at the end of each session, see *Promotiones*, ff. 15r, 16v, 17v, 24v, 25r, 27v, 32r, 38r, 39r, 41v, and *Decreta*, ff. A1r, A1v, A2v, A3r.

(*dictatoris*) specially deputized by the synod for this task [i.e., Ferreri] and that the synod wished them to be considered faithful to the original *schedae* and minutes, and it sanctioned and decreed their use¹⁷.

The acts of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17) were published in Rome on 31 July 1521 by the press of Giacomo Mazzochio, who styled himself as printer to the Roman Academy¹⁸. The edition is preceded by a letter of Leo X dated 25 May 1521 and addressed to prelates, doctors, scholars of universities and *studia*, and the faithful. The pope stated that cardinal Antonio del Monte, acting on a papal mandate and after carefully checking the documents word for word, has collected into one volume the bulls and other deeds of the Lateran Council. The pope assured the reader that this version is reliable and can be used in judicial proceedings and schools. He also granted to Mazzochio a ten-year monopoly on the publication of the acts¹⁹. Leo X's choice of cardinal del Monte to produce the *acta* of Lateran V was logical given the cardinal's extensive involvement in the convocation of the Council, in the production of its decrees, and membership in various important conciliar committees²⁰.

In a letter to Leo X prefacing the acts, del Monte told the pope that Lateran V should be considered the greatest achievement of his pontificate, just as Konstanz was held to be the glory of the reign of Martin V. Desirous that Lateran V and the pope's own name would become immortal, and moved by the benefits that would accrue to the Christian republic, Leo

¹⁷ *Decreta*, sig. A3v: «Extracta et transsumpta fuere supradicta decreta sacrosancte synodi pisane tercie ex proprio originali manu principalis dictatoris ad hoc specialiter deputati scripto et subsignato que tamquam propria originalia vera et indubitata ipsa sacrosancta synodus haberi voluit fidem que indubiam hiis veluti scedis ac minutis originariis adhiberi sanxit ... que decrevit. N. Chalmot [distinctive personal mark] Sacrosancte synodi prothonotarius». At the first session it was decided that Zaccarias Ferreri of Vicenza, abbot of Subasio, Opicinus de Rotariis, Antonius de Andraea del Monte (Pesulanus and apostolic protonotary), and Claudius Choure, together with Ambrosius Zancha and Franciscus Bultrasio, legal advisers, «protonotarii apostolici sint principales ad ordinandum et revidendum scripturas et decreta huius sacrae synodi»; Nicolas Chalmot, a doctor of both laws, was then appointed one of the seven scribes for the Gallican Nation who were deputized and assigned «ad dicta scribenda decreta»; see *Promotiones*, ff. 9v-10r, 16r.

¹⁸ *Sa. Lateranense concilium novissimum sub Iulio .II. et Leone .X. celebratum*, ed. ANTONIO DEL MONTE, Romae, Jacobus Mazochius, 1521, f. 207r: «Iacobus Mazochius Romanae Academiae Bibliopola excuit, Anno virgineipartus Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigessimoprmo: Die vero ultima Iulii». The *acta* are reprinted in MANSI.

¹⁹ *Concilium Lateranense*, sig. AAiv and MANSI 32: 651A.

²⁰ N.H. MINNICH, *Paride de Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council*, in «Annarium Historiae Conciliorum», 14, 1982, pp. 370-460, here p. 454.

X prudently ordered that everything done at the council be gathered into one volume and be published. The pope commissioned for this task del Monte who was dedicated to the service of the pope and saw in the task a joining together of fame and the common good. Del Monte claimed that he himself had urged Julius II then at Bologna to convoke this council as a means for exterminating the Pisan Schism. The council went on, not only to extinguish the schism, but to provide a way of electing popes without simony, to reform all orders of society, to become a model on how to conduct a council, to resolve doubts on difficult matters, and to decree a crusade. Del Monte stated that in editing the acts of Lateran V he consulted judiciously not only the more recent but also the most ancient councils and was guided by the best legal principles (*iure optimo*). He included in his one volume the constitutions promulgated by the council, the speeches given, the letters sent by Christian princes, everything done in the twelve sessions, and other things pertaining to a council. He left out the few things he could not find because they were lost. What was transcribed from the original documents he most carefully emended before consigning it to the most faithful printer Giacomo Mazzochio for publication. This volume has fulfilled the pope's desire that there be put into an authentic form those things that were done at the council with the greatest labor for the increase of the Christian republic so that they can be known by all Christian princes and be preserved forever holy, inviolate, and incorrupt²¹.

The *acta* of the Council of Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1438-1445) were published in Rome on 22 May 1526 by the press of Antonio Bladio of Asula. Their editor was the Cretan, Bartholomaeus Abramus Siringi, bishop of Ario (1517-1536) and then of Castellaneta (1536-1544), who personally paid for the printing²². He seems to have entered the service of Benedetto Accolti (1497-1549), archbishop of Ravenna (1524-1549)²³. This wealthy

²¹ *Concilium Lateranense*, sig. AAiir-v, MANSI 32: 652A-E.

²² On his episcopal career, see G. FEDALTO, *La chiesa latina in oriente*, vol. 2: *Hierarchia latina orientis* (Studi religiosi, 3), Verona 1976, p. 48 (Ario) and K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 3, p. 117 (Ario), p. 157 (Castellaneta, a see he resigned to his underaged nephew of the same name, n. 4 records his paying for the printing out of his own pocket), p. 166 (Chiron, n. 3: Clement VII in 1526 united the church of Chiron to Ario, a union that apparently lasted until 1531 when Siringi seems to have resigned it and received a pension of 100 ducats), p. 166 (Cissamen, n. 3: Leo X joined Kisamos to Ario, a union that apparently lasted from 1520 to 1524).

²³ On Accolti, see E. MASSA, Art. *Accolti, Benedetto, il Giovane*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 1, 1960, pp. 101-102; he published works on law and poetry and was a friend of leading Roman humanists. He was suspected of having tried to poison his uncle cardinal Pietro in 1516 and of having successfully poisoned his brother bishop Francesco

and immoral Florentine jurist and curial official ordered Siringi to translate from the Greek into Latin the acts of the council that up until then had not been translated. In his prefatory letter to Accolti, Siringi protested in vain that he was insufficiently skilled in Latin and that the task was made all the more difficult because of the technical theological terms and rhetorical devices that were to be found in the speeches at the council. He also complained that the Greek was confused, barbarous, and scarcely intelligible. To spare the reader unnecessary tedium, he had deleted from his translation the account of all the honors that had been conferred on the Byzantine emperor as he traveled about Italy. Nonetheless, to carry out his obligations to the archbishop, Siringi produced the desired translation with the greatest of efforts and with the help of the Holy Spirit. Following Siringi's prefatory letter is another letter dated 22 April 1526, one that Accolti had secured from Clement VII, granting him a monopoly for ten years on the printing and sale of the acts of Florence, lest others try to profit from his labors²⁴. In 1538 Peter Quentel reprinted this translation in his collection of general councils²⁵.

in 1523; he fathered three or four illegitimate children. Accolti purchased the cardinalate on the eve of the Sack of Rome when Clement was desperate for cash and lost his library during the Sack; see L. VON PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, vol. 9, p. 384 (cardinalate), p. 414 (library lost), vol. 10, p. 199 (he purchased in 1532 the office of legate to the marches of Ancona for 19,000 ducats), and K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 3, p. 19a n. 2, p. 283 (Ravenna).

²⁴ The dedicatory letter is reprinted in *Concilia omnia tam generalia quam particularia ab apostolorum temporibus in hunc usque diem a sanctissimis patribus celebrata* and *Conciliorum Omnium tam generalium quam particularium a temporibus Agapeti papae usque ad Eugenium papam quartum ex vetustissimis bibliothecis collectorum tomus secundus*, 2 vols, Coloniae M.D.XXXVIII. mense Septembris Petrus Quentel excudebat, vol. 2, ff. 753v-774r and in E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux XVe et XVI siècles*, vol. 3, Paris 1903, reprint 1963, pp. 305-309; on the claim that the original publication date was 1521 and not 1526, see J. GILL, *The Printed Editions of the Practica of the Council of Florence*, reprinted in his *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*, New York 1964, pp. 125-130, here pp. 125-126, Gill claims that Siringi's translation «first appeared in 1521». V. LAURENT, *L'édition princeps des Actes du Concile de Florence (1577)*, in «*Orientalia Periodica Christiana*», 21, 1955, pp. 165-189, here p. 180, speculates that Siringi used as the basis of his translation a Greek codex of the conciliar acts that he had found on Crete where there was a college of fifteen priests founded by Bessarion and dedicated to good letters. J. Gill (p. 126) counters that Siringi was commissioned in Italy to do the translation and may have found his manuscript there.

²⁵ *Concilia generalia*, edd. MERLIN and CRABBE (1538), vol. 2, ff. DCCLIIIv-DCCCXXVv. Gill seems to have erred in claiming that Siringi's translation first appeared in 1521 and was reprinted in the collection of Jacques Merlin (1524); J. GILL, *Printed Editions*, p. 125. The collection of JACQUES MERLIN, *Tomus primus quattor conciliorum generalium. [Secundus tomus ...] Quadraginta septem conciliorum provincialium authenticorum ...*, Paris, Jean Cornillau

The materials included by these editors in their editions of the councils changed over time. Brant's edition of the Council of Basel, entitled *Decreta concilii Basiliensis*, began with the statement that it contained «decreta, constitutiones, acta, ordinationes caeteraque gesta in sacro generalie Basiliensi concilio». Brant's collection of material contained as its title indicated almost exclusively the decrees of the council: those that ordered its celebration, those issued by the Council, the letters sent to the Council by the Byzantine emperor and patriarch of Constantinople, and the bull of Nicholas V approving its decrees. The rare element that crept into this collection of decrees that suggested something from the *acta* was statement from the first session that the document appointing the conciliar officials had been read to the assembly and approved by all. Brant probably found these decrees in the libraries of the monasteries, university, and notable persons of the city of Basel²⁶.

The Council of Basel had been careful to leave behind a collection of its proceedings. Those appointed for this task at the first session on 14 December 1431 were Lucas de Wisso, Cesarini's secretary, and Rudolphus Sapiens [Savant] of the diocese of Geneva. To oversee, correcting and emending if necessary, their work, the council appointed Henricus Nithart, a doctor of decrees, and Louis of Paris, licenced in decrees and dean of the church of Blessed Mary Marielete de Anessiato of the diocese of Geneva²⁷. On 21 May 1436 the conciliar deputation for common affairs appointed Louis de Lapalud, OSB, to collect into two volumes its *gesta*. Four days later at a general congregation, the various deputations agreed to collect the *acta* of the public sessions and general congregations and appointed deputies for this task: Louis de Lapalud for the deputation on common affairs, Thomas de Courcelles for the deputations on reform and faith, and Alexander (d.

for Galliot Du Pré, 1524, reprinted in Paris by the press of François Regnalut in 1535, ended with the Council of Basel and did not contain Ferrara-Florence. See FRANÇOIS SALMON, *Traité de l'Étude des Conciles, et de leur Collections ...*, Paris, Chez Robert-Marc d'Espilly, 1724, pp. 197-199; H. QUENTIN OSB, *Jean-Dominique Mansi et les grandes collections conciliaires: Étude d'histoire littéraire*, Paris 1900, pp. 10-12, and J.K. FARGE, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology, 1500-1536* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Subsidia Mediaevalia, 10), Toronto 1980, p. 330.

²⁶ On the printed sources, see A.P.J. MEIJKNECHT, *Le concile de Bâle, aperçu général sur ses sources*, in «Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique», 65, 1970, pp. 465-473; on the manuscripts in Basel, see H. MÜLLER, *L'Érudition gallicane et le concile de Bâle* (Baluze, Mabillon, Daguesseau, Iselin, Bignon), in «Francia», 9, 1981, pp. 531-555, here pp. 536-540, 545, 549; on the reading and approval of the document appointing the conciliar officials, see *Decreta Concilii Basiliensis*, ed. BRANT, sig. biiiiv.

²⁷ *Decreta concilii Basiliensis*, ed. BRANT, sig. biiiir-v.

1439), the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Mary Magdalene at Vézelay, and the Venetian doctor of decrees, Symon de Valle, for the deputation on peace²⁸. As stated at the beginning of Brant's edition, the material he used had been «collecta, visa, et ordinata per nos prothonotarios et scribas infrascriptos ad id per dictum Dominum praesidentem [Giulio Cesarini] sacro eodem approbante concilio deputatos», seeming to imply that the material was provided by the notaries appointed at the first session.

To produce the official records of its proceedings, the Council of Konstanz at its first session appointed as conciliar notaries: Aragonus de Malspinis (later replaced by Jacobus Rodim of Genoa), Paulus de Iuvenaco, Hermann de Duverck, Thomas Polcensis, and Johannes Klempeyo, who were to have special care over all the conciliar records so that they agreed and were put into a fitting order. As their alternates the following were appointed: Anthonius de Luschi, Angelus de Reate, Job de Gestis, and Petrus de Irilia, notaries and scribes of the council²⁹. The records of Konstanz brought to Basel were not well organized. At a meeting of the deputation on common affairs on 10 October 1440, it was proposed that deputies be appointed to collect the *gesta* of Konstanz into one or more volumes and have them confirmed (*innovandi*) by the Council of Basel. Appointed for this task on October 19th were four men: the bishops Gilberto de Corberia of Vich, a doctor of decrees, and Aymericus de Segaudo of Mondovi, former prior of the Order of St. Antoine of Vienne; François Decret, a doctor of decrees, abbot of the Augustinian abbey of Notre-Dame de Abondance in the Chablais region of Haut-Savoy and ambassador of the duke of Savoy to the council; and Wilhelm of Konstanz, a doctor³⁰. In the congregation of 29 October 1440 all the deputations agreed that deputies be appointed to collect the *acta* of Konstanz³¹. On 8 May 1441 the deputation on common affairs set up a committee to put into an «authentic form» under the seal

²⁸ J. HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense: Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Concils von Basel*, 8 vols, Basel 1896-1936, vol. 4, pp. 142: 24-26, 148: 38, 149: 5; J. HELMRATH, *Das Baseler Konzil: Forschungsstand und Problem* (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, 32), Köln 1987, p. 157.

²⁹ *Conciliorum Quatuor Generalium Tomus Primus, Aliorum aliquot conciliorum generalium Tomus Secundus*, ed. JACQUES MERLIN and PETER CRABBE, Köln, ex Officina Petri Quentell, 1530, tome 2, f. 94r.

³⁰ J. HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, vol. 6, p. 812, vol. 7, pp. 259: 24, 266: 8-12; K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 2, pp. 103 Bellicen. n. 1, 196, 267 Vicen. n. 1; J. GARIN, *Abondance (Abbey d')*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 1, 1912, col. 152.

³¹ J. HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, vol. 7, p. 270: 12-13.

of the Council of Basel the *acta* of the Council of Konstanz, given that the decrees of that council «confer utility for the strongest defense of ecclesiastical authority and the protection of sacred councils». The principal member of this committee was to be cardinal Juan Gonzalez de Segovia; appointed to represent the French nation was Thomas de Courcelles, the German nation Thomas Livingstone, the Italian Guillaume Didier, and the Spanish Bernardo de Bosco; to perform the task of writing two unnamed clerics³². In an apparent effort to bring the task to completion, on 25 October 1441 the deputation for common affairs appointed two men, Guillaume Didier and Johann Bachenstein; they needed to consult only Louis de Laplaud³³. When the task was finally completed on 4 February 1442, the collection of *acta* was signed by Lapalud, Gonzalez, Didier, Livingstone, Courcelles, Bonifilii, and Bachenstein, and it was sealed by the conciliar notary Galteri. Their *acta* were put into print by Hieronymus de Croaria in 1500.

This edition of the *acta* of Konstanz recorded not only the council's decrees, but also gave an account of what happened at each session: its date, names of important persons present (pope, princes, ambassadors, etc.), the liturgical practices followed (procession, which Mass was celebrated, litanies sung, prayers said), sermons preached (by whom, theme), schedules proposed (by whom read, text, whether approved), and on the rare occasion the names of those who subscribed to a document (e.g., at the 20th session the names of those prelates, princes, and procurators who signed the process against Pedro de Luna, the Avignonese pope).

Ferreri, who reprinted in 1511 both the *decreta* of the Council of Basel edited by Sebastian Brant in 1499 and the *acta* of the Council of Konstanz published in 1500 by Hieronymus de Croaria, seems to have used the edition of Konstanz as the model for his *acta* of the Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon. He expanded significantly the number of documents included to justify the convocation of the council³⁴. His principal innovations were the listing

³² *Ibidem*, p. 363: 5-20.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 440: 21-28.

³⁴ *Promotiones & progressus*, ff. 1r-13v. Ferreri reprinted: the decree *Frequens* of the 39th session of Konstanz (f. 1r), *Sacrosancta* of the 16th session of Basel (ff. 1r-2r), the bull *Dudum sacrum* (1433) of Eugenius IV confirming the Council of Basel from its beginning to session 16 inclusive ff. 2r-v), the electionary capitularies sworn in the conclave that elected Julius II that included the promise to convoke a council and were confirmed by him after his election (ff. 2v-4r), documents appointing procurators for the convocation of a council signed by emperor Maximilian I on 16 January 1510/11 (ff. 4v-5r) and by Louis XII of France on 15 February 1511 (ff. 5r-v) that were presented to a group of cardinals in Milan on 16 May 1511 (ff. 4r-v), the agreement that the conditions for calling a council had been

of the names of those present at the opening and fourth sessions and the inclusion of a summary of the sermons and on occasion, when he was the preacher, the text of his sermon. As the Council's protonotary, he had in his possession all the principal documents related to the council and could thus pick and choose what was to be included. Although a scrutator of the votes, he did not record the individual votes of the conciliar fathers³⁵.

When cardinal Antonio del Monte set about collecting the documents related to the Fifth Lateran Council, he would have had at his disposal a rich font of materials. At the first session, the Council appointed notaries charged with «a special care over all the writings which occur in the council so that they agree and are organized, as is fitting, and [these notaries are to] sign everything ordained in the said council» – a formula almost verbatim to that used in the *acta* of Konstanz. It named to this office Niccolo Lippomani, Francesco Spinola, Alfonso de Lerma, and Paolo de Cesis. When Lippomani was appointed bishop of Bergamo, Lorenzo de Laureliis of Amelia was made his replacement³⁶. As subalternate notaries it appointed Benôit Trullette, Bernhard Schulz von Lowenburg, Bernardino de Conteras, and Francesco Domenico de Altavanti. The council innovated in appointing conciliar secretaries, namely, Tommaso Inghirami of Volterra and Bartolomeo Saliceto of Bologna. On Inghirami's death in 1516, he was succeeded by Andrea Piperario. Conciliar documents were often entrusted

met (ff. 5v-6v), the actual convocation of the council by a group of cardinals (ff. 6v-8r) and by the princes' procurators (ff. 8r-9r) on 16 May 1511, the letters from Maximilian (dated 5 June 1511) and Louis (dated 18 July 1511) confirming the action of their procurators (ff. 9r-v), the letter of the cardinals setting a September date for the opening of the council and appointing procurators to make arrangements there (ff. 9v-10v), a statement of the reasons for convoking the council (ff. 11r-v), the response of the Pisan cardinals to the nuncio of the Roman college of cardinals (ff. 12r-13r), and the mandate of the procurators of the Pisan cardinals going to Rome (ff. 13r-v).

³⁵ *Promotiones & progressus*, ff. 14r-v (names of those who came to Pisa for the opening ceremonies), f. 14v (summary of Ferreri's sermon at opening session), f. 15r (summary of Carvajal's sermon at the first session), ff. 18r-23v (appended to the *acta* of the second session is the text of Ferreri's sermon, including marginal references to scriptural citations), f. 24r (theme of the sermon of Robert de Jardin), f. 24v (vote of prelates taken regarding decree to transfer council to Milan, they agreed), f. 25r (entrance ceremony into Milan), ff. 25r-v (names of new prelates who attended session in Milan), f. 25v (theme of sermon of Jacques de Bachimont), ff. 25v-27v (instruction given to conciliar emissaries to pope), f. 27v (vote taken and those who responded said *placent*), 28r-29r (sermon of Ferreri at fifth session described in great detail, etc.; *Decreta*, sig. A3r-v (summary of Ferreri's sermon at the anniversary celebration).

³⁶ MANSI, 32: 696E; *Acta ... Constantiensis concilii*, ed. DE CROARIA, Merlin-Crabbe 1530 edition, tome 2, f. 94r.

to the care of the secretaries, a fact that del Monte later lamented, because after Inghirami's death the formula of abjuration used by the former Pisan cardinals Bernardino de Carvajal and Federico de Sanseverino and read at the eighth session by Inghirami that had been in the secretary's possession could no longer be found. On pressure from the college of apostolic secretaries, two honorary secretaries were also appointed, namely, Marino Caracciolo of Naples and Juan Carroz of Valencia³⁷. The conciliar decrees issued as papal bulls with the approval of the Council were copied into the papal registers and printed individually on a Roman press after the session in which they were approved³⁸. The sermons preached at the Council were often privately published in Rome after each session³⁹. Also available to him was probably the detailed account of the Council written by the papal and conciliar master of ceremonies, Paride de Grassi⁴⁰. From materials thus produced and from the records of the conciliar secretaries, protonotaries, and scrutators, del Monte constructed his *acta*.

While he seems to have been most influenced by the model of conciliar *acta* produced by the committee at Basel that prepared the *acta* of Konstanz, del Monte may also have borrowed from Ferreri's edition of the rival Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon. Ferreri included many supporting documents and gave either the themes or the text of the sermons. Ferreri also listed the names of those in attendance on two occasions. Del Monte also included supporting documents, provided the text of each sermon given, and listed the names of those attending each session. He went beyond his predecessors in recording the names of those present at some general congregations and the topics there discussed⁴¹. He also listed the names of the procurators and of those absent prelates whom they represented⁴². In addition, he gave the texts of the mandates of some Christian princes who adhered to the Council⁴³. Perhaps his most significant innovation was to record the

³⁷ MANSI 32: 696E-697A, 814D, 815A; see N.H. MINNICH, *De Grassi's Diary*, pp. 443-445.

³⁸ N.H. MINNICH, *De Grassi's Diary*, p. 455 n. 184.

³⁹ F. ASCARELLI, *Le Cinquecentine Romane: Censimento delle edizioni romane del XVI secolo possedute dalle biblioteche di Roma*, Milano 1972, pp. 145-146, 153-156.

⁴⁰ N.H. MINNICH, *De Grassi's Diary*, p. 415 n. 108 (noting differences between de Grassi and del Monte).

⁴¹ E.g., MANSI 32: 935E-939A (general congregations before the 11th session), 977A-979E (before 12th); N.H. MINNICH, *De Grassi's Diary*, pp. 448-453.

⁴² E.g., MANSI 32: 715C-716C, 755B-C, 774A-775C, 975C-976B.

⁴³ E.g., MANSI 32: 711A (mandate of England read but not recorded apparently due to the secret terms of the papal-English alliance), 711B-713D (Spain), 731D-733A (Empire),

individual votes cast by the prelates when called upon to approve a draft decree⁴⁴. He may also have intentionally suppressed potentially embarrassing material⁴⁵. The *acta* of the Council of Ferrara-Florence translated from Greek into Latin and published by Siringi in 1526 were apparently not composed by Siringi, but probably some years earlier by another Greek sympathetic to the union who had access to the conciliar speeches of John Basil Bessarion, Andrea Chrysoberges, OP, and Markos Eugenikos that he incorporated at times verbatim into his chronological account. The author provided a history of the twenty-five sessions, beginning in Ferrara on 8 October 1438 and ending with that in Florence on 24 March 1439. He also included some documents such as the letter of Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople dated Ferrara 9 April 1438 in which he stated his agreement to holding an ecumenical council, the bull of union dated 6 July 1439, and lists of the Greeks and Latins who signed the decree of union⁴⁶. To this historical account, Siringi appended George of Trebizond's translation of the three books of Basil the Great on the Holy Spirit written against Eunomius, Bessarion's conciliar oration in eight chapters plus an epilogue to the Greeks at Florence on why they should end the schism, and the decree *Exultate Deo adiutori nostro* of Eugenius IV dated 22 November 1439 reuniting the Armenian and Latin churches⁴⁷.

747E-748D (Venice), 766E-767E (Lucca), 789A-791E (Florence), 810A-811A (Poland), 811A-812C (Milan), 812C-814A (Mantua), 814A-D (Mazovia), etc.

⁴⁴ E.g., MANSI 32: 715E, 754E, 773E (unanimous approval), 843C-D, 846E-847A, 886B-D (disagreements); see also N.H. MINNICH, *De Grassi's Diary*, pp. 456-457.

⁴⁵ E.g., MANSI 32: 836B (records the protest of Marino Caracciolo, but not that of Alberto Pio); see N.H. MINNICH, *The 'Protestatio' of Alberto Pio* (1513), in *Società, politica, e cultura a Carpi ai tempi di Alberto III Pio*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Carpi 19-21 Maggio 1978, eds. R. AVESANI et al. (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 46), 2 vols, Roma - Padova 1981, vol. 1, pp. 261-289, here pp. 280-282; clearly suppressed was any mention of the controversy that almost deadlocked the Council, that over the establishment of an episcopal college; see N.H. MINNICH, *The Proposals for an Episcopal College at Lateran V*, in W. BRANDMÜLLER - H. IMMENKÖTTER - E. ISELOH (eds), *Ecclesia Militans. Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte, Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 2 vols, Paderborn 1988, vol. 1, pp. 213-232, here p. 225 (Leo X imposed a perpetual silence on the proposal), p. 228 (threat to prorogue the council indefinitely and deny other requests of bishops).

⁴⁶ *Acta generalis octavae synodi e Graeco Latinum traducta, interprete Bartholomaeo Abramo Croetensi presule Ariensi in Concilia generalia* (1538), tome 2, f. 755r-v (patriarchal letter), ff. 756v-758v (first session), f. 802v (25th or ultimate session), ff. 808v-809r (letter of union), ff. 809r-v (Greek subscriptions), ff. 809v-810r (Latin subscriptions).

⁴⁷ *Concilia generalia* (1538), tome 2, ff. 810v-812v (Basil the Great), ff. 812v-822v (Bessarion's oration), ff. 823r-825v (*Exultate*).

Having surveyed individually the first printed editions of the five councils prior to Trent, one can note some similarities. The editors recorded that they had been ordered to produce their collections of the conciliar decrees or *acta* by various ecclesiastical authorities. Leo X ordered that an authentic copy of Lateran V be printed for use in schools and judicial proceedings. The fathers at Basel issued a collection of the *acta* of Konstanz confirmed by them in an effort to defend ecclesiastical authority and protect the sacred council. The fathers at Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon ordered the publication of their constitutions to make them known. The reason why Archbishop Benedetto Accolti asked Siringi to translate the *acta* of the Council of Florence is not stated, but one suspects it is probably related to the prelate's pride in his Florentine origins (his grandfather had taught law in Florence at the time of the council there and later became chancellor of the city from 1458 until his death in 1464)⁴⁸. Civic pride is given as the reason why the booksellers of Basel urged Brant to produce an edition of the decrees of the Council of Basel. German national pride lay behind the publication of the *acta* of the Council of Konstanz. Securing personal fame is mentioned as a reason for Hieronymus de Croaria's editing of Konstanz and is to be suspected in Ferreri's inclusion in the *acta* of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon of the text of his sermons. Del Monte saw his edition of Lateran V as a way of creating a monument to the glory of Leo X. Benefits to Church and society were also seen as coming from the conciliar publications. By making known the decrees of Lateran V, Leo X hoped their enforcement would follow for the common good of the Christian Republic. Ferreri implied that the record of Konstanz in healing the Great Western Schism may serve as a model for the Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon in its struggle with Julius II. Hieronymus de Croaria and Leo X saw the publication of the conciliar materials as a benefit to scholars. Brant seems to have seen his edition of the decrees of the Council of Basel as serving two personal causes: advancement of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and providing arguments for the validity of the council. One suspects that the booksellers of Basel hoped to make a profit in selling the collection Brant edited.

The formats used by the editors when publishing the work of the councils fall into three categories. The first, adopted by Brant for Basel, consisted in reproducing almost exclusively the documents convoking and confirming the council and the decrees issued by the council. The second, that characterized the Greek *acta* of Ferrara-Florence translated by Siringi, provided a narrative history of the council into which were inserted some letters and

⁴⁸ R. BLACK, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 43, 138-183, 337.

the texts of some of the speeches. The third model was that furnished by the committee of conciliar fathers at Basel who collected and organized the material of Konstanz in order to confirm and re-issue its *acta* and decrees. Their collection that included detailed information on each session (dates, liturgical actions, sermons, important participants, and the readers, contents, and approval of the decrees issued) was eventually published by Hieronymus de Croaria. This format was later expanded upon: for Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon by Ferreri who on two occasions added names of all the participants and the text of his sermons, and for Lateran V by del Monte who gave the names of the participants for each session, the procurators of absent prelates, the mandates of princes, the text of the sermons, the votes of the conciliar fathers, and other relevant documents.

Having surveyed these printed editions of earlier councils regarding their dedicatory letters and contents, it may be instructive to turn to the first editions of Trent to see to what extent they may have been influenced by them. In his letter to the pious reader that prefaced the first Roman edition of 18 March 1564, Paolo Manuzio stated that it was with the consent of pope Pius IV, of the cardinal legates who presided at the Council of Trent, and of the emperor, kings, republican leaders, princes, and fathers who were present at the Council that an edition of the Council was being produced to help heal the maladies afflicting the Christian Republic and to disseminate truth throughout the world. To make the Council's work known, Manuzio has therefore edited its canons and decrees together with other documents to demonstrate that the Council was legitimately assembled and its decrees confirmed by the pope who ordered them to be observed henceforth by all. Manuzio noted that there was a plan to publish soon the *acta* of the Council so that whatever was a matter of controversy regarding an opinion, a sermon, or a question debated and determined, that topic would be distinctly and abundantly expounded in its own place. In the meantime, Manuzio was making available to the reader the Council's decrees and canons whose reading he claimed was pleasant, useful, and fitting for many purposes⁴⁹. Ideas similar to those here expressed by Manuzio can be

⁴⁹ *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis concilii tridentini. Sub Paulo III. Iulio III. & Pio IIII. Pont. Max. Quibus adiunximus Christianorum Principum ad Sacrum Concilium Literas, & Mandata, Legatorumque ab illis missorum Orationes, una cum Sacrae ipsius Synodi Responsis. Sub Pio IIII. Pont. Max. et Ferd. Primo Caes. Augusto. Cum Indice Dogmatum, & Reformationis*, Venezia, Aldus, M.D.LXVII., sig. A2r-v, reprinted in part in *Concilium Tridentinum*, tome 5, ed. S. EHSSES, Freiburg i.Br. 1911, xxxii; on the failed plan to publish the *acta* of the Council of Trent, see H. JEDIN, *Das Konzil von Trient: Ein Überblick über die Erforschung seiner Geschichte* (Storia e Letteratura, 19), Roma 1948, pp.

found in the dedicatory letters of earlier conciliar collections: ecclesiastical authorities authorizing the publication and confirming the decrees, the desire to make the legislation known, and the beneficial effects to derived from its dissemination. Missing are references to civic or national pride based on where the council met and there are no claims to personal fame based on having first published a collection of all of Trent's decrees. The announcement of a plan to publish the *acta* so that one can better interpret the legislation is a new element.

Manuzio seems to have modeled his edition of Trent on the edition of Basel edited 65 years earlier by Brant. Apart from the bulls of convocation or prorogation, the addition of the acclamations read at the end of the Council, and the statements of the pope confirming its decrees and ordering their observance, the collection consists exclusively of the canons and decrees, with the occasional insertion that the prelates approved a particular decree when asked⁵⁰. The title page of Manuzio's edition, however, made claims of having included the letters and mandates of princes to the Council and the speeches addressed to them by the cardinal legates and the responses of the Council, but this material was not included. Despite Manuzio's implicit claim in the letter to the reader that authorities are not trying to hide controversies since they plan on publishing the *acta*, he himself misled the reader by recording that when asked to approve the decree ordering the transfer of the council from Trent to Bologna the fathers responded *Placet*, with no indication of how serious was the opposition to this decree⁵¹.

Toward the end of 1563 the Brescian printer Gian Battista Bozzola (c. 1497-c. 1567), who had published about seventy smaller pieces in his branch office in Trent, many of which were conciliar speeches and decrees, compiled an edition of the Council that contained much more material than

17-18 and his *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2 vols, London 1957-1961, vol. 2, pp. 501-502.

⁵⁰ *Canones et decreta ... concilii tridentini*, e.g., ff. 3r-10v (1542 bull of Paul III, *Initio nostri*, convoking the council), ff. 51v-53r (1550 bull of Julius III, *Cum ad tollendum*, ordering the resumption of the Council), ff. 90r-92v (1560 bull of Pius IV, *Ad ecclesiae regimen*, ordering the holding of a council at Trent), ff. 167v-168v (acclamations); sig. AA1r-v (record of 26 January 1564 oral confirmation), sig. DD1r-DD4v (1564 bull *Benedictus Deus* confirming decrees), [DD5r-6v] (1564 bull *Sicut ad sacrorum* of Pius IV ordering observance); for examples of a record of the conciliar fathers responding with the word *Placet*, see ff. 48v, 93v, and 167r. The pagination cited is that given, but the pagination is off due to restarting at page 177 with page number 161.

⁵¹ *Canones & decreta ... concilii tridentini*, f. 49r.

that found in Manuzio's⁵². Bozzola prefaced an edition with a dedicatory letter to Domenico Bollani (1514-1579), bishop of Brescia, dated Brescia 4 November 1564. In this letter, he claimed that nothing is more ancient, holy, useful, desirable, and necessary than a council. In the present most turbulent and difficult times, the Council of Trent has come to equal and perhaps surpass those of antiquity in its authority, scope, and grace – the eyes of the whole world were upon it. Because of its importance, Bozzola has dedicated himself to editing material related to this council. He was the first to open a printing establishment in Trent to serve the council fathers and he entrusted his materials to typesetters, not sparing any danger or labor. He wanted to produce nothing less than a collection of the *acta*, definitions, and sanctions of the Council during its three periods, material properly edited and arranged, entrusted to the printers, and published throughout the world. He dedicated his work to bishop Bollani because of his outstanding qualities and achievements in the service of Venice as a senator, ambassador to the court of England, and luogotenente in Friuli and in the service of the Church as bishop of Brescia (1559-1579) and participant at the Council (1562-1563). The dedication was also to serve as a token of Bozzola's appreciation for Bollani's kindnesses toward him⁵³.

⁵² A. CIONI, Art. *Bozzola, Giovan Battista*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13, 1971, pp. 589-590.

⁵³ According to *Index Aureliensis: Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum*, prima pars, tomus V, Baden-Baden 1974, 89, Bozzola's collection was published in in two Latin editions: *Uniuersum sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum oecumenicum ac generale legitime tum indictum tum congregatum ... Nunc recens quam emendatissime in lucem prodit*, ed. GIOVAN BATTISTA BOZZOLA, Köln, Typis G. Cervicorni, apud Maternum Cholinum, 1564, 292 pp. and *Canones, et Decreta Sacrosancti Oecumenici et Generalis Concilii Tridentini. Sub Paulo III. Iulio III. Pio IIII. Pontificibus Max. Cum Pii IIII. Pontificis Max. confirmatione quam ad calcem reperies. Cui assessit Index locupletissimus*, ed. GIOVAN BATTISTA BOZZOLA, Antwerpen, Ex officina Gulielmi Silvij, Regij Typographi, Anno M.D. LXIII., 293 pp. E. FERRAGLIO, *Il Concilio di Trento e l'editoria del secolo XVI. Bibliografia* (Biblioteca Civis, 14), Trento 2002, p. 119 cites two 1563 editions published by Bozzola in Brescia, nos 108 and 109, with slight variants in the title. No. 108 bears the title *Vniuersum sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, oecumenicum, ac generale, legitimè tum indictum, tum congregatum, sub S.SD. N. Pont. Max. Paulo III anno 1545, 1546 et 1547, et sub Iulio III anno 1551 et 1552, et sub Sanctiss. D. N. Papa Pio Quarto anno 1562 et 1563. Nunc recens, multò quàm antea limatius, emendatiusque in lucem prodit*, Brixiae, Cura et impensis Io. Baptistae Bozola, 1563. I am grateful to Friederike Oursin for providing this reference. I cite the Antwerp edition, the dedicatory letter is on ff. 2r-4r. The letter incorrectly claims that Bollani was ambassador to Henry VII; perhaps Bozzola wished to hide that Bollani had been on favorable terms with the young Protestant king Edward VI. See G. PELLININI, Art. *Bollani, Domenico*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 11, 1969, pp. 291-293, here p. 291.

In his letter to the reader, Bozzola stated that he had been asked by some of the council fathers and by many who never attended the council to collect the material of all the sessions and have it printed so as to satisfy the desire of all the studious. Bozzola decided to include all the materials, not just the teachings and canons, but also what pertained to the celebration of the sessions and to what preceded and followed them, such as the papal convocation of the Council and confirmation of its decrees. He enlisted the services of learned theologians who most carefully corrected the errors found in previous publications. He also added a description of the city of Trent for the benefit of those who had never seen it⁵⁴. The motivation of Bozzola in preparing an edition of Trent is presented as personal: responding to the requests of prelates, in keeping with his high regard for the achievements of the Council and earlier publication of its speeches and decrees, and a way of honoring his patron, bishop Bollani, who attended its sessions.

Bozzola does not invoke civic or national pride or the fame that he should gain by his edition.

Bozzola's edition, published in Antwerp by the press of Willem Silvius, a royal printer, included a copy of the royal privilege dated Brussels, 7 November 1563, granting to him a monopoly for three years to print and sell in the territories of His Majesty a collection of the sessions of the Council of Trent⁵⁵. If the date of 1563 is correct, Silvius would seem to have obtained his privilege before the Council concluded and was perhaps eagerly awaiting the opportunity to publish Bozzola's edition.

⁵⁴ *Canones et decreta ... Concilii Tridentini*, ed. BOZZOLA, ff. 4v-5r: «Ad lectorem. Cum a nonnullis, qui Concilio interfuerunt et a quam plurimis qui non adfuerunt, rogatus fuerim, ut cuntas sacrosanctae Tridentinae Synodi, quae a felicitis recordationis Paulo III. Pontifici Maximo ad Pium quartum usque, Sessiones celebratae fuerunt, corrogarem, atque prelo committerem: ut studiosorum omnium desiderio facerem satis, atque ut opus ipsum undique perfectum ac consummatum efficerem tum priscas tum novissimas Sessiones collegi: utque sessionum accessoria ac contingentia mihi suppeditarentur, omnem diligentiam adhibui. Siquidem in illorum, qui Concilio nunquam interfuerunt, optatis esse conspiciebam, ut non modo Sessionum dogmata, et Canones, verum etiam quae ad Sessionum celebritatem spectant, cognoscere possent: ac quaecunque ante et post ac[4v/5r]ciderunt, ita scire, ac si ipsimet singula videre potuissent. Insuper eruditos Theologos, atque in corrigendi munere exactissimos accersivi, qui e diversarum impressionum exemplaribus, atque novissimarum Sessionum prototypis ipsis, nostras has quam expurgatissimas perficerent. Utrum vero scopum attigerimus, nec ne dijudicent hi, qui hoc opus ceteris impressionibus comparauerint. Pius itaque et eruditus Christianus, hic nihil habet, quod desideret. Quod sparsim alias, nunc collectim: quod per partes dissectum erat, nunc impressum totum benigne habes lector. Placuit etiam Tridentini descriptionem subijcere, ut qui corporeis oculis non viderunt, mentes saltem intuitu illud (ut libuerit) contemplari queat».

⁵⁵ *Canones et decreta ... Concilii Tridentini*, ed. BOZZOLA, f. 1v.

Bozzola's redaction of Trent seems to have been fashioned on the model adopted for Konstanz, Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon, and Lateran V. Thus, he included lists of names of those present at each session, reported when there was opposition to approving a decree, and gave the names of those who protested the transfer of the council to Bologna in 1547 and its suspension in 1552⁵⁶. He also recorded the names of those who celebrated the Mass and preached the sermon at each session. In three respects he may also have borrowed from the model found in the *acta* of Ferrara-Florence translated by Siringi. Both Bozzola and Siringi included a biography of the reigning pontiff taken from the augmented collection of lives of the popes compiled by Platina and others, a description of the city in which the council was held, and a list of the names of those prelates who subscribed to the council's major or concluding legislation⁵⁷.

The first editors of the decrees and *acta* of the Council of Trent not only published materials that were given a particular form and organization by the traditions followed in celebrating a council, but they also borrowed from their predecessors as editors similar themes to be expounded in dedicatory letters and criteria to guide the selection of materials to be included in their collection. The notable innovation was the announcement by Manuzio of the plan of Pius IV to publish the *acta* of Trent so that scholar could better interpret its decrees, a plan whose final realization over four-hundred years later we celebrate today.

⁵⁶ *Canones et decreta ... Concilii Tridentini*, ed. BOZZOLA, e.g. ff. 81r-v (opponents of the transfer), ff. 143r and 148r (statement that the prelates signed the decrees approved at sessions 4 and 5), f. 152v (the twelve Spanish prelates who protested against suspension decreed at the sixth session). Instead of a thematic index, such as is found in Manuzio's edition, Bozzola provided a chronological index of the documents (ff. [283v-286v]). The document testifying to the papal confirmation of the council he provided is the statement of cardinal Farnese on Pius IV's oral approval during the consistory of 26 January 1564 (ff. 282v-283r).

⁵⁷ *Canones et decreta ... Concilii Tridentini*, ed. BOZZOLA, ff. 5v-7r (description of the city of Trent), ff. 7v-8v (life of Paul III), ff. 174v-191r (names and rank according to date of promotion of those subscribing to the final decrees).