



The Production of Knowledge of Normativity in the Age of the Printing Press

Martín de Azpilcueta's Manual de Confessores from a Global Perspective

Edited by Manuela Bragagnolo



The Production of Knowledge of Normativity in the Age of the Printing Press

Max Planck Studies in Global Legal History of the Iberian Worlds

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Books and the Production of Knowledge of Normativity in the Early Modern Period: The Case of Martín de Azpilcueta's *Manual de Confessores*

Manuela Bragagnolo

Abstract

This chapter provides an introduction to the emblematic and exemplary case study which is the object of this collective volume: Martín de Azpilcueta's *Manual de Confessores*. Moreover, it gives the methodological coordinates of the interdisciplinary experiment that has involved the authors of the chapters of this book, who contributed to what we could call a "material approach to legal history". Coming from history, book history, and legal history, the authors of the book looked at Azpilcueta's *Manual* as a material object, according to Robert Darnton's *Communications Circuit*, considering both the production, circulation and consumption of it on a global scale. The overall picture sheds some light on the production of knowledge of normativity in the Age of Early Modern Globalisation.

Keywords

Book History – Legal History – Knowledge of Normativity – Early Modern period

1 Producing Knowledge of Normativity in the Age of Early Modern Globalisation: A Material Approach

In 1574, when the first biography of Martín de Azpilcueta (1492–1586), better known as Doctor Navarrus, appeared in Rome, he was 81 years old, and a celebrity.¹ He was worshipped as a monarch of law ("iuris monarcha") and considered a living legal library ("pectus suum fecit bibliothecam iuris") for his

1 On Azpilcueta's biography and an updated bibliography, see Lavenia, "Martín de Azpilcueta. Un profilo"; Tejero, "Azpilcueta, Martín de"; Belda Plans, *Martín de Azpilcueta Jaureguizar*; Decock, "Martín de Azpilcueta". See also, Arigita y Lasa, *El doctor navarro*.

incredible legal erudition.² Moving to Rome in 1567, following the trial of Bartolomé de Carranza, was the last step in a long, wandering scholarly life that culminated in him holding the most prestigious canon law chair in both the University of Salamanca and the University of Coimbra and becoming a reference figure in the early modern Iberian Empires and beyond. During his years in Rome, he was appointed consultor of the Apostolic Penitentiary, and he was a source of knowledge for the popes and the Roman curia.

We can easily assert that Azpilcueta was an authority in his time. When the 1574 biography was printed, his fame was so impressive that even a live portrait of him was made in secret (“clanculum”), unbeknown to him.³ While his portrait was most wanted in Roman palaces, one of his books could be found in everyone’s hands; a book that, according to his biographer, condensed, in one object, the knowledge of an entire legal library (“locupletissimam bibliothecam”):⁴ Azpilcueta’s *Manual de Confessores*. The *Manual* was a real bestseller, reaching the four parts of the known world. Copies of it were everywhere: shipped from Seville to the New World and from Goa to Japan; in Tridentine Seminars; in the first missionary libraries in Asia and the Americas, as well as in priests’ hands.⁵

Azpilcueta’s *Manual* is the object of this collective study. The prominent place of Doctor Navarrus in the early modern legal world remains a crucial part of this story, but the emphasis of this analysis is not placed on the ‘author’ as such, nor purely on his legal thinking, but rather on the *Manual* as a material object. In fact, by looking at the book in its materiality, Azpilcueta’s *Manual* provides an exemplary case to better understand a broader phenomenon, which is the main focus of this volume: the production of “knowledge of normativity” in the age of early modern globalisation.⁶ If we think about legal history as history of knowledge, it becomes clear that understanding the process of production of this knowledge is one of the major tasks of legal historians.⁷

The substantial connection between law and the written word has been greatly studied. Legal history in Europe in this sense has been conceived as a continuous process of diachronic intertextuality, and the evolution of normat-

2 Ramlotaeus, *Vita*.

3 Ramlotaeus, *Vita*.

4 Ramlotaeus, *Vita*.

5 On the *Manual* and its editorial history, see Dunoyer, *L’Enchiridion confessoriorum*; Muguruza Roca, “Del confesionario ibérico de la Contrarreforma”; Bragagnolo, “Managing Legal Knowledge in Early Modern Times”.

6 On the approach of considering legal history as history of knowledge, see Duve, “Legal History as a History of the Translation”.

7 Duve, “Legal History as a History of the Translation”.

ive orders in time as an unceasing process of translating normative information into knowledge of normativity, through the embedding of this information into different contexts by different epistemic communities and communities of practices.⁸ This process of knowledge production relied on textual practices, deeply rooted in the history of the media in which that knowledge was stored.⁹ In this context, books,—especially printed books—occupied centre stage. Looking at the materiality of books to better understand how knowledge of normativity was produced means adopting one of the most interesting methodological points that history of science, knowledge, and books have to offer to legal historians: “knowledge” is and was “also a result of a material and social process of production, where the traditional personage we used to call ‘author’” shared the creative process with many other actors and factors, “technical processes, social arrangements, economic opportunities, intellectual styles or conditions”.¹⁰

It comes as no surprise then, that in this process, the media revolution related to the emergence of print in the early modern period played an interesting role. In fact, even though the printing press was not *per se* an agent of change, and manuscript circulation continued as a conscious alternative to prints for a long time, it radically transformed the quantity of legal information available, as well as extending its distribution both in terms of area and target readers.¹¹ In particular, the interplay between the development of the printing press and the European expansions to other continents contributed to *global* book production, circulation, and consumption, in which new actors—printers, editors, booksellers, and merchants—played a fundamental role.¹² How both the “nature” of early modern books and the logic of the book trade shaped knowledge, especially early modern science, is currently being investigated.¹³ How it contributed to the production of knowledge of normativity on a global scale remains to be explored. The main goal of this collective volume is to contribute to a better understanding of this phenomenon.

This “material” approach that looks at legal books as material objects is particularly meaningful if we want to analyse how the production of knowledge

8 Duve, “Pragmatic Normative Literature”, 3. See also Hespanha, “Una historia de textos”.

9 Duve, “Pragmatic Normative Literature”, 9.

10 Hespanha, “Form and Content”; Beck, “The Diffusion of Law Books”; Renn and Damerow, “The Hanging Chain”. For an overview on the impact of the material turn on legal history, see Johnson, “Legal History and The Material Turn”.

11 Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*; Johns, *The Nature of the Book*.

12 Nuovo, *The Book Trade*; González Sánchez, *New World Literacy*.

13 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*. Valleriani and Ottone, *Publishing Sacrobosco's De sphaera*.

of normativity worked in the Iberian Words. One of the several components of this multifaceted legal culture, which was deeply connected to the construction and functioning of the Iberian Empires, as well as to the global missionary activity, was precisely related to the transformation and adaptation of European learned legal tradition, which travelled from Europe to even the remotest frontiers of the global Iberian empires, thus producing new knowledge. The construction of this legal culture was the outcome of complex processes of cultural translation and “glocal” knowledge production that as yet have not been fully explored.

The essays of this volume are the outcome of an intense dialogue between book historians and legal historians, who agreed to focus on one normative book that was particularly meaningful for the production of knowledge of normativity in the early modern Iberian Empires. By combining questions and methods from both disciplines, the essays of this volume look at the materiality of the *Manual* by following Robert Darnton’s “communication circuit”.¹⁴ In particular, the authors looked at the three pillars of Darnton’s circuit, the “production”, “circulation”, and “consumption” of Azpilcueta’s *Manual* on a global scale, taking into special account the actors involved, and the global dimension that the circulation acquired between the 16th and the 17th centuries.

Focusing on Azpilcueta’s *Manual* as a material object when studying this global phenomenon was thus a natural choice for two reasons. The first one is connected to the emergence of moral theology as a new producer of knowledge of normativity. The second one is related to the specificities of Azpilcueta’s *Manual* in the 16th-century editorial landscape that helped it circulate all over the world.

2 Martín de Azpilcueta’s *Manual*: An Emblematic and Extraordinary Case

To understand why a handbook for confessors is a particularly meaningful case for studying the production of knowledge of normativity in the early modern period on a global scale, we have to first look at the importance of moral theology as a field of normative knowledge production. In the age of early modern globalisation, the European expansion to other continents went hand in hand with the universalistic spread of the Catholic church as the universal religion

14 Darnton, “What is the History of Books”; Darnton, “What is the History of Books? Revisited”. See also, Bellingradt and Salman, “Books and Book History in Motion”.

to all nations. In this context, moral theology, related to the *forum internum* of conscience, developed as an independent discipline with universal vocation, serving both the diffusion of Catholicism as a universal religion and the construction of the early modern empires.¹⁵ While the prohibition of interpretation pronounced by the Council of Trent contributed to canon law losing its importance, moral theology became the context in which new solutions could be found to the burning questions that missionaries and practitioners had to face in global colonial contexts in many fundamental fields, including marriage, slavery, usury, and trades.¹⁶ Institutions such as the “School of Salamanca”, which can be understood as an epistemic community active in the intellectual centres of the Iberian worlds—like the Universities of Salamanca and Coimbra—dominated the production of normative knowledge in the field. By applying and adjusting the interpretative normative grid of moral theology, theologians and jurists of the School received the flow of information from the peripheries of the Iberian Empires, and tried to give answers to questions and doubts, instructing missionaries, practitioners, and merchants about how to act to avoid sin. This was a “network of global normative knowledge production”,¹⁷ that functioned on a textual basis: the main outcome of the network were manuscripts and printed books. Particularly relevant were “pragmatic” normative books that circulated widely, bringing—especially to the practitioners in the periphery of the early modern empires—the epitomised knowledge needed to produce normative statements.¹⁸

With the growth of the Iberian empires, confession became a global phenomenon and confessional manuals became crucial tools in a strategy to construct Christian colonial societies. In the 16th century, handbooks for confessors were among the books that were produced and sought after on a global scale, and this was also due to the central role that the Council of Trent gave the sacrament of Penance. Coming from the long tradition of the *summae confessorum*, confessional manuals were largely updated with the norms of the Council of Trent and Jesuits were among the most productive authors of confessional manuals for colonial contexts.¹⁹

Although the essential content was usually similar, with the core consisting of a repository of sins based on the decalogue and the seven capital sins, these manuals often required a specific adaptation to the target reader. The 16th

15 Marcocci, “Conscience and Empire”.

16 Duve, “Pragmatic Normative Literature”, 6.

17 Duve, “The School of Salamanca”.

18 Duve and Danwerth (eds.), *Knowledge of the Pragmatici*.

19 Županov, “I am a Great Sinner”.



FIGURE 1.1 Map visualising for each place of print, the number of editions of Azpilcueta's *Manual* and derivative products (1549 to 1640)

century saw the production and publication of a huge number of confessional manuals, of very different kinds. An explosion of editions spread from Europe to all over the world, alongside the need, especially in the post-Tridentine era, to provide simplified, epitomised, and accessible tools.²⁰ Together with more erudite confessional manuals, addressed to a learned readership, often in Latin, and showcasing a more complex structure, other kinds of handbooks, in vernacular, often structured in a question and answer format, came into existence. These were addressed to a less sophisticated lay reader or confessor. And the same structure, accompanied by the use of vernacular, even native language, was used for the handbooks translated and adapted for the newly converted population, namely those printed at the frontiers of the Iberian Empires, integrating questions related to the specific contexts in which they were produced.²¹

In this landscape, Azpilcueta's *Manual* constitutes an exceptional and emblematic case. It clearly stands out due to its incredible number of editions (around 270, if we count editions, reeditions, and derivative products) issued over 91 years, from 1549 to 1640. Even compared with other bestsellers of the time (such as Tommaso de Vio's *Summa*, Manuel Rodrigues' *Suma de casos*, Juan de Polanco's *Directorium*, or Manuel de Sá's *Aphorismi Confessariorum*), no one else reached similar success. This editorial success was closely associated with the wide-spread and early presence of the *Manual* on a global scale, especially in the missionary contexts in America and Asia. Our knowledge about its presence and relevance highlighted by the historiography has been confirmed and—above all—enriched by new elements in the new research contained in the articles of this volume.

Among the reasons for this success it is likely that, due to its editorial history, the *Manual* was able to change its skin many times, thus becoming different editorial products, with different levels of complexity and structures, addressed to very different readerships, from the most erudite to the simplest. If we think about the supervised editions, they involved a transformation process led by Azpilcueta himself, consisting of self-translations into different languages (Spanish and Latin), normative updates (namely related to the Council of Trent), doctrinal additions, consistent structural revisions, additions of new sections often printed separately, and finally even epitomisation into a vernacular *Compendio*.²² The initial small book (Coimbra, 1549) on which the *Manual*

20 Turrini, *La coscienza*.

21 Interesting examples for India (in Tamil Language) and China are presented in Županov, "I am a Great Sinner"; Standaert and Dudink, *Forgive Us Our Sins*.

22 The structure remained the same, with twenty-seven chapters in which the moral doctrine about conscience was systematised in the following way: nine first introductory chapters

was based, was written by an anonymous Franciscan friar from the *Provincia da Piedade*. The general Inquisitor, Dom Henrique, asked Azpilcueta to check and improve it, thereby giving with the authority of his name the reliability needed for religious books to be printed—it was forbidden to print anonymous religious books. Here started the complex transformation process from a small vernacular *Manual* to a big Latin *Enchiridion* which reflected all the erudition and knowledge of the canon law professor.²³ The editorial history of the *Manual* (at least if we consider the supervised editions of the book) followed Azpilcueta's own move from Portugal to Spain to Rome. This process was influenced by the agency of other actors, among whom there were also powerful and important printers, who contributed to transforming the book from the local product of the first editions to a universal catholic bestseller.

The whole process lasted almost 40 years, from 1549 to 1586, and reflected the political, social, legal, and religious transformations and changes that happened in Europe, the Iberian Empires, and around the globe during this time. Thanks to his special position at the centre of the global networks of normative knowledge production of the Iberian Empires and the Universal Church, Azpilcueta was able to capture the changes and store them in the different supervised editions of the book. We might ask ourselves why he engaged in this exhausting revision process that lasted until the very last years of his long life. Among the possible reasons is the idea that Azpilcueta, as well as his relative, Francisco Xavier, felt a duty to share his knowledge as a moral obligation (Birr).

3 Producing Books, Producing Knowledge: Actors, Agency, Materiality

Looking at the materiality of the book contributes to highlighting some of the reasons for its global success. Moreover, it allows us to see different layers of the production of normative knowledge and the intricate relation of it to the fascinating editorial history of the book. In this regard, it is particularly

dedicated to the sacrament of penance (1–9); 15 chapters presenting a repertory of the sins, according to the Decalogue (11–20); five commandments of the Church (21); seven sacraments (22); seven capital sins (23); five senses and works of mercy (24); one chapter on “professional morals” (25); and, finally, chapter 26 dedicated to the penitence to be imposed and chapter 27 dedicated to ecclesiastical censorship. Cfr. Muguruza Roca, “Del confesionario ibérico de la Contrarreforma”.

23 On the transformation process of the supervised editions, see Bragagnolo, “Managing Legal Knowledge”.

meaningful to look at the first of the elements of Darnton's "communication circuit"—book production—namely, to look at the actors and factors involved in the production of the *Manual*.

3.1 *The World in a Book: Azpilcueta and the Communities of Knowledge Production*

The exceptional position of the author, thanks to his authority and knowledge, at the centre of different networks, epistemic communities, and communities of practices of local and global knowledge production, was likely one reason that contributed to the success of the book. The author's position was also one of the aspects that influenced the production of the normative knowledge stored and mobilised in it.

The complex transformation process of the supervised editions of the *Manual* was deeply connected to Azpilcueta's participation in different communities. Firstly, the continuous feedback from the communities and networks Azpilcueta belonged to, that characterise the construction of the *Manual*, is visible when looking at the first and maybe smallest community of knowledge production, consisting of a selected group of readers of the *Manual*. Azpilcueta set up a special relationship with his readers, namely in the preface that he addressed to them in all the editions. Readers were asked to send questions, new cases of conscience, and doubts relating to the current edition. This chimes in with the "instability" and "epistemic indeterminacy" of early modern books, always conceived as imperfect and improvable objects.²⁴ This dynamic, related to the materiality of the printing process, is clearly visible from the 1549 edition: a simple handbook, in Portuguese, which showcases sections entitled "preguntas" with specific questions actually asked by some of the readers. Moreover, it opens with 93 explanations for unclear passages by Azpilcueta, answering doubts sent to him by the readers of the text before it was distributed. This section sets the stage for the subsequent authorial work of textual transformation (often rendering updates graphically visible on the printed page) on which Azpilcueta then grounds his own authorship of the book (Bragagnolo). The community of readers, who contribute significantly to the production of knowledge stored in the book, increases in the subsequent editions, involving Franciscan friars (including, among others, the anonymous author of the initial text, and Antonio da Azurara, who is explicitly mentioned in the 1556 edition), Jesuits in the archbishopric of Evora, and Dominicans like Luís de Granada, who all helped Azpilcueta to improve and update his book

24 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*.

with the solution of new cases. It is through such communication, and thanks to Azpilcueta's prominent place in global networks of normative knowledge production, like the Universities of Salamanca and Coimbra, and later, once in Rome, the Apostolic Penitentiary, that the contemporary world around him finds its place in the *Manual*.

The University of Coimbra, in particular, provides the context in which the first editions of the *Manual* took shape and is, for this reason, a particularly interesting community to look at. It was not only the context that shaped the missionaries who later went to the peripheries of the Empire, sharing with their professors the same categories and intellectual tools, but it also provided the setting for a continuous exchange between the missionaries, facing unceasingly new situations in the peripheries of the Empire, and the theologians and jurists of the University, who elaborated and framed the doubts sent to them through the juridical categories of moral theology.

It is not surprising then that, thanks to Azpilcueta's privileged position, the questions addressed to him, especially from the Indies, were integrated into his *Manual* through the updates that he added in each new edition that he supervised. Azpilcueta's personal network, which links him and the *Manual* first and foremost with the Jesuit missions both at the eastern and western part of the Portuguese Empire, helps in this process (Barbosa). From this point of view, the year 1549 is particularly significant. It is not only the year in which the first edition of the *Manual* appeared, while Azpilcueta was still teaching at the University of Coimbra. But in the same year, the expansion of the Portuguese empire to West and East went hand in hand with the settlement of the first missions in Brazil and in Japan. In both cases the Jesuits who led the mission were strongly connected with Azpilcueta. Manuel da Nóbrega and Juan de Azpilcueta, who went to Brazil, were both students of Azpilcueta in Coimbra; Juan was also Azpilcueta's nephew. Francis Xavier, who reached Japan from Goa, was a relative of Azpilcueta. We can very well imagine then that Azpilcueta's personal connections with the missionaries were so widely spread, and therefore his privileged position of knowing which kind of problems the missionaries in Asia and America had to face contributed to the enrichment of the content of the *Manual*.

The logic of the ongoing accumulation of new cases was closely associated with the text's linguistic journey (from Portuguese to Spanish to Latin), following Azpilcueta's moves from Portugal to Spain to Rome. New cases from Colonial Spain quickly entered the *Manual*, together with the normative updates, almost in real time, of the Council of Trent. All these elements made it become an object suited first to confessors and penitents in Portugal, then to the needs of the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, and finally—with the complex and

erudite Latin *Enchiridion*, addressed to a select number of well-read and expert readers—to the universal Christianity across the globe. With the authorial *Compendio* in Spanish (1586)—the language of the empires unified under the Spanish crown—he once again addressed modest confessors, who would not be able to access the latest more erudite versions of the book.

3.2 *Book Trade Logics, Confessional Needs, and Authorial Agency: Coordinates of an Interplay*

This incredible process involving constant updates to the book was the outcome of a careful undertaking of control and supervision, during which Azpilcueta implemented a series of sophisticated strategies that reveal his agency in the book market. It is especially through his expert use of the tool of the printing privilege granted to authors that Azpilcueta tried to define and seek protection for his authorial work in the *Manual* against the numerous attempts to print it by the European commercial printers and booksellers. The last ones were driven by the economic interest to engage in the business of printing and selling a book which proved to be very successful from the early prints. Azpilcueta's active participation in a lawsuit against the Spanish publishers and printers of a pirate edition of the *Manual*, at a time in which the concept of "authorship" was still under construction, allows us to see the extent to which printing privileges were powerful tools; when granted to authors, they gave them the possibility of controlling the publication process, as well as the circulation of the book (Bragagnolo).

Through knowledgeable use of the printing privileges, Azpilcueta not only protected his intellectual work, but also his economic investment. In fact, he directly paid for all the editions that he supervised (Bragagnolo). This financial engagement allowed him to choose the most powerful printers and publishers currently leading the European printing industry (Bragagnolo; Maillard Álvarez; Manrique Figueroa). Azpilcueta's strategy even reached the point of identifying the agents involved in the selling of the book, trying to ensure for the supervised version of the book a circulation at least in the Iberian Peninsula and likely in the American Viceroyalties (Bragagnolo; Manrique Figueroa; Maillard Álvarez, Hamann). He not only used this strategy with the *Manual*, but also with other books by him, namely *Apologia*, as can be seen when looking at the Flemish editions (Manrique Figueroa). And he also tried, in his last will, to control at least part of the production of the *Manual* after his death (Bragagnolo).

But this was only one side of the coin. In fact, the production and circulation of the book, even in Azpilcueta's lifetime, was also related to several other factors that were not on Azpilcueta's radar, including the agency of other actors. If we want a deeper understanding of the production of knowledge of norm-

ativity when looking at Azpilcueta's *Manual* as a material object, we should consider the interplay between Azpilcueta's agency and these other factors.

The logics related to the book trade, intertwined with the religious and political needs of tools like reliable confessional manuals, especially in missionary contexts, are fundamental factors that we have to keep in mind if we want to understand the multiplication of editions and the spread of the book all over the world. Among the actors involved in the production of normative knowledge, especially as far as the production and circulation of the book is concerned, a special place is reserved for two typologies of actors: those who produced the book and commercialised it—printers, publishers, and booksellers—and those who intervened more in the textual transformation process, namely the authors of *compendia*. It is important to note, there is no clear-cut line between the production of the book as a material object and its textual transformation, and the two typologies of actors intermingle and intertwine.

3.3 *Beyond Azpilcueta: Actors of Normative Knowledge Production*

The *Manual* proved to be an extremely remunerative business. The data related to the first print run shows amazing numbers (2,000 copies for the 1549 edition). Sometimes the actors involved in the production of the book worked against Azpilcueta, triggering his increasingly sophisticated authorial strategies of control of the book's production and circulation (like in the case of the pirate edition of the Spanish *Manual*, which was at the basis of the lawsuit and of the complex printing privileges strategy set up by Azpilcueta). Sometimes they worked in synergy with Doctor Navarrus, like in the case of the printers that he chose for the supervised editions. In both cases, working in synergy with Azpilcueta or against him, they played a fundamental role in the design, manufacture, and distribution of the book (Maillard Álvarez).

We can also say that the transformation process of the book, that went hand in hand with the development of Azpilcueta's strong agency in the production and circulation of the supervised editions, interacted with the logics of the book market. The authorial transformation of the *Manual* as an intellectual work was accompanied by a continuous changing of skin of the commercial product, attracting different kinds of printers and publishers. Initially, the Portuguese and Spanish *Manual* was a more local product, and the production was dominated by the Iberian and Flemish printers, who were subject to the Spanish monarch. Once the fame of the book increased, especially after the appearance of the main authorial transformations of the text (Salamanca, 1556; and Rome, 1573), the European publishers from the axis of the Catholic printing industry (Venice, Rome, Lyon, and Antwerp) joined the stage, thus contribut-

ing to a broader international diffusion of the text (Maillard Álvarez). After Azpilcueta's death, (with 75 editions in 54 years) the *Manual* remained an international book, the production of which was centralised by the main European publishers of the Catholic printing industry (especially Venice, Paris, and Antwerp).

A similar story, but with a slightly different chronology, can be told about the *compendia*. In the production, transformation, and circulation of the book, creators of *compendia* were crucial actors as well. Their transformations, in particular, enlarged the readership of the *Manual*. Due to the high complexity of the Spanish and Latin supervised versions, several authors, especially belonging to the religious orders, started to compile *compendia* from the *Manual*, trying to satisfy the need for reliable tools that could be used by lay confessors. Azpilcueta's erudite *Manual* was then transformed into a small, portable *compendium*. The smaller size, condensed content, and transformed structure (questions and answers or alphabetical order) were suitable not only for the European readership, but also for the colonial contexts. Several *compendia* of the *Manual* appeared, in different languages, which were then in turn translated into other languages. Also, non-supervised translations appeared. This high production of *compendia* and translations contributed to producing a kaleidoscope of books that multiplied the presence of Azpilcueta's *Manual* all over Europe and the entire world. But these *compendia* and translations, at least those that were published during Azpilcueta's life, always came a bit too late without having integrated his latest updates. This was also one of the reasons that pushed Azpilcueta to translate the *Manual* into Latin, and to finally issue his own supervised *Compendio* in Spanish (1586), in an attempt to control the production and circulation of the supervised versions of the work to which he had dedicated his entire life.

If we look at the *compendia* as objects and products, what catches our attention is the difference between the production and circulation of them during Azpilcueta's lifetime and after his death. In general, the number of editions of the *compendia*, which were printed between 1567 and 1626, is impressive (96). If we consider that only 16 were printed during Azpilcueta's life (between 1567 and 1586), that, among them, only one was authored by him (printed only once, in 1586), the remaining 80 being printed after his death, we can postulate that the success of the *compendia* was higher after Azpilcueta's death than during his lifetime. Looking at the actors, as well as the different interests involved in the production of the book, can help us formulate some hypotheses about why.

Compendia began being printed in 1567 and the authors belonged to religious orders. Azpilcueta issued his own *Compendio*, in Spanish, in 1586. Before that, the only *compendium* that appeared during Azpilcueta's lifetime, in Por-

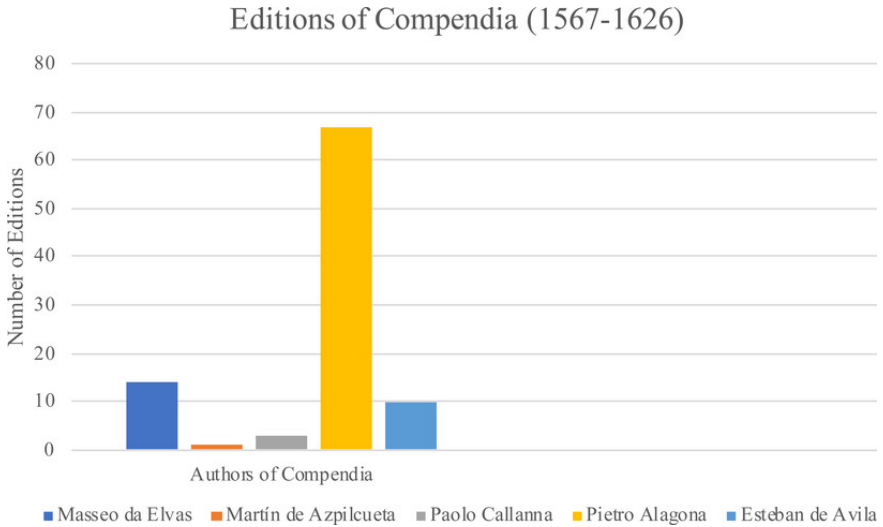


FIGURE 1.2 *Compendia* of Azpilcueta's *Manual* (number of the editions printed between 1567 and 1626)

tuguese, was by a Franciscan friar, Masseo da Elvas, who belonged to the same *Provincia* of the anonymous author of the initial *Manual* (1549). The author expressed the need for a simplified tool for confessors, who were unable to access the version of the *Manual* that had been greatly transformed, enriched, and updated by Azpilcueta. Masseo's *Compendio & Sumario* was then translated into Spanish by Antonio Bernat (1579). Both the Portuguese and the Spanish versions of this *Compendio* showcase the structure of direct questions in the section dedicated to the repertory of the sins: a structure that was mostly used in rural contexts as well as in colonial ones. For this reason, this *compendium* has been described as a model for the confessional manuals in colonial contexts.²⁵

Fifteen editions of Masseo's *Compendio* (in Portuguese and Spanish) appeared between 1567 and 1586, and it completely stopped being printed after the publication of Azpilcueta's own vernacular *Compendio*, by Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, the same year in which he died. While, at the same time, the supervised editions of the *Manual* were printed by the most powerful European printers, and editions were financed by Azpilcueta himself, Masseo's *Compendio* was printed only by local Iberian printers and, in most cases, it was the product of an alliance between local printers and booksellers, who paid for the editions and sold them (Maillard Álvarez).

²⁵ Muguruza Roca, "Del confesionario ibérico de la Contrarreforma".

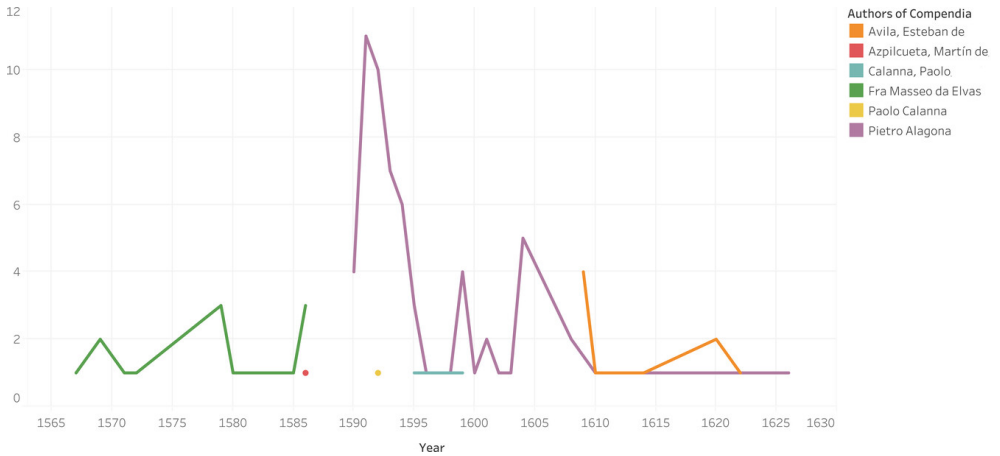


FIGURE 1.3 *Compendia*: Number of editions per year

A completely different story starts in the immediate years after Azpilcueta's death, when the Jesuits enter the scene. In particular, a key role is played by a *Compendium*, in Latin, written by Pietro Alagona. In the 36 years that run between 1590 and 1626, 67 editions appeared, printed in different Italian and European cities, with a very interesting peak in the number of editions between 1591 and 1592 (21 editions)—which interestingly corresponds to the peak of Azpilcueta's presence in the Atlantic Book Trade (Rueda Ramírez). The context of production—Alagona wrote it when he was teaching moral theology at the Collegio Romano—suggests that the book was likely thought up by a Jesuit for Jesuits. Alagona's *Compendium* was soon translated into Italian (in 1591, by Camillo Camilli) and French (in 1601, by Roberto Segard).

Another successful *Compendium* (nine editions between 1609 and 1622), conceived in America and aimed at an American circulation—and thus likely printed for an American market—was written by Esteban de Ávila (1549–1601) (Guibovich Pérez; Rueda Ramírez). Like Alagona, Ávila was a Jesuit. He was also a theology professor at the Universidad de San Marco in Lima. His *Compendium* was meant to provide an accessible tool to those confessors who dealt with the salvation of the souls of indigenous people in the viceroyalty of Peru. For those needing access to Azpilcueta's comprehensive doctrine, he carefully added the exact reference for each topic to the Latin editions.²⁶ Like all Ávila's other works, written in Peru, the *Compendium* was printed posthumously in Europe, namely in Italy and France. For his *Compendium*, Ávila chose Latin and arguments were organised like the old *Summae Confessorum*: in alphabetical order.

²⁶ Ávila, *Compendium Summae*, 9^r.

4 The Book in the World: The Global Circulation of Azpilcueta's *Manual*

4.1 *Jesuits*

The fact that Jesuits were fundamental actors in the circulation and use of Azpilcueta's *Manual* is not surprising. Azpilcueta always kept a strong connection with them.²⁷ Jesuits like Nóbrega or Azpilcueta's nephew, Juan, were not only at the centre of the construction process of the *Manual*, sending him doubts and questions from Brazil, but they were also among the first ones to implement the knowledge that they learned from their master on the American missionary field (Barbosa; Ribeiro).

But Jesuits played a fundamental role in the circulation of the *Manual* in Portuguese Asia as well.²⁸ Copies of the *Manual* reached Asia from Europe. In Goa, for instance, Azpilcueta's *Manual* was one of the few books that Jesuits were allowed to keep. And the *Manual* was among the books that left Goa headed to Japan, thus constituting the core collection of the first Jesuit library there, in the mid-1550s (Orii).²⁹ But what is really interesting is the fact that Jesuits were also responsible for the "on site" print of Azpilcueta in Asia, not surprisingly in the version provided by Alagona's Latin *Compendium*. This happened in 1597, after the imperial order of expulsion that forced the Jesuits to continue their religious and educational activities in secret, among which was the printing of Christian books (the so-called *Kirishitan-ban*), without typographical details. This edition in Latin—analysed by the contributions of Orii and Coutinho Silva—likely printed in Nagasaki, was part of those books that were then "dispersed" by the imperial will, which explains the fact that only one surviving copy is known, currently preserved at the Santo Tomas Library in Manila.³⁰ While the other Christian books printed by the Jesuit Mission Press were Japanese translations with omissions and adaptations to avoid confusions and theoretical inconsistencies for the local reader, Alagona's *Compendium* was a faithful reproduction of an edition printed in Antwerp, with no adaptations. Despite the fact that there is only one known surviving copy of the *Compendium*, it was the most abundant work available at the Macau College in the 17th century (Orii).

27 Lavenia, "Martín de Azpilcueta. Un perfil", 103–112.

28 On the role Jesuits played in the circulation and the "translation" of western knowledge in Asia, see Golvers, "The Jesuit Mission in China"; Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan"; Županov, "I am a Great Sinner".

29 Barros, "Intérpretes e confesionários", 293; Wiki, *Documenta Indica*, 639; Gay, "La primera biblioteca de los Jesuitas en el Japon", 364.

30 Orii, "The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan".

4.2 *The Council of Trent*

It is clear that Jesuits were crucial actors in the global diffusion of Azpilcueta's *Manual*, but we cannot fully understand the global circulation and presence of Azpilcueta's *Manual* and *Compendia* without paying attention to another fundamental factor: the Council of Trent. We have already mentioned that Trent, with the relevance given by the conciliar norms to the sacrament of Penance as a defining element in the new religious order, was a fundamental component in the production of the book, namely, in the textual transformation process of the *Manual*. The normative updates related to the decisions of the Council were in fact gradually integrated into each new edition of the *Manual* since 1552, when Azpilcueta added to the initial text precise references to the Conciliar canons on Penance, completed in 1551.³¹ Therefore the Council, with the need for the implementation of the conciliar norms, provides the context for a better understanding of the dissemination of the book on a global scale; "The establishment of penitential discipline as a pillar of the Tridentine reform provided a platform that gave Azpilcueta's work a global reach" (Guibovich Pérez).

The strong connection between the spread of Azpilcueta's *Manual* and the rulings of councils and synods to implement the Council of Trent is visible, for instance, in Colonial Spain. In particular, the reception of the conciliar norms in the Spanish Empire, executed by the Provincial Councils of Lima (1567; 1582–1583), provides the historical context behind the extensive circulation of Azpilcueta's *Manual* in the Andes (Guibovich Pérez). In the context of the American reception and implementation of the conciliar norms, Tridentine seminars and universities were places for formal training of the clergy. In both contexts, moral theology was a fundamental topic, and Azpilcueta's work highly recommended. Moreover, Azpilcueta's *Manual* and *compendia* were among the books that, following the Tridentine norms on book practices dictated by the Council of Lima, parish priests were required to own and that, as the documents related to the pastoral visitation show, they actually possessed and read (Guibovich Pérez).³²

31 Further updates were added in the 1556 Salamanca edition, graphically identified for the reader with asterisks, and in 1570, the chapter 28, with updates to be included in each of the 27 chapters, was published. The 1573 Latin edition integrates these updates into the text.

32 In 1591, in the Italian city of Ferrara, the bishop, in the section of his *Ordinationi Generali* dedicated to the books that priests were required to possess, mentioned Azpilcueta's *Manual* or *Compendium*. Rusconi, "Circolazione", 148.

4.3 *Atlantic Routes, Book Trade, and Missionary Needs*

Some of the reasons behind the extensive circulation of the *Manual* in colonial Spain relate to the regulations aimed at implementing the Tridentine norms in the colonial territories, which required tools for priests to improve their knowledge (Guibovich Pérez). This can explain part of the “demand” for the *Manual* in the colonial context. At least at the present stage of research, we know that, with the exception of the Japanese edition of Alagona’s *Compendium*, all the editions of the *Manual* and its derivative products appeared in Europe, and printers often had the Atlantic market in mind (Maillard Álvarez). Another precious piece of the puzzle in the circulation of Azpilcueta’s *Manual* on a global scale therefore lies in the analysis of the Atlantic trade (Rueda Ramírez). Looking at the presence of Azpilcueta in the book distribution networks of the Hispanic Atlantic world, through the analysis of shipping manifests and reports, allows us to picture the “oferta” of the *Manual*. Although the material examined portrays the book trade from 1586 on, after Azpilcueta’s death, it reveals the distribution of Azpilcueta’s works via different channels and to different territories in the Americas. Not surprisingly, Azpilcueta is very present. The sources reveal a particular attention paid to the editions revised and amended by the author himself, especially for the updates related to the Council of Trent. And together with the *Manual* (identified in the sources as *Suma*), the *compendia*—and, later, the *Opera*—are largely present, thus suggesting a specific business strategy that permitted, due to the differences in prices of the three products, the diversification of sales opportunities. A lower price means, for example, that the *compendia* were distributed in a greater number of copies. Merchants and booksellers were the professional groups responsible for the circulation of Azpilcueta’s book in the Atlantic trade. The decade of the 1590s registers the peak of his presence in both territories; and Azpilcueta’s “life” in the Atlantic trade ends in 1610—although it appears in private libraries between 1611–1650.

If we look at colonial Mexico, Azpilcueta’s presence in private libraries seems to fade away by the end of the 17th century. But the analysis of documentary evidence related to different cultural practices, such as cataloguing, inquisitorial control over book circulation, and inspections of convent libraries, testifies to the presence of the text in convent and institutional libraries in the 18th century too (García Aguilar). Material evidence on physical copies shows a very interesting diachronic dialogue with the text, that even reached the expurgation, in 1717, of a copy of the 1556 edition of the *Manual* (García Aguilar).

The analysis of letters, library catalogues, post mortem inventories, and documents on secular censorship allows us to envision the diffusion of Azpilcueta throughout the colonial experience of Portuguese America (Ribeiro). Azpilcueta’s works crossed the Atlantic with the first Jesuits sent to Brazil, being

among the very few books available and used by the missionaries in the first missionary settlements. Moreover, the presence of the Latin version of the book in the conventual colonial and private libraries suggests that the circulation of Azpilcueta in Portuguese America would have been limited to (and preferred by) more learned lecturers. By the 18th century, the appearance of the *Manual* in the historical record decreases, with new titles on confessional matters replacing it (Ribeiro).

5 Global Use: Reading Practices and Manuscript Knowledge Production

The circulation of Azpilcueta's doctrines and ideas contained in the *Manual* relied largely on prints. But Azpilcueta also circulated in manuscript form. The interaction between books and manuscripts produced a "chain of paper" (McManus), which is particularly interesting for understanding the production of knowledge of normativity in the early modern period. Handwritten annotations on physical copies printed in Europe and shipped to America provide some hints about the readership of the book. But it is mainly through the analysis of handwritten texts brought from Europe to Asia or America, or produced locally, that we can understand the use of Azpilcueta at global and local levels. In all these processes, Franciscans and Jesuits played an interesting and fundamental role.

Franciscans were at the beginning of the story of the production of the *Manual*: the anonymous author of the 1549 text of the *Manual* belonged to that order, and Franciscans helped Azpilcueta in the transformation process of the book. But Franciscans were also crucial in the diffusion of the book, not only in the translation (the first Italian translation was by Cola da Guglionesi, a Franciscan friar), but also in the epitomisation of it. The author of the first vernacular *Compendio* (1567) was Franciscan. Moreover, it seems that a handwritten *compendium*, in alphabetical order, in Otomí language, was written for his mission by the Franciscan p. Pedro de Oroz O.P. in 1572.³³ Therefore, it is not surprising that Azpilcueta was present in Franciscan libraries in colonial Mexico.

Material traces on a book of the act of reading are particularly interesting as they provide a sense of the way in which a book was read and used. This is the case for the two annotated copies of Azpilcueta's *Manual* preserved at the Sutro Library in San Francisco (Hamann). These copies (Salamanca, 1557 and

33 Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca*, 361.

Salamanca, 1556) originally belonged to the collection of two Franciscan Monasteries in colonial Mexico: Santiago Tlatelolco—a cultural centre for the education of the male children of indigenous elites—and San Antonio de Texcoco. Marks, *manicules*, circles, brackets, and dots—the last one perhaps revealing “a curious meta-awareness of the act of annotation itself” (Hamann)—allow us to grasp different reading practices that likely (multiple) Franciscan readers performed on those copies of the *Manual*.

Azpilcueta's *Manual* was not only present in Franciscan libraries, as confirmed by several Franciscan library inventories, but it was also crucial in the creation of knowledge of normativity in 16th-century Mexico by Franciscan authors. The *Directorio para confesores* issued by the Third Mexican Council (1585) explicitly referred to the need for confessors to thoroughly study Azpilcueta's *Manual* and to rely on his work in the preparation of confession handbooks. Along these lines, Franciscans, such as Fray Juan de la Concepción and Fray Juan Bautista de Viseo, made great use of it in the preparation of their own handwritten or printed confessional handbooks, written—in the case of Viseo, in three languages: Latin, Spanish, and Nahuatl—with the priests who ministered among the Indigenous populations in mind (Rex Galindo).

We have seen that, together with Franciscans, the *Manual* was used by the Jesuits on the missionary field, for the production and the “invention” of normative knowledge (Barbosa). The importance of the *Manual* in the production of knowledge of normativity by Jesuits can be traced both in the Western and Eastern part of the Portuguese Empire. First of all, as we have mentioned, the early editions of the *Manual*, already incorporated the moral theological solutions that Azpilcueta provided to the new situations that the Jesuits in Brazil were facing. The cases reached Azpilcueta in manuscript form and he spread the solutions through the printed *Manual*. Slavery was among the several topics Jesuits had to deal with in Brazil, that pushed Azpilcueta to find new normative solutions (Barbosa). But slavery was a crucial topic on the other side of the Portuguese Empire as well, namely in Iberian Asia. Here, the adaptation of Azpilcueta's doctrine to local needs further enriched the already complex picture on slavery that the Brazilian experience contributed to depict. In Asia, manuscripts played a fundamental role, and Jesuits, who were both readers of Azpilcueta's *Manual* and authors of manuscript treatises, were the main performers of the creation of new normative solutions adapted to specifically local needs. One example of the creative use of Azpilcueta's works in Iberian Asia lies in Gomes Vaz's manuscript on slavery in Asia and East Africa, entitled *De mancipiis indicis, manumissionibus et libertis* (McManus). Another example of the production of knowledge of normativity in the eastern part of the Iberian empire is related to the use and reading of Alagona's *Compendium* in Japan.

Manuscript sources testify that that *Compendium* was not only printed there but also largely used. In particular, the Jesuit vice-Provincial of Japan, Pedro Gómez, relied on Alagona's *Compendium* in his own handwritten *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis* to resolve concrete local problems, namely, dealing with the burning topic of martyrdom in the dramatic context of the persecution of Japanese missions (Orii). Furthermore, Alagona's *Compendium* can be seen as a mirror through which we can grasp some elements of the actual understanding of religious normativity by those in Japan who converted to Christianity from Buddhism. This is particularly interesting when the scholarly eye, from a gender perspective, is looking at converted Japanese women, who were among the readers of Alagona's *Compendium* (Coutinho Silva).

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This volume explores the production of knowledge of normativity in the age of early modern globalisation by looking at an extraordinarily pragmatic and normative book: *Manual de Confessores*, by the Spanish canon law professor Martín de Azpilcueta (1492–1586). Intertwining expertise, methods, and questions of legal history and book history, this book follows the actors and analyses the factors involved in the production, circulation, and use of the *Manual*, both in printed and manuscript forms, in the territories of the early modern Iberian Empires and of the Catholic Church. It convincingly illustrates the different dynamics related to the materiality of this object that contributed to “glocal” knowledge production.

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