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Cheap, Everyday Print:  
Jobbing Printing and its Users  
in Post-Tridentine Bologna

Volume I of Two  
(Text)

by

Rebecca Carnevali

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Renaissance Studies

University of Warwick, Centre for the Study of the Renaissance  
November 2019
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generous with their time and advice. Lastly, my thanks go to the various offices in these and other institutions (such as the Galleria Estense of Modena) that dealt with my image reproduction requests speedily and understandingly, as well as to every single administrative staff that made my research and travels over these years possible.

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On a more personal note, I dedicate this book to my parents, whom I half-jokingly call now my ‘home sponsors’, for the invaluable and continuous support through all these years of academic endeavours and travels, and for turning the dream of my grandparents’ generation into something real. I also dedicate this book to Alexander Green, my Alex, for showing me that it is possible to survive academia under your own conditions, and for making this time exciting and blissful until the very end.
Declaration

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been carried out and composed entirely by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree.
Abstract

This thesis explores the people and practices around cheap print in the city of Bologna between the end of the Council of Trent (1563) and the plague epidemic of 1630. In particular, it investigates the social and institutional actors that used cheap print, that is, its producers and distributors, the authorities who commissioned and regulated it, and its audience. The discussion of the ways in which this engagement took place will allow me to assess the role of each of the above actors in shaping the significance of cheap print within the city and the influence of printed ephemera on local everyday life. I analyse such an agency by looking at the interactions of practices, at the individual and collective level, and especially at the material implications of producing, distributing, and consuming cheap print.

With this in mind, my thesis has two main goals. The first is to unveil the creation and evolution of an interconnected urban network around cheap print by the middle of the seventeenth century, and how this network also informed the status and significance of cheap print within early modern Italy as well as the history of printing. The second is what this evolution can tell us about the political and social developments happening in Bologna during this particular historical moment. An increasing institutionalisation of the use of printed ephemera in state governance, policing, and bureaucracy by the local authorities, the shared experience at all social levels of cheap print as part of a wider everyday world of objects, and the substantial, continued support jobbing printing provided to printers and publishers through its connection with papermaking will be the most prominent aspects of the story of cheap print in post-Tridentine Bologna that my thesis sets to illuminate.
### Abbreviations

#### Archives and Libraries

<table>
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<td>ASBo</td>
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<td>AABo</td>
<td>Archivio Arcivescovile, Bologna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASVe</td>
<td>Archivio di Stato, Venice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUB</td>
<td>Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCAB</td>
<td>Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio, Bologna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCRB</td>
<td>Collezioni d’Arte e di Storia della Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Bologna, Bologna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNCR</td>
<td>Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNCR</td>
<td>Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>Newberry Library, Chicago</td>
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#### Printed Publications and Databases

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<tr>
<td>DBI</td>
<td><em>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</em> (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-)</td>
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<td>BM</td>
<td><em>Bononia manifesta: catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio</em>, ed. by Zita Zanardi (Florence: Olschki, 1996), and <em>Bononia manifesta. Supplemento al catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio</em>, ed. by Zita Zanardi (Florence: Olschki, 2014)</td>
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EDIT16  *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*,
Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche

SBN Antico  *Catalogo del Servizio bibliotecario nazionale italiano – Libro antico: pubblicazioni monografiche dal XV secolo fino al 1830*

DETLI  *Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento*, ed. by Marco Santoro and others, 3 vols (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2013)

TIB  *The Illustrated Bartsch* (New York: Abaris Books, 1978-)

**Other abbreviations**

b.  *busta*
caps.  *capsa*
fol./fols  *leaf/ves*
mm  *millimetres*
ms.  *manuscript*
n.d.  *no date of publication*
n.p.  *no place of publication*
n.pub.  *no publisher/s*
op.  *opuscolo*
pl.  *plate(s)*
prot.  *protocollo*
t.  *tome*
tav.  *table(s)*
Note on Transcriptions

All translations into English are my own unless otherwise stated. In the transcriptions from early modern Italian and Latin texts I have expanded abbreviations and modernized the punctuation, capitalization, and spelling. I have, however, decided to preserve the original spelling of early modern editions in order to facilitate their retrieval in catalogues and databases, and I have abbreviated long titles for the purpose of more concise footnotes and bibliography. For early modern editions and prints, I also included the publication and bibliographical details, where possible, and the library and call number of the copy I have consulted; I have added the support material and measurements in the case of artistic prints and artworks in general.

Note on Currency

In the period considered, a Bolognese lira was worth twenty soldi or 240 denari, one soldo corresponding to twelve denari. A bolognino had the same value as a soldo, meaning that there were twenty bolognini in a Bolognese lira. Among smaller coins, one bolognino was worth six quattrini or sesini, and a carlino was worth between five and six bolognini.

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Giulio Cesare Croce, Barcelletta piacevolissima, sopra i fanciulli, che vendano ventarole (Bologna: Giovanni Battista Bianchi, 1725), paper fan (ventarola), BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LI, t. VII/3.

Figure no. 84

Agostino Carracci, headpiece in the form of a fan, engraving, c.1593/4, 372 x 251 mm, Washington, The National Gallery of Art, no. 1975.1.3 [TIB no. 260-II (149)].

Figure no. 85


Figure no. 86


Figure no. 87

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Agostino Veneziano, grotesque heads, engraving, 1516, 159 x 128 mm, London, British Museum, no. 1854,0614.393.

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Figure no. 98  p. 277
Anonymous Bolognese painter, *Piazza Maggiore con cantastorie e burattini*, oil on canvas, *ante* 1787, 610 x 885 mm, FCRB, Painting collection, no. M82.

Figure no. 99  p. 277

Figure no. 100  p. 281
Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Agli appassionati delle guerre*, etching, 1690, 198 x 310 mm, FCRB, Prints and drawings collection, no. 2243 (rep.1/307).
Introduction

It’s a further thing of overlooked and inconsiderate madness, and not at all a
trifle, to see the works, the endeavours, and the sweat and blood of the
venerable fathers and doctors of the holy Church of Christ […] printed in
such careless, filthy, awful, and graceless letters. This makes any zealous
reader lose the will to read, and besides the terrible letters the paper is black,
smoked and rough, and dirty like food-wrapping paper used for tuna gone
sour, or Bolognese calendars.¹

When describing the poor quality of certain contemporary publications in his
Ricordi ovvero ammaestramenti, the humanist and poet Sabba da Castiglione
(1480-1554) decided to compare them to greasy food-wrapping paper and
Bolognese astrological prognostications. The poor quality was for him especially
evident in the paper and types used, in spite of the content of the publications (the
writings of saints and doctors of the Church), and the lack of readability made
them look more similar to products worlds apart from printed books. By the
middle of the sixteenth century, certain poorly printed materials had evidently
become synonyms, for cultivated people like Sabba, for a specific kind of cheap
print from the city of Bologna.

Indeed, early-modern printing presses produced a wide range of items that
were not books, and that were significantly cheaper or poorer in comparison:

¹ Sabba da Castiglione, Ricordi ovvero ammaestramenti […] ne quali con prudenti, e christiani
discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano a un vero gentil’huomo (Venice:
trascurata e inconsiderata pazzia ma non picciola, la quale ´e vedere le opere, le fatiche, e li sudori
delli venerabili padri e dottori della santa Chiesa di Cristo […] imprese in lettere cieche, sozze,
brutte, disgratiate di fare fuggire la voglia di leggere a qual si voglia studioso lettore, e oltra gli
sciagurati caratteri le carte sono negre, affumate e ruvide, e succede da scartocci di tonnina rancida
o da lunari bolognesi’; see the digital edition at
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=IZBZyV9nZjMC [last accessed 24 June 2020]. On this
figure, see Franca Petrucci, ‘Castiglione, Sabba’, in DBI, vol. 22 (1979):
http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sabba-castiglione_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/
[last accessed 24 June 2020]. See the Note on Transcriptions for the criteria followed in this thesis with
respect to punctuation, capitalization, and spelling; see also Abbreviations for a list of the
abbreviations used.
decrees and proclamations, notifications and licences, single-sheet illustrated prints, playing cards, wallpaper, and so on. Such materials constituted the everyday reality of the profession for the majority of printshops active across all Europe, for, in the words of Peter Stallybrass, ‘printers printed sheets not books’.²

It is undeniable that the scarce survival rate of printed items such as schoolbooks, official ephemera, and more everyday devotional prints has made investigations in this field difficult. Scholars nowadays calculate that we may have lost more than the 90% of the cheap-print production from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the survival rate only moderately increasing in the rest of the early modern era. The figures also work as evidence for the fact that these were the most widespread products of the press.³ Besides, products of this kind are among the earliest surviving printed items from the fifteenth century, such as the 1454 indulgence by Johannes Gutenberg (c.1400-1468) or the fragment of a devotional image of the Passion of Christ from Bondeno, near Ferrara.⁴ Administrative and governmental ephemera have also survived from the first decades of printing.⁵

It took a long time for scholars, though, to pay full attention to the existence and relevance of early-modern cheap print, both within histories of the printing press and in its relationship with broader historical developments. At first, investigations mainly kept within the boundaries of descriptive bibliography, especially in Italy where Francesco Novati (1859-1915) promoted a seminal (although never completed) series of catalogues of cheap-print editions in state

³ Neil Harris, ‘La sopravvivenza del libro, ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia’, Edotica, 4 (2007), 24–65, especially 46–53; Ugo Rozzo, La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell’Italia dei secoli XV e XVI (Udine: Forum, 2008); Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe, ed. by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2016). In his title, Rozzo uses the metaphor of a ‘massacre’ to describe the considerable destruction that early modern single-sheet printed items underwent.
⁵ As early as 1482 in the case of ordinances from Cologne: Saskia Limbach, ‘Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne’, in Lost Books, ed. by Bruni and Pettegree, pp. 488–503, p. 489. See also Stallybrass, ““Little Jobs””, p. 316, for several cases of indulgences and certificates printed in different cities in central Europe.
libraries. On a broader European level, it was only with the work of historians of print like Roger Chartier or cultural historians such as Peter Burke, that consumption and readership became subjects of consistent investigations. Consequently, cheap-print items such as prayer booklets and vernacular ballads gained academic relevance as the best way to assess the practices and social composition of wider, including lower, social classes. Such studies consolidated the place of cheap print in the scholarly debate, and subsequent research continued to apply the lens of social history to that of print, for instance with respect to folk culture and astrology. A renewed attention to the lower strata of the population opened up the field to the often anonymous agents of print history, such as pedlars and mountebanks, and led to the consideration of connected production and distribution networks, as in the rediscovery of the French Bibliothèque Bleu and the surveys of the Wolfenbüttel conference of 1991.

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recent works have continued on this path, especially with respect to the relationship between oral and print culture in early modern Italy.\(^\text{10}\)

In light of all this, we are still in the process of finding out more about several aspects of cheap print that informed its scope and significance in the early modern period. So far, research has unveiled or focussed on certain aspects of it depending on what cheap print was interpreted to be as well as the descriptors used to denote it. When early generations of scholars working on the subject spoke of ‘popular print’ they meant to stress the widespread and long-lasting popularity of its products and themes. Especially with respect to illustrated materials, as in Achille Bertarelli (1863-1938), the essence of cheap print was that it presented a—supposedly—faithful image of everyday people’s objects and habits.\(^\text{11}\) In following studies of print and cultural history, though, the descriptor ‘popular’ came to indicate the culture of the lower social classes in opposition to that of élites.\(^\text{12}\) This use was later heavily criticized by other scholars, above all


Chartier, who argued that publications such as vernacular ballads or news reports enjoyed their success across different social classes, and not only over time and large areas. In this sense more inclusive terms, such as ‘books for all’ or ‘widely-distributed literature’, have been recently used to refer to cheap-print items.\footnote{See Armando Petrucci, ‘Alle origini del libro moderno. Libri da banco, libri da bisaccia, libretti da mano’, 
_Italia medioevale e umanistica_, 12 (1969), 295–313; _Libri per tutti: generi editoriali di larga circolazione tra antico regime ed età contemporanea_, ed. by Mario Infelise, Giorgio Bacci, and Lodovica Braida (Turin: UTET, 2010); and Laura Carnelos, “Con libri alla mano”: l’editoria di larga diffusione a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento (Milan: Unicopli, 2012). A similar approach characterized the work of the international research network EDPOP \url{https://edpop.wp.hum.uu.nl/} [last accessed 24 June 2020].} In a similar way Anglophone scholars have used the expression ‘cheap print’ when speaking of widely-distributed items, as a substitute for—but sometimes together with—‘popular print’.\footnote{Among others, see Tessa Watt, _Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640_ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); _The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol I ‘Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660’_, ed. by Joad Raymond (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Rosa Salzberg, _Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice_ (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).} However, most of these approaches do so from the standpoint of consumption, for they start their investigations from the assumption that these items enjoyed such a wide circulation because they were distributed and sold at a cheap price, sometimes even for free.\footnote{In particular, although Carnelos, “Con libri alla mano” (especially the chapters ‘In tipografia’, pp. 117–153, and ‘Dall’ingrosso al dettaglio’, pp. 155–178) dwells upon the cheap conditions in which commercial cheap print was produced and distributed in early modern Venice, it does not extend its analysis to the impact of such conditions on its consumption.} What most of these analyses overlook is how only cheap production processes allowed the widespread circulation and affordability of such printed items, and thus the interconnection and mutual influences between these different stages of their life cycle.

This thesis analyses ephemeral printed items from this exact perspective. Specifically, I have chosen to examine different kinds of cheaply-printed products at the same time: governmental, administrative, devotional, and literary products, as well as ephemeral objects, will be explored alongside each other so as to highlight their common origins as cheaply-printed items. In fact, such widely-distributed printed items were generally printed in large quantities on low-quality paper and with worn printing types; formats consisted of few pages or of large single sheets; when present, illustrations were adapted from previous editions and
constantly reused. These production conditions were a result of the struggle to save on running costs: in early-modern printing, paper was always the highest cost compared to all others, usually even higher than labour, rent, and that of printing types. At the same time, it was normal for the early-modern tipografi of Bologna to produce cheap print for sale, such as board games and fans, alongside items meant to be distributed for free, as in the case of decrees and religious prints. In order to study all sorts of cheaply-printed products as a unique category of items that was produced under similar, inexpensive material conditions, librarians and cataloguers in Italy have in the past talked of ‘minor materials’ (‘materiali minori’). In light of all this, in this thesis I use the term ‘jobbing printing’ to emphasize the on-demand and quick production of such printed items. However,

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19 On the concept of jobbing printing applied to the early-modern print production, see Stallybrass, ‘“Little Jobs”’. 
I also adopt that of ‘cheap print’ as I deal with the different kinds of printed products from post-Tridentine Bologna simultaneously in order to stress the significance of the financial costs of their production to their distribution and use, and thus to the status of this print production as a whole. Alternatively, when I am describing items that were not meant to be bound as books, such as posters, licences, and handbills, I refer to them as ‘printed ephemera’.20

Jobbing printers employed different strategies in order to keep the production costs low. To begin with, certain printing formats and combinations of text on the printing sheet are a clear indicator of cheap production conditions. Cheaply-printed items chiefly employed either small book formats of few pages—such as quartos, octavos, and duodecimos—or broadsheets, which are made out of single printing sheets (and sometimes of copperplates).21 The broadsheet format was perfect for posting content on walls, as it was printed on one side only, and was thus preferred for official ephemera, such as the decrees of the City Senate and the studium’s academic calendars, but also for commercial items like board games. Another way to print large numbers of items while containing the costs was to compose several of them on the same printing sheet. This practice worked for both text and images: handbills, such as licences for carrying weapons, and small-size holy images, or santini, could measure as little as half a dozen centimetres long or wide and thus be printed side by side on the same printing sheet, which was later cut up to yield individual items.22 Furthermore, cheaply-

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22 See § 3.1 for the examination of such types of cheap print.
printed items customarily adapted and reused illustrations, regardless of the frequency with which this practice caused mismatches between images and the contents they had to portray.23 Certain figurative elements, such as celestial bodies or characters representing trades, still lent themselves to reuses in different types of editions.24 In other cases, different printed works bore the same woodcut: within the printed oeuvre of the poet and street performer Giulio Cesare Croce, for instance, the same woodcut landscape of Bologna appeared in the Breve compendio de’ casi più notabili occorsi nella città di Bologna in 1606, in the Parentado del Ponte di Reno nella Torre degli’Asinelli in 1621, and later in 1628, worn out and broken, in Per il ritratto della città di Bologna.25 Cutting specific images out of larger woodblocks to reuse them independently as title-pages was another solution.26 At the same time, printers reused woodblock illustrations because these are printed with a letterpress, and thus at once with metal types placed all in the same forme, as opposed to copperplates, such as engravings and etchings, which need a chalcographic press. Only in the seventeenth century did printing techniques develop to the point of making copperplates less costly, and as a result certain typographic products, such as academic theses (see § 2.3), started to employ them for single-sheets products.27 However, printing broadsheets or

24 See the woodblocks depicting the winged figure of time on a zodiac sphere and the zodiac signs in the Soliani collection of the Galleria Estense of Modena, which were reused on several occasions in almanachs and calendars: Maria Goldoni and Alberto Milano, ‘Il Tempo, no. 237, and ‘Segni zodiacali’, no. 241, in I legni incisi della Galleria Estense: quattro secoli di stampa nell’Italia settentrionale, ed. by Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici di Modena e Reggio Emilia (Modena: Mučchi, 1986). On this collection of woodblocks, see the introduction to Chapter 3.
26 See the discussion of this practice in § 3.1.
27 On printmaking techniques and the difference between relief and intaglio printing see David
booklets of few pages with a similar technology for both text and illustrations, a quick and cheap process *per se*, meant that reusing woodblocks contributed to making this process quicker and cheaper in the first place.

Jobbing-printing items were so cheap to produce that they could also be replaced quickly and inexpensively. Official ephemera deteriorated quickly once posted throughout Bologna on buildings’ walls and at city gates as they faced the natural elements. Because of this, their validity often had to be reinstated in reprints, as in connection with changes in office, decrees on public order during recurring festivities, but also in the case of epidemic outbreaks. In the second half of the sixteenth century, at least 168 Bolognese decrees concerning the plague are documented, with several dating from the same years.\(^{28}\) The convention is echoed in the old saying that goes ‘Bolognese decrees last thirty days minus a month’ (‘bando bolognese dura trenta giorni meno un mese’, or, in the local dialect, ‘band bulgnèis dura tranta dé manc un mèis’).\(^ {29}\) Certain items were also printed with a limited time-validity in mind, too, above all academic calendars and astrological prognostications; the fact worked to the advantage of the *tipografi*, who printed them at regular times, in this case once a year.\(^ {30}\) It is hardly surprising, then, that most cheap print of this kind, such as calendars and *taccuina* from the Bolognese *studium*, are preserved as wastepaper, such as folders used for archival documentation. Printed licences and handbills, on the other hand, were usually granted for specific places or times, as in the case of travel passes, and thus


\(^ {28}\) For the figures of sixteenth-century decrees and ordinances concerning plague control, mostly belonging to the collection in ASBo, Assunteria di sanità, Bandi bolognési sopra la peste, see the entries under ‘peste’ in *Bononia manifesta*, ed. by Zanardi, and *Bononia manifesta. Supplemento al catalogo dei bandi, editi, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio*, ed. by Zita Zanardi (Florence: Olschki, 2014); relevant decrees printed after 1600 are also catalogued in Saul Jarcho, *Italian Broadsides Concerning Public Health: Documents from Bologna and Brescia in the Mortimer and Anna Neinken Collection, New York Academy of Medicine* (Mount Kisco: Futura Pub Co., 1986).


\(^ {30}\) Official astrological prognostications appeared in Bologna twice a year: at the beginning of the calendar year, but also of the academic one, around November: see § 3.1. On quick turn-outs as an opportunity for additional income, see Harris, ‘La sopravvivenza’, 53–54.
discarded after use or inspection. Commercial cheap print for the secular public
was also intrinsically ephemeral, as indicated by the material uses which cheaply-
printed objects such as paper fans, or ventarole, were subject to; Croce mentions
out-of-stock editions of his works in the 1608 Indice di tutte l’opere.31 Cheaply-
printed booklets and broadsheets were known to contemporaries for their
ephemerality: in the bibliographical work Della bibliotheca volante, the
Florentine physician Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli (1625-1706) compares them to
lightning for ‘they disappear as soon as they are born’.32

As a result, cheaply-printed items stood at the bottom end of the price
spectrum. In post-Tridentine Bologna they cost on average between a few
bolognini and some quattrini to buy. In his Barceletta piacevolissima, Croce sings
that his printed fans are on sale for a bolognino, while others are sold for what
was then equivalent to a quattrino (equivalent to six quattrini).33 Another
pamphlet by Croce is peddled at the price of four quattrini.34 At the other end,
more learned and high-end book publications could cost between a few and fifteen
lire (where a lira corresponded to twenty bolognini); that is, at least twenty times
more. In 1601, for instance, the printer and bookseller Gaspare Bindoni paid
around twelve lire for a single volume in-folio of the illustrated scientific treatises
of the scientist and naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, with the plan to resell it; in 1607,
the bookseller Teodoro Mascheroni valued another volume of the same treatise at
ten lire.35 To give a comparison, in the mid-1590s the price of common food per

31 I explore the use of printed fans in more detail in § 3.1; for Croce’s Indice see n. 173 there.
32 Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, Della bibliotheca volante scanzia prima e seconda (Florence:
Giovanni Antonio Bonardi, 1677), vol. 1, 8°, 96 pp., Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
56681-A ALT MAG, p. 7: ‘Onde perché molte opericciuole d’uomini grandi su fogli volanti
stampate, che quasi baleni a pena nate svaniscono’; see the digital edition at
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=gn5UAAAAcAAJ [last accessed 24 June 2020]. On the use
of the term ‘fogli volanti’ (‘flying sheets’), see nn. 3 and 18 above.
33 Giulio Cesare Croce, Barceletta piacevolissima sopra i fanciulli che vanno vendendo le
ventarole per la città, et un capitolo e lode sopra la bella ventarola (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi,
1639), 8°, 4 fols, BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LIII [formerly LII], t. XII/24, fol. π1v. For the money
system of Bologna, see the Note on Currency.
34 Giulio Cesare Croce, Canzone nova e ridicolosa in lode de’ sughi […] (Bologna: Bartolomeo
venite a comprare […] che per quattro quattrin n’avrete una’.
35 More precisely, Bindoni paid Aldrovandi seventy-two lire for six copies of the second volume of
his Ornithologia: BUB, ms. Aldrovandi 136, Observationes variae, vol. XXXI, fol. 241r, as
reported by Rita De Tata, ‘Il commercio librario a Bologna tra ’500 e ’600: i librai di Ulisse
pound in Bologna was between one and seven *bolognini* depending on its freshness, roughly the same amount paid for a night’s stay in an inn and a journey by boat between Ferrara and Bologna.³⁶ Cheaply-printed items were also inexpensive to consume without actually buying them. In 1596, the civil servant and barber Pietro Vecchi (1565?-1647) planned to ask a *bolognino* from each person attending public readings of news, according to his application to the City Senate for rent a place to the purpose.³⁷ Other cheaply-printed items were entirely distributed for free when commissioners covered the material costs of production up front by giving subventions, one-off payments, or customs exemptions. This was the case of handbills and forms, issued by the local authorities and handed out directly to people to carry, and prayer booklets that the (arch-)bishopric distributed for its catechism classes.³⁸ Furthermore, printed decrees and proclamations were read aloud by town criers and later posted throughout the city. If one considers that daylabourers earned around two *carlini* (between ten and twelve *bolognini*) per day in 1598, while a bookshop accountant had a monthly

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³⁶ The Englishman Fynes Moryson (1565/6-1630) travelled through Italy in the spring of 1594, as recounted in his *An Itinerary Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell*, 4 vols (Glasgow: John Mac Lehose and Sons, 1907-08), vol. I (1907). He reports (p. 204) to have paid four *bolognini* a day for an inn’s room, five for an eel by the pound, four for a wax candle, four for a pike by the pound, a pound of raisins, a pound of small nuts, and a pint of wine each, and two *quattrini* for three apples. He also paid (pp. 200–201) four *bolognini* and four *quattrini* to go by boat from Malalbergo, then under Ferrara, to the first stop in the territory of Bologna, for a total of nine miles. In Bologna, fishmongers sold one salted (thus not fresh) eel for seven *quattrini*, two apples for one, and a bowl of cooked chick-peas for three: see Giulio Cesare Croce, *I gran cridalesimi che si fanno a Bologna, nelle pescarie, tutta la Quaresima [...]* (Bologna: Erede del Cochi, [n.d.]), 12ο, [4] fols, BCAB, 17-SCR.BOL.F.POES.ITAL. 09,156, fol. π2r and π4r. On Moryson and his travel account, see Edward Thompson, ‘Moryson, Fynes (1565/6-1630), traveller and writer’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19385 [last accessed 24 June 2020].


³⁸ I explore these examples in more detail in § 2.2 and § 2.1, respectively.
salary of five scudi (that is, twenty-five lire), we can see how cheaply-printed items were targeted at all kinds of people, and that also the lowest classes could afford to buy them.\(^{39}\)

Printers of cheaply-printed products all shared to some extent the everyday practices and ingenious expedients meant to produce items in the most affordable and quickest way possible. However, several aspects of cheap-print production aimed at this have been overlooked so far. As said, if we take cheap conditions of production as our starting point, it is possible to call ‘cheap print’ a very diverse category of printed items and examine them all together, connecting production to consumption. In this sense, one often overlooked aspect of cheap-print production is the relevance of interconnected networks. There has been exhaustive research on specific contexts and printing dynasties that engage with commercial, devotional, and official cheap print at the same time, yet these studies have not investigated the interconnections of these dynasties with distribution networks.\(^{40}\)

More recent studies on cheap vernacular print have focussed on the social and spatial relationships between printers and intermediaries such as street singers and print pedlars.\(^{41}\) Yet, not only these approaches restrict their scope to cheap print on sale, they also do not engage with shared financial strategies and trade practices behind cheap-print production. One of these was certainly the coexistence, and sometimes collaboration, with print pedlars, but another option was to engage with other trades, such as papermaking and stationery but also printmaking. Both

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\(^{40}\) See the literature quoted in n. 17 above. Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara tra XV e XVI secolo. La bottega di Domenico Sivieri* (Florence: Olschki, 1999), p. 3, and more broadly in *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Leiden: Brill, 2013), argues for the importance of changes heralded by the printing technology not only in producing but also distributing books.

not only created efficient and inexpensive outlets for cheap products, further keeping the costs low; they also contributed to the creation of interconnected networks that in turn helped establish the status and significance of all types of cheap print and its producers.42

Using the term ‘cheap print’ to encompass the entire range of everyday, inexpensive printed items, also has the advantage of showing that low production conditions were useful for authorities to obtain items that could be thus cheaply and quickly distributed to the broadest audience possible. Investigations of the relationship between holders of power and their subjects in early modern Europe have demonstrated the prominent role of cheap print in this sense, above all in the use of cheaply-printed items for ideological purposes during the Lutheran Reformation.43 With respect to the Italian context, relevant episodes occurred as early as the beginning of printing, as in the case of the campaign around the alleged martyrdom of Simon of Trent in the 1470s, but also in the period considered in my thesis, as in the pamphlet campaign accompanying the Interdict of Venice (1606-07).44 At the same time, little attention has been paid to the mundane administrative uses of printed ephemera—especially of forms and notices—by authorities and institutions for the everyday exercise of bureaucratic functions and the implementation of policies.45 In this respect, while there are

45 An exception to this is the mention of printed ephemera as used in the Jesuit network of
studies on printed forms from the incunabula period, also for the Bolognese context, investigations have not been extended to the following centuries. As a result, even repertories of administrative and governmental ephemera that have greatly contributed to our knowledge of the existence and scope of these printed materials focus more on decrees and proclamations than smaller printed ephemera. Recent studies have shed more light on the specific type of printed health passes and their uses, but only by considering the broad range of cheaply-printed items employed by holders of powers at the same time their relationship with jobbing printing can be understood in full.

A further result of not considering cheaply-printed items together has been a lack of investigations addressing the shared readership of such products. However, only a public constantly exposed to different types of cheap print were able to grasp allusions between them. Most notably, the contribution of material culture to this shared readership has been overlooked. The particular

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47 See *I proclami veneziani della Biblioteca civica V. Joppi di Udine*, ed. by Raffaele Giansini, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1997–2000); Manuela Grillo, *Leggi e bandi di antico regime* (Cargeghe: Editoriale Documenta, 2014); and digital projects such as *Vox Venetica* of the Biblioteca Querini Stampalia of Venice, online at [http://www.querinistampilia.org/ita/biblioteca/collezioni_biblioteca/vox_venetica.php](http://www.querinistampilia.org/ita/biblioteca/collezioni_biblioteca/vox_venetica.php) and *Tridentina Manifesta* of the Biblioteca Comunale of Trent, online at [http://bdt.bibcom.trento.it/Progetti/Tridentina-manifesta](http://bdt.bibcom.trento.it/Progetti/Tridentina-manifesta) [both last accessed 24 June 2020]. On Bolognese official ephemera in particular, see *Bononia manifesta*, ed. by Zanardi; *Bononia manifesta. Supplemento*, ed. by Zanardi; and Jarcho, *Italian Broadsides concerning Public Health: Documents*.


intermediality of cheap print enabled various ways of experiencing it—from oral to written, visual, and more tactile modes—and also made possible themes, characters, and even jokes to be cross-referenced and adapted across individual objects, such as printed pamphlets and paper fans. More than this, cheap-print consumption occurred in both private and public spaces: printed playing cards and games of chance were common domestic possessions, and prints could be used to substitute more expensive devotional paintings and imitate furniture, for instance as a decoration on chests and boxes. With respect to the public space, studies that compare the circulation and consumption of both official and commercial cheap print within early modern European cities are still lacking. Works that

Among recent works on intermedial uses of early modern prints, see Suzanne Karr-Schmidt and Kimberly Nichols, Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011); Suzanne Karr-Schmidt and Edward H. Wouk, Prints in Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); and Suzanne Karr-Schmidt, Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance (Leiden: Brill, 2018). See also David A. Areford, The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), and especially his chapter ‘Introduction: The Aura of the Printed Image’, pp. 1–23 there, for a discussion of ideas of hybridity, materiality, and adaptability (the latter as often connected to inexpensiveness), despite the focus on early figurative prints alone. In this thesis, I use the term media (and the related intermediality or multimediality) in the twofold sense of ‘means of communication’ and ‘material supports’. Furthermore, I chose to use the terms public or audience instead of readership on account of the material dimension of cheap print.

On domestic uses of cheaply-printed products, see the objects discussed throughout At Home in Renaissance Italy, ed. by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006) and Madonnas and Miracles: The Holy Home in Renaissance Italy, ed. by Maya Corry, Deborah Howard, and Mary Laven (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017). For a broader introduction to early modern homes and their material culture see Raffaella Sarti, Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); see also recent contributions especially on devotional practices in homes such as Abigail Brundin, Deborah Howard, and Mary Laven, The Sacred Home in Renaissance Italy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), and Domestic Devotions in the Early Modern Italy, ed. by Maya Corry, Marco Faini, and Alessia Meneghin (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

have focussed on wide dissemination networks, often spread over non-urban environments, have not entirely grasped the impact of consumption practices on both cheap-print production and cities’ spaces and everyday life.\(^{53}\) On the contrary, by applying the lens of recent studies on the urban dimension of print and on ‘written cities’ we can shed light on such distinctive practices.\(^{54}\) For this reason, it is essential to consider administrative and governmental ephemera together with commercial and devotional pamphlets, as well as everyday printed objects for the purpose of assessing the role and impact that broad urban publics had on cheap-print production and dissemination.

In light of all this, my thesis has two main goals. The first is to unveil the creation and evolution in post-Tridentine Bologna of an interconnected network of cheaply-printed items that shaped cheap-print practices in the city as well as across the Italian peninsula from the seventeenth century onwards. The second is to uncover how of this evolution in the history of print can help us contextualize developments in the history of print within the political and social developments in Bologna during this particular historical moment. The increasing institutionalization of the use of cheaply-printed items in the governance of citizens and specifically in state bureaucracy, the shared experience of cheap print as part of a wider everyday material world and the independent agency it gave to audiences, and the substantial, long-lasting financial support cheap-print

\(^{53}\) Particularly focused on non-urban spaces are the cases explored by Laura Carmelos, *I libri da risma: catalogo delle edizioni Remondini a larga diffusione (1650-1850)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2008), and Alberto Milano, “‘Selling Prints for the Remondini’: Italian Pedlars Travelling through Europe during the Eighteenth Century’, in *Not Dead Things*, ed. by Salman, Harms, and Raymond, pp. 75–96.

production provided to printers and publishers of a peripheral city will be the most prominent points of this narrative.

The significance of this research is three-fold. First, I will be able to show that the context of post-Tridentine Bologna was essential for the creation of a business model for printers and publishers engaging with the production of official and commercial cheap print in a minor political and commercial centre of the Italian peninsula. This model thrived on account of the financial subventions and printing licences of public authorities, but it also consisted of overlapping interests in the papermaking and stationery trades for the sake of controlling supplies. Second, I will reconsider the relationship between print and holders of power by investigating the impact and significance of printed matters in bureaucracy and their relationship with other kinds of financial printing supports. The early modern authorities increasingly resorted to printed ephemera for the policing and regulation of the life of citizens, but everyday printed forms and bills such as, for Bologna, licences to carry weapons and calendars of the academic activity of the studium, have been previously left out of the picture.\(^\text{55}\)

Administrative cheap print, moreover, was sponsored both by printing appointments, such as that to tipografo camerale, and one-off payments, as account books of various local institutions show. Lastly, by considering accessibility and materiality as the key features defining cheaply-printed products, I will move away from a book-oriented understanding of readership to take into consideration the Bolognese urban audience in its complexity, that is, characterized by shared practices across the social spectrum. Such practices would later become customary for seventeenth-century publics and therefore the analysis of their evolution will also make a significant contribution to the debate on the so-called disappearance of the public sphere in late sixteenth-century Italy.\(^\text{56}\)

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\(^{55}\) So far, early-modern printed handbills, safe conducts, and related paperwork have been investigated from the perspective of censorship, identity, and mobility studies, and less as part of print history. For an introduction to the former fields, see Valentin Groebner, *Who Are You?: Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2007), and Ben Kafka, ‘Paperwork: The State of the Discipline’, *Book History*, 12 (2009), 340–353.

\(^{56}\) On the mentioned debate see Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo*, pp. 241–249, and Massimo Rospocher and Rosa Salzberg, ‘An Evanescent Public Sphere. Voices, Spaces, in Venice during the Italian Wars’, in *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by
For a number of reasons, post-Tridentine Bologna functions well as a case study for the dynamics of cheap print. First, the city provides remarkable evidence for early and innovative co-operation and mutual influences between the different social and institutional actors of the cheap-print network. From the point of view of cheap production conditions, as mentioned, Bolognese printers established their business in association with some form of control over printing supplies, especially paper. Printers like the Benacci and the Bonardos, who engaged with cheap print on a regular basis, had interests in paper mills and shops and owned stationery shops. Although scholarship has already unearthed part of this story, the implications have not been drawn out, especially with respect to the relevance of the type of the ‘printer-papermaker’ suggested by Bellettini. The radical importance of such a business model becomes clear if one considers that the figure of the ‘printer-papermaker’ later became a staple of minor seventeenth-century centres of northern and central Italy, such as Modena, Guastalla, and Piacenza. In addition to paper, Bolognese tipografi expanded their business into other sectors of the urban print trade by participating in the distribution network and more precisely by partnering with some figures that sold and hawked cheap-print materials on the public square. The Benacci established a model in this sense also because, through their representative role in the guild of the haberdashers, the Arte dei Merciai, they engaged and worked with smaller tradespeople such as wandering printers or pedlars. These co-operations were usually established outside the intervention of institutions and authorities, but precisely for this reason they tell of business practices grown around the demands of the local market. For instance, they made cheaply-printed products readily available to the urban audience via a network of printers, stationers, and wandering print-sellers active in shops as well as in the streets and squares of Bologna. In this sense, the

38 See nn. 17 and 24 above.
39 For an introduction to the guild system in early modern Bologna see Lia Gheza Fabbri, L’organizzazione del lavoro in una economia urbana: le società d’arti a Bologna nei secoli XVI e XVII (Bologna: CLUEB, 1988).
interconnected Bolognese network represents a remarkable case study in the wake of recent reconsiderations of the early modern book trade and their exploration of the complex range of its social and spatial implications.\textsuperscript{60}

Investigating the Bolognese network of cheaply-printed products also offers a special point of view for the study of the impact that privileges, licences, and official appointments had on printing businesses. On the one hand, it will enable us to gain a better insight into how printers supported their activities – for instance, by relying on the safe and regular demand for the administrative and governmental printing from the local authorities. With special reference to the financial challenges the Italian book trade faced between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, scholars have traditionally explained the surge in official appointments of state printers as a move by the printers to secure their commercial survival and counterbalance competition.\textsuperscript{61} This thesis provides further evidence in this sense by taking into consideration what happened during the first two generations of Bolognese state printers (who tended to be also the official printers of the archbishopric), from the first record of the formal appointment of Alessandro Benacci in 1572 to the death around 1630 of the two biggest competitors in the Bolognese cheap-print market, Alessandro’s son Vittorio and Perseo Rossi, son of Giovanni.

On the other hand, the case of post-Tridentine Bologna also presents a more complex picture with respect to financial public subventions, for local printers adopted different concurrent strategies to sustain their businesses when it came to cheaply-printed items. For instance, the Cochi and Moscatelli printing families particularly engaged with cheaply-printed editions and objects such as paper fans; in the case of Bartolomeo Cochi (or Cocchi), he made a name for himself thanks to them as ‘Bartolomeo delle Ventarole’ (see § 3.1). At the same


time, whereas only the Benacci received the title of *tipografo camerale* from the Bolognese Senate, other figures and families, such as the Bonardo in the late sixteenth century and Giovanni Battista Bellagamba in the seventeenth, happened to print, respectively, official decrees or handbills and notifications for the *studium*. Bologna therefore appears as a reference case in the history of the progressive specialization of urban printers and of the different strategies for which they consequentially adopted cheap print. As a result, the Bolognese cheap-print network shows in a nutshell the signs of the coming of what scholars have described as a third phase in the history of printing for the late sixteenth century, when the growing combination of public financial support and job-printing formed the backbone of the business.62

Bolognese authorities also resorted to cheaply-printed products in innovative ways in the exercise of their power and governance, and especially religious authorities showed an early interest in their use. Elected in 1566 as the city’s Bishop—and in 1582 as its Archbishop—Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti took on the task to reform the devotion and mores of his (arch-)diocese in accordance with the spirit of the Council of Trent (1545-63).63 Within his plans, cheaply-printed items were the most effective way to reach the faithful and the broad citizenship. Each male head of family received authorized booklets of prayers, and parish priests reminded them to attend service or to send children to catechism classes; broadsheets of decrees on deportment for labourers, artisans, and apprentices to be posted in every shop and tavern, and handbills summoning parishes to processions such as the Corpus Domini started to be distributed by pinners-up, or ‘(im-)puntatori’, to parish and confraternity officials (such as those of the Compagnia della Perseveranza and later della Dottrina Cristiana). Remarkably, in clear

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contrast to the attitude of civic authorities, Paleotti was the only one specifically to highlight the accessibility and cheapness of these printed materials as essential to their function. In a letter to Lodovico Nucci, Paleotti’s secretary and adviser for the creation of the Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana, reports that Paleotti consciously chose to print doctrine booklets for the confraternity, in spite of the lofty and worthy content, so that all the faithful could have access to it.64

One of the oldest institutions in Bologna was its historic studium, and cheap print played a more essential role in its life than previously assumed. In fact, scholars working on the relationship between the Bolognese studium and printing did not pick up on Curt Bühler’s remarks in this sense and have rather concentrated on the more expensive learned publications, such as the illustrated folio editions of Ulisse Aldrovandi’s natural history.65 More attention has been devoted to the taccuina and prognostications of the Bolognese professors of astrology as a peculiar cheaply-printed product of both Bolognese printing and the studium, as the opening quotation from Sabba da Castiglione also proves. Yet, the universities, colleges, and administration of the studium as a whole resorted to a wide range of cheap print for their everyday activities and on particular occasions. Academic calendars, class-timetables, syllabi, and theses were issued in the form of broadsheets, while personal licences to carry weapons and invitations to anatomy classes as well as to the masses for the opening of the academic year, to quote only a few uses, circulated as printed handbills called polizze (or policce in the local variant). In these cases, the bureaucratic needs of the studium went hand in hand with the possibility of printing materials as quickly and cheaply as

64 See § 2.1 for an in-depth discussion of this document.
possible, and such a possibility could only be provided by interconnected businesses of printers such as the Benacci—the only ones ever mentioned in the *studium* account books—although others were employed, too (see § 2.3). Investigating these mutual advantages and the specific printing agreements between the Bolognese *studium* and the local printers unveils a world of potential applications to which cheap print lent itself, especially from the seventeenth century onwards, such as shaping the everyday life of an historic institution and its people. At the same time, the figure of the printer-papemaker-*cum*-stationer as best exemplified by the Benacci further confirms the bond between Bolognese printing and its *studium* and its relevance for the dimension of diversified urban trades: paper suppliers and stationers had informed the city’s relationship with books in the previous centuries, first as manuscripts and only later in print, and constituted the backbone of an urban trade that flourished on account of the needs of students and professors.66

The Bolognese cheap-print network also stands out for the distinctive role of the local audience in its creation and consolidation. The urban public consumed—and thus created a market demand for—a wider range of cheaply-printed products than those supported by public funding and needed for everyday administration purposes. For Bologna, we have considerable documentation about how the local audience bought and consumed cheaply-printed items and enjoyed different kinds of items with respect to other Italian cities. The long-lasting success of the printed oeuvre of Croce and the planned project of Pietro Vecchi to read aloud news for a fee in the Palazzo del Podestà are clear indicators of a steady urban consumption of cheap print.67 At the same time, devotional images in the form of cut-out *santini* and broadsheets, printed board games, playing cards, and paper fans testify that a wide range of cheaply-printed products shaped the everyday life of Bologna’s inhabitants. More precisely, the above-mentioned intermediality, adaptability, and accessibility of such products enabled the

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67 See n. 37 above.
distinctive agency of the Bolognese audience. Croce’s vernacular ballads mimic and satirize the language and structure of official decrees, news reports, and astrological prognostications in order to grab the attention of passers-by, but they also contain allusions and references understandable only by a familiar audience.68

Another significant aspect of the Bolognese audience’s engagement with everyday cheap print is that consumption and use of these products occurred across the social spectrum. Poorer and middling classes as well as patricians enjoyed cheaply-printed items such as board games, and used printed substitutes of more mundane objects, too: distaff coverings, wallpaper, furniture decoration, etc. Paper fans were so fashionable that their use was not restricted to those who only bought them because they could not afford more expensive lace ones: in Croce’s Barceletta piacevolissima, the ‘Lode sopra la bella Ventarola’ states how much the poor, middling classes, and nobles all loved ventarole.69 Noble households traditionally hosted late night parties, or veglie, around printed games and vernacular performances, and high-ranking officials were among the enthusiasts of the poet’s performances. The social diversity of the audience having access to cheaply-printed items further fuelled the mutual influences across different types of items that were already informed by their intermediality and adaptability. Especially the mid-August Festa della Porchetta drew patricians and poor alike, and it inspired works that targeted a very different audience, from the broad one of Croce to the more distinguished one of Camillo da Panico.70 The pervasiveness of cheaply-printed objects in both the public and private sphere of

68 See § 3.1 for a more extensive discussion of Croce’s cheaply-printed works in this respect.
69 Croce, Barceletta piacevolissima, fol. π3v: ‘[…] Leggiadrissime e vaghe ventarole / che dignissime sete qui tra noi, d’esser amate e d’esser riverite, da bassi, da mezzani e da gli eroi’.
people’s lives meant that Bolognese audiences shaped their existence through an everyday use of them. Because the local audience played such a role in the production of cheap print, the Bolognese network can be considered as a fully interconnected one, overcoming the distinctions between official, commercial, and material printed items. Furthermore, the three groups of actors—producers, authorities, and the public—had all equal agency on cheap print. Thus, the Bolognese post-Tridentine context confirms the studies that argue for a cultural role of audiences as powerful as that of intermediaries (such as printers) and ruling elites in the production and significance of early modern cheap print.71

Major changes occurred to cheap-print production and consumption in the post-Tridentine period, especially for Italy. First, both printers and members of the public became more aware of its place and significance in everyday life, and therefore also more prone to resort to it. For instance, vernacular booklets by street-performers and devotional material had indeed appeared since the first spread of the printing technology, and in Bologna the earliest generations of the Bonardo and Benacci families printed a considerable number of them, yet only from the late sixteenth century printers advertised their cheap-print production, from subscribing with their titles of official jobbing printers on other publications to including the printing material for paper fans and saints’ images in the clauses of partnership contracts.72 At the same time, in contrast to the situation at the beginning of that century, street performers and pedlars managed to earn their

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living without necessarily having to travel to different cities. Although Croce performed and sold his works in Venice, Ferrara, Modena, and Savona, his career was mostly established within the city of Bologna, and fellow vernacular poets such as Bartolomeo Bocchini (1604-1653) seem to never have left the city. Moreover, in the post-Tridentine period cheaply-printed products became less of a financial bet (such as Pietro Vecchi’s project, which we ignore if it was successfully implemented, and more of commercially viable initiatives). This development led to the establishment of new professions and kinds of print productions, and in 1642 Bologna saw the appearance of the first local printed gazette, issued by Nicolò Tebaldini and Lorenzo Pellegrini (1604-1685).

The attitude of contemporaries changed, too. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, cheap single-sheet prints and texts were included in Calvoli’s learned work of bibliography, whereas in the 1580s Tommaso Garzoni (1549-1589) still disparaged readers of avvisi and anyone who enjoyed streetsingers’ performances on public squares as idle people prone to distractions in his La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo. 

Also notable for Bologna is the shifting attitude of authorities, especially ecclesiastical ones, in cheaply-printed items between the end of the Council of

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75 Tommaso Garzoni, La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo (Venice: Giovan Battista Somasco, 1585), 4°, 1018 pp., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Schulenb. P 87, p. 823: ’Fra l’altrè professioni viziose e detestabili, si pone ancora quella de gli otiosi […] non [fanno] altro tutto il giorno che girar di qua e di là, hora sentendo i canta in banchi, ora guardando il toro che passa, ora mirando i bicchieri, i specchi, e sonagli che in piazza son distesi, ora vagando pel mercato in mezzo de’ villani vagamente, ora posando in qualche barberia a contar frottole e fanfalucche, ora leggendo le nove di banco che son proprio per l’orecchie di gente otiosa e negligente’; see the digital edition online at http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/sch-p-87/start.htm [last accessed 24 June 2020]. On Calvoli see n. 32 above.
Trent and the great plague of 1630. None of the sessions of the Council directly dealt with cheaply-printed products per se, yet Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti resorted to cheap print in his office as Bologna’s (arch-)bishop from different angles. As noted above, as early as he came into office he started to use of widely-distributed cheap print in order to reach the broadest audience of the faithful, but he also actively included cheaply-printed items in the everyday activities and strategies of his diocese. For instance, he collected broadsheets and booklets from other Italian areas and reproduced the blank forms of licences and faith certificates, or fedi, in his Episcopale next to doctrinal texts and the decrees and proclamations issued over the years, and later other power-holders emulated this practice.\(^76\) The early use of everyday cheap imprints by ecclesiastical authorities in Bologna offers further insight into the history of administrative practices, not only from the standpoint of print studies but also from that of the role of religious authorities in shaping the scope and impact of such practices in the wider historical context.\(^77\)

By taking into account the vast range of handbills and posters that were used to circulate the new Tridentine policies, the practices aimed at the control of mores and censorship can be discussed through the lens of their dimension of positive enforcement, that is, not only as preemptive or negative, and thus corroborate previous scholarship on the topic.\(^78\) Ecclesiastical authorities in Bologna used printed ephemera to disseminate local versions of the indices of prohibited books and decrees against heterodox beliefs at the same time as licensed versions of

\(^{76}\) See § 2.1 for a more detailed discussion of these cases and an overview of Paleotti’s use of jobbing printing.


prayers and catechisms in order to positively shape the—renewed—Catholic devotion after the Council of Trent.

Moreover, only once the cheap-print network in Bologna was established thoroughly in the city, did resorting to cheap print for administrative and governmental functions become a regular aspect of the everyday existence of any social and institutional actor in Bologna. This happened only after, and because of, the rise of the Benacci as state printers. Academic calendars of the Bolognese *studium* were printed to facilitate the life of its staff and the people who attended it, and the city Senate employed printed handbills to identify and pay its military guards; in a similar way, students and foreigners had to carry a printed licence to prove their right to carry weapons within the city’s limits. The Bolognese case therefore shows the increasing use of cheap print for bureaucratic purposes and can make a significant contribution to the debate on the development of the modern state over the early modern period, especially in its urban dimension and after the second half of the sixteenth century. My choice of the expression ‘post-Tridentine’ to describe the sixty years considered in this thesis is therefore also rooted in the decision to refer to such a period of major changes in print and political paradigms.79

The people and practices associated with cheap print in the city of Bologna between the end of the Council of Trent and the plague epidemic of 1630 provide therefore the best case study for investigating several unsolved issues of print studies and Italian early modern history, and this thesis aims to do that by addressing a set of questions. First, what made cheap print cheap? I aim to unveil the practical features of the Bolognese integrated network of cheap print, that is the facilities and strategies behind the production, distribution, and consumption stages. Second, what was the appeal and advantage of cheap print? I will assess how such characteristics allowed the three groups of actors (producers and distributors, local authorities and institutions, and the urban audience) to engage

with such a network and profit from it. Lastly, I investigate why and how cheap print became a significant staple or everyday urban life. I thus focus on how the practices these protagonists developed, independently or in interaction with each other, shaped the significance of cheap print within the city and their impact on its social and political life.

The structure of this thesis revolves around the three main groups of people involved in Bolognese cheap print: producers, authorities and institutions, and the local audience. Social and institutional actors could sometimes wear the same hats: for instance, students and professors of the studium were a relevant component of the urban public that was specifically targeted by regulations of deportment, and at the same time they employed handbills and broadsheets to publicize their activities, such as invitations to anatomical dissections. Yet, the agency of the different groups of protagonists had a different impact in shaping the network of Bolognese cheap print. For this reason within this triangle of actors I present printers and publishers of cheap print as the mediators between the demands and practices of the authorities and the urban audience. Their role in establishing a local network of cheap print also crucially revitalized the overall print production in Bologna by the early seventeenth century. Chapter 1 therefore examines the producers and the distribution system of cheaply-printed products, with a particular focus on the emergence of supported and state printers and on the connections with other professions associated with the cheap-print trade. In particular, § 1.1 retraces the story of the rise of the Benacci family to the role of tipografi camerati on the background of other kinds of public supports to Bolognese printers from the local power-holders – a situation that shows their leeway in negotiating between appointments and commissions of administrative and governmental jobbing printing. § 1.2 explores the figure of the printer-papermaker, and the strategies of other local tipografi with respect to the connection between papermaking and cheap print. § 1.3 expands on such strategies to highlight the relationship on jobbing printers with others urban trades.

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§ 1.1 retraces the story of the rise of the Benacci family to the role of tipografi camerati on the background of other kinds of public supports to Bolognese printers from the local power-holders – a situation that shows their leeway in negotiating between appointments and commissions of administrative and governmental jobbing printing. § 1.2 explores the figure of the printer-papermaker, and the strategies of other local tipografi with respect to the connection between papermaking and cheap print. § 1.3 expands on such strategies to highlight the relationship on jobbing printers with others urban trades

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related to print and paper products, such as stationery and haberdashery.

Chapter 2 focusses on the authorities and institutions that engaged with jobbing printing within the city of Bologna. The development and establishment of a cheap-print network in Bologna meant that not only different bodies resorted to it for their everyday functions, but also that such a top-down engagement could take different forms. § 2.1 therefore explores the framework adopted by the city’s local authorities, that is, the Senate and the (arch-)bishopric in drafting and commissioning jobbing printing from both the content and financial standpoint. In this respect, I examine the range of policies put into place through instruments such as printing subsidies (from privileges to specific provisions and financial exemptions) and their everyday financial records. § 2.2 takes into consideration how local authorities used printed ephemera in their role as controllers of the city’s everyday life, highlighting the different administrative and governmental printed ephemera increasingly distributed across the urban sphere, from health passes to notifications on religious functions. In § 2.3 I then concentrate on the Bolognese studium and bureaucratic and academic printed ephemera used by its professors, students, and officials, and consequentially the contribution of this institution to the overall development and significance of the Bolognese cheap-print network.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the investigation of the urban audience for cheap print in its consumption practices and most importantly its bottom-up influence on the overall Bolognese cheap-print network. In § 3.1 I explore such an influence through the lens of the local public’s everyday interaction with cheaply-printed items such as Giulio Cesare Croce’s pamphlets and devotional posters and holy cards. This bottom-up agency is indeed best visible in the cross-references and mutual allusions between different printed ephemera, as well as in the intermedial uses of cheaply-printed objects. Furthermore, Bolognese cheap-print consumption further shaped the local interconnected network by being spread across a wide social spectrum and in public and private spaces alike. In § 3.2 I then outline the influence of the post-Tridentine urban public for cheap print on its spatial dissemination throughout the city. The spaces for cheap-print circulation and consumption, such as Piazza Maggiore, were an integral part of the relevant local
network for here the Bolognese audience had access to cheaply-printed items and objects, both official and commercial, all at the same time. An overview of the urban and architectural campaigns of the period also reveals the impact of cheap-print consumption practices on the evolution of the Bologna’s public sphere and its status as a ‘written city’.
Chapter 1

Producing and Distributing Cheap Print

in Bologna

Between February 1629 and March 1630, a series of written statements were presented to the City Senate of Bologna by a group of printer-publishers and booksellers. Upon the death first of Giovanni Rossi and then of Vittorio Benacci, their heirs aimed to obtain the title of ‘stampatore camerale’; that is, official printer of the civic authorities, the Camera being the Bolognese Treasury Office. The goal they did not openly disclose was to secure the public funding that the Senate had been giving first to Giovanni and then Perseo Rossi in the form of an annual subvention. Girolamo Donini, official heir to the printing business of the Benacci, eventually defeated other competitors once he presented a licence from the cardinal legate. Amidst a sudden change of stance by the Assunti di Cancelleria, the Bolognese magistracy responsible for the city’s chancery, the Senate acknowledged Donini’s right to obtain both the title of official printer and the public subvention that went with it. But, as Pierangelo Bellettini’s reconstruction has shown, several local actors often confused these two aspects and their relationship.¹

It comes as no surprise that within the history of the relationship between printers and power-holders in early modern Italy, Bologna has been hailed as a very peculiar case. Apparently, the city simultaneously sponsored two families of printers over two generations. These printers had different specializations, and their funding came from different sources. Both recipients of these subventions, the Rossi and the Benacci families, printed official ephemera for the local authorities. At the same time, other Bolognese tipografi printed editions of decrees and notifications over the period considered. Why and where did this

¹ See overall Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’.
overlap of titles and funding first occur? And how significant was this situation for the development of cheap print in post-Tridentine Bologna?

This chapter starts from this situation of competition for Bolognese official printing in order to address the overall place and significance of cheap-print production in the city between the second half of the sixteenth and the first three decades of the seventeenth centuries. In particular, I then concentrate on the printers engaging with official ephemera, above all the Benacci, who obtained the formal title of *stampatori camerali*, and on the strategies that such printers employed and their implications. My aim here is to highlight the independent agency of printers, the leeway for them to shape their businesses within the restrictions and opportunities typical of cheap-print production; the agency of authorities and of audiences are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Given that figures who did not have any official appointment, and for whom no public commissions in this sense survive, also printed governmental and administrative ephemera, the chapter will also serve to shed more light on the ambiguities surrounding recognition of official printing that continued in the late Cinquecento. At the same time, the competition over the title of *stampatore camerale* can be understood as being facilitated—among other things—by the existence of wider strategies and practices that connected cheap print more broadly to other aspects of urban life, such as paper production and the broader landscape of urban print-related trades.

By investigating both aspects of the competition over (official) cheap print, I will therefore demonstrate that the Bolognese printers engaging with it had far greater leeway than previously assumed in the literature on jobbing printing, especially in relation to patrons and authorities.

This chapter further aims at reconstructing the evolution of the Bolognese cheap-print trade following the choices and practices of local jobbing printers. Book distribution and bookselling in Bologna still awaits a full-scale investigation for the early modern period. This chapter, however, does not look at the higher

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end of the commercial spectrum for the circulation and sale of printing, that is, established bookshops, but at the small-time trade that took place in the shops of stationers and paper-makers, as well as in the streets and squares of the city. The advantages of a connection with the trade of stationers and paper-makers (established first and foremost by the Benacci) becomes evident when considering that in Bologna booksellers, printers, and bookbinders were traditionally subject to the statutes of the local studium, while stationers and paper-makers responded, alongside other urban guilds, to the civic authorities. The Benacci therefore not only ensured their financial success by acting at the intersection of different production and distribution trades, but they first and foremost expanded their interests in a way that was unprecedented in the Bolognese print trade. Particularly beneficial in this sense were the personal connections with fellow tradespeople and the civic authorities, which I reconstruct from previously overlooked archival documentation. The Benacci’s role as official printers-papermakers-cum-stationers of Bologna, as well as the overall local cheap-print network, emerged from the post-Tridentine period strengthened and even more interconnected.

Within this framework, § 1.1 examines the various printers who engaged with official printing in Bologna in order to highlight the rise of the Benacci to the role of stampatori camerali and to identify their status and impact on the local cheap-print trade. This thesis works from the premise that a distinctive cheap-print trade developed in post-Tridentine Bologna where official and commercial ephemera stood side by side, produced and consumed in ways that mutually influenced each other, as discussed in the Introduction. Following this premise, I will examine how the Benacci resorted to printing administrative and governmental ephemera not simply out of financial necessity and exceptional circumstances, but made this a consistent business choice, linked to broader

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3 See the bibliography quoted in n. 143 below.
interests and practices. In doing so, they strongly influenced both their business and the careers of other Bolognese jobbing printers, who worked in the same complex, interconnected production network. Such a network and the underlying competition between printers of official ephemera accordingly also influenced the availability of official cheap print within Bologna and its contribution to the city’s political and social life; in the end, this helped consolidate the production and distribution of cheaply-printed items on the local urban market.

Having considered the competition over official printing, I then study (in § 1.2) the agency of producers of cheap print within the local urban trade by investigating their production and supply strategies. This section shows how paper production was another area where printers’ initiatives acted against a background of public interventions and interconnected trade practices. Furthermore, the establishment of connections with the papermaking trade in Bologna highlights the degree to which the local cheap-print trade associated and interacted with other urban trades. At the same time, these connections and above all the reliance on a cheap and prompt supply of paper were particularly useful for printers who regularly engaged with both official and commercial ephemera. Finally, § 1.3 discusses the susceptibility of the Bolognese network of cheap-print distribution to the agency of printers. In particular, this section focusses on the social aspect of the jobbing printing trade and how it was essential for building and cementing commercial relationships across the urban workers and guilds associated with Bolognese cheap print. Having examined the role and significance of jobbing printers in post-Tridentine Bologna, I will move on to address the remaining actors in the local cheap-print network; that is, the local authorities subsidizing, commissioning, and using cheap print (as in Chapter 2), and the broad Bolognese public who had access to the slightest products of the press (Chapter 3).
§ 1.1

Competing for Official Jobbing Printing

In order to clarify the overlap between the title of *stampatore camerale* and public provisions for printing official ephemera, as well as the title’s relationship with the actual printing of these ephemera, one must start by studying the different appointments granted to Bolognese printers. The documents reporting these appointments and the negotiations leading to them need, however, to be checked against the background of the payments and resolutions concerning the financial support of governmental and administrative printed material. These sources provide us with more details and the necessary clarifications to recount the competition between different local printers over recognition and money coming from printing official ephemera. By considering these documents together it is therefore possible to note the agency and leeway available to Bolognese printers within a complex network. One can also see the conflict of jurisdiction between the City Senate and the cardinal legate on matters of printing. Nonetheless, predominance in Bolognese official printing was never granted once and for all, as it was constantly subject to negotiations and agreements. Also, it remained dependent on the personal assets and connections of each printer. Not only were Vittorio’s title and prerogatives as official printer challenged by his contemporaries during his lifetime and immediately after his death, but throughout the period official ephemera continued to be printed by other figures, albeit in smaller quantities. Furthermore, payments for official ephemera were sometimes unrelated to the subventions coming with the formal title of *stampatore camerale*. Against this broader backdrop, the Benacci were able to establish businesses so grounded in official printing that their name would long be used in association with the title of *tipografo camerale*. Vittorio, in particular, implemented his predecessors’ strategies and expanded the family’s output and interests to an unprecedented level, presenting himself as the right man for the job when the use of printed ephemera spread into further sectors of the city’s life and administration.

The beginnings of the story were already tainted by a conflict over who
could rightfully claim the title and relevant privileges for printing governmental and administrative ephemera. The first record of a formal appointment—that of Alessandro Benacci—to the role of official printer was likely a move to protect his rights in this sense once and for all. The appointment, made by the Cardinal Legate Enrico Caetani and dated 27 October 1587, grants Alessandro the relevant title together with the privilege to print any official ephemera for the Bolognese government for life. Also, both privileges were to be transmitted to his son Vittorio, again for life. The text of the appointment explicitly refers to how ‘Alessandro, son of the late Alessandro de Benacci […] as we have learnt, has been printing with his own press for twenty-five years, and likely longer, decrees, ordinances, statutes, and various sanctions, subventions, proclamations, and other similar items […].’

For these previous twenty-five years, Alessandro had been printing without any formal agreement, for only then did an independent move by the Senate consider granting the privilege for printing official ephemera to someone else. The challenge to Alessandro’s position came in the form of the hire, in 1585, of Aldus Manutius the Younger (1547-1597) as professor of the Bolognese studium.

The negotiations for Aldus’ appointment considered the privilege for official printing in connection with another publishing project of the Senate. The main goal of the Bolognese Senate was to appoint Aldus to replace the recently deceased Carlo Sigonio, a humanist and professor of literature at the local studium who had been appointed the task of completing the Historia Bononiensis.

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4 ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), fol. 209r. The documents concerning Alessandro Benacci’s appointment have been first published in the original in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, albeit partially; through the course of this thesis, for clarity purposes I will be quoting such passages in full when relevant to my argument, alongside others that Bellettini does not quote in his essay, as I state in the respective footnotes.


6 The essential reference point on the life and works of Sigonio is William McCuaig, Carlo Sigonio: The Changing World of the Late Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). On the endeavour of the Historia Bononiensis, which dragged on over several decades due to censorship problems and contrasts between the City Senate and the various authors appointed...
the notarial agreement concluded in Venice in 1585 between Aldus and the representatives of the Bolognese Senate and studium states that he would replace Sigonio in the afternoon class of humane letters for the next two years, in exchange for a salary of 400 *scudi* and all the further advantages, contributions, and privileges that the late Sigonio had received.\(^7\) Aldus saw the appointment as an opportunity to also obtain the rights to print official ephemera. Aldus deemed them so important that among the conditions he requested, he asked that in the case of his death they be granted to either of his two nephews—Giovan Pietro and Paolo Onori, sons of his sister—again in connection with the position of university lecturer.\(^8\) However, the Senate may have not agreed to this request, since the first draft of the aforementioned contract mentions no printing privilege, nor does any other documentation of the Senate ratify such a contract. The request was probably not met, for we find it exclusively in an undated letter by Aldus to the Bolognese senators listing the ‘conditions’ for the hire.\(^9\) The letter specifies the sum Aldus demanded to move to Bologna (for both his salary and the move itself), and the greatest emphasis is placed on the three-fold reason behind his move: the teaching appointment in the *studium*, the continuation and publication of the *Historia Bononiensis*, and the ‘privilege to print things for the Senate and the Archbishopric’.\(^10\) And this, at a time when Alessandro Benacci had been

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\(^7\) ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, Requisiti dei Lettori – Letter M, vol. 16, b. 30 (‘Manucci Aldo di Venetia Celebre Umanista Lettore di Umanità 1585-’86’), *conducta* of Aldus Manutius the Younger (31 January 1585): ‘[…] et ultra omnes et quascumque utilitates et proventus omniaque privilegia et alia quae praedictur quondam excellentissimus Sigonius habebat idemque erant ab eodem Senatus et conservatoribus concessa’.

\(^8\) *Ibid*., ‘E in caso di morte si detraggono 100 scudi l’anno della provisione che dimanda per un suo nipote co’l carico della lettura e stampa. In caso di morte resti ad uno dei suoi nipoti giovani di venti e ventuno anno, della riuscita dei quali può promettersi, la lettura sua e’l carico della stampa unito con 400 scudi simili di provisione’.


\(^10\) *Ibid.,* 33: ‘Anderà a Bologna per lo carico della lettura per lo scrivere l’historia latina, per la stampa col privilegio delle cose del Palazzo e Arcivescovado’. See *ibid.*, 32–35, for further information on the negotiations between Aldus the Younger and the Bolognese Senate.
printing ‘for twenty-five years and likely longer’.

Despite his request, in the two years Aldus spent in Bologna he printed no official ephemera, as far as we know. None of the decrees, proclamations, and notices printed in Bologna in the couple of years 1585-86 bears his subscription.\textsuperscript{11} Alessandro, for his part, printed considerable numbers (in the thousands) of such ephemera in those years.\textsuperscript{12} The resolutions of the Senate also record several payments to Benacci throughout the early 1580s for supplying further printed items on single occasions: in 1583 for ‘different prints made the previous year for the Courts of the Concordia’ (the papal court of justice in Bologna); in 1584 for ‘bound volumes, loose paper, and prints’, again for the Courts of the Concordia; in 1584 for a generic order of ‘paper and prints’; and in 1585 for printing a papal bull against banditry.\textsuperscript{13} Further evidence that Aldus no longer attempted to engage with official ephemera comes from a letter to the Bolognese Senate, dated around the time his two-year appointment was drawing to an end, where he asks for its renewal but makes no mention of official printing.\textsuperscript{14} By 1587 Aldus had

\textsuperscript{11} See \textit{Bononia manifesta} and \textit{Bononia manifesta. Supplemento}, both ed. by Zanardi. Another member of the Manutius family, Antonio (1511-c.1559, son of Aldus the Elder and brother to Paolo) did print official ephemera for the City’s Senate: such is the case of the \textit{Statuti e provisioni delli sig. creditor del credito delli Morelli, Gualchieri e Gabella Grossa de la città di Bologna} (Bologna, Antonio Manutius, 1556), 2°, [6] fols, BCAB, Collection Gozzadini, vol. 201, op. 4 [BM 197], which Antonio printed when he moved to the city after being banned from Venice. Around the same time, in 1555-56, the Bolognese Senate tried to hire Paolo Manutius, Antonio’s brother, as the city’s official printer, but the project failed from the start: see Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 27–28.

\textsuperscript{12} See the index by printers in \textit{Bononia manifesta. Supplemento}, ed. by Zanardi.


\textsuperscript{14} ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, Requisiti dei Lettori – Letter M, vol. 16, b. 30
renounced his lectureship and left for Rome, and the Senate hired in his place the Portuguese humanist Thomé Correia (1536-1595). Furthermore, in October of that year, Cardinal Legate Caetani appointed Benacci stampatore camerale. This formally confirmed his rights once and for all, and may have been a move in case they were challenged in future by anyone appointed by the Bolognese Senate to the studium.

Alessandro Benacci had to take the matter into his own hands in order to fully formalize his position and restrict the competition in the field. The Senate could not but confirm the cardinal legate’s appointment of Benacci, but ratified it only later, on 19 February 1588, and confirmed the ordinary exemptions granted with it—the only form of payment contemplated in the appointment—only on 31 August 1589. Ordinary exemptions applied to customs taxes on everyday goods and commodities that went through the city gates, and on mills and wheat production (the ‘Porte, Molendini, e Sgarmillati’) of the commune. In Benacci’s case, his household was the direct beneficiary of such exemptions. Caetani’s appointment also granted him a life-long exemption on customs taxes (also called the Gabella Grossa) much more relevant to his profession; that is, those on ‘anything that would concern his printshop and paper mill’. Further passages of


16 ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, vol. 98 ‘Servizi pubblici’ [formerly vol. 8], b. 2, document dated 25 August 1629, and ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 12 (years 1588-1595), fol. 70v-71r. The exemptions were granted for life to Alessandro and his son Vittorio starting from the following January 1590 only: ‘Exemptio Domino Alexandro Benatio et Victorio eius filio impressoribus publicis […] vitam, incipiendi anno proxime venturo M.D.LXXXX’.

17 See ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fol. 209r-213v (27 October 1587), especially fol. 212r-v, as quoted in n. 108 below. For the impact of these exemptions on the connection between printing cheap print and papermaking see § 1.2.
Caetani’s appointment clarify how these exemptions were essential to the appointment and the very decision to render it formal in 1587. However, the appointment also made a point of protecting Alessandro’s activity as a printer, for it granted him a printing privilege on ‘each and every edition of any topic and matter that he had printed and would print in the future’, so that no one had the right to reprint or sell his publications without his explicit authorization.\textsuperscript{18} The printed version of the appointment restated how all Bolognese printers and booksellers as well as any customs officer had to respect this privilege, lest they be fined 100 scudi.\textsuperscript{19} That Alessandro managed to secure all these rights, privileges, and financial concessions in the first place is evidence of his capability and agency, an outcome of both his position of strength in the Bolognese network for official cheap print.

The episode of Aldus’ hiring is important not only for its role in challenging Alessandro Benacci’s informal agreement, but also because this is the first explicit mention of official ephemera to be printed on behalf of the whole of the Bolognese Senate and archbishopric in negotiations concerning printing. Leaving aside the relationship with the local ecclesiastical authorities (to which I will return in § 2.1), the expression ‘of the Palace’ (‘del Palazzo’) to refer to every office of the City Senate contrasts with the formulas used in the appointments and

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{18} Ibd., fol. 211r: ‘Et id ipsum intellegi de omnibus et singulis aliis operibus cuiusvis materiae et qualitatis per dictum Alexandrum prima vice suarum editionum impressis et in futurum imprimendis quae absque ipsius Alexandri licentia a nemine alio in ipsa civitate vel illius ditione denuo imprimi et venalia haberi nequeant’.
\textsuperscript{19} ASBo, Assunteria di Camera, Diversorum, vol. 117, b. 10 ‘Stampatore Camerale’: broadsheet (Bologna, [n.pub.], 1588) (wrongly reporting the appointment as dated 27 September 1587) [BM 1867]: ‘[…] omnibus et quibuscunque impressoribus et seu etiam aliis diversis venditoribus librorum nec non datariis seu gabellariis aut alii praesidentibus officialibus et quibuscunque Gabellae Grossae Civitatis et Comitatus Bononiae in executionem presentium opportune nominandis et ad quos presentes in notitia et pervenerint ad effectum ne ipsi valeant et seu aliquis eorum valeat de predictis et infrascriptis omnibus et singulis pretendere ignorantiam et seu excusationem aliquam in futurum allegare quatenus visis praesentibus in virtute sanctae obedientie huissusmodi gratiarum concessionem firmiter observare curent in omnibus et per omnia ut in ea et nullo modo illi contravenire debeant sub eadem poena scutorum centum auri Apocostolice aplicandorum et aliis etiam corporis afflictivis arbitrio nostro imponendis usque ad condignam satisfactionem debitamque mandatorum obedientiam et praedicta omnia omni meliori modo’, published partially by Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 35, n. 37. On the specifics of this printing privilege, see § 2.1.
\end{footnotes}
The earliest agreement close to a public subvention for official printing in Bologna was signed on 29 August 1547, when the Senate voted to grant a stipend to Anselmo Giaccarelli. The Senate’s resolution mainly speaks of its aim of benefiting the *studium* by asking this established figure (then active in Bologna as a bookseller, and previously as a printer in Correggio) to set up and run a press that would publish editions of a good quality, in return for an annual salary of 200 *lire* for the following seven years. In addition to this, however, the Senate also required Anselmo to print all the decrees of the Tribunale di Rota (the courts for civil law in early modern Bologna) at his own expense. Of course, the Senate did not grant Anselmo any title or privilege, or any monopoly over printed official ephemera, although ultimately he printed the majority of such ephemera for the years 1547-54. None of the other printers that received any form of public subvention from the Senate did so on the grounds of an agreement to print official ephemera. The request from Aldus the Younger, though not successful, brought the question to the forefront, especially if one considers the proximity of Benacci’s formal appointment in 1587. It was therefore a crucial step in the development that brought jobbing printers of official ephemera to a position where they obtained a formal and explicit recognition for ‘printing under a privilege the documents of the civic government’ (‘la stampa col privilegio delle cose del Palazzo’).

Competition over the title and rights of official printer, and over the financial advantages coming with them, did not stop with the formal recognition of 1587, however, for other Bolognese printers challenged Alessandro Benacci’s appointment after his death in 1591. In that year, as the appointment stated, Alessandro’s title and rights passed automatically to his son and heir Vittorio.

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20 I am following here again the reconstruction by Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’.
22 See the index by printers’ name in *Bononia manifesta. Supplemento*, ed. by Zanardi.
23 ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), especially fols 213r-v:
But when the eminent local *tipografo* Giovanni Rossi died in 1595, litigation between his own son and heir Perseo and Vittorio Benacci ensued. On 3 October of that year, both Perseo and Vittorio came forward to the Senate to request the title and rights of official printer. The Senate suspended any subvention until the end of 1598, when it granted both of them an annual sum of 200 *lire*. In Perseo’s case this was a continuation of his father’s financial support (on which see the following paragraphs). Vittorio, on the other hand, had been running his father’s business since 1591, and in his new role of Bologna’s *stampatore camerale* had inherited the relevant financial exemptions. In the wording of the 1598 resolution of the Senate, Vittorio alone was granted an additional sum of money for printing official ephemera according to his title.\(^{24}\)

Despite what claimed the 1595 petition by his son Perseo, Giovanni Rossi had never held the position of *stampatore camerale*. To briefly summarize the story, Giovanni had been receiving a public subvention from the Bolognese Senate in connection with his role as the official printer of the Società Tipografica Bolognese, a private printing company founded on 12 July 1572 by the aforementioned Sigonio along with eleven other Bolognese noblemen, whose publications were covered by a papal printing privilege of the same year.\(^{25}\) This subvention by no means involved any official printing, and although Giovanni Rossi printed a limited quantity of official ephemera for the Bolognese civic authorities, he never subscribed these using the title of *stampatore camerale*.\(^{26}\) In

\[^{24}\] *Insuper praefatas omnes concessiones, gratias, favores, privilegia, largitiones, quo ad omnia supra expressa, et in omnibus et singulis partibus capitulos et clausulis supradictis, motu, scientia et auctoritate similibus, earumdem praesentium tenore omni meliori modo quo possumus ad personam dilecti pariter nobis in Christo Victorii ipsius Alexandri unici filii legitimi et naturalis, bonae indolis ac providae expectationis, ut accipimus, adolescentis extendimus*.

\[^{25}\] ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 13 (years 1596-1604), fols 49r-v (28 December 1598): ‘[…] Publico igitur impressori Domino Victorio Benacio libras ducentas annuas de pecunia Gabellae ea de causa per suffragia 25 decreverunt; cum onere banna omnia quae in posterum erunt imprimenda propriis expensis cudendi, reservato eidem publici cameralis impressoris quo hodie potitur titulo. […] Perseo Viro defuncti [the late Giovanni Rossi] filio tametsi in isdem oneribus successor, nihil tamen ea de causa hactenus decretem fuerit; aequum visum est ne sine aliquo premio huiusmodi labor diutius remaneat, erga ipsum Perseum se gratiosum pariter gerere, eidem igitur libras ducentas annuas de pecunia Gabellae persolvendas per suffragia 25 censuit, cum conditionibus olim eius patri inunictis’.

\[^{26}\] On the Società Tipografica Bolognese the only study is still Albano Sorbelli, ‘Carlo Sigonio e la Società Tipografica Bolognese’, *La Bibliofilia*, 23 (1921), 95–105.

\[^{26}\] From 1561 to right before his death in 1595, however, he printed only eighty proclamations and
fact, the written statement presented to the Senate by Perseo may not have concerned the title of official printer at all: since the original documents have been lost, we can only rely on the archival summaries of an anonymous eighteenth-century indexer of the Senate’s documentation.\textsuperscript{27} It was again Bellettini who pointed out that the indexer was likely biased and reconstructed the succession of official printers (following a direct line from Giaccarelli to Rossi and ultimately Benacci) in a way that excluded any role of the cardinal legate in such matters.\textsuperscript{28} In any case, the events of 1595 echo what happened in 1585-87: the existing privilege of a Benacci family member with respect to official printing risked being ignored because of the eagerness of other printers—Bolognese or not—to obtain local subventions and privileges. In both instances, however, the Senate was obliged to formally acknowledge the title and rights of the Benacci in part following their own initiative.

Going back to 1595, we find a confirmation of how Vittorio Benacci further secured the formal recognition of his role as \textit{stampatore camerale} in the official payment documents of the Bolognese \textit{studium}, the Quartironi degli Stipendi, a source previously overlooked in this area.\textsuperscript{29} Such recognition set down in writing once and for all the difference between the motivation for the relevant payments to Vittorio and Perseo in the Quartironi. Since the Quartironi record all the expenses that pertained to the \textit{studium}, managed by the Senate, which were paid for via the customs tax of the Gabella Grossa, they also record all the financial subventions to local printers established by the Senate. To this end, in the payments for 1599 we find the double subvention of 200 \textit{lire} (in four equal payments) to both Perseo Rossi and Vittorio Benacci.\textsuperscript{30} Moreover, the Quartironi

\textsuperscript{27} ASBo, Senato, Sommario degli Istrumenti: ‘Documenti contenuti nell’archivio dell’I.II.mo Reggimento’, vol. 2 (years 1545-1613), fol. 331r, as published in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 40–41.
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, 40–43.
\textsuperscript{29} The Quartironi record the quarterly payments (hence the term) of professors’ and other staff salaries as well as other expenses concerning the Bolognese \textit{studium}. On this archival \textit{fondo} see \textit{L’archivio dei Riformatori dello Studio. Inventario}, ed. by Claudia Salterini (Bologna: Istituto per la storia dell’Università, 1997).
\textsuperscript{30} ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartironi degli Stipendi’, vol. 38 (years 1584-1612).
specifically state that Rossi was paid ‘for his printing privilege’ (‘per l’obbligo della stampa’), in reference to his role for the Società Tipografica Bolognese, while Benacci was paid ‘for [printing] decrees’ (‘per li bandi’). Vittorio’s subvention also continues until 1629, the year of his death.\textsuperscript{31} Incidentally, the Quartironi confirm the changes in Giovanni Rossi’s subvention over the years, following the Senate’s resolutions.\textsuperscript{32} In light of all this, the Quartironi are a testament not only to the true motivations behind the City Senate’s subventions to local printers, but also to the increased formalization of the role of official printer. They also show how Vittorio continued his father’s fight for the acknowledgement of their privileged position.

Crisis broke out again the next time the role of official printer in Bologna became vacant. When both Vittorio Benacci and Perseo Rossi died within the space of a few months in 1629, a flood of written statements and privileges from the cardinal legate were presented to the Senate. The chain of events started when Vittorio was reported ill in 1629. On 20 February of that year, the paper-maker Carlo Malisardi applied for the appointment of \textit{stampatore camerale}, prompting the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia (then Count Alamanno Isolani) to commission a formal investigation into Vittorio’s state of health and a report from the chancery magistrates, the Assunti di Cancelleria, on the legality of Malisardi’s request.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{31} ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartironi degli Stipendi’, vols 38 (years 1584-1612) and 39 (years 1613-1634). Incidentally, Vittorio Benacci is paid ‘per il calendario dell’anno’, meaning for printing academic timetables and calendars, for the years 1606-07, 1610-11, and from 1613 until his death. On printed academic calendars see § 2.3.

\textsuperscript{32} Giovanni Rossi was paid 200 \textit{lire} from 1573 to 1582 ‘per il primo [etc.] anno del decennio’ (as the Società’s initial privilege); he then had the subvention renewed from the year 1583 to 1592 for another ten-year period, but for a higher sum of 400 \textit{lire} (in four payments of 100 \textit{lire}); and finally from 1593 to his death in 1595 he initially receives 300 \textit{lire} (in four payments of 75 \textit{lire}), rising to 400 \textit{lire} (in four payments of 75 \textit{lire}) following a resolution from the Senate on 18 April 1595: ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartironi degli Stipendi’, vols 37 (years 1563-1583) and 38 (years 1584-1612), years 1573-82, 1583-92, and 1593-95. The Senate’s resolutions are in ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 12 (years 1588-1595), fol. 154v (13 April 1593) and 187r (18 April 1595), as in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 31, nn. 25–26.

\textsuperscript{33} ASBo, Senato, Vacchettoni, vol. 14 (years 1627-1631), fol. 83v: ‘Memoriale di Carlo Malisardi. Dimanda l’ufficio di stampator camerale esercitato da Messer Vittorio Benazzi, che sta con mala salute. Messer Gonfaloniere mandi a visionare detto Benazzi, et quanto al memoriale suddetto si commette agli Assunti di Cancelleria che vedendo il caso s’informano e riferiscano’. As a paper-maker, Malisardi was a member of the city’s guild of stationers and dyers: ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1 ‘Cartolai e tintori uniti’, Atti (1545-1726), handwritten documents dating to 1615, 1618, 1624, and 1629 listing the members of the guild. For
Events gathered pace in a matter of days, for a report of the Senate’s meeting at the end of the same month already speaks of Vittorio’s heirs, who were pleading for special treatment in light of his long-standing service. On the same occasion, several figures presented written statements; among these familiar names appear, such as that of Perseo Rossi, but also new ones. In particular, the title and rights of official printer had attracted the interest of tipografi, such as Clemente and Giovanni Battista Ferroni and Evangelista Dozza, who was also active as a bookseller, but also of paper-makers, like the aforementioned Malisardi and Ludovico Ailini, and of the bookseller Marcantonio Bernia. All these individuals presented new written statements to the Senate on 3 March 1629, as did the now-designated heir of the Benacci family, Girolamo Donini. Girolamo had married Vittorio Benacci’s sister Francesca, who had also died in 1629, and saw subsequently his role as manager of the family’s printing business recognized on 24 March of that year. Most importantly, the Cardinal Legate Bernardino Spada formally and unambiguously appointed him stampatore camerale for Bologna on 2 April 1629. Like in 1587, competition over the privilege for official printing was solved after a member of the Benacci family—in this case their legitimate heir—made his voice heard by presenting to the Senate documentation from the
cardinal legate.

There is further confirmation of this agency from the part of printers once we consider in more detail the unfolding of events that led to Donini’s appointment. Immediately after Vittorio’s death, after a first indecisive vote on 20 March, the Senate appointed Perseo Rossi as stampatore camerale (albeit for just three years) on 3 April, without consulting the legate.\(^3^8\) However, the Senate’s decision was derailed when Perseo also died. On 20 April, his nominated heirs requested that his subvention be continued, likely grounding the appeal on his recent appointment.\(^3^9\) Then this possibility was completely disavowed by Girolamo Donini, who presented Cardinal Spada’s privilege at the Senate’s congregation on the following 25 August. In the wake of such disruptive news, the Assunti di Cancelleria were formally asked to discuss with Girolamo a solution with respect to the ‘annual subvention Vittorio Benacci received from the Gabella Grossa and to the decrees the same Vittorio used to provide to the chancery of the Senate’.\(^4^0\)

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\(^{38}\) See ASBo, Senato, Vacchettoni, vol. 14 (years 1627-1631), fols 89v (20 March 1629) and 92v (3 April 1629), and the later report on the vote in ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, vol. 98, ‘Servizi pubblici’ [formerly vol. 8]: b. 2 ‘Stamperia Camerale’, doc. no. 1 ‘Per la Stampa Camerale’. Donini and Clemente Ferroni were shortlisted for the position, but Perseo won twenty-four votes of the thirty-two senators present. It is worth noting here that the flow of appeals and votes I have discussed in these two paragraphs is recorded in full in the transcriptions of the Senate’s gatherings, the Vacchettoni, and not in the official books of its resolutions, the Partiti; only the vote of 3 April makes its way into the latter: ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 17 (years 1622-1629), fol. 165v (3 April 1629): ‘Electio Persei de Rubeis ad officium Impressoris Cameralis’, as noted in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 51, n. 75. Moreover, Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 49–53 mentions the Vacchettoni’s records, but does not fully quote them in his reconstruction of the events. I believe these are in fact the primary historical source to be used in order to evaluate the decisions of the City Senate. On the archival fondi of the civic government of Bologna in the city’s Archivio di Stato see Bologna: Comune (1116-1506), Reggimento (1506-1796), ed. by Gianfranco Orlandelli (Milan: Giuffrè, 1967) and Isabella Zanni Rosiello, ‘Archivio di Stato di Bologna’, in Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani, 4 vols (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1981-94), vol. I (1981), pp. 551–661.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., fol. 94v (20 April 1629).


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At the same time, the wording of Girolamo’s appointment emphasizes how he actively reinforced his position with further actions. First, Cardinal Spada explains that he has been convinced to appoint Girolamo because the man was in possession of Vittorio’s ‘printing material [specifically the types] and of the proclamations and other decrees that Vittorio printed in his lifetime’. The appointment also stresses that Girolamo’s position as Vittorio’s heir could not be contested following the recent inheritance settlement, and it served to defend him from unlawful claims to the title and position of stampatore camerale that he had earned. By connecting the appointment to his position as the legitimate Benacci heir, Girolamo obtained the most powerful protection possible for his rights.

Nevertheless, mirroring what had occurred in 1587, the Senate waited some time before acknowledging his privilege. Perseo’s heirs continued to receive his subvention for ‘l’obbligo della stampa’ until December 1629, but on 9 March of the following year the Senate formally and finally voted in favour of Girolamo’s privilege. The acknowledgement meant that he received the relevant yearly subvention of 200 lire only starting from that year, and it is in relation to this that we find him on the Quartironi of the Bolognese studium receiving four payments of fifty lire at each imbursatione ‘for printing decrees’.

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41 ASBo, Legato, Liber registri brevium apostolicorum (1523-1643), fols 301r-304v, especially fol. 301v: ‘[…] eidem Hieronimo concedi locum et officium domini quondam Victorii ut solus et insolidus sit impressor cameralis prout Victorius fuit dum vixit, et penes Hieronimum antedictum extent characteres artis et proclamata et alia vivente Domino Victorio edicta hic procliviores erga sape dictum Hieronimum facti sumus’. See also the later copy of Cardinal Spada’s appointment in ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, vol. 98, ‘Servizi pubblici’ [formerly vol. 8]: b. 2 ‘Stamperia Camerale’, doc no. 2.

42 ASBo, Legato, Liber registri brevium apostolicorum (1523-1643), fols 301r-304v, especially fol. 301v (immediately before the passage quoted in the previous n.): ‘Illo autem mortuo et illius haereditate inter haeredes distribuita cum Hieronimo Donino veluti idoneo cohaerens seu partecipes bonorum dictae haereditatis, omne ius quod haberent seu habere sperarent in officio typographiae huiusmodi cesserint’.


44 See ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartironi degli Stipendi’, vol. 39 (years 1635-1651), year 1630: in the first imbursatione the payment ‘for the decrees’ (‘per li bandi’) goes to a generic
privilege was further confirmed on 26 June 1631 by Cardinal Legate Spada, who on that occasion conferred to Girolamo’s son Domenico the title and privileges of *stampatore camerale*. This father-and-son partnership in the role of official printer lasted until 1678, when both Girolamo and Domenico died, with the consequence that the role became vacant once again and was thus granted to Emilio and Evangelista Manolessi, who could produce evidence for a privilege from the Vicelegate, Bishop Fernardo Strozzi (in office 1676-78).\(^{45}\)

Despite biased early modern reports from the City’s Senate and the ensuing confusion of some scholars on the matter, the *stampatori camerali* in post-Tridentine Bologna were clearly a series of individuals appointed by the cardinal legate one at a time, as we have seen. The actual printing of official ephemera, however, was more often than not a collective, unlicensed matter. On the one hand, Girolamo Donini was the legitimate successor of the Benacci’s press in terms of official printing. He swiftly used his position as the new *protegé* of the cardinal legate in 1630: his ‘inherited’ acquaintanceship with the materials and practice of printing official ephemera enabled him to have both his position and rights recognized, also financially. In this role he was, as Bellettini has noted, the name behind the subscription ‘Eredi di Vittorio Benacci stampatore camerale’ for almost fifty years, from 1630 to 1678.\(^{46}\) Yet, as we have seen, neither Alessandro nor Vittorio Benacci were the only individuals printing decrees and proclamations issued for the Bolognese authorities. This reality suggests at first glance that the official privileges in this sense were considered void of practical binding authority, or that the fines imposed in case of breaches were too insubstantial compared to the margins that printing official ephemera granted. I would suggest an alternative interpretation of these competition practices; that is, as evidence for the ample agency Bolognese printers enjoyed in this period. To demonstrate this, we must examine not only the information coming from the printers’ subscriptions in such

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\(^{45}\) See the 1730s report on the whole matter of the *stampatore camerale* in ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, vol. 98, ‘Servizi pubblici’ [formerly vol. 8], b. 2 ‘Stamperia Camerale’, doc. no. 5 ‘Relazione sopra la Stamperia Camerale’.

\(^{46}\) Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 53.
printed items, but also the additional payments for printing official ephemera outside of the privilege subventions, and the governmental and administrative items printed on behalf of other Bolognese authorities and institutions.

Subscriptions are the first tool to help us reconstruct a situation where—alongside a preeminent tipografo—others too could, and did, print official ephemera. I have discussed earlier how when Aldus Manutius the Younger was teaching at the Bolognese studium in the years 1585-86, he did not print any of the official ephemera issued by the local authorities, although he had in fact set up a printshop in the city.\(^{47}\) Instead, the majority were printed by the Benacci, and in Vittorio’s time overwhelmingly so.\(^{48}\) Alessandro Benacci is also the only printer responsible for whole bodies of decrees and notices on certain topics, as in the case of the collection of Bolognese official broadsheets on the plague collected by the City’s magistracy on public health, the Assunteria della Sanità.\(^{49}\) Yet, other Bolognese printers also subscribed a fair number of official ephemera, from several members of the Bonardo family—with Pellegrino ranking in second place overall—to Giovanni and Perseo Rossi, Anselmo and his son Antonio Giaccarelli in partnership with Marco Antonio Grossi from Carpi, and Giovanni Battista Bellagamba.\(^{50}\) At the same time, they did so more in the 1560s than in any other decade of their respective careers. For instance, Rossi printed eighty official ephemera in total, at an average rate of no more than three per year (except for 1566-67, when he printed sixteen and seventeen broadsheets respectively). Later, during Vittorio’s time as stampatore camerale, the figures for official ephemera printed by other tipografi became even smaller: Perseo Rossi subscribed ten


\(^{48}\) For the figures I quote in this paragraph I have combined the results from Bononia manifesta and Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, both ed. by Zanardi, and EDIT16. For a list of the printers involved, see also the relevant name index in Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, ed. by Zanardi.

\(^{49}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste; on this archival fondo see § 2.2.

\(^{50}\) Earlier in this section I noted how already in Anselmo Giaccarelli’s time other local tipografi printed such materials, although his was not an encompassing printing privilege over official ephemera: see nn. 21-22 above.
broadsheets between 1595 and 1599, and Bellagamba only three in 1599.\footnote{It is difficult to make the same numerical comparisons for the period after 1600s, for both bibliographies \textit{Bononia manifesta} and \textit{Bononia manifesta. Supplemento}, both ed. by Zanardi (the only exhaustive resources for Bolognese printed official broadsheets), concentrate exclusively on the sixteenth century.} While the privilege of official printed ephemera may have not acted as an immediate deterrent against other Bolognese printers, it surely helped the Benacci dominate this type of production with time.

Printers’ subscriptions in official ephemera issued by other Bolognese institutions, as well as additional commissions from them, further support the conclusion that the Benacci competed more actively for the privilege of official printing on behalf of the civic authorities of the city. While no local printer except for the Benacci ever used the title of \textit{stampatore camerale} when printing official ephemera for the Senate, the Legate, and their dependent magistracies and offices, such as the various \textit{assunterie} (see the Introduction), some of them did print the decrees and proclamations of the (arch-)bishopric, especially under the office of Cardinal Paleotti. For instance, on a few occasions both Giovanni Rossi and Alessandro subscribe ecclesiastical ephemera as official printers for the bishopric, for the first time in Paleotti’s \textit{Ordinazione sopra l’elemosina} (1567) and in three 1584 decrees respectively.\footnote{Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 33, n. 34. Alessandro Benacci’s actual first subscription as bishopric printer is in the \textit{Psalterio per putti principianti con la Dottrina Christiana aggiunta} of 1575, however this edition is printed on parchment: see \textbf{Table no. 1.1}. On the relationship of the (arch-)bishopric with its printers outside any formal appointment see \textsection 2.1.} Other institutions in Bologna resorted to printers following independent patterns. On the one hand, Vittorio Benacci printed all of the administrative ephemera for the oratory of the Confraternità di Santa Maria della Morte and the May procession of the Madonna di San Luca.\footnote{See respectively ASBo, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, Documenti riguardanti l’oratorio – Serie VI, vol. 18 ‘Libro di spese dell’oratorio, 1538-1615’, at the fols indicated in \textsection 2.3, and ASBo, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, Campioni e Miscellane – Serie VIII, vol. 26 ‘Notizie, memorie e stampe dei viaggi della B. V. di S. Luca, XV-XVII’.} On the other, the professors, students, and officials associated with the Bolognese \textit{studium} resorted to a variety of Bolognese printers, as in the cases of the invitations to anatomy classes and other ephemera printed in the seventeenth century.\footnote{See the items at ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630) described in nn. 205-206 in \textsection 2.3.}

At the same time, the Senate’s resolutions testify to the increasingly
dominant position of the Benacci in official civic printing, for they are nearly the only contemporary printers to figure in the Senate’s resolutions, the Partiti, with respect to providing printed ephemera outside the regular supply coming from the *stamppatore camerale*. In October 1583, Giovanni Rossi was paid 80 lire for having printed a bull and some sermons for the Bolognese Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti. This is the only case of ecclesiastical official ephemera paid for by the City’s Senate, and, unsurprisingly, also the only case of a payment not to the Benacci in the Partiti.\(^{55}\) In all of the other instances, the Senate paid Alessandro Benacci alone. As we have seen, in addition to the aforementioned payments to Alessandro between 1583 and 1585, he received 200 lire in June 1581 for ‘some imprints’ meant again for the Court of the Concordia.\(^{56}\) The money to cover all these expenses came directly from the Bolognese Treasury, the Camera, and mostly pertained to jobbing printing for the same institution, the Court of the Concordia. Later in January 1592, Alessandro’s son Vittorio saw a 409 lire debt of his father’s paid by the Senate, likely in connection with a series of small printing jobs done over the last decade by Alessandro.\(^{57}\) When the Benacci saw their position as the official printers of Bologna consolidated, the need to pay them occasional additional sums for printing official ephemera gradually disappeared.

A pattern emerges with respect to official printing between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Under Alessandro, other printers could still obtain orders and payments for official ephemera. Before the Senate formally acknowledged his appointment, printers like Giovanni Rossi and Pellegrino Bonardo printed official documents to support their businesses. When Vittorio inherited the family’s printing business, he not only enforced his title and privilege on printing official ephemera but he also strengthened his position in the local print trade by taking on further commissions that had been usually left for

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\(^{55}\) ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 11 (years 1583-1587), fols 25r-v: ‘[…] Ioanni Roscio impressori pro impressione bullae Archiepiscopatus Bononiensis et sermones super eo habiti ab illustriissimo Cardinale Paleotto – L 80’.

\(^{56}\) ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 10 (years 1576-1582), fol. 155v (28 June 1581): ‘Libre 200 Domino Alexandro Benatio pro impressionibus causam officii concordiae’. For the Tribunale della Concordia and the other payments to Benacci see n. 13 above.

\(^{57}\) ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 12 (years 1588-1595), fol. 132r (22 January 1592): ‘[…] Haeredibus Domini Alexandri Benacii libras quadringentas et novem ipsis debitas per suffragia xxviii solvi mandaverunt’. 
other printers to fill. In the following § 1.2 and § 1.3, I will investigate in more
detail the strategies available to printing families like the Bonardos to be so
competitive for a long time, and then especially adopted by the Benacci to rise to
their predominance in the local cheap-print market. Here suffice to say that the
sequence of appointments and appeals by competitors over the production and
commercial advantages meant for Bolognese stampatori camerali, as well as of
payments for printed ephemera dispersed through the archival records of the city’s
civic government—all sources previously underused or unused to this purpose—
show us that the history of the city’s official jobbing printing was not linear and
imposed from the top but, on account of the possibility to dispute authorities’
agreements and obtain additional commissions, much more open to the agency of
printers.
§ 1.2

Cheap Paper for Cheap Print: Bolognese Printers and Paper Production

The first time we meet the name of Alessandro Benacci in a Bolognese notarial document, as early as 1560, his profession is recorded as that of a cartarius, a paper-maker. But the connection with papermaking characterized several members of the Benacci family in its course from the generation of Alessandro’s elder brother, Giovanni Battista, to that of his son, Vittorio. Alessandro’s business was strongly dependent on paper: he received payments from the City Senate for providing to it loose sheets of paper on demand, as we have seen in the previous section, and his description as an established paper-maker also figures in the privilege as stampatore cameralе that Cardinal Caetani granted him in 1587. Already in Alessandro’s time, but increasingly under Vittorio’s management, the Benacci family expanded into further businesses associated with paper, as evidenced by Vittorio’s probate inventory for his shops, which in addition to cheaply-printed items such as printed board games and administrative forms, also lists paper assets such as bound books, paperboard, writing and wrapping paper. By 1629, the Benacci family were not only producing paper, they were selling it, in loose and semi-worked form.

In the competition between Bolognese printers discussed above, paper production and facilities played an essential part. Once they produced paper, printers could have a ready, ‘in-house’ supply of the core commodity of their printing business, evidently making easier, quicker, and cheaper any jobbing printing of official ephemera, as well as of other commercial cheap print published at short notice, from occasional booklets to almanacs, fans, or news

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58 See n. 64 below.
59 See ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 11 (years 1583-1587), fol. 57v (29 October 1584), ‘Solutio librarum 99–17 in Benatio impressore […] pro libris, cartis et impressionibus pro causa concordiae’, and fol. 63r (29 December 1584), ‘[…] Domino Alejandro Benatio pro cartis et impressionibus – L 14’, as in n. 13 above. I will discuss the passages on papermaking of the 1587 privilege later in this section.
60 Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 47–48, which reports the document at ASBo, Notarile, Rodolfo Torelli Castelli, 5, prot. F, fols 24v-26r, 29 May 1629 and, as a copy, at ASBo, Ufficio del Registro, Copie degli Atti Notarili, vol. 51, microfilm 317 [formerly vol. 391], fols 83v-85r (wrongly dated 26 May 1629); see the passages quoted in nn. 141 and 150 below.
reports. In this section I will demonstrate how such a connection proved crucial to the rise and establishment of the Benacci family with respect to governmental and administrative printed ephemera, where low production costs made financially viable their eventual free distribution. Drawing on the previous section, therefore, here I offer a detailed portrait of the extensive papermaking network relationships created by the family and explain how it enabled their business to thrive. Few printers in Bologna were also paper-makers; those who were used such an asset to their advantage and to strengthen their influence within the cheap print network of the city. This was especially true in the late sixteenth century, when on account of their connection with paper production the Bonardo family secured considerable commissions of printed official ephemera even after Alessandro Benacci’s appointment as a stampatore camerale, ensuring the city’s cheap-print market remained competitive.

Scholarly literature has not yet explored the full implications and meaning of the connection between cheap print and paper production and distribution. As outlined in the Introduction, Bellettini distinguished the ‘printer-papermaker’ from the traditional ‘printer-publisher’ already in 1988.61 Several printing families in northern and central Italy associated paper production with printed ephemera or cheap print in general during the early modern period, such as the Soliani in Modena or the more renowned Remondini in Bassano.62 The context of Bologna, however, offers a unique perspective for it makes evident the ties between the urban realities associated with cheap print, i.e. papermaking, and the evolving organization of the overall book trade throughout the post-Tridentine period, as well as the competiveness among local printer-papermakers. In this sense, the ways in which Bolognese printers shaped their relationship with paper production represents another type of agency open to them by engaging with cheap print.

62 See respectively Lavori preparatori, ed. by Milano, Battini, and Po; I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza; Ivo Mattozzi, ‘I Remondini e le cartiere’, in Remondini. Un editore del Settecento, ed. by Mario Infelise and Paolo Marini (Milan: Electa, 1990), pp. 84–89; and Carmelos, I libri da risma. Other case-studies, such as those by Carosi, Girolamo, Pietro e Agostino Discepoli and Lorenzo Di Lenardo, I Lorio: editori, librai, cartai, tipografi fra Udine e Venezia (1496-1629) (Udine: Forum, 2009), do not fully tease out the implications of the printers’ engagement with papermaking and paper trades, in contrast to those on the Milanese context quoted in n. 180 below.
Such agency informed the competition among tipografi (as discussed in § 1.1), but it also enabled an expansion of the trade on account of the possibilities offered by an interconnected cheap-print network and by an evolving book market. At the same time, the association with paper production generated potential connections with further urban trades related to cheap print, such as stationery shops, haberdashers, and print pedlars (see § 1.3).

The connections that the Benacci family—and in smaller measure that of the Bonardos—had with the world of paper production started with the ownership of paper mills and shops and took place primarily within the city. Unlike the rest of the Papal State, in Bologna the majority of the legation’s paper mills were located within the city walls (although we do also find paper mills scattered through the contado, especially along the river Reno valley outside of Porta Saragozza, to the south-west of Bologna). The notarial documentation on the mills of the Benacci family also shows that they either directly owned and ran these facilities, or rented them out to other labourers. In some cases they rented mills from Bolognese noblemen and senators. In such a context, it became natural for these ‘printer-papermakers’ to own paper shops, as another, crucial asset in an interconnected business where production and distribution went hand in hand.63

The story of the Benacci’s acquaintance with paper extends over several generations and two centuries, and was strengthened by deliberate, detailed choices in passing down the family’s estate and business. As we have seen, already in 1560 Alessandro is described as a cartarius, and in one document as a full Bolognese citizen, too, ‘civis et cartarius’.64 Alessandro and his brother

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64 See, respectively, ASBo, Notarile, Melchiorre Panzacchia (Jr), 6/2, 1560, minutes, docs no. 25 and dated 29 January 1560. The archival documents quoted throughout Chapter 1 from the
Giovanni Battista had inherited the family’s business from their father Alessandro, or Alessio, the Elder, in 1542. In this second Benacci generation, Giovanni Battista was likely the elder of the two brothers, and appears to be the one in charge of estate decisions, as he formally grants Alessandro and their eldest brother Girolamo the right to live in the family home. In regard to Giovanni Battista’s activity, he signs his will 1584 as a paper-maker, but he plausibly worked as one before that date. In the passage to Vittorio Benacci’s generation, the same will of 1584 informs us that, besides being the natural heir of his father Alessandro, he also became the designated universal heir to Giovanni Battista’s estate. Moreover, in 1593 Vittorio inherited the family house based in the parish of SS Gregorio and Siro where his uncle Girolamo had been living with his wife Lucia Zanini (though the bequest specified that Zanini was to continue living in the house until her own death); as we shall see, the house was situated in the Notarile series of the Archivio di Stato of Bologna have been first published in the DTEI, but have not received any in-depth analysis until now. On the Bolognese Archivio Notarile see Giorgio Cencetti, ‘I precedenti storici dell’Archivio notarile a Bologna’, Notizie degli Archivi di Stato, 3.2 (1943), 117–124; Giorgio Tamba, ‘La formazione del fondo notarile dell’Archivio di Stato di Bologna e la figura di Giovanni Masini’, Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna, 41 (1990), 41–66; idem, ‘Un archivio notarile? No, tuttavia…’, Archivi per la storia, 3 (1990), 41–96; as well as La Società dei notai di Bologna, ed. by Giorgio Tamba (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1988), which also constitutes the finding aid for the relevant archival series.

66 Giovanni Battista allows Girolamo and Alessandro the right to live in the family’s house as part of his will: see ASBo, Notarile, Ludovico Gambalunga, 6/3, 10 September 1584, fols 138v-140r, also quoted in the two following nn. In ASBo, Notarile, Cesare Vallata Rossi, 7/12, document dated 21 August 1549, the Benacci brothers are reported as Alessandro, Giovanni Battista, Girolamo, Angelo, and Michele.


papermaking district of Bologna. As the sole heir to the three Benacci brothers’ estate, Vittorio was in the best position to develop the family’s business.

Building on this situation, Vittorio oversaw the unprecedented growth of the family’s papermaking facilities and increasingly ran their paper mills via other paper workers. In Alessandro and Giovanni Battista’s generation, the two brothers directly managed the properties that they owned or rented from Bolognese patricians. For instance, Alessandro rented a paper mill from the nobleman Galeazzo Poeti close to the city walls in the north-west of Bologna. There was a concentration of Bolognese urban paper mills in this area, along with silk and grain mills, for they all used the water of the main artificial canal drawn from the river Reno, the Canale di Reno, and of several minor canals connected to this that ran to the west/north-west of the city. In the same area, towards the southern


70 Lucia Zanini also made Vittorio her universal heir in 1595: see ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 20 September 1595, fols 175r-176v, ‘Cessio Domini Victorii Benati’.

71 ASBo, Notarile, Girolamo Fasanini, 6/1, 14 January 1589, fols 17v-18r: ‘[Galeazzo Poeti rents out to Alessandro Benacci] unam domum muratam cappatam cassellatam et balchionatam cum cella vinaria, horto putoe et aliis suis superextantibus deputatum ad usum molendini apti ad conficiendum [sic] cartas cum suis acqueductibus ac iurisdictione acquarum dicto molendino deservientibus, ac cum omnibus ac quibuscumque alius suis iurisdictionibus et pertinentiis positam in Civitate Bononiae et Capella Sanctae Mariae Maioris prope moenia civitatis iuxta alia bona dicti domini locatoris’.

72 At the present-day crossroads between via Marconi and via Riva Reno the lock on the minor canal of the Cavaticcio (or Cavadizzo), drawn from the urban segment of the Canale di Reno, worked as the city’s commercial docks; grain mills were concentrated in the further segment of the Canale di Reno turning abruptly north from nowadays via Oberdan, which was thus called, poignantly, ‘delle Moline’: see Alberto Guenzi, ‘L’area protoindustriale del canale di Reno in città nel secolo XVIII’, in Problemi d’acque a Bologna in età moderna. Atti del II colloquio, Bologna, 10-11 ottobre 1981 (Bologna: Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1983), pp. 173–210; and Alberto Guenzi and Carlo Poni, ‘Un “network” plurisecolare: acqua e industria a Bologna’, Studi Storici, 30 (1989), 359–377, as well as the information on the historical topography of Bologna from the sources quoted at n. 63 above. On silk production in Bologna, for which the city gained international fame in the early modern period, see Carlo Poni, ‘Per la storia del distretto industriale serico di Bologna (secoli XVI-XIX)’, Quaderni storici, 73 (1990), 93–167. Pierangelo Bellettini ‘Cartiere e cartari’, in Produzione e circolazione libraria a Bologna, pp. 17–90, especially pp. 18–21, is the only essay, to my knowledge, on Bolognese paper production, but focusses on the eighteenth century.
parishes of S. Maria Maggiore and SS Gregorio and Siro, lay the aforementioned home of the Benacci family, which they had owned since 1548 and passed on to Vittorio in 1593.\textsuperscript{73} Vittorio also ran paper mills in the countryside, such as in the Battidizzo village (currently near Sasso Marconi), home of the Molino della Capra, one of Bologna’s most important mills, and where in 1621 Vittorio employed Cristoforo Montini and Giovanni Rinzani to produce paper for his shops.\textsuperscript{74} At the same time, Vittorio was the first to rent out a mill when in 1595 he sublet Galeazzo Poeti’s mill to a certain Raffaele de Vinaldi del Colle, whose family would run the paper mill until the end of Vittorio’s own contract with Poeti.\textsuperscript{75}

In particular, this and other subletting contracts involving Vittorio shed new light not only on the running conditions of the paper mills, but also on how paper itself was an essential part of the Benacci’s franchise model. In 1595, among other requirements Vittorio reserved for himself exclusive rights over the entirety of the mill’s production; the prices for the various types of paper produced there were also explicitly fixed in the contract. Moreover, the payment was set in both money and kind, namely two reams of paper of excellent quality.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{73} See Simonini and Temeroli, ‘Benacci, Giovanni Battista’, p. 104, and also n. 69 above.
\textsuperscript{74} ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 25 September 1621, fols 57v-58r, fol. 57v: ‘Cum sit quod alias et de anno 1620 sub die 20 Januarii Magnificus Dominus Victorius de Benatii posuerit in molendino cartarum ipsius Domini Benatii positi in Communi Batiditii comitatus Bononiae Dominos Christophorum de Montinis et Ioannem de Rinzanis Placentinos et cartarios et suo fabricatores cartae ad praestendum [sic] una cum eorum familia operas et ad fabbricandum [sic] de proprio ipsius Domini Benatii cartas pro usu et servitio eius appoteca cum salario inter eos […]’. The document reports a settled debt that Montini and Rinzani owed Vittorio for selling paper on their own without his authorization. On Battidizzo see Bellettini, ‘Cartiere e cartari’, p. 19, while Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 47, identifies two of Vittorio’s mills as the rural Molino della Capra (along the Setta, a tributary to the river Reno) and the Gallione one in the Cavaticcio area.
\textsuperscript{75} ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 10 October 1595, fols 217r-219v, especially fols 217v: ‘[Vittorio Benacci] dedit, concessit et locavit seu verius sublocavit provido viro Domino Raphaeli quondam Alexandri de Vinaldis de Colle longevo habitatori Bononiae in Capella Sancti Gregorii in Poggiale praesenti, et pro se et eius hereditibus et successoribus stipulanti acceptanti et conducenti, dictam et suprascriptam domum et edificium molendidini ut supra positum descriptum […] et prout durat et duratura est dicta conductio praedicti olim Domini Alexandri Benati et ipsius Domini Victorii cum praedicto Illustrissimo Domino Galeatio de Poeti […]’.
\textsuperscript{76} ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 10 October 1595, fols 217r-219v, especially fols 217v-218r: ‘Et pro affictu et nomine affectus dictus Dominus Raphael sponte dare et solvere promissit dicto Domino Victorio praesenti […] libras ducentas triginta tres solidos sex et denarium octo bonorum monetarum currentium ad rationem videlicet: librarum ducentarum octuaginta bonorum in anno et duo paria capponorum ac duas rismas pagine optime in festo Natalis Domini
A similar situation is described in the documents relevant to paper mills rented out by Vittorio in the neighbourhood along present-day via Azzo Gardino, once again in the north-west of the city. First, in 1614, Vittorio offered a lease to the paper-maker brothers Domenico and Antonio Tomba (or Toma), and, as with Galeazzo Poeti, the rent was paid in both money (250 lire per year) and kind (‘two reams of paper for writing and half a ream of grease paper’). The same conditions applied in a lease dated 1620 with the paper-maker and Bolognese citizen Matteo di Noli and his sons Ippolito, Ettore, Fabio, and Francesco Maria, and in 1621 with the paper-maker Biagio Gallasini, who was however authorized to further sublet the property and mill. Vittorio’s paper-makers shared accommodations and production facilities with others in order to make the best out of the trade vocation of areas such as this; the Tombas and Biagio Gallasini may have shared the exact same building. In contrast to Alessandro Benacci, however, who in 1589 paid part of the rent for the Poeti paper mill in kind, in the form of ‘two reams of excellent quality paper’ (in addition to 280 lire and two pairs of capons per year), Vittorio adopted the practice to the advantage of the family business, for it aimed at increasing the supply of paper available to sell.

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et respecte aliorum annorum singulo et quout anno libras ducentas octuaginta [sic] bonis monetis currentis pensionum consuetis ac duo paria capponorum ac duas rismas pagine optime in festo Nativitatis’.

77 ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 27 May 1614, fols 104v-106v, fol. 104v: ‘Una pars ad instantiam alterius et esse contra [Vittorio and his tenants and employees] recognoverunt inter eos facta et saldata fuisse omnia computa de omnibus pensionibus domus et partis molendini ad conficiendum cartam per ipsos de Tomba conductis ad affectum a dicto Domino Victorio et ex item in Civitate Bononiae et in contrata Azigardini […] ad exercitium cartarii seu fabricationis cartae seu papiiri’.

78 ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 19 June 1620, fols 90v-94r, and Andrea Fabbri, 25 June 1621, fols 13r-15v.

79 See, respectively, ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 27 May 1614, fols 104v-106v, fol. 105v; ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 19 June 1620, fols 91r-v; and ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 25 June 1621, fols 12r-13r, fol. 13v. ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 27 May 1614, fols 104v-106v, fol. 105r, describes the shared property where the brothers Tomba worked for Vittorio as ‘[…] ex opposito dicti hortii anterioris et quod partimentum alias habebat et habitabat Magnificus Blasius Galasinus’. Incidentally, from these documents of the 1620s we also learn that Vittorio Benacci’s watermark was a lily: see ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 19 June 1620, fol. 92r, and ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 25 June 1621, fol. 14v, respectively.

80 For the 1589 payment, see ASBo, Notarile, Girolamo Fasanini, 6/1, 14 January 1589, fols 17v-18r: ‘Conductor sponte ut supra dare et solvere promisit dicto Magnifici Domino Locatori praestanti et acceptanti ut supra libra ducentum octuaginta bonis monetis currentis, duas rismas paginas optime ac duo paria caponorum, affectu solvendo temporibus pensionum paginamque et
As stated above, these subletting contracts also establish the prices at which Vittorio bought various types of paper from his Bolognese mills in order to resell or use it. Taking as a reference point the first contract, where he outsources one of them to the paper-maker Raffaele Vinaldo, in 1595 Vittorio agreed to pay Vinaldo five _lire_ and four _soldi_ for a ream of his best quality paper—_carta reale_—while the lowest quality—_carta fioretto_—came at the price of one _lira_ and twelve _soldi_ per ream. Cheaper than that, the paper mill produced only wrapping paper (‘_carta da impanare_’), at three _lire_ and four _soldi_ per ream, and ‘filthy paper for taking notes’ (‘_carta sucida per mettere su le scritture_’), at one _lira_ and seven _soldi_ per ream.\(^1\)

If we consider that Vittorio received a payment of six _soldi_ or _bolognini_ per quinternion from the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte in 1614, and thus a total earning of 150 _lire_ for this commission, as there are fifty quinternions in a ream, that left him roughly 148 _lire_ per ream to cover the costs of ink, labour, and rent of the printshop in the hypothetical case such handbills were printed on Vittorio’s most expensive _carta reale_, which they most likely were not.\(^2\)

A cheap and ready supply of paper was especially essential for making jobbing printing profitable, and even more so when producing official printed ephemera, which were paid in bulk and in advance. For the Benacci, producing paper in-house was indeed profitable.

cappones in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini Nostrorum Jesu Christi’.

\(^1\) ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 10 October 1595, ‘Locatio Domini Victorii Benatii Raphaelle Vinaldo’, fols 217r-219v, especially fols 218v-219r: ‘Item che detto maestro Vittorio sia obligated come così promette pigliare tutti li lavorieri del sudetto molino dal detto conduttore di mano in mano secondo che glieli portarà o mandarà per li prezzi e valuta come qui a basso, sive: fioretto la risma lire una e soldi dodici, […] carta riale fina la risma lire cinque e soldi quattro, […] carta da impanare la risma lire tre e soldi quattro, […] carta sucida per mettere su le scritture la risma lire una e soldi sette’. The document is, to my knowledge, completely unpublished: I plan to devote a proper in-depth analysis to its content so as to provide new evidence on early modern paper production and prices.

\(^2\) ASBo, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, Documenti riguardanti l’oratorio – Serie VI, vol. 18, ‘Libro di spese dell’oratorio, 1538-1615’, fol. 140v: ‘Et adì 28 febraro lire quatro de’ pagati alla botega del Benazzo stampatore per la montante di numero 500 polize per invitare li omini alla oratione; per polize di Signor Priore lire quattro’ (dated 1597); fol. 150v: ‘Et adì 16 di marzo pagati al Benazo per far stampar poliche da invitar li huomini del oratorio lire cinque’ (dated 1603); fol. 179v: ‘[…] 21 giugno lire tre sono per numero dieci quinterni de polizze stampate per invidare gli’huomini dell’oratorio, a soldi sei il quinterno, comprate alla Botega del Benacci’ (dated 1614). The document is also quoted in n. 98 in § 2.2. See also the Introduction for a discussion of the difference between cost of production and of purchase.
In addition to such strategies, the Benacci family expanded on their interests in paper production almost immediately by also acquiring paper and stationery shops. An important area in this sense lay to the north-east of Bologna’s Piazza Maggiore. In 1574, in the (now lost) parish of S. Michele del Foro Medio, situated in the cluster of buildings behind the Palazzo del Podestà, Alessandro had bought a shop from the Senator Count Camillo Fantuzzi. The shop opened directly onto Piazza Maggiore, and Alessandro later bequeathed it to Vittorio.\(^83\)

The 1574 document does not specify which goods were sold there, but a later notarial act, relevant to Vittorio’s aforementioned mill in Battidizzo, explicitly refers to his ‘stationery shop’ in S. Michele del Foro Medio.\(^84\) A little further eastwards from Piazza Maggiore, in one of the streets between the via degli Orefici and via Rizzoli (then called ‘del Mercato di Mezzo’), Alessandro bought another shop—once again, presumably to sell paper and stationery items—from a local woman, Ippolita Bigotti, shortly before his death; in November 1591, Vittorio completed the purchase.\(^85\)

\(^{83}\) ASBo, Notarile, Cesare Gherardi, 7/13-14, 16 October 1574, fols 167r-168v, fol. 167r: ‘[…] apotecam muratam cappatam taxellatam et balchionatam cum mansione supra eam positam Bononiae in Capella Sancti Michaelis de Foro Medii et in platea Bononiae confinatam iuxta plateum ipsam ac via publica iuxta ipsum Dominum Camillum’. The shop is documented in Vittorio’s hands in 1595: ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 10 October 1595, fols 217r-219v: ‘Actum Bononiae in Capella Sancti Michaelis de Foro Medii in appoteca dicti Domini Victorii sita in platea’.

\(^{84}\) See the place of subscription of ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 25 September 1621, fols 57v-58r, mentioned in n. 74 above.

\(^{85}\) ASBo, Notarile, Evangelista Veli, 6/2, folder 1591-1602, 19 Nov 1591, fols 6v-7r: ‘Honesta et communalis mulier Domina Hippolita quondam Andreae Bigoti uxor Dominici quondam Bartholomei de Fredis […] dedit, cessit, transtulit et mandavit prudenti iuveni Domino Vittorio filio olim Domini Alexandri de Benatis Bononiae civi Capellae Sancti Syri sitae in ecclesia Sancti Gregorii paterna[…] quas et quod dicta Domina Hippolita habuerit et habeat tam contra et in una appotece parva a plano usque ad primum tassellum sita Bononiae […] in contrata nuncupata le Pelizarie Civitatis Bononiae […]’. Ibid., Ippolita also testifies that she has already received from Alessandro a deposit of 125 lire, on a total sale price of 250: ‘Ad computum cuius pretii praedicta domina Hippolita ad petitionem et instantiam praesenti Domini Victorii filii praedicti domini Alexandri sponte in supra dixit et confessa fuit ac publice recognovit se habuisse et recepisse a dicto domino Alexandro eius patre libras centum viginti quinque bonis monetis currentis prout sic renuntiavit; et de quibus in publicis instrumentibus rogatis per Ser Melchiorem dominum Panzacchis de anno 1590 et 1591 ressiduum vero quod fuit et est librarum centum viginti quinque bononiensum et Dominus Victorius sponte in supra dedit et solvit predictae dominae Hippolitae praesenti et in tot bonus monetis aureis argenteis et quatrinorum dicenti et renuntianti’. The shop is later left to the former owner and neighbour, Antonio Maria Tuzzi, in Vittorio’s first will in 1598: ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 20 February 1598, fols 11v-14r, fol. 13r (for which see
It is likely that Vittorio’s status as universal heir of three Benacci brothers helped him to speculate on the estate market in Bologna, too. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Benacci family become reasonably wealthy, owning several properties as well as land. In fact, as part of the aforementioned 1593 bequest from his uncle Girolamo, Vittorio Benacci also inherited (among many other things) a property in S. Cristina di Porta Stiera (or di Pietralata), always in the north-west of Bologna. At the time he was still twenty-one years old – and thus still a minor in need of a legal guardian.\textsuperscript{86} Furthermore, in 1598 Vittorio was renting out another property inherited from Girolamo to a certain Giovanni Andrea Volpari for 180 $lire$ per year.\textsuperscript{87} Earlier in 1596, Vittorio had bought for 250 $lire$ a house in the urban neighbourhood of Borgo Polese in the parish of S. Maria Maggiore from another relative, the woodmaker Giovanni de Cirelli ‘also known as Benacci’ (likely an in-law). The contract establishes Giovanni as Vittorio’s tenant for an annual rent of thirteen $lire$ and fifteen soldi.\textsuperscript{88} From the same document we also learn that Vittorio had inherited from Alessandro and Giovanni Battista a property belonging to the monastery of S. Bartolomeo della Beverara, in Bologna’s north hinterland (offered by Vittorio to Giovanni as a potential tenancy swap), and a piece of farmable land in the neighbourhood of San Gallo outside

\textsuperscript{86} ASBo, Notarile, Antonio Malisardi, 6/4-5, 18 June 1593, fols 324r-326r, fol. 325v: ‘Nec non alteram domum muratam, cuppatam et tassellatam, cum horto putoe communi et alii suis superex tantibus positam Bononia in Capella Sanctae Cristitiae Portae Sterii in contrata Burgi Novi, confinatam iuxta dictam contratam iuxta bona olim Domini Pauli Giraldini seu eius successorum iuxta bona Domini Hierolami Cavazzoni seu eius successorum […]’.

\textsuperscript{87} ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 20 February 1598, fols 11v-14r, fol. 12v: ‘Idem Dominus Testator [Vittorio Benacci] reliquit Domino Antonio quondam Dominici de Zanettis Trentino habitatori Bononiae, donec naturaliter vixerit et non ultra, affictum seu reditum annuum quem ipsi Domino Testatori uti successori olim Domini Hieronimi Benatiis seu alias quomodolibet solvit et solvere debet Dominus Ioannes Andreas quondam Petri Ioannis de Volparisi civis Bononiae […] summae et quantitatis librarum centum octuaginta [sic] Bononiae vel circa’. The rent’s recipient, Antonio Zanetti, was Vittorio’s legal guardian until the latter became twenty-five years old, the age of majority: ASBo, Notarile, Antonio Malisardi, 6/4-5, 18 June 1593, fols 324r-326r; ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 14 July 1595, fols 142r-144r; and \textit{ibid.}, 20 September 1595, fols 175r-176v.

\textsuperscript{88} ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, b. R-S, 30 July 1596, fols 229v-245r, especially fols 229v-230r for Giovanni’s description: ‘Providus vir magister Ioannes quondam Christophori de Cirellis alias de Benatiis nuncupatus civis et faber lignarius Bononiensis Capellae Sanctae Mariae Maioris’. The same Giovanni chose Vittorio as his will’s guarantor in ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 4 February 1598, fols 10v-11v, fol. 12v.
Porta San Mamolo (close to Giovanni’s own, which is taken as a warrant for the rent). The same piece of arable land in San Gallo features in the aforementioned 1598 document—a first draft of Vittorio’s will—in which it is bequeathed to Bartolomeo Benacci, another in-law of Vittorio, and, due to a lack of male heirs, to his sister and universal heir Francesca. Vittorio owned further properties outside Bologna, in the village of the Battidizzo: in addition to the paper mill acquired in 1621 mentioned earlier, in 1595 he had bought a house and several pieces of land with several pieces of arable land, and later a share in a property and its mills.

Such a progression over time towards an increasingly interconnected business between printing and papermaking is, however, unique, in Bologna, to the Benacci family. Other local printers claimed personal and commercial connections with the world of paper, but none of them established such close ties between the two activities so as to support their businesses over generations, or to configure them as their strength with respect to ephemeral printed products. Figures like Giovanni Battista Bellagamba only supplied paper in relation to bigger printing commissions, occasionally and on an individual basis, such as when he became the printer of the natural history works of the studium’s professor Ulisse Aldrovandi around 1599. On the other hand, the Bonardos were a printing

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89 See ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, b. R-S, 30 July 1596, respectively fols 236v-237v and fol. 234r.
90 ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 20 February 1598, fols 11v-14r, fol. 12v.
91 ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 14 June 1595, fols 124r-128v, ‘Emptio Domini Victorii Benatii’, and ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 17 August 1595, fols 151r-154r. The latter document does not specify whether all of the mills obtained via permutation from Martino Stanzani, a local farmer, were just for grain production: see ibid., fol. 151v: ‘[…] tertiam partem ad ipsum Martinum spectantem unius domus muratae tassellatae et balchionatae existentis ad usum molendini et molendinarii et appotecae et cellervinariae cum edifitiis duarum postarum mollendini aptis ad macinandum blada et alia humano victui necessaria’. The arable lands, purchased from the farmer Simone Stanzani, stood next to some estates of Girolamo Fantuzzi, for which see n. 125 below. For the mill rented out in 1621, see n. 74 above.
92 See BUB, ms. Aldrovandi 136, Observationes variae, vol. XXIII, fol. 181v ‘Relazione di Messer Giovanni Battagamba per conto della carta che vorrebbe per la stampa dell’opere mie’, and vol. XXIV, fols 2-14, which reports a group of transactions done by Bellagamba for Aldrovandi on 30 January 1559. Aldrovandi’s manuscripts are described in Lodovico Frati, Catalogo dei manoscritti di Ulisse Aldrovandi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1907); on the history and plan of Aldrovandi’s scientific publications see avoni, ‘Stampa e fortuna delle opere di Ulisse
family who could have competed with the Benacci in terms of facilities and print production. However, their connection with papermaking became weaker over the course of the decades. Eventually their printing dynasty ended in the last years of the seventeenth century, leaving the stage free for the Benacci to act as the predominant printer-papemakers of early modern Bologna.

The case of the Bonardo family is especially significant because they had established themselves as printers-papemakers well before the Benacci. As early as 1535, Vincenzo Bonardo subscribed as opifex chartarum, or ‘paper artisan’, some editions that he printed with Marco Antonio Grossi from Carpi, his business partner since the previous year. Vincenzo is also described as a cartarius et impressor librorum in a notarial document dated 1539, while his younger brother Bartolomeo is named exclusively as a cartarius. Moreover, the same notarial document testifies that the two brothers lived in the parish of S. Maria Maggiore, which as we have noted hosted the majority of Bologna’s paper mills; a later document informs us that the house indeed functioned as a paper mill (‘ad usum cartariae’). In this same area, and precisely in the now lost street of the Pugliole di San Bernardino, just a bit north of the church of S. Maria Maggiore, Vincenzo owned another paper mill that also operated as a printshop as of 1535, according to the subscriptions in two editions that he printed with Grossi that year.


95 See Leandro Alberti’s De divi Dominici Calaguritani obitu et sepultura […] libellus, 4°, [12]
Vincenzo, therefore, was the one who led the family’s venture into printing through the partnership with Grossi. As a matter of fact, in the early days of this partnership Grossi was most certainly the one with printing expertise, as he is described as an impressor in documents around this time.\footnote{fols, BCAB, 6.Q.IV.043: ‘Impressum Bononiae: per Vincentium Bonardum Parmensem, et Marcum Antonium de Carpo, in via S. Bernardini de Pugliolis, 1535 XVIII Septembris’; and the Constitutiones synodales Bononienses, 8°, 103 [5] + 15 [1] fols, BUB, A.M.CC.4.35, at fol. 15v: ‘Impresso in Bologna in la contrada di San Bernardino delle Pugliole in lo edificio della carta, per Vincenzo Bonardo da Parma, e Marchantonio da Carpi compagni, l’anno del Signore 1535 alli 3 di agosto’. There were several pugliole, a local word for urban vegetable gardens, in the north-west of Bologna: see the ‘Denominazioni urbanistiche generiche tipiche in uso a Bologna’ in the ‘Odonomastica storica’ section of Origine di Bologna at \url{http://www.originebologna.com/} [last accessed 24 June 2019].} Vincenzo’s printing activity was successful and by the end of his career he ran an established printshop.\footnote{See n. 102 below for this document.}

The following generation saw Bartolomeo’s son Pellegrino leading the family business from a firm position within the world of Bolognese printing. For instance, in 1554 Pellegrino owned a printshop in the parish of S. Maria dei Bulgari (the small church within the building of the studium) where most Bolognese booksellers thrived (see § 3.2), and notarial documents of the time report him as simply a printer, an impressor.\footnote{See the subscription in the Leges quinqueviralis Rotae Bononiensis iudicii ad quam optimam formam redactae, et qua praescriptae sunt forma perpetuo observandae [...], 4°, [14] fols, BCAB, 7-CIV.POL STATUTI BOL. Q 02,001: ‘Bononiae: impressum in officina excussoria Vincentii Bonardii et Marci Antonii Groschi, 1543’. The edition was the last Vincenzo and Grossi printed together, after a hiatus of four years.}

Even more strikingly, the Bonardo family followed a similar pattern to the Benacci’s with respect to their cheap-print and paper business’ strategies. Originally from Parma, around the 1540s they managed to secure a powerful position in short time and thus to obtain Bolognese citizenship, while the Benacci family probably did so at the beginning of the sixteenth century.\footnote{For the printshop see Simonini and Temeroli, ‘Bonardo, Pellegrino’, p. 163, while an example of a notarial document is ASBo, Notarile, Carlo Antonio Manzolini 6/1, 15 February 1585, fols 124v-125r, fol. 124v: ‘Pelegrini quondam Bartholomei de Bonardis impressorii’.} It is indeed

\textit{\footnote{The surname ‘Benacci’ seems to link them to Lake Garda, called Benacus in Latin: Simonini and Temeroli, ‘Benacci, Alessandro’, p. 103. The connection is not far-fetched if one considers that a significant place for paper production in northern Italy was around the Garda: see Ivo Matteoizzi and Marco Pasa, ‘Diffusione della produzione e del commercio della carta nelle aree emiliana e veneta (secoli XIII–XV)’, in Alle origini della carta occidentale: tecniche, produzioni, mercati (secoli XIII – XV). Atti del convegno, Camerino, 4 ottobre 2013, ed. by Giancarlo}
Bartolomeo who subscribed for the first time as ‘citizen and paper-maker’ (civis et cartarius) in 1542. Moreover, the Bonardos stood at the centre of a close personal and commercial network from which they could profit. For instance, Marcantonio Grossi married one of the daughters of Bartolomeo, Caterina, in 1542, and the dowry agreement reports three print workers and a paper-makers among the witnesses. Their production over the century also remarkably covers all the types of the most cheapest and widely-disseminated products available then in Bologna: official printed ephemera (especially for the civic tribunals of the Rota and the criminal one of the Torrone, and for the customs office of Bologna), astrological prognostications and taccuini, occasional poems, proclamations of the studium’s professors (above all for the universitas iuristarum), theses, devotional and edifying booklets, news reports, and vernacular ballads. Among these, the earliest printed work by Giulio Cesare Croce, Le tremendissime et arcistupende prove del grandissimo gigante scarmigliato, was published in 1592/3 by Fausto Castagnari, Emanuela Di Stefano, and Livia Faggioni (Fabriano: Fondazione Gianfranco Fedrigoni, Istituto europeo di storia della carta e delle scienze cartarie, ISTOCARTA, 2014), pp. 145–168. On the citizenship requirement to join Bolognese guilds, see Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova, Diventare cittadini: la cittadinanza ex privilegio a Bologna (secoli XVI-XVIII) (Bologna: Comune di Bologna, 2000), especially the ‘Introduzione’, pp. 7–20.

100 ASBo, Notarile, Bartolomeo Algardi, 7/14, 13 February 1542, fols 89r-92v, fol. 90v: ‘Magister Bartholomeus quondam Peregrini de Bonaldis civis et cartarius Bononiae Capellae Sanctae Mariae Maioris’. Vincenzo is not described as a citizen in the 1539 documented mentioned in n. 94 above.

101 For the discussion of the personal and commercial network of the Benacci see § 1.3.


103 See Chapter 3 for the discussion of some of these types of cheap print from the standpoint of their reception. See also the entries by Simoni and Temeroli quoted in n. 94 above for more detailed examples from the print production of the Bonardos.
Bonardo, Pellegrino’s son, on behalf of Bartolomeo Cochi, who later went on to become Croce’s main publisher in Bologna (see § 3.1). Lastly, the Bonardo family, like the Benacci, consistently acted as jobbing printers in every possible way: next to their printing for the local civic and ecclesiastical authorities, they printed a considerable amount of on-demand editions for other figures—booksellers, authors, or simply patrons—and established small ad-hoc partnerships with figures like Anselmo and Antonio Giaccarelli.

Despite this favourable beginning, the gradual disappearance of the connection between cheap print and paper in the Bonardo family’s activity by the late sixteenth century eventually undermined their predominance in the Bolognese print market. By Fausto Bonardo’s generation, the printing activity prevailed to the point that no archival evidence to date connects him or the family with papermaking. At the same time, the number of editions dropped dramatically: from around 160 works published by Pellegrino, Fausto’s catalogue numbers approximately sixty. Partnerships and collaborations point to the presence of more powerful actors in the Bolognese printing market: a poem commemorating the 1589 entrance in Florence of the wife of Grand Duke Cosimo I (1519-1574) was reprinted in Bologna by Fausto Bonardo and Giovanni Rossi, but it was Rossi who owned the printshop that issued the booklet. Further archival research is needed to verify the history of the family’s fortune, especially with respect to the extent of the partnership with printers like the Giaccarelli, who had strong ties with the Bolognese authorities. For the moment, though, we can safely infer that the lack of any official recognition for the Bonardo family’s printing services, such as either a public subvention or a printing privilege, certainly played a part in the dominance of the Benacci family following its 1587 appointment.

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105 See especially Pellegrino’s partnerships listed in Simonini and Temeroli, ‘Bonardo, Pellegrino’, p. 163. On the official ephemera printed by the various Bonardos see the indexes by name in *Bononia manifesta* and *Bononia manifesta. Supplemento*, both ed. by Zanardi.
Up until then, however, despite the extensive involvement of the Benacci family in paper production, the Bonardo printers-papermakers-cum-stationers dynasty was a serious competitor. In this light, the significance of the paper exemptions included in Alessandro’s appointment as stampatore camerale in 1587 cannot be exaggerated. Paper was not only a primary material vital to his activity as an official printer—supplying it himself directly enabled him to save time and money—but also the product of his family’s business. The solution created a virtuous cycle where both printers producing official ephemera and authorities resorting to jobbing printing had their needs met and obtained considerable advantages.

The text of the 1587 appointment is the official embodiment of such a virtuous cycle, for it explicitly ties together official printing and papermaking. First, the text highlights Alessandro as a trusted and experienced paper-maker, who provides work for several labourers in his many mills in the city and countryside. In the list of reasons as to why he deserves ‘some special favours and privileges’, his papermaking activity comes immediately after the mention of his experience in printing official ephemera over the previous twenty-five-years (and of his righteous conduct). Moreover, the document highlights the relevance and size of Alessandro’s paper business:

 [...] thanks to his inventiveness, diligence, work, and especially his investment, many paper mills were skilfully built, and very remarkable ones, too, both in the city and the country, as well as similar buildings suitable to producing paper of different kinds, having employed in these not a few men and called them to work for him from very distant places; whence great usefulness and convenience we deem will result for the Bolognese state beyond any doubt.\(^{107}\)

\(^{107}\) ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), especially fols 209v-210r: ‘[…] cum illius inventu, industria, labore, maximoque sumptu etiam adhidebitis viris non paucis etiam ex locis valde remotis ad opus conducti, plures et urbanae et rusticanae eaque notabiles ac artificioso constructae habeatur chartificinae seu aedificia ad chartas diversarum specierum conficiendas aptata [sic], unde non modicum tum utilizatis tum commodi Reipublicae Bononiensis resultare procul dubio datur intellegi’, published partially in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 36.
Second, in addition to granting Alessandro the printing and distribution rights for official decrees and notifications—as well as on any first editions he would publish in the legation of Bologna, as discussed in § 1.1 and § 2.1—the Cardinal Legate Caetani exempted him from the payment of the Gabella Grossa (the local customs tax on imports and exports) on anything that he would use for his household and business:

We are granting and according to the same Alessandro this exemption, or urban indemnity from each and every public tax with respect to the city of Bologna—especially those relevant to the city-gates, mills, and and wheat production taxes [...] in support of him and the everyday and necessary things relevant to his family and household in the city, as long as they continue to live together truly and actually and at his expense; and also, not differently nor in any other way than those affecting the food and other everyday and necessary things relevant to his family and household, a similar total indemnity and exemption for life to the same Alessandro from the taxes, or customs tariffs, of the Gabella Grossa of Bologna affecting no matter which thing for both his press and paper mill.108

These exemptions were essential for Alessandro because they were the only type of financial subsidy coming with the appointment, and also because they were automatically granted to his son Vittorio as long as he continued his father’s printing activity and assumed the position—and privileges—of stampatore camerale.109

The phrasing of this privilege encapsulates the strategic advantage of Alessandro Benacci’s position. The association between papermaking and printing

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108 ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), fols 211v-212r: ‘Ipsi Alexandro exemptionem sive immunitatem urbanam ab omnibus et quibuscunque datis publicis Communis Bononiae, praesertim Portarum, Molendirorum, et Sgarmiliati [...] pro se et eius urbana familia domestica et necessaria secum vere et realiter continue cohabitante et eius expensis ac sumptibus vivente. Et non aliter nec alio modo pro omnibus victualibus et alii ad usum ordinarium suae domus et familiae necessariis, nec non similem a vectigalibus seu datis locorum Gabellae Grossae Bononiensis pro rebus quibuslibet utrisque dicti Alexandri tum chartariae tum impressoriae officinae, immunitatem ac exemptionem plenariam ad vitam ipsius Alexandri duraturam [...] concedimus et elargimur’, published partially in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 36–37.

109 See n. 16 above for the Senate’s ratification of the appointment in August 1589 when such exemptions were granted to both Alessandro and Vittorio at the same time.
is not unheard of for early modern printer-publishers, and especially for those who engaged with cheap print and ephemera, as in the case of Giovanni Battista Remondini in Bassano. The combination, however, of the title of official printer, an activity more generally based on jobbing-printing, and resources in papermaking was not customary in the late sixteenth century. The Benacci press made the best of a context and kind of print production where paper supplies were crucial. Alessandro thus became the first of a distinctive Bolognese tradition. By the eighteenth century, Bolognese printer-publishers often had interests in paper mills, as in the cases of the Lelio Dalla Volpe (1685-1749) and Gaspare de’ Franceschi (1712-1784), but the lion’s share was held by the Sassi, the printing dynasty that had inherited the title of stampatori camerali. It is true that paper exemptions were a common element in printing privileges and subventions in sixteenth-century Italy. An early Bolognese example in this respect is Anselmo Giaccarelli’s aforementioned appointment of 1547. Yet, in this case Giaccarelli was simply granted a tax exemption on importing a specific amount of paper per year (three hundred reams), while Alessandro Benacci’s exemption covered imported and exported paper and printing products in general. Customs exemptions of this kind were particularly advantageous because at that time Bolognese customs duties on paper applied to the material produced and not to mills (as would be the case in the eighteenth century). Together with rent and cloth rags—the primary material used to make paper—customs duties were therefore one of the most significant expenses of the business. Nevertheless, Giaccarelli’s exemptions were a generic provision; those granted to Benacci played a crucial role in boosting his overall activities connected to his printing privilege.

Of course, Alessandro Benacci’s papermaking resources offered several advantages to the authorities issuing official ephemera. A ready availability of

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110 Mattozzi, ‘I Remondini e le cartiere’, pp. 84–89.
111 See n. 17 of the Introduction for several seventeenth-century examples.
113 See the survey of privilege benefits in Nuovo, ‘Stampa e potere’.
114 Bellettini, ‘Cartiere e cartari’, p. 46.
115 On Giaccarelli’s appointment see also Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 24–27, and § 1.1.
paper was extremely valuable: a printer-papemaker like Alessandro could potentially offer significant savings by using his own paper when printing administrative and governmental documents, but it also could help forestall forced interuptions to printing. In this way extraordinary decrees and ordinances could be printed at a very short notice, as required, for example, during plague outbreaks, and it made it viable to print slight, customisable bureaucratic forms where paper was the primary material.\textsuperscript{116} Civic authorities therefore called upon the resources of the Benacci family on multiple occasions. As seen in § 1.1, the Bolognese Camera paid Alessandro at least twice for providing the Senate with printed material and paper beyond the requirements of his official appointment.\textsuperscript{117} The Benacci’s paper mills are also explicitly cited in the report that the Senate commissioned to the Assunti di Cancelleria when the position of stampatore camerale became vacant after the death of Vittorio in 1629. The facilities did not initially win the Benacci heirs the Senate’s vote, which went instead to Perseo Rossi, even though he could boast only a modest stock of paper.\textsuperscript{118} This decision was swiftly reversed, however, following the intervention of Vittorio’s main heir, Girolamo Donini (as explained in § 1.1). Future research will need to clarify whether Donini inherited also the Benacci’s paper mills, as he is recorded in the meetings of the board of the stationers’ and dyers’ guild, yet he is denied the


\textsuperscript{117} ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 11 (years 1583-1587), fol. 57v (29 October 1584), as reported in n. 13 above.

customs exemptions on paper in his privilege as *stampatore camerale*. It is also worth highlighting that the Benacci’s customs exemptions place the 1587 privilege within the remit of the cardinal legate. In early modern Bologna, the prerogatives of the legate included the customs taxation of the Gabella Grossa. Any decision on the Gabella Grossa had to be approved by the cardinal legate, while its everyday enforcement was left to the Assunteria di Gabella Grossa. The Bolognese Senate above all used this taxation to fund the *studium* and pay the salaries of its professors. All public provisions for Bolognese printers were sourced with money from this tax stream, including the Benacci family’s jobbing-printing for the *studium*. In fact, during Vittorio’s time the range of official ephemera related to the daily practice of the *studium* expanded to include, in addition to printed calendars and *rotuli*, a variety of printed fill-in forms such as students’ licences for carrying weapons (see § 2.3).

As I discuss in more detail in the Conclusion, this development occurred precisely as the papal legate’s influence on the affairs of the *studium* over the same period increased. In this light, it makes sense that Alessandro Benacci’s appointment was initiated by the papal legate, and that from a financial standpoint it depended on a customs taxation over which the legate presided. But the move also indicates that Alessandro had managed to turn an existing feature of printing privileges into a fruitful asset for his business and family in the long-term. Via papermaking, Alessandro further consolidated his—and his family’s—role as a mediator between the demands of the Bolognese authorities and (specific sectors of) the local audience.

119 ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1, b. ‘Cartolai e tintori uniti, Atti (1545-1726)’, list of board members dated 1629 (here Donini is also described as the *sindico*, or chief official, of the guild) and ASBo, Legato, *Liber registri brevium apostolicorum* (1523-1643), fols 301r-304v, fol. 302v: ‘[…] excepta tamen immunitate a datiis publicis Civitatis Bononiae, et vectigalibus seu datiis Gabellae Grossae, a quibus dictum Hieronimum eximere non intendimus sed illis esse obnoxious prout erat ante praesentem concessionem’.


121 As an aside, when the tariffs of the Gabella Grossa were reformed at the end of the 1570s, it was Alessandro Benacci who printed the official version of such reformed tariffs, and precisely: see the following § 1.3 and *Table no. 1.1* for the relevant edition, illuminated and printed on parchment in 1580.
Another way in which the Benacci family reinforced their diverse business while placing themselves as mediators between audiences and holders of power was through their relationship with Bolognese patricians and senators. The latter developed personal connections with the Benacci family by renting their estate possessions to Alessandro and Vittorio. This led local patricians to share interests in printing and paper facilities. Those who were senators also oversaw such interests, since, as we shall see, they held seats in Bolognese magistracies responsible for the management of paper- and print-related trades. As a result, the local élite became a key ally in the consolidation of the Benacci family’s interconnected business, beyond the traditional role of patronage.

Of the Bolognese patricians who rented out paper mills and shops, the most important for the Benacci was Galeazzo Poeti. As we have seen earlier, Poeti rented to Alessandro a property operating as a paper mill (‘ad usum molendini’) in the parish of S. Maria Maggiore, close to the city’s walls, where the nobleman had other possessions. The annual rent, for a period of nine years commencing in May 1589, was 280 lire, two reams of excellent quality paper (likely from the same mill), and two capons. \(^{122}\) In 1595, Vittorio sublet the paper mill to Raffaele Vinaldi for the same fee. \(^{123}\) In addition to the relationship with Poeti, Alessandro Benacci bought his shop on Piazza Maggiore in 1574 for 1800 lire from the Senator Count Camillo Fantuzzi, who had other properties in S. Michele del Foro Medio. \(^{124}\) Other members of the important Fantuzzi family feature in different roles in notarial documents of the Benacci. Girolamo Fantuzzi, son of Fantuzzo Fantuzzi and from another branch of the family, subscribed twice as a witness for

\(^{122}\) ASBo, Notarile, Girolamo Fasanini, 6/1, 14 January 1589, fols 17v-18r; see the passages quoted in nn. 71 and 80 above. On the patricians families alluded to here see Pompeo Scipione Dolfi, Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna con le loro insegne, e nel fine i cimieri […] (Bologna: Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1670), 4°, [16] 740 [20] pp., BNCF, MAGL.4.2.119; see the digital edition at https://books.google.it/books?id=9ih8eIEQPdAC&printsec=frontcover&dq=dolfi+cronologia+1670&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiZ1JqKJ9fOAhVjKpoKHVvKCMMQ6AEIlzAB#v=onepage&q&f=false [last accessed 24 June 2020].

\(^{123}\) ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 10 October 1595, fols 217r-219v; see the passages quoted in nn. 75-76 (and 81) above.

\(^{124}\) ASBo, Notarile, Cesare Gherardi, 7/13-14, 16 October 1574, fols 167r-168v, especially fol. 167r; see the passages quoted in n. 81 above.
Vittorio in 1595, in the first case because he owned the lands neighbouring the ones the printer had bought in the country districts of San Giovanni del Trebbio and Battidizzo.\textsuperscript{125} Lastly, Vittorio sublet to the brothers Toma (or Tomba) a property he was renting—not for the first time—from the Senator Emilio Bolognini, who reappears as a witness in relation to one of Vittorio’s subletting in 1621 together with another Bolognini, Giovanni Ludovico.\textsuperscript{126}

It comes as no surprise that some of these patricians, or their relatives, also sat in the City’s Senate and specifically in the permanent or extraordinary \textit{assunterie} devoted to matters crucial for the printer-papermakers. Galeazzo Poeti, for example, who had been a senator since 1572, was elected to an ad-hoc committee (\textit{assunteria straordinaria}) on the guild of stationers and dyers in 1587.\textsuperscript{127} His son Ippolito, senator in 1600, worked for the Gabella Grossa on two occasions, first as an \textit{assunto} in the relevant magistracy in 1604, then as an accountant in 1606.\textsuperscript{128} Emilio Bolognini served as a temporary magistrate of the Gabella Grossa in 1603-04 and 1606-07, before his son Giulio took on the role in 1609.\textsuperscript{129} Members of other branches of the Fantuzzi family also occupied similar positions: Federico Fantuzzi, senator in 1600, was elected \textit{assunto} of the Gabella Grossa in 1610, 1613, 1622, 1624, and 1630.\textsuperscript{130} More interestingly, Emilio

\textsuperscript{125} ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 14 June 1595, fols 124r-128v, and ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 17 August 1595, fols 151r-154r; see also n. 91 above. The second document is a swap contract for other lands in Battidizzo, on which see above n. 74.

\textsuperscript{126} ASBo, Andrea Fabbri, 27 May 1614, fols 104v-106v, fol. 105r: ‘[…] in instrumento locationis illorum [the paper-maker brothers] sibi factae ab illustrissimo Domino Emilio de Bologninis Senatore’; ASBo, Andrea Fabbri, 25 June 1621, fols 13r-15v. For these properties see also nn. 78-80 above. Giovanni Ludovico Bolognini, son of Lelio, became of the number of the Bolognese Anziani in 1620: Dolfi, \textit{Cronologia}, p. 194.

\textsuperscript{127} ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1, b. ‘Cartolai e tintori uniti, Atti (1545-1726)’: the document dated 28 August 1587 referring to the union of the two guilds is signed, among others, by the relevant Assunti Camillo Bolognini, Galeazzo Poeti, Carlo Ruini, and Agostino Marsili.

\textsuperscript{128} ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 13 (years 1596-1604), fol. 197v (17 December 1604), and vol. 14 (years 1605-1610), fol. 39v (9 March 1606). On these members of the Poeti family, see especially Dolfi, \textit{Cronologia}, pp. 628–630.

\textsuperscript{129} ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 13 (years 1596-1604), fols 154r (25 February 1603) and 197v (17 December 1604); ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 14 (years 1605-1610), fols 57r (2 December 1606) and 76r (29 November 1607); with respect to Giulio Bolognini, ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 14 (years 1605-1610), fol. 131 (12 December 1609).

\textsuperscript{130} ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 15 (years 1610-1614), fol. 22r (20 December 1610) and fols 134v-135r (18 December 1613); ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 16 (years 1614-1622), fol. 11r (20
Bolognini’s brother, Camillo, who had been a senator since 1567, participated in the debate leading to the union of the guilds of stationers and dyers in 1587.\footnote{ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1, b. ‘Cartolai e tintori uniti, Atti (1545-1726)’, document dated 28 August 1587 referring to the resolution that ratified the decision the previous 28 October 1586. Emilio Bolognini became a Bolognese Senator in 1602: Dolfi, Cronologia, pp. 192 and 194.}

The connections with local patricians brought tangible advantages to Alessandro Benacci’s diversified business and position, as institutionalized by the 1587 appointment. Renting the properties of Bolognese senators enabled him to establish a productive relationship with the figures who were simultaneously part of the magistracy ruling over stationers and paper customs. These people were in a position to facilitate the printing supplies and commissions of the whole Benacci family from the civic authorities. In turn, certain Bolognese patricians actively invested in the business of the city’s first official printer, since he had regular and secure commissions of material to print. From the political standpoint, the \textit{assunterie} were the place where patricians could protect families’ interests even further on account of such connections. In the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, noble families such as the Pepoli and the de’ Rossi owned a considerable number of paper mills.\footnote{See Bellettini, ‘Cartiere e cartari’, pp. 37–43. Ivo Mattozzi, ‘Investimenti aristocratici nelle cartiere venete: che ruolo nella espansione produttiva?’, in \textit{Produzione e commercio della carta}, ed by Cavaciocchi, pp. 269–278, discusses the essential role of investments from patrician families to the expansion of papermaking in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Veneto; see \textit{idem}, ‘I Remondini e le cartiere’, for drawing a parallel to the Bolognese case when considering the involvement of the jobbing printing dynasty of the Remondini in papermaking.} This kind of pattern had a long history. An earlier example of the kind of connection between the local authorities and papermaking interests involved the city’s rulers. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ginevra Sforza (1440-1507), wife of Giovanni II Bentivoglio (1443-1508), owned paper factories and rented them to the printers Ercole Nani (fl.15th-16th) and Baldassarre Azzoguidi (c.1430-1502).\footnote{Avellini, ‘Promozione libraria nel Quattrocento bolognese’, p. 126.} But it was the Benacci who firmly placed this connection at the core of their cheap-print business and turned it into what would later become a customary feature of Bolognese and Italian jobbing printing.
§ 1.3

The Distribution Network: Printers next to Stationers and Haberdashers

As we have just seen, the connection with paper production shows the relevance of the overall cheap-print trade in post-Tridentine Bologna and the influence it had in advancing further interactions with other trades relevant to the broader urban book market. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, Vittorio Benacci turned the family asset of paper production into an opportunity for further business initiatives, which enabled him to maintain a close supervision over all the stages of cheap-print production. During his time, Vittorio remained the only Bolognese tipografo of some importance to produce paper, and from this position he built up his significance in the local cheap-print network by further associating his printing business with trades connected to cheap print, above all stationers and haberdashers. In this section I therefore explore the full scope of the Benacci family’s business in this respect. The evolution in the interests of the Benacci, supported by new archival documentation, sheds new light on Vittorio’s aforementioned rise to predominance in the cheap-print network of Bologna. Most importantly, however, this provides essential evidence for the development of such a network, where production and distribution were deeply connected. The ownership of paper mills and shops as the necessary premises for cheaply produced printing, and active membership in the trade of stationers, haberdashers, and print pedlars, mutually flourished due to these interconnections.

But producing paper was not, in fact, the only means that Bolognese printers of cheaply-printed products had available for producing a more varied and integrated offering in comparison with other competitors on the print market. They could also profit from the existing interconnections between products, people, and means of distribution, in order to strengthen their business and further venture into other sectors of the same market. The Benacci started to do so by exploiting the natural connection between papermaking and stationery. In Bologna, paper and stationery shops were very much alike, and a range of paper and printed products were on sale there, also in their semi-worked forms, such as unbound books and blank forms and handbills. The documentation from the guild
of paper-makers, the *Arte dei Cartari*, also indicates that the Benacci rose to a predominant position in it. Their presence in the guild also led to the formation of strong social networks that encouraged and cemented co-operation at the trade level but also informed the very personal network of Vittorio Benacci. Certainly, the phenomenon of internal connections between labourers of the same guild is well known to scholars of the early modern period and was not exclusive to the print trade. The significance of the Bolognese case is that the Benacci sought connections with other guild members and traders within the wider market of printed products in order to reinforce their position in the production of cheaply-printed and paper products as well as to also establish a presence with respect to their distribution, in this case via a connection with haberdashers.

Furthermore, the interconnected interests and strategies employed by the Benacci offer a unique perspective on the Bolognese context, for they unveil ties between cheap print and urban realities beyond papermaking, especially in respect to distribution. First, cheaply-printed items were traditionally sold alongside paper and writing material above all in stationery shops. In Bologna, these dotted the ground floors of the buildings and porticos around Piazza Maggiore, as did those of book binders and sellers—who were often the same people—in order to cater

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to a broad urban clientele (see also § 3.2). This clientele particularly included the professors and students of the local historic studium, which relied on stationarii for the selling and lending of textbooks and peciae, the manuscript units into which longer academic texts were broken for the purpose of copying them. Secondly, the Benacci also grasped the importance of strengthening their cheap-print business by venturing into its sale on the streets and squares of Bologna. The Benacci thus sought ties with haberdashers, who belonged to the guild dealing with smaller goods often directly on the street, and in the same way they did with respect to papermaking: they held and applied to influential positions within the guild, partnered with street peddlars, and established marriage and family alliances with other urban traders. In this sense, the choice of the Benacci to expand into the stationery trade points to the overlooked contribution and significance of jobbing printing within the broader organization of book production and distribution.

While the existence of the 1629 probate inventory of Vittorio Benacci’s estate reveals the vast range of cheaply-printed and paper products that he traded in, including semi-worked items such as printed licences or ruled sheets and account books, it also points to Alessandro’s role in first establishing his family’s connection with the guild that was responsible for the commerce of such products, that is, the stationers. Alessandro figures as a regular member of the Arte dei Cartolari guild, as early as the mid-1570s, and in 1577 he was elected for the first time as one of its two massari, that is, the guild’s legal representatives. In the

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136 On Vittorio’s probate inventory, see Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 47–48 (see n. 60 above); see also the passages quoted in nn. 141 and 150 below.

137 See, respectively, ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 10 (years 1576-1582), fol. 32v (18 March 1577), and ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tintori’, vol. 1, b. ‘Cartolai e tintori
following decade, Alessandro was appointed at different times to the guild’s board, a group of between a dozen and twenty prominent members who presided over the guild’s deliberations together with the massari and the guild’s officials, the sindici.\textsuperscript{138} In particular, Alessandro was appointed to the guild’s board in 1587, the same year he became stampatore camerale following the appointment by Cardinal Caetani. This was also a time when the stationers’ guild had merged with that of the dyers (the tentori) as a reaction to the drop in the number of workers that belonged to it.\textsuperscript{139} It seems, then, that Alessandro’s importance among Bolognese stationers was still great enough to be elected again to such a position at a decisive moment.

Alessandro Benacci derived considerable advantages from working as a paper-seller and a stationer at the same time. The defence of the family’s interests, provided at the guild level, went hand in hand with the opportunity to sell a wider range of printed and paper-related goods in his shops, a practice that became more common in eighteenth-century Bologna.\textsuperscript{140} This kind of urban shop offered a unique combination of printed and stationery items: regular stationery staples such as ink, sealing wax, and writing pens; reams of paper of different sizes, qualities, and uses, from food-wrapping paper and cardboard to trimmed and ruled sheets, as well as account books; semi-worked products, such as music paper and printed forms; and cheaply-printed items, always meant for a broader circulation, from primers to calendars, board games, broadsheets, devotional booklets,
textbooks, and grammars. Again, according to the probate inventory of Vittorio Benacci, in these shops Bolognese customers could also find illustrated single sheets printed on copperplate or decorated with purpurin powder. Moreover, Bolognese decrees aimed at papermakers differentiated, when licensing local paper mills and shops, between paper of the best quality for writing, and that meant for frying, playing cards, and other types of lesser-quality paper (such as that called di fioretto). Benacci’s coverage of the whole spectrum of paper goods therefore ensured the family an exhaustive grasp of the market for such goods both in production and distribution.

Besides paper, Alessandro’s involvement in the stationers’ guild also enabled him to sell parchment and vellum, and to use such materials to print special publications. Stationers were answerable to the guild of the speziali, the chemists, who controlled the handling and commerce of hides and thus oversaw the trade of those working with leather products such as parchment and vellum. In this system, stationers were only allowed to trade these on their own as finished products. The statutes of the stationers’ guild required every member to be active as a proper stationer, and Alessandro’s presence in its highest ranks suggests that he must have traded in this type of product at some point. Alessandro also resorted to parchment for some of the copies of the editions he printed. These editions were presentation copies meant specially for the religious and civic authorities of Bologna who commissioned them, in a similar way to


142 See for instance the Bando sopra la revocatione delle licentie di estrahere fuori del contado sorte alcuna di strazzi, cole garavelle, et altre simili pertinenti a far carta, con il modo di farla, et il pretio di dette carte (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1575), 4°, [2] fols, BCAB, Bandi Merlani vol. I, fol. 92 [BM 904]; the same distinction was applied to the collection of cloth rags, which early modern paper typically was made of.

143 Stationers were technically one of the divisions of the tanners’ guild, but the pellacani, who were the first in line to treat skin hides after butchers and had a selling monopoly on such goods, were often simply called tanners. On the relationship between these guilds, see Carlo Poni, ‘Local Market Rules and Practices. Three Guilds in the Same Line of Production in Early Modern Bologna’, in Domestic Strategies, ed. by Woolf, pp. 69–101, especially n. 6.
sixteenth-century presentation copies that were printed on paper and illuminated. Some of these non-paper publications are unique copies, such as the 1575 Psalterio commissioned and edited by Cardinal Paleotti; others were printed on both supports, and the choice therefore highlights the special value the commissioners placed on the parchment copies, as in the case of the 1580 version of Tariffe della Gabella Grossa preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna.145

Table no. 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Published by</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Ghetti da Volterra, Discorso sopra la cura, et diligenza che debbono havere i padri, et le madri verso i loro figliuoli sia nella civilità come nella pietà christiana</td>
<td>Alessandro Benacci, 1572</td>
<td>4°</td>
<td>BCAB, 16.P.IV.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherubino Ghirardacci (editor), Libro da Compagnie spirituali. Nuovamente pubblicato per concessione del santissimo n. signore Gregorio XIII</td>
<td>Alessandro Benacci, 1574</td>
<td>2°, [28] 205 + 44 pp.</td>
<td>BUB, Raro D 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalterio per putti principianti con la Dottrina Christiana aggiunta</td>
<td>Alessandro Benacci ‘Stampatore episcopale’, 1575</td>
<td>8°, 16 fols</td>
<td>BCAB, 16.Q.IV.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariffe della Gabella Grossa</td>
<td>Alessandro Benacci, 1580</td>
<td>2°, 47 fols</td>
<td>ASBo, Codici miniati no. 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officium sanctissimi Sacramenti [...] Iuxta formam Breviarii ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restituti</td>
<td>Alessandro Benacci, 1588</td>
<td>12°, [24] 113 fols</td>
<td>BUB, CER 1815</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table no. 1.1: Alessandro Benacci’s publications on parchment.

Trading in parchment and vellum helped Alessandro Benacci enter a profitable business in a city with an established studium in the first place, where several local booksellers and bookbinders thrived on meeting the everyday academic needs of its students and professors, above all figures like the professor and natural scientist Ulisse Aldrovandi.146 As mentioned, Bolognese booksellers

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145 Simonini and Temeroli, ‘Benacci, Alessandro’, p. 102, also mention a 1584 proclamation by the Foro dei Mercanti of Bologna, but I have not been able to locate it.
146 De Tata, ‘Il commercio librario’, indeed uses the numerous mentions of local booksellers—as well as bookbinders and printers—from Aldrovandi’s notebooks to reconstruct an overview of the most prominent figures active in post-Tridentine Bologna.
and printers did not have their own guild throughout the early modern period, for they were subject to the statutes of the local _studium_ alongside bookbinders and _stationarii_, who traditionally lent books and _peciae_ to students and professors. However, since they dealt with parchment-based products, bookbinders also responded to stationers, who in turn were regulated by the statutes of the Bolognese commune. At the same time, stationers could also work as bookbinders, and thus increase the number of items and services that their shops provided for the local market, sometimes in combination with printing businesses. For instance, in the early seventeenth century Ercole Ferroni worked as a stationer-bookbinder alongside his brothers Teodoro and Clemente (established local printers) and had among his clients Aldrovandi himself. Such an overlap of skills often led to conflicts over the preparation and sale of ‘goatskin parchment blank or ruled’ between booksellers and bookbinders, on the one hand, and stationers on the other. The ‘large scraps of goatskin parchment’ and ‘scraps of vellum’ found, according to the probate inventory mentioned above, in the property of Vittorio Benacci were likely sold for small bookbinding jobs, but they also certify the potential of his shops to meet a varied demand for book-related products.

The wide range of items that printer-papermakers- *cum*-stationers like the Benacci sold also met the needs of the middling and lower classes. Bookbinding and parchment products, while they continued to be staples of the overall book

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149 See for instance ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 2, b. ‘Cartolai e tintori uniti, Memoriali (XVI-XVIII)’, two undated (but late sixteenth-century) petitions to the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia from the booksellers and bookbinders and the stationers, respectively, requesting to be the one to rule over those who were able to handle and trade in goat (‘[…] adopererà carte caprete nove o scritte o razara o fara razare per far foglieti da notari, compararà o venderà’).

150 Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 47 (see n. 60 above): ‘[…] retagli grandi di carta capretta […] retagli di vitello’.
trade, certainly aimed more at the higher end of the market, as in the uses by authorities and learned clients I discussed above. Other items in Vittorio’s probate inventory suggest a more mundane offer. The greased paper used for wrapping food could replace glass in windows as a viable, and certainly cheaper, barrier for air and wind; the contemporary travelogue of Fynes Moryson notes this particular solution in Bologna, in opposition to the customary use of glass witnessed in Venice.\footnote{Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell*, vol. 1 (1907), p. 203; on him, see n. 36 in the Introduction. Dirty and greasy food-wrapping paper had already been compared to the paper used for Bolognese prognostications by Sabba da Castiglione in the quotation at the opening of this thesis: see n. 1 in the Introduction.} In particular, low-quality paper was the perfect support for widely-consumed commercial works printed and bought ‘on the spot’, such as the vernacular ballads of Giulio Cesare Croce and paper objects like fans and boardgames (see § 3.1). Items of this kind were indeed typically produced and distributed by paper-makers, stationers, and pedlars, far less often by established ‘pure’ publishers. Alessandro Benacci’s involvement with papermaking as well as stationery worked therefore as a crucial addition to his assets, in terms of products offered and above all of business strategy. By producing and distributing paper and print—and incidentally also parchment—in a more interconnected way than the Bonardos, Alessandro was able not only to produce a vast range of items on-demand but also to supply them to the broader local public, made up of Bolognese citizens as well as the city’s authorities, in the same quick and cheap way.

In light of Alessandro Benacci’s simultaneous involvement in stationery, the title of official printer and especially the tax exemptions on paper that came with it protected the family’s interests in two closely connected trades. Alessandro’s combined profile as a jobbing-printer, paper-maker, and stationer did not go unnoticed by the authorities. I have discussed in § 1.2 how the 1587 appointment by Cardinal Caetani makes a very clear connection between Alessandro’s role and experience as a printer of official ephemera and his papermaking facilities and resources, and in particular his paper mills.\footnote{See the passages quoted in n. 107 above.} Paper was not only a necessary supply for Alessandro’s activity as an official printer, but also something that he produced and could sell in his shops. The significance of
such exemptions becomes even more evident when considering that, at the time, customs on paper were applied to the end products of mills and not to the raw material these used, as became customary in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{153} In fact, precise references to Alessandro as a distributor of print are to be found in different passages of the text of the appointment. In one thus far unpublished passage, the appointment states Alessandro’s rights over the distribution of official ephemera for which he is granted the printing privilege in the first place, as Cardinal Caetani orders that ‘both the aforementioned Alessandro or anyone else (provided that they have his licence) shall display, store, and keep for sale to the public without restrictions all the things printed [by Alessandro] with type or in another way.’\textsuperscript{154}

In matters of infringement, the appointment protects Alessandro’s rights as a printer-bookseller in a detailed way, as it establishes that:

\begin{quote}
for each and every other work of whatever subject and type printed and to be printed in the future in its first edition by the aforementioned Alessandro, these cannot be printed again and kept for sale by anyone else in this city [of Bologna] without the licence of the same Alessandro or without his authority.\textsuperscript{155}
\end{quote}

The printed version of the appointment adds a fine of one hundred golden \textit{scudi} aimed at ‘each and every printer and any other bookseller’ in Bologna who does not respect his privilege.\textsuperscript{156} Notwithstanding the absence of any description of

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize 153 Bellettini, ‘Cartiere e cartari’, p. 46.
154 ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), fol. 211r: ‘[…] omnia typis excussa seu alias impressa libere tam per dictum Alexandrum quam per alios quoscumque de ipsius licentia publice venalia haberi, teneri, proponi’.
155 \textit{Ibid.}: ‘[…] de omnibus et singulis aliis operibus cuiusvis materiae et qualitatis per dictum Alexandrum prima vice suarum editionum impressis et in futurum imprimendis quae absque ipsius Alexandri licentia a nemine alio in ipsa civitate vel illius ditione denuo imprimi et venalia haberi nequeant’, as published in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 36. The passage is right after the one quoted in the previous n. To my knowledge, no reference to a bookshop is found in the subscriptions of Alessandro’s publications.
156 ASBo, Assunteria di Camera, Diversorum, vol. 117, b. 10 ‘Stampatore Camerale’, broadsheet (wrongly dated 27 September, instead of October, 1587) \textit{[BM 1867]}: ‘[…] omnibus et quibucunque impressoribus et seu etiam aliis diversis venditoribus librorumque […] sub eadem
\end{flushright}
Alessandro as a stationer (or bookseller), such provisions clearly show his position in Bologna as a distributor of print, from the more demanding to the slightest items such as decrees and other official ephemera.

At the same time, Alessandro’s combined profile was a meaningful contribution to his family’s business, to the point that his son Vittorio continued with the same strategy of diversifying into other trades connected to cheap-print items, and especially into their distribution. After his father’s death, Vittorio inherited the title and rights of stampatore cameral, expanded the family’s interests in papermaking (see § 1.1 and § 1.2), and continued to run the family shops, but he also developed their interests in the stationers’ trade by actively participating in their guild. Like his father, Vittorio was elected to the board of the stationers’ guild several times between 1596 and 1603.\(^{157}\) Previously unpublished archival documentation shows that he attempted to join the haberdashers’ guild, too. In Bologna, paper-makers and stationers were allowed to sell items produced by others, but the distribution and commerce of such items was not exclusive to their shops, either, for cheap-print items were primarily hawked by street-sellers and pedlars around the city.\(^ {158}\) These figures were locally called *pegolotti* and belonged to the guild of the haberdashers, the Arte dei Merciai. According to their statutes, *pegolotti* could sell on the city’s streets the pedlars’ usual selection of small goods, from fabric scraps, glasses, crosses, abacuses, quills, rosaries, and pieces of embroidery, to unbound devotional icons, writing and account books, paintings, and fans made of paper, fabric, or feathers.\(^ {159}\) This was the same kind of

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\(^{158}\) On paper-makers’ and stationers’ shops in Bologna see Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 45, while on stationers as booksellers see also Nuovo, The Book Trade, pp. 327–332. For an overview on print peddling in Renaissance Italy, see *ibid.*, pp. 320–327, in addition to the literature quoted in n. 41 in the Introduction.

stock that Vittorio Benacci sold in his shops. It comes as no surprise, then, that in 1607 he petitioned to replace a board member of the guild who had recently died, Stefano Ardizzoni.\textsuperscript{160} [Figure no. 1]

The haberdashers’ documentation is unfortunately too inconsistent to tell us whether Vittorio was successful in his petition, but the document is significant \textit{per se} for several reasons. First, in the petition, Vittorio explains that he ‘aims to combine this [being a member of the haberdashers’ guild] with his other obligations’, referring to his role as an official printer. The petition is addressed to the City Senate, and there Vittorio also states that accepting his candidacy would be ‘made easier by the fact that the petitioner [Vittorio] won the most votes in the relevant election held by the members of the guild’.\textsuperscript{161} Second, Vittorio’s petition is printed and not handwritten, a unique case in the archival folder where the other petitions for such a position are preserved. The document works as a clear, visual testament to the ease with which he was able to print one-off, single sheets, and accordingly to the possibilities of his press as a whole. Yet, the move also unveils Vittorio’s aim to expand further into the distribution of cheaply-printed items, especially at a level where he had no competition from other established book- and print-sellers. Sometimes, Bolognese haberdashers with ‘brick and mortar’ shops worked as printers, as in the case of a certain Tomaso Marazzi ‘at the sign of the pelican’ who sold unbound account and blank books and owned a small letter press; another lesser-known local figure, Gaspare Gambalunga, was also a

\[\text{scrivere, da far conti, d’ogni sorte. […] Pennarole, da calamari, d’ogni sorte. […] Pater nostri di vetro, d’osso, di legno, d’ogni sorte. […] Recami d’oro, d’argento, di seta, bavella d’ogni sort. […] Tavole e tavolette d’ogni sorte da Santi e da scrivere. […] Tele dipinte in paesi e figure, fine e grosse. […] Ventarole di penne, seta, legno, e d’ogni sorte. […] Ventagli di penne e d’ogni sorte. […] Tavole e tavolette d’ogni sorte da Santi e da scrivere. […] Tele dipinte in paesi e figure, fine e grosse. […] Ventarole di penne, seta, legno, e d’ogni sorte. […] Ventagli di penne e d’ogni sorte. […]}‘. To have street sellers and pedlars registered in the haberdashers’ guild was not uncommon in early modern Italy; see the case of Florence examined by Gustavo Bertoli in ‘Librai, cartolai e ambulanti immatricolati nell’Arte dei medici e speziali di Firenze dal 1490 al 1600: Parte I’, \textit{La Bibliofilia}, 94.2 (1992), 125–164, and ‘Parte II’, \textit{La Bibliofilia}, 94.3 (1992), 227–262.\textsuperscript{160} ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Merciai’, b. ‘Memoriali 1579-1664’: printed loose sheet (6 February 1607). See also § 3.1 for the depictions of street print sellers by Annibale Carracci and Giuseppe Maria Mitelli.\textsuperscript{161} ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Merciai’, b. ‘Memoriali 1579-1664’: ‘[…] Tutavia come quello che intende volere cumulare questo agli altri obblighi […] il che sarà tanto più facile a tutti essendo detto oratore restato il più favorito nello scrutinio passato fra gli uomini di quel consiglio’: the passage is from the same document quoted in the previous n.
bookseller who simultaneously worked as a haberdasher. On the streets and in the squares of early seventeenth-century Bologna, people had access to and bought ballads and prints directly from the performers and authors, and governmental broadsheets were proclaimed and posted around the city by the puntatori appointed by the issuing authorities (see § 3.2). The safest way for the Benacci to see the products of their paper mills and press reach the broadest urban audience was to make sure to also disseminate them in the public spaces of the city.

Connections across print- and paper-related trades occurred not only at institutional or spatial levels in the Benacci family, for their social network maintained and nurtured such connections, similarly to what happened with respect to papermaking (see § 1.2). From the perspective of the human network established within urban trades, the notarial documents concerning the Benacci bring to light a circle of neighbours and fellow artisans who mixed personal and professional connections. In 1584, a bookseller and a paper-maker, Silvio Coltellini and Guglielmo Rosselli, both living between S. Maria Maggiore and S. Giorgio in Poggiale, subscribe the will of Giovanni Battista Benacci. In Vittorio’s case, we find among his witnesses the paper-maker Vincenzo Novi, son of Alessandro and belonging to a well-documented family of papermaker-stationers, and a collector of rags and animal hides, Giorgio son of a certain Tuggiani. Another profession connected to the trade and handling of animals, in

162 Gambalunga appears as an assunto in the manuscript version of the 1602 statutes of the guild of the merciai (ASBo, Assunteria ‘d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Merciai’, vol. 1, b. 3 ‘Statuti’) but he dies in the year 1604, when his place on the board of the guild is given to a certain Alessandro Bassano: ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 13 (years 1596-1604), fol. 191v (5 October 1604). The statutes also appeared in printed form in the same year 1602: Capitoli et conventioni della Compagnia de’ Merzari con li Cordellari […] (Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1602), 4°, 14 [2] pp., BCAB, 17-CIV.POL STATUTI ARTI S 03,pos.01, 05. For Tomaso Marazzi see ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Merciai’, b. ‘Atti 1537-1732’, undated (and unpublished) shop inventory upon the death of Tomaso Marazzi ‘all’insegna del Pelicano’: ‘[…] E più un torchietto da lettere […] e più una quantità di libri regolati tra libri mastri, giornali, straci e vachete, e più varie scritture […]’. See § 3.2 for a discussion of the impact certain parish areas mentioned in these paragraphs had on the cheap-print and paper trades in post-Tridentine Bologna.

163 ASBo, Notarile, Ludovico Gambalunga, 6/3, 10 September 1584, fols 138v-140r, fol. 140r: ‘Domino Silvio quondam Floriani de Cultellinis alias de Lazaris librario Bononiensi capellae Sancta Maria Maioris […] Guglielmo quondam Antonii Russelli cartario Bononiensi capellae Sancti Georgii’.

164 Giorgio of the late Tuggiani acted as witness to Vittorio in 1620: ASBo, Notarile, Andrea
this case sheep, was that of ‘tamarazari’, or woolmakers, and a local tamarazario, Filippo son of Muzio Mucini, is a witness to both Giovanni Battista’s and Vittorio’s wills. Most notably, one of Vittorio’s witnesses, Bartolomeo Benacci, was a relative of his on his father’s side and worked as a bookseller in the mid-1590s. Moreover, the legal guardian to Vittorio’s own sons, who were still minors in 1620, was Francesco Gaggio, who belonged to an established Bolognese family of stationers.

The case just mentioned of Bartolomeo Benacci points to the existence of commercial bonds within the tight social circle of the extended Benacci family itself. In addition to Bartolomeo, for instance, a Francesco Benacci in 1603-04 represented the interests of the stationers in a trial concerning the price and supply of alum—a necessary ingredient for the preparation of leather and in the dying industry—that was brought to the Roman courts. We cannot be sure that this Francesco belonged to our Benacci family, for there was a notarial family of the


165 ASBo, Notarile, Ludovico Gambalunga, 6/3, 10 September 1584, fols 138v-140r, especially fol. 140r; and ASBo, Notarile Andrea Fabbri, 27 May 1614, fols 104v-106v.


167 ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 19 June 1620, fols, 90v-94r; ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1, b. ‘Cartolai e tentori uniti, Atti (1545-1726)’, lists dated 1587 with Bartolomeo son of Giovan Battista Gaggio, 17 October 1596 and 11 July 1618 with Matteo Gaggio, who reappears in lists from 1602, 1603 (valid for 1604 too), and 1609. See Fregni, ‘Librai e botteghe di libri’, p. 299 for a similar network between Bolognese eighteenth-century booksellers in their notarial documents.

same name in post-Tridentine Bologna that held influential positions in the local government, from that of signing the records of the Ufficio delle Bollette to representing the city’s Treasury. However, the fact that he was acting on behalf of the stationers’ guild makes him a suitable member of the extended family of Vittorio Benacci. This included relatives of Alessandro and Giovanni Battista, and of their brothers Girolamo, Angelo, and Michele. In early eighteenth-century Bologna, a Pietro Paolo Benacci is active as a paper-maker and stationer, running a mill in Pontecchio, along the Reno valley, and a paper- and book-shop in Piazza Maggiore. It is therefore highly plausible that other members of the Benacci family kept alive the family’s interests in small paper and print products after Vittorio’s death. In this light, one of the future avenues of research stemming from this thesis lies in the direction of an exhaustive overview of the different branches of the Benacci family. As I discuss in the Conclusion, such an overview can reveal more of this network of social and commercial connections and will lead to a better understanding of the long-term effects of the strategies developed by the generation of Alessandro and Vittorio Benacci.

169 ASBo, Ufficio delle bollette e presentazione dei forestieri, vol. 3.6 (years 1475-1602); ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 17 (years 1622-1629), fols 67r (1 January 1625), and 92r (19 January 1626). In the Senate’s resolutions of 1625, a Giovanni Francesco Benacci is elected as the sindico of the Bolognese Camera in substitution for Floriano Dolfi and is called an advocate pleader, a causidicus.

170 See the document in ASBo, Notarile, Cesare Vallata Rossi, 7/12, 21 August 1549, mentioned in n. 66 above. No Eliseo is mentioned here, although the father of Bartolomeo is described as a relative of Vittorio through his father Alessandro (as in n. 166 above).

171 See ASBo, Assunteria di Camera, Diversorum, vol. 60 ‘Dazio Carta’, b. 3, and Maria Gioia Tavoni, ‘Tipografi e produzione libraria’, in Produzione e circolazione libraria a Bologna, pp. 91–242, especially p. 125, where Tavoni reports that the shop was bought in 1725 by the stampatore camerale Clemente Maria Sassi (fl.1706-1782).

172 At the time of his article, Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 46, had only reconstructed the family tree of Vittorio’s direct heirs, and his claim that his death led to the extinction of the Benacci has to be understood in this light.
Between the second half of the sixteenth century and the passing of the second generation in Rossi’s and Benacci’s printing families, the Bolognese producers and distributors of jobbing printing had successfully consolidated the local cheap-print market into an interconnected network. The evolution entailed specific advantages for such jobbing printers, the first of which was the expansion of the city’s print-related trade. Bologna had until then relied on an established printed book trade made up of bookbinders, stationers, printer-publishers, and booksellers who flourished in association with the *studium*; the local authorities also supported these categories with ad-hoc regulation.\(^{173}\) In the late sixteenth century, jobbing printing provided an alternative set of opportunities with respect to the production and circulation of everyday printed items that were not (mainly) books. Local jobbing printers like the Benacci—and up to a certain point the Bonardos—implemented a self-sufficient network of facilities for the supply of items ‘from the cradle to the grave’; that is, from the paper mill to the stationery and paper shop. Following on that, Vittorio Benacci not only supported the family business with real-estate acquisitions, he also used these to increase the capacity of its papermaking resources and ventured into haberdashery and the selling of small goods to the same purpose. The Benacci thrived for they exploited the possibility of providing quickly- and cheaply-printed items not only of the commercial type—paper fans, ballads, *avvisi*, etc., all still produced by local street singers such as Croce—but also official ones, and defeated any competition in this respect by the second generation of appointed civic printers in Bologna. As a matter of fact, by the post-Tridentine period jobbing printers in Bologna replaced authors and performers of vernacular ballads as the main producers of the printed ephemera flooding the city’s streets and squares, especially when considering the quantities of printed decrees and ordinances printed from the end of the sixteenth

century. Jobbing printing provided a new outlet for existing practices, such as the dissemination of decrees and ordinances. But first and foremost it integrated a diversified figure of producers into the urban printing landscape.

In light of this, the cheap-print network implemented by Bolognese jobbing printers also led to the creation of a distinctive urban print trade where street peddling and the sale of semi-worked items in shops played a substantial role. In much the same way as jobbing printing offered new opportunities for the production of printed items, the association with the trade of paper-makers, stationers, and pegolotti involved wider sectors of the urban commerce in the production and sale of printed items in post-Tridentine Bologna than previously demonstrated. Moreover, the high number of urban paper mills provided the perfect support for the development of such an interconnected network within the city walls. Examples of other production-cum-dissemination networks across the Italian peninsula throughout the early modern period rarely present this clear connection between print-related trades and the urban space: seventeenth-century paper and print producers such as the Soliani in Modena did not rely as much on print peddling, and later, the large paper facilities of the Remondini press in modern-day Veneto helped them support an international, rather than local or urban, network of print pedlars. At the same time, the archival documentation of the guilds of the Merciai and Speziali and the notarial acts pertaining to the

174 On the professionals of the print trade taking over the production and distribution of commercial cheap print see Salzberg, ‘The Word on the Street:’, 340. On official printed ephemera numbers, see always the indexes in Bononia manifesta and Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, both ed. by Zanardi.

175 Gli statuti della compagnia degli speziali di Bologna (1377-1557), ed. by Leonardo Colapinto (Rome: Ministero della difesa, 1966); Lia Gheza Fabbri, ‘Drappieri, strazzaroli, zavagli: una compagnia bolognese fra il XVI e il XVIII secolo’, Il Carrobbio, 6 (1980), 163–180; and eadem, L’organizzazione del lavoro, while providing evidence in this respect, do not tease out the implications for the involvement of different figures into the Bolognese print trade.

Benacci and Bonardos have produced new substantial evidence for how print peddling took hold in the urban space through social and commercial networks. Labourers in various connected trades established and strengthened connections through marriage and neighbourhood proximity, and these connections even involved other social classes, as in the case of Vittorio Benacci’s renting from Bolognese senatorial families. By combining such connections with an integrated supply of paper, the Benacci operated across different trades or productive processes at the same time as they manufactured complex products from the same raw material and within a single activity – what scholars have described as horizontal and vertical models of trade.\(^{177}\) With the Benacci, jobbing printing in Bologna fully embraced production and distribution strategies as part of the same, specifically urban business for the sake of competitiveness and efficiency.

This interconnected, diversified business of the Benacci was unparalleled as it stemmed from paper products. I have discussed in § 1.2 how profitable it was for Vittorio to produce paper via renting out his mills to skilled labourers.\(^{178}\) We can therefore start to consider the Benacci as primarily concerned about making profits out of paper-based products. It is in this capacity that Vittorio runs several paper and stationery shops, and before that the 1587 privilege as \textit{tipografo camerale} protected Alessandro’s diversified profile as a printer-publisher-cum-papemaker to begin with. In this way, the appointment worked not solely as a short-term answer to the growing specialization and financial challenges faced by the book market in late sixteenth-century Italy, as in the current scholarly interpretation around printing privileges.\(^{179}\) Certainly, any conclusive remarks on the actual cost and revenue of the relationship between cheap-print and paper production will have to take into consideration the cost of papermaking in comparable territories and the relative value of the respective currencies.\(^{180}\)

\(^{177}\) See Poni, ‘Local Market Rules and Practices’, p. 70, who applies these descriptors to his examination of Bolognese guilds. On papermaking and its associations with different industries, first and foremost printing, see again Bellingradt, ‘Paper Networks’, the only scholarly study dedicated to the topic so far; further research in this respect is expected to come out of the research network ‘Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe’: \url{https://earlymodernpapertrade.home.blog/} [last accessed 24 June 2020].

\(^{178}\) See the documents quoted in nn. 81 and 82 above.

\(^{179}\) As a summary of the literature in this respect, see Nuovo, ‘Stampa e potere’, 53–55.

\(^{180}\) See especially Kevin M. Stevens, ‘Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary
the time being, we can safely argue the distinctiveness of the Benacci. They stood at the crossroads of several, print-related urban trades, and each of these activities contributed to present them as resourceful figures in the eyes of both the local authorities and audiences, able to provide a wide range of cheap items printed on in-house paper. On account of their complex business profile, the Benacci acted as true jobbing printers, that is as mediators and brokers of paper and printed matters between the élites and a broad urban public.\footnote{181}
Chapter 2

The Bolognese Authorities and Jobbing Printing

In 1637, the civic government of Bologna issued a decree ‘concerning the piazza’ (‘per occasione della piazza’). The decree took aim at master builders and workers who left debris on and fouled the premises of the city’s main square, Piazza Maggiore, in the aftermath of festivities, fairs, and religious occasions. Any rubbish had to be taken away immediately, and potential damage to the urban space and buildings repaired within eight days from the last day of the event, otherwise master builders and workers would have their materials confiscated and, in the case of damage, be made to pay for it. Alas, the decree was not the first, nor was it the last to concern the decorum of Piazza Maggiore. Nevertheless, in the final declaration of the decree the Bolognese government declared that ‘the act of posting this decree will be treated as equivalent to delivering it to each and every person’.¹

In their effort to reach and notify the broadest urban audience possible, the Bolognese authorities strongly relied on the use of printed ephemera. They had done so since the printed medium had started to spread: the earliest extant printed fill-in form, used in the collection of customs taxes by contracted excisemen, dates to 1473.² From the end of the sixteenth century, local authorities and institutions resorted to this type of jobbing printing at an increased rate, and more

¹ Editto per occasione della piazza (Bologna: ‘Erede del Benacci Stampator Camerale’, 21 July 1637): ‘Dichiarando che per l’affissione del presente s’haverà come fosse stato eseguito in persona a ciascheduno’; the decree is published in Giancarlo Roversi, ‘La vita quotidiana attraverso i bandi pubblici’, in Storia Illustrata di Bologna, ed. by Walter Tega, 8 vols (Repubblica di San Marino; Milan: AIEP; Nuova editoriale AIEP, 1987-91), vol. II ‘Bologna nell’età moderna. Il tempo e la città’ (1989), pp. 101–120, p. 122, fig. no. 10. The decree was issued by the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, then Filippo Aldrovandi, and co-signed by the four magistrates for urban design and decorum, the Assunti all’Ornato.
² Fantini and Scardovi, ‘Moduli a stampa del Quattrocento bolognese’. The earliest broadsheet issued and printed in Bologna is an indulgence decree by Pope Julius II: see BM 25. Further undated but early sixteenth-century printed forms are at BM 17–23.
than three thousand decrees and notifications survive for Bologna from the second half of the Cinquecento, of which over two thirds come from the last quarter. As a matter of fact, the research carried out in the Bolognese archives for this thesis and on which this chapter is based has unveiled a vast number of printed regulatory and bureaucratic forms and broadsheets—in the region of three hundred—that do not yet appear in any bibliographical inventories of early modern Italian printing. Taken together, these printed ephemera are the perfect material testimony to everyday governmental and administrative practices in post-Tridentine Bologna. Yet, not only has their existence escaped catalogues so far, but their actual role in the local authorities’ rule over the city has scarcely been addressed.

This chapter offers such an investigation in order to shed light on two interconnected aspects: how the material features of printed ephemera shaped the mechanisms of the everyday rule over Bologna, and how the uses and advantages local authorities saw in such items affected the evolution of jobbing printing in early modern Italy. In doing so, I focus on the perspective of the local authorities in adopting printed ephemera, and not, for instance, on the relationship between the holders of power and printers, for two reasons. First, this approach leads us to consider the various Bolognese institutions that played a part in the evolution of the administration of the legation. Indeed, printed decrees and handbills were used not only by the City Senate and the (arch-)Bishopric, but also by other significant local bodies, above all the studium. As we shall see in § 2.3, the Bolognese studium played a greater role in shaping the use of administrative and occasional ephemera in the history of jobbing printing than previously assumed, acting in a hybrid way as both commissioner and public. Second, by focussing on the strategies and practices of the different Bolognese authorities, the narrative of this chapter mirrors the type of agency that the other protagonists of this thesis

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3 Precisely 3740 and 2561 compared to an overall number of 3797 items catalogued so far: see Bononia manifesta and Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, both ed. by Zanardi. On the increase in the issuing and use of printed ephemera at the end of the sixteenth century across early modern Europe, see Petrucci, ‘Appunti per una premessa’; Jouhaud, ‘Nota sui manifesti e sui loro lettori’; Castillo Gómez, Entre la pluma y la pared; idem, ‘Written on the Streets’; and Pettegree, ‘Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing’, in Broadsheets, ed. by idem.

4 For the role of the Bolognese studium in shaping the local cheap-print network, see also the observations in the Introduction.
displayed when engaging with printed ephemera. Jobbing printing became an instrument, a tool that local authorities employed with specific expectations and standards and according to the circumstances, as it was rooted in a shared and interconnected urban network of production and consumption. The role and significance of the institutional use of jobbing printing expanded over the course of the post-Tridentine period precisely in connection with the consolidation of production and distribution strategies (as shown in Chapter 1), as well as with the consumption of a wide range of cheaply-printed items by a shared public in the public space (as I discuss in Chapter 3).

The focus on the strategies and practices of the Bolognese authorities when they engaged with jobbing printing also helps us to better sketch and assess how such an engagement unfolded around two principles of action. First, the material features that set printed ephemera apart from other print products also shaped their role and presence in the everyday government and administration of Bologna. Broadsheets and handbills could be easily adapted for specific functions through the use of recurring institutional formulas, reusable stock woodcuts of emblems and insignia, and blank spaces to be filled in by the recipients, and the process was quick and inexpensive. In fact, ecclesiastical and civic decrees shared the same vocabulary and layout due to their common roots in diplomatic documents; Bolognese forms and notifications, such as health passes and licences for carrying weapons, also increasingly displayed similar wording, layout, and visual language. Second, the ubiquity of Bolognese printed ephemera particularly helped power-holders in the exercise of their authority. That is, printed ephemera not only accounted for a range of governmental and administrative policies (which they materially embodied and circulated), they were also a distinctive and especially far-reaching form of public writing. Decrees on the preparation of medicines were hung on the walls of shops, and the faithful carried with them and

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6 See Petrucci, ‘Introduzione’. For further reflections on public writings in early modern cities see the chapters by Antonio Castillo Gomez, ‘Del oído a la vista. Espacios y formas de la publicidad del escrito’ and ‘Los muros toman la palabra. Usos y apropiaciones de la escritura expuesta’, in idem, Entre la pluma y la pared, respectively pp. 203–224 and 225–251, to which the overall framework of this chapter is also particularlly indebted.
on their person the forms that summoned them to the mass for the Corpus Domini.\textsuperscript{7} In this sense, the output of jobbing printing by the authorities contributed to the evolution of a Bolognese public sphere, made for and of political communication, and informed the overall urban space.\textsuperscript{8} The use of printed ephemera for governmental and administrative purposes thrived on their functionality and pervasiveness.

The different sections of this chapter deal with the various roles the authorities assumed when engaging with jobbing printing. The authorities in fact acted as either commissioners or controllers via printed ephemera, or employed them in their capacity as officials. In this light, § 2.1 examines the emergence of a framework for the drafting and use of printed ephemera in post-Tridentine Bologna as shown through correspondence from both the (arch-)Bishopric and the City Senate, as well as the account books of other local institutions and collected editions of decrees and forms. The lack of specific instructions on how to engage with printed ephemera also shows that the process was inconsistent at this chronological moment.\textsuperscript{9} At the same time, printed ephemera started to play a part in unprecedented spheres of the Bolognese administration. This expansion is the subject of § 2.2, where I focus on the interconnected strategies and practices of urban policing via printed ephemera. Policing found its most perfect form in printed forms and handbills, called bollette or polizze, which also worked side by side with proclamations in order to reinforce the authority and effectiveness of such public writings in the urban space of Bologna. Finally, this chapter’s third section offers a dedicated investigation of the studium as a case-study for the use of jobbing printing and the wide range of items this offered. The everyday bureaucratic and academic needs of the professors, students, beadles, and officials overseeing the studium created the best conditions for putting printed ephemera to new uses, often very specific ones. This approach led to both the commission of

\textsuperscript{7} For a broader introduction to the evolution of identification documents and policies, see Groebner, \textit{Who Are You?}.
\textsuperscript{8} For a discussion of political communication in the early modern period and its relationship with the literature on the public sphere, see especially Filippo De Vivo, ‘Public Sphere or Communication Triangle? Information and Politics in Early Modern Europe’, in \textit{Beyond the Public Sphere}, ed. by Rospocher, pp. 115–136.
\textsuperscript{9} The content of printed forms varies depending on their type and purpose; see § 2.1.
practical tools, such as printed academic calendars and rotuli—among the earliest of their kind for the early modern period—and more distinguished types of printed ephemera, from occasional pamphlets to engraved and etched theses. The aforementioned position of the studium as both institution and audience will then form a natural link to the following chapter, dedicated to the cheap-print consumption in post-Tridentine Bologna.
§ 2.1

The Emergence of a Framework

As in the 1637 decree quoted at the start of this chapter, the Bolognese authorities explicitly included in decrees and proclamations a reference to the mechanisms through which they circulated these printed ephemera to the purpose of their effectiveness. ¹⁰ Although such inclusions show their awareness of the effectiveness and validity of jobbing printing as a public writing, too little is often said in them about their drafting and commissioning. This section aims to examine precisely this aspect of the use of jobbing printing by the civic and ecclesiastical authorities in post-Tridentine Bologna.

The vast range of documents used and commissioned as well as the wider administrative and governmental practices that jobbing printing embodied mirrored the variety of local authorities resorting to it. In other words, specific forms of printed ephemera corresponded to specific political and bureaucratic needs. Broadsheets and forms therefore both occupied the urban space as public writings while effectively notifying their recipients, but with different degrees of interaction with them. For instance, the (arch-)bishopric published broadsheets to spread official prayers and devotional guidelines to the whole body of the faithful, but also reminded certain categories of people within the city, such as parish priests, of the encouraged practices via individualized forms and notifications. While this functionality was particularly useful in the practical application of bureaucratic policies, and thus to the purpose of policing the urban population above all others (as I discuss in § 2.2), Bolognese authorities made use of it first and foremost at the commissioning and issuing level. With respect to broadsheets and notices especially, records of meetings and correspondence by the City Senate focus on the preliminary aspects of the publishing process in case printed decrees affected the traditional privileges of the city, as with confiscation sanctions. As a result, § 2.1 shows that jobbing printing allowed Bolognese authorities to engage with it depending on the occasion and need within the specific public sphere of

¹⁰ See nn. 1-2 above.
the city. By investing cheap print with the significance of other means for political communication, local power-holders ultimately contributed to the consolidation of its status in the urban context.\footnote{In this respect, see the literature on the spread of official printing quoted in n. 3 above, but also Stephen J. Milner, “‘Fanno bandire, notificare, et expressamente comandare’: Town Criers and the Information Economy of Renaissance Florence’, \textit{I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance}, 16.1-2 (2013), 107–151. For a parallel in the early modern Dutch Republic, see and Arthur der Weduwen, “‘Everyone has hereby been warned’: the Structure and Typography of Broadsheet Ordinances and the Communication of Governance in the Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic’, in \textit{Broadsheets}, ed. by Pettegree, pp. 240–267.}

Local authorities acted opportunistically also with respect to the subvention framework of jobbing printing. This approach particularly affected the relationship of local authorities with jobbing printers. For instance, \textit{tipografi camerali} were appointed through official acts, such as the 1587 privilege granted to Alessandro Benacci, but in the case of smaller ephemera Bolognese institutions—from the City Senate down to devotional confraternities such as the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Morte—resorted to whoever was available and cheaper. This was, in particular, Cardinal Paleotti’s initial stance, for he kept working with different figures at the same time—mainly the Benacci and the Bonardo families—for his major publications, and stressed cheapness and ease of availability when he was seeing to the drafting and issuing of catechetical booklets. Furthermore, although local public subventions and printing licences by the City Senate differentiated between more considerable publications and printed ephemera, they depended, either directly or indirectly, on the same financial instrument, the customs tax of the Gabella Grossa, whose revenue originated within the legation.\footnote{On the Gabella Grossa see the mentions throughout Chapter 1, and in particular the literature quoted in n. 120 in § 1.2.} As a result, one-off or regular jobbing printing in post-Tridentine Bologna capitalized on wider, established financial practices that granted the flexibility key to its use according to the opportunity. They also contributed to its consolidation as an urban network over time, in contrast to when official appointments and printing privileges had been grafted onto sale revenues or formal salaries.\footnote{See the case-studies discussed by Nuovo, ‘Stampa e potere’, as well as by Bruni, “‘Esercitare le stampe’”, who focusses on several instances of peripheral Italian presses set up for the purpose of printing official ephemera or following institutional appointments that later struggled to thrive.}

An independent, emerging framework for commissioning

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12 On the Gabella Grossa see the mentions throughout Chapter 1, and in particular the literature quoted in n. 120 in § 1.2.

13 See the case-studies discussed by Nuovo, ‘Stampa e potere’, as well as by Bruni, “‘Esercitare le stampe’”, who focusses on several instances of peripheral Italian presses set up for the purpose of printing official ephemera or following institutional appointments that later struggled to thrive.
printed ephemera also left room for printers to act independently, as I showed in Chapter 1.

In order to reflect this complexity and variety regarding the relationship between the Bolognese authorities and printed ephemera, I have shaped § 2.1 around their attitudes and strategies as told by relevant archival sources. I therefore start by examining the types of engagement from the civic authorities—mainly the Senate, but tangentially also the cardinal legate—and in particular their varied and often inconsistent treatment of jobbing printing. In fact, specific regulations are lacking in the documentation of the Bolognese chancery and public offices as to how to draft and issue printed decrees, and when the City Senate defended its power to dictate what to include in broadsheets, it mostly wanted to counteract decisions taken in Rome on Bolognese affairs or political privileges, as with the aforementioned legislation on confiscation sanctions. Moreover, direct references to the use of printed forms and handbills only emerge from senatorial and administrative correspondence, and financial accounts inform us of further cases where the civic authorities ordered slighter printed ephemera.

The lack of a general framework for engaging with jobbing printing is further proved by the attitude of other local authorities discussed in this section. First, the correspondence between Cardinal Paleotti and his collaborators displays the lengthy and detailed process behind the creation and issuing of jobbing printing used by Paleotti in support of his reforms of the diocese and its devotion, and his strong insistence on their cheapness and availability above other aspects. Finally, in the early seventeenth century other Bolognese institutions such as confraternities caught up with the authorities in their engagement with jobbing printing for both bureaucratic and devotional purposes. The sporadic inclusion of the commissions of printed ephemera in account lists and reports of broader scope tells us of the slow emergence and consolidation of a framework for the relationship between holders of power and the local jobbing printing network on a wider urban level. Having investigated such a framework, I will then examine how Bolognese authorities used printed ephemera for the practical implementation of specific policies in § 2.2.
The most important source comparable to a printing contract that the Bolognese authorities signed for printed ephemera is the official appointment of the Benacci family as *tipografi camerali*, or state printers, in 1587. As discussed in § 1.1, the appointment arrived on a date when Alessandro Benacci had been printing official ephemera for more than twenty-five years. In effect, the earliest printed item by Alessandro is a 1549 bull by Pope Paul III. Benacci’s appointment mainly focussed on broadsheet-format ephemera, but its coverage of all types of administrative and governmental ephemera has been unexplored by previous analyses. In its wording, the 1587 appointment also specified the advantages for the City Senate and cardinal legate. Certainly, from the standpoint of the Benacci, the title of state printer and the rights that came with it also proved essential to securing their printing business as connected to their papermaking facilities. However, the appointment surely offered specific advantages for the civic authorities who granted it, especially in comparison with other types of printing privileges and public supports.

So, what did the 1587 privilege actually consist of? First of all, Alessandro’s appointment applies the features of a commercial printing monopoly to official ephemera only and grants the privilege exclusively on the basis of financial exemptions. The 1587 appointment in fact grants Alessandro a printing monopoly not on any one type of commercial or academic publications, but only on the ‘decrees, ordinances, statutes, and various declarations, provisions, proclamations and similar things’ by local civic authorities as well as the ‘letters, constitutions, motu-proprios’ issued by the papal government. At the same time,

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15 See the Introduction for a discussion of this question in connection to the use in this thesis of archival sources on Bolognese printers, especially n. 47 there.
16 ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), especially fols 209r-v: ‘[…] decreta, ordinanceones, statuta, variasque pragmaticas, provisiones, proclamata et similia tam auctoritate Illustrissimorum et Reverendissimorum Legatorum et Prolegatorum aut etiam Gubernatorum et qui nos in hoc legationis munere praecesserunt quam Illustris Regiminis et Senatus eiusdem Civitatis Bononiae, nec non varias et diversas, plurimasque literas, constitutiones, et motus proprios Apostolicos’, as published partially in Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 36. The wording is also repeated almost identically when Cardinal Legate Bernardino Spada grants Girolamo Donini, Vittorio’s formal universal heir, the same appointment: ASBo, Assunteria di
the appointment combines rights usually attached to commercial printing privileges—as the mentioned monopoly on a type of print production—with financial subventions in the form of exemptions on customs taxes.\textsuperscript{17} No other financial incentives, such as a salary or one-off payments, are associated with the title of \textit{tipografo camerale} in Bologna. The City Senate only granted a regular subvention of 200 \textit{lire} per year in return for printing official ephemera, such as decrees and the \textit{studium}’s calendar, between 1599 and 1629, and only after the litigation between Vittorio Benacci and Perseo Rossi on who could rightfully claim the title of official printer (as discussed in § 1.1).\textsuperscript{18} In its specific combination of rights, exemptions, and focus on official ephemera, the Bolognese official appointment differs from other cases across the Italian peninsula where privileges and incentives protected the printer’s production of books as well as ephemera, such as in that of the Florentine Giorgio Marescotti (1563-1602/3) and the Milanese Girolamo Bordone (c.1584-1619) and Pietro Martire Locarno (fl.1595-1609), or the times when civic authorities granted financial exemptions, especially on paper customs, in return for a mixed type of print production, both commercial and official, as for the Soliani family in Modena in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{19} These conditions therefore single out the 1587 appointment from other printing privileges of the time granted throughout the Italian peninsula.\textsuperscript{20}

The printing privilege in the 1587 appointment further specified the administrative and governmental printed ephemera to which Alessandro had exclusive rights as those needed by a specific list of officeholders. In addition to

\textsuperscript{17} See § 1.1 for a discussion of the paper exemptions granted to Alessandro and Vittorio Benacci.

\textsuperscript{18} ASBo, Senato, Partiti, vol. 13 (years 1596-1604), fols 49r-v (28 December 1598); ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartroni degli Stipendi’, vols 38 (years 1584-1612), and 39 (years 1612-1634).


\textsuperscript{20} For an overview of privileges for commercial and official print and further bibliography in this regard see Nuovo, ‘Stampa e potere’, 76–77, as well as her \textit{The Book Trade}, pp. 195–257.
the list of types of official ephemera quoted above, the text of the appointment clarifies the monopoly in relation to the potentially infinite number of printed documents issued

on behalf of the most illustrious and admirable legates and vice-legates, and also of governors and of those who have preceded us in this position of legate, but also on behalf of this illustrious Government and Senate of the same city of Bologna

and of the pope.\textsuperscript{21} A later passage in the document further frames Alessandro’s job as that of

printer or \textit{tipografo} of the curia and treasury of Bologna, and of each and every person who holds office over time in this legation or of governor in the name of the honourable Roman Pontiff and the Apostolic Holy See, and of the other public and court officials in this city of Bologna, for civic, criminal, and mixed matters, now and over time, appointed and to be appointed, and of the others and anyone who depends on these in whatever way and capacity under whatever name, title, rank, prerogative, merit, and stable position they have.\textsuperscript{22}

As a result, the 1587 appointment also regulated jobbing printing to the advantage of an increased number of the civic authorities compared to what had previously been established in Bologna for Anselmo Giaccarelli, who in 1547 received a privilege—accompanied with exemptions on paper customs—from the City

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{21}See n. 16 above. In the decree there is no reference to the religious authorities of Bologna, on whose independent engagement with jobbing printing see later in this section.  
\textsuperscript{22}ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), especially fol. 210r: ‘[…] Alexandrum peculiarem Curiae nostrae Cameraeque Bononiensis nec non omnium et singulorum qui pro tempore legationis huiusce munere seu etiam Gubernationis officio pro summo Pontifico Romano Sanctaque Sede Apostolica fungentur, aliorumque officialium ac Iusdicentium in ipsa civitate, tum ad civilia tum ad criminalia et mixta, nunc et pro tempore deputatorum et deputandorum et aliorum quorumlibet ab eis quomodocumque et qualitercumque dependentium quibusvis nominibus, titulis, gradibus, praeogativis, honoribus et praehiminentis nuncupentur typographum sive impressorem […]’. Donini’s appointment echoes Alessandro’s appointment document also in this respect: see ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, vol. 98, ‘Servizi pubblici’ [formerly vol. 8], b. 2, doc. no. 2.
\end{flushright}
Senate in return for, among other things, printing the ephemera of the Tribunale di Rota, the Bolognese court for civil lawsuits.\(^{23}\)

In addition to these rights and functions, Alessandro’s appointment made specifically clear its jurisdiction and validity. First, it did not have a time limit. The printing privilege was granted to him—and to his son Vittorio—for life. Most importantly, however, the lack of an expiry date also meant that ephemera could be reprinted with no fear that the privilege would expire. In the document’s wording, in fact, the printing privilege covered

> each and every ordinance, decree, constitution, statute, declaration, proclamation, ban and similar item [...] to be issued and published on behalf of us as well as of our successors in the position of Bolognese Legate or of the Vice-legates, Governors, and the other office- and power-holders mentioned above, whenever and as often as they will need to be printed, and similarly the letters, constitutions, edicts, motu proprios, and apostolic briefs as they will be transmitted from Rome.\(^{24}\)

In other words, the appointment equally covered first issues and reprints of official documents, and reprints from Rome as well as local ones. In this way, the appointment also specified the territorial validity of the printing privilege for the legation of Bologna, as it covered all printed ephemera issued in Bologna, as well as those dispatched from Rome but printed in the province.

Despite these details, the 1587 appointment includes no rules or details regarding the drafting and issuing of official ephemera in Bologna. Other sources, however,

\(^{23}\) Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 24-27, is right to stress that Anselmo did not hold any title as official printer, and that the City Senate intervened in 1547 mainly for the purpose of establishing a prestigious book press in Bologna, and thus to support the local printing trade at a moment when Lorenzo Torrentino had left Bologna for Florence to receive the aforementioned appointment from the Medici family. However, Anselmo printed the majority of the decrees issued for the years 1547-56 on behalf of all of the local civic authorities.

\(^{24}\) ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), especially fol. 210v: ‘omnes et quascumque ordinationes, decreta, constituciones, statuta, pragmaticas, proclamata, bandimenta et similia [...] a nobis et successoribus nostris in Civitate Bononiae Legatis seu eorum Vicelegatis aut Gubernatoribus at alii Iusdicentibus supradiectis pro tempore edenda et publicanda, si et quotiescumque typis excudenda fuerint, pariterque literas, constitutiones, mandata, motusproprios, et brevia apostolica ab Urbe pro tempore trasmittenda’.

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provide some evidence for how things went in practice in the local offices. By piecing these together, a picture gradually emerges: the Bolognese Senate and its magistracies paid particular attention to the issuing and publication of decrees coming first from Rome in case these happened to encroach upon affairs traditionally reserved for the legislating privilege of the subject city – at least in the eyes of the Bolognese authorities. Outside of these, the statutes of the Commune (still valid under papal rule for everyday civic administration) and the late Cinquecento reforms of the Bolognese chancery suggest that it was the job of the civic secretaries to see to the publication of all local decrees and proclamations, especially regarding the administration of justice. Considering that the actual printing of decrees was also likely left up to the appointed printshops (the Benacci and then Girolamo Donini), there is a strong case for the aforementioned emergence of a legal and administrative framework for the commissioning and publication of printed official ephemera in Bologna during the post-Tridentine period. Printed governmental ephemera depended on—and travelled from—papal Rome, but the Bolognese civic authorities seized every opportunity to make their political privileges heard, supported in this by the agency local printers had in the Bolognese cheap-print network.

It is especially through the correspondence of Bolognese magistracies and officeholders with the city’s ambassador in Rome that we learn that the city had the power to intervene regarding the content but above all the local issuing of decrees, and held it dear to their heart. For instance, in 1607 the magistrates of the City Senate clearly reminded the Bolognese ambassador about the power of local customs and privileges on the occasion of a decree on public health issued in Rome and ‘republished and printed’ in Bologna by the cardinal legate. In particular, they stated, the decree did a disservice to the city in two ways. First, by introducing the sanction of confiscation against those who did not respect the decree, for confiscations ‘were not observed in this city on account of its privileges’. Second,

25 In this respect, see later in this section and especially n. 41 on the commentary on the statutes of the Bolognese Commune published by Annibale Monterenzi, a professor in the Bolognese studium and a lawyer for the city’s treasury.
a no-lesser harm [was that] of introducing the practice of publishing here in Bologna the decrees issued and printed [in Rome], which stripped the city of its long-lasting custom of issuing its own decrees with the subscription of the Superior [the papal representative] at the time and of the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, together with the Senate magistrates.26

The custom had in fact been respected at the time of Pope Clement VIII. Then, a similar decree on public health had introduced the threat of confiscation, but the magistrates wrote to Rome and obtained its revocation. As a result, in 1607 the Bolognese magistrates ask the ambassador to

write again to the cardinal legate that they do not accept that the new decrees will be issued according to a new custom. And since Your Lordship may receive a negative answer – i.e., that in this way the order of Bologna’s overlords will never take effect, you should reply that with respect to the decrees ordered in Rome for Bologna, we are used to publish new ones along the lines of those issued in Rome to which we add “with the explicit order of our Lord the Pope or of the Governors of Rome”, so that at the end of the day everybody gets what they want.27

With respect to local editions of Roman decrees, then, the City Senate defended

26 ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), fol. 70r, Magistrati all’Ambasciatore, 11 August 1607: ‘Il Signor Cardinale Legato ha fatto pubblicare e stampare il qui congiunto bando sopra la sanità d’ordine de Signori Padroni di Roma, nel quale è imposta la pena della confiscazione la quale, come sa Vostra Signoria, non si osserva in questa città per gl’indulti che habbiamo, e oltre a questo si grave pregiudicio ne risulta anco un altro non minore, che con questa introduttione di publicare i bandi promulgati e stampati costi si leva l’uso inveterato della città di mandare li nostri bandi con la sottoscrizione del superiore qui pro tempore e del Confaloniere con la partecipazione de Magistrati’. On this archival fondo see Giancarlo Orlandelli, ‘L’archivio dell’Ambasciata bolognese a Roma’, Notizie degli Archivi di Stato, 9 (1949), nn. 1–3, pp. 81–90.

27 Ibid., fol. 70v: ‘[…] rescrivere al Cardinale Legato che non intende che per il bando publicato si faccia novità alcuna. E perché potrebbe essere opposto a Vostra Signoria che con questo stile della città mai si potranno eseguire gl’ordini de padroni, potrà rispondere che conforme a bandi che si mandano di Roma qui se ne publica uno in conformità e vi si aggiunge “d’ordine espresso o di Nostra Signoria, o de’ Signori Padroni di Roma”, e così per tal strada ognuno conseguisse il suo intento’. The City Senate’s magistrates reiterate the same requests and defence of Bologna’s two privileges—on confiscations and the publication of decrees—in two follow-up letters to the Bolognese Ambassador: ibid., fols 72r (25 August 1607) and 74r (1 September 1607).
its right to issue their own versions, ratified and approved for the city as with Bolognese civic decrees. This defence therefore mirrors the inclusion of reprints from Rome in Alessandro Benacci’s appointment examined above.

There can be no doubt that the Bolognese civic authorities held dear their power to issue governmental decrees. They also wished to publish the bandi generali issued directly by the pope for the territory of Bologna. Again, the city’s civic magistrates claimed that there was a deep connection between this and the opposition to any introduction of the sanction of confiscation, for instance when the Roman authorities introduced it in 1608 against people and their relatives banned from Bologna for violent crimes, considering these to be offences against the ruling pope, i.e. crimes of lèse-majesté. This was definitely a recurring issue for Bologna in the late sixteenth century, and always something that the city confronted Rome about in order to reaffirm its semi-independent status, as scholars of the papal state have demonstrated.\(^{28}\) In 1608 the issue of confiscation and the connected pre-eminence of Bologna in issuing its decrees was brought up again, and once more the Bolognese civic magistrates requested that the dispositions denying the city’s privileges in that respect from a newly issued papal decree be withdrawn. When a year later still no agreement had been reached and Bologna restated its point, in the city’s eyes it was particularly troubling to find out that local decrees had been published in Rome already, trumping Bologna’s exemption from them.\(^{29}\) In this case, the Bolognese magistrates further stressed

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\(^{28}\) De Benedictis, ‘Per l’onore del principe’. On the violent episodes that characterized the territory of Bologna at the end of the sixteenth century see more generally Irene Fosi, La società violenta: il banditismo nello Stato Pontificio nella seconda metà del Cinquecento (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1985), and for a discussion of the cultural implications of the phenomenon Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova, La nobiltà disciplinata: violenza nobiliare, procedure di giustizia e scienza cavalleresca a Bologna nel XVII secolo (Bologna: CLUEB, 2003). Trevor Dean and Kate Lowe, ‘Writing the History of Crime in the Italian Renaissance’, in Crime, Society, and the Law in Renaissance Italy, ed. by idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1–15, provide an overview on the topic and on its connection to the administration of justice (for which see more in n. 32 below), as well as the relevant historiography.

\(^{29}\) ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), fols 157v-158r, Magistrati all’Ambasciatore, 4 May 1609: ‘Vi si aggiunge che s’intende detti bandi qui pubblicati esser stati rimandati costà con la relatione a tergo della publicatione già fatta, cosa come si crede insolita, il che pare mostri l’intentione de Padroni [of Rome] essere che la città sia effettualmente compresa e ligata nella bandi’. The letter indeed states at its beginning that the decrees involved here were bandi generali: see ibid., fol. 157r.
the pre-eminence—and precedence—of local decrees over Roman ones in view of those already issued in the city by the Bolognese cardinal legate, then Benedetto Giustiniani. Unlike when the Senate’s resolutions challenged previous decisions by the political representative of the papal rule in the legation (as in the events surrounding Donini’s appointment discussed in § 1.1), with respect to general decrees the power of the cardinal legates acted as the final corroboration to that of the civic authorities. The issuing of official ephemera was a local business.

The City Senate’s magistrates also protested against decrees issued in Rome on the grounds of local publication privileges with respect to other domains of the Bolognese rule. Lèse-majesté and confiscations fell under the administration of justice, a traditional prerogative of the Roman authorities and their emissaries in the papal state. The letters sent to the Bolognese ambassador in Rome indicate other occasions when the Bolognese City Senate protested about its issuing privileges not being respected, and these involved matters concerning defence, silk exports, and in certain cases public health. Indeed, the same Bolognese magistrates reminded the ambassador in Rome of this. In 1609, in a follow-up to the contention about confiscation, they asked him to advance their cause in the pope’s presence.

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30 Ibid., fol. 157v: ‘[…] massimamente havendo noi buonissime leggi et provisioni contro banditi nuovamente fatte dall’Illustissimo nostro Legato’; the passage comes right before the one quoted in the previous n.

31 Back in 1608, Giustiniani was also directly invoked to support Bologna’s case against Rome, see ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), fol. 151r, Magistrati all’Ambasciatore, 21 May 1608: ‘Di tutte queste cose si è dato conto all’Illustissimo Legato nostro, il quale ha mostrato di sentir displicenza di questa nostra, e ha detto che scrive questa sera in risposta dell’ordine havuto e che aiutarà il negozio’. On the role of cardinal legates in early modern Bologna see Gardi, ‘Lineamenti’ and further observations in the Conclusion.

if only to demonstrate on every occasion the good intentions and favour of His Holiness the Pope towards the privileges of the city of Bologna, and to add to such a conversation that several times the Bolognese government through its ambassadors has obtained orders from the papal Superiors who were holding office in Bologna, for instance on the military, the *orsogli* [the finest type of silk threads, used as warp in valuable fabrics], and similar things.33

However, as I will show in the following paragraphs, the Bolognese civic authorities challenged the papal power to legislate on these matters depending on the circumstances. That official ephemera fit within such a fluid and only occasionally defended framework regarding their issuing and official publication in Bologna will further demonstrate the significant potential of jobbing printing to adapt to the needs of the holders of power.

Two points are especially relevant. First, in these types of controversies, the essential adaptability of printed decrees enabled them to work as legal reference tools in terms of their content or as material on which to base the issuing of further official ephemera. We can see the former type of use when the supply of gunpowder and saltpetre, and more specifically the publication of the relevant licence, became a concern for Bolognese authorities. In 1634, during an episode of hostility with Ferrara, the City Senate published several decrees revoking the licence as commissioner for the management and collection of saltpetre and gunpowder held by a certain Alessandro Sassatelli. To the same end, the Assunti di Cancelleria and Munizione (responsible for the management of city walls and public buildings) sent these decrees to the Bolognese Ambassador in Rome, who was at that time Agostino Ercolani, following his desire to use them to promote the city’s position. Unlike the civic magistrates’ previous approach of referring to

33 ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), Magistrati all’Ambasciatore, 16 June 1609, fols 165v-166r: ‘[…] non è per altro che per fare apparir in ogni tempo la buona intentione e monte della Santità sua verso li privilegi della città, con aggiungerle che molte volte il Reggimento per suoi Ambasciatori ha ottenuto degli ordini a Superiori qui a servizio della città, come per esempio sopra la militia, orsogli, e simili’. On *orsogli* see Poni, ‘Per la storia del distretto industriale serico di Bologna’.
content only, in this case the actual printed decrees were sent to Rome. In a letter on the matter sent around the same time by the civic authorities in Bologna directly to Pope Urban VIII, the City Senate refers once again to the connection between publishing decrees on city affairs and local political privileges and exemptions. Furthermore, the cardinal legates in Bologna had issued decrees defending the power of the local civic authorities to revoke Sassatelli’s licence. The City Senate and assuntrie cared about the privilege of publishing decrees, but also kept and moved printed copies in case they needed to back up their decisions.

Secondly, correspondence between Bologna and Rome, as well as collecting printed ephemera from other Italian polities, informed the drafting and publication of local decrees, as evident with respect to silk production and exports and public-health measures. Regarding silk, the assunti on the matter, the City Senate, and the Bolognese Ambassador in Rome all converged when a specific decree approached publication and discussed the matter with the cardinal legate, but also the cardinal nephew and the pope himself. In 1609, for instance, the Bolognese civic authorities wanted to ban foreign silk threads and introduce a fixed price for the licence on silk threads, or orsogli. To this end, they conferred with the Cardinal Legate Giustiniani to obtain clearance for the publication of the decrees, and at the other end they directed the ambassador to prevent Pope Paul V

34 ASBo, Assuntrie di Cancelleria, Lettere dell’Ambasciatore agli Assunti di Cancelleria e Munizione, 1574-1655, vol. 1, letter dated 1 March 1634: ‘Illustrissimi Signori miei osservandissimi, ho ricevuto con la lettera delle Signorie Vostre del ventidue del spirato [month] la stampa di diversi bandi da me richiesti per facilitar la revocatione del privilegio di commissariato sopra il salnitro e polvere ottenuto da cotesto Sassatelli de quali mi valero conforme il bisogno […]’.
35 ASBo, Assuntrie di Cancelleria, Lettere dell’Ambasciatore agli Assunti di Cancelleria e Munizione, 1574-1655, vol. 1, ‘Alla Santità di Nostro Signore per la città di Bologna’, undated letter following the one quoted in the previous n.: ‘Si è per venire a ciò provveduto con rigorosi bandi de Signori Superiori pro tempore […] [in favour of the city] quale per benignità de Sommi Pontefici e particolarmente di Vostra Beatitude è sempre stata libera e esente da simili commisariati, e desiderando esser mantenuta nel solito possesso. Viene però per parte del Reggimento d’essa humilmente supplicata a volere ordinare che detto privilegio sia dichiarato nullo e totalmente revocato essendo ammessa detta città al godimento delle solite gratie e indulti’.
36 See also the original letter by Ercolani to the Assunti di Munizione at ASBo, Assuntrie di Cancelleria, Lettere dell’Ambasciatore agli Assunti di Cancelleria e Munizione, 1574-1655, vol. 1, dated 2 February 1634: ‘Illustrissimi Signori osservandissimi è necessario che le Signorie Vostre procurino mandarmi con ogni possibile sollecitudine i bandi e altre provisioni solite pubblicarsi in materia di salnitro e polvere […]’.

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from allowing foreign silk threads into Bologna and to grant them the aforementioned licence payment. To assist the ambassador, the Bolognese silk magistrates meant to send him the decree prohibiting foreign silk cloths and threads ‘as soon as it was printed’. The Bolognese civic authorities also collected printed official ephemera from other territories and cities and used them to introduce policies of similar nature in response and print pertinent decrees. The collection of information for the subsequent issuing of decrees was particularly relevant to public-health management. An example of this is a 1583 Bolognese decree that enforced a travel ban on anyone coming from Vienna on account of the spread of the plague there. In the printed decree, the Bolognese Assunti di Sanità’s decision is motivated by the information ‘learned from letters from the Provveditori della Sanità in Venice and from a decree they had printed’, and that such a ban was published ‘in order to comply with the example of the city of Venice’. In matters where contacts and exchanges with those outside the legation were at stake, the Bolognese civic authorities were well aware of the essential contribution made by the printed medium and especially of jobbing printing for drafting official ephemera.

Bologna’s civic authorities also saw to the following stages in the ‘life-cycle’ of Bolognese printed decrees with the help of public servants and employees of the Reggimento. Once the senators and magistrates finalized the

37 ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), letter from the Reggimento to the Bolognese ambassador on the ‘Bando sopra l’Arte della Seta’, 20 June 1609, fols 241v-242r: ‘Questi Signori Assunti sopra l’Arte di Seta con l’avviso vostro sono stati dall’IllustriSSimo Legato e hanno assodato che si pubblichi il bando della prohibitione degli lavori forastieri e che gl’orsogli si possano estrahere con licenza però di Signoria Illustrissima o del Signor Confaloniere pagando l’altre gravezze sul Monte di Pietà bolognini quaranta per libra, al qual bando habbiamo con ogni prontezza prestato il nostro consenso giudicando che sia stato un segnalatissimo beneficio ch’ha fatto Nostro Signore a questa città, ma perché sarà difficile l’osservarlo e vederne quel frutto che si desidera mentre Sua Santità il Signore Cardinale Borghese e li fratelli di Sua Beattitudine non si compiacciano, come così li supplicarete a non concedere licenza d’introdurre drapperie e altri lavori forastieri, prohibiti nel bando che vi si mandarà subito e di non estrahere orsogli senza il sudetto pagamento’.

38 ASBo, Assunzioni di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, decree dated 14-15 October 1583: ‘[…] intendendosi per lettere de’ Signori Provveditori della Sanità di Venezia e per un loro bando mandato in stampa […] per conformarsi con l’esempio di essa città di Venezia’; see also n. 117 in § 2.2. See later in this section for a similar approach to collecting printed ephemera by the city’s (arch-)bishopric.
content of printed official ephemera, their publication involved elected officials at different levels within the administration of the city of Bologna. In particular, the Segretario Maggiore and the chancellors who depended on him accounted for the first stage of the decrees’ ‘life-cycle’. In practical terms, as specified in 1601 by a revision of the bylaws of the civic chancery, the Segretario Maggiore attended the meetings of the City’s Senate and recorded every decree and ordinance issued by them. More specifically, the Segretario Maggiore had to check the conformity of any decree as well as official correspondence—which he materially drafted on behalf of the Senate and assunterie—with the existing legislation and make an official record of both. In addition to the secretaries and chancellors of the Reggimento, local notaries worked for the civic government as elected officials with similar functions with respect to certain aspects of the Bolognese administration. For instance, the notaries in the different offices of the Palazzo del Podestà wrote the decrees, decisions, and proclamations resulting from civil cases. In light of this, various elected officials belonging to the city’s

39 ASBo, Partiti, vol. 13 (years 1596-1604), fols 106r-108v, especially fols 106r-v: ‘Assisterà a tutte le sessioni pubbliche del Senato, con prendersi cura di tutte le cose e negotii pertinenti al Regimento, e tener conto de gli ordini, decreti, e senatoconsulti, e in somma di tutto quello che sedente fa, concede, ordina e commanda’ [dated 19 Jan 1601]. The resolution opens with a description of the First Secretary’s job as ‘deemed to be of the highest importance, to the exercise of which special care has to be applied’: ‘Cum […] primarii eorum secretarii cancelliorumque munus maxime cognitum habeant ponderis esse, singularem in eius functione curam adhibendum’. Each assunteria had its specific chancellor, who then reported daily to the First Secretary on all decisions and documents approved there: ibid., fol. 108r. For an overview of the governmental bodies of post-Tridentine Bologna see the Introduction.


bureaucratic apparatus were responsible for writing legal and administrative acts. What the relevant sources stress, however, is not the printed nature of these, but how they gained their validity as public documents from the elected officials or when notaries granted this. The same occurred with the very last stage in the publication of official ephemera: following proclamation (see § 3.2), banditori subscribed a copy of the decrees and presented it to the city’s Archivio Pubblico, where it joined the other official documents of the Bolognese civic offices. As a result, only the proper act of proclamation by town criers and trumpeters officially sealed the broadsheets’ nature as public writings.

In terms of the actual printing of official ephemera, printing practices and personal connections between printshops may have played a bigger role than previously thought. In particular, a passage of Girolamo Donini’s appointment of April 1629 from Cardinal Spada (for which see also § 1.1), hints at the fact that among the printing equipment left in Vittorio Benacci’s printshop at his death there were printed official ephemera, too. When the document reports how other heirs of Vittorio acknowledged Girolamo as the universal heir of the printer and business, and thus of his position as Bologna’s official printer, it also states that

Girolamo is keeping the types of Vittorio’s printing craft as well as the proclamations and other things printed in this city while Vittorio was alive.

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42 Diana Tura, ‘I bandi nella documentazione dell’Archivio di Stato di Bologna’, in Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, ed. by Zanardi, pp. xxix–xxxiii, p. xxx. Annotations certifying a document was proclaimed associate in fact the verb ‘publish’ with the act of the proclamation, as done by civic trumpeters, as in BCAB, MS Gozzadini 55, Statuti e ordinamenti della Società dei Cartolari [dated 14 February 1568, with additions and changes until 1589], fols 10r-v: ‘A dì 29 ottobre 1569 fu pubblicato il sopradetto bando alla Renghiera del Podestà per Ludovico Rivale publico trombetta’. Records and copies of official acts were kept in the Camera Actorum of the Archivio Pubblico from the late thirteenth century; the Bolognese commune was one of the earliest in the Italian peninsula to establish the practice and thus tie the gathering and collection of information to political functions: see Camera actorum: l’archivio del Comune di Bologna dal XIII al XVIII secolo, ed. by Massimo Giansante, Giorgio Tamba, and Diana Tura (Bologna: Deputazione di storia patria, 2006). For a comparison with a contemporary chancery and its practices for collecting documents (albeit not especially official printed ephemera), see the case of Venice examined by Filippo De Vivo, ‘Ordering the Archive in Early Modern Venice (1400–1650)’, Archival Science, 10.3 (2010), 231–248.

43 ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Diversorum, vol. 98, ‘Servizi pubblici’ [formerly vol. 8], b. 2 ‘Varia
Inheriting printing types, ornamental woodblocks, and other printing equipment was common practice in the print trade, and printers and booksellers traditionally stored stocks of pre-sale, printed material in their shops and warehouses (sometimes recycled as waste and binding paper). What the passage further implies is that not all proclamations and decrees printed by Vittorio Benacci left his premises to be distributed and posted around Bologna, and, therefore, printers like him and Girolamo valued such items for their potential use in further editions; others, like Giovanni Rossi, likely sold official printed ephemera directly in their bookshops, as some of his subscriptions suggest (see § 3.2). With respect to the distribution of official ephemera by town criers and trumpeters, we learn about how this was carried out from handwritten annotations in the broadsheets in the Archivio Pubblico. In a similar way, Bolognese authorities relied on existing practices in the print trade and did not lay out all the specifics with respect to the printing of official ephemera in the relevant appointments and resolutions.

So far, we have seen evidence for the attitudes and initiatives of the civic government in relation to decrees, proclamations, and ordinances; in other words, for broadsheet items that became public writings by virtue of being ‘published’, that is, proclaimed. Printed decrees and proclamations were not, however, the only type of official ephemera for which the Bolognese Reggimento resorted to jobbing printing. We know that the same Reggimento commissioned and used smaller printed official ephemera, namely forms and notices, during the post-Tridentine period but also from the late fifteenth century. What place and significance did these printed documents hold in the emerging framework in

/ Stamperia Camerale’, doc. no. 2 ‘2 Aprilis 1629. Deputatio Hieronimi Donini in Typographo Camerali’: ‘[…] et penes Hieronimum antedictum extent characteres artis et proclamata et alia vivente dicto Victorio edita hinc […]’ [corresponding to ASBo, Legato, Liber registri brevium apostolorum (1523-1643), fols 301r-304v, fol. 301v].


45 See also n. 42 above for the distinction between publishing, i.e. making public, issuing, and printing.

46 For forms from the incunabula period, see the introduction to this chapter.
which the Bolognese authorities engaged with jobbing printing?

First of all, the 1587 appointment of Alessandro Benacci as official printer granted by Cardinal Caetani covered smaller printed ephemera, too, despite the fact that scholars have concentrated on decrees and proclamations only when discussing this document. In the list of civic ephemera for which the Benacci received their printing monopoly, Cardinal Caetani includes ‘the various and different types of summons, warrants, warnings, protestations, notifications, licences, declarations of support, injunctions, and also further writings of this nature, whether similar or less so’. A later passage in the appointment further suggests that the document is talking here of printed forms and notifications, for it grants the privilege to print

the layouts and types, to be used both in and out of courts, as well as those invented, as we [the cardinal legate] have heard, by the efforts and hard work of the same Alessandro [Benacci] and received already into the common use, and those likely to be similarly invented and used in the future.

These types of printed items sound more like small documents meant to be delivered to, or used by single individuals, rather than broadsheet proclamations; they therefore perform functions that are close to those of handbills and forms. The appointment particularly stresses the relevance of the documents the Benacci will print to public servants within the everyday exercise of their functions, namely that these documents will work as ‘requirement, help, support, defence, and protection likewise of the public and court officials needing them in many aspects, or even more so for the public advantage and convenience’. Printed forms and notifications also fit the description for they were one of the most

47 ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v [27 October 1587], especially fol. 211r: ‘Ulterius etiam varias et diversas citationum, mandatorum, praeceptorum, protestationum, notificationum, licentiaram, munitionum, intimationum et aliorum eiusmod generis quamplurimum seu similium sive etiam dissimilium scriptorum’.
48 Ibid.: ‘formulas, atque species, tam iudiciales quam extra iudiciales, et opera et industria ipsius Alexandri, ut accepiimus, inventas et iamdiu committere usu receptas, et in posterum forsan invenientes et usu pariter recipiendas’.
49 Ibid.: ‘ope, auxilio, adminiculó, tutela, protectione huiusmodi iudicentium multifariam indigentium, vel potius ad publicam utilitatem et commodum’. The passage comes between those quoted in nn. 47 and 48 above.
adaptable forms of jobbing printing, by way of leaving blank spaces to be filled by the officer’s—and sometimes recipient’s—handwriting. Although the 1587 appointment does not directly address, and thus clarify, the material requirements for such printed official ephemera, it defines their functions as political communication aimed at the broad urban public (as in broadsheet decrees and ordinances) and everyday administrative service (as in forms and notifications).

The Bolognese civic government felt it had the prerogative to issue printed forms, too. As mentioned above, military matters were a particularly sensitive area within controversies on issuing privileges, as they involved aspects of the papal rule of Bologna within the traditional remit of Roman offices. For instance, during the 1608 controversy on the right to publish printed decrees containing the sanction of confiscation, the Assunti di Milizia exchanged several letters with people in Rome on the subject of the bollettini for the conscription of the arquebusiers’ cavalry into the papal army. The Reggimento connected the issuing privilege of such printed forms, too, to the semi-independent status of Bologna within the papal state. To see it respected therefore meant that the civic authorities could pronounce on their content. Unfortunately, one of the military chiefs of the papal state substituted the traditional handbills with new ones, thus disrespecting the city’s privilege on the matter. The Assunti di Milizia reacted by writing that Bologna had the right to have a say in drafting printed conscription

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50 See n. 33 above.


52 ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), fol. 258r, letter from the Reggimento to Giovanna Battista Borghese ‘Circa li bollettini’, 25 July 1609. Giovanni Battista Borghese (1554-1609), cadet of Pope Paul V, was then Prefect of Rome and of Castel Sant’Angelo and thus one of the high-ranking officials responsible for the papal army; he died in December 1609: Gaspare De Caro, ‘Borghese, Giovanni Battista’, in DBI, vol. 12 (1971), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-borghese_(Dizionario-Biografico) [last accessed 24 June 2020]; Tamblé, ‘Esercito ed economia’, p. 221. In a previous letter to Rome, the Assunti di Milizia note that to have their privilege respected they needed a positive pronouncement also from the chief of the papal armies, Francesco Borghese, brother of both Giovanni Battista and the pope: ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), fol. 258r, letter from the Assunti di Milizia to the Bolognese ambassador, 25 July 1609.
forms, and especially on their layout, and that they had obtained the backing of papal officials on this. In particular, they asked to issue new *bollettini*

with the city’s insignia according to the form here attached (as for other ones we care less which one will appear on them), since we see that the uninterrupted presence of Bologna’s insignia on them grants another valuable asset to our government, besides the fact that when battalions merge [in the overall papal army] the *bollettini* distinguish one contingent from the other.\(^3\)

Then, when the Bolognese civic government finalized the content and layout of the forms, they agreed that these would also bear the insignia of the Pope, General Borghese, the Collaterale, and the Legate of Bologna, ‘in the unaltered layout of the old forms’, while also arranging for their printing and distribution.\(^4\) Overall, this controversy is further evidence for how the Bolognese civic authorities reaffirmed their privileges on issuing printed ephemera whenever they felt these were threatened. Details like the woodcut coat of arms gave small printed forms a key element of their authority and effectiveness.

With respect to both broadsheets and smaller forms, archival documentation provides important information on official payments for their issuing and commission. Such payments appear to be of two types: standing orders, and one-off commissions. Standing orders were regular payments covering

\(^3\) *Ibid.*, fols 272v-273r, letter from the Assunti di Milizia to the Bolognese ambassador, 23 September 1609: ‘[…] che non sia rimossa dalla sudetti bollettini, la forma de quali sarà qui annessa, l’arma della città, che dell’altra poco s’importa che ve ne sia più una che un’altra, perché mentre l’arma di Bologna continua in essi, oltre che in occasione d’unione di compagnie questi distinguono un stato dall’altro, viene pure ad essere un’aggiungere possesso a possesso in favore del nostro pubblico […]’.

\(^4\) ASBo, Senato, Lettere – Serie I ‘Copiari’ (Litterarum), vol. 25 (years 1607-1610), fol. 278r, letter of the Reggimento to Federico Savelli, 20 October 1609: ‘E fra tanto compiacendosine si darà ordine che siano stampati potere fare la distribuzione, con procurare la restitutione dei vecchi per mandarli a Vostra Eccellenza […]’. In the following letter to the same Savelli, the Reggimento go over some further corrections to be made to the *bollettini* which concerned both the textual content and the insignia therein: *ibid.*, fol. 279v, letter, 24 October 1609. Federico Savelli was the ambassador for the Holy Roman Empire in Rome and papal military chief in the legations: on him see Irene Fosi, ‘La famiglia Savelli e la rappresentanza imperiale a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento’, in *Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein, and Alexander Koller (Vienna: Verlagen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 67–76. The Collaterale was one of the joint administrative officials of the papal army: Tamblé, ‘Esercito ed economia militare’, p. 222.
the printing of decrees as well as a very specific product used by the local studium, that is, academic calendars. As mentioned in § 1.1, to this end the City Senate paid a yearly sum of 200 lire to Vittorio Benacci between 1599 and his death in 1629, and continued to do the same with his heir Girolamo Donini. More specifically, in 1606 it added to the recurrent sum for printing decrees (‘per li bandi’) an extra one of ten lire ‘for the calendar of this year’ (‘per il calendario dell’anno’, sometimes worded as the ‘ufficio’ of the calendar). In fact, academic calendars predate Vittorio: one printed in Bologna dates to 1586 and was subscribed by his father Alessandro as ‘Stampator Camerale’. The fact that the standing orders for calendars (and decrees too) did not start simultaneously with the appointment of Alessandro but appear only in Vittorio’s lifetime seems to be a consequence of the litigation that arose between the latter and Perseo Rossi in 1598 (see § 1.1). In any case, the Bolognese civic government resorted to the Benacci for jobbing printing on single occasions. In particular, they paid Alessandro between 99 and 409 lire on four occasions for providing, among other things, printed items for the use of a local civil court.

So far we have seen the initiatives and attitude of the local civic authorities of Bologna, but what about the ecclesiastical ones, namely the (arch-)bishopric? Although Alessandro Benacci’s 1587 printing privilege does not include religious authorities among those he and his son Vittorio would print on behalf of, the

55 ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartironi degli Stipendi’, vols 38 (years 1584-1612) and 39 (years 1613-1634). In the first of the four imbursationi, or payments, of 1630 the recipient is reported as ‘Eredi di maestro Vittorio Benacci’, as the name of Donini appears only from the second payment of that year (dated 6 July 1630) onwards. See also nn. 30-32 and 43-44 in § 1.1 for these documents and the discussion of the events surrounding Vittorio’s succession.

56 Vittorio receives this additional payment first in 1606 and 1610 only, and regularly only from 1613. Donini also receives this added regular sum starting from 1630: see previous n.


58 ASBo, Senato, Partiti: vol. 10 (years 1576-1582), fol. 155v (28 June 1581); vol. 11 (years 1583-1587), fol. 2r (21 January 1583) and 95v (29 October 1585); and vol. 12 (years 1588-1595), fol. 132r (22 January 1592). See also n. 13 in § 1.1.
(arch-)bishopric was keen to make use of jobbing printing. In this case, the (arch-)
bishop himself was much more explicit about the role that printed ephemera
played as meaningful and crucial tools in implementing the spiritual and
devotional reforms of the Council of Trent. Several documents, ranging from
letters to handwritten notes, as well as the printed broadsheets and notifications
published by the (arch-)bishopric, in fact contain specific instructions on how to
design and use printed ephemera, especially when this material supported didactic
and devotional purposes. The use of jobbing printing by the ecclesiastical
authorities was multifaceted, however, because as well as commissioning new
material they also collected existing items to be used as reference tools for their
content or layout. Furthermore, they paid close attention to the material
distribution of such items, even to the point of placing them into people’s hands.
The framework for ecclesiastical jobbing printing therefore engaged with all the
different stages and aspects of the urban cheap-print network, from production to
dissemination (leading hopefully to consumption). In this case, the use of printed
ephemera as public documents concerned less the exercise of authority and more
the design of functional tools for the circulation and execution of injunctions in
legal and administrative but also spiritual matters. It was a public use connected to
a single individual’s goals, namely to the example and office of Cardinal Gabriele
Paleotti, who became bishop of Bologna in 1566 and took the first steps in the
implementation of a framework for ecclesiastical jobbing printing in the city.

Indeed, Cardinal Paleotti promoted the design and commission of printed
ephemera in an informed way from the beginning of his office. Their functionality
became especially relevant when, after founding the Compagnia della
Perseveranza for teaching the fundamentals of the Christian doctrine and
appropriate conduct to Bolognese students, he transformed the confraternity into
that of the Dottrina Cristiana in 1576, with a focus on local youth.59 This

Lercaro, ‘La riforma catechistica post-Tridentina a Bologna’, in Atti del convegno di Bologna
(1968) (Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 1971), pp. 11–23; and David A. Lines, ‘Gabriele
Paleotti and the University of Bologna. Documents from the Archivio Arcivescovile’, in Bologna.
Cultural Crossroads, ed. by Anselmi, De Benedictis, and Terpstra, pp. 58–69. More broadly on
catechisms and similar initiatives of the Catholic Church in early modern Italy see Miriam Turrini,
‘“Riformare il mondo a vera vita cristiana”: le scuole di catechismo dell’Italia del Cinquecento’,
Compagnia had a general teaching mission, too, for it gave young people some primary education by making them read and learn by heart fundamentals of Catholic liturgy and devotion, including the Lord’s Prayer, Ave Maria, and Creed. To this end, Paleotti commissioned a series of teaching aids that the confraternity was to use in its classes. The most important of these aids was a printed primer, which combined the fundamental elements of Catholic doctrine, taught via quaedestiones, with the psalms and a grammar section. The primer appeared in several editions under variations of the title of Dottrina Christiana, the first one being printed on parchment in 1575. What Paleotti cared about most, however, was that the primer come out in booklet form, cheaply printed. In a letter to his secretary Ludovico Nucci, speaking of the primer, Paleotti explains:

although this is the first work published by the confraternity, no one should be surprised that I have issued such a small and trifling edition if you look at the initiative’s end, whom we look to, the fruit we are hoping for, and, what is most important, the loftiness of the things included in this booklet, you will acknowledge that the work’s substance is higher and more valuable than may appear.

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61 For the 1575 edition of the Psalterio per putti principianti con la Dottrina Christiana aggiunta, printed by Alessandro Benacci on parchment, see its bibliographical details in Table no. 1.3.

62 AABo, Miscellanea vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, Compagnia della Dottrina...
The surviving editions of the *Dottrina Christiana* are lengthier publications compared to vernacular commercial cheap print such as the ballads by Giulio Cesare Croce (for whom see § 3.1), for they all consist of at least sixty pages. However, the formats chosen, the duodecimo and the octavo ensure their relatively small size.\(^{63}\) They also appeared in four editions over the course of just three years, likely as a result of successive distribution campaigns. Such editions therefore provided the same advantages as other types of jobbing printing to printed catechisms: they were cheap and quick to produce; in other words, they were functional to Paleotti’s education plans.\(^{64}\)

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**Doctrina christiana, explicationibus illustrata, ad pueriles animos diuinis praeceptionibus imbuendos, olim iussu illustrissimi Cardinalis Paleotii episcopi Bononiensis vulgari sermone conscripta, nunc vero ad usum scholarum latinitate donata. Huic accesserunt hymni, et alia sacra eodem pertinentia carmina**

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\(^{63}\) Sixty leaves in the duodecimo format amount to just five printing sheets, while eighty in the octavo to ten; see the Introduction for a discussion of the formats and costs of producing cheap print in post-Tridentine Bologna. On Paleotti’s use of Latin in jobbing printing, see later in this section.

\(^{64}\) Paleotti’s catechism booklets were first of all educational and didactic tools, and thus differ from the model of the Roman catechism issued by Pope Pius V in 1566 and printed generally in editions of hundreds of pages. On the issuing of the Roman catechism see Matteo Al Kalak, ‘La nascita del Catechismo Romano’, *Revue d’histoire écclesiastique*, 112 (2017), 126–168.
Doctrina christiana, explicationibus illustrata, ad pueriles animos divinis praeceptionibus imbuendos, olim iussu illustriissimi Cardinalis Palaeoti Palaeoti archiepiscopi Bononiensis vulgari sermone conscripta, nunc vero ad usum scholarum Latinitate donata. Huic accesserunt hymni, et alia sacra eodem pertinentia carmina (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1578), 8°, 80 pp., BCAB, Malvezzi 0036/33

Doctrina christiana, explicationibus illustrata, ad pueriles animos divinis praeceptionibus imbuendos, olim iussu illustriissimi Cardinalis Palaeoti Palaeoti archiepiscopi Bononiensis vulgari sermone conscripta, nunc vero ad usum scholarum Latinitate donata. Huic accesserunt hymni, et alia sacra eodem pertinentia carmina (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1594), 8°, 80 pp., Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, F.A. ARM.P. 042 01

Table no. 2.1: The different editions of the Christian Doctrine published during Cardinal Paleotti’s office as (arch-)Bishop of Bologna.

Paleotti’s design of the Dottrina Christiana also dealt with devising two different types of editions depending on the content and intended readership. He planned to issue a ‘small doctrine’ (a ‘Doctrina parva’ or ‘piccola’), consisting only of religious formulas to learn by heart, and a ‘large Doctrine’ (the ‘Doctrina maior’ or ‘grande’), modelled around questions and answers devised by Paleotti himself and aimed at pupils who had already received a preliminary religious education via the Doctrina parva.65 The content corresponded to the formats and layout chosen for these two editions, with specific instructions for each. The ‘Dottrina grande’ had to include a grammar, and precisely a Donatus, as a popular grammatical work derived from Aelius Donatus’ classical work was known, while the ‘Dottrina piccola’ included the psalms. As a consequence, such plans implied that

in the future no Donatus can be sold without the large Dottrina bound and attached to it, so that the large Dottrina should be printed on the same sheet size as the Donatus. The same conformity should be observed between the Psalters and the small Dottrina.66

66 AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, Compagnia della Dottrina
If all the editions listed in Table no. 2.1 are likely to be ‘Dottrine grandi’, judging by the content, the teachings of Christian Doctrine also circulated, arranged in tables and lists, in broadsheet format sometimes made up of more than one printing sheet glued together, in order to publicize the intended religious formulas to learn by heart.67 [Figures nos 3-5] Jobbing printing here showed its potential to adapt to the planned function while keeping the costs low, and Paleotti referred to these features when he resorted to it. Post-Tridentine ecclesiastical authorities positively also contributed to the emergence of a framework for engaging with printed ephemera because they envisaged what the devising and commissioning of such items meant in terms of their distribution.

One aspect that is still unclear is whether the (arch-)bishopric resorted to appointing a licensed printer for its official ephemera in the formal way that the civic authorities of Bologna did from 1587. So far, no relevant document in this regard has been found in the archives of the Bolognese Archbishopric. Looking at the subscriptions in the jobbing printing that Paleotti commissioned, the picture becomes even more complex. First, Paleotti switched printers for his Dottrina Christiana without accounting for the decision. He and his collaborators started to design this work as early as 1567, and according to the manuscript copy of the Dottrina Christiana da insegnarsi dalli curati nelle loro parochie alli putti the edition was to be printed by Giovanni Rossi ‘bishopric printer’.68 Roughly ten years later, in the 1575 and 1576 editions of the text, it is Alessandro Benacci who

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67 AABo, Miscellanea vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana, b. 6, two broadsheets printed by Alessandro Benacci (no precise date).

68 AABo, Miscellanea vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana, b. 6: handwritten manuscript titled ‘Dottrina Christiana da insegnarsi dalli curati nelle loro parochie alli putti; con una breve Dichiaratione di essa nuovamente aggiunta in fine per ordine di Monsignor Illustissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinale Paleotti Vescovo di Bologna. Di novo ristampata in Bologna per Giovanni Rossi impressor episcopale in San Mamolo 1567’.
subscribes as ‘Stampator episcopale’. Yet, Paleotti also commissioned the Bonardos to print some ecclesiastical ephemera. Following the death of the last of the Bonardos, Fausto, and the demise of the Rossi due to financial challenges (see § 1.1), Vittorio Benacci’s rise to pre-eminence in the local cheap-print network made him the natural choice for Bolognese Archbishops thereafter. But the evidence suggests that, up to that point, the title of local stampatore arcivescovile, or archiepiscopale, was an honorary one, awarded contingently according to the circumstances.

Paleotti’s engagement with jobbing printing went beyond the simple commission of printed ephemera and cheaply-printed booklets. Prior and in parallel to that, he extensively collected items of this kind, printed in Bologna in the previous decades, as well as contemporary publications from other Italian cities. First and foremost, he collected copies of broadsheets and pamphlets of religious reform (and especially connected to the teaching of catechism) from Milan, a bastion of post-Tridentine renewal under Carlo Borromeo.

Paleotti and Borromeo were personally acquainted, and corresponded at length. One topic they discussed with each other, often seeking the other’s

69 Paleotti went on to publish his most significant works of the early 1580s, like the Episcopale Bononiense (on which see § 2.2) and the Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane, a treatise that deeply influenced devotion and art in post-Tridentine Italy, with Alessandro Benacci: Trattati d’arte del Cinquecento: fra manierismo e controriforma, ed. by Paola Barocchi, 3 vols (Rome: Laterza, 1960-62), vol. II (1961), pp. 117–509, and Gabriele Paleotti, Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre et profane (Bologna, 1582), ed. by Paolo Prodi (Bologna: Forni, 1990).

70 See the index by printers in Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, ed. by Zanardi, as well as § 1.1 on the official ephemera printed by the Bonardos.

71 Nuovo, Il commercio librario a Ferrara, p. 85, highlights that the ducal privilege for printing in Ferrara was not awarded exclusively in these centuries; see similar cases of non-exclusive official appointments of printers in eadem, ‘Stampa e potere’. That being said, the history of official (arch-)bishops’ printing in early modern Italy has still received less scholarly attention compared to that for the civic authorities, with few exceptions, such as Kevin M. Stevens, ‘Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary Press of Milan’, in Stampa, libri, e letture a Milano nell’età di Carlo Borromeo, ed. by Nicola Raponi and Angelo Turchini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992), pp. 97–133, and Massimo Petta, ‘Books and Devotion in Milan (1570–1590)’, in Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in History, ed. by Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2008), pp. 107–127.

72 AABo, Miscellaneous vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana, b. 6, three broadsheets; one is not dated nor subscribed but is also clearly from Milan when considering the woodcut illustration of Saint Ambrose.

73 Borromeo had also been vice-legate of Bologna under Donato Cesii in 1560-62 and 1565-66, the date when he moved to Milan to become its archbishop; yet, at that time Paleotti was in Rome. On
opinion and advice, was the setting up and management of catechism schools in compliance with the instructions of the Council of Trent. Not only did Borromeo’s example act as a stimulus for Paleotti in his catechetical work in Bologna, but the two figures used letters also to exchange and discuss official printed ephemera between the two cities; the exchange occurred with other bishops, too, such as that of Brescia, Domenico Bollani (1514-1579, in office since 1559). Indeed, among the non-Bolognese broadsheets and pamphlets on the Christian Doctrine in the Archivio Arcivescovile of Bologna, copies can be found from Florence, Rome, Brescia, and Cremona. Paleotti’s efforts to build an archive of printed ephemera in the Bolognese (arch-)Bishopric was part of his plans around jobbing printing and of his sensitivity to its potential to be both functional and pervasive.

Collecting printed ephemera served a further purpose, for such items worked as reference tools and models. Paleotti certainly looked at his collected


75 The library of the Archivio Storico Diocesano of Milan holds a fairly large group of Bolognese cheaply-printed booklets and decrees from 1560 to 1573, such as the Sommario d’alcuni avvertimenti dati da Monsignor illustrissimo, et reverendissimo Cardinale Paleotti […] nella Congregazione de Pievani, et Visitatori (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1571), 4°, [2] fols, B 1659 [another copy at FCRB, SASSOLI OP 0300 04048]. I am deeply grateful to Madeline McMahon, who is working on bishopric models in early-modern Italy and England for her PhD thesis at Princeton, for this information and the mention of the correspondence between Paleotti and Borromeo on printed ephemera.

items when conceiving the ephemera that he commissioned for the Bolognese Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana, but a similar dynamic occurred for printed ephemera displaying and circulating prayers. Paleotti was particularly interested in promoting licensed forms of prayers, for both general and special occasions. One of these circumstances involved the design of the Common Oration, a prayer that Bolognese households were to recite every evening after the Angelus, called by the toll of bells throughout the city’s churches. The Common Oration was a form of domestic vespers service, and in order to have the local faithful of every social class participate in this form of devotion, the prayer itself (and instructions on how to recite it) were disseminated through printed broadsheets and handbills.\footnote{AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, various printed notifications; see also nn. 125-126 in § 2.2. For an introduction to censorship and licensing of prayers after the Council of Trent see Maria Pia Fantini, ‘Censura romana e orazioni: modi, tempi, formule (1571-1620)’, in L’inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto. Tavola rotonda nell’ambito della conferenza annuale della ricerca: Roma, 24-25 giugno 1999 (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 2000), pp. 220–243; Giorgio Caravale, L’orazione proibita: censura ecclesiastica e letteratura devozionale nella prima età moderna (Florence: Olschki, 2003); and more broadly Gigliola Fragnito, Proibito capire: la Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005).}

\textit{Figures nos 9-10} Paleotti also promoted the publication—and reprinting—of specific prayers and invocations in support of the Christian League fighting the Ottoman Empire before and after the Battle of Lepanto of 1571.\footnote{AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, various printed ephemera from the early 1570s.} \textit{Figures nos 11-13} The printed ephemera actively sought by Paleotti therefore served as models in different aspects: certainly, in order to see to the inception of new items, and as material copies on which to base Bolognese jobbing printing, but also as models of a functional, pervasive, and adaptable way of distributing this type of printed material and notifying the local faithful. At the same time, Paleotti had extended the same practice of collecting books and documents to the presence and contribution of printed ephemera, in much the same way as his acquaintance, the Bolognese natural scientist Aldrovandi, was doing with his library in support of his publications.\footnote{See Maria Cristina Bacchi, ‘Ulisse Aldrovandi e i suoi libri’, L’Archiginnasio, 100 (2005), 255–366, and Caroline Duroselle-Melish and David A. Lines, ‘The Library of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1605): Acquiring and Organizing Books in Sixteenth-Century Bologna’, The Library, 16.2 (2015), 133–161, but in particular on the use of various printed sources for his multi-volume...}
One final way in which collecting printed ephemera fitted into Paleotti’s overall use of jobbing printing was to reprint them in edited collections. It was under his office that reference publications started to appear with reprinted versions of the doctrinal texts, decrees, and proclamations issued over the years. Specifically, his 1580 *Episcopale* reproduced the broadsheets and forms, the latter in their original blank form, which Paleotti had issued so far. Around the same time similar publications started to appear: for example, the *Libro delle gratie et indulgenze* by Simpliciano Turrini contained the papal decrees and indulgences granted by Pope Gregory XIII to the confraternity of the Holy Girdle in Bologna, of which Turrini was the custodian and Paleotti the ultimate supervisor. Paleotti’s cousin and successor to the archbishopric’s see, Alfonso (in office since 1597 but co-leading with Paleotti from 1591), planned a collection of the decrees and licences he had issued during his co-governance that replicated the layout of Paleotti’s *Episcopale*. In the seventeenth century, further Bolognese authorities, and not only ecclesiastical ones, followed suit: examples are the 1613 collection of synod decrees by the then Archbishop Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi and the 1631 collection by Cardinal Legate Bernardino Spada of the decrees he issued during and concerning the plague epidemic that had broken out the year before.

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30 The printed collection was an entirely new, organic publication, and thus not a simple *Sammelband*: Lorenzo Baldacchini, “‘In uno corpore continentur’. Le miscellanee. Per un approccio unitario ad un problema della biblioteconomia del libro antico’, *Bollettino AIB. Rivista italiana di biblioteconomia e scienze dell’informazione*, 45 (2005), 203–210.


33 AABo, Miscellanea vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 772. On the forms and broadsheets reprinted here see also §2.2.

34 *Raccolta d’alcune cose stabilite per ordine di Monsignore illustissimo Lodovisi Arcivescovo di*
In particular, Spada’s collection combines reprinted broadsheets and forms in their blank state similarly to Paleotti’s *Episcopale*. [Figure no. 14] While the long-standing tradition of official ephemera issued in booklet formats, such as quartos and octavos, suggests the possibility that these items were meant to end up in libraries and archives rather than on city walls, Paleotti contributed to expanding the life-cycle of printed ephemera, and not only in the form of reprints but most eminently via collecting them and thus preserving their slight physical appearance. Overall, Paleotti’s initiatives had a significant impact on the survival and the very scope and significance of jobbing printing to the local urban audience.

But collecting printed ephemera was not simply a material act for Paleotti. Rather, it resonated with his ideas on information-gathering in public offices: the duty of every office-holder, he argued, was ‘to be informed on every law and statute’ so as to act accordingly to the populace’s best interest.\(^85\) Paleotti’s ideas on printing and public utility may have also influenced Alessandro Benacci, who interestingly expressed similar views especially with respect to the printed ephemera issued by the (arch-)bishop. In the 1580 *Episcopale*, Benacci signs a preface where he argues that a ‘general advantage’ comes from publishing a collection of the (arch-)bishop’s decisions in a single edition. In this sense, printing provided a significant service, especially when it produced collections and treatises on a particular topic, for readers were thus able to be thoroughly informed and ‘the many things that have been printed do not go to waste’. Parish priests from the Bolognese (arch-)diocese and beyond in particular voiced their

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\(^85\) De Benedictis, ‘Per l’onore del principe’, 366, quoting from Paleotti’s *Avvertimenti* for his brother Camillo: ‘essere informato su tutte le leggi e statuti e tutelare in base a questi il pubblico bene’; see also Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, vol. II (1967), p. 200. Camillo Paleotti (1520-1594) had been a Bolognese senator since 1541 and was elected Bolognese ambassador to Rome multiple times from the same year onwards: on him see *sub voce* in Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*. 

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interest in seeing such a publication come to life, so as to have better access to the range of decrees issued by Paleotti for Bologna on ecclesiastical matters, and specifically those ‘already printed by me [Benacci] in various formats’. The *Episcopale* thus presented these printed documents in ‘a single printed edition with a better order’, to the point that Benacci hopes

little by little in the same format other publications of this kind would be printed to include all the other things that His Lord the utmost revered Bishop Paleotti will issue, so that anyone with little effort will be able to expand this book with what comes to hand. 86

In addition to expanding the life-cycle of printed ephemera, as discussed earlier, and to offering an opportunity for further financial profit for printers like Benacci—who transformed official printed ephemera, designed for free distribution, into commercial publications—the adaptability of jobbing printing operates here at the conceptual level. Indeed, the collection, commission, and re-circulation of printed ephemera found its roots in the status of such items as public documents as long as printed collections facilitated their material use as reference tools.

Paleotti resorted to jobbing printing for the (arch-)diocese’s ecclesiastical functions to such an extent that, besides commissioning and collecting printed ephemera and cheaply-printed booklets, he also saw to the distribution of the items he issued. For instance, when in 1591 the archdiocese organized masses and sermons in the memory of the recently deceased Pope Gregory XIV, it handed out *polizze*, or handbills, instructing people when to attend the relevant services and processions, and also advertised these instructions via broadsheet notifications. 87

86 *Episcopale Bononiensis civitatis et diocesis. Raccolta di varie cose, che in diversi tempi sono state ordinate da Monsignor illustissimo et reverendissimo Cardinale Paleotti Vescovo di Bologna. Per lo buon governo della sua città e diocese* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1580), 4°, 266 pp., AABo, Breventani A4, fol. +2r: ‘[…] disegnando tuttavia che di mano in mano in questa medesima forma siano stampate tutte le altre cose che saranno ordinate da Sua Signoria illustissima acciò possa ciascuno con poca gravezza aggiungere al presente libro quello che occorrerà’. Cardinal Spada’s *Raccolta di tutti li bandi* (quoted in n. 84 above) has a preface of a similar tone, however the piece is not signed, unlike the address to the reader by the publisher Girolamo Donini: *Raccolta di tutti li bandi, ordini, e provisioni*, π, 3r-4v.

87 AABo, Miscellanei vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 772: *Ordini delle messe, orationi et
Cheaply-printed devotional booklets reached the hands of the Bolognese faithful on Paleotti’s orders, too. A 1579 decree on what was allowed and what was prohibited during the Lent period, for instance, orders that confessants ‘had to use the book printed according to the instruction of Bishop Paleotti on the best way to confess’ while attending evening prayers. Among other practices that were supported by cheaply-printed booklets, Paleotti listed the daily examination of one’s conscience, any personal readings for spiritual gain (using, of course, only the texts approved by the Roman Index), and imitation exercises. Paleotti therefore used broadsheets, booklets, and forms from an encompassing perspective that took into account their commissioning, survival, reprinting, and dissemination – all for the purpose of teaching and spiritually enriching the Bolognese faithful.

In respect to its dissemination, Paleotti particularly exploited the fact that jobbing printing was cheap to issue in different languages according to the circumstances. First, in an effort to reach more young people with his catechism booklets, in the same letter to his secretary Ludovico Nucci mentioned above, Paleotti defends the choice to print a Christian doctrine as a slight book (‘this first work, which is though very small’), regardless of its lofty and worthy content, for only in this way could all the faithful have access to it. The booklet, he continues,
‘will be of consolation and utility to the well-meaning and those who will read it with good true and Christian disposition’. To the same end Paleotti issued ecclesiastical printed ephemera in both Latin and the vernacular. In the case of the Dottrina Christiana, the primer, devised for the classes run by the Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana, first appeared in the vernacular. Shortly afterwards, however, Paleotti instructed that the same text be used in Bologna’s Latin schools.

[Table no. 2.1] Paleotti issued printed ephemera in both Latin and the vernacular also on other occasions. For instance, in 1582 he publicized the elevation of the diocese to the rank of archbishopric in a letter addressed to his faithful issued in Latin; he reissued it in the vernacular in order to speak to the widest audience possible. Broadsheet decrees routinely appeared in both languages for the same purpose. The adaptability of printed ephemera to their intended audience proved to be the most valuable aspect when choosing a means of communication to notify and reach the local faithful. Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, conscious of the importance of every single one of these aspects for the success of his plans for spiritual and devotional renewal, implemented a more multi-faceted framework for the use of jobbing printing than his contemporary civic authorities.

Not all Bolognese jobbing printing, however, was supported exclusively by the leading civic and ecclesiastical authorities. Starting from the early seventeenth century, an increasing number of other local institutions resorted to cheaply-printed items for performing and publicizing their everyday activities. A clear example of this increased resort to printed ephemera in Bologna is associated with a distinctively local devotion, that is, the use of broadsheets around the processions of the Madonna di San Luca. The devotion around the icon—preserved in a sanctuary in the hills near the city and supposedly painted by Saint

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89 AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana, b. 6; see n. 62 above.
90 Erectio Archiepiscopatus Bononiensis facta a santissimo Domino Nostro Gregorio XIII anno 1582 (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1583), 4°, 26 [2] pp., BCAB, A.V.G.VI.21 op. 11 [BM 1404]; and Lettera Pastorale […] della nuova dignità archiepiscopale (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1583), 4°, 4 [2] fols, BUB, A.M. WW.1. 44/2, copy owned by Ulisse Aldrovandi. See n. 90 above for the broadsheet papal bull proclaiming the new archbishopric status of Bologna, and § 3.1 for vernacular cheap print mocking Latin as the language medium of the Bolognese studium.
91 See the index by issuing authority in Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, ed. by Zanardi.
Luke—grew in strength after the fifteenth century: annual processions escorted the icon through the city during the month of May.\textsuperscript{92} The practice of printing decrees notifying the faithful about that year’s planned itinerary called \textit{bandi delle rogationi} (but also of specific ordinances enforced during these processions) dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Most of the broadsheets surviving are from the second half of the century, but a single \textit{bando delle rogationi} is preserved for 1625 as printed by Vittorio Benacci. In fact, after that year all subsequent broadsheets are printed by the respective official printers of the time.\textsuperscript{93} With time, other Bolognese institutions echoed local forms of legal and administrative jobbing printing and came to regularly issue their own printed ephemera.

Further cases of such jobbing printing took place in the early seventeenth century. The same confraternity that organized the processions of the Madonna di San Luca, the Confraternita of Santa Maria della Morte, also ran the hospital named after it in the central market area of the Mercato di Mezzo, providing assistance to the sick and dying.\textsuperscript{94} The confraternity headquarters also included an oratory, which served as the chapel of the hospital. This was the site for religious functions that the members of the confraternity attended on special occasions. To

\textsuperscript{92} On the history of this sanctuary see Elena Gottarelli, \textit{I viaggi della Madonna di San Luca} (Bologna: Tamari, 1976) and Mario Fantini and Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli, \textit{La Madonna di San Luca in Bologna: otto secoli di storia, di arte e di fede} (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1993), and here especially Mario Fantini, ‘La leggenda della Madonna di San Luca di Bologna. Origine, fortuna, sviluppo e valore storico’, pp. 69–99. See also § 3.1 for further examples of printed ephemera on the Madonna di San Luca.

\textsuperscript{93} ASBo, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, Campioni e Miscellanee – Serie VIII, vol. 26 ‘Notizie, memorie e stampe dei viaggi della Beata Vergine di San Luca, XV-XVII’. For the late seventeenth century, see the 1667, 1680, 1692, 1693 \textit{bandi delle rogazioni} here subscribed by the ‘Errede del Benacci Stampatore Arcivescovile’, while for two 1611 and 1619 \textit{bandi delle rogazioni} again printed by Vittorio Benacci see n. 139 below.

\textsuperscript{94} For the history of this specific health institution in Bologna see Paolo Savoia, ‘The Book of the Sick of Santa Maria della Morte in Bologna and the Medical Organization of a Hospital in the Sixteenth-Century’, \textit{Nuncius}, 31.1 (2016), 163–235, with further bibliography on hospitals in Renaissance Italy. The members of the Confraternita of Santa Maria della Morte served as comforters at executions: see Nicholas Terpstra, \textit{The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy} (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), as well as idem, ‘Theory into Practice. Executions, Comforting, and Comforters in Renaissance Italy, in \textit{The Renaissance in the Streets, Schools, and Studies: Essays in Honour of Paul F. Grendler}, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler, Paul F. Grendler, and Nicholas Terpstra (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 118–158.
convoked members to mass there, the Oratorio commissioned printed handbills from Vittorio Benacci, as early as 1597 and up to at least 1614.\textsuperscript{95} In any case, the confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte resorted to Vittorio Benacci first for the bureaucratic needs of its hospital, and only later for its other activities, both medical and religious. If these commissions speak of Vittorio’s rising prominence in the urban cheap-print network of Bologna (see § 1.1), they also demonstrate how middle institutions like confraternities, which were still well connected with the ruling élite but in no way managed by either the Senate or the (arch- )bishopric, resorted to official printed ephemera for their functions.\textsuperscript{96} Jobbing printing was giving a public and functional form to documents from an increasing number of institutions in Bologna over the course of the Seicento.

Records about these handbills provide insights into how they were produced and how expensive they were. Sometimes, the confraternity was able to buy such handbills ‘at the shop of Vittorio Benacci’, and thus likely in pre-printed form, and the forms could be paid for by the quinternion, that is, in bulk, as seems to be the norm for this type of printed ephemera (for surviving sheets of multiple forms see § 2.2). We also learn how cheap these printed handbills were: since a quinternion (equivalent to twenty pages in folio format) cost six soldi or bolognini, a single printed page came at the negligible price of thirty cents of a bolognino.\textsuperscript{97} In the case that only two forms were printed on each page, they would therefore cost fifteen cents of a bolognino. From the point of view of the institutions that commissioned printed ephemera, these items also cost very little within the total expenses reported. On the same occasion the confraternity paid

\begin{footnotesize}


\textsuperscript{97} See the passage quoted in n. 82 in § 1.2. Soldi and bolognini were equivalent coins: see the Note on Currency. See the Introduction for a discussion of prices in post-Tridentine Bologna and some considerations of the difference between cost of production and of purchase.
\end{footnotesize}
three lire for ten quaternions of printed forms, with the total figure of more than 190 lire. Paying people—spiritual fathers, sacristans, and also painters and sculptors for devotional artworks and their restoration—cost at least ten lire, and thus considerably more. Printed forms figure in the lower tier of expenses, together with other running costs such as church candles, burning oil, and wax. The extreme cheapness of jobbing printing determined its success as an everyday tool for running even small institutions.

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99 See § 2.3 for a discussion of jobbing printing expenses amidst other current entries, such as payments for wax candles and musicians, in the financial records of the Bolognese studium.
§ 2.2

Policing the City

Whosoever comes into Italy and from whence soever, but more especially if he comes from more suspected places, as Constantinople, never free from the plague, he must bring to the confines a certificate of his health, and in time of any plague he must bring the like to any city within land where he is to pass, which certificates brought from place to place, and necessary to be carried, they curiously observe and read. This paper is vulgarly called bolletino della sanità, and if any man want it he is shut up in the lazareto, or pest-house, forty dayes, till it appears he is healthfull; and this they call vulgarly far la quarantana.\textsuperscript{100}

When recounting his travels during the spring of 1594 through the north of Italy, the Englishman Fynes Moryson opens his account with the description of a practice that, he maintains, every Italian city imposes on travellers trying to enter their territories. Travellers, he reports, have to present special health passes, or bollettini di sanità, anytime they enter Italy, especially when they come from locations considered suspect, such as the Ottoman Empire. In times of plague, such a practice is extended to ‘any city within land’ through which one has to pass, in order to certify a state of good health. At times of particular need, such as during outbreaks of plague, health passes also had to be shown when travelling within regions and between neighbouring cities. Whatever the precise circumstances, health passes worked within a transregional frame, in much the same way as passports and documents of safe conduct, and they were highly customized printed items.\textsuperscript{101}

The world of early modern handbills and forms, however, did not end with documents like these, and most importantly applied to situations and people within cities. Bolognese archives and libraries testify to a wealth of documents

\textsuperscript{100} Moryson, \textit{An Itinerary Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell}, vol. I (1907), p. 158. On Moryson and his travel account see n. 36 in the Introduction; this passage is also quoted in Bamji, ‘Health Passes’, 441.

\textsuperscript{101} On early-modern forms of identification see Groebner, \textit{Who Are You?}. 
intended for people of all kinds to carry and produce upon request: permissions to consume certain foods during Lent, licences for carrying weapons, invitations to religious processions, professional certifications, as well as health passes for wares susceptible to contagion, such as cotton, to name just a few. Local authorities asked visitors and travellers entering the city to present their *bollettini di sanità*—literally ‘handbills of good health’—at the city gates, as in Moryson’s description. The same, however, occurred with respect to other types of printed ephemera released to the inhabitants of Bologna. The (arch-)bishopric issued and distributed throughout the diocese handbills calling the faithful to mass or to special processions and functions, such as for the Corpus Domini celebrations. The *studium* issued licences for carrying weapons to its wealthier students, and the College of Medicine released certifications to authorized physicians. In all these cases, carriers were responsible not only for obtaining such forms but also for carrying them on their person while moving through the urban space, so as to readily produce them whenever necessary.

This section aims to reconstruct this broad urban policing in post-Tridentine Bologna in its practical application, which means it does so by considering the items used for this purpose and the practices connected to their material dimension. The value of this approach is not limited to providing for the first time a survey of the different types of jobbing printing employed for urban policing (printed items of this kind are still in great part absent from traditional bibliographies, and tend not to be described). It also facilitates the discussion of the printed ephemera’s material functionality in the service of the city’s government. In light of this, § 2.2 examines decrees and notifications in broadsheet format alongside with smaller single-sheet items, from half-sheets to handbills printed up to eight or sixteen per sheet. I also employ and discuss contemporary collections of such items—alongside examples produced outside of Bologna—and their material implications for both administration and printing. I have discussed in § 2.1 how local authorities kept copies of decrees and forms to reprint them, as well as to use them as reference tools, thus focussing on the drafting and commissioning level of this relationship. Here, instead, I investigate

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102 On the last point see Bruni, ‘Early Modern Broadsheets’.
printed ephemera collections to demonstrate their application to public health policies and the control of devotion. In this respect, essential purposes of such collections were to detect forgeries and keep track of the regulations and forms issued elsewhere.\footnote{103} It is also worth remembering that the standardization of printed ephemera to policing purposes was viable only on account of the quick and steady, but also cheap supply of paper from printer-stationers like Vittorio Benacci (as discussed in Chapter 1). In this scenario, jobbing printing offered new advantages as an on-demand, customizable tool for creating policing paperwork. Its material features opened up a broad spectrum of possibilities for the adaptation of policing practices to various everyday circumstances.

Such advantages and the material features of jobbing printing meant that policing ephemera affected several domains of everyday life in Bologna during the post-Tridentine period. As a matter of fact, they addressed connected and contiguous spheres of urban life. For instance, contemporary medical theories explained the spread of diseases and epidemics, especially of plague, as stemming from bad air quality and physical contact. Authorities therefore regulated the gathering and movement of people as a public-health measure.\footnote{104} Similarly, idleness was considered a threat to society, thus power-holders repeatedly passed strict legislation banning beggars and the poor, especially those of foreign origin, from their urban territory.\footnote{105} The use of printed ephemera by local authorities therefore corresponded closely to the growing adoption of policing strategies.

\footnote{103}{For a different range of bureaucratic paperwork tools, in this case associated with the Bolognese studium, see § 2.3.}


\footnote{105}{See Eleonora Canepari, ‘Who Is Not Welcome? Reception and Rejection in Early Modern Italian Cities’, in Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities, ed. by Bert De Munck and Anne Winter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 101–116, and her discussion of official printed ephemera against vagrants, foreigners, and the poor with examples from throughout early modern Italy. See also Robert Jütte, Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Nicholas Terpstra, Cultures of Charity: Women, Politics, and the Reform of Poor Relief in Renaissance Italy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), for an overview on the topic of the poor and poverty in early modern Italy.}
more broadly. In this respect, I chose to use the term policing (rather than simply talking about control) as in § 2.1 I analyze relevant wider practices as facilitated by cheap print. Other early modern polities across Europe were using printed ordinances to ensure social order on a wide scale, from sumptuary laws to market regulations and devotional concerns. In the specific case of Bologna, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti had a significant role in this, as he was influential in shaping the local reception of the reforms introduced by the Council of Trent to encourage the policing of spiritual matters from multiple angles. During his period in office, the (arch-)bishopric issued a vast range of printed licences certifying the good conduct of the faithful, such as the reception of sacraments, alongside other forms of policing, for instance of laws on social deportment in the urban space. Overall, the wide range of Bolognese printed ephemera for policing purposes helped civic and ecclesiastical authorities to reach and target a shared urban population, and to increasingly control their everyday life, offering evidence for distinctive developments not only in the administration, but also in other aspects of the city’s public sphere.

In light of all this, in this section I first set out to explore the different spheres where Bolognese power-holders resorted to printed ephemera for policing purposes. I begin by examining health passes and ordinances in order to offer a broader and more in-depth analysis of the way these operated together, also on a transregional scale, building on scholarship that has showed their increasing use starting with the plague outbreaks of the late sixteenth century. I then examine how Bolognese ecclesiastical authorities, and especially Gabriele Paleotti, employed jobbing printing to produce ephemera in order to respond to concerns about devotion and spirituality and to the need for more control in this area after the end of the Council of Trent. Next, I discuss printed decrees and forms aimed at

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107 See the Introduction for a discussion of printed ephemera and bureaucracy, while for a case-study on the link between social policing and administration standardization with respect to early-modern poor relief see Hendrik C. M. Michielse and Robert van Krieken, ‘Policing the Poor: J. L. Vives and the Sixteenth-Century Origins of Modern Social Administration’, *Social Service Review*, 64.1 (1990), 1–21.
policing the deportment of students. These were an increasing feature in post-Tridentine Bologna and mirrored broader anxieties around the movement of people, especially of the more destitute categories, in the urban space, as well as a general trend towards licensing professions connected to studia. I will return to the policing of students’ deportment in § 2.3 on the Bolognese studium and to the interaction of policies and consumption practices in Chapter 3.

First and foremost, jobbing printing served to police public health in post-Tridentine Bologna with the purpose of preventing and controlling epidemics. This was the key duty of the public-health board in Bologna, the Assunteria di Sanità. In its capacity as a senatorial, permanent magistracy on all matters of public health, this assunteria often worked together with other magistracies, such as the Assunteria all’Ornato (the magistracy responsible for the city’s infrastructure) in the case of the everyday maintenance of sewers. In particular, the Assunteria di Sanità’s most taxing work came during plague outbreaks. In this capacity, the assunti oversaw the inspection of items (documents as well as goods), buildings, and people, especially those entering Bologna, imposed quarantines, and monitored the air quality.

In order to control the spread of the disease and gather and distribute information leading to the prevention of further contagions, the Assunteria di Sanità resorted to jobbing printing, above all for health passes. These bollettini di sanità certified the absence of disease from the carrier’s body and belongings. Examples issued to people in Bologna specify the carrier’s age, height, and complexion. Furthermore, they explicitly mention whether travellers were leaving the city (‘parte di dentro’) or passing through it, in which case the form referred to the health passes they had to carry from the places previously visited. A 1580 bollettino combines this information with the absence of (known) criminal charges: the carriers are ‘leaving from another city than Bologna having their

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other *fedi* with them, and are free from any ban or sentence issued in Bologna or any other place of the Papal State and its confederate cities of which we are aware*.  

[Figure no. 15] *Fedi* used by merchants and carriers included blank spaces for the description and listing of goods. *Bollettini* of this kind can therefore reveal the coming and going of wares between Italian cities following certain trade routes: in May 1577, the Sanità official for the countryside canal lock of Malalbergo Ercole Freschi signed two separate *bollettini* for the carrier Gioan Poluzzo, who was transporting to Ferrara fifteen parcels of sacred wood coming from Florence and a parcel of cotton from Bologna. These examples (and several others in the folders of the Assunteria di Sanità) also tell us that health passes either carried the year of their validity fully spelled out in print, or left for completion by hand just in the last digit, a clear indicator of high print-runs for a particular year or decade. Among other types of validation marks on local health passes we find the woodcut of Bologna’s saint patron, San Petronio, and of course the signature of the issuing official from the headquarters of the *assunteria*, the secretary or ‘mandatario’ for public health.

Printed health passes did not work on their own, though, for their introduction and compulsory use were publicized via decrees and proclamations. These were targeted at the wider Bolognese population or specific categories of people: merchants, people from the *contado*, friars, and all clergymen: everyone was reminded of the need to request and check health passes for both people and goods. In a 1585 decree aimed at gate guards, for instance, the Assunteria di Sanità provides specific instructions for them on health passes: those guarding the main gates of Bologna—Porta Santo Stefano, Porta di Strada Maggiore, Porta Galliera, Porta Navile, and Porta San Felice—‘must not let anyone who is coming from outside of Bologna, whether Bolognese or foreigner, enter the city without an authentic *fede di sanità* from a place free from any suspicion of plague’. The decree adds that such *fedi* had to include an indication of the original place of

110 ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, *bollettini* dated 158[X] and 1580; the passage quoted from the latter reads: ‘partono di fuori gl’infrascritti con altre loro fede (non essendo di qui banditi né condannati, né di altro luoco di Stato Ecclesiastico, o città confederate che si sappia)’.

111 ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, two *bollettini* dated 16 May 1577.

112 In the period and documents considered the signature is that of Leone Crescimbeni.
departure, and of the places through which the traveller had passed, with their name and origin; these relevant health passes were to be attached to the new fedi. The guards had to sign them and state which gate the traveller had passed through; then, forms were to be completed and returned to travellers for free (‘sanze far pagar cosa alcuna a chi si sia’).\(^{113}\) Official broadsheets also informed the population of special travel bans on specific cities and countries, and when the danger of contagion was high even travellers with fedi were banned from entering Bologna.\(^{114}\) Indeed, a 1574 decree bans anyone coming from Switzerland, the northern valleys of Italy, and Tirol from entering Bologna ‘on pain of death’ (‘sotto pena della vita’), and other foreigners were immediately forbidden from entering regardless of their passes (‘né con fede né senza fede’).\(^{115}\)

Faced with epidemics spreading through travel and trade routes, administrations certainly needed to keep track of the places from which the plague might arrive. To this purpose the Assunteria di Sanità collected relevant decrees, notifications, and forms (now in two bound volumes in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna: the Bandi bolognesi and Bandi forestieri sopra la peste). The second volume specifically includes decrees and notifications received from neighbouring territories, such as Ferrara, Modena, Florence, Milan, and Venice.\(^{116}\) In almost all of these instances, knowledge of a travel ban instituted by another city led Bolognese authorities to impose one, too. To name but one example, a Bolognese decree of October 1583 enforced a travel ban on people and goods arriving from Vienna following the example of Venice, and the decree explicitly mentions

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\(^{113}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, Avvertimenti, et ordini che dovranno essere osservati da ciascuna guardia deputata per conto della Sanità a qual si voglia porta della città di Bologna (Bologna: [n.pub.], 23 September 1585), broadsheet: ‘Che non lascino in modo alcuno li guardiani deputati delle cinque porte principali entrar qual si voglia forestiero o terriero che venghi di fuori del territorio di Bologna senza fede autentica di sanità fatta in luogo libero di ogni sospetto di peste’. The first bollettini in n. 110 above had also the wording ‘gratis’ on them, another recurrent annotation.

\(^{114}\) Several broadsheets in ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, report lists of banned places printed at the bottom.

\(^{115}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, decree dated 9 October 1574.

\(^{116}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi forestieri sopra la peste: broadsheets banning people and goods from Florence, Milan, Venice, Modena, Ferrara, Parma, Genua, Mantua, as well as cities in France, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Lower Germany, Bohemia, and the British Isles. On this archival fondo and parallel collections in late sixteenth-century Italy, see Cohn Jr, *Cultures of Plague*, pp. 202–207.
correspondence and a *bando* from the Venetian Provveditori della Sanità as the documents that formed the basis of Bologna’s decision.\(^\text{117}\) Bolognese authorities also stored copies of foreign forms; either actual material copies, as in the 1576 Venetian licence for an employee of the public officials of the *sestiere* of San Marco to leave the city for eight days, or broadsheet reproductions of them. Apparently, this practice served to detect forgeries. Indeed, a 1579 decree from Bergamo concludes the list of local public-health measures concerning the plague with the description of the information and official layout of printed health passes from its territory.\(^\text{118}\) **[Figures nos 16-17]** Printed ephemera helped implement public-health measures within Bologna, but also the type of co-operation with other polities that was essential to the purpose of controlling epidemics spreading over different territories.

The same type of combined use and interaction between different types of jobbing printing was instrumental to the control of devotion in post-Tridentine Bologna. It reached its peak under the office of Paleotti, whose diocesan and spiritual reforms had the goal of recovering the ‘true’ Catholic faith and the spirit of the early Church, in compliance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. As we have seen in § 2.1, his reforms made use of printed ephemera in various combinations. Even

\(^{117}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi forestieri sopra la peste, decree dated 14-15 October 1583: ‘[…] intendendosi per lettere de’ Signori Provveditori della Sanità di Venezia e per un loro bando mandato in stampa […] per conformarsi con l’esempio di essa città di Venezia’; decree quoted in n. 38 above. Similar decisions and wording can be read in the broadsheet travel bans at ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi forestieri sopra la peste, *passim*. See Carlo M. Cipolla, ‘Public Health and International Relations’, in his *Fighting the Plague*, pp. 19–50 for the discussion of the use of political and private correspondence across Italian and Europe to inform plague policies.

\(^{118}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi forestieri sopra la peste: September 1576 licence and *Grida per la perfetta esecuzione delle bollette della sanità* (Bergamo: Comin Ventura, 13 November 1579), broadsheet. In the latter case, health passes were differentiated according to how long their bearer had stayed in Bergamo: since birth, and for more or less than forty days. Their validity was first limited to the Duchy of Milan, but subsequently applied to any neighbouring state. Rachel Midura, ‘Policing in Print: Social Control in Spanish and Borromean Milan, 1535–1584’, in *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nina Lamal and Helmer Helmers (Boston: Brill) [in press], reports a diplomatic incident between Bergamo and Milan in 1575 around the construction by the Duchy of *cassotti*, or toll-stations, within the Venetian territory for inspecting people and goods and stemming the tide of plague; the memory may have been well alive four years later, when the plague was still ravishing northern Italy. I wish to express my gratitude to Rachel for drawing my attention to this episode, and for discussing with me earlier versions of her essay, which has been a great inspiration for the writing of § 2.2.
ecclesiastical censorship of printed matter, first promoted in the 1559 Index (which was distributed and reprinted throughout the Italian peninsula as a broadsheet) benefitted from the different tools of jobbing printing. Often, it was aimed at the very printers and booksellers who produced it.

With respect to religious ceremonies and devotions, for everyday and special occasions, printed ephemera helped both to notify the Bolognese faithful and provide them with licensed devotional material. Forms were distributed to inform the faithful of the special services taking place, for instance, when the papal seat happened to be vacant. As mentioned in § 2.1, after Pope Gregory XIV died on 16th of October 1591, masses and sermons were organized both in his memory and in support of the on-going conclave. In Bologna, the archdiocese handed out polizze, or handbills, to control when people were to attend such services. Certain categories received special instructions: women were called to gather at the church of the Corpo di Cristo ‘at the times and on the days that we will order through polizze to be published in print’ (‘nel tempo e nei giorni che si ordineranno nelle polizze le quali sopra ciò si publicheranno in istampa’), while processions from convents and by the local confraternities were also organized using different polizze. On this occasion, the same Oratione pubblica that I discussed in § 2.1 was distributed as a printed form to the local public. [Figure no. 18] Small printed notices further served to remind parish priests of specific people or institutions to include in their commendations during the Sunday service, or how to recite the evening prayer that they were to teach the faithful. [Figure no. 19] One undated form for the latter purpose also included the relevant Instruttione to be read to the parish faithful on the times and ways to gather the

119 AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 772: Ordini delle messe, orationi et processioni, che fare si doveranno in questa sede vacante, per la elettione del sommo Pontefice, et anco per li bisogni della città nostra di Bologna (Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 21 October 1591), broadsheet.
120 Ibid.: ‘E così, successivamente, si anderà distribuendo la detta Oratione nelle parrocchie della città, alli giorni e tempi che si publicheranno nelle polizze stampate durante detta sede vacante’.
121 AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 772, form dated 9 December 1561 to include the churches of the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem in the recommendations during the liturgy for the Advent and the Christmas festivities; the address of the form is filled in by hand: ‘Priore de’ Padri Scalzi’.
family to pray (‘nel modo che si contiene nella scrittura stampata’).\textsuperscript{122} Compared to other cases such as the \textit{polizze} summoning people to the prior’s mass at the Oratory of the Bolognese Confraternita di Santa Maria della Morte (see § 2.1), forms and notices employed for disseminating common prayers and news of public processions and sermons worked first and foremost in co-operation with larger-format printed ephemera, as references between the different types were plentiful.

Catechism schools were at the centre of both Paleotti’s reforms and devotional policing practices. In 1576, Paleotti created the Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana for running catechism classes aimed at the Bolognese youth as well as providing them with some primary education (see § 2.1 for further detail). To make sure that the plan worked, the (arch-)bishopric issued a wealth of bureaucratic printed ephemera. Decrees outlined how doctrinal classes were to be taught, as in the \textit{Informatione per li padri reverendi Padri Predicatori sopra il modo, et ordine [...] in insegnare la Dottrina Christiana a putti, et putte}, and banned any disruption to the same.\textsuperscript{123} For instance, one decree—issued by the Cardinal Legate Antonio Maria Salviati—declared that by its proclamation and posting through the city, and especially at the church doors where catechism classes were given, the local population was deemed officially notified (‘et del presente bando si presumerà che ogn’uno abbi avuta notizia et scienzia, publicato che sarà alli luoghi soliti della città et affisso in stampa a tutte le chiese delle scole sudette et altri luoghi publici’).\textsuperscript{124} Furthermore, the (arch-)bishopric also issued printed notices of all kinds. Some notified parish priests to remind parents to send their children to catechism classes and to help with running them, for instance as room supervisors; in some cases they specifically mentioned the need to target poor parents during the distribution of alms. Others informed the more educated women of Bologna, who taught in the classes for young women (the \textit{putte}), of

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{122} AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, undated form.
\textsuperscript{123} AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, \textit{Informatione per li padri reverendi Padri Predicatori sopra il modo, et ordine che si tiene in Bologna in insegnare la Dottrina Christiana a putti, et putte}, undated and signed by Ludovico Nucci.
\textsuperscript{124} AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, \textit{Bando contra quelli che disturbano, et impediscono gli operarii della Dottrina Christiana} (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1586), broadsheet.
\end{footnotes}
particular meetings of the Compagnia. Licences were also released to school teachers from local parishes in order to certify their capacity to teach doctrine, as well as grammar, in such classes.\textsuperscript{125} [Figures nos 20-22] The purpose of catechism classes was not only didactic, for they also functioned as assembly points from which pupils moved to attend religious processions. Thus, several blank and completed forms of various formats document the organization of the procession of the Corpus Domini, held in the cathedral of S. Pietro. The printed forms informed the class teachers of the day, time, and local church where pupils were to gather as a starting point from which they left under the banner of their parish school, following a precise route within the city and singing hymns along the way. One of these forms further describes how pupils were to carry with them their own printed copy of the Dottrina Christiana (‘portando in mano ciascuno il libretto della Dottrina’), the booklet commissioned by Paleotti (see § 2.1).\textsuperscript{126} [Figures nos 23-25] In this case, the integration between different types of printed ephemera stretched so far as to include booklets and devotional pamphlets.

A particular bureaucratic process, mixing decrees and forms, further policed liturgical exemptions, especially from the usual food restrictions during Lent. This process can be reconstructed from the inclusion of the relevant regulations and licences in the \textit{Episcopale Bononiensis} published by Paleotti in 1580.\textsuperscript{127} In the chapter on ‘things relevant to the observation of Lent’, we read that the sick and poor requesting to eat prohibited food, chiefly meat, had to be visited by their parish priest and a physician. Each of these then completed a form testifying to the sincerity of the person’s request and their condition; an appointed clergyman from the diocese then collected such forms, verified their conformity to

\textsuperscript{125} AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, undated forms signed by Ludovico Nucci; three forms dated 20 February 1578; and undated form.
\textsuperscript{126} AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, several undated forms. See § 2.1 for how the (arch-)bishopric issued and designed devotional booklets and other cheap print and their used by the local clergy. On the Bolognese processions of the Corpus Domini, see Mario Fanti, ‘Le decennali Eucaristiche a Bologna: una tradizione tra passato e futuro’, in \textit{La religiosità popolare tra manifestazione di fede ed espressione culturale. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Bologna nel 1987} (Bologna: EDB, 1988), pp. 81–86.
\textsuperscript{127} AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 771, \textit{Episcopale Bononiensis civitatis et dioecesis. Raccolta di varie cose, che in diversi tempi sono state ordinate da Monsignor Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinale Paleotti Vescovo di Bologna per lo buon governo della sua città e diocese} (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1580).
the ‘licensed printed layout’ (‘secondo la forma impressa’), and handed out the final bollettino granting the requested exemption. Following relevant instructions aimed at each of these people, the Episcopale reprints the different forms used for the purpose, all with the spaces for the names left blank.128 [Figure no. 26] Instructions on how to complete the forms are set out in close detail: first of all, parish priests, physicians, and the appointed diocesan representative were not allowed to ‘change, nor add any word to those printed [on the form], except for their signature and the applicant’s ailment’. Moreover, the forms to be handed out the applicant were to be distributed together but registered in two separate books to avoid any confusion.129 The physicians, in particular, were required to have graduated in Bologna, to exercise their profession publicly, and to come to the (arch-)bishopric to sign an appointed book ‘so that their signature could not be forged’.130 Lastly, like other policing forms, all fedi were distributed for free, especially to the poor.131 At the same time, the instructions concerning these fedi had their own circulation in printed form. A 1577 decree, reprinted in the Episcopale, reports how these instructions were to be printed separately ‘so that everyone will be able to read them’.132 Policing of food exemptions needed to be specific and exhaustive; a multitude of printed forms offered therefore the most functional and adaptable way possible to the purpose of transforming devotional concerns into bureaucratic processes.

The extent to which the inclusion of forms was essential to Paleotti’s publications is also evident from other passages of the Episcopale. First, forms for food exemptions are not the only type to be reprinted there. Various licences in blank form appear there, all to be signed by the same Paleotti. Forms include

128 Ibid., fols 190r-192r (‘la fede del medico e la fede del curato sottoscritte da loro semplicemente, né mutata o aggiunta alcuna parola alle stampate, eccetto che i nomi propri e della indisposizione’) and 193r.
129 Ibid., fols 190r-v.
130 Ibid., fols 190v-191r: ‘acciò la mano sua non sia fraudata da alcun’altro’.
131 Ibid., fol. 191v: ‘Nelle parrocchie numerose de poveri li curati doveranno havere presso di sé qualche numero di licenze stampate, dandole gratis alli poveri che non hanno comodità di mandare alla piazza a pigliarle. E li curati che non ne haveranno potranno mandarne a pigliare in Vescovato’.
132 Ibid., fol. 190r, Bando per la Quaresima: ‘si sono ancora stampati separatamente gli avvertimenti intorno alle fedi che si haveranno a fare dalli curati e dalli medici e licenze da darsi alli deputati, che ciascuno potrà leggere’.

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certifications of the capacity of foreign priests to celebrate mass, at major churches as well as smaller oratories, and of any priest to exercise pastoral care (the *cura delle anime*) and to administer the sacrament of confession; notifications about the display of local relics—such as the Sacred Girdle—in a certain church at a given time; requests for further information on the clergy who accommodated pupils in their homes; licenses for priests to keep servants and to leave their parish for a limited number of days, including for health reasons or to pursue studies in Bologna (‘per dare opera alli studi in Bologna’); permissions for not sporting the ecclesiastical tonsure; and certificates confirming the acquisition of the religious orders. Paleotti’s successors followed his example and collected printed forms together with other documents pertaining to their governance of the archdiocese: among the documents of Alessandro Ludovisi (in office since 1612 and in 1621 elected Pope Gregory XV), for instance, we find a half-page printed marriage certificate form in Latin and a printed pass to attest that its bearer had been to communion, also in Latin. [Figure no. 27] Similarly to the Assunteria di Sanità’s collection of copies of health passes and notifications regarding the plague, the (arch-)bishopric gathered decrees and forms from Bologna and beyond for reference, to provide information and support to the implementation of policies (see § 2.1), and for bureaucratic checks and the release of new documents. With the inclusion and reprinting of such ephemera in his publications, Paleotti pushed their use further: standard, licensed versions of the (arch-)bishopric’s documents were now essential tools for pastoral government and the policing of devotion.

A further dimension of policing involved the control of people’s movements and social deportment. In post-Tridentine Bologna, both civic and ecclesiastical authorities resorted to jobbing printing for this purpose. Measures and legislation

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133 Ibid., fols 255r-259r. See ibid. for another licence form allowing priests to teach in the catechism parish schools of the Dottrina Christiana.
134 AABo, Miscellanea vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 772, folder ‘Atti arcivescovili di diversi ordini di Monsignor Alessandro Ludovisi Arcivescovo IV. Dall’anno 1612 al 1618 con suo indice in principio’, ‘Testimonium parochi de matrimonii denuntiationibus’ and ‘Fede da farsi alli comunicati nella metropoli e altre chiese della città e diocese’; while the marriage certificate bears the date ‘161[X]’ in print, the communication *fede* is dated 1576 but corrected by hand.
reached the broad local audience—which they also targeted—mostly in the form of printed broadsheets, but militia watches and ecclesiastical visits also contributed to the effectiveness of such policing in the wider urban sphere.

Bans and decrees limiting personal movement during plague outbreaks were not the only arrow in the quiver of civic magistracies, for certain categories of people regularly faced restrictions and outright bans on their mobility. Peddlars, vagrants, and minorities such as Roma and Jews appear over and over again in decrees policing their presence or ordering them to leave the territory of Bologna. The 1590 Nuovo, et iterato bando contro i forestieri, e vagabondi, hebrei, e otiosi, e quelli del contá di Bologna, for instance, revoked all licences given to these individuals and forced them to leave Bologna within just eight days. When not prompted by decrees, individual forms banned specific people belonging to minorities and marginalized communities, as especially happened to Roma people. The aforementioned 1590 decree further specifies its target as otiosi, that is, idle, homeless individuals. The authorities also targeted comedians and gamblers, who were closely associated with the destitute and vagrants, often forbidding them from entering hospitals and other charitable institutions. Sometimes bans concerned occasions when people were particularly concentrated

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137 See the several printed decrees against Roma preserved at ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste.

138 Bando contra a forfanti vagabondi, comedianti, cingari, et giocatori. Con la commissione ai capitani delle porte, guardiani di hospitali, hosti, et a chi tiene a camera […] (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 17 January 1566), broadsheet, BCAB, 17.E.II.38 op. 2 [BM 456].
within public areas, like Carnival or the processions of San Luca. Certain bandi delle rogationi policed the presence of certain categories, such as vagrants and prostitutes in the urban space, and even prohibited their attendance at the relevant processions. While prostitution was not banned outright, women of the profession were regularly barred from public spaces or forbidden to wear specific clothes and accessories. Giulio Cesare Croce jokes about this in his Consolazione alle cortigiane, where he comforts the prostitutes that cannot attend Carnival.

The civic and ecclesiastical authorities of Bologna combined their efforts in policing attendance at ceremonies and devotions. Examples are the 1567 Bando sopra le meretrici, issued by Cardinal Paleotti, the Governor Giovan Battista Doria and the Gonfaloniere Emilio Zambeccari, and the 1571 Bando per l’osservantia delle feste et giorni di mercato by Paleotti and the Cardinal Legate Alessandro Sforza. Marginalizing and confessionalized attitudes went hand in hand with public-health measures that policed the mobility of people, and that took a concrete form in an interconnected system of individual printed handbills and widely disseminated broadsheets.

In order to ensure the effectiveness of policing via printed ephemera, people were also called on to co-opt with its enforcing or to appropriate printed paperwork in their professional and social lives. All kinds of people helped to enforce regulations and the observance of spiritual duties, and some were even practically...

139 AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 772, bando delle rogazioni (Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1611), broadsheet: ‘Con questo presente bando espressamente si commanda che nessuna donna di mala vita debba li giorni di domenica, lunedì, martedì, e mercoredi delle Rogationi sudette andar per le strade o nelle chiese ove deve passare la medesima santissima imagine sotto pena di cento scudi, d’applicarsi come di sotto, e della frusta, ovo essiglio, ovo tre mesi di prigionia’. See the 1619 bando delle rogazioni printed by Vittorio are ibid. and further ones at ASBo, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, Campioni e Miscellanee – Serie VIII, vol. 26 ‘Notizie, memorie e stampe dei viaggi della Beata Vergine di San Luca, XV-XVII’; see n. 93 above.

140 Giulio Cesare Croce, Consolazione alle cortigiane, che non possono andare in maschera in questo carnevale. Opera nuova, e non più stampata (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi, 1634), 8°, [4] fols, BL, 1071.g.10.(12.).

141 Bando sopra le meretrici che debbano habitare nelle contrade assignateli […] (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1567), 4°, [2] fols, BCAB, A.VI.VIII/II. vol. 9 op. 19 [BM 529], and Bando per l’osservantia delle feste, et giorni di mercato (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1571), half-broadsheet, BUB, Raro C 88/58 [BM 720].
responsible for the distribution and checking of *fedi* and licences: inn- and shopkeepers, but also maids and heads of families. In this way, control over the devotion and deportment of Bolognese people trickled down from the authorities to touch the core of the family and individual spheres. Printed ephemera for policing purposes not only embodied a range of bureaucratic policies, they first and foremost provided the basis for casting a net on the broad urban population in order to enforce wider, deeper controls over it.

First of all, parish priests had a role in the application of public-health measures. For instance, they saw to the distribution and verification of health passes. In a 1576 notification signed by Paleotti’s secretary Ludovico Nucci, parish priests of the whole diocese of Bologna were reminded

> not to host or shelter any foreigner who is devoid of an authorized *fede di sanità*, following the orders and decrees of the public-health officials [and to] send someone as soon as possible to Bologna, especially those of you who live more than ten or twelve miles from it, so as to obtain the printed *fedi* without paying for them, which you will then have to subscribe only for those living in your parish and in their presence, once they will need to come to the city.

The priests were also required to read such instructions regularly to their parishioners, and remind them of the described procedure for obtaining health passes in public sermons and during confession.\(^{142}\) Indeed, the survival of blank printed *fedi* to be signed by parish priests corresponds with such instructions.\(^{143}\)

**[Figure no. 28]** Moreover, the 1606 statutes of the Protomedicato (a specialized board within the Bolognese College of Medicine, see below) stated that controls

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\(^{142}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, broadsheet (Bologna: [n. pub.], 28 July 1576): ‘Essortareté il vostro popolo che stia vigilante e non alloggi o in altro modo dia ricetto ad alcun forastiero che non habbia fede autentica della sanità, secondo gl’ordini de Signori Officiali e bandi, e ove accadesse ne av visino li predetti Signori officiali o vero li loro deputati de luoghi […] Manderete ancor quanto prima a Bologna, massime voi che sete più lontani di dieci o dodici miglia, da questi illustri signori Officiali sopra la Sanità, che vi faranno dare le fedi stampate gratis quali havrete di poi a sottoscrivere per quelli della vostra cura solamente et in loro presentia, a quando gl’accaderà di venire a Bologna […] Leggerete questa al vostro popolo spesse volte, e voi nelli sermoni e confessioni, secondo la opportunità, lo terrete raccordato a ciascuno’.

\(^{143}\) ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, *passim*. 

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ensuring local medical professionals conformed to its regulations could be carried out not only by the board’s own officials, but also by pastoral visitors, following their introduction and establishment according to the reforms of Council of Trent.\footnote{See Rosa, \textit{Medicina e salute pubblica}, pp. 29–30, which refers to the statutes and general decrees preserved at ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Collegio di Medicina ed arti, bb. 233 and 234. On pastoral visits in post-Tridentine Bologna, see Mario Fanti, ‘Il fondo delle “visite pastorali” nell’Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna’, \textit{Archiva Ecclesiae}, 22–23 (1979), 151–167, while more broadly on the topic see \textit{Le visite pastorali: analisi di una fonte}, ed. by Angelo Turchini and Umberto Mazzone, 2nd edn (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990).}

The civic and ecclesiastical authorities also co-opted lay people into their strategies for policing devotion at different stages. Maids and kitchen servants were encouraged to inform parish priests if food restrictions during Lent were broken by their masters; they were also responsible for preparing foods that complied with the relevant prescriptions.\footnote{AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 771, fol. 191r. Milner, “Fanno bandire”, 133, similarly describes town criers as figures who walked a fine line between enabling and policing civic life, for they acted as the voice of the rulers while still being part of the ruled.} Furthermore, shop keepers had to keep an eye on their apprentices and shop boys, ‘just like fathers do on sons and masters on servants’, according to a 1573 \textit{Avvertimenti per li maestri di botteghe et loro ministri, et gargioni}.\footnote{AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 771, fol. 217v: ‘Si essorta che gli maestri di bottega siano quelli che diano esempio alli altri in tutte le sopradette cose, e per memoria di ciascuno tengano questi avvertimenti affissi nelle loro botteghe in luogo che possano essere veduti et letti da tutti’.} Among other things, they were required to test any subordinates on their knowledge of the Dottrina Christiana and the main prayers, and to ensure that anyone in the shop celebrated feast days by refraining from work and attending mass. To make sure these and other prescriptions were followed, the same \textit{Avvertimenti} explicitly order that shop-keepers post a copy of the instructions ‘in their shops, in such a place that anyone would be able to see and read them’. Another category of the local population that was actively co-opted into policing was publicans and inn-keepers. Taverns and inns in early modern Europe were not just hotels and (sometimes) harbours of intoxicated and out-law individuals, but also central to the political and social life of communities. Evidence from Bologna particularly suggests their role as intermediaries in
policing. Inn-keepers were to make sure patrons complied with the ecclesiastical and civic legislation; for instance, it was their responsibility to ask for authenticated licences when it came to granting food exemptions during Lent, on Fridays, and on feast days – the exact same licences that, as we saw earlier, a priest and physician had to sign. A 1585 decree further imposed that no foreigners were to stay, eat, or stop at any tavern ‘unless they can show a fede di sanità in print and subscribed in full, describing their age, complexion, hair colour, height, and goods they carry. Such fedi must be approved by the public-health officials appointed for the territory the patrons will be staying in, and through which they will be passing’. Inn-keepers could not plead ignorance of such regulations, for decrees had to be posted on their inns’ walls. At times, inns functioned as sites for the purgation and quarantine of goods, as documented in 1576 for the Bolognese Osteria del Leoncino, situated outside Porta San Felice.

Printers and booksellers became unlikely assistants in the policing and censorship of print production and distribution, and not only its potential targets. After the Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1559 and the founding of the relevant Congregazione in 1571, printed decrees and notifications kept the people and especially the inhabitants of the territories of the Papal State informed about prohibitions and requirements in matters of reading and ownership of books. Copies of the same Index were published and printed in Rome and reprinted locally in Bologna after the first ‘regional’ Index of 1580. A considerable quantity of printed regulations specifically targeted the professionals of the print trade. A *Bando generale contro librari, et venditori di libri, et stampatori* was first issued on 14 May 1562 in Rome and extended to the whole Papal State, so that it was promptly reprinted in Bologna in less than ten days. In 1573, Paleotti issued his own version of the decree, where he also explicitly stated that booksellers ‘had to post these orders in their shops and follow them lawfully’ (‘[…] che ciascuno libraro debba havere questi ordini affissi nella bottega e gli osservi inviolabilmente.’). Booksellers and owners of printshops abided by this rule, and also kept extra copies of decrees for distribution: in 1596, one could find copies of an updated version of the Clementine Index of the same year in the

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bookshop of the heirs of Giovanni Rossi. Specific notifications were sent out to some professionals, such as printers, as in 1601 when the Bolognese Inquisitor warned them not to print anonymously, without the required *imprimatur*, or to include ungodly or immoral images and texts in their editions. [Figure no. 29] Ecclesiastical authorities did not only resort to printed broadsheets, however. When they issued updates or specifications to the list of prohibited books, smaller printed notifications and forms were used, often focussed on one or two titles each. Among the surviving notifications of this kind, we find specific prohibitions of ‘infamous’ editions such as the *Repubblica* by Jean Bodin (1529-1596, first published in France in 1576 as *Les six livres de la République*), of Venetian missals and litanies translated into the vernacular, but above all of the works of Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623) during the crisis of the Venetian Interdict. A 1606 notification concerning two relevant works by Sarpi the prohibition applied explicitly to the editions printed by the Venetian *tipografo* Roberto Meietti (1572-1634). [Figure no. 30] Other notifications, on the other hand, targeted Bolognese editions, such as one issued in 1607 against the *Tractatus de iure principum* by the Venetian Agostinian Paolo Ciera (1575-1647)—incidentally, supporting the position of Rome—printed in Bologna in that year by the heir of Giovanni Rossi, Perseo. [Figure no. 31] Bureaucratic printed ephemera made possible policing the production and distribution of printed matter to the level of single specific editions.

Bolognese people also engaged with printed ephemera by using them in order to...

155 AABO, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 774, *Prorogatione del termine assegnato per la nota de’ libri prohibit nell’Indice nuovamente publicato* (Bologna: [n.pub.], 14 July 1596): ‘[…] esso editto [the original decree here extended] stampato da gl’eredi di Giovanni Rossi, presso de’ quali anchora si trova, dove potrà ciascuno averlo quando ancor non l’avessi havuto o veduto’.
158 AABO, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 774, printed notifications dated 1607 but unsubscribed.
create their public persona, whether stemming from their class or profession. Printed ephemera issued by the Bolognese studium were not limited to the everyday bureaucratic needs of its students and professors or to publicizing their academic prousions and anatomy classes, as we shall see in § 2.3. One particular kind of printed document, student matriculation forms, had wider implications for its carriers. Matriculation forms served to prove a student’s identity: they stated their name, birth-place, and areas of origin, or Nation (natio). First and foremost an identification document, the matriculation form spoke for the social position of the carrier too, for the forms also certified the special rights students had as a privileged social group in Bologna, which included exemption from customs checks of their belongings. While some matriculation forms simply refer to the ‘rights of their status’ in general terms, others explicitly mention permission to carry weapons in the public space (‘quo ad delationem armorum’), one of the distinctive features of students, especially of noble status, and professors in the Bolognese studium.  

159 [Figure no. 32] Sometimes, university beadles were allowed to carry weapons, too, but first and foremost this expression of class and social status involved the students’ personal servants.  

160 [Figure no. 33] The matriculation books of the universitates allowed these licences to be cross-referenced, as one addition in the hand of Valerio Belvisi—the secretary of the universitas of Legists and Artists—suggests in 1603.  

161 Furthermore, cardinal legates issued broadsheets listing the names of doctors from the Bolognese studium who were granted licences to carry weapons.  

162 [Figure no. 34] Weapon

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159 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), various printed forms On the right of university students to carry a weapon like nobles, see Rainer A. Müller, ‘Student Education, Student Life’, in A History of the University in Europe, ed. by Walter Rüegg, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), vol. II ‘Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)’, ed. by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, pp. 326–354, especially pp. 332–333. See also the Conclusion for the impact of this privilege on episodes of violence in early modern Bologna.  


161 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 399 (years 1540-1610), early 1600s blank form: ‘Vide formam matricularum artistarum impressarum in libro actorum mei Valerii Belvisii notarius cancellarius artistarum sub die 6 Novembris anni 1603’.  

162 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Nucleo Attuariale, vol. 259, various broadsheets. The earliest decree of this type surviving here dates to 1639, while relevant printed forms span across
licences usually fell under the remit of the representatives of the papal rule in Bologna, i.e., the legate, vice-legate, and governor, who shared the city’s governance equally and as a consequence the responsibility over the deportment and devotional policing of the public space, such as on gambling, swearing, defamation, duels, etc.. By policing and the identities and privileges of Bolognese students, matriculation forms also controlled what was legitimate in the broader public space.

Other printed ephemera issued by the Bolognese studium combined the acknowledgement of—and possibility to display—one’s public persona with the statutory need for public certifications within certain professions. For instance, the representative body of the Bolognese College of Medicine granted membership to physicians who had graduated in the city and who were consequently allowed to exercise their profession there. To this end, the College issued licences that certified the medical status of the bearer, and the certification described the operations they were allowed to perform. Professional licences ranged from barber-surgeons (tonsores, who were allowed to perform surgery: ‘tonsor Bononiensis artem chirurgicam exercendi’), to more specific operations, for example bloodletting for therapeutic purposes, as in a form for ‘removing blood’ (‘extrahendi sanguinem’). [Figure no. 35] Medical professional bodies also policed the public image of physicians via printed ephemera. Regulations on the selling of medical concoctions and remedies by street sellers, quacks, and charlatans regularly proclaimed the distinction between them and the individuals who belonged to established medical institutions. Sometimes, the specific act of advertising on the street via printed broadsheets and banners communicated this distinction. In 1614, the Roman medical authorities issued a decree valid for all their territories, instructing that licensed sellers of medications ‘shall not distribute the century. However, examination of the correspondence between matriculation book entries, forms, and these decrees goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

163 See ASBo, Assunteria di Sanità, Bandi bolognesi sopra la peste, Bandi generali dell’illustissimo et reverendissimo Monsignor Fabio Mirto Arcivescovo di Nazaretto Governatore di Bologna (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 17-19 February 1575), 4°, [8] fols [BM 905], A2v-A3v, especially fol. A3v: ‘Ordiniamo che da questo in poi tutte le licenze di portare arme habbiano da essere sottoscritte di nostra mano, e che altrmente non vaglino né si menino bone’. Fabio Mirti was Governor of Bologna in January 1576, and then from February that year to December 1576.

164 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Nucleo Attuariale, vol. 259, various printed forms.
broadsheets or any other writings, printed or handwritten, or display tables or posters describing the virtues and qualities of such things'. As in the case of censoring print production, jobbing printing both worked in favour of medical professionals and facilitated their policing. In their capacity as public writings, some printed ephemera marked as distinct the categories of individuals who were allowed to handle them in the public space.

Jobbing printing also served to police medicine in post-Tridentine Bologna in the form of the regulations issued by and aimed at the profession, broadly conceived. Chemists, apothecaries, physicians, surgeons, but also doctors of natural philosophy and charlatans all exercised professions associated with the cure and preservation of health in the broader public space, regardless of their status within the profession and of their connection to the health magistracies of Bologna. In particular, the Arte degli Speziali, the guild of pharmacists and apothecaries, resorted to jobbing printing in order to make its bylaws and relevant professional regulations public. Bylaws appeared as in quarto publications, a handy format for reference use by individuals or smaller groups, and at specific times within the year, either early summer or the beginning of the calendar year.

Specific times were also set for regular checks of apothecary shops so as to verify their compliance with the regulations on the selling and preparation of medications. In this way, printed lists of medications worked to provide guidance on what needed to be publicly available in Bolognese apothecary shops, but also about the times the Protomedicato—a specialized board with court and policing functions within the College of Medicine which ruled over medical matters of public interest—checked medical concoctions and remedies. The 1606

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165 _Bando del Protomedico per Roma e per tutto lo Stato Ecclesiastico_, dated 1614, ASBo, Collegio di Medica, b. 233, published in Pomata, _Contracting a Cure_, n. 62. On the licensing and policing of charlatans in early modern Italy, see more broadly David Gentilcore, _Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy_ (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Conventioni of the Arte degli Speziali divided medications into five classes depending on the times of the year when the Protomedicato inspected their preparation. A first class included medications that had to be readily available at any time (‘index rerum medicinalium quae in pharmacopoeiarum Bononiensium existere debent et quae in unaquaque visitatione semper a Protomedicis erunt inspicienda’), while the other four categories required inspections at the end of March, June, September, and December.167

More than any other medium, jobbing printing gave a public, accessible face to the policing of the medical profession in the urban context. The Protomedicato and the College of Medicine further collaborated with the Arte degli Speziali in the regulation of prices of medications in the tasse, lists of essential medications to be kept in apothecary shops for which the mentioned bodies provided the fixed, official price. Tasse were published in folio (and more rarely quarto) formats and constantly re-issued throughout the seventeenth century (and beyond) in order to keep the information on Bolognese medications publicly available and updated.168 [Table no. 2.2]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nova tassa et dichiaratione del prezzo delle cose medicinali, fatta dalli signori priore et protomedici del Collegio di Bologna e dal massaro et assonti della Compagnia de gli Speciali l’anno 1601 il di 15 di giugno (Bologna: Eredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1601), 2°, 20 pp., FCRB, SASSOLI OP 0500 00791</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tassa de’ medicinali ultimamente stabilita dall’eccellentissimo Collegio di Medicina et honoranda Compagnia de’ Speciali della citta di Bologna (Bologna: Erede del Benacci, 1637), 2°, 28 pp., FCRB, SASSOLI OP 0200 01300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


168 Pomata, Contracting a Cure, p. 66, n. 42, reports a first printed edition in 1587 of the Nuova tassa e dichiaratione del prezzo delle cose medicinali but I was unable to locate it.
Table no. 2.2: Tassa editions from post-Tridentine Bologna.

Compared to other Italian contexts, Bolognese medicine shows a preference for printed ephemera when issuing statutes and especially medication lists. In Medicean Florence, for instance, tariff publications for medications appeared mostly in lavish folio publications. The *Ricettario fiorentino di nuovo illustrato* of 1670 is a substantial edition, presenting complex engraving inserts throughout the text and on the title-page. Here, the depictions of Saints Cosmas and Damian and of the Medicean coat of arms echo the lengthy dedication to Cosimo III (1642-1723) from the local College of Doctors. The edition also goes so far as to reprint the decrees relating to the Florentine guild of the apothecaries since 1556.169

Admittedly, in Bologna medical price lists also appeared in lengthier, sumptuous official publications called *antidotarii.*170 Yet other institutions and commercial

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guilds, such as the Università dei Mercanti, repeatedly engaged with jobbing printing when the purpose of publishing tariff broadsheets was above all to make policing public. Its use also led to standardization of practices in this area, such as the regular reissuing and reprinting of regulations in broadsheet form, out of the necessity to keep the content publicly visible and updated, as well as to reinforce its validity against repeated contraventions.

From an institutional standpoint, printed ephemera used for policing the public uses of medicine and health also testify to the evolution of the relevant professional bodies. The regulations expressed in some of the ephemera mentioned here reflected developments internal to the governing bodies. In Bologna, the Arte degli Speziali had traditionally been responsible for the government of the apothecaries’ profession and thus of the quality of medical treatments and their sale to the public in their shops. In 1568, however, the speziali lost jurisdiction over this specific sphere to the Protomedicato (it also had started to formally respond to the College in 1551). Indeed, the City Senate had some years earlier transformed the Protomedicato into a permanent—although not senatorial—magistracy, and supported it with a public provision similar to that given to the studium. Among its public duties the Protomedicato counted the inspection of the medications entering Bologna at the city’s customs offices, but it was the acquisition of jurisdiction over long-established guilds such as apothecaries and barber surgeons that led to significant changes in the regulation of their profession. With respect to the aforementioned tasse, the College of Medicine licensed the content, and the Protomedicato was called to inspect the apothecaries’ work. As a result, printed the Arte degli Speziali around the preparation of the theriac, the standard early modern remedy against plague and a key element of antidotarii.

171 See for instance the Tassa delli pagamenti delle mercedi quali debbono havere gli notari del foro de mercanti di Bologna dalli litiganti per gl’atti infrascritti et scritture fatte per le cause che si agitano in detto foro, cavata dalli statuti et altre provisioni dell’istesso foro (Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1614), broadsheet, BNCF, MAGL.11.1.400/s, online at https://teca.bnCF.firenze.sbn.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=BNCF0003158422 [last accessed 24 June 2020].

172 The information for this paragraph is taken from Pomata, Contracting a Cure, especially the chapters ‘A Doctors’ Tribunal’, pp. 1–24, and ‘The Medical System as Seen by the Doctors’, pp. 56–94.
ephemera did not just act as bureaucratic tools, but as official documents that further cemented the newly introduced public role of the Protomedicato with respect to the policing of the composition, quality, and price of medications.
§ 2.3
Printed Ephemera for the Studium

The Bolognese studium is a significant example of the expanding number of institutions in post-Tridentine Bologna that resorted to jobbing printing for their everyday functions and needs. The studium also offers evidence of a more complex type of support of, and engagement with, the medium, which this section will explore. First, the studium as an institution occupied a middle ground: not a direct emanation of the Bolognese government, its financial and advisory structures placed it, however, firmly under the control and supervision of the City Senate, which ruled over new appointments, salaries, and the allocation of money to studium initiatives. The situation changed by the end of the period considered in this thesis, for in the early seventeenth century cardinal legates ended up exercising direct jurisdiction over the studium and especially its students. Second, the studium acted simultaneously as a commissioner of jobbing printing, like the authorities and institutions examined in § 2.1, and an audience for it. Instead of simply commissioning printed ephemera or using them on the urban population, the academic staff and students within the studium also read and used them as practical bureaucratic tools, as in the case of broadsheet for academic calendars and lists of student faculty councils. As a result, this section offers an organic link to Chapter 3, devoted to the engagement of the broad urban public with cheaply-printed objects.

More specifically, the use of jobbing printing by the Bolognese studium shows how its adaptability to various functions was the key aspect sought after when choosing this medium. Printed ephemera such as the just-mentioned academic calendars and rotuli were clearly cheap and quick products of the press. However, another type of ephemeral jobbing printing for the studium involved theses, which in the early seventeenth century showed the first signs of a long-term transformation by using printmaking techniques—i.e., copperplate instead of just letterpress printing—as well as luxury support materials (such as silk) and a complex imagery. Despite their transformation into more expensive, collectable items, they still worked in the same way as other printed ephemera used in the
Bolognese *studium*, for they served above all to support the everyday needs of its academic staff and students. For the same reason, the *studium* resorted to jobbing printing also for occasional pamphlets to be immediately distributed, such as those publishing inaugural prologues. These editions were sometimes lengthier and most certainly meant for a literate readership, yet their on-demand nature still qualify them as jobbing printing. While the material features of theses and occasional pamphlets may not look like those of other types of cheap print, their commissioning process and functionality as public documents worked in the same way as proclamations and licences.173 The Bolognese *studium* therefore provides a perfect example for the functionality of jobbing printing, and how in this case it could cater to the educated—and often wealthier—élites of the city.

In light of this, this section also shows the impact of the Bolognese *studium* on the use and development of jobbing printing. I begin by exploring how the *studium* commissioned printed ephemera on the administrative level – at times independently, at times in collaboration with the city’s civic authorities, on account of its complex institutional status as a local institution. Expense accounts and other handwritten bureaucratic records show that printed ephemera sat indifferently next to other entries for everyday items, which were all used for the everyday functions of the *studium*, as in the case of payments for matriculation registers and in preparation for masses at the opening of the academic year. I then examine the array of bureaucratic and academic printed matters that the *studium* used and also helped develop, adapting to the printed medium traditional tools and documents, such as printed *rotuli*. Many of these types of printed ephemera were also meant for one-time uses and thus survive in unique copies, as in the case of notices inviting to lectures or public anatomy dissections. I conclude by examining more distinguished products of the press commissioned by the *studium*

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173 In this respect, Petrucci, *La scrittura*, treats official ephemera equally together with monumental epigraphs and graffiti as forms of documents in the public space, or ‘public writings’. See also Richard Kirwan, ‘Function in Form: Single-Sheet Items and the Utility of Cheap Print in the Early Modern German University’, in *Broadsheets*, ed. by Pettigree, pp. 337–354, especially p. 342, where he prioritizes the occasional and bureaucratic nature of single-sheets over their (slightly higher) costs of production for the sake of their inclusion in the category of cheap print. For a discussion of occasional printed ephemera, see also Tavoni, ‘I “materiali minori”’. 

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and thus the varied materiality of the jobbing printing used within it. Here, for instance, I focus on the transformation of printed theses as indicative of the development of the printed ephemera associated with the *studium* between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This three-tier structure aims therefore to offer a comprehensive account of how the Bolognese *studium* and its interconnected bureaucratic and academic needs had an impact on printed ephemera from the commissioning stage to the items themselves.

The combination of administrative and academic functions that the Bolognese *studium* exercised was rooted in the first place in its complex status as an institution. More than its legal and formal standing as a *studium*, what is relevant here is its financial interdependence from the civic authorities of Bologna, which had an impact on the *studium*’s commissioning and support of jobbing printing. In particular, the *studium* adopted the same opportunity-led use of printed ephemera as public documents described in § 2.1 for the other Bolognese holders of power. In the exercise of this financial capacity, the *studium* also resorted to printed ephemera for its everyday functions alongside a vast number of other connected tools and processes, including religious functions and matriculations. Looking at how the *studium* paid for jobbing printing can therefore shed light on its distinctive use and shaping of printed ephemera.

As just stated, the financial structure of the Bolognese *studium* within the political context of the city had a positive impact on the overall way the institution commissioned printing.\(^{174}\) In Bologna, the *studium* depended on the local civic authorities for several of its administrative functions: the committee of the Riformatori dello Studio, made up of civic representatives, proposed hires, proposed hires,

salaries, and disciplinary regulations, but in the course of the sixteenth century a relevant permanent magistracy, the Assunti dello Studio, was set up to report to the City Senate on the *studium’s* affairs and gradually absorbed some of the Riformatori’s functions. This meant that the City Senate ratified the appointment of professors and the setting of their salaries, and that such decisions were recorded in the official book of the Senate’s resolutions, the Partiti. Negotiations between the Riformatori and the Assunti dello Studio also included the commissioning of elaborate learned publications: a flow of documents and reports in the Partiti and *fondi* of the Assunti dello Studio, partly due to commercial failings or censorship problems, documents the production of some of the most significant publications from sixteenth-century Bologna, such as the *Historia Bononiensis*, first commissioned to Achille Bocchi (1488-1562) then to Carlo Sigonio, and the multi-volume *Naturalis historia* of Ulisse Aldrovandi. Other forms of financial support for printing, such as privileges or one-off subventions, came via the funds meant for the *studium*. Initiatives including the founding of the Società Tipografica Bolognese and the relevant ten-year printing privilege given to Giovanni Rossi in 1572, as well as the printing privilege and title of *tipografo camerale* bestowed upon Alessandro Benacci in 1587, were paid from the Bolognese *studium*’s official source of money, the Gabella Grossa (see § 1.1 and § 1.2), over whose administration the City Senate gained more control only at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the same time, scholars have traditionally argued that Bolognese professors played a central role, besides the design and promotion of specific publications, in raising capital and setting up printing presses in the city. This is especially true when the printing technology first started to spread across the Italian peninsula but also for the following

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175 Specifically on the Riformatori, see the historical information in *L’archivio dei Riformatori dello Studio*, while *Gli archivi dello Studio bolognese*, ed. by Giorgio Cencetti (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938) deals with the archival series of the Bolognese *studium* more broadly.

176 On Sigonio’s involvement in the long-lasting endeavour of the *Historia Bononiensis* see Fasoli, *Appunti sulla “Historia Bononiensis”* and eadem, ‘La storia delle storie di Bologna’ (quoted in n. 6 in § 1.1). On Aldrovandi’s *Naturalis historia*, which the City Senate did bring to completion, albeit fifty years after his death, see Tavoni, ‘Stampa e fortuna delle opere di Ulisse Aldrovandi’.

177 On the Società Tipografica Bolognese, see n. 25 in § 1.1. For the Gabella Grossa see the mentions throughout Chapter 1, and in particular the literature quoted in n. 120 in § 1.2.
centuries. Despite this entrepreneurial role of Bolognese professors, and aside from single, distinguished publications, the Bolognese *studium* supported jobbing printing from its ordinary budget. While the City Senate mentioned the benefit of the *studium* as its motivation only in the case of Rossi’s subvention, the explicit addition of extra payments to Vittorio Benacci for the printing of academic calendars (see § 1.1 and § 2.1) shows that in time jobbing printing was considered to be of service to the *studium*, too.

Nevertheless, explicit commissions of jobbing printing can be found scattered through the archival series of the *studium*. On an everyday basis, secretaries of each *universitas* resorted to printed ephemera as part of their wider responsibilities. Expenses and orders—as well as invoices—for printed ephemera therefore figure in no particular sequence in the generic folders of the *universitates*. The Bolognese *studium* made ample use of printed bureaucratic forms (see below), and account books indicate numerous commissions of such items. In a late seventeenth-century case, printed forms were ordered alongside cheaply-printed sonnets. However, the same records list other types of jobbing printing, such as university statutes, and show that these came with different print-related expenses. In 1613, for instance, the professor of philosophy Camillo Baldi (1550-1637) saw to the payment of the statutes of the Artists’ faculty that had been printed the year before by Vittorio Benacci, and that Baldi had edited. On


180 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 401 (years 1631-1707), expense record dated 1697 for the feast of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (celebrated on 25th November): ‘Primo per far stampare cinquecento copie di sonetti e cedole lire cinque e dieci soldi […]’.

181 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), ‘Conti generali dell’Università dei Signori Artisti col Depositario Notario et Signor Dottore Baldi per tutto l’anno 1620’: ‘Quarto quanto all’eccellentissimo Signore Dottore Camillo Baldi troviamo che per un scritto di sua mano delli due di maggio 1613 esso si confessa debitore del Signor Vittorio Benazzi per tanti che li deve l’Università degli’Artisti per haver stampati li suoi
the same occasion, among other things Baldi paid for the copy of the statutes meant for the Cardinal Protector of Bologna Benedetto Giustiniani to be decorated with the cardinal’s seal and his illuminated coat of arms (done this by the renowned Bolognese artist Giovanni Luigi Valesio), and for the tin box in which the copy was sent to Rome. There was no special treatment in the way the *studium* environments commissioned jobbing printing; in fact, these were recorded in the account books alongside all kinds of expenses, from the creation of a cloth banner to the delivery of sermons, robes and gloves, and music and wax candles. In fact, the Quartironi degli Stipendi list a similar variety of expenses, including payments for the printing of the statutes of the university of the Arts, and what it meant that, in contrast to the ones for the Legists, Artists’ statutes were seldom printed throughout the sixteenth century despite the fact that a revision was required every twenty-five years. On Baldi, see Mario Tronti, ‘Baldi, Camillo’, in *DBI*, vol. 5 (1963), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/camillo-baldi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ [last accessed 24 June 2020].

182 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), ‘Conti generali dell’Università dei Signori Artisti col Depositario Notario et Signor Dottore Baldi per tutto l’anno 1620’: order in preparation for the feast of the Holy Spirit [entry dated 1616]; ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), handwritten receipt dated October 1620 and again for the opening of the academic year. In the last instance, the city musician Camillo Cortellini (1561-1630) received four *lire* and ten *soldi* out of a total of seventeen *lire*, and the wax cost ten *lire* on its own; the same receipt lists the commission of printed forms to Vittorio Benacci that I mention in n. 188 below.
for next to the recurring payments for professors’ salaries (and printed academic calendars) we find figures like Capponi and Montalbani receiving money for writing *lunari*, i.e. licensed calendars presenting astronomical and agricultural information. Graduation ceremonies reflected this variety of non-educational expenses, and by the eighteenth century printed notices circulated informing students of the quality and cost of things they needed to pay for when graduating. [Figure no. 36] The Bolognese *studium* treated jobbing printing first and foremost as an ordinary functional expense within a wider bureaucratic system and used it depending on opportunity and need. Less immediately connected to the *studium*, unlike more expensive learned editions of commentaries and treatises, it was printed ephemera that enabled it to perform its academic functions on an everyday basis.

In its capacity as both commissioner and consumer of jobbing printing, the *studium* resorted to and helped shape various types of printed ephemera for the everyday academic needs of professors and students. Not unlike the practices the Bolognese (arch-)diocese under Cardinal Paleotti (see § 2.1), the *studium* implemented its own bureaucratic system by using and adapting printed ephemera

Several seventeenth-century documents at ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 399 (years 1540-1610), *passim*, report on further payments to musicians, preachers, painters, artisans, and also bell-ringers. Strazzaroli collected cloth rags, specially for paper production: see n. 114 in § 1.2.

184 See ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quartironi degli Stipendi’, vols 38 (years 1584-1612) and 39 (years 1613-1634), but also ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, ‘Atti dell’Assunteria di Studio e Rota’, vol. 9 (years 1621-1634), fol. 79v, 28 August 1629, for Ovidio Montalbani’s request ‘di far lunarii come haveva il Capponi’. On *lunari* and other more widely-disseminated astrological items see § 3.1.

to very specific uses. At the same time, however, jobbing printing served the aforementioned academic needs by providing cheaply-printed items that were not only bureaucratic, but functional to the dissemination of intellectual content, as in the case of inaugural prollusions and theses. Via routine and one-off commissions, the studium helped shape specific types of printed ephemera in institutions, and thus its potential uses in institutions, as well as the overall growth and consolidation of the cheap-print network in the city of Bologna.

We can begin by examining the printed ephemera used for bureaucratic purposes. There were several types of documents aimed at diverse internal groups. Cases include printed forms for substitutions in, or applications to, the Colleges associated with the studium, and invitations to the meetings of universitates councils (called consigliarie).186 [Figure no. 37] Printed forms for summoning members of the college of arts and medicine to religious functions (mainly the mass at the opening of the academic year) were often printed in bulk, leaving the figure for the year to be filled by hand, but there are cases where the date is left completely blank in contrast to the names of the addressee and religious occasion, which are entirely in print.187 [Figures nos 38-39] Handwritten expense lists and invoices also inform us that forms of this kind were printed ‘sixteen per sheet’,

186 Regarding the latter, see ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), ‘Conto di tutte le matricole’ by the secretary of the Artists’ universitas Valerio Belvisi covering the period of his office between 1601 and 1620 (year to which the document is dated): ‘1607 7 luglio di ordine del Signor Priore […] ho fatto stampare le fedi di consigliarie numero [blank] lire [blank]’. See also at ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 401 (years 1631-1707), two printed forms ‘sixteen per sheet’, of which one is a printed form for the celebration of the Quarant’Ore and the other is a printed form for the mass for the holy feast of the Holy Spirit at the opening of the academic year.

187 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Università Unite, vol. 413 bis ‘Prolusioni, prime lezioni, Accompagnamenti e sepolture 1609-1797’, folder ‘1670 al 1797 Prolusione’: four printed handbills for the mass for the holy feast of Holy Spirit at the opening of the academic year, dated ‘162[X]’; ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), two printed forms dated 1625 (for the celebration of the Quarant’Ore) and 1621 (mass for the holy feast of the Holy Spirit at the opening of the academic year).
which indicates that the practice of printing several of the smallest ephemera on the same printing sheet was organically envisaged at the commissioning stage.\(^{188}\)

In the seventeenth century, jobbing printing became financially advantageous enough to be used on-demand for other specific invitations. Printed forms for invitations to lectures and prolusions still fulfilled a basic bureaucratic function, as they notified the intended audience of an impending academic event; however, they also supported professors and doctors in their competition against each other, since crowded lecture halls guaranteed fame, and lecturers were only paid if people attended classes.\(^ {189}\)

[Figures nos 39-40] In a similar way, students resorted to fully-printed ephemera to advertise impending disputations to their companions of study and to their social connections, and the same happened for academic debates in other academic institutions such as the theology faculty of S. Domenico.\(^ {190}\)

[Figure no. 41] Such varied applications show that the professors and officials of the *studium* made particular use of notifications as one of the

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\(^{188}\) ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), handwritten receipt of a payment for expenses connected with the mass for the opening of the academic year in October 1620: ‘[…] Lire due soldi dieci per dare al Signor Vittorio Benazzi stampatore per la stampa di un quinterno di policini stampati a 16 per foglio per conto del quale si sono invitati li Signori Dottori Artisti legenti alla detta messa […]’; receipt mentioned also in n. 183 above. I interpret here *foglio* as the Italian equivalent for sheet—with eight forms printed on each side of the page—and assume this to be in a folio format considering similar examples seen in both the AABo and ASBo.


\(^{190}\) ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), forms dated 1617, printed by Sebastiano Bonomi (disputations on philosophy), and 1626, by Clemente Ferroni (disputations on logic); and ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 399 (years 1540-1610), printed half-broadsheet inviting Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Kydonia (d.1613), to an academic disputation by a reader of theology in S. Domenico, dated 8 May 1605 and printed by the heirs of Giovanni Rossi. On the practice of disputations as different from graduation discussions see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 152–157, and Herbert S. Matsen, ‘Students’ “Arts” Disputations at Bologna around 1500’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47.3 (1994), 533–555, who covers early sixteenth-century printed disputations of arts students preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Bologna.
essential forms of printed ephemera, and that jobbing printing ensured that these functional tools were customized while remaining cheap, considering the limited audience.

Students resorted to jobbing printing to support the needs and functions of their collective body within the studium, too.¹⁹¹ For instance, lists of the student counsellors for the Nations of the Artists’ university attending meetings with the cardinal legate appeared as printed ephemera, with blank spaces for the names and surnames for each Nation representative.¹⁹² [Figure no. 42] On an everyday basis, though, printed forms provided a perfect tool for student matriculations. We have proof of this practice not only from account books and receipts, such as those discussed above, but from surviving printed matriculations.¹⁹³ [Figures nos 32

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¹⁹² ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), and ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 401 (years 1631-1707), two copies of a document listing the student representatives of the Italian and foreign Nations, oblong broadsheets. Both broadsheets are updated and used in the early 1700s, but similarly to the case of n. 186 above, the original date reads ‘16[XX]’ and the notarial subscription, also printed, is that of Costantino Maria Mattioli. In addition to the bibliography quoted in the previous n., see Brizzi, ‘Lo Studio di Bologna’, p. 38, for the ‘centripetal’ evolution of student nationes at the Bolognese studium, which saw their number multiplying (and that of students within each decreasing as a consequence), and for the explanation in the attempts to weaken their power from local and especially Roman authorities.

¹⁹³ ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 399 (years 1540-1610), receipt dated 8 November 1609 for 500 printed matriculations (cost: ten lire); ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), expenses list for the years 1601-20 with entries dated 1613 for 400 printed matriculations (cost: four lire and ten soldi) and 1615 for a paper ream of them (cost: eight lire); ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400, receipt signed by Vittorio Benacci and dated 19 May 1618 (but paid on 2 September 1621) for 300 printed matriculations (cost: five lire). Examples of printed matriculation forms, usually in oblong formats, can be found at ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 399 (years 1540-1610), two printed forms dated 1607 and filled-in, two from 1609 with a wax seal, too, and a handwritten one dated 1603 but left blank. See also the printed form Gloriosa studiorum mater Bononia (Bologna: [n.pub.], 1611), half-broadsheet, BCAB, 17. St. Scient F2.029. For an overview of matriculation practices in European studia see Jacques Paquet, Les matricules universitaires (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), but for Italy and Bologna in particular see Gian Paolo Brizzi, ‘Matricole ed effettivi. Aspetti della presenza studentesca a Bologna fra Cinque e Seicento’, in Studenti e Università degli studenti dal XII al XIX secolo, ed. by Gian Paolo Brizzi
and 43-45] The printer Vittorio Benacci’s comment that he is printing student matriculations ‘as my predecessor used to do’ suggests that such printed ephemera circulated also earlier (Vittorio is likely referring by that to his father Alessandro, as I contend below).\(^{194}\) Once printed and distributed, beadles were to inspect and validate student matriculations by matching them to official records.\(^{195}\) Jobbing printing was also used for licences for carrying weapons (one of the privileges afforded to students) in a variant of the format used for student matriculations. As explained in § 2.2, these printed forms belonged to a wider system of social policing that the Bolognese local authorities applied increasingly to specific groups as well as the general urban population during our period onwards. Suffice it to say here that printed licences documented the bearer’s right to carry weapons, but at the same time certified their student status. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century we find printed licences of this type were also granted to doctors, other academic staff of the studium, and students’ servants; when relevant, they were accompanied by a printed form certifying the licenkee’s authority to exercise a certain profession, as in the case of physicians.\(^{196}\) The body of students had specific bureaucratic and representative needs to meet, and printed ephemera provided tools adapting to these, leading to the creation of a variety of form types – sometimes almost interchangeable, as with student matriculations and weapon licences.

Jobbing printing also enabled the distribution of straightforward

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\(^{194}\) ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 401 (years 1631-1707), handwritten invoice dated 6 November 1613 and signed by Vittorio Benacci: ‘Ho fatto stampar matricole e fedi animo me revalescendi ut faciebat meus antecessor […]’.

\(^{195}\) ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 401 (years 1631-1707), 1635 handwritten document stating the students’ requirement to show matriculation fedi to the studium beadles. See also ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 399 (years 1540-1610), ‘Avvertimento ch’io diedi al signor Priore di novembre 1606 […]’, unsigned handwritten document detailing (among other things) students’ requirements in this respect: ‘[…] che ciascuno scolare così forestiero come bolognese che vorà far atto scolastico, come di arguire, tener conclusioni, o dottorarsi, debba chiedere licenza al signor Priore pro tempore […] e ne faci apparire in atti del notaro il quale anco facì rogito di tali dispute e dell’argomenti e conclusioni disputate. E questo si pubblichi ogni terzaria con editti alle Scole [the Archiginnasio], né il bidello possa pubblicare conclusioni né affiggerle se non n’è fatta mentione in atti […]’.

\(^{196}\) See n. 164 above.
bureaucratic tools aimed at the whole studium. For instance, a single, shared academic calendar was in place for both professors and students alike, as circulated in yearly broadsheets showing term dates and religious festivities, alternating black and red ink accordingly. Copies have survived for scattered years from the seventeenth century onwards, likely as a consequence of their intensive use as they were posted on walls (see § 3.2), and are now used as folders for other documents concerning the studium. Among these, however, survives the earliest printed academic calendar from Bologna, dated 1586 and subscribed by Alessandro Benacci. [Figure no. 2] Although the City Senate granted an official financial subvention for printing calendars for the studium to Vittorio Benacci only in 1606 (see § 1.1 and § 2.1), we have seen in the previous paragraph that in 1613 Vittorio referred to a predecessor printing students’ matriculations. This predecessor must therefore have been his father Alessandro. A more complex case of printed bureaucratic ephemera for the Bolognese studium is that of rotuli, or teaching rolls. Official copies listed professors teaching the various subjects and had been illuminated on large parchment sheets since the late Middle Ages. The first printed rotuli, which survive from the mid-seventeenth century, started

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197 ASBo, Assunteria dello Studio, Diversorum, vol. 88 ‘Taccuino astronomico e calendario, 1586-1800’, printed academic calendars for the years 1586-87 (by Alessandro Benacci) and 1660-61 (by the Benacci heirs); ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), printed academic calendars for the years 1622-23, 1625-26 (by Vittorio Benacci), and 1672-73 (by the Benacci heirs); ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Università Unite, vol. 410 ‘Calendari e orari; avvisi per l’anatomia, per l’inizio dello Studio e per le altre funzioni, 1609-1794’, printed academic calendars for the years 1609-10, 1619-20 (by Vittorio Benacci), 1666-67, 1667-68, 1668-69, 1669-70, 1670-71, 1672-73, 1673-74, 1675-76, 1676-77, 1679-80, 1680-81, and 1699-1700 (some subscribed as if by Vittorio Benacci but evidently all by his heirs); and ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Università Unite, vol. 413 ‘Stampe varie dell’università, XVII-XVIII’, printed academic calendar for the years 1621-22 (by Vittorio Benacci). Paola Palermo, ‘Dal judiciolo al iudicium. La produzione divinatoria nello Studio di Bologna (1470-1560)’, Teca, 8.8 (2015), 9–42, 24, argues that these calendars are actually taccuina, the astronomical guides issued by professors of the Bolognese studium from the late Middle Ages, and that in their practical function they reflect the post-Tridentine ban on prophetical and judicial astrology. I disagree with this interpretation, as the inclusion of vacations and festivities and the lack of astronomical information suggest these were bureaucratic tools for the functioning of lectures. However, eighteenth-century printed taccuina are preserved in ASBo, Assunteria dello Studio, Diversorum, vol. 88 ‘Taccuino astronomico e calendario, 1586-1800’. See § 3.1 for a discussion of taccuina and iudicia and the literature on the subject.

198 See n. 194 above. On Vittorio Benacci’s payment for printing the studium calendars, see ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, ‘Quaririoni degli Stipendi’, vols 38 (years 1584-1612) and 39 (years 1612-1634); documents also quoted in n. 56 above.
indicating the daily timetables of lectures as well as the professors teaching them, providing another bureaucratic tool to be posted on the walls of classrooms and throughout the studium. From the layout point of view, printed rotuli combine the design of the illuminated rolls with that of academic calendars and display the information on classes via a diagram structure. It is possible then that printed academic calendars set a successful example of how to use jobbing printing for other types of bureaucratic tools. Later in the eighteenth century, for instance, we find the first printed syllabi, or lists of (among others) professors, beadles, treasurers, and librarians working for the Bolognese studium at the beginning of a particular year. These types of printed ephemera therefore document the expansion in the use of jobbing printing for bureaucratic, functional purposes over time, proving the adaptability of the medium. However, by the act of posting them throughout the Bolognese studium, such broadsheets also turned paperwork into official documents that people attending and working in it had to refer to.

Within the wide range of bureaucratic documents issued by the Bolognese studium, printed ephemera stood alongside items that were not as cheaply-printed. On the one hand, it was possible for jobbing printing to adapt to the needs of the studium and its population of wealthy students to the point of generating more refined and complex press products. Printed theses and celebratory prolusions still functioned as occasional, ad-hoc public writings, as they were published for specific official academic events. Although they also did not circulate as broadly as official broadsheets and vernacular pamphlets, these ephemeral items were first

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200 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Università Unite, vol. 409 ‘Syllabi a stampa degli scolari legisti, 1741-1791’, eighteenth-century printed syllabi, unsubscribed and all printed in the month of January for each year.
and foremost functional public documents, like all governmental and administrative jobbing printing. The *studium* therefore shaped the presence and significance of the use of printed ephemera in Bologna by effectively and promptly adopting them according to its specific circumstances, similarly to what other Bolognese authorities and institutions were doing.

As far as academic-based content is specifically concerned, professors and students resorted to jobbing printing in order to circulate their prolusions and orations, respectively. For instance, in 1586 Thomé Correia, a Portuguese humanist, published his inaugural lecture in humane letters (see § 1.1). In some cases, ceremonial orations appeared in connection with events that were also relevant to local audiences beyond the *studium*’s walls. The most conspicuous case in this sense is the group of orations published in November 1563 for the inauguration of the Archiginnasio building, which are all quarto editions of no more than eight leaves and could therefore be printed cheaply and quickly for the occasion.202 [Table no. 2.3]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Writer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Pompilio Amaseo</td>
<td><em>De Bononiensium scholarum exaedificionem oratio</em></td>
<td>Giovanni Rossi, 1563</td>
<td>4°, 8 fols</td>
<td>BCAB, 17-SC.LETT ARCHIGINNAS. F 04,002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventura Falconetto</td>
<td><em>Venturiae Caeci oratio habita Bononiae in auspiciis dedicationeque novi Gymnasii XII Kal. Nov.</em></td>
<td>Giovanni Rossi, 1563</td>
<td>4°, 6 fols</td>
<td>BCAB, 17-SC.LETT ARCHIGINNAS. F 04,003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastiano Regoli</td>
<td><em>Oratio habita in Academia bononiense III Non. Nov.</em></td>
<td>Giovanni Rossi, 1563</td>
<td>4°, 8 cc.</td>
<td>BCAB, 7.PP.II.20 op. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlo Sigonio</td>
<td><em>Oratio habita in Accademia bononiense VIII Id. Nov.</em></td>
<td>Giovanni Rossi, 1563</td>
<td>4°, 16 fols</td>
<td>BCAB, 7.PP.II.20 op. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table no. 2.3: Orations published for the inauguration of the Archiginnasio


202 See the digital library of these four editions at [http://www.archiginnasio.it/percorsi_inaugurazione.htm](http://www.archiginnasio.it/percorsi_inaugurazione.htm) [last accessed 24 June 2020]. On these prolusions, see also Francesco Cavazza, *Le scuole dell’antico Studio bolognese* [1st edn Milan 1896] (Bologna: Forni, 1987), pp. 244–246, while on the erection of the Archiginnasio’s building, see the literature quoted in n. 162 in § 3.2.
Traditionally, celebratory orations provided the opportunity to strengthen informal and intellectual ties between publishers and tipografi and the local civic authorities beyond the studium. In 1590, for instance, Aldus Manutius the Younger reminded the City Senate that he had reprinted a fifteenth-century oration by Benedetto Morandi (d.1548) in praise of Bologna and its studium. Subsequently, members of local academies resorted to jobbing printing for the same purpose when they delivered orations at the studium, often for the opening of the academic year. A case in point are two editions—cheaply-printed quartos of few pages—of an oration by Paolo Antonio Ambrosi (fl.1610-1615), Accademico Gelato and part of the Artists’ universitas at the same time. Certainly, the content of all these publications distinguishes them from cheaper and more widely-circulated printed broadsheets and forms. However, their slight material

203 ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, Requisiti dei lettori – Letter M, vol. 16, b. 30 (‘Manucci Aldo di Venetia celebre umanista Lettore di Umanità 1585-86’), letter by Aldus Manutius the Younger from Rome to the Bolognese City Senate, 1 October 1590. The edition in question is the De Bononiae laudibus oratio a Benedicto Morando Bononiensi ante centum annos Sixto IV Pontefice Maximo conscripta, et edita (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1589), 4°, [8] 47 [1] pp., BNCF, 1034.18, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=h8JkqWzvTxAC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false [last accessed 24 June 2020]; Aldus the Younger saw to its editing, as evident from the preface at π 2r-4v, addressed to the Bolognese Gonfaloniere and the Senate. The reminder must be considered in light of Aldus’ negotiations for a printing appointment in Bologna around 1585, and is likely a tardy effort to revive his connections with the Bolognese authorities; see § 1.1 on these events.

features and opportune publication—and distribution—could only catered for by jobbing printing.

With its ample potential to meet on-demand, one-off requests, jobbing printing was well suited to a range of occasional academic activities that attracted broad audiences within as well as beyond the *studium*. A distinctive sub-genre of Bolognese printed ephemera in this sense concerned medical professionals. Printed notifications in both Latin and the vernacular were especially useful to notify and summon people to anatomy classes and dissections. From a material standpoint, these notifications vary greatly, ranging from cut-out handbills to single-page notifications, and from copies filled in by hand (especially in terms of the dates and times of the event) to those featuring in print the addressee’s full details.205 [Figure no. 47] A particular case represents an extremely customized form of jobbing printing and demonstrates well the prompt turnaround potential of printed ephemera, as it is an invitation for the following day.206 [Figure no. 48] Printed ephemera in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries went on to serve connected purposes, such as offering summaries of public anatomy classes, and even inviting people to the burial (as in the ‘accompagnamenti alla sepoltura’ notices) and masses for the dead whose bodies had been used in such circumstances.207 This distinctive use of jobbing printing is perhaps not too unusual coming from a *studium* that was the first in Europe to establish an anatomy chair in 1570 and had firmly established surgery as part of the medical *curriculum.*208 Furthermore, in Bologna public anatomy dissections held during the Carnival period were open to representatives of the civic and ecclesiastical

205 Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), printed invitations dated 1619 printed by Giovanni Paolo Moscatelli and 1624 by Teodoro Mascheroni and Clemente Ferroni.

206 Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 400 (years 1611-1630), printed invitation dated 20 January 1622 advertising an anatomy class scheduled for the following day.

207 ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Recapiti dell’Università degli Artisti, vol. 401 (years 1631-1707), 1691 printed broadsheet; ASBo, Archivio dello Studio Bolognese, Università Unite, vol. 413 bis ‘Prolusioni, prime lezioni, Accompagnamenti e sepolture 1609-1797’, 1766 printed form. It was established practice for the anatomist of the Archiginnasio to pay for the funeral of the people whose corpses had come from the neighbouring Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte: Savoia, ‘The Book of the Sick’, 180.

208 Savoia, ‘The Book of the Sick’, 189, but see also Pomata, *Contracting a Cure.*
authorities and the common populace to attend, as payments for admission were abolished in 1586. Having these invitations in print further contributed to their status as public documents, and also to their circulation beyond the *studium*.

Theses are an ephemeral-print product primarily associated with *studia* – although other educational institutions, such as Jesuit colleges, also made use of them. In the Bolognese *studium*, as in other Italian *studia*, theses properly called, or *conclusiones publicae*, marked the end of the *cursus studiorum* of enrolled students who wanted to obtain the doctoral status and had passed both a private graduation, the proper examination by the relevant college of doctors (such as the aforementioned College of Medicine), and a public one in the cathedral of S. Pietro, followed by a ceremony. From the layout point of view, sixteenth-century theses were typographical products: they consisted in a title and a list of the propositions to be discussed, all printed by a letterpress, and with woodcuts when the dedicatee’s coat of arms accompanied the title. Only at the beginning of the following century did theses start to include copperplate illustrations (engraved, etched, or a combination of both) or to be made of a single

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At the same time, printed theses continued to function as public documents just like official decrees and proclamations. The very few surviving pre-1600 copies for the Bolognese studium—there are only 183 printed theses in the city’s Archivio di Stato, almost all unique copies—suggest that such printed items faced the same heavy consumption as decrees and the like after being publicly disseminated. Academic theses were indeed intended for a wider circulation than diplomas, the official bureaucratic records of a student’s graduation that were kept in the archives of the studium; among the few diplomas surviving for the early modern period, the vast majority was rather illuminated and handwritten on parchment, similarly to original rotuli (see above). For their graduation discussion, students handed out copies of their academic theses to the examination committee, as well as to patrons and extended family members present at the public graduation in S. Pietro. Prior to that, copies were also affixed to the notice boards in the Archiginnasio building, in Bolognese churches, and in the cathedral of S. Pietro in the case of theses in theology (see § 3.2). This part of the graduation ceremony was essential to publicize a student’s impending passage to the doctoral status as widely as possible. In this respect, printed theses worked like official printed ephemera in the public space, and the discussion of conclusiones had a place in the imagery of the city’s broader audience, as testified by the satires of Giulio Cesare Croce (see § 3.1). Incidentally, the local tipografi who printed decrees and proclamations at that time also printed academic theses:

effimero e monumentale cartaceo’, in Petrucci, La scrittura, pp. 65–77, but also Tinti, ‘Le tesi a stampa’, p. 272, quoting Petrucci, La scrittura, p. viii, for the interpretation of printed theses as part of the wider ‘visible graphic language’ with which power-holders in early modern Europe asserted their rule in the urban space. Printed theses were used in this sense also in Milan: see Alessia Alberti, ‘Un aspetto della festa barocca nella Milano del Seicento. Le incisioni per tesi di Giovanni Paolo Bianchi’, Rassegna di studi e di notizie, 36 (2013), 103–145. For an introduction to the literature on the ‘ephemeral’ culture of festivals and public celebrations of this century see Maurizio Fagioli dell’Arco, La festa barocca (Rome: De Luca, 1997), rev. and enl. edn of Maurizio Fagioli Dell’Arco and Silvia Carandini, L’effimero barocco: strutture della festa nella Roma del ‘600, 2 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977-1978), and Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome, ed. by Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

See the copies catalogued in Bononia manifesta, pp. 505–524, and Bononia manifesta. Supplemento, pp. 63–80, both ed. by Zanardi, as quoted in n. 212 above, and compare the number with that of student matriculations in Bologna between 1570s-1630s, a total of 4289 according to the Amore Scientiae Facti Sunt Exules database (see n. 204 above).

216 Diplomi di laurea conservati nell’Archivio storico dell’Università di Bologna, ed. by Ilaria Maggiulli (Rimini: Panozzo, 2016).
Alessandro and Vittorio Benacci above all, but also Giovanni Rossi, Pellegrino Bonardo (sometimes in collaboration with the two Giaccarelli, Anselmo and his son Antonio), and the Ferroni. 217 It was therefore precisely the adoption of jobbing printing that reinforced the value and function of academic printed theses as public documents both in and beyond the studium.

Local learned élites capitalized on the potential of jobbing printing to offer more lavish print products that remained nonetheless on-demand and for immediate circulation. Bolognese institutions independent from the studium that all the same ranked among their members professors and prominent students, as well as amateur intellectuals, poets, and learned patricians, increasingly resorted to a wide variety of occasional jobbing printing through the early seventeenth century. For instance, both academies and student colleges did so for celebratory orations and festive apparati to be distributed immediately after the event. 218 In a similar trend to what we have observed above in printed theses, these editions started to employ printmaking, too, and included copperplate engravings as either frontispieces or inserted illustrations. 219 The trend reflected in the first place

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217 ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, Tesi e conclusioni di legisti e artisti, vol. 60 ‘Tesi e conclusioni dei lettori, fogli di grande formato, Legisti e Artisti (1601-1678)’, theses in philosophy and medicine, printed by Clemente Ferroni and Giovanni Luigi Valesio in 1626, and in philosophy and theology, printed by Giovan Battista Ferroni and Giovanni Battista Coriolano in 1641. On Anselmo Giaccarelli as a publicly supported printer see § 1.1.


recent developments in the printmaking trade, above all the establishment of partnerships between publishers and printmakers, in view of an attempt to expand their respective markets starting from the end of the sixteenth century. This fashion also speaks of how jobbing printing in the seventeenth century overall opened to on-demand editions for the wealthier. One of the telling signs of this development was the interaction between different techniques and support materials. Epithalamia pamphlets—celebratory ephemeral publications specifically for weddings—were printed with movable types and woodcuts, also on their paper binding, until the late sixteenth century; Bolognese printed ephemera for graduations and festivities started to appear on silk in the mid-seventeenth century. [Figure no. 50] Academic pamphlets and single-sheet celebratory prints certainly targeted a more limited, higher-class audience within the city, which acted as patron and public at the same time. Nevertheless, the adaptability and functionality of jobbing printing continued to provide Bolognese learned élites with ephemeral printed products that suited their needs for quick dissemination, visual magnificence, and publicity all together.


222 See, for instance, the Sacra selva, nelle nozze de gli illustissimi signori Protesilao Malessi e Donna Isabella Guastavillani (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1573), 4°, 14 fols, NL, Wing ZP 5351.73, copy with the original paper binding. A collection of 155 occasional prints on silk for graduations, weddings, and various celebrations is preserved at the BCAB: http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/foglinfesta/seta.htm#collapse17 [last accessed 24 June 2020]. For early modern French examples of theses printed on silk see Jean-François Delmas, ‘Estampes et textes imprimés sur tissus de soie: catalogue raisonné de thèses et d’exercices publics XVIIe-XIXe siècles’, Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1 (2005), 85–142. See n. 214 above for the concept of Baroque ephemeralism.

222 For a parallel, see the Milanese case-studies by Massimo Petta, ‘Printed Funerals in 16th- and
In Chapter 2, I have considered the use of governmental and administrative ephemera as it occurred in the city of Bologna, and thus by local authorities only. Resting on this premise, three different outcomes ensue. First, the increasing use of printed ephemera in the post-Tridentine period demonstrates that the Bolognese authorities recognized the potential of jobbing printing to communicate with crowds and regulate their lives as an essential part of a government apparatus. Some of these uses already existed in non-printed form, as with the proclamation and posting of decrees, the regulation of the medical profession, and the production of academic calendars and rotuli. What jobbing printing changed was the possibility to employ on-demand, reproducible, and above all cheap material tools for these purposes, and to distribute them on a wide and public scale. The standardization of this use meant that rather than just increasing their use of printed ephemera, Bolognese institutions devised and employed a wider variety of them, from forms for health passes for goods and licences for carrying weapons, to broadsheets advertising public anatomy dissections and the yearly processions of the Madonna di San Luca, and tailored them to a shared urban audience. Paradoxically, the lack of a streamlined and consistent framework for the use of printed ephemera made possible their adaptation according to distinct attitudes and needs, as well as political opportunity, as in the case of the inclusion of Roman legislation on confiscation in Bolognese decrees. In this way printed ephemera used across different domains also came to influence each other in their material aspects. By shaping the use of official jobbing printing within a merely functional framework, Bolognese institutions ultimately contributed to the significance and status of cheaply-printed items as distinct products of the press within the city.

Second, focussing on Bolognese institutions has helped to shed light on the interconnections and mutual influences between different top-down initiatives.

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223 See, respectively, Milner, ““Fanno bandire””; Sorbelli, ‘Il Medioevo’; and Pomata, Contracting a Cure. See also n. 10 in the Introduction for a broader discussion of recent contributions to the study of cheap print in studies on communication, oral, and urban history.
224 Compare this to the emphasis the literature quoted in n. 3 above places on simply the increased use of official jobbing printing, and especially of broadsheet decrees and proclamations, over time.
225 In this respect, I challenge the pre-eminence accorded to health passes by Bamji, ‘Health Passes’. On the diplomatic structure of official broadsheets see n. 5 above.
around jobbing printing. In Bologna, the main civic and ecclesiastical authorities, such as the City Senate and the (arch-)bishopric, used it in their everyday functions alongside other urban institutions, such as religious confraternities, especially from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. As a result, there were plenty of cases in which the various Bolognese authorities collaborated on interconnected policies and practices via printed ephemera, and not only to the purpose of policing urban propriety and the containment of the plague, as discussed in § 2.2. Certainly, plague management is a telling example in this respect, as at the time religious explanations for the spread of the disease, such as heresy and moral uncleanness, were conflated with scientific ones: the Bolognese pamphlet Preparamento del Pastarino, issued in 1577 by a local apothecary, described ‘oppilation’, or corruption, as a pathologic condition but also a spiritual disease.\(^\text{226}\) Still, the Reggimento issued decrees in support of the ecclesiastical decrees on jubilees or holy images.\(^\text{227}\) Moreover, authorities incorporated printed ephemera into routine controls and other everyday bureaucratic practices, from control on apothecaries’ shops to the regulation of academic matters like such as term breaks and dates, which were then reflected in printed broadsheet calendars.\(^\text{228}\) But the various Bolognese authorities also shared the approach to commissioning printed ephemera, from both the issuing and


\(^{227}\) In this respect, see the *Divieto di porre immagini sacre o dichiarare miracoli senza l’approvazione del vescovo* (Bologna: [n. pub.], 1574), half-broadsheet, BCAB, Bandi Malvezzi. 1500.I, fol. 199 [BM 884], issued by the Bolognese Governor Lattanzio Lattanzi.

financial standpoint. The account books of the Confraternita di Santa Maria della Morte, and the archival folders documenting the expenses of the studium show that jobbing printing was processed alongside all types of mundane bureaucratic costs. At the same time, the existence of established financial streams, such the Gabella Grossa, made it easier to capitalize on them for producing one-off or regular jobbing printing, from single-use forms for the Tribunale di Concordia to academic calendar broadsheets. By consolidating the use of printed ephemera as a governmental and administrative tool, local authorities of all types played a role in the emergence of an organic framework that covered from the early stages of their life-cycle to their dissemination.229

Finally, issuing and circulating decrees and bollettini throughout the city contributed to the evolution of a distinctive public sphere in the urban space of post-Tridentine Bologna. This was particularly true of those printed ephemera that were posted in the places to which they applied, such as inns and shops of the Mercato Vecchio, in the case of regulations on registering foreigners and patrons, and apothecary shops for lists of licensed medical preparations. However, the same occurred with the printed ephemera used by the professors, students, and officials of the studium, who used calendars and matriculation forms in the shared premises of the Archiginnasio (on whose new building see in more detail § 3.2). Thus not only cross-references between decrees and forms, but the physical occupation of the public space enabled governmental as well as administrative jobbing printing to reach the targeted audience. At the same time, especially printed forms display the use of jobbing printing on a private, personal and sometimes physical scale. In addition to health passes for both people and goods, which had to be carried with and on them at all times, decrees commanding people to say the newly-licensed prayers as introduced by Cardinal Paleotti entrusted shop-keepers and heads of families with controlling everyone close to them conformed to such decrees, and studium professors used notifications to invite colleagues, students, and their wider social network to academic disputations and anatomy lessons. Documents acting as duplicates of people

229 Further considerations on the collecting and preservation of cheap print, within the broader question of the impact of post-Tridentine attitudes on its survival more broadly, lay beyond the scope of this thesis.
complied with the growing policing needs and expectations of early modern authorities, while items to be posted on walls, both indoors and outdoors, provided new means and opportunities for ‘publicizing’ oneself. This polarity between a more open and a private dimension still performed a public function, one that was applied opportunistically and found therefore the best medium in jobbing printing. Post-Tridentine Bologna was therefore shaped by a constant flow of official documents that aimed to both communicate with and control a shared urban public, and thus brought paperwork into the public sphere.  

230 With respect to the engagement with political information and communication on a wider social and urban scale, see De Vivo, ‘Public Sphere or Communication Triangle?’, pp. 130–133, where he discusses how the Venetian’s populace—merchants, barbers, couriers, etc.—interacted with and appropriated the city’s public sphere.
Chapter 3

Cheap-Print Consumption in Bologna between the Piazza and the Home

In a 1660 etching, the Bolognese printmaker Giuseppe Maria Mitelli portrays a street seller of printed fans, or ventarole, with a full basket of his wares as he flutters one. Ventarole, also called ventole, were flat, rectangular paper fans mounted on wooden handles that people used mainly to offer protection from the sun and heat and chase away flies; in this form, they became especially popular in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹ The inscription below the figure plays with the purpose of the object in the form of a witty advertisement, as pronounced by the seller himself, informing the viewer that ventarole helped ‘to screen from the hot sun of summer, but not from the heat of love’.² Another etching from the same series depicts a street seller peddling a bundle of—evidently printed—holy images, or santini, together with some rosaries in front of what looks like a church or monastery.³ [Figures nos 51-52] Mitelli’s print production overall provides a humorous, albeit realistic, portrayal of everyday life in early modern Bologna. Yet, in their subject and setting, his prints of street sellers are an intentional reprise of a series of drawings produced in the 1580s by another famous Bolognese artist, Annibale Carracci.⁴

¹ See Alberto Milano and Elena Villani, Ventole e ventagli. Museo d’arti applicate, Raccolta Bertarelli (Milan: Electa, 1995), but also the further bibliography on printed paper fans in n. 79 below.
² Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Seller of ventarole, etching, 284 x 196 mm, FCRB, Prints and drawings collection, no. M1571 (rep.1/2): ‘Ecco un ventaglio o zerbinotto amante per raddolcicir, per mitigar l’ardore ch’è de l’estate a ristorar bastante il caldo sol, non il calor d’amore’.
³ Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, Seller of rosaries and holy images, 279 x 194 mm, FCRB, Prints and drawings collection, no. 1583 (rep.1/14).
⁴ Carracci’s drawings now survive in d’après etchings by the French printmaker Simon Guillaume (1581-1658) in the edition Diverse figure al numero di ottanta […] (Rome: Ludovico Grignani, 1646), 22 pp., 1 tav., 80 pl.: see the digital edition of the copy held at the Bibliothèque nationale de
street sellers are peddling textbooks (‘Tavolette, e libri per i putti’) and religious images (‘quadri’); it is unclear whether the latter are printed. **[Figures nos 53-54]**

In the eighty years separating the two series, the depiction of urban trades and street sellers had become a recognizable and profitable genre in which plenty of Italian—and European—printmakers displayed their skills.\(^5\) In addition to paying homage to the local artistic tradition, however, Mitelli’s prints show that by his time people walking around Bologna were able to find cheaply-printed objects, such as fans, and not only booklets and prints, peddled there by *pegolotti* (see also § 1.3). The success among contemporary audiences of printed ephemera of this type had led them to become a conspicuous presence in the streets and squares—and in some cases, as I explain in this chapter, the homes—of Bologna over the post-Tridentine period.

Having considered in previous chapters the contribution to the development and significance of jobbing printing in Bologna from the standpoint of its producers and sellers (see Chapter 1) and that of the authorities who commissioned and used it (see Chapter 2), in this chapter I discuss the influence of the local audience on this process. To begin with, the Bolognese public bought and engaged with works of vernacular literature and devotional images alongside other types of printed ephemera that belonged to the material culture of everyday life. Thus, the cheap print consumed in post-Tridentine Bologna included a wider

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range of cheaply-printed items and objects than usually discussed for early modern cheap print more broadly. For instance, vernacular ballads and satires did not appear only as pamphlets, but also on printed ventarole, which were above all used to offer protection from heat, generated by the sun or a fireplace, and flies. Devotional cheap print, on the other hand, circulated as both large-size posters to be hung on walls and smaller holy images, or santini, which were cut-out and pasted into prayer books, family albums, boxes, or worn as amulets inside clothes. It did not end here, though, for the Bolognese urban public used cheap print for everyday objects, too, such as distaff coverings, needlework patterns, and board games. How the local public had access to content associated with cheap print also had an impact on this expansion of the range of printed ephemera. First, different cheaply-printed items and objects disseminated the same characters or themes, and thus the penchant of the Bolognese audience for these encouraged the production of various printed ephemera. For instance, local versions of stock characters from the commedia dell’arte or traditional folklore appeared in the pamphlets of Giulio Cesare Croce, the most prolific and successful vernacular poet and street performer of late sixteenth-century Bologna (see in more detail § 3.1), but also on printed games of chance. Second, cheap-print consumption practices as they occurred throughout the urban space further consolidated the presence of all types of cheaply-printed items and objects in the city’s everyday life. Official decrees were read aloud in Piazza Maggiore, but also posted as broadsheets at important crossroads and inside shops and inns, as well as sold in stationery and print shops in booklet form. The cheapness of printed ephemera made it possible for a broad urban public to have access to a wide range of cheaply-printed items and objects in an everyday context in the first place, but it was the distinctive demand of the Bolognese audience that promoted the expansion of the local cheap-print network.

Most importantly, the agency of the Bolognese audience shaped this network as an intermedial and pervasive one. With respect to its intermedial

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6 Carnelos, I libri da risma, and I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza, are among the few studies that investigate cheaply-printed texts and objects produced by such presses at the same time; on the Soliani collection of woodblocks see n. 24 in the Introduction.

7 In this respect, see the literature quoted in n. 52 in the Introduction.
aspect, the local public encouraged it by regularly engaging with cheap print through different means of communication and materials.\textsuperscript{8} Croce’s printed oeuvre in particular shows the influence of such consumption practices: in addition to the aforementioned appropriation of characters shared with other cheaply-printed items, some of his works hint at popular tunes sung throughout Bologna, and others describe the aspect of the very items that he sold, sometimes directly after his public performances, as in the case of ventarole and rebuses, all in order to appeal to his local audience.\textsuperscript{9} At the same time, in their daily exercise of devotion the Bolognese faithful interacted with cheap print alongside other objects, as printed ephemera were also used to assemble private altar decorations, and as supports during mediated readings, especially of catechism booklets and broadsheets; they also consumed cheap print as part of wider urban acts of devotion, as in the case of prints of the Madonna di San Luca distributed throughout the city during the icon’s yearly processions.\textsuperscript{10} Indeed, another essential aspect of the local consumption of cheap print was that the Bolognese audience engaged with printed ephemera everywhere throughout the city. On the one hand, as just noted, the Bolognese public made use of devotional cheap print in everyday life in both the domestic and public sphere. On the other, the intermedial consumption of cheap print was possible first and foremost in the city’s public space. At the core of Bologna, Piazza Maggiore hosted town criers

\textsuperscript{8} For a parallel, see Bellingradt, ‘The Early Modern City as a Resonating Box’, for the circulation and consumption of media and printed items in early modern urban contexts. For my use of the term ‘intermediality’ and its cognates, see n. 50 in the Introduction. With respect to the modern period, Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation, ed. by Multigraph Collective (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), uses the expression ‘ephemeral ecosystem’ to describe the interconnected readership practices—both material and literary—fostered by printing.

\textsuperscript{9} Appropriation has been used as a concept to describe the impact of bottom-up practices by different cultural and social historians: For the concept of appropriation as an evidence of the influence of the lower classes on cultural—especially printed—production, see Chartier, ‘Popular Appropriation’.

proclaiming decrees and ordinances, but also the performances of vernacular street-singers such as Croce, and haberdashers’ stalls and shops where board games, santini, and printed bureaucratic forms were on sale at the same time. All in all, the intermedial consumption of cheap print made possible for the Bolognese public to adopt it in private and public spaces alike, while its pervasive consumption throughout the urban space encouraged mutual allusions and cross-references of all types across different printed ephemera. By influencing the means, materials, and spaces for the consumption of cheap print, the broad urban public of Bologna significantly contributed to the evolution of the local network.

In light of all of this, Chapter 3 is built around two sections that account for the this two-fold agency of the broad urban public on the local cheap-print network. § 3.1 examines the types of cheap print that the Bolognese audience consumed throughout the urban space, and how these types actually consisted of a wider range of cheaply-printed items and objects than is usually discussed. I will therefore examine here types of cheaply-printed items that have not previously been discussed side by side, for instance official proclamations and vernacular ballads, or board games and paper fans, as well as those—often the same—consumed in domestic spaces as part of everyday devotion and material culture. In § 3.2 I then discuss the urban space of post-Tridentine Bologna through the lens of the spatial dissemination of cheap print focussing on the clusters—neighbourhoods, square, and buildings—where its consumption particularly occurred. These consumption practices will not only shed light on the evolution of the city’s cheap-print network overall, but especially on the impact of its pervasiveness and intermediality on the city’s public sphere on an architectural and epigraphic level.

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11 See the list of cheaply-printed items on sale in Vittorio Benacci’s shops: Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 47–48, as quoted in n. 60 in § 1.3.
§ 3.1

Cheaply-Printed Items and Objects and Their Local Public

Cheap print in post-Tridentine Bologna consisted of a very diverse array of (sometimes unexpected) items, all united by the common feature of cheap to print and purchase (if not distributed free of charge). Another common feature of cheaply-printed items, still fostered by its cheapness, was, however, its ability to cross boundaries including means of communication, materials and techniques, and spaces. Ventarole, for instance, easily became the subject of ballads disseminated as cheaply-printed pamphlets; on particular occasions, renowned printmakers produced ephemeral versions of these on copperplate; and Bolognese people used them both in the open space, while strolling around the city, and inside their homes, as practical tools but also to initiate parlour games and witty conversations. It was precisely this intermediality that made it possible for the local audience to shape cheap print.\textsuperscript{12} I am therefore adopting the concept of intermediality not only to highlight the uses to which the Bolognese audience put cheap print, from listening to and reading it, to actual, material manipulations, but especially to argue that such consumption practices had an impact on the status and development of printed ephemera within the local market.

To begin with, the Bolognese audience had access to and consumed cheaply-printed items across oral, written, and visual media. An obvious example in this respect is the repeated calls and expressions used to grab the attention of passers-by in vernacular cheap print and by town criers when proclaiming decrees and ordinances. Sharing the same oral means of dissemination had further consequences, for the Bolognese audience were exposed to official proclamations and so were able to grasp references to these in the form of satirical allusions and puns. Croce’s printed oeuvre is particularly rich in tropes and jokes echoing decrees and in general the language of the authorities.\textsuperscript{13} Furthermore, his ballads

\textsuperscript{12} See the literature on the interactive uses of early modern prints from across Europe quoted in n. 50 in the Introduction.

\textsuperscript{13} For an introduction to the role of the so-called ‘popular’ culture in counteracting the yoke of authorities through parodies and comedic subversions see Pietro Camporesi, ‘Cultura popolare e
and parodies provide a window onto cheap-print consumption in Bologna. A well-established scholarship has indeed demonstrated the strong connection between his themes and characters and everyday life in post-Tridentine Bologna, as in the depictions of market scenes and private night-gatherings, and the interactions between different types of cheaply-printed items that he championed. Another element of intermediality on which Croce’s printed works rely for humorous purposes involves the interplay between written and visual culture. On the one hand, his stories and also the title-pages of his pamphlets provide evidence for a visual literacy of the Bolognese urban audience, for instance in the pervasiveness of jokes and satires involving the doctors and students of the local studium. On the other, attending his performances engendered a full sensory experience, from the props used on stage, to the references to the spatial environment, such as statues or market cries; an intermedial experience that his audience was able to recreate later through his editions, as in the cases of sonetti figurati. In this respect, the intermedial consumption of the Bolognese public broadens our understanding of the constant exchange between media typical of vernacular cheap print in early modern Italy, as scholars have so far focussed mainly on the interactions between written and oral culture.


15 On the topic, see the bibliography quoted in n. 10 in the Introduction.
The Bolognese public consumed cheap print also across different items and materials. Allusions, puns, and adaptations still worked in this respect, as even a printing format could be used for comedic effects: in one of his parodies, Croce was able to rely on the acquaintance of his local audience with news printing and played with the poster format and layout of *avvisi* to produce exaggerated and fictitious news reports. Furthermore, the distinctive penchant of the Bolognese audience for *ventarole* led to references to them and their textual and visual content, but also to a wider iconography built around them and their uses. Croce is again a perfect example in this sense, as some of his ballads describe the pleasantries and images printed on paper fans he sold, as well as in general. *Ventarole* were so popular in post-Tridentine Bologna that Croce also exploited them to develop his street singer persona, as he wrote a considerable number of texts for them and disseminated some of his works as both booklets and *ventarole*. No wonder then that his main *tipografo* in Bologna, Bartolomeo Cochi subscribed his publications as ‘Bartolomeo dalle Ventarole’ as early as 1592, when Croce had been performing in Bologna for at least ten years.16 At the same time, the urban audience could recognize illustrations of the same characters adapted between different cheaply-printed items and objects. Figures like a *commedia dell’arte*’s stock characters or Bologna’s traditional masked representation appear on a wide range of cheap print circulating throughout the city, such as Croce’s printed oeuvre, but also lottery and board games and the editions published by other local *cantimbanchi* and street actors after their public performances. The fact that the copies of games like *Biribisse* and *Pela il chiù* from post-Tridentine Bologna include such characters also attests that they were local versions, different from those circulating at the time throughout Italy (and Europe). This high level of customization demonstrates how the bottom-up demand of the Bolognese audience was able to influence the city’s production of cheap print.17


17 On European printed games, see the examples illustrated in Donatino Domini, *Giochi a stampa in Europa: dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Ravenna: Longo, 1985); Adrian Seville, *The Royal Game of the Goose: 400 Years of Printed Board Games* (New York: The Grolier Club, 2016); and Kelli
In Bologna, the consumption of cheaply-printed items further extended to the domestic sphere. In some cases, the urban audience used the same printed ephemera in the public space and as everyday household objects simultaneously, as in the case of ventarole. Other types of cheap print instead worked as specifically made for domestic spaces. For instance, printed altars and icons made out of woodblocks reflect contemporary instructions in religious literature that encouraged people, especially women, to create their own liturgical apparati with simple materials. Cheaply-printed rebuses and ballads were, moreover, the focus of private gatherings, read aloud during aristocratic receptions, as well as during nighttime work shifts. Domestic practices also contributed to further disseminate iconographic and clothing designs. Religious artworks by Bolognese painters and above all printmakers further circulated in the form of cheaper and roughly-made single woodcut prints, and needlework patterns and books brought to the city the latest models from cities like Venice. Cheap-print consumption practices ranged from devotion to fashion, and involved therefore both the religious and secular sphere. These examples also show how especially inside the home all kinds of people, both patricians and the poor, had access to and used cheaply-printed items, and in some cases even at the same time, as when servants joined their masters during veglie. On account of its multisensory and ubiquitous nature, cheap-print consumption crossed the boundaries between public and private spaces in Bologna and turned the domestic sphere into an essential part of its urban interconnected network.18

While this section discusses a wide range of cheaply-printed items, a considerable number of them consists of—or is associated with—the printed oeuvre of Giulio Cesare Croce. Scholarship on him has focussed on the literary and social elements present in his works, for instance on his use of the vernacular and dialect, his portrayal of the habits and life of the Bolognese social classes, and how he explored themes of popular culture more broadly, while his printing


18 On the significant contribution of the domestic sphere to early modern Italian culture, see the literature in n. 51 in the Introduction.
production in particular has been studied within the field of textual bibliography. Here I build on this scholarship in order to investigate Croce’s printed works in a new and different light, focussing on the mutual interactions between these and other kinds of cheap print that circulated in Bologna at the time, such as printed official ephemera and board games. In this respect, this thesis incidentally provides substantial evidence for how essential to Croce’s broad success was the sale of multimedia merchandise. Overall, this perspective will enable me to explore the everyday practices and the urban, interconnected dimension of the Bolognese audience for cheap print. Indeed, Croce’s printed works played a significant role in creating such a shared consumption experience for several reasons. First, they became an instant success in Bologna, as well as present-day Emilia. In the period up to 1650, over 400 editions of Croce’s editions appeared in the city. Croce’s success also spread across all social strata, from patricians and diplomats, who hosted and paid for his private performances, to the lower classes, such as day labourers and prostitutes. Moreover, they retained their popularity long after his death in 1605 among Bolognese audiences during and beyond the seventeenth century. The heirs of the Cochi and Pisarri printing families still found it profitable to print Croce’s works during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the Bolognese nobleman and physician Jacopo Bartolomeo Beccari (1682-1766) started to collect his editions as early as the end of the seventeenth century.

19 See the literature quoted in n. 14 above.
20 With respect to this time frame, the catalogue in Bruni, Campioni, and Zancani, Giulio Cesare Croce dall’Emilia all’Inghilterra, at pp. 159–164 lists 386 items printed in Bologna, compared to eleven and ten published in Venice and Vicenza, respectively, which follow Bologna in terms of numbers. Personal investigations in SBN Antico for the same period gave a result of roughly 900 editions in Bologna, sixty in Ferrara, and forty in Venice; it is however important to use these figures with extreme caution, on account of the several redundancies still present in SBN Antico.
At the same time, woodblock matrices also enable us to retrieve printed items that have not survived on paper. Especially the woodblocks from the Soliani and Mucchi collections of the Galleria Estense in Modena are helpful in this sense because they belonged to early modern presses based in present-day Emilia—above all, Modena and Ferrara, but Bologna, too—that specialized in widely-consumed and ephemeral print products. As several studies on this collection have shown, the Estense woodblocks particularly testify to those printed products that were mostly consumed at a local level and over the centuries.22

In light of all this, and in order to overcome the scarcity of direct evidence for the use of cheap print for the early modern period I will use these two types of indirect sources as a guide to assist me in the examination of the cheaply-printed items that the urban public of Bologna consumed on the city’s streets and squares, in homes, and lastly in churches; the last point will bring us back again to the urban space, which is the subject of § 3.2.

The Bolognese public was accustomed to engaging with official printed ephemera such as decrees and ordinances firstly via oral means, and as a consequence allusions to this type of dissemination and consumption became a trope of vernacular literature. From the balconies of the Palazzo della Signoria and the Palazzo del Podestà (see in more detail § 3.2), banditori, or town criers, proclaimed governmental and administrative decrees and ordinances that later circulated as broadsheets posted around the city. Once official broadsheets had been posted, group readings then allowed individuals to mediate their content to visually impaired or simply illiterate bystanders. Several of Croce’s works include

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references both to the act of proclaiming and to the language of official printed ephemera, for instance his *Sbandimento del fraudolente, insolente, e prodigo Carnovale*. The traditional form of the contrast, applied in this case to Carnival and Lent, imitates the vocabulary and wording of decrees and ordinances right from the title, as Croce describes Carnival as a criminal who has incurred a civic ban.\(^\text{23}\) The vocabulary of civic bans is mimicked throughout this short pamphlet; we read that the arrival of Lent is announced ‘by means of a decree and ordinance of the Lord Governors of the famous city Panizza [an invented place] to all the populace, both men and women, of any class and condition’ in order that everyone shall ‘proceed with all vigour of justice against the criminal and blabbing Carnival, son of Bacchus, from the city of Leccaria [another invented town]’.\(^\text{24}\) Not only does the description of Carnival play with his connection to the classical god of drinking and rowdy festivities (Leccaria is a Bolognese variant for the Italian ‘leccornia’, delicacy), but the same wording borrows from the practice of identifying people by their family surname and origin, just as in policing forms (see § 2.2). Only a public constantly exposed to announcements would have been able to grasp such puns and allusions, and street performers like Croce made use of these ploys because a positive audience response was guaranteed.\(^\text{25}\) The connection between official proclamations and Carnival was even more pertinent to the Bolognese public, given that several local festivities, including the summer Festa della Porchetta, and indeed Carnival, took place in Piazza Maggiore and were announced by the civic authorities from the main balcony of Palazzo della Signoria (see § 3.2). Before any association with places, however, the familiarity of the Bolognese audience with official printed ephemera via a combination of oral and collective reading practices provided the backdrop for further interplay

\(^{23}\) Giulio Cesare Croce, *Sbandimento del fraudolente, insolente, e prodigo Carnovale […] il qual è bandito per un anno e secondo che parera a suoi maggiori […]* (Bologna: Eredi di Bartolomeo Cochi, 1624), 8°, 4 fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 066.

\(^{24}\) *Ibid.*, fols A2r-v: ‘Per parte e comandamento delli nostri Signori Tutori dell’inclita città di Panizza si fa intendere a ciascheduna persona, così maschio come femmina, di qual sorte e condizione esser si voglia, come in questi paesi è gionta Madonna Quaresima […] procedendo con ogni vigore di giustizia contra il delinquente e squaquarante Carnevale, figliuolo di Messer Bacco dal Boccale della città di Leccaria’.

\(^{25}\) Milner, ‘“Fanno bandire”’, p. 116, describes how official decrees often strove to be the closest possible to the spoken word as they were meant to be read *verbatim* to urban audiences.
between different types of printed ephemera, and thus for an enriched intermediality.  

Town criers were not the only figures who employed repetitions, direct speech, and open calls to passers-by to get their attention and make them pay attention to the printed ephemera they handled. Before the established publication of gazettes and newspapers, in late sixteenth-century Bologna news peddlers hawked in public spaces reading aloud titles of avvisi, i.e. news reports, in order to entice potential buyers. As with decrees and proclamations, plenty of Croce’s works play with the content and language of such ubiquitous avvisi. For instance, in the Lettera portata nuovamente da Gianicco Ambasciator del Freddo the mock ambassador of cold weather announces that winter is coming with the words ‘listen poor fellows, listen listen listen to news never told before, come on out all and listen, for I come to you with dreadful news’. Croce also played with the content of avvisi: his Avisi burleschi di più città is a straightforward parody of the genre of the news report full of ‘news’ such as a bloody massacre in a slaughterhouse in Pavia or the temporary solar eclipse caused by clouds in Udine. In some cases avvisi also consisted of lists of ‘wonders’, exotic events and things witnessed in faraway places meant to amaze and arouse curiosity, and Croce capitalized on the popularity of such accounts in several satirical works,


27 On avvisi and news reports in Bologna as different from and precursors of gazettes see the literature quoted in n. 74 in the Introduction.


29 Giulio Cesare Croce, Lettera portata nuovamente da Gianicco Ambasciator del Freddo (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1610), 8°, 4 fols, BCAB, G229a: ‘Udite poverelli, udite udite udite nuove non più sentite fino ad hora, saltate tutti fuora e state ad ascoltare, ch’io vi vengo a parfare un’aspra nuova […]’.

30 Giulio Cesare Croce, Avisi burleschi di più città venuti di qua e di là, di su e di giù, e da diversi luochi del mondo […] (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi, 1637), 8°, 4 fols, BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LIV [formerly LIIIbis], t. XXIV/22, fol. A2r.
too.\textsuperscript{31} In his \textit{Avvisi burleschi venuti da diverse parti del mondo}, variations on the phrase ‘It is said that’ (‘s’intende’, ‘dicono’, etc.) open the paragraphs, and the \textit{Cosmografia poetica} makes anaphoric use of the expression ‘I have seen’ and similar variants (‘Ho veduto’, ‘Vist’ho’, etc.) to mark the list of mythological and geographical wonders in each stanza.\textsuperscript{32} Sometimes even the graphic layout of Croce’s works was a parody of common printed ephemera models. The \textit{Pronostico et almanacco stupendo e maraviglioso sopra l’anno presente}, for instance, mimics the poster format and display of \textit{avvisi} where each news item was reported under the heading of the city it came from.\textsuperscript{33} [\textbf{Figure no. 55}] This last example is further evidence of how Bolognese audiences consumed cheap print at the intersection between different media, between the oral and the visual, for they were able to grasp allusions and puns on the textual component but also material, visual features of the news ephemera.

Along with printed ephemera of official decrees and \textit{avvisi}, the Bolognese public enjoyed humorous depictions of another major public institution of the city, that is, the historic \textit{studium} (see § 2.3 for more details on this institution). In fact, the traditional masked representation of Bologna, Dottor Balanzone, is a pompous and erudite doctor of law from the local university.\textsuperscript{34} Under the alternative name of Dottor Graziano, this stock character often features as the protagonist of vernacular works by Croce (and others), as in his \textit{Conclusiones quinquaginta}.\textsuperscript{35} A parody of Dottor Graziano’s graduation theses survives in different versions,\textsuperscript{36} 


\textsuperscript{32} Giulio Cesare Croce, \textit{Avvisi burleschi venuti da diverse parti del mondo, cose notabilissime e degne da essere intese […]} (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi, 1628), 8°, 8 fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 064, and \textit{idem}, \textit{Cosmografia poetica […]} (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1616), 8°, 8 fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 211.

\textsuperscript{33} Giulio Cesare Croce, \textit{Pronostico et almanacco stupendo e maraviglioso sopra l’anno presente} (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1617), broadsheet, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 426.

\textsuperscript{34} See Camporesi, \textit{La maschera di Bertoldo}, p. 182, for the examination of this character, and the volume in general for the best introduction to Croce’s themes and other recurring characters.

usually attributed to either Croce or Ludovico Bianchi (fl.1587-1617), a Bolognese comedian from the Compagnia dei Golosi.  

The Compagnia dei Golosi even became a learned academy devoted to the study of the ‘the most delicious of sciences’ in Croce’s *La sollecita et studiosa Accademia de Golosi*, which also includes a tongue-in-cheek ‘anthology of every tasty nibble and wine enjoyed in every city across the world, and the inventors of such dishes and recipes’. Performers from Bologna and outside, such as Bianchi or the Neapolitan Aniello Soldano, played the character of Dottor Graziano as well. The culture and rituals of the Bolognese *studium* permeated the entire city. They were a feature not only of the building of the Archiginnasio and the churches where graduations took place (see § 3.2), but also of the streets and squares with the stages of *cantimbanchi* and urban performers. Cheap-print vernacular satires became the tool for the local audience beyond the *studium* to engage with this otherwise socially distant local institution.

As a side-effect of the pervasiveness of the university’s presence, Bolognese vernacular cheap print features much interplay and jokes between Latin, the Italian vernacular, and the local dialect. Croce scatters mangled Latin expressions throughout his works, for instance when he calls the character of Dottor Graziano a ‘leconorum doctor’, i.e. ‘doctor of delicacies’, or ‘macaroneus doctor’, with a playful allusion to dog Latin. Croce’s aforementioned work, the

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38 Bianchi performed under the name of Gratian Partesan, the full patronymic of the character: Camporesi, *La maschera di Bertoldo*, p. 233. Aniello, instead, used Spacca Strummolo, another stage name for Dottor Graziano, for his performances and to publish in the city: *Fantastiche e ridicolose etimologie* and *La fondazione ed origine di Bologna as Aniello Soldano, Fantastiche e ridicolose etimologie recitate in comedia da Aniello Soldano detto Spacca Strummolo napolitano […]* (Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1610), 8°, 26 pp., Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv.H.3519.4, and *idem*, *La fondazione, et origine di Bologna, cavata dalle sue etimologie, recitata per prologo di comedia in quella città da Aniello Soldano, detto Spacca Strummolo napolitano […]* (Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1610), 4°, 12 pp., BCAB, 17-CIV.POL MEMORIE BOL. A 02,036.
Conclusiones quinquaginta, announces in its title this interaction between Latin expressions—the ‘discussed fifty-three conclusions’ which are ‘versified in the native language’—and Bolognese dialect—referring to Graziano’s doctorate ‘in whatever you like’—as well as the Italian vernacular. Further cheaply-printed items associated with the studium poured Latin into the public space of Bologna and familiarized the urban audience with it. For instance, the statutes of the studium commanded over time that these prognostications be posted on the walls of the Archiginnasio and in the shops of apothecaries, stationers, and booksellers throughout Bologna, similarly to printed lists of medications, or tasse (see § 2.2). Furthermore, astrological prognostications for the year had been appearing, identical, in both the vernacular and Latin as early as the end of the fifteenth century with the astrologer and professor of medicine Girolamo Manfredi (1430-1493). As I explain below, astrological prognostications simultaneously circulating in the two languages reinforced the association of the local studium with the everyday public space, and thus of Latin with cheap production standards, such as small or poster formats and poor-quality printing. Certainly, official ephemera contributed to this pervasiveness of both Latin and the vernacular throughout Bologna. However, cheap-print satirical works show how...

39 The full title of Croce’s work quoted in n. 35 above is ‘Conclusiones quinquaginta tres sustinta in Francolin dal Macilent Ser Godga Dottor in zò cha vli vò, argumintà dal Dottor Pgnaton cun l’assistenza del Dottor Memeo Squaquara e da so Signor insultissimo traduttore unde versus materna locutione’.


41 On Manfredi, see Tommaso Duranti, Mai sotto Saturno: Girolamo Manfredi, medico e astrologo (Bologna: CLUEB, 2008); see n. 44 below for the commission of Manfredi’s printed judicia. As an example of bilingual prognostications, albeit for the first half of the Cinquecento, see the Sammelband of twenty-seven items for the period 1506-39 by the astronomy professor Lodovico Vitali (1475?-1554, teaching in the Bolognese studium since 1504) preserved in the BL, C.27.h.22.(1-27), published by various printers all in the quarto format. On Vitali, see Fabrizio Bónoli and Daniela Piliarvu, I lettori di astronomia presso lo studio di Bologna dal XII al XX secolo (Bologna: CLUEB, 2001), p. 130.

42 See the explicit reference to the obligation to print official decrees and proclamations in both languages in Alessandro Benacci’s appointment by Cardinal Legate Caetani (discussed in § 1.1 and § 2.1) in 1587: ASBo, Legato, Expeditiones, vol. 102, fols 209r-213v (27 October 1587), fol. 210r, ‘[…] tam iuxta eorum originariam formam quam ad vulgarem sermonem redacta’. Ottavia Niccoli, ‘A proposito del multilinguismo italiano della prima età moderna. Le molte lingue di una comunità immaginata’, Studi Storici, 59 (2018), 5–22, especially 12–13, connects the possibility of multiple levels of language fruition with the variety and complexity of social strata existing in
the broad urban public grasped the difference in languages and their connected registers, despite its inability to speak Latin, and claimed this for its own satirical purposes. The agency of the local public was at work in encouraging and consuming Bolognese printed ephemera crossing boundaries between communications media, languages, and items.

The evolution of astrological prognostications over the early modern period itself reveals the agency and influence of the Bolognese urban audience on local cheap print. Since the Middle Ages, professors of astrology in Bologna had been traditionally required to compile an official prediction at the beginning of each calendar year. The prediction included both astronomical information (eclipses, moon phases, etc., in the part properly called the *iudicium*) and medical—and sometimes agricultural—advice (such as on births, wars, diseases and plagues, etc.), that is, the *taccuinum*. From the fifteenth century onwards such works started to radiate out of the *studium* environments and became accessible to the wider urban public in the form of cheaply-printed broadsheets and in quarto pamphlets, and more commercial prognostications mixing astrology, medicine, and prophecies. In time, *taccuina* and *iudicia* then evolved into distinctive genres depending on the intended audience: astrological and medical

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44 As early as 1481, the printer Enrico di Colonia (1474-1500), active then in Bologna, promised to pay eleven gold *ducati* to Girolamo Manfredi for some *iudicia* by him: Bühler, *The University and the Press*, p. 35; for the value of *ducati* and other Bolognese currencies see the Note on Currency.
discorsi remained associated with the academic community, while prognostications, and later almanacs and calendars, were the most widespread type. By this time, several Bolognese professors, such as Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576, teaching in Bologna 1562-1570), Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555-1617, teaching in Bologna from 1588 until his death), Giovanni Antonio Roffeni (1580/5-1643), Antonio Carnevali (1611-1678), and Ovidio Montalbani (1601-1671, teaching in Bologna from 1622 until his death), established a reputation outside the studium on the commercial printing market by means of their consistent production of official predictions and more widely-consumed prognostications in Latin and the vernacular. Non-academics also profited from the bottom-up demand for this type of cheap print, as in the case of Giovanni Neri da Verona (1532-1605), identifiable with the painter of the same name working then with the natural scientist Ulisse Aldrovandi: scholars have attributed to Neri prognostications for the years 1576, 1577, 1584, and a 1600 popular work on astrological meteorology. Astrological and medical publications were therefore a kind of cheap print originally associated with the Bolognese studium that experienced an expansion towards the lower end of the readership spectrum. Indeed, by the end of the seventeenth century, it was mainly charlatans and itinerant pedlars who wrote and distributed this type of cheap print. At the same time, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries astrological prognostications were adapted and alluded to in Bolognese vernacular literature. Croce’s satires of iudicia and taccuina again targeted their language and structure, for instance in the Pronostico perpetuo sopra l’anno presente, where he predicts

45 The 1586 papal bull Coeli et terrae creator Deus by Pope Sixtus V condemned judicial astrology and contributed to the definite demise of iudicia and official prophetic prognostications, so that almanacs and calendars, which in the seventeenth century increasingly included news and curiosities for the general public, flourished: see Casali, Le spie del cielo, pp. 57–64, and Palermo, ‘Dal judiciolo al iudicium’, 36 (who reports that the last official iudicium produced by a Bolognese professor dates to 1554 and was compiled by the aforementioned Ludovico Vitali).
46 See especially the editions listed in Casali, Le spie del cielo, pp. 273–299. On these Bolognese professors see the biographical information in Bònoli and Piliarvu, I lettori di astronomia.
47 Casali, Le spie del cielo, n. 38.
48 On the evolution of almanacs and popular calendars through the eighteenth century see Braida, Le guide del tempo. For a parallel on the evolution of astrological and medical cheap print in early modern Venice see Sabrina Minuzzi, Sul filo dei segreti. Farmacopea, libri e pratiche terapeutiche a Venezia in età moderna (Milan: Unicopli, 2016).
that ‘a man who will be castrated shall find it difficult to procreate’ and that ‘when dawn appears, that will be the sign that a new day is coming’.\(^{49}\) In the case of astrological prognostications, the Bolognese audience not only influenced the presence of allusions and references between editions and languages but also the genre itself.

The Bolognese audience shaped vernacular cheap print also by pushing the use of visual elements as allusions and puns. Title-page woodcuts especially worked in this sense, hinting at the content or reinforcing readers’ expectations. Vernacular ephemera in fact first circulated as oral performances or spoken advertisements of pedlars who cried out their titles, and visual cues could work to support these means of distribution. It is known that cheap-print \textit{tipografi} reused certain woodcuts over different editions when these were fairly generic in order to stay within the material and financial constraints typical of this print production.\(^{50}\) On printed avvisi, for instance, it is usual to find title-page woodcuts that refer to the content of the publications, to attract potential buyers but also as allusions to the oral performances by street sellers.\(^{51}\) However, the Bolognese audience played a role in this way of consuming and accessing ephemeral editions between the oral, written, and visual media, for in satires and parodies visual cues provided a further twist that only a public acquainted with the models could grasp. Croce’s aforementioned \textit{Pronostico et almanacco stupendo e maraviglioso} shows evidence for this in its poster format and printing layout, which both play with the


\(^{50}\) See the examples of the title-page woodcut of a Bolognese landscape reused, and worn out, over three different publications by Croce that I quote in n. 25 in the Introduction.

tradition of avvisi. At the same time, the title-page woodcuts of other works by him like the Conclusiones quinquaginta tres or the various editions of the Pronostico perpetuo sopra l’anno presente enhance the satirical elements of the titles by further underlining that they are spoofs of the world of the studium (via a portrait of a distinguished man in a dark robe similar to that of Bolognese doctors) and of astrological prognostications (see the anthropomorphical sun or mappa mundi), respectively. [Figure no. 56] Croce’s Pronostico perpetuo, et infallibile also bears on its later 1617 broadsheet and 1621 octavo editions the woodcut of a decorated mappa mundi, in the former case together with a portrait of Croce himself that appeared on the earliest 1611 octavo edition of the same work. [Figure no. 57] While the reuse of the same woodcut portrait on the title-page of several editions of Croce’s Descrittione della vita, an autobiographical account the street singer first published in 1608, suggests that he was able to manipulate cheap print to disseminate and promote his public persona, the visual cues of title-page woodcuts were a crucial component of the system of contextual references between the various cheap-print items circulating within the city. And such visual cues were effective because the Bolognese urban audience was able to consume cheap print across different items and media at the same time.

Another way in which the Bolognese audience engaged with cheaply-printed items between different media involved the distinctive tricks and ploys of street singers and performers, as well as their very presence in the public space.

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52 See n. 33 above.
53 See the editions quoted in the nn. 35 and 49 above and the 1624 edition by the heirs of Bartolomeo Cochi, 8°, [4] fols, at BL, 1071.h.44.(12.).
54 Giulio Cesare Croce, Pronostico perpetuo et infallibile composto per l’eccellente astrologo detto il Capriccioso […] (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1611), 8°, [8] fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 199; (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1617), broadsheet, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 424; (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1621), 8°, [8] fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 058. On this portrait, which some scholars have identified as the one painted by the Bolognese artist Lavinia Fontana, and the further editions that use this woodcut, see Angela Mazza, “Trascendendo in facetie, in motti, in rime, e in ridicolosi passaggi”. ‘Piture ridicole’ a Bologna al tempo di Giulio Cesare Croce, pp. 97–131, and Franco Bacchelli, no. 3, in Le stagioni di un cantimbanco, ed. by Zanardi.
55 The Descrittione della vita was republished by the Cochi press first in 1609 and then four times until c. 1640 with few changes to the title and format. The list, mentioned many times by scholars, has not, to my knowledge, been analysed in depth: Camporesi, Il palazzo e il cantimbanco, pp. 73–74, and Franco Bacchelli, nos 3 and 6, in Le stagioni di un cantimbanco, ed. by Zanardi, are the few examples in this sense.
Early sixteenth-century cantimbanchi and charlatans such as the Modenese Iacopo Coppa (fl. mid sixteenth century) likely used painted banners on their improvised stages to guide audiences through their performances. Some of Croce’s works suggest that he was doing the same. Croce’s *Spalliera in grottesco* describes the fantastical inventions that he wishes ‘a gentle painter could paint with his brush on this back-board of mine’, to prove that they [the painter] ‘are the best artist of this time’, as the playful frame to the work reads. An allusion to the practice is also given in the invented work *La minchiona* which appears in a parody of contemporary learned book catalogues, called ‘bibliothecae’ (‘librarie’ in the Italian vernacular), which Croce wrote to make fun of his own production: the complete title mentions that the work included ‘two panels, one of walnut, the other of rowan, inlaid with pasta smoke by the most excellent woodcutter Master Bartholomew Cobbler’. It is likely that Croce’s nickname, ‘dalla lira’, also refers to the habit of accompanying his performances with a musical instrument, which thus became an attribute of his physical, and only later, literary persona. Furthermore, during performances cantimbanchi interacted with the space around them to get the audience’s attention. Croce is documented to have performed under the fountain of the Neptune in the northern continuation of Piazza Maggiore (see § 3.2). In the dedication of his work *La cantina fallita*, the demonstrative adjectives suggest that he was pointing at the statue while performing, as he directly addresses the statue with the words:

Your Most Bronze Highness, please accept this sheet of mine, which on top

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of this pole—for I am not able to reach you with my hands from here below, nor to climb onto you without a ladder, for you are placed so high above—I present to you’. 59

Furthermore, his *La canzone di Margariton* alludes to famous tunes that the Bolognese audience would recognize, such as the title song by Margariton, but also to other urban performers by way of reminiscing about a recent time when Croce saw them in Piazza Maggiore:

I was lingering in the piazza the other evening to hear Master Martino, since I enjoy listening to him and also to Bagolino, and as well to that chap with tufty hair who is so great at reciting Catullus, and lending an ear I heard them sing that song “You are right Margariton”. 60

Other woodcuts from editions by Croce show that the urban public engaged with other stage practices and characters from vernacular theatre and *commedia dell’arte* via visual references. 61 For instance, the protagonist of Croce’s comic play *La Farinella*, Lelio (who uses the name Farinella for disguise), derives from the *Amfiparnaso*, an opera by the composer and *Kapellmeister* of Modena’s Cathedral Orazio Vecchi (1551-1605)—a personal acquaintance of his—to which Croce likely contributed. 62 Moreover, the Venetian *princeps* edition of the

59 Giulio Cesare Croce, *La cantina fallita* (Bologna: Eredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1605), 8°, 32 pp., BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LIIII, t. XXI/17, p. 5: ‘Accetti dunque vostra Bronzissima Altezza questo foglio, il quale (per non poter arrivargli con le mani a star da basso, né havendo scala da salirvi suso, essendo posto esso tanto in alto) in cima di questa pertica gli porgo’. Croce may have done the same in his *La gran bravata del superbissimo gigante della fontana* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, ante 1595), [4] fols, 8°, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana [no classmark], but I was unable to consult this only extanty copy of the work.


Amfiparnaso became the figurative source for other pamphlets and paper fans associated with Croce, for instance in a ventarola that copies in counterpart and adds a rectangular frame to the title-page woodcut of the Amfiparnaso portraying the aforementioned Lelio in a stage setting. Overall, cheap print constantly interacted with the wider, urban context where the local broad public consumed it. Bolognese cheap print crossed the boundaries between performances and media, and thus between the cheaply-printed items, on account of its inherent intermediality.

The fact that cheap print was primarily disseminated via oral means meant that the local public was able to grasp other types of references within the oral medium, namely by alluding to the varied commercial and spoken landscape of the city. Croce’s Lamento di tutte le arti del mondo, for instance, lists with good-natured humour the market sellers in the area around Piazza Maggiore, while his Chiacchiaramenti directly mimics their cries. Street and urban cries also figured


63 Woodblock, 160 x 120 x 22 mm, Modena, Galleria Estense, Barelli collection, no. 6476; see Alberto Milano, ‘I.V.156’, no. 201, in I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza.

64 M. A. Katritzky, ‘Was Commedia dell’Arte Performed by Mountebanks? Album Amicorum Illustrations and Thomas Platter’s Description of 1598’, Theatre Research International, 23.2 (1998), 104–126, reports the even more concrete form of interaction, as in the cases of commedia dell’arte performers who handed out prints depicting their acts and stage personas, so that these often ended up cut and pasted in people’s albums as keepsakes.


66 Giulio Cesare Croce: Il lamento di tutte le arti del mondo, e tutte le città, e terre d’Italia, per le poche facende, che si fano, a la giornata (Bologna: [Erede del Cochi, 1640/50?]), 12°, [4] fols, BCAB, 17-SCR.BOL F.POES.ITAL. 09, 206, and Chiacchiaramenti sopra tutti i traffichi. E negotti, che si fanno ogni giorno su la Piazza di Bologna (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1620), 8°,
extensively in single sheets meant for wide dissemination, as in the prints by Annibale Carracci and Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, seen at the beginning of this chapter, which were accompanied by inscriptions evocative of the depicted trade.\(^67\) Through the vernacular ballads performed around Piazza Maggiore the public also enjoyed satires of sounds and voices markedly different from those of Bologna, or from urban social norms. In Croce’s *Questione di varii linguaggi* the author imitates and ridicules various Italian dialects, such as those of Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, and Sicily, but also foreign languages, including French, Spanish, German, and even Hebrew.\(^68\) The title of this work refers to a quarrel featured in the text between different groups of rogues; each intervenes in their own idiolect, and the final group to join in mimics the jargon of thieves (‘And in their slang they were saying to each other: “Calcagno, keep a look-out”’).\(^69\) Intramedial jokes and tricks well translated from the performances to the cheap-print items themselves. Among several of Croce’s works dedicated to the theme of gambling, another everyday occurrence within the public space, especially notable is his *Alfabeto de’ giuocatori*, in which each stanza of the nineteen *ottave* uses anaphora to build up an acrostic of the entire alphabet. Via the chosen figure of speech and composition, Croce’s audience was able to experience the text through different media, first orally as a street performance and then also in its printed

\(^{67}\) See nn. 4-5 above also for the literature on the visual tradition of urban pedlars and city cries.  
\(^{68}\) Giulio Cesare Croce, *Questione di varii linguaggi dove s’intende le ragioni allegate da diversi galanti’huomini corsi a questo romore per farli far la pace* (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1618), 8°, 16 pp., BCAB, A.V.G.IX. 1 op. 075. See the digital version of this pamphlet at [badigit.comune.bologna.it/GCCroce/index.html](http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/GCCroce/index.html) [last accessed 24 June 2020].  
form, where the anaphoras worked via their visual component.\footnote{Giulio Cesare Croce, \textit{Alfabeto de’ giuocatori in ottava rima} (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1610), 8°, 4 fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX op. 90.} \[Figure no. 60\]
The local urban public consumed cheaply-printed items as they presented themselves in the public space, first and foremost as oral performances. The interplay between different oral means, therefore, encompassed the diversity of this medium, but also easily included other types of mediation, between oral, written, and visual cues.

The widespread public presence of vernacular cheap print in Bologna further shaped the way the local audience had access to it across different techniques and material supports, and thus across different types of cheaply-printed items and objects. Croce’s print production clearly demonstrates how cheap-print consumption crossed boundaries also in this sense. In some cases, woodcuts were reused across printed objects and not only editions. For instance, in his \textit{Barceletta piacevolissima}, the title-page bears the illustration of a ‘Todesco’, i.e. a German-speaking stock character of Italian \textit{commedia dell’arte} and mountebanks.\footnote{Croce, \textit{Barceletta piacevolissima sopra i fanciulli}, quoted in n. 33 of the Introduction (but see also the copy at BCAB, TREBBI. Cart.41 06/2). I am grateful to Rosalind Kerr of the University of Alberta for pointing out the origin of the Todesco character to me.} The figure is accompanied by a number, the same type of depiction present in printed lotteries and board games of the time, such as \textit{Biribisse}, a popular game of chance.\footnote{See the woodblocks surviving in the Barelli and Soliani collections of the Galleria Estense of Modena, nos 6478 (240 x 355 x 24 mm), 6530 (453 x 322 x 26 mm), and 6646 (510 x 346 mm). On these, see Alberto Milano: ‘I.V .205’, nos 194; ‘Il Biribisse’, no. 193; and p. 168, all in \textit{I legni incisi}, ed. by Soprintendenza. Specifically on the game of \textit{Biribisse} see Alberto Milano, \textit{Giochi da salotto, giochi da osteria nella vita milanese dal Cinquecento all’Ottocento} (Milan: Mazzotta, 2012), p. 18, while more generally on printed games in early modern Italy see idem, ‘Giochi’, in \textit{I legni incisi}, ed. by Soprintendenza, pp. 165–169; Alberto Fiorin, \textit{Fanti e denari: sei secoli di giochi d’azzardo} (Venice: Arsenale, 1989); Milano, \textit{Giochi da salotto}; and Lotterie, lotto, slot machines. \textit{L’aazzardo del sorteggio: storia dei giochi di fortuna / Lotteries, Lotto, Slot Machines. The Luck of the Draw: A History of Games of Chance}, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli (Treviso; Rome: Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche; Viella, 2019). On the relevance of the Estense woodblock collection for assessing Bolognese cheap print see n. 22 above, while for printed games consumed in Renaissance homes see later in this section.} \[Figures nos 61-62\] Such items were usually printed on sheets from which players cut or ripped off their numbered tickets, called \textit{bollettini}, printed at the bottom of the board. There is a strong possibility that the Todesco woodcut was therefore cut from the block of a printed...
lottery or board game that had been previously circulating in Bologna. In fact, a
considerable number of title-pages of Croce’s ballads printed by the Cochi heirs—
that is, Girolamo, the son and successor of Bartolomeo Cochi—display the same
type of figuration with numbered figures. [Figures nos 63-78] [Table no. 3.1]

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<th>Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>Giulio Cesare Croce, <em>Otave morali, essemplare, e ridicolose</em></td>
<td>(Bologna: Erede del Cochi, 1629), 12°, 16 pp., BUB, Raro B 94/88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table no. 3.1: Printed works by Giulio Cesare Croce that use woodcut illustrations cut out from lottery or Biribisse games.

The practice is not unheard for early-modern printers of cheap print: an eighteenth-century woodblock for the Nuovo e dilettevole Gioco romano, a lottery game, printed by the Remondini press shows missing areas in the bottom part of the block where images have been cut out, most likely to be reused in other prints.73 What is more, Croce’s name was associated with a local version of the Gioco del chiù or Pela il chiù (literally ‘pluck the owl’), one of the most popular games of chance in early modern Italy (it saw players win or lose points by casting three dice, with each total corresponding to specific figures on the board).74 Some of the squares on these board games depict, among other subjects, characters that we have already encountered in Croce’s works: Todesco, Graziano, and Babuino.75 [Figures nos 79-80]

While the Bolognese public also consumed and played with printed board games in homes, as I explain later in this section, this type of cheaply-printed


74 A print of this board game by Croce is preserved in the BUB but woodblock versions survive as well, again in the mentioned matrixes collections of the Galleria Estense: Giulio Cesare Croce, Il novo e piacevole gioco del pela il chiù, woodcut, BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LIV [formerly LIIIbis], t. XXV/25; woodblock, 519 x 362 x 25 mm, Modena, Galleria Estense, Soliani collection, no. 6521. On this woodblock and for information on the ‘Gioco del chiù’ see Alberto Milano, ‘Il Gioco del pela il chiù’, no. 191, in I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza. Further woodblocks for Pela il chiù board games survive in the Galleria Estense of Modena, Soliani collection, as nos 6527 and 6647, 476 x 353 x 23 and 489 x 356 x 23 mm respectively.

items in Italy circulated on the city’s broad urban market. We have seen that Vittorio Benacci sold board games, and in particular games of the goose (‘gioco da oche’), in his stationery shops.\textsuperscript{76} Printed board games had always been popular in Bologna, and were pastimes for a variety of circumstances: for instance, in 1564 the bursar of the College of Spain purchased ‘some sheets of games for sixteen soldi’ in order to distract the Spanish students who had taken shelter in the college after a violent brawl with other students.\textsuperscript{77} Later in the seventeenth century, the aforementioned Giuseppe Maria Mitelli built his artistic persona by producing prints that played with the imagery of games and of Bologna’s urban space, as in the case of \textit{Al zuogh d’la città d’Bulogna} (‘The Game of the City of Bologna’).\textsuperscript{78} All of these examples demonstrate the pervasiveness of a wide range of cheaply-printed items throughout the city, and thus the widespread, communal exposure that the local broad audience experienced to both the textual and physical elements of local cheap print. The post-Tridentine Bolognese public consumed cheap print as far as it had access to it across media and material boundaries, across different items and objects at the same time, from vernacular satires and ballads to lotteries and board games.

A cheaply-printed item that the Bolognese urban public was distinctively keen on, and consumed across communication media and materials, were printed

\textsuperscript{76} Bellettini, ‘La stamperia’, 47–48 (see n. 60 in § 1.3). For a seventeenth-century game of the goose printed by the Bolognese \textit{tipografo} Ferdinando Pisarri see the woodblock no. 4628 of the Soliani collection in the Galleria Estense of Modena, 378 x 262 x 21 mm: Alberto Milano, ‘I.V.193’, no. 188, in \textit{I legni incisi}, ed. by Soprintendenza.


paper fans. Paper fans and board games derived their iconography from some of the same sources used by Croce, that is, traditional folklore (the cycle of the seasons, urban trades, etc.) and the world of street singers. For instance, as well as the characters from Croce’s works we have already discussed, the aforementioned Bolognese version of the Gioco del chiù displays a man selling ventarole in one of the board squares. [Figure no. 79] At the same time, Croce was certainly aware of the potential further dissemination of his works through various cheaply-printed objects. Some of his famous characters appeared not only in cheap quartos and octavos but also in ventarole and board games, as in the case of a surviving ventarola woodblock that depicts the Zia Tadia, the protagonist of Croce’s Smergolamento; later seventeenth-century ventarole still relied on his works for inspiration. [Figure no. 81] Furthermore, in his lifetime Croce wrote a considerable number of texts meant for dissemination as ventarole. In several cases, the same work circulated as both a pamphlet and a paper fan, as the Bravate, razzate, et arcibulate, del arcibravo Smedolla Vossi. [Figure no. 82] Later in the eighteenth century, Croce’s Barceletta piacevolissima also appeared

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80 Milano, ‘Il Biribisse’, compares this to the tradition of depicting everyday things, such as flowers, animals, and stars, in Biribisse and lottery games.

81 See n. 74 above.

82 Woodblock, 132 x 194 x 21 mm, Modena, Galleria Estense, Barelli collection, no. 6477, and Giulio Cesare Croce, Smergolamento, over piantuorii, che fe la zea Tadia del Barba Salvestr da Tignan (Bologna: Eredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1604), 8°, [4] fols, BCAB, A.V.G.IX.1 op. 242. On this woodblock, see Alberto Milano, ‘I.V.187 La Cia Tadea – Zovagnon’, no. 199, in I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza. Maria Goldoni and Alberto Milano, ‘I.V.176’, no. 255, in I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza, report that the ventarola, printed as the anonymous Risoluzioni d’una donna di non voler prendere marito by the Soliani in Modena in the second half of the seventeenth century reuses the title-page woodcut of Croce’s Caso compassionevole e lacrimoso lamento di due infelici amanti […] printed in Bologna by the heirs of Bartolomeo Cochi: woodblock, mm. 64 x 59 x 29, Modena, Galleria Estense, Soliani collection, no. 6488. However, the location of the latter is not given in full and I was unable to locate it in the BUB.

83 Giulio Cesare Croce, Bravate, razzate, et arcibulate dell’arcibravo Smedolla Vossi […] (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1612), paper fan, BUB ms. 3878, caps. LIII [formerly LI], t. XVI/28, and the aforementioned Bravate, razzate, et arcibulate del arcibravo Smedola vossi […] (for which see Table no. 3.1). Further works for ventarole by Croce are now preserved, amid a consistent collection of materials by him, in BUB, ms. 3878: caps. LIII [formerly LI], t. XVI/5, t. XVI/8, and t. XVIII/16; caps. LI, t. VII/2, as described by Campioni, ‘Giulio Cesare Croce, p. 176. To these, I would also add the imprints at caps. LI, t. VII/3; caps. LIII [formerly LI], t. XVI/10-15 and t. XVI/17-29.

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as a ventarola with a woodblock illustration of a young street seller peddling paper fans in an urban setting. \[Figure no. 83\] In this work, Croce acknowledges the appeal these cheaply-printed objects had for his public and how he used ventarole to target it, for instance in the opening of the work, where he directly addresses passers-by in rhyme in order to lure them into buying his ventarole:

Oh the nice paper fans, who would buy them, who would like them, with their graceful handles, there’s plenty, they’re all cheap, come on ladies, come on misses, look at how they’re pretty, so magnificently worked, all well painted, and well printed.\[85\]

In the ‘Lode sopra la bella Ventarola’, added at the end of the pamphlet version of the Barceletta piacevolissima, Croce praises the ability of ventarole to entertain people and ‘bring solace and joy as I [the ventarola] cause the air and wind to stir’.\[86\] That his main tipografo, Bartolomeo Cochi, also subscribed some of his publications as ‘Bartolomeo dalle Ventarole’, as mentioned in the introduction to § 3.1, certainly corroborated the connection.\[87\] Overall, Croce’s print production is another demonstration of the role of cheap print in shaping a shared urban consumption that crossed boundaries between different ephemeral objects. This intermediality further reveals how the Bolognese audience had access to a visual vocabulary connected to certain objects and was shared across different materials and media, and that in return such audience consumed as quintessentially associated with cheap print.

Cheaply-printed objects well represent how the urban consumption of printed ephemera by the Bolognese audience occurred over a broad social base,

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\[84\] Giulio Cesare Croce, Barceletta piacevolissima, sopra i fanciulli, che vendano ventarole (Bologna: Giovanni Battista, 1725), BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LI, t. VII/3; Bianchi’s dates of activity span between 1721 and 1733.

\[85\] Croce, Barceletta piacevolissima, fol. π1v: ‘Ah, le belle ventarole, chi ne compra, e chi ne vole, col suo manico garbato, a piacer, e a buon mercato, su, su, donne, su donzelle, ecco qua come son belle, nobilmente lorate, bendipinte, e ben stampate’. For this work, see again n. 71 above.

\[86\] Croce, Barceletta piacevolissima, fol. π4r: ‘Mi chiamo ventarola, che con l’opera sola do ristoro e contento portando l’aura e il vento’.

\[87\] Incidentally, Bartolomeo Cochi also printed Croce’s aforementioned Il novo e piacevole gioco del pela il chiù quoted in n. 74 above.
too. Wealthier strata consumed the same cheaply-printed items as the lower ones. *Ventarole*, for example, were indeed cheap from a production standpoint, for they were printed on a single sheet that was then folded in two, or from a single large woodblock in the case of purely figurative *ventarole*. [Figures nos 82-83] They therefore were the low-end version of expensive embroidered or lace fans: some of Croce’s printed fans were on sale for a *bolognino*, and others for what then corresponded to a *quattrino*.88 However, patricians and the upper classes also bought and used *ventarole*. Croce describes *ventarole* as a ‘noble, delightful, and magnificent pastime’ (‘un passatempo nobil, vago ed eccellente’).89 Furthermore, renowned printmakers such as Agostino Carracci produced artistic paper fans on copperplate, which were still considered ephemeral and consequently few copies survive in comparison to their other prints.90 [Figure no. 84] Copies of board games by him, such as the *Biribisse*, have also survived. They were printed on fabric—as well as painted on surfaces such as wood panel—pointing to a consumption within the walls of homes (an aspect I discuss in more detail below).

88 See the passage of the aforementioned *Barceletta piacevolissima* quoted in the Introduction in n. 33.
and by a richer public.\textsuperscript{91} At the same time, cheaply-printed items often contributed to the dissemination of visual models that first appeared in specific, expensive artworks. For instance, the post-Tridentine Bolognese artist Bartolomeo Passerotti (1529-1592) painted a group of grotesque figures; this gave rise to an iconographic tradition that we later see echoed in the grotesque character appearing on the title-page of the edition of Croce’s \textit{Vita, gesti, costumi di Giandiluvio da Trippaldo}.\textsuperscript{92} The same iconography was later adapted and further disseminated in rougher single woodcut prints.\textsuperscript{93} A similar group of grotesque heads on the title-pages of other works by Croce, including a later edition of the story of Trippaldo, derives from a copperplate print by Agostino Veneziano (fl. 1509-1536), a pupil of the Bolognese printmaker Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-ante 1534) and who, in turn, had adapted them from a drawing by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519).\textsuperscript{94} \textbf{[Figures nos 85-88]} The woodcut adaptations of Vecchi’s \textit{Amfiparnaso} were a poor man’s version of higher-end editions, too. Intermediality across media and items fuelled the shared consumption of cheaply-printed objects and visual sources by a broad urban audience. As Croce himself wrote, ‘everyone uses me [the \textit{ventarola}]’ (‘di me si servon tutti’).\textsuperscript{95}

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\textsuperscript{91} Milano, ‘Giochi’, p. 193.
\textsuperscript{93} Maria Goldoni and Alberto Milano, ‘Figure grottesche’, no. 249, in \textit{I legni incisi}, ed. by Soprintendenza. For other woodblocks that disseminated printed images associated with Croce, see Goldoni and Milano: ‘La signora Pandora agrigentina’, no. 236; ‘I.L.29’, no. 248; and Milano, ‘Illustrazioni dal ‘Bertoldo’’, no. 250; and ‘Serenata all’amata’, no. 251, all in \textit{I legni incisi}, ed. by Soprintendenza.
\textsuperscript{95} Croce, \textit{Barceletta piacevolissima}, fol. π4v. See also here, in the ‘Lode sopra la bella Ventarola’, at fol. π2r, the passage saying that ‘anyone can enjoy them’ (‘può leggerle chi vuole’).
As mentioned briefly above, cheaply-printed objects also belonged to the
domestic space. Their use in homes accommodated practical needs, and provided
for the moments of leisure involving at times all the household members. On the
material level, printed ephemeral items provided cheaper alternatives to perishable
commodities, from ventarole, employed also to screen from fire sparks and chase
away flies during the summer months, to paper decoration, which imitated more
expensive furniture, for instance on chests and boxes. Printed playing cards and
games of chance were other common domestic possessions, although gambling
was not considered an appropriate pastime for respectable households, as reported
in parlour game anthologies such as the Cento giuochi liberali e d’ingegno of the
Bolognese Innocenzo Ringhieri (fl.16th century). Following private parties,
board games were handed out as expensive but ephemeral tokens engraved by
famous printmakers, for instance Agostino Carracci, who produced (now lost)
versions of the Pela il chiù and the game of the goose on similar occasions,
according to a letter written by the Bolognese print amateur Carlo Cesare
Malvasia (1616-1693). Parlour games, a very widespread form of cultural
entertainment involving rebus, illustrated riddles, and mottoes, feature heavily
in different types of cheaply-printed items. An echo of these can be found in some
of Croce’s works that include visual puns, also called sonetti figurati and which
often employed musical notation to replace syllables; they appeared as booklets,
as in the aforementioned Alfabeto de’ giuocatori, and paper fans, such as the Alle
bellissime e virtuose gentildonne bolognese. [Figures nos 60 and 89] Indeed,

96 I am not aware of Bolognese examples, but see the three chests, or cassoni, preserved at the
Raccolte Civiche di Palazzo Sforzesco of Milan, the Museo Civico of Turin, and the Museo
Bardini of Florence that bear printed—and painted—decorative paper on the outer sides: Liz
Miller, ‘Prints’, in At Home in Renaissance Italy, ed. by Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis, pp. 322–
331, especially pp. 327–328.
97 Innocenzo Ringhieri, Cento giuochi liberali, et d’ingegno […] (Bologna: Anselmo Giaccarelli,
99 Giulio Cesare Croce, Alle bellissime e virtuose gentildonne bolognese (Bologna: Girolamo
Cochi, [n.d.]), BCAB, A.V.G.I.X.1 op. 412. On rebus see Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin,
Larose, 1986), and Ah, che rebus! cinque secoli di enigmi fra arte e gioco in Italia, ed. by
Antonella Sbrilli and Ada De Pirro (Milan: Mazzotta, 2010).
paper fans customarily displayed not only witty satirical jokes, but also mottoes and moral advice directed to women and youth. As Croce’s aforementioned *Barceletta piacevolissima* puts it, in a *ventarola* one could find ‘beautiful sonnets, stanzas, lines and wise sayings, madrigals and villanelle [a genre of vernacular, popular poetry originally developed in Naples], and all things whimsical and delightful, here there is not a single irreverent thought’ so that it was passable to ‘hand them to boys and girls, and anyone can read them.\(^{100}\)

Domestic audiences consumed cheap print in particular via household readings and night gatherings. Several works by Croce tell of night *veglie* and receptions at countryside villas where the participants read aloud and played parlour games such as those included in Croce’s pamphlets and *ventarole* or Ringhieri’s aforementioned anthology.\(^{101}\) Croce himself was so praised in his profession by contemporaries that he was able to command high prices for private performances in noble households: in his dedication of *La libraria* to Cardinal Giorgio Radziwill (Jerzy Radziwill, 1556-1600), a Polish diplomat who spent time in Bologna as papal legate, Croce describes how the cardinal attended his performances on several occasions.\(^{102}\) Poorer households consumed Croce’s works, too: there is evidence of families listening to readings when working night

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100 Croce, *Barceletta piacevolissima*, fol. π2ρ: ‘Qua vedrete bei sonetti, stanze, rime e dotti detti, madrigali e villanelle, e capricci e cose belle. / Qua non vi è pensier profano, e potrete darle in mano a i figliuoli e le figliuole, e può leggerle chi vuole’. The passage is also quoted in n. 95 above.


102 Giulio Cesare Croce, *La libraria, convito universale, dove s’invita grandissimo numero di libri tanto antichi, quanto moderni, ritirati tutti in un sonetto, opera non men utile, che dilettevole* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1592), 4°, 15 [1] pp., BCAB A.V.G.IX.1/401, fols A2r-v. See also Camporesi, Il palazzo e il cantimbanco, p. 27, for Croce’s private performances.
shifts. At the same time, private audiences played and engaged with the outside space and the public side of cheap-print dissemination via parlour games. For instance, Ringhieri’s aforementioned anthology includes a ‘Game of the town crier’ (‘Gioco del banditore’): here, a town crier is supposed to ‘proclaim, with the following words in the fashion of decrees, the rules for players of the Realm of Love, and establish rewards and sentences accordingly’.

Within the atmosphere of courtly leisure typical of parlour games, Ringhieri justifies the dignity of the role of town crier in the eyes of the noble female participants by comparing the love they inspire in men to the inescapable rule proclaimed in decrees by town criers:

Love, your handsome Love, isn’t he the most exquisite town crier, who, from the two delightful balconies of your eyes, where your smooth forehead terminates, proclaims the law for all lovers, with his sweet-sounding trumpet, shining from the rays of the sun?

Overall, the intermediality and ubiquity of cheaply-printed items enabled their consumption by the Bolognese public not only both indoors and outdoors, but across different social classes, and even together, for servants and masters of a household attended veglie, too, overcoming the usual social and gender barriers.

There were cases in which the use of cheaply-printed objects indoors was a predominantly female activity. As we have seen above, ventarole’s target public was primarily women, and the very iconography around paper fans revolved around women. In the aforementioned Barceletta piacevolissima, Croce addresses

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103 Anna Pegoretti, ‘Dismembered Voices and Acoustic Memories: Dante and Giulio Cesare Croce’, in The Cantastorie in Renaissance Italy, ed. by Degl’Innocenti, Rospocher, and Salzberg, pp. 225–237, n. 71, reports family readings of Croce’s works by the young men in the household in order to keep mothers awake while working at night.

104 Ringhieri, Cento giuochi liberali, fols 103v-105r, especially fol. 104v: ‘Elegasi dunque inanzi ad ogni altra cosa per lo Signore e per lo Re del gioco il Banditore, il quale con queste parole che seguiranno, in guisa di bando, publichi intorno a giuocatori le leggi del Regno d’Amore e vi constituiscia i guiderdoni e le pene, secondo che saranno o non saranno osservate’.

105 Ibid., fol. 103v: ‘Amore, il vostro bello Amore, non è egli gratissimo banditore che dai due amorosi balconi ove si termina il sereno cielo della vostra fronte, la soave e lucente tromba de raggi scoperta, dà legge agli amanti […]’. See Procaccioli, ‘Il banditore e il suo lessico’, especially pp. 33 and 36 for a discussion of these passages from Ringhieri.
first and foremost this section of the Bolognese audience, luring them into buying his printed fans.\footnote{106} The spheres of needlework and wool spinning also saw cheaply-printed objects used by women. For instance, cones of paper (or leather) called coprirocche were used to decorate the distaffs of spindles that held the wool firm as it was spun, and often displayed scenes from local folklore and vernacular compositions.\footnote{107} Needlework sample-books, called esemplari, provided women with patterns that disseminated and adapted fashion trends coming from other Italian cities, such as Venice.\footnote{108} Moreover, like ventarole pattern books targeted a broad audience, ranging from the middling and lower sort, more likely to purchase single-sheet woodcut patterns, to noblewomen. In this respect, in 1591 the printmaker Aurelio Passarotti (fl.16th-17th centuries) dedicated the thirty engraved plates of his pattern book printed in Bologna to patrician women, one of which was the Duchess d’Este, Margherita Gonzaga (1564-1618).\footnote{109} These cheaply-printed items highlight the interconnected consumption of the Bolognese urban audience, between the public and the private, but also how certain printed ephemera were physically manipulated and looked at.

Other types of cheaply-printed items widely consumed in the domestic sphere belonged to the devotional and spiritual life of the Bolognese audience. Ephemeral religious prints in broadsheet format ended up posted on people’s indoor walls, first and foremost in the private apartments, but also in the shared living areas in the case of less wealthy households.\footnote{110} A drawing attributed to

\footnote{106} See the passage quoted in n. 85 above.
\footnote{109} Libro di lavorieri di Aurelio Passerotti, ed. by Bianca Rosa Bellomo (Bologna: Nuova S1, 2016); the only two surviving copies of the book are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Forli and the Vatican Library. Aurelio was one of the three artist sons of Bartolomeo Passerotti: see Angela Ghirardi, Bartolomeo Passerotti, pittore (1529-1592). Catalogo generale (Rimini: Luisé, 1990).
Annibale Carracci shows the hearth of a poor family where an image of a Madonna and Child—most likely a print—is hanging on the wall.\textsuperscript{111} Prints of a smaller size, such as \textit{santini} (i.e. holy cards), were also pasted into prayer books, family albums, boxes, and other small objects, or worn as amulets inside clothes.\textsuperscript{112} Bolognese examples of single prints and \textit{santini} are easily identified by the presence of local saints and cults, above all San Petronio and the Madonna di San Luca, as in a group of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century woodblocks from the collection of the Galleria Estense.\textsuperscript{113} \textbf{[Figure no. 90]} The \textit{santini} matrices in the same collection show how each image was carved into a single woodblock, lined up in rows and columns, and later cut out into separate holy cards once printed. \textbf{[Figure no. 91]} Just as seen above with lottery- and board-game woodblocks, we find instances where the large matrices were later cut in order to use specific parts or single holy cards as cheap-print illustrations.\textsuperscript{114} In Bolognese homes, ephemeral religious prints were also used in the everyday context connected to praying habits, above all as liturgical decoration. Surviving woodblocks of candle-bearing angels and decorative paper for altars reveal the practice of substituting paintings and ex votos in private altars with printed images. Scholars have suggested that large devotional prints may also have functioned as private altars, once glued onto hard surfaces and painted; matrices themselves could be hung and become objects of devotion, as implied by the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Interior of a poor household, whereabouts unknown, put up for auction at Sotheby’s in London on 11 July 1972, as published in Miller, ‘Prints’, pl. 22.4.
\item Woodblocks, Modena, Galleria Estense: 520 x 357 x 26 mm, Soliani collection, no. 4620; 396 x 242 x 24, Soliani collection, no. 4636 mm; 257 x 179 x 20 mm, Barelli collection, no. 4664; 236 x 171 x 26 mm, Soliani collection, no. 4732; and \textit{Madonna del Carmine, Saint Carlo Borromeo, Trinity, angels bearing the Veil of Veronica}, 370 x 274 mm, Soliani collection, no. 5009. On the Madonna di San Luca see the literature quoted in n. 92 in § 2.1.
\item Woodblocks, Modena, Galleria Estense, Soliani collection: 412 x 282 x 21 mm, no. 4922; 394 x 315 x 20 mm, no. 4939; 273 x 411 mm, no. 4964; and 393 x 283 mm, no. 4930. For earlier, fifteenth-century cases of single prints that underwent cutting and pasting, see David S. Areford, \textit{La nave e lo scheletro: le stampe di Jacopo Rubieri alla Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna} (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2017), who examines the private album produced by the fifteenth-century lawyer and print collector analysed, and more broadly Roberto Cobianchi, ‘The Use of Woodcuts in Fifteen-Century Italy’, \textit{Print Quarterly}, 23 (2006), 47–54.
\end{enumerate}
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presence of hooks and white paste found in carvings in order to make lines stand out.\footnote{Woodblocks, Modena, Galleria Estense: Crucifixion with angels that collect the blood of Christ, 256 x 179 x 22 mm, Mucchi collection, no. 18004; Candle-bearing angels, 192 x 271 x 25 mm, Soliani collection, no. 4773; woodblock, 113 x 178 x 14 mm, Mucchi collection, no. 18019; and the woodblocks respectively 78 x 73 x 24 and 116 x 87 x 23 mm, Mucchi collection, nos 15745 and 15764, which show the paste-filling but no hooks. On the matrices discussed in this paper see also Maria Lodovica Piazzi, ‘Manipolazioni e falsificazioni nelle matrici xilografiche Soliani-Barelli e Mucchi’, in Le matrici della Galleria Estense, ed. by Goldoni, Levi, and Mozzo, pp. 134–158, as well as Alberto Milano, ‘E.S. 29’, no. 219, in I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza.} \textbf{Figures nos 92-93} As further confirmation of the connection between cheaply-printed domestic items and women, early-modern religious literature often instructed women to create their own indoor altars with cheap materials. For instance, the \textit{Decor puellarum} by the saintly layman Giovanni di Dio—a fifteenth-century manual for the female youth again popular in the post-Tridentine period—advised women to ‘make a small altar for yourselves that [you] shall delight in and adorn with pretty and pious images and also pleasing ornaments and embroidery or wooden panels with your own hands’.\footnote{Gabriella Zarri, ‘La vita religiosa femminile tra devozione e chiostro. Testi devoti in volgare editi tra il 1475 e il 1520’, in eadem, Libri di spirito: editoria religiosa in volgare nei secoli XVI-XVII (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 2009), pp. 61–101, p. 90: ‘Fateve un altarolo el quale delectateve adornar de belle imagine et devote, cum belli ornamenti o de recami over de stai de vostre man’. For further treatises aimed at women and young females see Michele Nicole Robinson, ‘The Material Culture of Female Youth in Bologna, 1550–1600’, in The Youth of Early Modern Women, ed. by Elizabeth Storr Cohen and Margaret Reeves (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 235–254.} Printed and woodcut altars indeed show that devout Bolognese women did experience cheaply-printed devotional items via their materiality and ability to traverse different media and objects, in the same way as in the public space.

Cheaply-printed devotional items circulated across private and public spaces in further ways. First, the Bolognese urban audience had access to devotional broadsheets through sanctuaries and religious festivities where they were sold or distributed for free.\footnote{See again Cobianchi, ‘The Use of Woodcuts’, for the fifteenth-century documentation of printed religious ephemera distributed a processions and at specific celebrations, such as after the canonizations of Saints Catherine of Siena and Nicholas of Tolentino, as commissioned by the religious orders and confraternities involved in these events. On printed devotional images and tokens, in addition to Areford, The Viewer and the Printed Image, see Robert Maniura, ‘The Images and Miracles of Santa Maria delle Carceri’, in The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance, ed. by Erik Thunø and Gerard Wolf (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2006).} The etchings by Annibale Carracci and Mitelli, with which
I opened this chapter, depict how print pedlars hawked in the proximity of religious buildings. Devotional printed ephemera were also posted outside churches, on doors and noticeboards, and on external walls, as in the case of the ex-voto images of the Virgin Mary posted following alleged miracles, such as liberations from demonic possessions, or along the path of the Madonna di San Luca’s processions through Bologna. At the same time, cheap print adapted and further circulated, through a wider audience, more distinguished iconographic models of religious images, as artistic prints of devotional subject by established Bolognese printmakers were translated into woodcut versions no longer meant for print amateurs but for a wider dissemination. For instance, poor-quality broadsheet woodcuts reproduced prints of the Madonna del Carmine and San Carlo Borromeo d’après, respectively, Francesco Brizio and Giovan Battista Coriolano, both pupils of the Carracci school and protagonists of seventeenth-century art in Bologna.

These adaptations also appeared alongside those of the Madonna of San Luca and San Petronio in the aforementioned santini woodblocks. In light of this, artistic prints, whose circulation was limited to the studios of amateurs and collectors, can be seen alongside the more widespread and mass-produced printed devotional ephemera.

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2004), pp. 81–95, who discusses in particular the printed devotional ephemera distributed at the site of a miraculous apparition in early modern Prato.

See Pomata, Contracting a Cure, p. 79, for the mention of allegedly miraculous images of the Virgin Mary and the relevant investigation dossiers dating from 1585 to 1796 and preserved in the archive of the Bolognese Archbishopric, which I have not consulted in person.

Woodblocks, Modena, Galleria Estense: Saint Carlo Borromeo kneeled in adoration of the Cross, 245 x 170 x 20 mm, Soliani collection, no. 4855; The Madonna of Mount Carmel with the Infant Christ and Angels, 254 x 169 x 22 and 256 x 174 x 23 mm, Soliani collection, nos 4579 and 4737 respectively. On these woodblocks, see Rosamaria Menabue and Gabriella Roganti, ‘S. Carlo Borromeo’, no. 144, and ‘La Madonna del Carmine’, no. 130, both in I legni incisi, ed. by Soprintendenza. For Brizio’s etching see no. B.5 (256), in TIB, vol. XL ‘Italian Masters of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, ed. by Veronika Birke (1982) [270 x 193 mm, Vienna, Albertina Graphische Sammlung, HB 36, 1, p. 16, 32]; for Coriolano’s woodcut, see no. 2-I 67, in TIB, vol. XLI ‘Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century’, ed. by Veronika Birke (1987) [246 x 168 mm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum, no. 49.62.14]. This woodcut, dated 1619, was in itself d’après a 1613-14 painting by Guercino, at the time in the Collegiata of S. Biagio in Modena; I refer to Coriolano’s work as a source for Bolognese cheap print, regardless of the origin of the place the painting was intended for, because the second state has been historically documented in Bolognese collections, such as the eighteenth-century one of prints and drawings of Cardinal Prospero Lambertini in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Bologna, where the print is now preserved: Gaeta Bertelà and Ferrara, Incisori bolognesi ed emiliani, no. 35. On the two printmakers see Alessandro Brogi, ‘Brevi su Francesco Brizio’, Nuovi studi, 17 (2007), 137–143, and Naoko Takahatake, ‘Coriolano’, Print Quarterly, 27 (2010), 103–130.
be seen as just a phase in the life of certain religious images that jobbing printing brought to a wider urban audience. To give just one example, on the woodblock d’après Coriolano of San Borromeo the addressees’ names on the bottom-left step has been replaced with the inscription ‘San Carlo Borromeo ora pro nobis’ (‘Saint Charles Borromeo pray for us’). The removal of details such as artists’ or addressees’ names in favour of a general spiritual invocation was not an unprecedented strategy for appealing to a broader public for ephemeral prints.¹²⁰

In a similar fashion to their consumption of vernacular secular cheap print, the Bolognese audience had access to the same printed devotional ephemera across different media, and in both private and public spaces, encouraged by post-Tridentine spiritual reforms and preaching practices. A collective and mixed oral and written consumption of cheaply-printed items was intended to help those who still struggled to read a text, as in the case of the devotional-cum-grammar booklets for the pupils of the Schools of the Christian Doctrine devised by Cardinal Paleotti (see § 2.1). Adapting practices that were staples of Renaissance schools, the structure of the Dottrina booklets revolved around an intermediated access for the Bolognese youth, as such booklets began with chapters built around questions and answers between teacher and pupil, followed by a section with the songs and prayers children sang during classes.¹²¹ The help of an intermediary is also prescribed in the official ephemera regulating the teaching of the Christian Doctrine: for instance, a broadsheet instructs priests of the countryside around Bologna to teach children the main prayers and formulas—the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Apostles’ Creed—by reading aloud from a booklet of the Christian Doctrine in the children’s hands, so as to help the many pupils who did not know or struggled to read on their own.¹²² In Croce’s Processo overo esamine di

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¹²⁰ See Rosa Salzberg, ‘The Word on the Street: Street Performers and Devotional Texts in Italian Renaissance Cities’, in Oral Culture in Early Modern Italy, ed. by Dall’Aglio, Degl’Innocenti, Richardson, Rospocher, and Sbordoni, pp. 336–348, especially p. 340, and Salzberg, Ephemeral City, pp. 114–116, for the examination of a cheaply-printed pamphlet on the miracles of Saint Roch by the street singer Eustachio Celebrino (fl.16th century), whose title-page woodcut copies the famous painting by either Giorgione (1470s-1510) or Titian (1488/90-1576) then kept in Venice in the School of S. Rocco (the pamphlet likely worked as a printed souvenir for the faithful visiting the miraculous artpiece in the church).

¹²¹ For these editions see Table 2.1 in § 2.1.

¹²² AABo, Miscellanee vecchie, Miscellanea della Mensa, vol. 785, b. 6, Compagnia della Dottrina
Carnevale, the same interactive structure, with prompts for questions and answers (‘Interrogatus […] respondit’), is employed to engage his audience, a well as to create a parody of trial inquisitions. Intermediation also brought cheaply-printed devotional texts to the Bolognese faithful outside education and in everyday devotion, as after the Council of Trent figures like confessors and spiritual fathers were urged to mediate readings in order to control the interpretation but also to assist less literate people. The title of the Esercitio del Santissimo Rosario, written by the Bolognese Dominican Tommaso Guancetti, explicitly describes the purpose of his work as being to accompany group devotions of the rosary (‘per dirlo in compagnia per tutti’), and its intended audience as made up of ‘simple folk’ (‘i semplici’).

At the same time, the local faithful had access to devotional content in the form of sermons, which they flocked to in churches and public squares. The words and delivery of these sermons were designed to attract and engage the audience’s participation. For instance, Francesco Panigarola (1548-1594),

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124 On this particular aspect of post-Tridentine devotion and spirituality, see Gabriella Zarri, ‘Note su diffusione e circolazione di testi devoti (1520-1550)’, in eadem, Libri di spirito, pp. 103–146 and the relevant bibliography quoted there.

125 Tommaso Guancetti, Esercitio del Santissimo Rosario, utilissimo 1° per dirlo in compagnia per tutti 2° per saper vincere le tentazioni 3° per disporre alla santissima comunione 4° per i semplici […] (Bologna: Sebastiano Bonomi, 1618), 12°, 288 pp., BCAB, 2.c.I.44.

126 See Roberto Rusconi, ‘Predicatori e predicazione (secoli IX–XVIII)’, in ‘Intellettuali e potere’, ed. by Vivanti, pp. 951–1035; Peter F. Howard, Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus 1427-1459 (Florence: Olschki, 1995), especially pp. 142–148; Emily Michelson, ‘Dramatics in (and out of) the Pulpit in Post-Tridentine Italy’, in Oral Culture in Early Modern Italy, ed. by Dall’Aglio, Degl’Innocenti, Richardson, Rospocher, and Sbordoni, pp. 449–462; and Ottavia Niccoli, ‘Pregare con la bocca, con gli occhi e col cuore nell’Italia della prima età moderna’, in Oral Culture in Early Modern Italy, ed. by Dall’Aglio, Degl’Innocenti, Richardson, Rospocher, and Sbordoni, pp. 418–436. In a similar way, music was used in the liturgy of post-Tridentine confraternities to spread literacy education throughout all
Bishop of Asti and one of the most successful preachers of the post-Tridentine period, made frequent use of direct addresses to the audience present (‘You, my Bolognese men and women’) when delivering his sermons in the vernacular in S. Petronio. However, here Panigarola also used words—and most likely gestures—to draw attention to the ecclesiastical furnishings of the church, such as the crucifix (‘I turn full of love to you, o Holy Cross’), as well as at the large crowd (‘Have hear, o temple, for unless our behaviour does not change, few amongst yourselves will be alive in some days’).

Religious functions and processions dominated the public urban space of Bologna, too, and this fact did not escape Croce, who adapted the ploys and performative art of street singers discussed above to these circumstances. In one of his non-satirical works dedicated to the procession of the Madonna di San Luca, the Bolognese audience was made aware of their surroundings by the words, performed by Croce, of a pilgrim, who wonders what it is that is happening around him:

What extraordinary cheering is this, what triumphant joy, what royal, majestic and lavish float, what is this happy procession through all of the social layers: see Noel O’Regan, ‘Music, Memory, and Faith: How Did Singing in Latin and the Vernacular Influence What People Knew about their Faith in Early Modern Rome?’, in *Oral Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Dall’Aglio, Degl’Innocenti, Richardson, Rospocher, and Sbordoni, pp. 437–448, and especially pp. 442–443 for the compresence of both Latin and the vernacular in such music in the Roman context.

neighbourhoods of this great city that I am seeing?¹²⁸

Like all of the local jobbing printing, cheaply-printed devotional items reached the broad urban audience across different media and materials. Reinforcing the appeal of sensory interactions and cross-references, the Bolognese audience made the consumption of such items possible between different places, and especially between the home and the piazza.

§ 3.2

Everyday, Everywhere: The Urban Spaces for Cheap Print in Bologna

In the 1636 view of Bologna drawn by Giovanni Luigi Valesio and engraved by Constantino Aretusi, the main square of the city, Piazza Maggiore, occupies the physical and emotional centre of the composition. The copy preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio comes with its own legend, which describes at length all the buildings and streets that merited a number on the composition. However, among the more than three hundred such landmarks, we struggle to find any mention of the patrician palaces that adorned the city between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead, next to the public palaces and the places of devotion and assistance, such as churches, hospitals, and congregations buildings, the legend thoroughly records the names of streets and the trades associated with them. Starting from Piazza Maggiore and moving outwards the city, we encounter the main public building and the market streets, all rendered in fine detail, and end in the areas close to the city’s twelve gates. Bologna is thus depicted as bursting with activity and people, and firmly anchored to its core, the main square, where all public life and commerce originates.

This map deftly portrays the mutual connection between spaces and their functions that also applied to cheap print and its urban consumption. Piazza Maggiore dominated the urban space of Bologna in this sense, too. Street singers like Croce sold their cheaply-printed ballads themselves during and after public performances that took place in this square and in the connected open space of Piazza del Nettuno. Shops of stationers and paper-makers, such as the Benacci,
lined the sides of the square. Furthermore, the area around Piazza Maggiore accomodated Bologna’s public and ecclesiastical palaces, its central market, and the historic *studium*. It comes as no surprise then that the ensuing concentration of people in these premises provided the best conditions also for the proclamation, circulation, and posting of broadsheets and printed forms in the open, as well as inside inns and shops (as described in § 2.2). At the same time, the Bolognese public had also access to cheaply-printed items throughout the city. Print pedlars, *pegolotti*, and *ventaroli* hawked them on the city’s streets and squares, but people could also resort to the shops in the Porta San Procolo and Porta Stiera quarters (corresponding to the south-west and north-west of Bologna), where booksellers and paper-makers respectively concentrated in order to build on commercial and social connections (on the latter see § 1.2 and § 1.3). Proclamations and the posting of official printed ephemera also took place at certain focal points such as the main churches and city gates. The spaces for cheap-print consumption were further connected to each other by having more peripheral urban areas and dissemination hubs refer to and interact with the main public space of Piazza Maggiore. As a result, the Bolognese public had access to different types of cheap print, from printed decrees to satirical ballads and paper fans, all together almost everywhere throughout Bologna.

The examination of the urban spaces where the Bolognese audience consumed cheap print also establishes the ground for a concrete and spatial visualization of the city’s public sphere in the area of Piazza Maggiore. In this respect, this section builds on a recent strand of scholarship emphasizing the relationship between the public spaces of early modern cities and the creation and circulation of information. These studies have particularly highlighted the constant and mutual exchange between the different means for the circulation of information, above all oral and printed, and how certain key public spaces helped shape its everyday experience and the creation of a distinctive urban culture.130

The case of post-Tridentine Bologna has so far been neglected in this sense, and therefore this section aims to show the significance of Piazza Maggiore especially for its concentration of both official and commercial cheap print. Furthermore, the architectural interventions by the local power-holders on the buildings and open spaces around Piazza Maggiore intervened on the dimension of Bologna as a ‘written city’ as they especially contributed to the presence and significance of public writings—not only in print form—across the urban space. In this way, the interconnected nature of the Bolognese cheap-print network and of its spatial consumption ultimately played an instrumental role in the evolution of the city’s public sphere and its everyday experience.

In light of all this, I start this section by examining the urban spaces where cheap print was specifically distributed and consumed by a broad local audience and how these marked the entire city of Bologna but always referred back to Piazza Maggiore. I will look at the mutual interaction between how these spaces influenced the access to cheap print and the impact of consumption practices on such spaces and their uses in return. For instance, the oral consumption of, chiefly, official decrees and satirical ballads led the Bolognese urban audience to gather in specific squares where a wide range of printed ephemera was easily read aloud at the same time. Moreover, by discussing the spatial dimension of cheap-print consumption this section shows the overlap of public functions—political, devotional, commercial, and communicative—of the buildings, squares, streets, and hubs, such as crossroads, where this consumption took place in Bologna. The brief overview of the architectural and urban works on Piazza Maggiore and its surroundings will offer, at this point, further evidence for how the concentration of all kinds of people, and consequently of information and objects in cheap-print form, contributed to the need to consolidate and revamp this multifunctional area. Overall, § 3.2 will therefore explore the spatial aspect of cheap-print consumption in Bologna in order to discuss the influence of consumption practices on its interconnected network for jobbing printing at the urban—that is, both public and local—level.

131 See n. 52 in the Introduction for the existing literature on the spatial dissemination of cheaply-printed items within Italian cities, which still overlooks the simultaneous distribution and consumption of commercial and official cheap print in the same spaces.
Two factors determined the spatial distribution of the places and professionals that sold cheap-print products throughout the public space of Bologna. Shops and market stalls selling cheap print were concentrated in the city centre, around the main square of Piazza Maggiore and thus close to the main public buildings, the market area, and the studium – an area counting for no more than a square kilometre in total. In contrast to other early modern cities across the Italian peninsula, in Bologna these places also overlapped in their functions, often helped by the possibility to rent out the ground floor of porticos and buildings to shop- and stall-keepers. Haberdashers, for instance, were concentrated in the arcades on the ground floor of the Palazzo del Podestà, where several offices of the Reggimento were located. The other factor was the mutual interconnection between cheap-print production and dissemination networks, both personal and commercial. Paper mills and shops were set up along the waterways within Bologna, such as the minor canals and the lock area originated by the Canale di Reno. At the same time, such places were connected back to the spatial centre of Bologna by the city’s grid and a network of print pedlars and pegolotti, who also hawked in the cluster around Piazza Maggiore. As a result, the Bolognese public had two main production and distribution hubs for cheap print, roughly to the north/north-west and south/south-east of the city.

Cheap-print shops and stalls stood at the core of Bologna’s public space around Piazza Maggiore. Stationer-printers often ran branch shops in the area. As I showed in § 1.2, the shop owned by Alessandro and Giovanni Battista Benacci in 1574 is documented in S. Michele del Foro Medio, a church once standing in the cluster of buildings behind the Palazzo del Podestà (see also below).132

132 ASBo, Notarile, Cesare Gherardi, 7/13-14, 16 October 1574, fols 167r-168v. See the passage quoted in n. 83 in § 1.2; I first discussed all of the notarial documents referred to in this section in § 1.2 and § 1.3. Until the modern era, the Palazzo del Podestà was not only in communication with the Palazzo di Re Enzo (on the eastern side) and the Palazzo Vecchio del Comune (on the west) behind it, but this cluster of buildings also included extensions and blocks that provided no solution of continuity with the market stalls and shops of the area, until the 1905-13 restoration works by Alfonso Rubbiani isolated the three main buildings from the adjacent squares; the now-lost parish of S. Michele del Foro Medio stood precisely in this cluster, in what is today the Piazza di Re Enzo. On the Palazzo del Podestà see Carlo De Angelis and Paolo Nannelli, ‘Il palazzo del Podestà’, in La piazza Maggiore di Bologna: storia, arte, costume, ed. by Gina Fasoli, Giancarlo
Furthermore, in 1591 Vittorio Benacci bought a two-storey shop in the market street behind the Portico dei Banchi dedicated to furrers (‘in contrata nuncupata le Pelizarie’).\textsuperscript{133} The Benacci likely continued to hold a place in the area for generations: at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the paper-maker Pietro Paolo Benacci, likely a descendant, ran a shop in Piazza Maggiore.\textsuperscript{134} At the same time, each group of sellers traditionally had a designated area for selling its wares on the Bolognese open-air market; thus, the porticos of the Palazzo del Podestà facing Piazza Maggiore were known as Voltone dei Merzai, i.e., of the haberdashers.\textsuperscript{135}

[Figure no. 96] As examined in § 1.3, Bolognese haberdashers also controlled the street peddling of, among others, cheaply-printed objects via the pegolotti. The prints d’après Annibale Carracci and by Mitelli show that these local pedlars were essential to capitalise upon the Bolognese cheap-print demand throughout the city, for they are depicted in the city’s streets and on the background of some religious buildings (see the opening of this chapter). All of this meant that, throughout the early modern period, the Bolognese audience had access to cheaply-printed products on sale in shops and stalls in this very concentrated area.

Paper and stationery shops more closely connected to mills were concentrated along Bologna’s canals. To the north/north-west of Bologna, the area between present-day via Ugo Bassi, via San Felice, and the expanse of the main city dock hosted several urban paper mills on the canals drawn from the Canale di Reno, alongside the majority of the silk and wood mills.\textsuperscript{136} In the area’s parishes of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Giorgio in Poggiale, the Benacci had owned a family home since 1548, right next to the church of SS Gregorio and Siro.\textsuperscript{137} The

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\textsuperscript{133} ASBo, Notarile, Evangelista Veli, 6/2, folder 1591-1602, 19 November 1591, fols 6v-7r; the passage is also quoted in n. 85 in § 1.2.

\textsuperscript{134} Tavoni, ‘Tipografi e produzione libraria’, p. 125, n. 27, and Bellettini, ‘Cartiere e cartari’, p. 38, but see also n. 171 in § 1.2 for the sale of the Benacci shop to Clemente Maria Sassi.

\textsuperscript{135} See the copperplate by the Bolognese Antonio Basoli (1774-1848), Portico del Palazzo detto del Podestà in Bologna, aquatint, 1831, 377 x 480 mm, FCRB, Prints and drawings collection, no. 3656 [state published in 1833].

\textsuperscript{136} On the Bolognese mills network see § 1.2.

\textsuperscript{137} ASBo, Notarile, Cesare Gherardi, 7/13-14, 3 September 1548, fols 57r-58v; ASBo, Notarile, Ludovico Gambalunga, 6/3, 10 September 1584, fols 138v-140r; and ASBo, Notarile, Girolamo
Bonardos also lived here, from 1539 at least, and set up a paper mill in 1542; from
1535 they owned a paper-cum-printshop in via delle Pugliole di San Bernardino,
on the northern side of the Canale di Reno, too. Day labourers and lower-class
artisans who worked in the area’s paper mills were also concentrated in the area,
such as the paper-maker brothers Tomba that worked for Vittorio Benacci in 1614
and lived in S. Giorgio in Poggiale. In the neighbourhood called ‘delle Lame’,
first in via del Rondone (which at the time stretched up to via Azzo Gardino) and
then closer to the city walls towards the church of the SS Crocefisso (also called
of the ‘Madonna del Porto’), lived Giulio Cesare Croce, who is also reported to
have owned a small shop further east along the Reno canal, in present-day via
Malcontenti, which ran between the canal and the cathedral of S. Pietro.
Furthermore, stationers in Bologna established themselves along the canal Àposta,
running through Bologna eastwards to Piazza Maggiore, and several minor canals
drawn from it. The streets devoted to their trade, via Cartolaria Vecchia and
Nuova (present-day via Guerrazzi), cut across Strada Castiglione, Strada Santo
Stefano, and Strada Maggiore, around the church and monastery of S. Maria dei
Servi.
In the local parish of S. Biagio lived the stationer Ludovico Migliorini,

Fasanini, 6/1, 14 January 1589, fols 17v-18r; see also nn. 66-68 and the passage quoted in 71 in §
1.2. Bartolomeo Benacci, a relative of Vittorio on his father’s side, who worked as a bookseller in
the mid-1590s, also lived in the area, as the notarial documents where he signs as a witness see
him moving from S. Siro to S. Colombano: ASBo, Notarile, Francesco Maladrati, 6/5, 14 July
1595, fols 142r-144r: ‘[…] Domino Bartholomeo quondam Elisei de Benatiis cive Bononiense
Capellae Sancti Sirri’; ASBo, Francesco Maladrati, b. R-S, 30 July 1596, fols 229v-245r: ‘Domino
Bartholomeo quondam Elisei de Benatiis cive Bononiense Capellae Sancti Colombani’, both
documents also quoted in n. 166 in § 1.2.

138 ASBo, Notarile, Pietro Zanettini, 7/10, 25 September 1539, no. 207, and ASBo, Notarile,
Bartolomeo Algardi, 7/14, 13 February 1542, fols 89r-92v; see the passage quoted in n. 94 in §
1.2. See also the Bonardos’ subscriptions in Leandro Alberti’s De divi Dominici Calaguritani obitu
et sepultura […] libellus, and the Constitutiones synodales Bononienses, and the bibliographical
information of these editions in n. 95 in § 1.2.

139 ASBo, Notarile, Andrea Fabbri, 27 May 1614, fols 104v-106v, fol. 104v: ‘[…] Magister
Dominicus et Antonius fratres filiique et haeredes olim Magistri Augustini de Tomba Capellae
Sancti Georgii in Pogiale’; the document is also quoted in nn. 77, 79, and 126 in § 1.2.

arguto”, pp. 35–51, p. 40, in Le stagioni di un cantimbanco, ed. by Zanardi.

141 A document dated 22 May 1587 in ASBo, Assunteria d’Arti, Assunteria d’Arti, Notizie sopra le
arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1, folder ‘Cartolai e tinteri uniti, Atti (1545-1726)’, voices the
carriage of the people living nearby with respect to the fumes and discharge caused by the tanning
activities of the stationers.
who is well documented in the Arte dei Cartolari.¹⁴²

A great number of booksellers’ shops stood alongside those of stationers, bookbinders, and tanners around the quarter of S. Procolo.¹⁴³ These activities first flourished because of the presence of the Áposa, which entered Bologna from the south (between the Mamolo, now D’Azeglio, and Castiglione city gates). Within this area, Giovanni Rossi established his printing press and bookshop ‘all’insegna del Mercurio’ in via San Mamolo immediately after he moved to Bologna in 1562.¹⁴⁴ Seasonal festivities attracting large crowds offered another reason for print and book businesses to operate in this quarter: above all, Bolognese people gathered along via San Mamolo during carnival processions, which exited the city via the gates at the end of it.¹⁴⁵ More importantly, the area was well connected to Piazza del Pavaglione, around which the majority of more-established Bolognese booksellers had their shops to serve the students and professors of the studium (on this see below).¹⁴⁶ Along the streets between via dei Librai, or dei Libri, via degli Ansaldi (both corresponding to present-day via Farini), and the the porticos of the Archiginnasio building, professional booksellers like Simone Parlasca (1585-1617,

¹⁴² ASBo, Notarile, Melchiorre Panzacchia, 6/6 (vol. R-S), 9 April 1591, fols 37r-39r, fol. 39r: ‘[…] Ludovico quondam Giovanni de Migliorini Bononiensis civis et cartularius Capellae Sancti Blasii’. Ludovico Migliorini is recorded in the united guild of stationers and dyers over several years: ASBo, Assunteria d’Arte, Notizie sopra le arti, ‘Cartolai e tentori’, vol. 1, b, ‘Cartolai e tintori uniti, Atti (1545-1726)’, handwritten lists of the guild’s members dated 9 October 1603, 13 June and 30 November 1609, 1615 (no precise date), 11 July 1618, 1624, and 1629 (no precise dates). Ibid., lists dated 27 February 1569 and 1574 (no precise date) mention a Marco Antonio Migliorini (or Miorni), a predecessor of Ludovico in this family business; Marco Antonio Migliorini is also the name of Ludovico’s likely son, who appears in another 1629 list at ibid., certainly following the death of Ludovico in the same year.

¹⁴³ See De Tata, ‘Il commercio librario’, fig. no. VI. My overview of the distribution of bookshops in post-Tridentine Bologna draws greatly on De Tata’s reconstruction and on Fregni’s ‘Librai e botteghe di libri’, despite the focus of the latter on the eighteenth century. On the lack of a comprehensive study of the early modern Bolognese book trade see also my reflections in the introduction to Chapter 1.

¹⁴⁴ Regarding Rossi, see the colophon in Literae Caroli Christianissimi Regis exhibitae ab illustissimo Domino Cardinali a Lotharingia ad sanctam Tridentinam Synodem, et oratio eiusdem principis et cardinalis (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1562), 4°, [6] fols, BNCF, 1035.22./a; the complete title states that the edition was printed after November 1562. See the digital edition at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_FTszQ2C7VzEC [last accessed 24 June 2020].


¹⁴⁶ See Sorbelli, Notizie sugli antichi librai.
active in Bologna from 1591) ran their shops side by side with those of more cheap-print oriented figures like Pellegrino Bonardo and Giovanni Battista Ferroni. Further towards the south-east of Bologna, but still connected to the studium area, stood Bartolomeo Cochi’s business ‘al Pozzo Rosso’, i.e. nearby the crossroads and the nunnery of S. Maria della Vittoria of the same name.

In the case of governmental and administrative cheap print, the Bolognese authorities broadcasted and brought it directly to the public it needed to reach. Organized around consumption hubs radiating from the key space of Piazza Maggiore throughout the city, the consumption of printed ephemera, and especially broadsheets, occupied the entire urban space of post-Tridentine Bologna. Cheap-print consumption shaped urban space also when official and bureaucratic printed ephemera were not meant for the broad urban public or for a wider circulation outside institutions. In the case of the studium, the physical space of the Archiginnasio building played a significant role in the way professors and students used job printing. They therefore transformed the building into a place of dissemination and consumption itself, and reinforced the vocation of its surroundings—in the area around Piazza Maggiore—as a key urban area for the sale and circulation of cheaply-printed items, thus contributing to the interconnectedness of the local cheap-print market.

All kinds of people had access to official printed ephemera in the core of Bologna, Piazza Maggiore, in the form of decree proclamations and posting. Here, town criers accompanied by trumpeters proclaimed decrees, notifications, and bans from the now-lost Ringhiera degli Anziani, one of the balconies of Palazzo Pubblico on the west corner of the square, the seat of the Bolognese Senate and


148 See for instance the full subscription in Croce’s aforementioned Comiato di Carnovale (quoted in n. 145 above): ‘In Bologna, per lo Erede del Cochi incontro Io Studio’.
papal legate.\textsuperscript{149} This happened especially in the case of decrees of general interest, such as war announcements and jubilees, while judicial proclamations, such as bans and sentences, were proclaimed from the central balcony of the Palazzo del Podestà, on the north side of the square, which was the headquarters of the city’s justice offices. The Bolognese antiquarian and historian Giovanni Niccolò Pasquali Alidosi (1570-1627) describes the custom thus:

In the year 1406, it was tradition to proclaim from the balcony [of the Palazzo della Signoria] the announcements concerning the city, such as war, peace, and surrenders, the election of new rulers and holders of power in Bologna, and its victories and alliances. Nowadays, jubilees are also announced here, alongside indulgences and processions. […] And in 1406, the insignia of the Podestà started to be displayed from the balcony of his palace when justice was being administered; here sentences against any wrongdoers were read aloud, and it was proclaimed who was to be banned and exiled.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{149} On this area and the civic buildings here, see La piazza Maggiore, ed. by Fasoli, Roversi, Bergonzoni, and Riccomini; Hans W. Hubert, Der Palazzo Comunale von Bologna: vom Palazzo della Biada zum Palatium Apostolicum (Cologne: Bohlau, 1993); Il palazzo comunale di Bologna: storia, architettura e restauri, ed. by Camilla Bottino (Bologna: Compositori, 1999); and Richard J. Tuttle, Piazza Maggiore. Studi su Bologna nel Cinquecento (Venice: Marsilio, 2001).

In fact, the main balcony of Palazzo Pubblico, which was above its main entrance and further on the right and called Ringhiera di Palazzo, was meant for the public appearances and announcements of the cardinal legate (whose side of the building, on the south-west corner, did not have any openings of this kind). To give a concrete form to Roman rule over Bologna, a larger-than-life statue of Pope Gregory XIII was placed—and still stands—on this balcony, the last in a series of commissions after the papacy seized the city in 1506. As a result, by-standers in Piazza Maggiore would know what type of proclamations and announcements to expect according to the balcony used by town criers and authorities.\footnote{See, for instance, the 1775 illumination depicting Piazza Maggiore in the Insignia degli Anziani codices held at the ASBo, where the two balconies are clearly distinguished: Giuseppe Plessi, Le Insignia degli Anziani del Commune dal 1530 al 1796. Catalogo-inventario (Rome: Ministero dell’Interno, 1954), p. 280 [vol. XV, fol. 89r, illumination by Giovanni Zambelli for the first bimestre of 1775]. The Ringhiera degli Anziani would be destroyed during the 1876 ‘restoration’ works by Antonio Zannoni; on these, see Franco Bergonzoni, ‘Restauri e interventi sui prospetti del Palazzo Comunale nei secoli XIX e XX’, in Il palazzo comunale, ed. by Bottino, pp. 148–163.}

The Bolognese populace did not only hear such decrees and notifications, for it encountered them in their printed form throughout the urban space. First and foremost, official broadsheets were posted on the lower walls of the Palazzo Pubblico and on the stairs of the Palazzo del Podestà, where anyone could see them. This practice continued until the nineteenth century before restoration works to the Palazzo Pubblico replaced the escarpment on the ground level with the portico standing nowadays.\footnote{See the copperplate by Antonio Basoli: Piazza Maggiore, aquatint, 1829, 380 x 480 mm, FCRB, Prints and drawings collection, no. 3651 [state published in 1833]. On this specific restoration of Palazzo Pubblico, carried out in 1885-87 by Raffaele Faccioli, see Bergonzoni, ‘Restauri e interventi’, but also Hans W. Hubert, ‘La nascita e lo sviluppo architettonico del Palazzo del Comune di Bologna fra potere comunale e potere papale’, in Il palazzo comunale, ed. by Bottino, pp. 64–87, p. 66.}

Official broadsheets were then posted throughout the urban space at specific locations, such as the doors of the Cathedral of S. Pietro and of the Archbishop’s Palace, further north from Piazza Maggiore.\footnote{See the subscriptions ‘Da S. Pietro’ and ‘Da S. Pietro in Casa de’ SS. Ariosti’ in, respectively, ASBo, Riformatori dello Studio, vol. 60 ‘Tesi e conclusioni dei lettori, fogli di grande formato, Legisti e Artisti (1601-1678)’, nos 1-8 ‘Legisti 1601-1668’, no. 4, printed thesis in canon law of Pietro Pompeo Vincenzo Mantachetti discussed on 25 October 1665, and ibid., nos 1-15 ‘Artisti 1626-1678’, no. 1, printed thesis in medicine and philosophy of Bartolomeo Massario, discussed in 1626 (without precise date) and printed by Clemente Ferroni. On Bolognese printed theses see § 2.3.}
points where town criers were required to repeat decrees and bans. In the early modern period, such hubs consisted of the city gates, a group of early-medieval stone crosses scattered around Bologna, and specific crossroads called *trebbi*. Crosses had traditionally marked meaningful points within the Bolognese urban space where commercial and religious activities met: small public altars adorned them, and here servants were freed and daylabourers gathered to look for jobs; board games such as chess are also recorded as being played there. To make sure everyone read or knew of ordinances and public decrees, the Bolognese authorities also ordered official printed ephemera to be posted inside inns and shops, and not only with the purpose of displaying prices and regulations of specific goods, but also of policing the devotion and religious deportment of patrons and workers, as seen in § 2.2. Another instance where official cheap print was brought directly to the public that it was supposed to reach consisted of the devotional and spiritual booklets issued and printed by Cardinal Paleotti (see § 2.1), which were distributed by the (arch-)bishopric to the parishes and catechism schools, both in the city and the countryside. Official printed ephemera were potentially on sale in the city’s bookshops, as seems to be suggested by the existence of a group of decrees printed by Giovanni Rossi that mention, in the subscription, the address of his printing shop in via San Mamolo. However, in this case only literate people were involved, while the public and free display and proclamation of official printed ephemera crucially targeted the broad urban public.

The function of the other buildings lining Piazza Maggiore further increased the likelihood of the broad populace to come to this specific area of the city for their everyday needs and thus to be exposed and listen to the decrees and proclamations proclaimed by the balconies of the Palazzo della Signoria and del

156 See, for instance, the *Bando dell’illustre, et reverendissimo monsignor Doria governatore di Bologna* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1567), 4°, [8] fols, BCAB, 17.E.II.38, fol. 54* [BM 536].
Podestà. On the right of the Palazzo Pubblico, the Palazzo dei Notai hosted the professional body of the Bolognese notaries, and next to this stood S. Petronio, the city’s largest church. On the east side of Piazza Maggiore, the façades of the Portico dei Banchi hid from view the medieval streets and shops of the Mercato Vecchio, which stretched towards the still-standing medieval towers of the Asinelli and Garisenda in Piazza di Porta Ravegnana. While this was the area historically devoted in Bologna to retail shops, stalls and urban fairs were hosted regularly in the open space of Piazza Maggiore and under the porticos surrounding it, as we have seen in the case of haberdashers’ stalls in the Palazzo del Podestà. Palazzo Pubblico was the home of the city’s reserves of crops and grains (hence its traditional name of Palazzo delle Biade, or Palatium Bladii), the offices of the various civic assunterie and the courts for commercial and criminal matters (the latter being in the Torrone, the south-west keep of the palace, where Bologna’s jails also were), and (from the early seventeenth century) of Aldrovandi’s library, donated by him to the city. On the south side, finally, the notaries administering financial justice were based in their offices in Palazzo del Podestà. At the same time, the space of Piazza Maggiore had further public functions. Above all, festivals and ceremonies took place here: newly elected authorities such as legates and the Gonfalonieri di Giustizia appeared on the Ringhiera di Palazzo, and threw coins from here to the populace down in the square; a pork roast was thrown from the Ringhiera di Palazzo for the widely-participated Festa della Porchetta every August on Saint Bartholomew’s day, as narrated in several works by Croce; civic religious processions, such as that of the Madonna di San Luca, ended in the square. Furthermore, criminals sentenced to


158 On the fate of Aldrovandi’s library after his death in 1605, see Cristiana Scappini, Maria Pia Torricelli, and Sandra Tugnoli Pattaro, Lo Studio Aldrovandi in Palazzo Pubblico, 1617-1742 (Bologna: CLUEB, 1993).

159 Another illumination from the Insignia degli Anziani codices at the ASBo depicts the night procession for the swearing-in of the Gonfalonieri di Giustizia for the second bimestre of 1671, starting from the private palace of the newly-elected official and ending in Piazza Maggiore, where the trumpeters of the Reggimento welcome him from the Ringhiera di Palazzo: Plessi, Le Insignia degli Anziani, pp. 149–150 [vol. IX, fols 35v-36a, illumination by Vincenzo Tassi, second bimestre 1671]. See Giulio Cesare Croce’s Canzone sopra la Porcellina […] (Bologna: Eredi del Cochi, 1622), 8º, [4] fols, BUB, Raro B 94/63, for a description, albeit for humorous purposes, of
death were hanged from the first level of the Palazzo del Podestà, after the civic authorities moved the public gallows from the square of San Giovanni del Mercato (present-day Piazza VIII Agosto); day labourers gathered on the stairs of S. Petronio when looking for employment. It makes sense, then, that the barber and civic official Pietro Vecchi requested a licence from the City Senate to rent a place on Piazza Maggiore for reading avvisi and gazettes for money.

The studium in particular contributed in different ways to the pervasiveness of cheap print throughout Bologna, first and foremost by associating itself with specific places and rituals taking place in the city centre. The Archiginnasio building was itself a place for cheap-print dissemination. The staff of the studium distributed and posted academic printed ephemera within the building, at the time also called the Scuole Nuove after its renovation in the early 1560s (see below). For instance, as we have seen, beadles oversaw the posting of printed rotuli (see § 2.3) in the two rooms, or stazioni, of the universitates of Legists and Artists, corresponding to the present-day Sala dello Stabat Mater and the main reading room of the municipal library of the Archiginnasio, respectively.

Printed ephemera used for bureaucratic purposes in the studium were also posted at the top of the two stairways (‘[da] notificare a capo delle the broad public attending the celebrations. For an introduction to the literary and iconographic tradition of the Festa della Porchetta, see La festa della porchetta a Bologna, ed. by Umberto Leotti and Marinella Pigozzi (Loreto: Tecnostampa, 2008).

Regarding the gallows in Piazza Maggiore, see Natale, ‘La piazza delle crudeltà’, quoting from a 1064 entry of the Libro de Giustiziati di Bologna of the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte [BUB ms. 2042]; Piazza San Giovanni del Mercato, as the name suggests, was then turned into a market square for groceries and cattle. Pomata, Contracting a Cure, p. 130, reports how a young peasant called Tommaso Pascarini used to go ‘to the main square and [wait] near the stairs of S. Petronio with other harvesters, hoping to be hired’; Pascarini later received treatment for a suspect bubon at the hospital of Santa Maria della Vita.

Bellettini, ‘Pietro Vecchi’, p. 71; the intended space has yet to be located.

After fifteen days the rotuli were taken down and filed in the public archive of the Camera Actorum (on which see n. 42 in § 2.1): Sorbelli, ‘Il Medioevo’, p. 189, and Simeoni, ‘L’étà moderna’, p. 22. See more broadly Simeoni, ‘L’étà moderna’, pp. 19–27 also on the distribution of functions in the rooms of the Archiginnasio, while on the building and its architectural history see L’Archiginnasio: il Palazzo, l’Università, la Biblioteca, ed. by Giancarlo Roversi, 2 vols (Bologna: Grafis, 1987) and Francesco Ceccarelli, ‘Scholarum Exaedificatio. La costruzione del palazzo dell’Archiginnasio e la piazza delle scuole a Bologna’, in L’Università e la città. Il ruolo di Padova e degli altri Atenei italiani nello sviluppo urbano, atti del convegno internazionale, Padova, 4-5-6 dicembre 2003 (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006), pp. 47–65, as well as Cavazza, La scuole dell’antico Studio, for an overview of the buildings that constituted the Bolognese studium before the Archiginnasio was built.
scale’) leading to such stazioni.\textsuperscript{163} Other academic printed ephemera (first discussed in § 2.3) were also distributed outside the studium. Handbills and notices were sent around Bologna to invite people to, or advertise, impeding public anatomy functions; during and after the public part of the graduation ceremony in the cathedral of S. Pietro, members of the academic community, such as professors and fellow students, and the extended family of the candidate received copies of the graduate’s academic theses.\textsuperscript{164} Although such printed ephemera commissioned and used by the studium did not end up in the hands of the broader Bolognese public, they spread through the city’s public space. In fact, as Croce’s parodies of Bolognese doctors and graduations show (see § 3.1), even the non-literate urban audience attending his performances understood his allusions.

The presence of the studium also contributed to the concentration of cheap-print shops around Piazza Maggiore by providing working opportunities in connection with the distribution and selling of print products to students and professors. As I briefly mentioned above, booksellers, bookbinders, and stationers lined up along the porticos of the Archiginnasio up to the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, as well as along the sides of Piazza del Pavaglione and the streets leading to the parish of S. Procolo. This spatial concentration was not only supported by the physical presence of students and professors around the Archiginnasio, but civic legislation explicitly encouraged it: a 1453 decree by the then Legate Cardinal Bessarion exempted booksellers and other relevant book-trade workers, such as bookbinders, from the ban against setting up shops and activities next to other people in the same trade, in opposition to what was usually prescribed for members of all other Bolognese guilds.\textsuperscript{165} More specifically, the Bolognese studium provided plentiful opportunities for the sale of cheap print- and paper-goods. In addition to lending books and peciae to students and

\textsuperscript{163} See the recurring instructions in this regard in ASBo, Assunteria di Studio, ‘Attì dell’Assunteria di Studio e Rota’, vols 8 (years 1614-1620) and 9 (years 1621-1634), passim; the archival series starts with 1614: Cencetti, Gli archivi dello Studio, p. 134.


\textsuperscript{165} Fregni, ‘Librai e botteghe di libri’, p. 303.
professors and trading in stationery items, one of the local stationarii was appointed by the two universitates of Artists and Legists as the studium’s bookseller and librarian (bibliopola et librarius) with the task of providing official estimates of those books and peciae that students needed to sell or pawn.\textsuperscript{166} The concentration of stationers and leather-workers in the ground-floor porticos of the Archiginnasio building regularly led students to complain about the stench coming from their shops.\textsuperscript{167} Moreover, the bookseller Bartolomeo Sopranini worked as a beadle for the canon law faculty; his son Vincenzo carried on the family stationery-bookselling business while also partnering with the printer Giovanni Domenico Moscatelli to produce mostly cheaply-printed items, such as vernacular pamphlets, devotional images, and paper fans.\textsuperscript{168} These examples all show how cheap-print consumption shaped the urban space of Bologna also in terms of opportunities associated with the local interconnected cheap-print network.

Stationers and pegolotti, town criers and pinners-up, all helped to circulate cheap print throughout the public space of Bologna and especially to sustain its consumption in the key space of Piazza Maggiore. They were not the only figures doing so, however, for cantimbanchi and a wide range of street performers were concentrated in this area to intercept the broad urban public. As a result, and because of the overlap with other types of consumption of various printed ephemera, the city’s main square became the key space for the type of interactive and intermedial consumption of cheaply-printed items described in § 3.1. The concentration of people that resulted also offered another reason for the local civic and ecclesiastical authorities to make alterations to the architecture and spaces of this area in the post-Tridentine period. The main square and its surroundings became associated with the presence of a varied and broad urban audience, and in this capacity it was important to occupy them visually not only with public

\textsuperscript{166} Philosophiae ac Medicinae scholarium Bononiensis Gymnasii statuta, p. 42 (for its bibliographical details see n. 181 in § 2.1). On cartolai and stationarii, see § 1.3.

\textsuperscript{167} See Morelli, “De Studio scolarium civitatis Bononie manutenendo”, 164. My gratitude goes to David Lines for drawing my attention to this detail.

\textsuperscript{168} De Tata, ‘Il commercio’, pp. 53–54 and especially n. 32. On the printing production of the Moscatelli-Sopranini partnership, see Bellettini, ‘Il torchio e i caratteri’, pp. 268–269.
writings but also state-of-the-art buildings and spaces.

To begin with, when it came to the dissemination and sale of his works, Giulio Cesare Croce was well aware of the importance of ‘catching’ his audience in different ways according to the spaces of Bologna. I described in § 3.1 how Croce directly addressed props and buildings around him to get the attention and response of by-standers, and in order to hopefully have them buy his ballads. The same works also inform us about how close his performances took place to such buildings in order for these allusions to work. In the aforementioned La cantina fallita, Croce directly addressed the bronze fountain statue of the Neptune, located between Piazza Maggiore and the name-sake square north of this; Croce also addressed not only the statue but the courtesans and prostitutes on their way to attending carnival celebrations in Piazza Maggiore in his work Per le cortegiane che vanno in maschera il carnevale. Furthermore, in his aforementioned Chiacchiaramenti sopra tutti i traffichi, Croce echoed the cries and vocabulary of the nearby market sellers, likely teasing these directly while performing. At the same time, in order to target its broad urban public Croce relied on an interconnected system that established a virtuous cycle between his performances and his printed works. First, at times he employed street sellers of ventarole and trusted pedlars, like a certain Boschino, who ‘made a living by selling on the square, and in these streets and others too, the many poems he [Croce] wrote’. Another hired pedlar that Croce mentions is the so-called Durinello. In terms of his printed works, Croce could also direct the audience attending his performances

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169 Giulio Cesare Croce, Per le cortegiane che vanno in maschera il carnevale (Bologna: Giovanni Domenico Moscatelli, 1605), 8°, [4] fols, BUB, ms. 3878 Opuscoli sciolti/16, fol. A1r: ‘Archipotentissimo monarca del mare Nettuno, ed honorabilissimo decoro della piazza di Bologna in gigante.’ For further examples of these composition devices by Croce see § 3.1, and especially n. 59 for the quotation of the relevant passage from La cantina fallita.


172 Croce, Canzone nova e ridicolosa in lode de’ sughi, fol. A1r: ‘Quest’operetta venite a comperare dal vostro sviscerato Durinello’; for the bibliographical data of this work see n. 34 in the Introduction.
to the bookshop ‘al Pozzo Rosso’ of the aforementioned Bolognese printer Bartolomeo Cochi, who printed the majority of his local editions, but he also used the piazza to further promote his back catalogue. To this specific end, in fact, Croce produced a list in 1608 advertising all of his editions available at the Cochi bookshop, including those printed by others, a form of printed advertisement that is unique among early modern cantimbanchi across the Italian peninsula. The back and forth between printshop and piazza took form in the double publication as both a broadsheet to be posted throughout Bologna, and in booklet format, at the end of his aforementioned Descrittione della vita.\footnote{Giulio Cesare Croce, Descrittione della vita [...] Et il vero indice di tutte l’opere di detto autore, così stampate, di tutte l’opere di Giulio Cesare dalla Croce, date da lui alla stampa fin a quest’anno 1608 (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1608), 4°, 48 pp., BL, 1071.h.39.(1.) [variant a], and Indice di tutte l’opere di Giulio Cesare dalla Croce, date da lui alla stampa fin a quest’anno 1608. Appresentato all’illustrissima città di Bologna (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cochi, 1608), broadsheet, BUB, ms. 3878, caps. LI [formerly LIIIbis], t. XIV/13. On this index and its following editions, see the literature quoted in n. 55 above with respect to the 1608 Descrittione della vita, but more specifically the bibliographical studies by Giovanni Nascimbenedi, ‘Note e ricerche intorno a Giulio Cesare Croce. V. L’Indice del 1608’, L’Archiginnasio, 8 (1913), 70–79, and Carlo Pincin, ‘Tre indici autentici di opere di Giulio Cesare dalla Croce’, Studi senesi, 37.3 (1988), 875–904. Research on this type of early modern bibliographies has focussed so far on scholarly authors: see Jurgen Beyer and Leigh T.I. Penman, ‘Printed Autobibliographies from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, in Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print, ed. by Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 161–184, and more generally Ann Blair, ‘Reference Genres and their Finding Devices’, in eadem, Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 117–172, especially pp. 161–166.} As a result, the way the local audience experienced the works of Croce, via his performances and pamphlets as well as in the city’s printshops, was deeply rooted in the urban space of Bologna.

However, Croce was not alone in hawking in this area, for the area of Piazza Maggiore was the ideal space within Bologna to find other sellers and performers associated with cheap print. Bologna was not short of public performers, such as comedians and actors of the commedia dell’arte (see § 3.1). Especially performers of vernacular theatre, such as the aforementioned Ludovico Bianchi and Aniello Soldano, shared with Croce a life spent between public and private stages and printshops, where they published editions following performances in the urban space.\footnote{In addition to Bianchi and Soldano, Camporesi, La maschera di Bertoldo, p. 233, mentions} Among these, there was Croce’s long-time

Furthermore, after the unveiling of the Neptune statue in 1565, the identification between the bronze statue and the hustle and bustle of activities and trades going on at its feet became a local visual trope. In a print by the aforementioned Mitelli, \textit{Le Arti di Bologna guidate da Pallade e Nettuno}, Neptune is represented as the divine protector of the market area and the city’s urban trades (the ‘arti piazzarole’), versus Athena who represents the liberal professions.\footnote{Da Panico, \textit{Le bellezze della piazza di Bologna}.} \footnote{Simone di Bologna, also known as ‘Panza di Pegora’, who worked with Bianchi in the Compagnia dei Golosi and whom Croce quotes in \textit{Il lachrimoso lamento che fe Zan Salcizza […]} (Venice: ‘al segno della Regina’, 1585), 8\textsuperscript{o}, [4] fols, Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, XIII a.57 30, and Francesco Gattici, author of the \textit{Le disgratie di Burattino. Comedia ridicolosa, e buffonesca} (Venice: Giovan Battista Combi, 1624), 12\textsuperscript{o}, 72 pp., BNCR, 34. 1.E.23.5, online at https://books.google.co.uk/books?vid=IBNR:CR000278445&redir_esc=y [last accessed 24 June 2020].} \footnote{Simone di Bologna, also known as ‘Panza di Pegora’, who worked with Bianchi in the Compagnia dei Golosi and whom Croce quotes in \textit{Il lachrimoso lamento che fe Zan Salcizza […]} (Venice: ‘al segno della Regina’, 1585), 8\textsuperscript{o}, [4] fols, Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, XIII a.57 30, and Francesco Gattici, author of the \textit{Le disgratie di Burattino. Comedia ridicolosa, e buffonesca} (Venice: Giovan Battista Combi, 1624), 12\textsuperscript{o}, 72 pp., BNCR, 34. 1.E.23.5, online at https://books.google.co.uk/books?vid=IBNR:CR000278445&redir_esc=y [last accessed 24 June 2020].} \textbf{[Figure no. 98]} Piazza Maggiore and the public rituals that took place there, such as the Festa della Porchetta, also figure in contemporary panegyrics of Bologna as key elements in the city’s identity, as in the case of Camillo da Panico’s titular \textit{Le bellezze della piazza di Bologna}.\footnote{Simone di Bologna, also known as ‘Panza di Pegora’, who worked with Bianchi in the Compagnia dei Golosi and whom Croce quotes in \textit{Il lachrimoso lamento che fe Zan Salcizza […]} (Venice: ‘al segno della Regina’, 1585), 8\textsuperscript{o}, [4] fols, Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, XIII a.57 30, and Francesco Gattici, author of the \textit{Le disgratie di Burattino. Comedia ridicolosa, e buffonesca} (Venice: Giovan Battista Combi, 1624), 12\textsuperscript{o}, 72 pp., BNCR, 34. 1.E.23.5, online at https://books.google.co.uk/books?vid=IBNR:CR000278445&redir_esc=y [last accessed 24 June 2020].} Cheap-print consumption helped to deepen the everyday connection between Piazza Maggiore
From an early date, the Bolognese authorities grasped the implications coming from the concentration of the local broad public for cheaply-printed items in the area around Piazza Maggiore. On the one hand, this concentration offered the best conditions to undertake interconnected policing practices, as briefly noted above and discussed in more detail in § 2.2. In the immediate aftermath of the Council of Trent, however, local civic and ecclesiastical holders of power directed their efforts to a series of related campaigns that restored and revamped the buildings and space of the Bolognese city centre. First, between 1561 and 1563, Pope Pius IV (né Giovanni Angelo Medici 1499-1565, in office since 1560) sponsored a new building for the local studium, later called the Archiginnasio. The move aimed to concentrate the student population in a single, functional place, and also resulted in the opening of the Piazza del Pavaglione behind S. Petronio and the erection of its portico, leading to Piazza Maggiore. Supervising the actual works was the Vice-Legate Pier Donato Cesi, who further promoted a detailed and coordinated plan of interventions on the buildings around the Piazza Maggiore. He commissioned the opening of the square in 1563 under the aforementioned bronze fountain of the Neptune, onto which the legate’s apartments in Palazzo Pubblico gave, and the erection of the Palazzo dei Banchi by Jacopo Barozzi, called Il Vignola (1507-1573), between 1565 and 1568. In 1575, the architect, painter, and printmaker Domenico Tibaldi (1541-1583) also began to renovate the Palazzo Arcivescovile. Between 1576 and 1580, Tibaldi also completed the triumphal decoration on the main balcony and portal of Palazzo Pubblico, started in 1550-55 by the architect Galeazzo Alessi (1512-1572), the former especially in order to receive the aforementioned statue of Pope Gregory XIII. While in some cases these architectural programmes were started under different legates, they all came to completion during Cesi’s term in office as cardinal legate of Bologna, in the early 1580s.

Such interventions eventually made explicit the connection between the public space around Piazza Maggiore and its use by all kinds of Bolognese people. First, Cesi’s architectural programmes were different in their intent from previous ones, like those in the first half of the fifteenth century. While the latter
aimed at making the city centre easier to defend—and seize—by armies, Cesi’s interventions shaped the city centre as an essentially interconnected space where each focal point coincided with a building with a recognizable governmental function.\textsuperscript{179} Interventions also included openings, as in the case of Piazza del Nettuno, which became a respite point between the civic buildings of Palazzo Pubblico and the Palazzo Arcivescovile a little to the north. Second, the early post-Tridentine period would shape the face of the area around Piazza Maggiore for good, for seventeenth-century works to public buildings in the area involved mostly their indoor spaces, such as the allocation and decoration of the various rooms of magistracies and offices in Palazzo Pubblico; moreover, the next major interventions on façades would only occur in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{180} Lastly, these interventions were not limited to architectural works, or urban planning, but proceeded to highlight the physical occupation of the public space by the authorities. It is worth remembering that before Gregory XIII’s statue was put up in the Righiera di Palazzo, Cesi had planned to place a similar larger-than-life statue of Pope Pius IV—in the act of crushing a snake—in the Piazza del Pavaglione, as a symbol of the victory of Tridentine and papal education over heresy.\textsuperscript{181}

Scholars have interpreted these interventions in post-Tridentine Bologna as celebratory displays of papal power and munificence, especially against the background of other public works, such as Cesi's Fontana Pubblica or the new urban dock, the Battiferro, built by Vignola in 1581. However, these interventions also crucially shaped the urban space of the ‘written city’.\textsuperscript{182} Following the campaigns of Cardinal Cesi in his two terms in office, by the end of the sixteenth century the areas within Bologna where cheap-print consumption occurred, and where a broad local public had access to political information, policing regulations, and potentially disruptive parodies, had been essentially refashioned, and in the process made easier to control. Still in the late-sixteenth and early-

\textsuperscript{181} Tuttle, ‘Strategie di progettazione’, p. 37
\textsuperscript{182} See the literature quoted in n. 54 in the Introduction.
seventeenth centuries, the everyday consumption of cheap print as part of a wider world of material items remained difficult to restrict: its intermedial, adaptable, and ubiquitous nature, constantly provided audiences with new and various ways to experience it — and new spaces, too, such as domestic ones, as seen in § 3.1. Bolognese producers and regulators of cheap print therefore increasingly acted on how all kinds of local people gathered throughout the city. A key example in this sense is the rationalization and opening of squares, such as Piazza del Nettuno. In the same period, a similar intention governed the opening of new student colleges throughout Bologna, in the hope of dispersing the student presence from the area around the Archiginnasio.\footnote{See Carlsmith, ‘Student Colleges’, pp. 71–82. On the increasing efforts to promote a clear spatial distinction between the *studium* and the city see also Gian Paolo Brizzi, ‘Gli studenti e la città’, in *Alma mater librorum*, pp. 101–109.} At the same time, the renewed, state-of-the-art classical aspect that architects such as Il Vignola and Tibaldi gave to the Bolognese city centre—an aspect that would mostly last until the late nineteenth century—reflected the different way power-holders started to see the urban space of Italian polities in the second half of the sixteenth century. As they realized the need to ‘speak to’ the local public, the civic and ecclesiastical authorities occupied the public space with buildings and monuments that provided the backdrop for communicating their power.\footnote{Speaking of Venice, Manfredo Tafuri, ‘Rinnovamento e crisi. Il dibattito sull’*imago urbis* fra il 1580 e l’Interdetto’, in *idem, Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), pp. 244–297, shows the strong connection between the classical architecture adopted for the civic buildings along Piazza San Marco between 1579 and 1596 and the changes in the government of the Venetian Republic that took place around the same time.} By scattering epigraphs and proclamation hubs in the spaces shared by street performers and stationery shops, the Bolognese power-holders acknowledged the need to get their own voice across the local audience and permeate the city by it. Among all the products of the press, only cheap print allowed them to turn political and administrative communication into an everyday urban experience for the post-Tridentine audience of Bologna.\footnote{On the interaction of cheap print and the monumental occupation of the public space of Bologna in the period following the city’s conquest by Pope Julius II in 1506 see Massimo Rospocher, *Il papa guerriero: Giulio II nello spazio pubblico europeo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015), especially 53-64; among other interventions, the pope commissioned a now-lost bronze statue of himself for the façade of S. Petronio to Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564), and another one in plaster for the main balcony of Palazzo Pubblico, where later that of Pope Gregory XIII was placed.}
The ways in which the Bolognese public consumed cheap print throughout the city sheds significant new light on their reading practices more broadly. First, the urban audience engaged with cheap print in an intermedial way, and not primarily, or exclusively, through a solitary reading experience. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Bolognese public had first and foremost access to cheaply-printed items through oral means and as a public event, such as it listened to the proclamations of official decrees by town criers and attended the performances of street singers and cantimbanchi. Even when cheaply-printed texts ended up in the hands of people, their consumption happened through collective and mediated readings, as in the case of ballads and parlour games read aloud during domestic gatherings and night-time shifts. This practice transferred easily to the open space, for the same kind of collective readings applied to news reports. With time, public readings became a stable component of the Bolognese public sphere, to the point that Mitelli poked fun at it: in the etching *Agli appassionati delle guerre* ('To war enthusiasts'), a man with glasses sits at the centre of a small crowd, reading from a sheet of *avvisi*—evidently war-related—to a public made up of varied people, including well-dressed men and a water-carrier.\(^\text{186}\) [Figure no. 100] The combination of oral means and public context of dissemination also explains how the Bolognese audience consumed content via cheap print in textual or iconographic form at the same time and across different objects and materials, as we have seen with respect to the mutual allusions and cross-references between *commedia dell’arte*, Croce’s oeuvre, and local games, and to parodies of news reports via the subversion of their traditional format and layout.

Furthermore, this interactive consumption and the close-knit ties between the activities based around Piazza Maggiore in its political, religious, commercial, and educational buildings mutually reinforced each other. Cheap-print sellers on one hand, and local authorities on the other, started to pay attention to the concentration of people in the area in order to effectively target them with their printed ephemera. Stationers and *pegolotti* sold cheaply-printed items that did not require full reading proficiency from their users and that could be consumed

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\(^{186}\) Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Agli appassionati delle guerre*, etching, 1690, 198 x 310 mm, FCRB, Prints collection, no. 2243 (rep.1/307).
collectively, such as board games and devotional broadsheets; in the large-size woodcut print of Saint Charles Borromeo described in § 3.1 the only words present are the invocation ‘Ora pro nobis’ (‘Pray for us’). At the same time, official printed ephemera were proclaimed and then posted at crossroads and city gates on the premise that the act of publication meant that ‘each and every person’ was thus reached and notified, as in the 1637 decree discussed at the opening of Chapter 2. In the case of printed decrees, the woodcuts of insignia and coats of arms at the top of the relevant broadsheets mirrored not only the proclamation itself, since the names of the issuing authorities were the first element announced by town criers, but also those set in stone on the city’s buildings and in public epigraphs or painted on banners used during public processions. With its cheapness and intermediality, jobbing printing provided a perfect, immediate outlet for consumption practices within the urban space that did not rely on reading alone and that were shared across non-printed items.

The intermediality of cheaply-printed items also enabled a different type of consumption that applied only partially to texts. First, the Bolognese urban audience had access to and consumed a wide range of cheaply-printed items, and this range was made up of not only of pamphlets and single-sheet prints, but also of printed objects, such as board games, paper fans, distaff coverings, and holy cards, used and worn out to the purpose. As objects, printed ephemera of this kind pervaded the urban sphere of Bologna, and the local public consumed them in the

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187 On this aspect, see also the observations in Federico Bambi, “‘A chi legge’ (ovvero qualche considerazione sugli statuti e la stampa)”, in Gli statuti in edizione antica (1475-1799) della Biblioteca di Giurisprudenza dell’Università di Firenze. Catalogo. Per uno studio dei testi di “ius proprium” pubblicati a stampa, ed. by Federico Bambi and Lucilla Conogliello (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003), pp. 1–16. Rudolf Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450-1550 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 148, argues that increasingly through the first century of printing printed official ephemera were meant to be read silently when distributed and posted; I would argue on the contrary that this was only one of the potential forms of fruition, for buildings and walls on which official ephemera were posted were usually located in busy thoroughways and urban hubs.

188 See Petrucci, ‘Appunti per una premessa’. Manuela Barducci and Francesca Gaggini, La voce del governo: leggi e bandi del XVI secolo (Florence: Comune di Firenze, 2010), especially the chapter ‘Il governo Mediceo in Biblioteca’, pp. 7–40, pp. 12–25, suggest that official printers may have been provided with specific versions of the authorities’ insignia, in this case the Medicean coat of arms, to print with with the purpose of formal consistency. To verify this hypothesis in the Bolognese context lies beyond the scope of this thesis.
privacy of its households and purchased them in the shops and streets clustered around Piazza Maggiore. Moreover, intermediality—and the cheapness of these items to begin with—allowed the Bolognese audience to physically interact and alter printed ephemera in order to make use of them.\footnote{See overall Areford, \textit{The Viewer and the Printed Image}, for his interpretation of viewers and owners of printed images as also ‘producers’ of their content through the alteration of and interaction with their multi-media material features.} For instance, printed decorations for private altars and \textit{santini} depicting local devotions were cut out and pasted to be used within everyday devotional practices, so that the interaction between their visual components and their adaptable material features played an essential role in the way that audiences experienced them. Bolognese patricians also customized printed board games, as in the case of pasted and painted copies of \textit{Biribisse} games, to suit not only personal taste and pastimes, but also as a way to display their wealth and as a form of aristocratic sociability. Being made of the same material, paper, all these cheap items thus point to a world of similar products consumed by a broad urban audience. In this respect, the use of such cheaply-printed objects can also be described as a form of appropriation.\footnote{With respect to the appropriation of widely-consumed products see Chartier, ‘Popular Appropriation’, and for that of space see De Certeau, \textit{L’invention du quotidien}.} A socially diverse public appropriated different materials and fashions by using printed alternatives for furniture decoration and introducing Venetian needlework motifs in Bologna via ephemeral pattern books.\footnote{On the role of prints as economical substitutes, and not merely imitations, of images produced in other techniques and materials, see David S. Areford, ‘Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation’, in \textit{The Woodcut in Fifteenth Century Europe}, ed. by Peter Parshall (Washington; New Haven: The National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 119–153, and Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Kimberly Nichols, ‘Religious Prints as Substitute Objects’, in \textit{eaedem, Altered and Adorned}, pp. 60–71.} As a result, consuming cheap print did not exclusively mean following lines on a page, but many different ways of engaging with it through the urban space.

A further consequence of the consumption of cheap print in the form of objects meant that the Bolognese public did not consume printed ephemera only in the spaces connected to books – such as bookshops, or private \textit{studioli}. On one hand, cheap-print consumption moved beyond the city’s streets and squares, and crossed the threshold of public spaces to enter domestic interiors. The local audience had access and used cheaply-printed objects indoors, but these shared...
the same cheap, paper-based composition and cross-references across other items of the printed ephemera circulating in the public space. On the other, the Bolognese audience also engaged with printed ephemera almost everywhere throughout the urban space of post-Tridentine Bologna, from hotspots for decree proclamations, to inns and shops where forms and broadsheets were posted to police the devotional and social behaviour of the people venturing in those spaces. The Bolognese *studium* also came to be a place for cheap-print dissemination and consumption, as academic printed ephemera were posted on its inner walls and along its staircases. In light of this, we can think of cheap print as belonging to a wider category of low-priced everyday, material objects. In the form of household items, printed ephemera interacted with other cheap objects, such as wooden and glass rosaries or pots, and were part of day-to-day practices associated with the domestic sphere, especially involving women.192 At the same time, the broad urban public was exposed to cheaply-printed items alongside other common wares when going shopping around Piazza Maggiore. As we saw in the estate inventory of Vittorio Benacci’s shops, stationers sold a wide range of small goods, from crosses to reading glasses and quills, and Croce’s aforementioned *Chiacchieramenti sopra tutti i traffichi* gives us an idea of how the cries of sellers of scissors and pots mixed with those of *pegolotti* and street sellers of popular pamphlets.193 Overall, the expansion in the range of items that used cheap print and paper fostered consumption practices that took place everyday but also

192 On this see especially Michele Nicole Robinson, ‘The Material Culture of Female Youth in Bologna, 1550–1600’, in *The Youth of Early Modern Women*, ed. by Elizabeth Storr Cohen and Margaret Reeves (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 235–254, for the private devotion and education of Bolognese young women, and more broadly Silvia Evangelisti, ‘Learning from Home: Discourses on Education and Domestic Visual Culture in Early Modern Italy’, *History*, 98.333 (2013), 663–679. See also Marta Ajmar, ‘Sociability’, in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis, pp. 206–221, for the central role of women in the everyday exercise of the Renaissance principles of *cortesia* or *dimestichezza*.

As a result, the wide range of cheaply-printed items consumed by the Bolognese public, as well as the spaces where such a consumption occurred, also contributed to the development of what the Roger Darnton has called ‘a circuit of communication’. The Bolognese public was able to grasp jokes and allusions to items across different communications means, cheaply-printed items, and spaces. The circulation, in particular, of visual culture in and via cheap print, accounts for this type of communication that first relied on the intermedial nature of the former. The same imagery or characters were adapted across different cheaply-printed objects, as in the case of woodcut illustrations reused between lottery games and pamphlets, and consumed across various social classes at the same time, for instance via iconographies and artistic motifs shared in both top-down and bottom-up directions. Furthermore, by consuming printed ephemera within the same spaces, whether within the public space of Piazza Maggiore or across patrician and poorer households, the broad local public contributed to the creation of a form of contextual communication. The aforementioned example of the repurposed woodblock figurations from lottery games to Croce’s pamphlets only worked because these types of cheaply-printed items circulated alongside each other within the same public space. Such a contextual framework for the experience of cheap print would also explain the frequent mis-matches between illustrations and contents, as well as the shed a different light on the constant reuse of illustrations per se. Scholars of vernacular cheap print have already described the circularity of works in various forms between heterogeneous publics everywhere.

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195 Scholars of popular visual culture were the first to point this: see Bertarelli, L’imagerie populaire italienne; Paolo Toschi, Stampe popolari italiane dal XV al XX secolo (Milan: Electa, 1964); and Alberto Milano, ‘Introduzione / Introduction’, in Commercio delle stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX / Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries, ed. by idem (Rovereto: Via Della Terra, 2008), pp. 27–36, for the author’s most recent observations in this respect. I have developed further the argument in this respect in ‘Iconography and Material Culture in Cheap Print, with a Case Study from Post-Tridentine Bologna’, in Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450-1900), ed. by Massimo Rospocher, Jeroen Salamn, and Hannu Salmi (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 33–51.
196 Milner, “Fanno bandire”, p. 116, speaks of a ‘ritual framework’, although referred to the dissemination of decrees and proclamations only.
197 Rothstein, ‘Disjunctive Images’, especially addresses this problem of early modern printed illustration.
in early modern Italy, but the Bolognese case demonstrates how this circularity occurred via different objects and within a specific urban space at the same time.\textsuperscript{198} The ability of cheap print to permeate a multitude of spaces in different forms and interact with different aspects of life thanks to its cheapness—in other words, its ubiquitous nature—was as crucial as its physical adaptability and intermediality. By consuming printed ephemera within shared readership expectations embodied by particular spaces, the Bolognese public shaped its role in an interconnected urban landscape.

\textsuperscript{198} See especially Salzberg and Rospocher, ‘Street Singers’, on the circularity of vernacular cheap print across different publics.
Conclusion

This thesis set to explore the influence of different social and institutional actors—producers and distributors, authorities and institutions, and the urban public—that used cheap print on an everyday basis in post-Tridentine Bologna. In particular, I aimed to investigate the agency of these three groups over the status of cheap print over the period considered, as well as on practices that involved its production, distribution, and consumption. This approach has led to two outcomes. First, my work has uncovered the consolidation and evolution of an interconnected urban network around cheap print by the 1630s, and the consequences of this network for the significance of cheap print in the context of the history of early modern printing across the Italian peninsula. Lay at the core of the business strategies of the Benacci and allowed to produce a vast array of printed ephemera on demand, ranging from bureaucratic handbills to three-dimensional objects. Printed paperwork, moreover, became the object of formal, routine appointments and subventions, and proclamations and notifications shaped the lives of a broad urban audience. The pervasive consumption of cheaply-printed items also pushed the demand for cheaply-printed objects in local variants and as part of a distinctive urban sphere, and it ensured that governmental and administrative content reached its intended audience.

The second is that cheap-print practices provide further evidence for the political and social developments happening in Bologna during this particular historical moment. The city’s social and institutional actors relied on the local cheap-print network and its products to support existing uses and developing new ones: producers and sellers of cheap print consolidated their position within the urban printing market and ventured into other print-related trades, such as papermaking and stationery; the local authorities used printed ephemera to implement policies concerning state governance, policing, and bureaucracy according to the occasion and often in co-operation with each other; shared readership practices meant that all kinds of people were exposed to and interacted
with cheaply-printed booklets and objects, and especially their material features, throughout the urban sphere. The local cheap-print network grew even more interconnected precisely because of these uses. By the first decades of the seventeenth century, cheap print had therefore created a virtuous cycle that strengthened its scope and significance in the everyday life of Bologna.

Although this thesis has uncovered substantial evidence for how cheap print was produced, used, and consumed in post-Tridentine Bologna, several other aspects of this story deserve further enquiry. Since I have here focussed on jobbing printing within the boundaries of the city of Bologna, due to the nature of its political regime at the time it will be essential to engage in further research on the role of the Roman authorities in this story. First, printed ephemera from or concerning Bologna were also sent to Rome and survive in its archives. For instance, printed (and manuscript) licences for reading dispensations can be found in the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Furthermore, the role played by cardinal legates in the various appointments of Bolognese official printers will be better understood from investigations into the archival documentation of both financial and political offices in Bologna. Regarding the former, in this way it will be possible to offer a more nuanced picture of the kind of financial support that official printers received in the papal legations at a time when the Apostolic Treasury supported its own printing press, and changes in the congregation of the Gabella Grossa reflected the evolving balance between senatorial and papal influence over Bologna. Additionally, cardinal legates emphasized their role as political representatives of papal rule in the legations more consistently after the end of the Council of Trent, and mainly during the offices of Enrico Caetani and Benedetto Giustiniani; while certain aspects of local life, such as social deportment, usually fell under the direct remit of cardinal legates in Bologna, they also expanded their jurisdiction in other areas, above all

the *studium*. Bolognese printed ephemera were therefore informed by the correspondence between the cardinal legates there and the papal officials in Rome, such as those in the State Secretary or the cardinal nephews. As a result, only research in the Roman archives will be able to provide a better understanding of the impact of the developments in the political administration of the papal state and of Bologna’s ‘mixed government’ on the issuing and commission of jobbing printing in the post-Tridentine city.³

This thesis leaves plenty of room for future research with respect to other aspects of cheap-print consumption at the urban level, as well. An aspect worth further study is a reassessment of cheap print as placed within the world of early modern material and visual culture. First, such a perspective will tease out the implications of the role of cheaply-printed items in the everyday domestic sphere and shed new light on homes as dynamic environments and thus key sites ‘for cultural production and transmission alongside the court, the city, and the church’.⁴ An in-depth consideration in this respect will also provide new evidence for the role played by the family and the home in moulding behavioural models of the post-Tridentine period, which also informed the increased attention paid to household management in printed treatises, or in viewing homes as part of a single religious space alongside churches and public processions.⁵ Furthermore, the ‘circuit of communication’ created by cheap-print audiences could be better understood as a phenomenon of urban visual literacy. Bolognese audiences had access to cheap print within a world of objects that was distinctive of early modern cities, but which also consisted of a variety of signs, such as the commercial signage of shops and inns and public graffitis.⁶ Widespread pamphlets


⁴ Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis, ‘Introduction’, in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis, pp. 10–31, p. 12. See also n. 51 in the Introduction for the literature on the role of the domestic sphere to early modern Italy.


⁶ On street signs as part of the material and visual culture of the early modern public space, see David Garrioch, ‘House Names, Shop Signs and Social Organization in Western European Cities,
and prints further disseminated this urban vocabulary: later in the seventeenth century, Mitelli produced several etchings on the subject of the city’s inn signs.\textsuperscript{7} The analysis of cheap print alongside other urban signs is another way of looking at printed ephemera as a form of public writing, and therefore as part of an urban visual vocabulary occupying the public space not exclusively on the command of the power-holders and élites.\textsuperscript{8}

The case-study of post-Tridentine Bologna proves how cheap print was the most accessible and widespread kind of printed product in a Renaissance city. With its materiality, adaptability, and ubiquity, cheap print effectively shaped everyday practices pertaining to trade, governance, and consumption, and uncovered endless potential applications. Future research in libraries, archives, and museums will certainly reveal more examples and uses of jobbing printing than previously assumed. For the time being, this thesis set to describe how and with what impact the various social and institutional actors of Bologna used printed ephemera in their everyday urban life. Each of them knew they could find cheap print ‘again in the usual and familiar places’.\textsuperscript{9} Cheap print connected people, and tailored to their strategies, needs, and tastes, in a way that books could not (and were not meant to) do.

\textsuperscript{7} Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, \textit{Il gioco nuovo di tutte le osterie}, etching, 1712, mm 315 x 485, FCRBo, Prints and drawings collection no. 2788 (rep.1/554).

\textsuperscript{8} On urban public writings see the literature in n. 54 in the Introduction; among these, see especially Castillo Gómez, \textit{Entre la pluma y la pared}, p. 204, for the insistence on the common nature of texts and images as visual documents. In this respect, academic studies that have tried a comprehensive approach to the topic have focussed so far on the period before the sixteenth century: see, as an example, \textit{Visibile parlare: le scritture esposte nei volgari italiani dal Medioevo al Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Cassino-Montecassino 26-28 ottobre 1992)}, ed. by Claudio Ciociola (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1997).

\textsuperscript{9} See the handwritten note on the printed broadsheet in the \textit{Statuti e ordinamenti della Società dei Cartolari}, fol. 10r (dated 14 February 1568): ‘A dì 29 ottobre 1569 fu pubblicato il sopradetto bando alla Renghiera del Podestà per Ludovico Rivale publico trombetta, presenti magistro Andrea Pensabene e magistro Angelo Serafino, come riferisce esso Ludovico. A dì 30 detto reiterato per il sudetto al solito et consueto luogo presenti magistro Annibal Guidotti, e magistro Antonio da Cremona sarto.’
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Appendix
Biographical Details

Aldrovandi, Ulisse (1522-1605)
Bellagamba, Giovanni Battista (fl.1596-1622)
Benacci, Alessandro (c.1528-1591)
Benacci, Giovanni Battista (1559?-1584)
Benacci, Vittorio (1571-1629)
Benedict XIV, pope (né Prospero Lambertini, 1675-1758, in office since 1740)
Bernia, Marcantonio (1638-1661)
Bindoni, Gaspare (1558-1618)
Bonardo, Bartolomeo (fl.1539-1552)
Bonardo, Fausto (fl.1578-93)
Bonardo, Pellegrino (1550?-1585)
Bonardo, Vincenzo (fl.1534-1543)
Bonomi, Sebastiano (1585-1623)
Borromeo, Carlo, cardinal, archbishop of Milan, and saint (1538-1584, in office since 1566)
Brizio, Francesco (1575-1623)

Caetani, Enrico, cardinal legate (1550-1599, in office 1585-87)
Carracci, Agostino (1557-1602)
Carracci, Annibale (1560-1609)
Cesi, Pier Donato, cardinal legate (1521-1586, in office 1560-64 and 1580-84)
Clement VIII, pope (né Ippolito Aldobrandini, 1536-1605, in office since 1592)
Cochi (or Cocchi), Bartolomeo (fl.1585-1621)
Cochi (or Cocchi), Girolamo (post 1621-1645)
Coriolano, Giovan Battista (1590-1649)
Croce, Giulio Cesare (1550-1605)

de Albornoz, Gil, cardinal (1310-1367)
Donini, Girolamo (d.1678)
Donini, Domenico (d.1678)
Dozza, Evangelista (1622-1662)

Giaccarelli, Anselmo (fl.1545-1573)
Giaccarelli, Antonio (fl.1557-1566)
Giambologna (Jean de Boulogne, 1529-1608)
Giustiniani, Benedetto, cardinal legate (1554-1621, in office 1606-11)
Gregory XIV, pope (né Niccolò Sfrondati, 1535-1591, in office since 1590)
Gregory XV, pope (né Alessandro Ludovisi, 1554-1623, in office since 1621)
Grossi, Marco Antonio (fl.1535-1543)
Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1599-1666)

Ferroni, Clemente (fl.1620-1642)
Ferroni, Giovanni Battista (fl.1628-1678)
Fontana, Lavinia (1552-1614)

Julius II, pope (né Giuliano della Rovere, 1443-1513, in office since 1503)

Ludovisi, Ludovico, cardinal and archbishop of Bologna (1595-1623, in office since 1621)

Manolessi, Emilio (fl.1667-1684)
Manolessi, Evangelista (fl.1688-1708)
Mascheroni, Teodoro (fl.1617-1626)
Mitelli, Giuseppe Maria (1634-1718)
Moscatelli, Giovanni Domenico (fl.1616-1618)
Moscatelli, Giovanni Paolo (fl.1617-1622)

Paleotti, Alfonso, cardinal and archbishop of Bologna (1531-1610, in office since 1597)
Paleotti, Gabriele, cardinal and archbishop of Bologna (1522-1597, in office as
bishop since 1566, archbishop since 1582)
Paul III, pope (né Alessandro Farnese, 1468-1549, in office since 1534)
Paul V, pope (né Camillo Borghese, 1552-1621, in office since 1605)
Pius V, pope (né Giovanni Angelo Medici, 1499-1565, in office since 1560)

Reni, Guido (1575-1642)
Rossi, Giovanni (c.1556-1595)
Rossi, Perseo (1575-1629)

Salviati, Antonio Maria, cardinal legate (1537-1602, in office 1585-86)
Sforza, Alessandro, cardinal legate (1534-1581, in office 1569-72)
Sigonio, Carlo (1524-1584)
Sixtus V, pope (né Felice Piergentile, 1521-1590, in office since 1585)
Sopranini, Bartolomeo (d. ante 1558)
Sopranini, Vincenzo (fl.1593-1616)
Spada, Bernardino, cardinal legate (1594-1661, in office 1627-31)

Tebaldini, Nicolò (1602-1649)

Urban VIII, pope (né Maffeo Barberini, 1568-1644, in office since 1623)

Valesio, Giovanni Luigi (1561-1640)
Valgrisi, Vincenzo (1539-1573)
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