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The Censor as Reader: Censorial Responses to Bodin's *Methodus* in Counter-Reformation Italy (1587-1607)

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Summary

This essay investigates censorial responses to Jean Bodin's Methodus (1566) in Counter-Reformation Italy, using evidence from Italian libraries and archives to shed new light on the process that led to the inclusion of the work in the Roman Expurgatory Index of 1607. By examining the diverse, and sometimes conflicting, opinions that Catholic censors expressed on Bodin's text and the 'errors' it contained, the essay shows that even a relatively cohesive 'reading community' such as that of Counter-Reformation censors could nurture fundamental disagreement in evaluating the content and dangerousness of a book, as well as in devising appropriate countermeasures. Censors often made sense of the same texts in utterly different ways, based not only on their own intellectual interests and backgrounds, but also on the different interpretive strategies that they adopted. In light of this fact, the article suggests that early modern censorship should be seen less as a purely repressive practice than as a peculiar type of readership, characterised (as all forms of readership) by instability, controversy, and active 'meaning-making'.

Keywords: Censorship; controversy; Counter-Reformation; Jean Bodin; readership; reception

Word count: 8,298

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1. Censorship, readership, and the life of texts

Censorship begins (and ends) with readership. Censors themselves are first of all readers, though admittedly of a particular kind. In his passionate defense of the liberty of press, penned in the midst of the first English Civil War (1644), John Milton argued that 'he who is made judge to sit upon the birth, or death of books whether they may be wafted into this world, or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious'.[1] Yet Milton was convinced that nobody 'of

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[1] John Milton, *Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing* (London: 1644), 19.

such worth' could possibly enjoy being 'made the perpetuall reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftimes huge volumes'. Such a task, he believed, 'is an imposition which I cannot beleeve how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostrill should be able to endure'.[2] Consequently for Milton censors cannot be but 'ignorant, imperious, and remisse' individuals moved by 'basely pecuniary' motives.

The image of censorship captured in these lines is still common in scholarly and non-scholarly views of censorial activity. Censors, in general, are expected to be 'bad' readers, entrusted with deciding over the life or death of something that they neither appreciate nor fully understand.[3] Censorship itself tends to be portrayed as an eminently repressive activity, carried out by brutish individuals with little love for the written word. As a number of recent studies begin to generate a more nuanced and historically accurate understanding of censorial practice in all of its forms, the time seems now ripe to call this simplified view into question. Historians of Counter-Reformation Italy, in particular, have shown that censorship in this period did not amount to (nor should it be interpreted as) a purely negative practice—one, that is, that aims exclusively at *repressing* and *prohibiting*.[4] Indeed, Counter-Reformation censors did not limit themselves to merely banning books, but actively intervened on them through expurgation, a practice that required careful reading of a work and direct engagement with its content and style, so as to allow selective alteration of erroneous, immoral, or heterodox portions of an otherwise valuable text.[5]

The techniques that Counter-Reformation censors deployed in order to access and decrypt an author's intentions were part of a complex hermeneutical method.[6] Censuring a text first required *making sense* of it through an act of reading that was at once analytical, synthetic, and critical.[7] Textual meaning was thus generated at the intersection between the text itself, a censor's understanding of it, and an anticipation of the book's foreseeable readership. Censors, indeed, did not limit themselves to examining pre-existing texts in order to assess their orthodoxy (or lack thereof); they also actively *changed* texts with the purpose of 'reorienting and reshaping' their future reception.[8] In so doing, censors operated across the 'entire cycle of cultural transmission, from production to consumption, from writing to reading':[9] at once readers and (self-appointed) co-authors of the works they expurgated,[10] they ultimately

[2] Milton, *Areopagitica*, 20.
[3] See J.M. Coetzee, *Giving Offense: Essays on Censorship* (Chicago-London, 1996), 10.
[4] Gigliola Fragnito, 'Introduction' in Ead. (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 2001) 11; Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia, 2006), 8.
[5] Fragnito, 'Introduction'; Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 93-137. Given the considerable effort that it required, expurgation was reserved in principle to works that censors judged 'useful' or otherwise remarkable for their scholarly and/or literary merit: see Rodolfo Savelli, 'Allo scrittoio del censore. Fonti a stampa per la storia dell'espurgazione dei libri di diritto in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento', *Società e Storia*, 100-101 (2003), 293-330; particularly on expurgation of renowned literary texts, such as Boccaccio's *Decameron*, see Ugo Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli 'Indici' del Cinquecento* (Udine, 2005).
[6] Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 318-333; Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden-Boston, 2000), 19-24. Godman, however, stresses the gulf between theory and practice, highlighting the 'infidelity' of many Counter-Reformation censors to their own stated principles (*The Saint as Censor*, 40; 64-65).
[7] See Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 19-24.
[8] Fragnito, 'Introduction', 11.
[9] Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 403 (my translation).
[10] The boundary between expurgation and radical rewriting is sometimes thin, as the cases of Antonio Possevino and Giovanni Botero show very well: see Luigi Balsamo, 'How to Doctor a Bibliography:

aimed at 'having the final word not only on what ought to be written in the books, but also on who ought to read them', and how.[11]

There is yet another sense in which censorship could, and should, be interpreted as an activity *producing*, rather than simply *destroying*, both physical texts and textual meaning. In their capacity as readers (though of a particular kind), censors arguably find themselves in the same position as all readers vis-à-vis texts, namely one of irreducible singularity. Even in the case of tight-knit 'reading communities', the way in which each reader relates to a text is always, to some extent, different from that of other members of the same community.[12] A number of factors—ranging from material to temperamental—may contribute to inflecting the interpretive act in a particular direction, thus generating competing meanings and critical judgments for the very same text.

The 'reading community' of early-modern Italian censors is no exception in this respect. Traditional views of censorship often represent it as a tool for implementing homogeneity of thought and consolidating power; and such indeed may have been the expectations with which the Roman Church set about reorganising its censorial apparatus in the second half of the sixteenth century. Paradoxically enough, however, the reality of Counter-Reformation censorship shows that the very community that was supposed to enforce orthodoxy accommodated within itself a considerable degree of interpretive disagreement. On a practical level, such a disagreement often resulted in competing judgments being expressed on the same book, with respect to its value, the dangerousness of its contents, and the fate it should endure.[13]

Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, a Latin treatise on historical method first printed in Paris in 1566, provides an exemplary case study of such interpretive disagreement. The revised and augmented edition published six years later formed the basis of all subsequent reprints—no fewer than eleven between 1576 and 1650.[14] Twenty years after the *editio princeps*, the *Methodus* already figured in the prohibitory Indexes of Parma (1580), Portugal (1581), and Spain (1583).[15] Rome's response, on the other hand, was comparatively slower. Apart from the isolated case of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, who in 1577 included the work in a list of books containing 'errors not admitted in Rome',[16] Bodin's treatise on historical method only became an object of serious debate among Roman censors towards the end of the 1580s, when two later works by the Frenchman simultaneously came under the fire of censorship: the *Six livres de la République* (1576), where Bodin famously theorised absolute sovereignty as a remedy to the religious wars then ravaging France; and the *Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580), a treatise on demonology advocating harsh

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Antonio Possevino's Practice', in Fragnito, *Church, Censorship and Culture*, 50-78; Luigi Firpo, 'Ancora sulla condanna di Bodin', *Il pensiero politico*, 14 (1981), 173–86: 176.

[11] Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 404 (my translation).

[12] For the concept of 'reading community' see Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford, 1999). I discuss this concept further in section 3 below.

[13] The fate of Erasmus' works is a particularly good case in point: see Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 112-115.

[14] See Roland Crahay, Marie-Thérèse Isaac and Marie-Thérèse Lenger (eds), *Bibliographie critique des éditions anciennes de Bodin* (Brussels, 1992), 19-49.

[15] Roland Crahay, 'Jean Bodin devant la censure: la condamnation de la *République'*, *Il pensiero politico*, 14 (1981), 154–72 (157).

[16] 'Nota de certi libri fuori dell'Indice ne i quali si sono avvertiti alcuni errori per il che non si ammettono in Roma': see Michaela Valente, *Bodin in Italia. La Démonomanie des Sorciers e le vicende della sua traduzione* (Firenze, 1999), 149.

punishment for the 'crimes' of wizards and witches. Both originally written in French, the two works were translated into Italian in 1587 and 1588 respectively—a fact that may have contributed to arousing heightened censorial concern as it significantly enlarged the books' potential readership in the Italian peninsula.[17]

Taken together, Bodin's *Methodus*, *République*, and *Démonomanie* occupied Roman censors for almost twenty years, eliciting a number of contradictory responses from them. The three works ultimately encountered different fates.[18] While both the French and the Italian versions of the *République* and the *Démonomanie* were prohibited outright in the Clementine Index of 1596, the *Methodus*—alone of all Bodin's major works—received a more lenient treatment: suspended *donec corrigatur* ('until corrected') in 1596, it was later included in the Roman Expurgatory Index of 1607, which also provided specific instructions on passages to modify or delete.[19] Although an expurgated edition of the *Methodus* never saw the light, the decision to suspend rather than prohibit the work made it possible for the latter to enjoy a continued, albeit restricted, circulation in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy.[20] When duly amended by hand in accordance with censorial guidelines, individual copies of the book could indeed be owned and read with prior consent from local bishops and inquisitors.[21]

Thanks to the efforts of several scholars, we now have a relatively clear picture of censorial responses to the *République* and the *Démonomanie* in late sixteenth-century Rome.[22] The case of the *Methodus*, on the other hand, remains in need of further investigation.[23] By comparing four sets of expurgations to the *Methodus* laid out by different censors in the course of approximately two decades, the following section aims to shed light on the process leading up to the expurgation guidelines of 1607. Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence proposed here, the goal is less to reconstruct a coherent narrative of the work's censorial history than to use the latter as a window into the cultural dynamics of Counter-Reformation censorship. Bodin's *Methodus* offers a privileged vantage point in this respect, not only for the diversity of responses that it elicited among censors, but also because a remarkable number of expurgated copies are still extant, thus enabling us to study how the expurgation was

[17] See Firpo, 'Ancora sulla condanna di Bodin', 174, 177-8. As Firpo himself notes (177), the on-going civil wars in France were yet another important reason of increased censorial interest in Bodin's works during this period.

[18] The Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (ACDF) hold at least twenty different *censurae* for these three Bodinian works—and these are probably only a fraction of those actually produced at the time: see Artemio E. Baldini, 'Jean Bodin e l'Indice dei Libri Proibiti', in Cristina Stango (ed.), *Censura ecclesiastica e cultura politica in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Florence, 2001), 79–100 (84).

[19] Crahay, 'Jean Bodin devant la censure', 167. The distinction between prohibition and suspension, first introduced in 1561, was formalised in the Tridentine *Regulae* (1564) and maintained in the Clementine Index of 1596.

[20] See Sara Miglietti, 'Reading from the Margins: Some Insights into the Early Reception of Bodin's *Methodus*', in Howell Lloyd (ed.), *The Reception of Bodin* (Leiden, 2013), 193-218.

[21] See Savelli, 'The Censorship of Law Books', in Fragnito, *Church, Censorship and Culture*, 425-427.

[22] See Roland Crahay, 'Jean Bodin devant la censure'; Luigi Firpo, 'Ancora sulla condanna di Bodin'; Valente, *Bodin in Italia*; Baldini, 'Jean Bodin e l'Indice dei Libri Proibiti'; Artemio E. Baldini, 'Primi attacchi romani alla *République* di Bodin sul finire del 1588. I testi di Minuccio Minucci e di Filippo Sega', *Il pensiero politico*, 34 (2001): 3–41; Michaela Valente, 'The Works of Bodin under the Lens of Roman Theologians and Inquisitors', in Lloyd, *The Reception of Bodin*, 219-235.

[23] Scattered information on censorial responses to the *Methodus* can be gleaned from Crahay, 'Jean Bodin devant la censure'; Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 121-124, and Valente, 'The Works of Bodin', 223-226 and 231-232. This relative scholarly neglect for the *Methodus* partly reflects broader trends in the modern reception of the work: see Miglietti, 'Reading from the Margins'.

carried out in actual practice.[24] With Bodin's *Methodus*, we therefore have a unique chance to examine the censoring process in its full spectrum, from the intellectual genesis of censorial decisions to their ultimate repercussions on physical books.

2. Bodin's *Methodus* before the censors

The inclusion of the *Methodus* in the Roman Expurgatory Index of 1607 was preceded by two decades of intense debate within the Roman censorial community. The discussion, as usual, revolved around two interrelated questions: was the *Methodus* the radically corrupt work of a heretic, or was it an overall useful book containing occasional errors? And if the latter was the case, where did the errors lie exactly, and how could they be corrected? Opinions varied greatly, not only between the two bodies competing at this time for control over printed books—the Holy Office and the newly founded Congregation of the Index—but also within the Congregation of the Index itself. [25] As we shall see, individual *consultori* ('revisers') held divergent interpretations of the work, pursued different censorial strategies, and (when favouring expurgation over outright prohibition) submitted vastly dissimilar sets of emendations for discussion within the Congregation. The following analysis will take into account four such sets of expurgations, three of which have already been known to scholars (although they have not yet been the object of detailed comparative study), whereas the fourth was only recently discovered in the margins of a copy of the *Methodus* held at the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai in Bergamo. A comparative table of the four sets of expurgations can be found in Appendix 1 below.

The earliest documented sign of censorial attention for the *Methodus* within the Congregation of the Index dates back to 5 November 1587, when the Jesuit cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) laid his *censura* ('examination') of the work before his fellow revisers.[26] For Bellarmine, the *Methodus* was a 'rather useful' book that was also 'learnedly and elegantly written'.[27] Thus, as Peter Godman has noted, the work met all the 'stylistic and scholarly' criteria that 'qualified a book for expurgation' in the eyes of the Congregation.[28] Bellarmine's chief problem with the *Methodus* was its author's intimate knowledge, and frequent mention, of 'heretical' authors such as John Calvin, John Sleidan, and Charles Du Moulin. For this reason, his *censura* focused primarily on passages that explicitly named heretics or otherwise betrayed Bodin's supposed Protestant inclinations. As the table below highlights, Bellarmine's interventions mostly consisted in crossing out these sections while leaving the essence of Bodin's reasoning unscathed. While he devoted particular attention to passages discussing the Church's institutional structure and temporal claims (a topic that was at

[24] I have personally examined twenty expurgated copies held at various European and American libraries. For further details on each of these copies, see below, Appendix 2.

[25] Founded in 1572 and thoroughly restructured by Pope Sixtus V in that very same year 1587, the Congregation was, in principle, responsible for all censorial matters, including the examination and expurgation of books of doubtful orthodoxy. In practice, however, the Congregation's prerogatives were disputed by other bodies, including the Holy Office and local authorities such as bishops and inquisitors: see Gigliola Fragnito, 'The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship', in Fragnito, *Church, Censorship and Culture*, 13-49.

[26] ACDF, Index, Diari, vol. I, fol. 28r. Bellarmine's authograph *censura* is in ACDF, Index, Protocolli, H, 479r-480r. The full text is published in Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 244-247. The page numbers reported in Bellarmine's *censura* reveal that Bellarmine worked on a copy of the second edition (Paris, 1572).

[27] ACDF, Index, Protocolli, H, 479r ('erudite et eleganter conscripta satis utilis videri potest').

[28] Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 123. See above, footnote 5, on the criteria that qualified a book for expurgation.

the centre of his own activity as an author),[29] Bellarmine chose not to engage with ideas lying 'outside the realm of religion', nor with the larger 'metaphysical implications of Bodin's thought'—with only one exception (Bodin's 'climate theory') that will be discussed later.[30] Bellarmine's strategy for expurgating the *Methodus* thus seems to have been one of selective deletion, which aimed at detracting as little as possible from the original text in order to preserve its 'useful' substance.

Bellarmine's *censura* must not have appeared entirely satisfactory, because only a few months later another Jesuit *consultor* of the Index, the Mantuan Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), was commissioned to prepare an examination of Bodin's works that was also to include the *Methodus*.[31] Possevino's *censura* of the latter, ready by November 1588, differed from that of Bellarmine in many important respects.[32] True, Possevino too denounced Bodin's reliance on Protestant historiographers and other heterodox authors, as well as his praise of Calvinist Geneva and his critique of papal authority in temporal matters.[33] However, he was considerably less concerned than Bellarmine with the stricly religious or ecclesiological aspects of the work, and deliberately neglected some of the passages to which Bellarmine had applied his pen.[34]

On the other hand, Possevino's expurgation of the *Methodus* was more comprehensive and intellectually ambitious than that of his fellow Jesuit, as he delved deeper into Bodin's text to consider theological and philosophical issues that Bellarmine's censure had left entirely unaddressed. In addition to attacking the *Methodus* for its 'errors' about the Trinity and its 'mistaken' views on free will and the origin of evil,[35] Possevino particularly engaged with Bodin's ideas on divine inspiration, astrology, and the material nature of demons, all of which he thought incompatible with sound Christian dogma.[36] He also took into account seemingly

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[29] At the time of his *censura* of Bodin in 1587, Bellarmine had already published the first of three books of *Controversiae* (1585, 1588, 1595), his most ambitious work, where he laid out his contentious theory of the indirect power of pontiffs (see Harro Höpfl, 'The Papal *potestas indirecta*', in Id., *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540–1630* (Cambridge, 2004), 339-365). In 1590, the two published books of the *Controversiae* would themselves fall under censorship: see Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 134-139.

[30] Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 124.

[31] Firpo, 'Ancora sulla condanna di Bodin', 174. The commissioner was Cardinal Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, who was elected pope shortly afterwards (October 1591) under the name of Innocent IX.

[32] In November 1588, Possevino sent a copy of his *censura* to Mons. Minuccio Minucci, under the title *Antidoto*. While we do not have a copy of the *Antidoto*, we can deduce part of its contents from a series of letters that Minucci exchanged with Possevino and Filippo Sega, the Archbishop of Piacenza (on this exchange see Valente, 'The Works of Bodin', 224-226), as well as from later works of Possevino that are known to be partly based on the *Antidoto*: the *Iudicium […] de Ioannis Bodini Methodo historiae, libris de Republica et Demonomania […]* (Rome, 1592) and the *Bibliotheca selecta* (Rome, 1593), whose section on Bodin's *Methodus* (book 1, 129-132) closely replicates the text of the *Iudicium*.

[33] Possevino, *Iudicium*, 106, 107-108 (*ad pag*. 23 of the 1579 Basel edition of Bodin's *Methodus*), 109 (*ad pag.* 169), 110 (*ad pag.* 245, 253, 284), 111 (*ad pag.* 293). See Valente, 'The Works of Bodin', 226. Although Crahay ('Jean Bodin devant la censure', 160) states that Possevino was using a copy of the second edition (Paris, 1572), the page numbers reported in the *Iudicium* show that he was actually working with the fourth edition (Basel, 1579). This is confirmed by one of his comments ('Ait necesse est fingere novum orbem. Quod sane fingere, hominis est aut ficti, aut fanatici'; *Iudicium*, 109, *ad pag.* 145), which derives from a misprint in the 1579 edition: 'si *novum* orbem fingamus' instead of 'si *nonum* orbem fingamus' (as the 1572 Paris edition correctly reads). The unidentified censor working on Angelo Mai copy (also a 1579 Basel edition, see below) will make a similar comment: see Figure 2.

[34] See the comparative table below (Appendix 1) for further details.

[35] Possevino, *Iudicium*, 106 (*ad pag.* 322), 107 (*ad pag.* 23, 325). See Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 121.

[36] Possevino, *Iudicium*, 107 (*ad pag.* 23), 108 (*ad pag.* 113), 109 (*ad pag.* 117-118).

minor aspects of Bodin's political views, including his endorsement of Plato's dictum that magistrates are allowed to lie for the greater good, and his discussion of the Aristotelian dichotomy between 'good man' and 'good citizen'.[37] Finally, Possevino brought to light—and strongly condemned—the Tacitean inspiration of Bodin's work, which he saw exemplified in the Frenchman's defense of the 'impious Tacitus' in book 4.[38]

While Bellarmine had examined the *Methodus* in isolation from the rest of Bodin's production, Possevino instead sought to situate it within Bodin's larger corpus. Of all the Frenchman's works, the *Methodus* appeared to him as the single most important text for penetrating Bodin's thought—and thus for neutralizing it. Unlike other Catholic readers who discarded the *Methodus* as a minor work of little import,[39] Possevino regarded it as Bodin's foundational text in a more than merely chronological sense: the *Methodus* indeed seemed to contain—in potency if not in act—the substance of all of the doctrines fleshed out in later works, including of course the *République* and the *Démonomanie*. Searching for specific textual evidence to support his 'continuist' interpretation of Bodin's thought, Possevino was also possibly the first to acknowledge Bodin's recurrent practice of self-quotation across different works—a fact that demonstrates his careful reading of Bodin's oeuvre.[40]

By the end of 1588, two different sets of emendations by highly respected members of the Congregation of the Index were thus on the table. Neither was retained as the Congregation's final stance on Bodin's text, though. Material evidence from late sixteenth-century copies of the *Methodus* suggests that Bellarmine's *censura* did exert some degree of influence before the publication of the Roman expurgatory index of 1607;[41] however, in the absence of a clear official position, the expurgation of individual copies of the *Methodus* was often carried out in idiosyncratic, and occasionally very invasive, ways (see Figure 1).[42] The need for a unified expurgatory index that could act as a universal point of reference was thus stronger than ever, but in order to achieve this goal the censors first needed to agree on a single set of expurgations for each book that was to be included in it—among others, Bodin's *Methodus*.

When plans for an expurgatory index of all suspended books were revived in the late 1590s, the Congregation solicited new examinations of the *Methodus* from various Italian dioceses, in accordance with the guidelines recently issued by Pope Clement VIII.[43] These had decentralised the preliminary phases of the expurgation process by requiring that 'suspended writings should be corrected locally by several revisers' working under the supervision of local bishops and inquisitors.[44] Thus, in

[37] Possevino, *Iudicium*, 109 (*ad pag.* 123), 110 (*ad pag.* 186). See Plato, *Republic*, 382c-389b; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1276b16-1277b32.
[38] Possevino, *Iudicium*, 108 (*ad pag.* 64). See Godman, 'The Saint as Censor', 122-123.
[39] Minuccio Minucci, the addressee of Possevino's *Antidoto*, was one such reader, who candidly confessed never reading the *Methodus* as he believed that he could 'more usefully devote his time to other occupations' (see Firpo, 'Ancora sulla condanna di Bodin', 176; my translation).
[40] Possevino, *Iudicium*, 106, 107 (*ad pag.* 23). On Bodin's self-quotation strategies, see Noel Malcolm, 'Jean Bodin and the Authorship of the "Colloquium Heptaplomeres"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 69 (2006), 95-150 (136-143).
[41] See items 3b and 3f in Appendix 2 below.
[42] See items 3b, 3e, and 3f in Appendix 2 below.
[43] See Valente, 'The Works of Bodin', 231-232.
[44] Fragnito, 'The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship', 39-40.

1603 at least two different *censurae* of the *Methodus* were sent to Rome, from Macerata and Venice respectively.[45]

The thickly annotated and expurgated exemplar of a 1579 *Methodus* now held at the Biblioteca Angelo Mai in Bergamo may very well have been the working copy of one such, yet unidentified, local reviser (see Figure 2).[46] Combining as it were Bellarmine's and Possevino's censorial strategies, this particular censor paid equal attention to passages of immediate religious or ecclesiological relevance and to Bodin's broader philosophical outlook. Like Bellarmine, he stressed that Bodin's familiarity with 'heretical writers' was, in and of itself, a clear indication of 'impiety'.[47] At the same time, he also searched for signs of heterodoxy between the lines of Bodin's (apparently) most innocuous statements. Commenting on Bodin's idea that 'good man' and 'good citizen' can never be one and the same, he noted for instance: 'it is evident that this Bodin was not an excellent man, and that he did not wish to be but a wicked citizen. He should have remembered that the goal of the political art is to produce good citizens, as Aristotle often repeats, not shameful ones'.[48] The *ad hominem* strategy adopted here was a common one among Counter-Reformation censors, who often sought to discredit an author's trustworthiness by casting doubt on his morality and intellectual prowess.[49] Thus, this particular reviser drew attention to passages that supposedly demonstrated Bodin's philosophical incompetence. Like Possevino, he mocked Bodin's idea that demons, despite their uncorporeal nature, 'need thick air to sustain them'.[50] He also criticised Bodin's exposition of the Aristotelian doctrine of form and matter, arguing that he had never heard anyone 'discuss these topics more incompetently than this Bodin'.[51]

A similar dynamic underlies this censor's reaction to Bodin's praise of Genevan political institutions: 'this man of an utterly polluted mind, tongue, and religion defines the wicked and impious republic of Geneva as "flourishing in virtue

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[45] The *censura* sent from Macerata (via Serafino Sicco, inquisitor of Ancona) has not been preserved. The *censura* sent from Venice is preserved in ACDF, Index, Protocolli, N, ff. 331- 336: ff. 334v-336r. See Valente, 'The Works of Bodin', 231-232, and Antonella Ciccarelli, 'La formazione intellettuale e le radici classiche di un intellettuale della Controriforma: Traiano Boccalini'. PhD thesis, Università degli Studi del Molise, 2011, 59-63. <http://road.unimol.it/bitstream/2192/152/1/Tesi_Ciccarelli.pdf> [last accessed 8 December 2015].

[46] Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, shelfmark: Cinq.1.477 (*Artis historicae penus octodecim scriptorum tam veterum quam recentiorum monumentis et inter eos Io. praecipue Bodini libris Methodi historicae sex instructa* (Basel, 1579); this particular copy henceforth quoted as *AHP*). Further research is needed to ascertain whether the unidentified censor working on the Angelo Mai copy may have belonged to the group of revisers who drafted the 1603 Venetian *censura*. While this is possible, it seems unlikely, at least if Antonella Ciccarelli is correct in identifying the 1603 Venetian *censura* as the basis of the *emendatio* published in Guanzelli's expurgatory index of 1607 (see 'La formazione intellettuale', 63). Indeed, as detailed below, the expurgations in the Angelo Mai copy differ radically from those of Guanzelli.

[47] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 16 ('Cum sic Bodinus legendus suadens scriptores haereticos, quibus laudem pietatis affingit facile apparet eundem ipsum impietatis facibus oblitum esse').

[48] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 186 ('Apparet hunc Bodinum non virum optimum fuisse, nec nisi vitiosum civem se esse voluisse. Meminisse illum oportebat finem civilis facultatis esse bonos cives reddere ut saepe repetit Arist[oteles,] non flagitiosos').

[49] Such moral condamnation, as Godman notes, 'owed nothing to biographical facts' but was itself entirely 'based on the internal evidence presented in a book' (*The Saint as Censor*, 123). On this point also see Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 317-324.

[50] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 113 ('quasi vero daemones, qui sunt corporis inopes, aeris crassioris quo sustineantur indigeant'). The censor's comment resembles that of Possevino (*Iudicium*, 108).

[51] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 316 ('nec quemquam memini ineptius hisce de rebus disserere quam hunc Bodin'). Another marginal note on the same page labels Bodin's stance on creation *ex nihilo* as a 'stulta consecutio'.

and piety"'.[52] Guided by this notion of Bodin as an author *lingua contaminatissimus*, the censor paid exceptionally close attention to Bodin's word choice on seemingly minor matters. For instance, he contested Bodin's use of the term *opinio* to denote Catholic faith, as the latter was clearly 'not an opinion, but a firm judgment'.[53] Deconstructing Bodin's text in search of hidden traces of heresy, the censor engaged with passages that had left both Bellarmino and Possevino cold—most notably the section on Daniel's prophecy of the four kingdoms, which Bodin 'envelops in extraordinary fallacies' instead of 'quietly submitting to the interpretation of all the sacred doctors'.[54] On the whole, the Angelo Mai copy is revelatory of yet another type of censorial strategy besides those of Bellarmine and Possevino—one that sought to demonstrate the heterodox nature of Bodin's text not merely 'by association' with heretical authors,[55] nor by appraising the *Methodus* within the larger context of Bodin's work, but rather through a close reading of the text iself that focused on word choice and argumentative (in)consistency as potential markers of heresy.

In 1607, the long-awaited first volume of the Roman Expurgatory Index finally appeared in print. It was the work of Giovanni Maria Guanzelli from Brisighella, the then Master of the Sacred Palace—formally the highest theological authority in the Roman Catholic Church. This first volume, which contained emendations to fifty authors and books (including Bodin's *Methodus*), was meant to be followed by several others; yet the conflicts that it immediately raised between the Congregation and the Holy Office caused its quick withdrawal from the market and, ultimately, the failure of 'years of expurgatory endeavour'.[56] On a strictly practical level, however, the single published volume did have a significant impact: of the twenty censored copies of Bodin's *Methodus* that I have examined, at least half are expurgated in accordance with its guidelines.[57]

While the extent of Guanzelli's original intervention in the 1607 *emendatio* is subject to debate,[58] the *emendatio* itself can be studied at once as the culmination of a long process of internal debate and as further proof of the ultimate lack of censorial consensus on Bodin's *Methodus*. Compared to the three *censurae* previously examined, the 1607 *emendatio* follows a distinctive strategy in terms of both the passages that it selects for expurgation and the specific expurgatory techniques that it adopts. On the one hand, Guanzelli's *emendatio* appears more invasive than the earlier expurgations, identifying a higher number of passages in need of expurgation as well

[52] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 245-246 ('Genevensium Remp[ublicam] scelere et impietatis labe pollutam homo hic mente et lingua et religione contaminatiss[i]mus virtutibus ac pietate florentem appellat').
[53] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 122 ('Italis fides catholica non est opinio, sed certa sententia'). Possevino had made the same point (*Iudicium*, 109, *ad pag.* 122). A similar strategy is used with respect to Bodin's ideas on madness as a form of *furor divinus* ('divine inspiration'): here the censor points out that 'non furor divinus, sed potius impulsus dicendum erat: neque enim divini vates fuerunt' (ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 23).
[54] Ms. marginal note, *AHP*, 299 ('oraculum Danielis miris paralogismis involvit. Itaque omnium sacrorum Doctorum acquiescendum'). See Dn 2 and 7; on Bodin's interpretation of the prophecy, see Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *La conception de l'histoire en France au XVIe siècle (1560-1610)* (Paris, 1977), 485-495.
[55] Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 123.
[56] Fragnito, 'The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship', 45-46. Also see Elisa Rebellato, 'Il miraggio dell'espurgazione. L'indice di Guanzelli del 1607', *Società e Storia*, 122 (2008), 715-742
[57] 'Emendatio Methodi ad facilem historiarum cognitionem Ioannis Bodini', in *Indicis librorum expurgandorum […] tomus primus* (Rome, 1607), 601-604. Guanzelli's *Emendatio* was based on a copy of the fifth edition (Heidelberg, 1583). For copies (entirely or partially) expurgated in accordance with the *Emendatio*, see items 1a-1j, 3c and 3d in Appendix 2 below.
[58] See Ciccarelli, 'La formazione intellettuale', 63; Valente, 'The Works of Bodin', 232.

as deleting larger portions of the text. For instance, while Possevino and the Angelo Mai reviser had crossed out a mere few lines from the long passage on the Reformation in chapter 5, the *emendatio* requires the deletion of almost two full pages of text. Similarly, about one and a half pages are taken out from the beginning of chapter 7, thus conflating into one single intervention three distinct expurgations proposed by the earlier censors.[59]

On the other hand, the 1607 *emendatio* is unique among the cases considered here in that it engages with Bodin's text in ways other than sheer deletion. While the other three sets of expurgations focused on purifying the text from its errors, Guanzelli's *emendatio* actively seeks to enhance its usefulness by rephrasing sentences and inserting or modifying words. Chapter 7 is again a good case in point. First, the simple insertion of one word in the title allows the censor to refashion a dangerously heterodox text ('Refutation of those who postulate four monarchies and the golden age') into a convenient piece of anti-Protestant controversy ('Refutation of those *Germans* who postulate four monarchies and the golden age').[60] Then, the censor's qualification that only 'some' (*quidam*) interpreters have failed to understand the prophecy further dispels the (well-founded) doubt that Bodin's polemical target may also include authors of proven Catholic orthodoxy.[61] Through extensive deletion and active rewriting, the 1607 *emendatio* thus submits the *Methodus* to a process of thorough intellectual domestication with the goal of reappropriating it to the Catholic cause.

As a rule, Guanzelli's *emendatio* tends to pursue inclusiveness, incorporating most (if not all) of the expurgations previously suggested as well as adding new ones. Several passages that had not yet commanded attention from other censors are put on the 'black list' for the first time here, including Bodin's praising description of Venice as a 'bulwark of the freedom of religion'—a topic that had just then become sensitive in light of the Venetian Interdict Crisis (1605-1607).

In one case, however, Guanzelli chooses not to expurgate a passage that had previously caught a censor's attention. In chapter 5, Bodin had argued that 'the capacity for contemplation and meditation' (*contemplationis ac meditationis vis*) was essentially the result of a physiological cause: that 'innate humour of black bile' (*insitus atrae bilis humor*), also known as melancholy, that was known to thrive in hot climates. Melancholy, Bodin continued, was the reason why Southern peoples traditionally excelled at contemplative disciplines such as mathematics, philosophy, and religion.[62] Further on in the chapter, he had added that the same 'innate humour' was also responsible for making Southerners peculiarly headstrong, which explained why Southern Europe had held fast to the Roman faith while Northern countries had enthusiastically embraced the Reformation.[63] In 1587, Robert Bellarmine had thought these two passages to be particularly worthy of expurgation, as they ascribed 'religious constancy', 'the gift of prophecy', and 'the origin of religion' to a strictly 'natural

[59] 'Emendatio', 602 (*ad pag.* 121 of the 1583 Heidelberg edition of Bodin's *Methodus*); 603 (*ad pag.* 298). The same 'additive' strategy is followed at the end of chapter 4, where one whole page is taken out (602, *ad pag.* 72).
[60] 'Emendatio', 603 (*ad pag.* 298).
[61] 'Emendatio', 603 (*ad pag.* 299: 'ubi dicitur, *non satis apte definiunt interpretes oraculorum*, scribe, *non satis apte definierunt quidam interpretes oraculorum*).
[62] Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, ed. Sara Miglietti (Pisa, 2013), 5.85, 274.
[63] Bodin, *Methodus*, 5.124, 300.

cause, namely human temperament'. [64] Bellarmine's position on Bodin's climate theory is doubly significant: first, because it constitutes the only example of Bellarmine engaging with Bodin's intellectual views at a broader and deeper level than was usual for him; second, because no other censor among those examined here—not even a hyper-interventionist like Guanzelli—would later care to include these two passages in his list of expurgations. This discrepancy suggests that Bellarmine's perception of Bodin's climate theory as heterodox and dangerous was not widely shared within the Roman censorial community. After all, throughout chapter 5 Bodin had repeatedly stressed that his climatological humouralism should not be intended as crude determinism, and that free will was ultimately stronger than any innate or environmental factors in shaping the human soul.[65]

Bellarmine's negative reading of Bodin's climate theory may have been conditioned by particular circumstances. Just at the same time as he was drafting his *censura* of the *Methodus*, Bellarmine was also examining another book, Juan Huarte's *Examen de ingenios* (1575), a text that propounded a much bolder and more deterministic version of climate theory than Bodin's.[66] Interpreting Bodin's climate theory through the lenses of Huarte's climatological organicism, rather than on Bodin's own terms, Bellarmine may have drawn conclusions about its heterodoxy that other censors after him would find hard to share.[67]

What this example shows is not only that climate theory was not, as some scholars have suggested, an object of universal disapproval for the Catholic Church;[68] but also to what extent censorial decisions were shaped by the reading and exegetical techniques of individual censors. Cases such as this indicate for instance that the simultaneous reading of multiple works could sometimes generate a sort of interpretive short-circuit that affected a censor's perception of, and reaction to, a particular text. More generally, the pursuit of different strategies for expurgating the same work ultimately testifies to the censors' divergent understandings of their own role as readers and interpreters of texts.

3. Conclusions

Bodin's *Methodus* provides a paradigmatic example of how a single text can be read in largely different ways within the same 'interpretive community'. Scholars tend to define 'interpretive communities' as groups of people 'who read books with a common set of cultural norms through which they interpreted texts and agreed on meaning'. [69] As this article has shown, however, even a (supposedly) cohesive

[64] ACDF, Index, Protocolli, H, 479r-480v, in Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 245 ('Videtur enim referre donum prophetiae et originem religionis in causam naturalem temperamenti humani'; 'Tribuit enim causae naturali constantiam in religione').
[65] Bodin, *Methodus*, 5.4, 222; 5.179-183, 332-336.
[66] On Huarte's *Examen* and its expurgation see Gabriel Pérouse, *L'examen des esprits du Docteur Juan Huarte de San Juan. Sa diffusion en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1970), 9-53. Bellarmine handed in his *censura* of Huarte on 19 November 1587, only two weeks after submitting the one on the *Methodus*. The autograph *censura* (ACDF, Indice, Protocolli, H, 319r-v) is transcribed in Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 243-244.
[67] Possevino, for one, seems to have been aware of the difference between Bodin's and Huarte's respective versions of climate theory: while he harshly criticized Huarte's climate theory in his *Coltura degl'Ingegni* (Vicenza, 1598), his *Iudicium* remained silent on climatological ideas in the *Methodus*.
[68] See for instance Simone Testa, *Scipione Di Castro e il suo trattato politico. Testo critico e traduzione inglese inedita del Seicento* (Manziana, 2012), 70.
[69] Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, 13.

community such as that of Counter-Reformation censors could in fact harbour a much greater degree of interpretive disagreement than is often assumed.

In Counter-Reformation Italy, the heterogeneity of censorial responses to suspicious texts was, to some extent, the result of specific institutional circumstances.[70] As multiple figures and institutions handled the task of expurgating books in competition to each other, exegetical conflicts were paradoxically allowed to emerge within the very community that was invested with the power of producing, and enforcing, universally binding interpretations of texts. As this article has shown, multiple censors working on the same book often arrived at radically different conclusions concerning its orthodoxy, usefulness, and overall value, based not only on their own intellectual interests and backgrounds, but also on the different interpretive strategies that they adopted. These, in turn, obviously affected the way in which censors approached and analysed the books themselves, and thus ultimately their stance on them.

Even though a censor's reading strategies and goals may appear entirely different from those of 'ordinary' readers, early modern censors did not conceptualise reading and censoring as separate activities, but as two sides of the same coin. For a seasoned censor like Bellarmine, who could 'hardly ever read a book without feeling in the mood to give it a good censoring', censorship was more than a profession; it was a state of the mind, shaping every aspect of his relation to written texts.[71] Accordingly, this study has suggested that we should treat censorship—at least Counter-Reformation censorship—not as the nemesis of readership, but as one (admittedly peculiar) variety of it. Reading, according to Craig Kallendorf, is 'an active process in which the audience shares in the creation of meaning', with the text itself functioning as 'an orchestra score, a prestructuring that triggers one potential actualization in each reader'.[72] This article has ultimately argued that such a characterisation of the reading experience applies equally well to all readers and to censors as a particular category of readers. Indeed, it is precisely insofar as censoring partakes in the nature of reading as a meaning-making process that competing understandings of the same text could emerge from a relatively homogeneous 'interpretive community' such as that of late Renaissance Italian censors.

[70] Fragnito, 'The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship'; Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, 102, 206-207.
[71] Letter of Robert Bellarmine, SJ, to Antonio Possevino, SJ, 13 July 1598, quoted and translated in Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, 4 ('Io non leggo quasi mai libro nessuno, che non mi bastasse l'animo di fargli sopra una buona censura').
[72] Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, 8.



Figure 1 (above). Idiosyncratic expurgation of *Methodus* (ed. Heidelberg, 1591). Biblioteca della Fondazione Firpo, Turin, shelfmark FIRPO.2370. Photo: S. Miglietti.

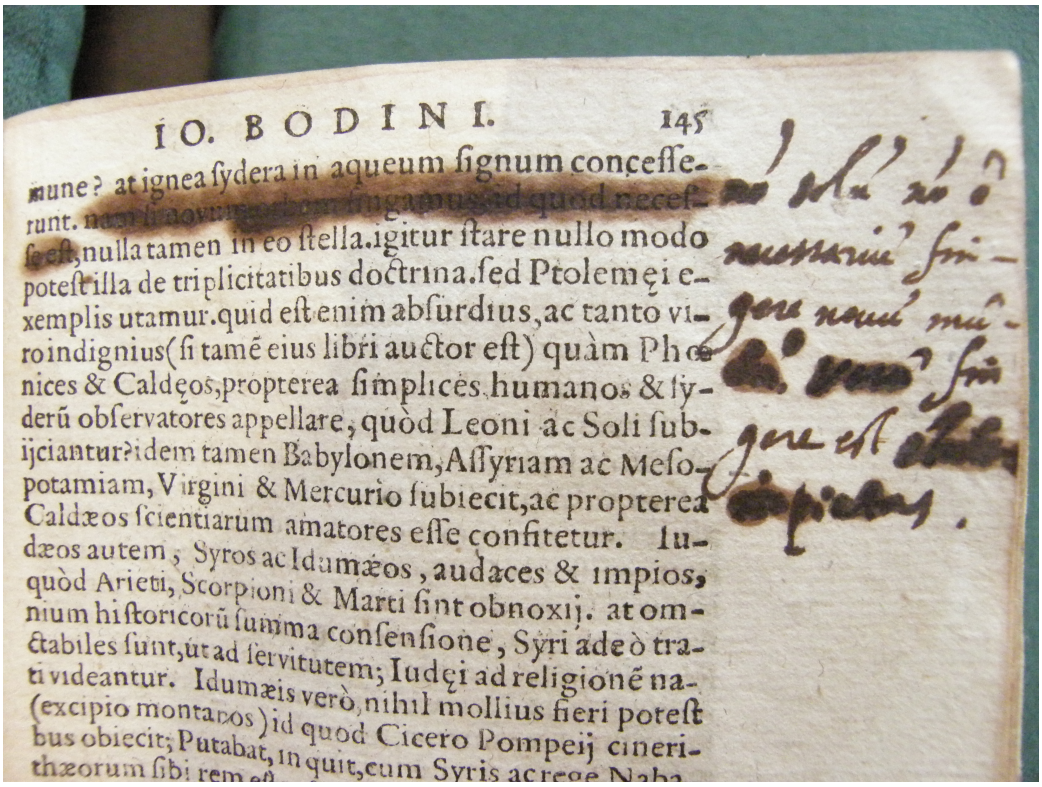


Figure 2 (above). Censor's deletion and manuscript note in the margin of a *Methodus* (ed. Basel, 1579). Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai. Photo: S. Miglietti.

Appendix 1: Comparative table of expurgations for Bodin's *Methodus*

Column 1 provides chapter/section references (followed by page numbers) to the modern edition quoted throughout this article (Pisa, 2013). Each of the following four columns offers a short summary of the deleted passage or a brief description of the censor's intervention, comparing different interventions where relevant. The minus sign indicates lack of censorial intervention.

B= Bellarmine (1587)
P= Possevino (1592)
AM= Unidentified censor, Angelo Mai working copy (~1603?)
REI= Roman Expurgatory Index (1607)

Methodus	**B**	**P**	**AM**	**REI**
Dedicatory letter, 6 (74)	Praising mention of Charles Du Moulin	——	——	——
2.4-5 (104-106)	Long passage containing several names of heretics	——	= B	Selective expurgation in 2.5: Melanchthon 'devoted to religion and piety'.
3.5 (120)	——	Madmen do not act willingly	= P	——
3.5 (120)	——	Madmen inspired by *furor divinus*	= P	——
3.15 (128)	——	——	'Popes and ambassadors' examples of offices 'without coercive power'	= AM
3.16 (128)	——	Popes and clerics subject to secular power	= P	——
4.29 (162)	Deletes names of Sleidan and Machiavelli	——	——	= B
4.42 (170-172)	Sleidan 'pious and religious'	——	——	= B
4.51 (178)	Acceptable to lie for the sake of the State	——	——	——
4.52 (178)	Bessarion's doubts about the holiness of saints	——	——	= B
4.58 (182)	Sleidan on the abolition of the Holy Mass in Strasbourg	——	——	= B
4.76 (194)	St. Jerome 'Ciceronian' rather than Christian	——	——	——
4.77 (194-196)	——	Defense of Tacitus: impiety is not standing by one's religion (whether true or false)	= P	= P and AM
4.93 (206)	——	——	——	Unbelievable account of Mt. Vesuvius by Procopius

4.93 (208)	Eusebius' account of a miracle 'a silly story'	= B	= B and P	= B, P, AM (whole page deleted)
5.68 (264)	Cult of St Anthony 'silly' and 'impious'	——	——	= B
5.99 (284)	——	Demons cannot subsist where the air is thin	= P	——
5.111 (290)	——	Pagan times more 'religious' than Christian era	= P	——
5.112 (292)	——	Astrology useful to assess historical truth	= P	——
5.85 (274)	Southern peoples naturally inclined to contemplation	——	——	——
5.122-123 (298-300)	Long passage on the origins and causes of the Reformation (almost two pages deleted)	Reformers perhaps justified; Italy still holding on to 'old opinion'. (Selective expurgation.)	= P	= B
5.124 (300)	Southerners and Easterners naturally constant in religion	——	——	——
5.126 (302)	——	Acceptable for magistrates to lie for the sake of the State	= P	——
5.186 (338)	——	Hypothesis of a *ninth sphere/new world* 'necessary' (see above, footnote 33)	= P	——
6.31 (386)	——	Bishops do not have coercive power	= P	Adds *non omnes* ('*not all* bishops' etc.)
6.31 (386)	——	——	——	Popes 'ridiculously' state that they do not have the power to kill (censor suggests replacing 'ridiculously' with 'so they say').
6.64 (418)	——	Good men make bad citizens	= P	——
6.100 (446)	Pope holds absolute power	——	= B	= B and AM
6.127 (464)	Critiques Innocent III's decree on consanguinity	——	= B	= B and AM
6.131 (468)	——	——	Pier Luigi Farnese 'tyrant' of Piacenza	——
6.147-148 (480)	Long passage on papal expansionism and religion as a cause of political turmoil	Selective expurgation in 6.148: Christian religion a cause of political turmoil	= B	= B and AM
6.179 (508)	'the licentiousness of popes'	= B	= B and P	= B, P, AM
6.192 (516)	Lord's Supper celebrations in Geneva 'very pious'	——	——	= B

6.192-193 (516-518)	Praise of Geneva	= B	= B and P	= B, P, AM
6.223 (540)	____	____	____	Cardinal Farnese (future Pope Paul III) breaks the seal of confession
6.231 (548)	Reverence in which popes are held 'shameful'	= B	____	= B and P
6.271 (576)	____	____	____	Freedom of religion and secular jurisdiction on matters of faith in Venice
6.280 (584)	____	Popes need rigorous censors	= P	= P and AM
6.285 (588)	____	____	____	Praises Peter Martyr Vermigli's views on the Hebrew Republic
6.292 (594)	____	Papal succession should be by inheritance rather than election	= P	____
6.295 (596)	____	____	____	Popes deliberately elected at an old age to get rid of them faster (and often killed by poison)
7 (608)	____	____	____	Rephrases title ('confutatio eorum *Germanorum*, qui…')
7.1 (608)	____	____	Doubts on the interpretation of biblical prophecies	Incipit of chapter 7 entirely deleted (one and a half pages)
7.1 (608)	Praises Calvin for suspending judgment on interpretation of the *Apocalypse*	= B	= B and P	Incipit of chapter 7 entirely deleted (one and a half pages). Qualifies sentence ('*some* interpreters of the prophecy…')
7.3 (610)	____	____	Criticizes Bodin's explanation of Daniel's prophecy of the four kingdoms (but does not delete)	____
8.7 (634)	Deletes Melanchthon's name.	____	= B	____
8.7 (634)	____	All forms are generated *ex nihilo*	Finds Bodin's stance on *ex nihilo* form generation 'silly' (but does not delete)	____
8.20 (646)	____	No God can derive from God, no infinite from another infinite (anti-Trinitarian view)	= P	____
8.26 (656)	____	God accidental cause of evil	= P	____

8.56 (676)	——	——	——	Melanchthon, Funck, and Beza on biblical chronology
10 (742)	Invitation to study Protestant historiographers	——	——	——
10 (746 and *passim*)	Deletes: Luther, Melanchthon, Bullinger, Funck, Münster, Foxe, Sleidan, *Historia Magdeburgica*, Aventinus.	Deletes: Luther, Melanchthon, *Historia Magdeburgica*	= P, + Peutinger, Carion, Peucer	Deletes: = P + Machiavelli

Appendix 2: Extant expurgated copies of Bodin's *Methodus* with place and year of edition (survey in progress)

1. COPIED EXPURGATED ACCORDING TO THE ROMAN EXPURGATORY INDEX OF 1607
    a. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai (Heidelberg, 1599).
    b. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria (Strasbourg, 1598).
    c. Genua, Biblioteca Universitaria (Basel, 1579).
    d. London, British Library (Paris, 1572). Slightly idiosyncratic.
    e. Milan, Biblioteca Braidense (Heidelberg, 1583). With ms. notes: *expurgatus iuxta correctionem Romanam anni 1607*; *die Augusti 1509 [sic] Licentia a Reverendo Inquistore habita quam mihi procuravit p[ater Alex[ander] Gonnellus congregat[ionis] Iesu*.
    f. Modena, Biblioteca Estense (Heidelberg, 1583).
    g. Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria (Basel, 1579).
    h. Rome, Biblioteca Giorgio Del Vecchio (Paris, 1572).
    i. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Strasbourg, 1599).
    j. Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Law Library (Paris, 1572).
2. COPIES EXPURGATED ACCORDING TO THE SPANISH EXPURGATORY INDEX OF 1614
    a. Genua, Biblioteca Universitaria (Basel, 1579)
3. COPIES EXPURGATED PARTIALLY AND/OR IN AN IDIOSYNCRATIC FASHION
    a. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai (Basel, 1579). Unidentified censor's working copy (~1603?). See Figure 2.
    b. Genua, Biblioteca Universitaria (Paris, 1572). Loosely based on Bellarmine's 1587 *censura*.
    c. Piacenza, Biblioteca Passerini Landi (Strasbourg, 1607). Incomplete expurgation (first three chapters only) *iuxta* Roman Expurgatory Index of 1607.
    d. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale (Strasbourg, 1607). Incomplete expurgation *iuxta* Roman Expurgatory Index of 1607 (with occasional idiosyncrasies).
    e. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, fondo Barberini (Basel, 1576). Only names of heretics are crossed out.
    f. Turin, Fondazione Firpo (Heidelberg, 1591). Resembles to some extent item 3b, but more invasive expurgation. See Figure 1.

4. CLEAN COPIES AWAITING EXPURGATION
    a. Guastalla, Biblioteca Maldotti (Basel, 1579). With ms. note: Opus *prohibitur in Appendice Indice Tridentini.*
    b. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Heidelberg, 1591). With ms. note: *Expurgandus*.
    c. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale (Geneva, 1610). With ms. note *Pro[h]ib[itus]*.

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