

What Did Early Modern Priests Read? The Library of the Seminary of Fiesole, 1646–1721

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The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century library of the diocesan seminary of Fiesole contained books (mainly classics, scripture, and works of rhetoric, casuistry, and pastoral theology) which point to practical, not intellectual, training. Many of those books were also held by universities. Although the curriculum was not “academic,” the seminary library was in accord with the education of the period.

When the Council of Trent decreed in 1563 that each diocese in the Roman Catholic world should open seminaries to train parish priests, as a result it made changes in the book-buying and book-holding patterns of dioceses. This study focuses on the library of the diocesan seminary of Fiesole, opened in 1635–1636 with a small staff of *maestri* and about twelve students. Although the foundation documents of the seminary do not discuss the formation of a library, the institution had one by 1646, when an inventory was taken. This small collection of books supported the educational mission of the seminary. The inventory of 1646 and two later ones conducted in 1703–1715 and 1721 contain important clues about the content and purpose of a seminary education, though they do not necessarily reflect classroom teaching. If a person is known through her books, then an institution is no less so, and these early inventories allow historians to understand the intellectual atmosphere of a fledgling establishment. The composition of the library demonstrates that the education supported by an early diocesan seminary was pastoral, not intellectual, in nature. Although the library’s book holdings in the seventeenth and eighteenth century are not unusual in comparison to contemporary schools, they are meager in number and strengthen the case, which I have asserted on other occasions, that in its first century seminary training made little difference in the lives of priests, parishes, or dioceses.¹

The diocesan seminary of Fiesole was opened in 1635–1636 by Bishop Lorenzo della Robbia. During the first ninety years of its existence, three notices of library book holdings were recorded. The library in Fiesole,

now called the Biblioteca Bandiniana after Angelo Maria Bandini (1726–1803), canon in Fiesole and the source of the most important donation of books, would eventually hold thousands of volumes, mostly religious but also historical, political, and literary.² However, its beginnings were very modest. These early lists contain a total of 153 books: 74 in 1646, 61 in 1703–1715, and 18 in 1721. The relationship among these three inventories is difficult to establish. Very few books appear on more than one list, so the sense of the header for the 1703–1715 inventory is unclear: “Index / Librorum existentium in Biblioteca Seminarii Fesulani / de licentia Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Horatii Panciatichi / Libris aliis Spiritualibus commutandorum” may mean that the Reverend Panciatichi donated his books to the seminary, thus changing their position; it may also mean that he exchanged his books for ones already in the library.³ The third list is clearly a donation to the institution. Fiesole’s collection was therefore much more modest than those of contemporary religious institutions: the Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève in Paris held between 500 and 600 volumes in 1630 and between 7,000 and 8,000 in 1673.⁴ Even some late Renaissance collections were larger: Bologna’s monastic libraries contained over 600 volumes, and the Franciscan house in Padua held 907 books in 1449.⁵ Contemporary parish libraries were often smaller: Luciano Allegra’s study of the parishes of the diocese of Turin from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century lists three inventories before 1750, with 7, 44, and 3 volumes each.⁶ Thomas Deutscher has found that parish libraries in the diocese of Novara range in size from 10 to over 200 volumes, averaging approximately 40 titles per parish.⁷ Studies of seminary libraries are few. Xenio Toscani’s research on Lombard seminaries noted little evidence of library catalogues before 1740 and included no information on the number of books held.⁸ Given the meager data, one may still conclude that Fiesole’s library was quite small for an institution but adequate for the needs of the parish clergy.

The first book inventory (1646) is the largest. This list dates from the year after the death of Bishop della Robbia; it is likely that the books are associated with his policies. Although no document identifies della Robbia as a benefactor, the influence of his Jesuit education on the early collection is apparent, as I have argued elsewhere.⁹ The bishop did not address the need for a supply of books in the seminary’s *Constitutiones*, and account books contain only a few references to book purchases in 1642–44 and 1667, and a record of a donation and purchase in 1721.¹⁰ It is very difficult to determine which, if any, of the remaining books were brought to the seminary by the ruling bishop, which were given by other sources, and which were bought by the seminary. All of the lists contain similar categories of books, but the overlap from one list to another is

minimal. The contents of the library, with bibliographical information, are reproduced in an appendix.

Table 1 shows the categories into which the books may be grouped, with numbers in each column referring to the number of books on a particular subject in each inventory.¹¹ In the discussions below, abbreviated versions of the titles are used. It is not clear why each inventory is so different from the others, unless one understands the preface to the early-eighteenth-century list to be an exchange of books for those already in the library. Seminary records note no sale or donation of the 1646 volumes to another institution or to an individual, and no evidence that a fire, flood, or any other disaster destroyed any of the possessions of the

TABLE 1
SUBJECTS OF BOOKS FOUND IN THE SEMINARY LIBRARY

Subject of Books	Number in 1646	Number in 1703–15	Number in 1721
Bibles	2	1	
New Testament	1	1	
Catechism	1	1	6
Breviary		1	
Scripture Study	8	1	1
casuistry	5	3	
<i>loci communes</i>	1		
pastoral theology	2	7	6
patristics or Doctors	6		
controversial theology	2		
Non-Biblical devotional	5		
sacred rhetoric	5	3	
canon law	3	1	
civil law		1	
compendia	8	4	
grammar		1	4
writing		1	
histories	4	7	1
secular rhetoric	3	4	
Classical authors	12	5	
Non-Classical secular authors	2		
unidentified sacred	2	11	
unidentified secular		2	
unidentified, no clear subject	4	4	

seminary. The organization also changed from one inventory to the next. For example, the number of books (and the percentage of the whole) on the study of Scripture declined sharply, and controversial theology disappeared entirely from the 1646 through 1721 lists. On the other hand, the number of books on pastoral theology and private devotion increased by a significant number (as did the percentage of the whole). Of all the subjects, the only constants are histories (13 percent of the whole in 1646, 12 percent in 1703–1715) and secular rhetoric (just under 7 percent of the whole in 1646 and 1703–1715). The comments on the books below are in no way meant to be exhaustive, but rather point out trends and demonstrate particular biases or interests on the part of the seminary.

The seminary held few grammar texts; in fact, none can be identified from the seventeenth-century inventory. Among the most widely used of this genre in Europe from the early sixteenth through the eighteenth century was the work of Jan Despauter (Johannes Despauterius), a copy of whose *Contextus grammaticae* is found on the library inventory of 1703–1715.¹² Four copies of *Avvertimenti della Lingua Toscana* appear in 1721. This may point to a downward trend in age or training at admission, but information on the ages or educational backgrounds of seminary entrants is very scarce. The *Constitutiones* do insist that the students learn grammar, making provision for a *maestro di grammatica* and a specific time for the classes.¹³ Other books possibly used for grammar, and certainly used for writing, are collections of letters. These were used both to teach the art of writing and to provide quotations useful in different situations. Two are found in the 1646 inventory: the *Lettere* of Giovanni Francesco Loredano (1606–1661) and Antonio de Guevara, O.F.M. (1480?–1545).¹⁴

Encyclopaediae or compendia like the *Polyanthea* form a large portion of the collection.¹⁵ These include, for example, secular and religious compendia by Paolo Aresi, Paulus Manutius, Jean Tixier (all from 1646), and Agostino Mascardi (1703–1715), which could be used to teach writing, rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, poetry, and even some history. As collections of Greek and Latin authors with entries on a remarkable variety of topics, these volumes were essentially libraries in themselves: the reader would have access to a wide variety of texts, famous and obscure, sometimes already translated into Latin, with suggestions on how to use the quotes. Textor's *Epitheta*, for example, is a storehouse of poetic quotations, with what I. D. McFarlane has called "fringe benefits": "one may suppose that the rudiments of, say, classical mythology were very easily picked up here; and information, often curious, might be gleaned about foreign countries."¹⁶ The authorities used in the *Epitheta* are similar to those in *Polyanthea*, *Antiquitatum Romanarum*, *Thesaurus poeticus*, and others on the lists: Greek and Latin classical authors along with a smaller collection of Renaissance humanists, but carefully omitting or at least lim-

iting references to medieval authorities. The largest of these compendia is the *Theatrum vitae humanae*, an enormous undertaking with, according to Walter Ong, the aim

to tidy up knowledge by collecting in snippets everything everyone has said with a view to arranging all the snippets in proper, visually retrievable, order, so that, in a historical “rhapsody” . . . one can at long last find out why things are the way they are.¹⁷

These aims were characteristic of all humanist encyclopedic texts: the desire to gather together in a unified manner as many facts as possible, not just for the sake of collecting, but also to organize this knowledge in a new manner, useful for reference purposes.¹⁸

All the inventories included substantial collections of secular works. The largest proportion of these was composed of volumes by classical authors, including contemporary editions and collections. Cicero was the most popular, accounting for almost 4 percent of the total holdings: in 1646 alone the library held his *Epistolae familiares*, *De Oratore*, *De Officiis*, and *Opera Omnia*; in 1703–1715 *De Oratore* and the *Tusculanarum Quaestionum*. Other ancient authors were Valerius Maximus, Polybius, Aristotle, Vergil, Ovid, Pliny, and Tacitus. The subjects of these classical works were history (e.g., Polybius’ *Historico Greco* [1703–1715], Pliny’s *Istoria naturali* [1646], and Tacitus’ *Opere* [1646]) and rhetoric (e.g., two by Cicero, Alessandro Piccolomini’s translation of Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* [1703–1715], and Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*, possibly in Italian). In addition to these editions of classical authors, the library contained modern translations or interpretations of classical history, for example, Johannes Rosinus’ *Antiquitatum Romanorum* and *Giustino, ex Trogo Pompeio* (both 1646), about the lives of ancient emperors.

The seminary also held the works of modern secular authors. These include Francesco Alunno’s *Fabrica del mondo* (1646); a collection of the works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others; and Leonardo Bruni’s *Le vite di Dante* (1646). There are also modern histories by modern authors, including Maiolino Bisaccione’s *Historia delle guerre civili degli ultimi tempi* (1703–1715), Pierre Matthieu’s *Histoire de France*, and Famiano Strada’s *Delle Guerre di Fiandra* (both 1646). Strada taught rhetoric at the Collegio Romano in the early seventeenth century, possibly while Bishop della Robbia was studying there.¹⁹ Other histories which do not fit into neat categories of “ancient” or “modern” include the *Libro della guerra dei Ghotti of Leonardo Bruni* (1646), describing the Barbarian invasions of Europe and based largely on the sixth-century chronicler Procopius, and the *Annales ecclesiastici Veteris Testamenti* by Jacques Salian (1646 and 1721).²⁰

Among the smaller collections of books in the seminary inventories are those pertaining to laws: the single volume on civil law, the *De iudice regularium* of Francisco M. Ghislerio (in 1703–1715); several on conciliar law—the *Decreti*, the *Decretales*, the *Liber sextus Decretalium* (all three from 1646) and Pietro Bellasio’s *Promptuarium Regulare* (1721).

The seminary had a rather wide choice of books of both secular and religious rhetoric. The books are what might be expected in a late Renaissance–early Reformation institution, showing the influence of Cicero, Aristotle, and Quintilian. These rhetoric texts emphasize the ethical dimensions of the form, possibly due to the influence of Florentine “civic humanism” in Fiesolan education. Cicero’s *De oratore* and Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria* were both concerned with civic duty and the relationship of rhetoric to one’s responsibilities as citizen.²¹ The purpose of teaching rhetoric in a seminary must have been to train priests to preach, yet the *Constitutiones* make no specific mention of training students to give sermons. Since a seminary was not an independent educational institution but one created to train priests, the other uses of humanistic disciplines such as rhetoric would likely not apply. The foundation documents particularly highlight the sacramental and pastoral dimensions of the work to be done (the *cura animarum*), and as a result preaching may be assumed. In 1646 books on rhetoric accounted for 16 percent of the whole, with sacred texts outnumbering secular, while in 1703–1715, they accounted for 11 percent of the whole, with secular outnumbering sacred. Clearly preaching was of considerable importance, even when secular works outnumbered sacred.

Among the volumes of profane rhetoric in 1646 was the very popular *La retorica* by Bartolomeo Cavalcanti (1503–1562), a Florentine who studied under Marcello Virgilio Adriani and possibly also under Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, the bishop of Fiesole who first tried to open a seminary there in 1575.²² *La retorica* was part of the widespread trend of increasing Ciceronianism in the sixteenth century.²³ The 1569 edition contains a dedicatory letter by B. Robini which offered the highest praise to Cavalcanti: should all the ancient rhetorical texts be lost, *La retorica* would be a suitable replacement.²⁴ Fortunately, the seminary was not faced with such a disaster. In addition to Cavalcanti and the ancient rhetoricians noted above, the library held Luigi Groto’s *Orazione del Cieco d’Hadria*, Mascardi’s *Orazione*, Remigio Nannini’s *Orazioni militari*, and Pedro Juan Perpinya’s *Orationes Perpiniani*.²⁵ The seminary also kept works of religious rhetoric, for example, collections of homilies, which included Gregory I’s *Homelie XV* (1646) and an unidentified *Sermones Quadragesimalis* (Lenten sermons, also 1646). Other books specifically concerned with religious sermons included Paolo Aresi’s *Imprese sacre* (1646), Vincenzo Giliberto’s collection of sermons called *Le sacre corone dell’anno ecclesiastico*

(1646),²⁶ Francisco Labata's *Apparatus Concionatorum* (1646), Agostino Mascardi's *Orazioni* (1703–1715), Luis de la Puente's *Expositio Moralis in Cantica Canticorum* (1646), and Celso Zani's *Rettorica* (1703–1715).

The *Moralia in Job* (1646) of Gregory I, a work of exegetical theology, is one of a very small number of works of what might be called “academic theology.” This modest collection seems not to have been an exception; most seminaries concentrated on the same types of pastoral and sacramental theology as did Fiesole.²⁷ Timothy Tackett has noted, “the primary emphasis in the seminary was not on the religious sciences. . . . Seminarians would be specifically warned against venturing into religious subjects that might only arouse the idle curiosity of their parishioners. The common people needed milk, not solid food.”²⁸ This does not mean that the seminarians had no biblical training; the presence of Bibles and commentaries in the seminary library suggests that some reading of Scripture did occur.²⁹ In addition, at least in the early history of the seminary, some *maestri di teologia* were employed. These do not appear to have outlasted the first two decades, however. A volume by Paolo Aresi, *Mundi Tribulatio* (1646), appears to be a work on Patristics.³⁰ The few theologians represented in the seminary library of Fiesole were found only in 1646: Aquinas' *Expositio in epistolas omnes d. Pauli apostoli*, Augustine's *Opere*, the controversialist Cajetan's *Opuscoli*, and Stanislaus Hosius' *Opera Omnia*. Hosius was Cardinal of Kulm, advisor to Pius IV for the reconvening of the Council of Trent, papal legate to Trent in 1561, and chair of the proceedings in 1563, making him a natural choice for a seminary library.³¹

More important than academic theology to a seminary education was practical pastoral theology, for example, what could be learned from works related to the sacraments. The library had a fairly large collection of *summae confessorum*. These books provided definitions and examples necessary to solve moral dilemmas in the context of the sacrament of penance. They belong to the genre of confessional or penitential handbooks, which were produced throughout Europe from the High Middle Ages through the Reformation. This type of literature, though not a cohesive enough classification to suggest many general comments, was at least defined by a similarity of aims: to provide the confessor with a method for leading the penitent through the sacrament of confession to repentance by levying punishments based on the seriousness of the sin, the state of mind in which it was committed, the amount of contrition the sinner felt, etc. These manuals served as standard reference works for all priest-confessors to consult for the purpose of hearing confessions, punishing sins, and recommending counseling, including teaching the penitent to examine his or her own motives, in the sacramental situation and outside of it, both so as to be properly penitent and to be able to

avoid sin again in the future.³² The *summae* in the inventories are among the most widespread of this kind of literature. Considerably more appear in 1646 than in the later inventories: the *summae* of the controversialist Silvestro Mazzolino da Prierio (1456–1523), Angelo di Chivassio (1411–1495?), and Martin de Azpilcueta (1491/2–1586), and the *Clavis Regia Sacerdotum Casuum Conscientiae* by Robert (Gregory) Sayer or Seare (1560–1602).³³ The *Summa Bonacina* by Martino Bonacina is the only *summa* to appear on two lists: 1646 and 1703–1715.³⁴ *Summae* by Cajetan and Francisco de Vitoria are found on the 1703–1715 list; none are on the 1721 list.

Other books may fall under the rubric of pastoral theology, including *Stato religioso*, which may be either Imerius de Anselmis' *Stato religioso et claustrali* (1646) or Paolo Morigia's *Stato religioso, et via spirituale* (1559), the latter of which was written by the superior-general of the Chierici apostolici di S. Gerolamo (Gesuati) to advise a nephew to enter the religious life; Giovanni Pietro Barco's *Specchio Religioso per le monache posto in luce d'ordine* (1703–1715); and Fabio Incarnato's *Scrutinium sacerdotale* (1703–1715).³⁵ A number of works on ecclesiastical obligations and behavior are found on the 1721 list: the Sebastian d'Abreu's *Institutio parochi*, Franciscus Maria Campionus' *Instructio pro se praeparantibus ad audiendas confessiones*, and Ippolito Tonelli's *Sacrum enchiridium*.

The devotional works may simply have served as leisure reading for seminarians and staff or may have been used in instruction. Gabriele Fiamma's *Le Vite de Santi* was purchased for mealtime reading but was not the only devotional book. The seminary also owned Jacobo Pinto's *Cristo Crocifisso*; Vincenzo Giliberti's *La città d'Iddio incarnato*, based on Psalm 48; Giovanni Battista Marino's *Dicerie sacre*, three sections of variations on a single scriptural theme each; Orazio Torsellino's *Vita* of St. Francis Xavier (all in 1646); and Placido Puccinelli's *Historia dell'eroiche attioni de' B. B. Gometio Portuguese abbate di Badia di Firenze* (1721). In 1721 the seminary listed a copy of Bellarmine's *Catechism*.

The seminary inventories do not list any music, except for a breviary in 1703–1715. The *Constitutiones* and the *Entrata ed Uscita* books note purchases of unidentified music, an antiphony, a gradual, and a missal in 1645, 1667, and 1670; none of these are identified as part of the library, suggesting that the seminary's music was kept in the cathedral.³⁶ Clearly the music used in the seminary was tied to the liturgy and the services of the Hours. The absence of a breviary is somewhat curious; since students were required to bring a breviary with them; however, this may not be a serious omission.³⁷ No other information identifies these music books or the teaching of music in the seminary more clearly. The seminary did pay for music and hire a *maestro della musica*, who was often the same man as the *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral. References in the *Constitutiones* to

music instruction appear to distinguish it from other seminary activities, referring to a “scuola del suono, canto fermo, e figurato” in one instance and a “Scuola del Maestro di Cappella” in another.³⁸

The collections raise many questions, not the least of which regards the reasons that some books appear with others. Two striking examples concern the works of Tacitus and Justus Lipsius, both on the 1646 inventory. Tacitus had fallen from favor in the early seventeenth century. It had long been acknowledged that the ancient historian had made negative comments about Christians, but his works had been used through the end of the Italian Renaissance without much dissent. In the late Renaissance–early Reformation, though, Tacitus’ detractors gained a following. By the sixteenth century Giovanni Botero (1540–1617) and Pedro Ribadeneyra (1526–1611) were writing against him; by 1613 his last defender, Traian Boccalini (b. 1556), had died. Within a short period of time, Tacitus was completely discredited; abandoning the “tradition of the application of Tacitus to political reality” despite his religious views, seventeenth-century intellectuals “began to undermine the very historical validity of Tacitus’ writings.”³⁹ Although Justus Lipsius had edited Tacitus while in Italy in the 1570s, the audience was growing more hostile all the time, and Famiano Strada was one of the leaders of the anti-Tacitus movement. Strada’s *Prolusiones academicae* (1631) were part of “a full-blown crusade against everything Tacitus stood for as a historian,” because “Tacitus created egotists prone to disloyalty, breeders of contumacy, and wreckers of confidence in rulers. As an antidote . . . Strada prescribed . . . Livy and the whole catechism of Ciceronian orthodoxy.”⁴⁰ The effect was nearly complete: Schellhase found only a single seventeenth-century critic of Strada, Gasparo Scioppo, who truly hated Strada and the entire Jesuit order, but who nonetheless managed only “ineffectual resistance.” Agostino Mascardi (1591–1640), who succeeded Strada as professor of rhetoric at the Collegio Romano, fully supported his predecessor’s anti-Tacitus campaign. “[B]y the middle of the seventeenth century, many people, Italians especially, generally saw Tacitus as both evil and useless.”⁴¹ This may explain the disappearance of Tacitus by the 1703–1715 list; Mascardi was the author of two volumes in the library inventory from that period (*Saggi Accademici* and *Orazioni*). However, it does not explain the presence of Tacitus and Strada on the same list in 1646 or the absence of Livy.

Lipsius is a curious choice in other respects. Among the texts in the 1646 collection is the *De cruce libri tres*, a devotional work by the northern humanist. Lipsius had a controversial religious pedigree: he studied at the Jesuit College of Cologne; probably converted to Lutheranism and definitely shifted his attention and loyalties from Ciceronian Latin to that of Tacitus, Plautus, and Seneca in the early 1570s; and was professor

of history in the new University of Leiden, which necessitated a declaration of the Calvinist faith in the late 1570s.⁴² In the early 1590s Lipsius reconciled with both Catholicism and the Jesuits. In 1593 he wrote *De cruce libri tres*, an examination of the historical origins of the cross as a Christian symbol. Scholars generally agree that this book, which is uncharacteristic of Lipsius both in its topic and poor writing style, seems to have been written as a show of devotion on Lipsius' part; he may have been pressured by the Jesuits to prove his orthodoxy to the Catholic faith after his previous lapses.⁴³ Lipsius did have a strong reputation as a scholar, and his intellect was recognized and respected by all denominations; thus, "Lipsius probably need not have gone to such lengths to please his Catholic spiritual directors as to write the works on miracles and on crucifixion"; in any event, those he tried to please were disappointed with his apologetics and felt that the Jesuits forced Lipsius to write the tracts.⁴⁴

In general, the books do not appear to suggest a clear method of collection, but some patterns may be identified. For example, the library demonstrates an affinity for the Society of Jesus, both in terms of titles and authors of books. The first list shows the influence of the Jesuits on the seminary and its founder. The second, however, contains only one book written by a Jesuit, and the third contains two. Perhaps this may be attributed to the increasing difficulties the Jesuits faced during the course of the seventeenth century, including Jansenism and the missionary controversies.⁴⁵ Most importantly, the inventories contain few surprises and conform with the book-holding patterns of contemporary institutions and individuals. In comparison to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century libraries, only the small size of the collection and the Tacitus and Lipsius issues mentioned above seem strange. What is striking are the omissions; for example, the *Index of Prohibited Books* is missing. Perhaps the library was considered "safe" under the watchful eye of the *governatore* of the seminary and the bishop; still, the *Index* appears in other ecclesiastical institutions. There is not a single text in Greek or Hebrew: no Boethius, no *Malleus Maleficarum*, few anti-Protestant polemics, and, perhaps most surprising of all, no copy of any synod or council, not even the Council of Trent.⁴⁶

The picture emerging from my broader study of the Seminario Fiesolano as a case study of post-Tridentine clerical education is one of an institution without a clear organization. It was, in addition, an establishment which did not train great intellects, or even educate men widely. Considering the small size of the library in relationship to other religious foundations, one must question the rigor of the program. Adding to that the lack of a formal course of study, it seems clear that seminarians from Fiesole were not equal to the role of "agents of the

Counter-Reformation” which is the stereotype of early seminary priests.⁴⁷ On the other hand, their education was not completely neglected, and the books to which they had access were also books that university or convent school students would have read. They were not on the “cutting edge” of intellectual trends, but they were certainly not outmoded. In part, the poverty of the library may be accounted for by its very youth and lack of rich patrons as monasteries might have had. I found no donations to the seminary in Fiesolan wills.⁴⁸ In many different ways, diocesan seminaries were more quickly accepted in theory than in practice and did not have an impact until attendance by every candidate for the priesthood was required in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁹ The fact that Fiesole’s seminary library was small through the early part of that century should not be a surprise. The library today is a relatively large and thriving collection of works from all periods of the seminary’s existence, due mainly to the work of Bishop Ranieri Mancini (r. 1776–1809), the donation of Bandini in 1803, and collection work and donations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵⁰ The basis of this library, the early collections of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can remind historians that seminaries grew slowly but steadily; were solid intellectual institutions, though less ambitious than universities or schools of religious orders; and were neither theologically nor philosophically divorced from the educational atmosphere of the period.

Appendix

Seminary Book Inventories, 1646, 1703–1715, and 1721⁵¹

1646

Inventario de Libri al presente esistenti in detta libreria

In foglio

- [1] Zwinger, Theodor and Conrad Lycosthenes. *Theatrum vitae humanae*.
- [2] Salian, Jacques, S.J. *Annales ecclesiastici Veteris Testamenti*.
- [3] *Plinio Istorie naturali*.
- [4] *Somma di S. Tommaso, to: 2-*.
- [5] *Virgilio con commento, to: 2-*.
- [6] *Somma del Sagro*—obscure.
- [7] Vio, Tommaso de, O.P. [Cajetan]. *Opuscula*.
- [8] Pinto, Jacobo. *Christus Crucifixus*.
- [9] Mendoza/Mendoca/Mendonça, Francesco de, S.J. *Commentaria in libros regnum*.
- [10] Rosinus, Johannes. *Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum*.
- [11] Mendoza/Mendoca/Mendonça, Francesco de, S.J. *Viridarium sacrae ac profanae eruditionis*.
- [12] Sayer, Gregory, O.S.B. *Clavis Regia*.
- [13] Nani Mirabelli, Domenico. *Polyanthea*.
- [14] Labata, Francisco, S.J. *Apparatus concionatorum seu Loci Communes ad Conciones ordine alphabetico digest*.
- [15] Puente, Luis de la, S.J. *Expositio moralis et mystica in Canticum Canticorum*.

- [16] Fiamma, Gabriele. *Le Vite de' Santi assegnati à quattro primi mesi dell'anno.*
 [17] Hosius, Stanislaus. *Opera omnia.*
 [18] *Syllabar libri XVII*—obscure.
 [19] *Orazio Comentato.*
 [20] *Metamorfosi d'Ovidio con comento.*
 [21] *Cicerone de Officiis, con comento.*
 [22] Josephus, Flavius. *Josephi Hebrai Antiquitatum Iudaicarum.*
 [23] *Calepino antico.* Author: Calepino, Ambrosius, O.E.S.A.; probably an edition of one of his dictionaries.
 [24] Thomas Aquinas, O.P. *Expositio in epistolas omnes d. Pauli apostoli. Sermones tam pro diebus dominicis quam sanctorum festivitibus.*
 *[25] *Cicerone de Oratore.*
 *[26] Bonacina, Martino. *Summa sive Compendium.*
 [27] Gregory I. *Moralia in [or super] Job.*
 [28] Maximus, Publius Valerius. *Valerius Maximus, noviter recognitus cum commentario historico videlicet ac literato Oliverii Arzignanensis et familiari admodus ac succinto Jodici Badii Iscensii.*
 [29] Durantis [or Durandis], Gulielmus. *Rationale divinatorum officiorum.*
 *[30] *Biblia Sacra.*
 [31] *Decreti Prima, et secunda pars.*
 [32] Gregory IX. *Decretales D. Gregorii Papae IX. suae integritati restituae: cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max & aliorum Principum.*
 [33] Boniface VIII. *Liber sextus Decretalium Clementis V papae constitutiones cum apparatu Joannis Andreae.*

In quarto

- [34] Tixier, Jean. *Epitheta Ioannes Ravisii Textoris.*
 [35] Strada, Famiano, S.J. *Della guerra di Fiandra.*
 [36] *M.T. Ciceronis Opera Omnia.*
 [37] *Adagia quaecumque ad hanc diem exierunt, Paulii Manutii. . . .*
 [38] Matthieu, Pierre. *Historia di Francia, et delle cose memorabili occorse nelle Provincie straniere.*
 [39] Diego de Baeza, S.J. *Commentaria moralia in evangelicam historiam.*
 [40] Aresi, Paolo, O. Theat. *Imprese sacre.*
 [41] Cavalcanti, Bartolomeo. *La retorica.*
 [42] Aresi, Paolo, O. Theat. *Mundi tribulatio eiusque remedia scriptoris Patrum testimoniis.*
 [43] Luis de Granada. *Opere omnia.*
 [44] Mazzolini da Prierio, Silvestro, O.P. *Summa Summarum que Silvestrina dicitur.*
 [45] Lancellotti, Secondo. *L'Hoggidi, ovvero, il mondo non peggiore nè più calamitoso del passato.*
 [46] Nannini, Remigio, O.P. *Orationi militari, raccolte da tutti i historici.*
 [47] Martin de Azpilcueta, Canon Regular. *Enchiridion, sive manuale confessoriorum et poenitentium.*
 [48] Giliberti, Vincenzo, O. Theat. *Le sacre corone dell'anno ecclesiastico.*
 [49] Giliberti, Vincenzo, O. Theat. *La città d'Iddio incarnato.*
 [50] *Opere di S. Agostino in to: 10.*
 *[51] *Biblia Sacra in Asse.*
 [52] Imerius de Anselmis. *Discursus super epistolas Pauli.*
 [53] Garzoni, Tommaso, Cong. Lateranense. *La Sinagoga de gl'ignoranti.*
 [54] Calamato, Alessandro. *Selva nuovissima di concetti.*

- [55] *Cornelio Tacito illustrato.*
 [56] *Sermoni di S. Agostino.*
 [57] Grotto, Luigi, Cieco d'Adria. *Orationes di Luigi Grotto, cieco, ambasciator di Hadria.*
 [58] *Prediche del B. Ignazio—obscure, possibly Ignatius a Cruce, O. Aug. Disc. Prediche quaresimali.*
 [59] Torsellino, Orazio, S.J. *De vita B. Francisci Xavierii.*
 [60] Carletti, Angelo, di Chivasso, O.F.M. *Summa Angelica de casibus conscientiae.*

In ottavo

- [61] *Martino del Rio singularis locorum—Author: Martinus Antonius Del Rio [or Delrio], S.J.; obscure.*
 [62] *Orazione di Quintiliano.*
 [63] *Due Tomi del Rodrigues—obscure.*
 * [64] Alexandrinus of Alexandria. *Appiani Alexandrini Rom. historiarum.*
 [65] *Expositiones in Orationes con Verse—obscure.*
 [66] *Epistolae familiares M.T.C. [Marcus Tullius Cicero]*
 [67] Lipsius, Justus. *De cruce libri tres ad sacram profanam-historiam utiles.*
 [68] *Cathechismus.*

In sestodecimo

- [69] Perpiñá, Pedro Juan, S.J. *Orationes.*
 * [70] *Testamentum Novum.*
 [71] Bruni, Leonardo. *Libro della guerra de Ghotti.*
 [72] Gregory I. *Homelie XV beati Gregorii papae de diversis lectionibus evangelii.*
 [73] *Sermones Quadragesimalis—obscure.*
 [74] *Niccolo de Lyra commenti 16.o.*

1703–1715

Index Librorum existentium in Bibliotheca Seminarii Fesulani de licentia Ill[ustrissi]mi ac Rev[erendissi]mi D[omi]ni Horatii Panciatici. Libris aliis Spiritualibus commutandorum

- * [75] *Cicero de Oratore.*
 [76] *Epithome distinctionum—obscure.*
 [77] *Postilla in Evangelia Quadragesimae—obscure.*
 [78] Buchler, Johann. *Thesaurus phrasium poeticarum.*
 [79] Despauterius, Joannes. *Contextus grammaticae artis Joannis Despauterii.*
 [80] *Hores Italici, ac Latini Sermonis—obscure.*
 [81] Boldoni, Sigismondo. *Larius, cui accedunt epistolae triginta selectae nec non carmina quaedam latina inedita et liber quartus poematis italici cui titulus la caduta dei Longobardi.*
 [82] *Constitutiones Presbiterorum Spiritus S. Florentiae.*
 [83] Ghislerio, Francisco. *De iudice regularium tractatus, in quo summaria praxis criminalis regularibus applicata continentur.*
 [84] *Annotationes priuticae ad varia Iuris pontificii Loca—obscure.*
 [85] *M. T. C.o Tusculanarum Quaestionum.*
 [86] *Summa Caietana.*
 [87] Francisco de Vitoria, O.P. *Summa sacramentorum ecclesiae.*
 [88] *Monopantoni Armonicum—obscure.*
 * [89] *Compendium Bonaccinae.*

- [90] Apuleius Madaurensis. *Apuleio dell'asino d'oro*.
- [91] Possenti, Antonio. *Il flagello de' Turchi; historia discorsa*.
- [92] Loredano, Giovanni Francesco. *La Diana*.
- [93] *Modo di consacrar le Vergine—obscure*.
- [94] Zani, Celso, O.F.M. Obs. *Rettorica (e poetica) ecclesiastica, e civile*.
- [95] Mascardi, Agostino. *Saggi accademici*.
- [96] Guevara, Antonio de, O.F.M. *Delle lettere dell'illus[trissimo] signore don Antonio de Guevara*.
- [97] Barco, Giovanni Pietro. *Specchio Religioso per le monache posto in luce d'ordine*.
- [98] *Teodia di Monsignore Zani—obscure*.
- [99] *Panegirici del Pre' Gherardi—obscure*.
- [100] Sgambati, Scipione, S.J. *Hoc anno verae theologiae novum saeculum nasci, sectas omnes ad interitum vergere, Oratio P.S. Sgambati*.
- [101] *Omellie del Pistoria—obscure*.
- [102] *Ipcrita abiurato del Rassinesi—obscure*.
- [103] Imerius de Anselmis. *Statu religioso et claustrali*.
- [104] *Phaetra Evangelica t.o 2: possibly Gilbert of Tournai or William de la Furmenterie, Phaetra; Anon., Phaetra, Tuscany, 15th C. MS.; Lanspergius, Joannes Justus, Carth., Phaetra divini amoris; or Theobaldus, superior, Phaetra fidei catholicae contra Judeos*.
- [105] *Specchio della Vita Religiosa—obscure*.
- [106] Malvezzi, Virgilio. *David perseguitato*.
- [107] *Le Abramo del Nissenno—Author: Diego Niseno, O.S.B. Abbot, preacher; obscure*.
- [108] Bruni, Leonardo. *Le vite di Dante*.
- *[109] *Appiano Alessandrino tradotto*.
- [110] *L'Innamorato di Giesù—obscure*.
- [111] *Introductio in Historia Romana*.
- [112] Loredano, Giovanni Francesco. *Bizzarie accademiche*.
- *[113] *Catechismo*.
- [114] *Giustino storico nelle historie di Trogo Pompeio*.
- [115] Biondo, Flavio. *Roma ristaurata, et Italia illustrata*.
- [116] Loredano, Giovanni Francesco. *Lettere del signor Gio Francesco Loredano*.
- [117] Alunno, Franceso. *La fabrica del mondo*.
- *[118] *Testamento nuovo*.
- [119] *Orazioni militari—Is this the same Orazioni militari by Remigio Fiorentino on the 1646 list?*
- [120] *Polibio Historico Greco*.
- [121] Marino, Giovanni Battista. *Dicerie sacre*.
- [122] Bisaccione, Maiolino. *Historia delle guerre civili degli ultimi tempi*.
- [123] Leonicus Thomaeus, Nicolas. *Nicolai Leonici Thomaei De Varia historia libri tres nuper in lucem editi*.
- *[124] *Biblia sacra*.
- [125] Incarnato, Fabio. *Scrutinium sacerdotale, sive Modus examinandi tam in visitatione episcopali, quam in susceptione ordinum*.
- [126] Puccinelli, Placido, O.S.B. *Historia dell'eroiche attioni de' B. B. Gometio Portugese abbate di Badia di Firenze*.
- [127] Mascardi, Agostino. *Orazioni*.
- [128] *I tre Libri della rettorica d'Aristotele a Theodette; tradotti in lingua volgare, da M. Alessandro Piccolomini*.
- [129] *Prose e versi spagnuoli sopra il Natale—obscure*.
- [130] *Stato de Beati in Cielo I:spagnuolo—obscure*.

- [131] *Rosario della B.V. in Lingua spagnuola*—obscure.
 [132] *Cathologus sanctorum, et Beatorum totius ordinis Camaldulensis*—obscure.
 [133] *Chalendarium Carmelitanum*—obscure.
 [134] Bellasio, Pietro, Ord. Hier. Fes. *Promptuarium Regulare Complectens ea fere omnia.*
 [135] *Breviarium Romanorum.*

1721

- [136] Abreu, Sebastian d', S.J. *Institutio parochi: seu speculum parochorum.*
 [137] Potesta, Felix, O.F.M. *Examen ecclesiasticus.*
 [138–41] *4 Avvertimenti della Lingua Toscana 12*—obscure.
 [142–5] Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo, S.J. *4 Dichiarazione della dottrina Cristiana.*
 [146] *Super i Morali del Clericato tom. 9. in q.to*—obscure.
 [147] *Viva Sopra le Proposizioni q.to*—obscure.
 * [148–9] *2 Catechismi Rom. 8.o di Padova.*
 [150] Campionus, Franciscus Maria. *Instructio pro se praeparantibus ad audiendas confessiones.*
 [151] Tonelli, Ippolito. *Sacrum enchiridium.*
 [152] Pacivechelli/Paciuchelli, Angelo, O.P. *Lezioni morali sopra Giona profeta, Divisi in tre tomi.*
 [153] *Annali del Saliano.*

Notes

1. This study, based on the author's dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 1995), was made possible in part by a 1996 grant-in-aid from the Friends of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries.
2. Romano Rosa, "La Biblioteca Bandiniana del Seminario di Fiesole," *Firenze insieme*, n.d., 13.
3. The source of the list is Archivio Vescovile di Fiesole (AVF) VII.1/A.22/1, f. 1.
4. Nicholas Petit, "La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye St-Geneviève," box in Claude Jolly, "Unité et diversité des collections religieuses," *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*. Vol. 2: *Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530–1789* (Paris: Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1988), 21.
5. James F. O'Gorman, *The Architecture of the Monastic Library in Italy 1300–1600* (New York: New York University Press, 1972), 9, 39–42, 67.
6. Luciano Allegra, *Ricerche sulla cultura del clero in Piemonte: le biblioteche parrocchiali nell'arcidiocesi di Torino sec. XVII-XVIII* (Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria Torino, 1989), 220–1, table 2.
7. Deutscher has not published his study, but generously shared this information with me in a personal communication, 18 February 1998.
8. Xenio Toscani, "I seminari e il clero secolare in Lombardia nei secoli XVI-XIX," in *Chiesa e società: Appunti per una storia delle diocesi lombarde*, ed. by A. Caprioli, A. Rimoldi and L. Vaccaro (Brescia: La Scuola, 1986), 234.
9. See Kathleen M. Comerford, "The Influence of the Jesuits on the seminary curriculum in Fiesole, 1635–1646," *Catholic Historical Review* LXXXIV (1998): 662–80.
10. During the course of 1642, the seminary bought the *Vita dei Santi* of Gabriele Fiamma, for mealtime readings (Archivio del Seminario Fiesolano

[ASF] 248, *Entrata ed Uscita* 1637, 134v), the *Theatrum vitae humanae* (ASF 248, 141v), and three “mute” (packs?) of music books (ASF 248, 168v). In addition, a total of 95 “pezzi di libri, di varii Autorii” were purchased from the Dominicans in 1642–1643 (ASF 248, 141r and 148r). This may mean *pecie*, or manuscript quires which would eventually be bound into a single volume; this practice of copying books in pieces was used by medieval university students who often could not afford to buy complete volumes. Perhaps the seminary bought some of these older books from the Dominicans. It may also mean something akin to a pamphlet, without a hard binding. There are no clear indications of which books correspond to the numbers purchased from the Dominicans. In 1644 the seminary bought a missal (ASF 250, 141r). I found no other references to book purchases until 1667, when the seminary bought an *Antiphonary* and a *Graduale* and 1670, when they purchased a used missal (ASF 251, 187r, 222r). The 1721 references to purchases are found in a list separate from other accounts, catalogued with the 1703–1715 library inventory (ASF VII.1/A.22/2, 2). Dates are expressed in common time, not the “stile fiorentino” in use in Fiesole in the seventeenth century, in which the calendar was reckoned from 25 March to 24 March.

11. I must emphasize that the classification is my own; the books were organized on the lists by size (1646) or not at all (eighteenth-century inventories).

12. W. Keith Percival, “Grammar and Rhetoric in the Renaissance,” in *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the theory and practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 322. The most popular text to teach grammar in sixteenth-century Italian lower schools was *Ianua*, spuriously attributed to Donatus and often called *Donatus* (a phenomenon limited to the Italian peninsula); thus the absence of this book is curious. See Paul Grendler, “The Teaching of Latin in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Schools,” in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bologna 26 August to 1 September 1979*, ed. by R. J. Schoeck (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), 258–76.

13. ASF *Confirmatio et Constitutiones Seminarii Fesulani. Anno Domini MDCXXXIX*, n.p., n.d.

14. On Loredano, see, e.g., Giovanni [*sic*] Francesco Loredano, *The Life of Adam (1640). A facsimile reproduction of the English translation of 1659 with an introduction by Roy C. Flannagan with John Arthos* (Gainesville: Scholars' Fascimiles & Reprints, 1967), viii–ix.; on Guevara, see, e.g., *Enciclopedia Cattolica (EC)* (Vatican City, 1949–1954), vol. 6, 1250–1, s.v. “Guevara, Antonio de,” by Enzo Navarra.

15. Claudine Lemaire categorized the *Polyanthea* as philosophy in “La Bibliothèque des Imprimés de la reine Marie de Hongrie,” 119–39.

16. I. D. McFarlane, “Reflections on Ravius Textor’s *Specimen Epithetorum*,” in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500–1700: Proceedings of an international conference held at King’s College, Cambridge, April 1974*, ed. by R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 86.

17. Walter J. Ong, “Commonplace Rhapsody: Ravius Textor, Zwinger and Shakespeare,” in Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences*, 116.

18. Cesare Vasoli, “Le Accademie fra Cinquecento e Seicento e il loro ruolo nella storia della tradizione enciclopedica,” in *Università, Accademie e Società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento. Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico Quaderno 9*, ed. by Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi (Bologna, 1981), 87.

19. Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986), 107, identifies Strada as “professor of

rhetoric" in 1617. Della Robbia became bishop of Cortona in 1628 and of Fiesole in 1634, and died in 1645, making it likely that he could have been taught personally by Strada.

20. On Bruni, see Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, transl. and intro., *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Binghamton, 1987), particularly the introductory article "The New History," by Gordon Griffiths, 175–84. On Salian, see *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique (DTC)*, Alfred Baudrillart et al., eds. (Paris, 1905–1915), vol. 14 pt. 1, s.v. "Salian, Jacques," by André Rayez, col. 1034. On Thomaeus, see Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, eds., *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), s.v. "Niccolò Leonico Tomaeo," by M. J. C. Lowry, 223–4.

21. James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of rhetorical theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 359–60. On the conflict between the general Ciceronian ideal of the purpose of rhetoric and the Quintilian Stoic, moralistic interpretation, see John Monfasani, "Episodes of Anti-Quintilianism in the Italian Renaissance: Quarrels on the Orator as a *vir bonus* and Rhetoric as the *scientia bene dicendi*," *Rhetorica* X (1992), 119–38.

22. Adriani (1464–1521) was a disciple of Landino and Politian; he held Politian's chair in the Studio Pubblico Fiorentino and served as first chancellor of the Florentine Republic. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (DBI)*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti, dir. (Rome, 1979–), vol. 1, s.v. "Adriani, Marcello Virgilio," by G. Miccoli, 310–1. Francesco Cattani da Diacceto the Younger, bishop of Fiesole from 1570 to 1595, had a degree in civil and canon law and taught philosophy in the Studio Pubblico Fiorentino. He had attended the Council of Trent and was a convinced and active reformer. See Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra Sive de Episcopis Italiae, et Insularum adiacentium, rebusque ab iis praclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram usque aetatem* (Venice, 1715), vol. 3, col. 265; Riccardo Tucci, "Ricerche su Francesco Cattani da Diacceto il Giovane (1531–1595): Cultura teologica e problemi formativi e pastorali" (Tesi di Laurea, anno Accademico 1979–1980, Università degli Studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia).

23. G. A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: Trends in Vernacular Grammar II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 125.

24. As quoted in Dominic A. LaRusso, "Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance," in Murphy, ed., *Renaissance Eloquence*, 48–9 and n. 33.

25. Perpinya taught at the Jesuit Collegio Romano until 1565; see Jean Dietz Moss, "The Rhetoric Course at the Collegio Romano in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century," *Rhetorica* IV (1986): 137–52. His work, thus, may have been taught to della Robbia, and certainly had influence on Strada and Mascardi. He was also a professor of rhetoric at Coïmbra.

26. I am grateful to Thomas Deutscher for helping me with this reference.

27. For example, the curriculum of the diocesan seminary of Novara, first published in 1609, operated on two levels. The younger students, aged twelve to nineteen years old, studied grammar and the humanities, with special lessons in catechism and ecclesiastical ceremonies on feast days; and the older candidates for the priesthood studied, in a separate building, the Roman catechism, ecclesiastical ceremonies, cases of conscience, and singing. Thomas Deutscher, "Seminaries and the Education of Novarese Parish Priests, 1593–1627," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981): 306. Deutscher has concluded, based on library holdings and Bishop Carlo Bascapè's instructions, that "theology and

the scriptures remained at best of secondary importance in clerical formation" (309).

28. Timothy Tackett, *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France: a social and political study of the curés in a Diocese of Dauphiné, 1750–1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 81, referring to the 1712 synodal ordinances of Gap.

29. The commentaries were: Gregory I, *Moralia in Job*; Imerius de Anselmis, *Discursus super epistolas Pauli* (both 1646); and Angelo Pacivechelli [Paciuchelli], O.P., *Lezioni morali sopra Giona profeta* (1721).

30. *EC* Vol. I, s.v. "Aresi, Paolo," by Giambattista Salinari, col. 1856.

31. *Contemporaries of Erasmus* vol. 2, s.v. "Stanislaus Hosius of Crakow, 5 May 1505–5 Aug 1579," by Halina Kowalska, 206–7.

32. Jean Delumeau has argued, particularly in *Le péché et la peur: La culpabilisation en Occident, XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1983) [*Sin and Fear: The emergence of a Western guilt culture, 1300–1800*, transl. Eric Nicholson (New York: St. Martins Press, 1990)], *Rassurer et protéger: Le sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), and *L'aveu et la pardon: Les difficultés de la confession XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1990) that early manuals were more encyclopedic and thus were meant more for the priests, while later ones were more oriented toward the parishioner, because they were written in the vernacular and mostly by mendicants. An examination of the content of the manuals does not support these conclusions. For the opposing point of view, see, among others, Aron Gurevitch, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, transl. Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Craig Harline, "Official Religion-Popular Religion in Recent Historiography of the Catholic Reformation," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (1990): 239–61, and J. K. Powis, "Repression and Autonomy: Christians and Christianity in the Historical Work of Jean Delumeau," *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992): 366–74.

33. Sayer was a Benedictine doctor of civil and canon laws who taught both kinds of law at the seminary of Milan in 1608, where he was involved in the Borromeo legacy; he later moved on to the Helvetic Seminary.

34. The *Summa*, called *Compendium* on the 1703–1715 inventory, was an edition of his *De Morali Theologia, et omnibus conscientiae nodis* (Lyon, 1624), and therefore not the classic type of *summa*; it has some anti-rigorist tendencies, making it useful in the Jesuit-Jansenist debate. *DBI* vol. 11, s.v. "Bonacina, Martino," by V. Castronovo, 467.

35. If, in fact, the *Stato religioso* was Morigia's book, this raises some questions. The Gesuati were a mostly Italian lay eremitical order founded by Giovanni Columbini in 1360, which were forbidden through the sixteenth century to take clerical vows. After Morigia's death, they were converted by Paul VI into a clerical order (an effort which Morigia had resisted). In 1668, along with several orders including the Eremiti di S. Gerolamo di Fiesole, they were suppressed due to their inability to adapt to the changing church. Romana Guarnieri, "Gesuati," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 4 (Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1973–), Cols. 1116–30. Would the seminary have kept the advice of a suppressed order's superior-general for its students to read? This is a difficult question to answer, considering the nature of the work.

36. The unidentified music is "tre mute di libri di musica", ASF 248, f. 168v; other purchases are found in ASF 250 f. 141r; ASF 251 ff. 147r; 222r. See n. 7, *supra*. The Cathedral S. Romolo of Fiesole is across the piazza from the seminary.

37. See n. 1, *supra*.

38. ASF *Constitutiones*. The seminary today does contain a chapel, but the original single-story building may not have, since the foundation documents make no mention of one. Since the cathedral was so close, a chapel may not have been considered necessary.

39. Kenneth C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 150.

40. Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 150–1.

41. Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 151. It is possible that Mascardi, rather than Strada, was della Robbia's teacher, but I have found no date for the former's tenure at the Collegio Romano.

42. Jason Lewis Saunders, *Justus Lipsius: the philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York, 1955), 6, 11–3, 21–7.

43. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius*, 44, 51–2.

44. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius*, 122 and n. 110.

45. I have discussed the connections between the seminary and the Society of Jesus at greater length in "The Influence of the Jesuits," *passim*. According to Thomas M. Conley, "the most significant influence on the history of rhetoric in the seventeenth century was that exercised by the Society of Jesus," *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (New York, 1990), 152.

46. One volume, identified only as *Faretra evangelica*, may be polemical in nature; but this title may as easily refer to a spiritual work. See the Appendix under 1703–1715.

47. For a recent statement of this, see Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500–1789* (New Haven, 1984), 1, 42.

48. ASF Notarile Moderno contains the *testamenti*, or wills, of those in Florence and environs. After a careful reading of the wills of all the names from my sample who wrote them, I found no donations to the seminary from either seminary priests, seminary staff, or non-seminary diocesan priests other than the bishops. Many of these wills do, however, contain donations to pious foundations, including confraternities and chapels.

49. David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: the system of the sacred in early modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 47.

50. See Rosa, "La Biblioteca Bandiniana," 13–4.

51. Sources: For 1646, Archivio Vescovile di Fiesole (AVF) VII.1/A.1/10 ff. 6v–7r; AVF VII.60, *Ricordi*, ff. 80r–v. The books are listed in the order in which they are found in VII.1/A.1/10, but with complete author and title information. The organization is slightly different in VII.60, and one volume is found in VII.1/A.1/10 which does not appear in *Ricordi*. For 1703–1715, AVF VII.1/A.22/1, f. 1. After 1646, the books are not organized according to volume size. For 1721, AVF VII.1/A.22/2, f. 2. Where the book is obscure, identified, the citation is reproduced as it was found in the original inventory. Books marked with an asterisk (*) were found in more than one inventory.