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Kathleen M. Comerford

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Jesuit Libraries

By

Kathleen M. Comerford



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Jesuit Libraries

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the many librarians and archivists I have relied on for the length of my academic career. Alas, I learned the name of very few of them; those who work at circulation and distribution desks represent a small percentage of those employed by such institutions. In addition, the research collections that supported this and my other work over the decades are the result of decades, and in some cases centuries, of careful preservation, organization, and other forms of service to the print and manuscript heritage of the world.

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Introduction

Scholars have depended on collections of written material in some form for millennia. While in the twenty-first century, more and more institutions refer to such collections as “Learning Commons” to reflect more accurately the availability of multiple media formats, institutions called libraries have a long history of acting as repositories not only of books but also of art, unbound documents, periodical literature, audio and video recordings, and other artifacts. Libraries are and were also meeting places, both in the literal sense that they are shared spaces for those engaging in similar pursuits, and in the more metaphorical sense that they provide an opportunity for patrons to encounter and engage with representations of the wider world, in its variety of languages, customs, preferences, achievements, and so on. In short, libraries gather, preserve, exchange, and expand knowledge. They serve as storehouses of information (like archives), but also as creators of knowledge, both because of the roles their staffs have adopted in collecting, curating, and displaying their contents, and because at times they have refused or failed to collect or display certain items. They may be public, restricted, or private; they may be dedicated to a particular branch of knowledge or attempt to be encyclopedic. They are, thus, dynamic and eminently useful measures of the intellectual and financial

health of an institution, organization, or community. In 2012, R. David Lankes, director of the University of South Carolina's School of Information Science, tweeted "Bad libraries build collections. Good libraries build services (of which a collection is only one). Great libraries build communities."¹ One could also argue that communities or organizations that build libraries have a claim to greatness, as the endeavor is one that honors the past, supports the present, and plans for the future.

The Society of Jesus developed a tradition of librarianship at the beginning of its existence, knowing that its stated purposes, expressed in the Formula of the Institute (1540) as "to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith by the ministry of the word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, and specifically by the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity," depended on both good training and on the availability of reference works.² Those who were not taught well, and who did not have access to good reference material, could not teach well. Those who were charged with such weighty tasks as administering the sacraments needed to consult theological tomes occasionally. Those who preached needed both models of rhetoric and texts that would help them interpret the scriptures. Those who traveled to the global missions needed to gather material for teaching, administration of the sacraments, preaching, and their own spiritual guidance. As such, Jesuit colleges and houses from their inception needed large collections for reference and support. The question of what those collections should contain did not have a straightforward answer, though, and over the centuries in which the Society has existed, the matter has only gotten more complicated. This short narrative will address the multifaceted question of what a Jesuit library has been and is, exploring the operations and contents of institutions around the world, limited for the most part to the universities.³

1 R. David Lankes, Twitter post, February 6, 2021, 9:16 AM, <https://twitter.com/rdlankes/status/166525664319639552> (accessed August 4, 2022).

2 George E. Ganss et al., trans., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 3–13, https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/1540_formula (accessed August 4, 2022).

3 Although one can consider the collections of individual Jesuits under this umbrella term "Jesuit libraries," we are focused on institutional repositories. The distinction in some cases was blurry, because of the question of what constitutes "ownership" in an organization that is communal in nature. The library of the Colegio de San Pablo (Lima, Peru) in the mid-seventeenth century illustrates this point. In the 1630s, Antonio Vásquez (dates unknown), provincial of Peru (and later rector of the *colegio*, for at least part of 1649), complained that Jesuits both lent out their own books with abandon to laypeople and took their books with

What is—or was—a *Jesuit Library*?⁴ Can we identify collection practices specific to the Society? In general, Jesuit libraries were not, in their beginnings, especially different from those of other religious orders: they collected books on various kinds of theology, philosophy, and the mathematical, scientific, and artistic disciplines.⁵ At the time of the foundation of the earliest colleges, no

them when they were moved to other colleges, practices he considered contrary to religious discipline. Nearly three decades later, the visitor Andrés de Rada (1601–72) found the same abuses. Concerned that the public would question the Jesuit commitment to poverty if they knew that members of the Society owned multiple books, he took dramatic action, ordering “every volume existing within the walls of the college to be stamped with the name of San Pablo and the mark of the common library. If anybody alleged that his books were borrowed from lay friends and did not belong to the Jesuits, he was commanded to give them back to their rightful owners within the term of six days. Also within the term of six days every one [*sic*] in the college was to give a complete list of all his books to the librarian.” Thus, Rada (in effect) seized ownership of all private books. These exhortations had little impact. Indeed, at the time of the suppression, royal officials found at least five Jesuits with personal libraries of over one hundred books; another group of at least three had more than fifty. The common library at that time held over twenty-five thousand volumes. Luís Martín, *The Intellectual Conquest of Peru: The Jesuit College of San Pablo, 1568–1767* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1968), 82–85. On private Jesuit libraries see, e.g., Emilia Recéndez Guerrero, “Bibliotecas particulares de los jesuitas en Zacatecas siglo XVIII” [Private libraries of the Jesuits in Zacatecas, eighteenth century], in *Leer en tiempos de la Colonia: Imprenta, bibliotecas y lectores en la Nueva España* [Reading in colonial times: Printing, libraries, and readers in New Spain], ed. María Idalia García Aguilar and Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez (México, DF: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 237–51, and Lorenzo Mancini, “Piccola, ma sufficiente per li miei studi: La biblioteca del cardinale Roberto Bellarmino; Prime ricerche e censimento degli esemplari postillati” [Small, but sufficient for my studies: The library of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino; Early research and a census of annotated exemplars] *Bibliothecae.it* 10, no. 1 (2021): 70–174, <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2283-9364/13068> (accessed August 4, 2022).

- 4 For a broad historiographical introduction to the question, see Noël Golvers, “Jesuit Libraries in the Old and the New Society of Jesus as a Historiographical Theme,” in *Engaging Sources: The Tradition and Future of Collecting History in the Society of Jesus*, ed. Cristiano Casalini, Emanuele Colombo, and Seth Meehan (Boston: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.51238/ISJS.2019.07> (accessed August 4, 2022). See also Golvers, “The Library Catalogue of Diogo Valente’s Book Collection in Macau (1633): A Philological and Bibliographical Analysis,” *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 13 (December 2006): 7–43; Golvers, “Bibliotheca in cubiculo: The ‘Personal’ Library of Western Books of Jean-François Foucquet, S.J., in Peking (Beitang, 1720) and the Intertextual Situation of a Jesuit Scholar in China,” *Monumenta serica* 58 (2010): 249–80; and Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China: Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission (ca. 1650–ca. 1750)*, 3 vols. (Leuven: F. Verbiest Institute, 2012–15).
- 5 Among the more comprehensive comparative studies of the librarianship of religious orders is Fernanda Maria Alves da Silva Guedes de Campos, “Bibliotecas de história: Aspectos da posse e uso dos livros em instituições religiosas de Lisboa nos finais do século XVIII” [Libraries of history: Aspects of the possession and use of books in religious institutions of

guidelines for building libraries in either colleges or professed houses existed, and yet the colleges were supposed to have libraries for the use of both students and members of the Society. The earliest Society documents say little about what books their houses and colleges should own, yet they do begin to carve out a set of imprecise, but practical, customs for collection that would support the work of the Jesuits at home and abroad. The College of Coimbra's 1545–46 *Regula* (Rule) required the librarian to keep records of book circulation and to maintain the volumes; that of the Roman College (1551) was more vague, noting only that the institution must keep “sufficient” books to support the subjects taught there. The 1553–54 “Orden de la escuelas de la Compañía quanto a las costumbres” (Rules for the schools of the company, regarding customs [of education]) states that all colleges and professed houses were obliged to keep a catechism along with either the *Imitatio Christi* (Imitation of Christ) “or other devotional work,” and other unspecified volumes.⁶ Jerónimo Nadal's (1507–80) 1566 *Instructions Presented to the Provincial of the Rhine* required that

Lisbon at the end of the eighteenth century] (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013), and more recently Luana Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries: Scientific Books in the Religious Institutions of Early Modern Portugal,” *Early Science and Medicine* 21 (2019): 252–72. The literature on the library collections of religious orders is vast and closely tied to the study of the universities and cloisters associated with these orders. Many religious orders established in the Middle Ages had larger manuscript collections than the Jesuits did, but the subjects on which they accumulated texts were very closely related, because of the similarity in missions. Rebecca A. Sigmon, “Reading like a Nun: The Composition of Convent Libraries in Renaissance Europe,” *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 10 (2011): 81–102, provides a historiographical overview into the women's side of the issue, and Paulo J.S. Barata looks in depth at that question for Portugal in “As livrarias dos mosteiros e conventos femininos portugueses após a sua extinção: Uma aproximação a uma história por fazer” [The libraries of Portuguese female monasteries and convents after their eradication: An approach to writing a history], *Lusitania sacra* 24 (2011): 125–52. While literacy was important for much of the work of nuns, female monastic libraries were considerably smaller than their Jesuit counterparts and contained a larger percentage of writing by women, including copies made and illustrated by scribal nuns as well as original works on theology, history, and literature written by residents of the houses. See esp. 82, 84–86, 88–96.

- 6 Dionysius Fernández Zapica, ed., *Constitutiones et Regulae Societatis Iesu*, vol. 4 of 4, *Regulae Societatis Iesu (1540–1556)* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu [henceforth MHSI], 1948). The *Rule* for the College of Coimbra is found in both Portuguese and Latin as Mon. 20, on 58–61; that for the Roman College is Mon. 63, paragraph 11, 270–71; “Orden de la escuelas de la Compañía quanto a las costumbres,” is Mon. 98A, paragraph 68, 500. See also Mon. 94: *Officio* [sic] *del que tiene cargo de la librería* (1554–54) [Duties of the person in charge of the library], 477–79, from the *Regulae in Hispania et Lusitania a P. Natal annis 1553–54 promulgate* [Rules in Spain and Portugal promulgated by (Jerónimo) Nadal, 1553–54]. For more on the earliest developments of Jesuit librarianship, at Coimbra in the 1540s, see Natale Vacalebre, “Como un hospital bien ordenado”: Alle origini del modello bibliotecario della Compagnia di

general books [...] necessary for our student brothers are to be [...] put in some place common to all. All the others are to be put in some room whose key is in the possession of the librarian, and entrance is to be allowed at the direction of the rector to those for whom it is proper.

In 1567–68, Nadal expanded on these instructions for the leadership of the college in Leuven, directing them to hold “not only lexicons and the ordinary commentators on philosophy and literature, and the common doctors of scholastic theology, but also the *Glossa Ordinaria*, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, and others if it seems good,” but to avoid other texts, including anything written by the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (c.1466–1536).⁷

The practice of Jesuit librarianship (that is, not merely collection but also maintenance, distribution, and organization of books) developed slowly. The *Regulae communes* (Common rules) printed by the Roman College in 1567 included “Rules for the Prefect of the Library,” requiring that he keep a copy of the Index of Prohibited Books, organize books by subject and author, maintain records of circulation, restrict use to those given permission by the superior, and uphold the neatness of the space and the books.⁸ In 1580, an update to this section empowered the librarian to request that his superior purchase “necessary [...] or [...] very useful” books, or dispose of the “useless ones” in exchange “for other better ones.”⁹ Concern for collecting the right books can also be found in Bologna in 1604, when one Fr. Peruseo (dates unknown), then rector of the college there, provided a fund for an annual expense of twenty *scudi* for the library, clearly stating that the money could not be used for any other purpose and cautioning against “useless” or “unnecessary” books, including poetry and volumes that were not expurgated. He also required that the college be in possession of both the Index and *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (A library selected for the purpose of studies in history, [and] in the disciplines, to be procured for

Gesù” [“Like a well-ordered lodging place”: At the origins of the library model of the Society of Jesus], *Histoire et civilisation du livre* 10 (2014): 51–68.

7 Jerónimo Nadal, *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Jesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577*, vol. 4 of 5, *Selecta Natalis monumenta in ejus epistolis comemmorata* [Letters of Jerónimo Nadal of the Society of Jesus from 1546 to 1577, vol. 4 of 5, Selected records of Nadal, commemorated in his letters] (Madrid: Gabrielis López del Horno, 1905), *Monumenta provinciae Rhenanae* 45, January 7, 1567, 326–35, here 330–31, and *Monumenta provinciae Flandriae* 57:346–47; see Brendan Connolly, “The Roots of Jesuit Librarianship, 1540–1599” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1955), 91.

8 *Regulae communes* (Rome: Collegio Societatis Iesu, 1567): “Regulae praefecti bibliothecae.” The book is not paginated.

9 Connolly, “Roots of Jesuit Librarianship,” 74; his translation.

the safety of all) by the Jesuit diplomat and encyclopedist Antonio Possevino (1533–1611).¹⁰ In this way, a Jesuit library became what Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen have called a “tool of conversion of conquest, a crucial weapon in the battle for hearts and minds in Europe’s most complex religious battlefield.”¹¹ Later *Regulae* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained “Rules for the Novice Master” and “Rules for the Prefect of Readers at Table,” to which were appended brief lists of books.¹²

These general official statements were developed while the culture of print was still relatively young and were supplemented by texts written to explain the practice of librarianship itself. Multiple guides to creating and maintaining libraries, and histories of libraries, were published in the late sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. In part, the development of this genre can be traced to the increased interest in book collection, directly connected to the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. The religious crisis led both educational institutions and governments to create libraries that could “train a loyal and doctrinally sound class of ministers and civil servants,” and therefore to curate both the new books, and ones dispersed by suppressions or consolidations of religious houses, carefully.¹³ These included works by the Jesuits Claude Clément (1596–1642), who taught at the Colegio Imperial de Madrid and organized the library at the Escorial Palace; Jean Garnier (1612–81), who taught at the Collège de Clermont in Paris; and Possevino; along with

10 1st ed. (Rome: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1593). See Luigi Balsamo, “Le biblioteche dei gesuiti” [Jesuit libraries], in *Dall’Isola alla città: I gesuiti a Bologna* [From the island to the city: Jesuits in Bologna], ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Anna Maria Matteucci (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1988), 183–92, here 183–84.

11 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Library: A Fragile History* (New York: Hachette, 2021), 173.

12 See *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, vol. 3 of 3, *Regulae, Ratio studiorum, Ordinationes, Instructiones, Industriae, Exercitia, Directorium* [Rules, the *Ratio studiorum*, Regulations, Instructions, Industries, Practices, (and) Directory] (Florence: Typographia ss. Concepcionis, 1893), 120–31, here 121–22; *Regula Societatis Iesu* (Tarragona: Philip Mey, 1583), 143–45, 257–58; *Regula Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Collegium Societatis Iesu, 1590), 99, 238–39. In addition to the entire New Testament, the Pentateuch (except Leviticus), the historical books of the Old Testament, the Wisdom books (except the Song of Songs), and the Prophets (except “some obscure chapters”), and books in the vernacular or Latin that had been approved by the provincial (which “promote piety and support the vocations [of the residents]”), volumes listed by name included works by Ambrose of Milan (c.339–c.397), Augustine of Hippo (354–430), the Venerable Bede (672/73–735), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), Bonaventure (Giovanni di Fidenza [1221–74]), Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260/65–339), John Chrysostom (c.347–407), Gregory the Great (c.540–604, r.590–604), Luigi Lippomano (1496–1559), and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (c.1256–c.1335).

13 Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Library*, 149.

those by the Netherlandish philosopher Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips [1547–1606]); the French librarian Gabriel Naudé (1600–53); the Abruzzese doctor Muzio Pansa (1565–1628); the Dutch historian Johannis Lomeier (1636–99); and the French polymath Jean-Léonor Le Gallois de Grimarest (1659–1713).¹⁴ The trend in publishing such organizational manuals reflects an increased production of affordable printed books during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, requiring consideration of what to collect and where to put it. It is perhaps also tied to another trend associated with the early Jesuits: missionary activity. As historian Mark Grover has noted: “Jesuit experiences in Brazil involved building European-like settlements, insistence on European-style clothing, and the strict use of European methods of education. Collections of books were an important aspect of this physical reconstruction.”¹⁵

As the practices that governed these libraries developed, they spread and resulted in some standardization of organization. Clément’s *Musei, sive bibliothecae* and Garnier’s *Systema bibliothecae collegii Parisiensis* were influential in the development of librarianship in Europe and its colonies.¹⁶ Like Possevino’s

14 Claude Clément, *Musei, sive bibliothecae tam privatae quam publicae extractio, instructio, cura, usus, libri IV* [The construction, instruction, care, and use of the museum, or of the library, both private and public: Four books] (Lyon: Jacob Prost, 1635); Jean Garnier, *Systema bibliothecae Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu* [The library system of the Parisian college of the Society of Jesus] (Paris: Sebastianus Mabre-Carmois, 1678); Justus Lipsius, *De bibliothecis syntagma* [On the orderly arrangement of libraries] (Antwerp: Jan Moretus, 1602); Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque: présenté à monseigneur le president de Mesme* [Advice to create a library: Presented to Monseigneur the president of Mesme] (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644); Muzio Pansa, *Della Libreria vaticana ragionamenti* [On the Vatican Library: Interpretations] (Rome: Giovanni Martinelli, 1590); Johannes Lomeier, *De bibliothecis liber singularis* [On libraries: A unique text] (Utrecht: Johannes Ribbius, 1680); and Jean-Léonor Le Gallois de Grimarest, *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques de l’Europe: Des premiers livres qui ont été faits* [Treatise on the most beautiful libraries in Europe: Of the first books that were made] (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1680). For Possevino, see note. 10 above. See Aurora Miguel Alonso, “La evolución del ‘systema bibliothecae’ de la Compañía de Jesús y su influencia en la historia de la bibliografía española” [The evolution of the “library system” of the Society of Jesus and its influence on the history of Spanish bibliography] (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006), <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcp2781> (accessed August 4, 2022), and Edmond Lamalle, “Un livret d’instructions de 1660 pour les archives des maisons de la Compagnie” [A 1660 instruction manual for the archives of the houses of the Society], *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu* [henceforth *AHSI*] 11 (1942): 113–25.

15 Mark L. Grover, “The Book and the Conquest: Jesuit Libraries in Colonial Brazil,” *Libraries and Culture* 28 (1993): 266–83, here 266.

16 Paul Begheyn, “The Jesuits in the Low Countries 1540–1773: Apostles of the Printing Press,” in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773)*, ed. Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 129–38, here 131.

Bibliotheca selecta, these two encyclopedic works discuss theory and practice and incorporate suggestions of books they considered valuable for libraries to collect. As librarian Mathilde Rovelstad (1920–2010) notes: “With the rapidly increasing availability of printed books, the number of libraries also grew. They had become indispensable to the intellectual pursuits of scholars.”¹⁷ This desire for acquiring and arranging knowledge led, among other things, to the development of dictionaries, which relied on alphabetical order as an organizing principle. Historian of the book Malcolm Walsby has connected this to the introduction of alphabetical indexing not only of printed books but of book lists.¹⁸ As useful as such tools may have been for the librarian of the past, they are essential to those working on library history, who rely on such patterns. The greater availability of cheaply printed books, as opposed to expensive manuscripts, and the increase of literacy generally associated with both the advent of printing and the European Reformations, led owners to create organizational structures in centers of print and commerce. As a result, cities like Seville, Amsterdam, Paris, Venice, and London developed as both nexuses of information exchange and information storage.¹⁹

In practice, however, early Jesuit colleges and houses were not equipped financially to create extensive libraries *ex nihilo*. As a result, the collections rarely reflect close adherence with either the guidelines developed within the Society or the treatises on library collecting. They were, instead, largely the products of requests, direct purchase, and bequests by Jesuits and others and were printed locally or far away. While references to budgeting for the purchase of books are available, there is to date no general or synthetic study of the economics of building or maintaining Jesuit libraries. Local patterns can help build a picture of the finances of early Jesuit libraries. For the second half of the sixteenth century, Dominique Julia has identified directives for the colleges of Vienna, institutions in the Low Countries, and the Collège du Clermont (Paris), authorizing both specific expenditures and the solicitation of funds for future purchases.²⁰ During the same period, in Milan, two hundred

17 Mathilde V. Rovelstad, “Two Seventeenth-Century Library Handbooks, Two Different Library Theories,” *Libraries and Culture* 35, no. 4 (2000): 540–56, here 542. See also Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

18 Malcolm Walsby, “Books and Their Meaning,” in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Nicolas Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–24, here 3.

19 Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 61.

20 Dominique Julia, “La constitution des bibliothèques des collèges: Remarques de méthode” [The constitution of the college libraries: Remarks on method], *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 83 (1997): 145–61, here 150.

scudi were sent to Rome with a list of books that should be purchased so that the college would no longer have to borrow books.²¹ In 1694, former procurator general, then lecturer in philosophy at the Roman College, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Tolomei (1653–1726), persuaded Angelo Alemanni (1637–1710), rector of the college from 1695 to 1698, to establish an annual fund for the purchase and maintenance of books, a practice Tolomei continued when he became rector on Alemanni's departure. Tolomei also commissioned a catalog of the library and left his personal book collection to the institution upon his death.²² In Valladolid in 1599, one thousand *ducados* were set aside in one college for the “room and the library,” presumably meaning creating or renovating the space as well as finding books to fill it. The same amount was set aside for the maintenance of the sacristy.²³ The Colegio San Bernardo in Oropesa, Spain, founded in 1578 by Don Francisco Álvarez de Toledo (1515–82), viceroy of Peru, was the beneficiary of a significant bequest. The viceroy set aside one thousand ducats for the purchase of books and stipulated that another fifty ducats from the annual income (estimated at 450 ducats, amounting to about eleven percent of the college's yearly finances) “han de quedar perpetuamente consignados para la dicha librería sun poderlos convertir en ninguno otro uso” (must perpetually be allocated to the said library, without the possibility to convert them to any other use).²⁴ These indications are of little help in understanding collection practices, however: they provide no information on how those who were purchasing books would select titles, or how often such purchases were replacements for lost or damaged books, or for texts once used but recently deemed inappropriate. In rare cases, inventories may note the date or cost of

21 Flavio Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano: Religione e politica nel secondo cinquecento* [The Jesuits in Milan: Religion and politics in the second half of the sixteenth century] (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1992), 74–75. Rurale does not provide information on how many, or which, books were purchased in this manner. For some context, five hundred *scudi* were allocated for a year's worth of food and determined to be insufficient.

22 Aurora Miguel Alonso, “Los fondos jesuitas en las bibliotecas de Roma: Una aportación para su conocimiento” [The Jesuit collections in the libraries of Rome: A contribution to knowledge about them], *Revista general de información y documentación* 28, no. 2 (2018): 345–72, here 354. Alonso does not provide a figure for the annual fund.

23 Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, “Las librerías e imprentas de los jesuitas (1540–1767): Una aportación notable a la cultura Española” [The libraries and printing presses of the Jesuits (1540–1767): A notable contribution to Spanish culture], *Hispania sacra* 40 (1988): 315–88, here 318.

24 Ramón Sánchez González, “La biblioteca del Colegio San Bernardo de la Compañía de Jesús en Oropesa (Toledo)” [The library of the Jesuit Colegio San Bernardo in Oropesa (Toledo)], *Hispania sacra* 63 (2011): 41–74, here 44, quoting from Archivo histórico de la Nobleza (Spain), Frias C.1288, D.7.

acquisition, but this still leaves questions about what decisions were made, and by whom, regarding the purchases.²⁵

Libraries of all kinds relied on donations of books, not just of funds to purchase them, and the wills in the Jesuit archives probably can shed light on such gifts from generous benefactors; occasionally, provenance markings on extant volumes also provide information about donations from individuals.²⁶ Marica Šapro-Ficović and Željko Vegh note that significant donations of manuscripts and printed books fed the collections of the library at the college in Dubrovnik in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that “[m]any of those books were signed by their former owners or those associated with the college,” making them still easily identifiable.²⁷ It is more difficult to trace the path of books between institutions. Mission libraries and new foundations requested books from existing establishments, allowing the newer institutions both to save money on purchasing and to provide a similar level of training and support to their older counterparts, but it is not always possible to trace a direct line between requests and the contents of libraries. Some foundations asked for books that could not be spared, or that were sent but did not arrive.²⁸ Mission libraries also relied on direct gifts from patrons. Donors to the college in Cluj, for example, included Possevino and István (Stephen) Báthory (1533–86), the Hungarian ruler of Transylvania (r.1571–86), and of Poland and Lithuania (1576–86), in the early 1580s.²⁹ As a result, these institutions could not always

25 For example, in a Bolognese inventory, several books were described as having cost “at least ten *scudi*”; Archivio Arcivescovile di Bologna 244, Libreria, Missioni, Patronati (1690s?). An inventory of books identified as “Catalogus van de boeken over architectuur, achtergelaten door P. Guilielmus Corneli, overleden te Leuven in 1660” [Catalog of books on architecture, left by P. Willem Cornelis, d. Leuven 1660] indicates that these volumes were received by the College of Antwerp some time around that date. Rijksarchief Antwerpen, Archief Nederduitse Jezüietenprovincie (Flandro Belgica) 2046.

26 See Karen Attar, “Books in the Library,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Leslie Howsam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 17–35, here 19–20, for a brief discussion of the importance of books that libraries did not choose to acquire but instead were given, and of how the value ascribed to books can change over time.

27 Marica Šapro-Ficović and Željko Vegh, “The History of Jesuit Libraries in Croatia,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* [henceforth *JJS*] 2, no. 2 (2015): 283–301, here 295, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202008> (accessed August 4, 2022).

28 See, e.g., Kristen Windmuller-Luna, “*Guerra com a lingua*: Book Culture and Biblioclasm in the Ethiopian Jesuit Missions,” *JJS* 2, no. 2 (2015): 223–47, here 228–29, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202004> (accessed August 4, 2022).

29 Ioan-Aurel Pop and Llana Lăpădatu, “Les débuts de l’université moderne à Cluj: Le collège jésuite entre 1579 et 1581” [The beginnings of the modern university at Cluj: The Jesuit college between 1579 and 1581], *Transylvanian Review* 18, no. 74 (2009): 3–20, here 15. Báthory

choose which books they wanted. The 1603 inventory of that institution shows that the philosophical offerings in Cluj were dominated by medieval authors in early printed editions. By contrast, the books on religious topics were more modern or contemporary, as historian Daniel Andersson has observed, which demonstrates that “when the college was buying, it bought religion.”³⁰ As this was a period of religious controversy (Jansenism), it was of particular importance to have the latest approved theology. Under such circumstances, even the institutions that attempted a systematic collection practice could find it difficult to maintain it.

For these reasons, it is difficult to discuss anything resembling acquisition guidelines before the development of modern library science in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, well after the restoration of the Society. The aforementioned library treatises, including those by Jesuits, were not initially interpreted as manuals of instruction. Possevino’s *Bibliotheca selecta* was perhaps the most influential of this group within the Society.³¹ It was, essentially, an outline of an ideal library: Possevino provided lists of authors and titles of texts, divided into topics including apologetics, casuistry, cosmology, dialectic, ethics, grammar, hagiography, history, law, logic, martyrology, math, natural history, patristics, and scripture. These categories are not all faithfully replicated in the collections of the pre- or post-suppression colleges or houses, from what remaining inventories and modern cataloging show. It is evident, however, that the library administrations attempted both to adhere to the advisory memos that were issued by the Society and, when possible, to the *Bibliotheca selecta*.³² Notably, no general congregation of the Society explicitly discussed

was *voivode* of Transylvania 1571–76, prince of Transylvania 1576–86, and king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania 1576–86.

30 Daniel C. Andersson, “On Borrowed Time: Internationalism and Its Discontents in a Late Sixteenth-Century University Library,” *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 1 (2012): 9–20, here 13–14.

31 See Luigi Balsamo, *Antonio Possevino s.i. bibliografo della Controriforma e diffusione della sua opera in area anglicana* [Antonio Possevino, s.j., bibliographer of the Counter-Reformation, and the diffusion of his work in the Anglican area] (Florence: Olschki, 2006); Alberto Biondo, “La *Bibliotheca selecta* di Antonio Possevino: Un progetto di egemonia culturale” [The *Bibliotheca selecta* of Antonio Possevino: A project in cultural hegemony], in *La Ratio studiorum: Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* [The *Ratio studiorum*: Cultural models and educational practices of the Jesuits in Italy between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), 43–75; and Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer, “Antonio Possevino’s *Bibliotheca selecta*: Knowledge as a Weapon,” in *I gesuiti e la Ratio studiorum*, ed. Manfred Hinz, Roberto Righi, and Danilo Zardin (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), 315–55.

32 See Kathleen Comerford, “Jesuit Tuscan Libraries of the 1560s and 1570s: *Bibliotheca not-yet selecta*,” *AHSI* 162 (2013): 515–31.

libraries or librarianship until General Congregation 30, in 1957. In decree 77, “Changes in the Common Rules,” paragraph 17 stated only the following: “No one should have books without permission; and in those that are allowed for use, no one is to write anything or make any mark. The rules of the library should be observed with great care.”³³

Over several centuries of experimentation, libraries around the world have developed and standardized subject-based classification systems, making searching for books relatively easy. Premodern libraries, which were considerably smaller in size, could manage by sorting books by size, author, subject, or some combination thereof. Early Jesuit librarians did favor subject classifications but did not limit their organization to that, as they also had categories for prohibited books, and in some cases separated Jesuit authors from others on the same subject, or books donated by one individual from the rest of the collection.³⁴ However, the success of librarians in organizing their collections varied widely from library to library. An inspection of the library at the Colegio de San Pablo in Lima in 1576 resulted in multiple complaints from the Jesuit visitor, Juan de Plaza (1527–1602). Shelves were not labeled, and books were misplaced as a result; others were missing, and there was no current catalog to help keep track of borrowing; and the library itself was in a place that was too humid, causing damage to the books. He was able to solve the last problem by moving the library to a drier location within the complex and told the onsite administrators to work on the rest.³⁵ By the eighteenth century, this was changing. In the same location, the 1767 inventory of the library included Garnier’s *Systema bibliothecae collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu* along with “large bibliographies and catalogues of famous European libraries. Among them San Pablo boasted a fifteen-volume work described as *Catálogo de Varias Bibliotecas en Todas Lenguas*, and twenty-one volumes of Juan Tomás de Rocaberti’s *Index Operum Omnium Bibliothecae Maximae Pontificiae*,” a list of the contents of the most important papal library in Rome.³⁶

33 John W. Padberg, Martin D. O’Keefe, and John L. McCarthy, eds. and trans., *Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations; A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 692.

34 Julián Solana Pujalte, “El fondo del siglo XVI de la biblioteca del antiguo Colegio de Santa Catalina de la Compañía de Jesús de Córdoba” [The sixteenth-century collection of the library of the old Jesuit Colegio de Santa Catalina in Córdoba], *AHSI* 76, no. 151 (2007): 113–37, here 119. An example of separating out books by donor is Rijksarchief Leuven, Jezuïeten College Leuven, 20. *Catalogus van de schenkingen aan de bibliotheek* [Catalog of the donations to the library], 1635.

35 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 76–77.

36 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 86. See also Juan Tomás de Rocaberti, *Index operum omnium Bibliothecae Maximae Pontificiae* [List of all the works in the Great Pontifical

Collecting and shelving books is only one of the physical challenges of libraries; a much larger one is creating and maintaining a dedicated space. The size of Jesuit libraries varied considerably from place to place, even within national borders, and from century to century.³⁷ In early colleges and houses, many libraries were little more than rooms with bookshelves, but some were also museums displaying artifacts and art. Architectural plans sometimes show exactly where the libraries were, but often do not. The largest collection of pre-suppression college floor plans was published by librarian and art historian Jean Vallery-Radot (1890–1971).³⁸ Other hints can occasionally be found in institutional studies, for instance, historian Luís Martín's (1927–2018) study of the Lima Colegio de San Pablo and historian Alfonso Rubío Hernández's work on the colleges of New Granada.³⁹ In more modern times, a dedicated space for libraries is *de rigueur* for the construction of an educational institution, and the emphasis on libraries as spaces of wonder—not just for what they hold, but for how they look—has led to a number of lavish books on the art and architectural history of libraries, which, one hopes, will pique interest in similar details for Jesuit libraries.⁴⁰ The number of available volumes in a

Library] (Rome: Giovanni Francesco Buagni, 1697–99). I have been unable to identify *Catálogo de varias bibliotecas en todas lenguas* any further.

- 37 Bartolomé Martínez, “Las librerías e imprentas de los jesuitas,” 352. See also María Victoria Játiva Miralles, “La biblioteca de los jesuitas del Colegio de San Esteban de Murcia” [The library of the Jesuit College of St. Stephen of Murcia] (PhD diss., Universidad de Murcia, Departamento de Información y Documentación y Documentación, 2009), <http://hdl.handle.net/10803/10910> (accessed August 4, 2022). On the architecture of libraries, which developed significantly in the seventeenth century and later, see, e.g., Rovelstad, “Two Seventeenth-Century Library Handbooks,” *passim*.
- 38 Jean Vallery-Radot, *Le recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jesus conserve à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* [Collection of building plans for the Society of Jesus preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1960).
- 39 The Colegio de San Pablo was one of the largest libraries in Spanish America. By 1767, its collection, consisting of more than twenty-five thousand volumes, occupied two large rooms, with ample natural lighting, floor-to-ceiling shelving, and portraits of Jesuit authors, along with reading tables, and was equipped with globes, maps, and compasses. Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 76. The inventories of 1767 from the libraries of the colleges of Santa Fe de Antioquía and Santa Fe de Bogotá, in New Granada, note similar details and include further information on the decoration of the spaces: globes, instruments of measurement, and religious images, conforming with the ideals outlined in Claude Clément's *Musei, sive bibliothecae*. Alfonso Rubío Hernández, “Las librerías de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva Granada: Un análisis descriptivo a través de sus inventarios” [The libraries of the Society of Jesus in New Granada: A descriptive analysis based on their inventories], *Información, cultura y sociedad* 31 (2014): 53–66, here 59–60.
- 40 For example, Guillaume de Laubier and Jacques Bosser, *Bibliothèques du monde* [Libraries of the world] (Paris: Martinière, 2003) and James W.P. Campbell and Will Pryce, *The Library: A World History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

given location, and thus the size of the rooms dedicated to the library, seems to have had little to do with the importance of the location. Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century inventories in Florence and Leuven, for example, show that colleges in intellectual centers might have very small collections.⁴¹ On the other hand, by the time they were suppressed, colleges in Córdoba and Lisbon, both major cities, held around ten thousand volumes (number of titles unknown) each, and that in Granada, an equally important urban center, held over twenty-nine thousand volumes (10,555 titles).⁴² These might not all have been in a single collection, as some of the pre-suppression Jesuit institutions had multiple libraries. The Roman College, which by the eighteenth century held somewhere between eighty thousand and one hundred thousand books, was the most significant among these, in part because it was located at the center of Jesuit operations; in part because since 1623 it was a depository library for all books printed by Jesuits; and in part because of the multiple bequests it received over the centuries, including from such luminaries as the celebrated humanist Marc-Antoine Muret (1526–85) and the Jesuit cardinal and theologian Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621). A *bibliotheca secreta* (sometimes also called *bibliotheca majoris*) was a library for the use of the institution only; specialized libraries might be called *bibliotheca minoris* or a name referring to a subject (for example, in the eighteenth century, the colleges in Coimbra, Lyon, and Prague had mathematical libraries; the Roman College and the Antwerp professed house had museum libraries). The *biblioteca comune* was a general collection in a dedicated space, for the use of the students and residents.⁴³

41 Rijkssarchief Leuven, Jezuïeten College Leuven, 20 (1635): 613 titles; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse dal Pietro Leopoldo 999, Filza 3, no. 104 (Inventory of the College of S. Giovannino, 1578): 732 titles.

42 Pujalte, “El fondo del siglo XVI,” 123; Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries,” 257–58; and Ramón Sánchez González, “La biblioteca del colegio San Bernardo,” 46–47, 47n20.

43 Alfredo Serrai, “La bibliotheca secreta del Collegio Romano” [The *bibliotheca secreta* of the Roman College], *Il bibliotecario* 2, no. 3 (2009): 17–50; Lorenzo Mancini, “I bibliotecari del Collegio Romano (1551–1873): Un contributo per la storia delle biblioteche della Compagnia di Gesù” [The librarians of the Roman College (1551–1873): A contribution to the history of the libraries of the Society of Jesus], *AHSI* 89, no. 177 (2020): 46–115, here 51–53, 55; Rubio Hernández, “Las librerías de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva Granada,” 59; and Miguel Alonso, “Los fondos jesuitas en las bibliotecas de Roma,” 352–53. Luana Giurgevich explored multiple Portuguese libraries associated with different religious orders, including the Jesuits. She notes that “the institutional library was not the only place for the conservation and use of books. Typically, several libraries were contained inside religious buildings and very specialised scientific collections could be amassed.” Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries,” 257. See also 261–62, where she discusses the contents of the library of the professor of mathematics at the Santo Antão College, Lisbon.

A library or a section of one of the above libraries was often dedicated to prohibited books.

Most of what is known about the historic libraries of the Society of Jesus comes from a single class of sources: catalogs and inventories of the pre-suppression period. Many scholars have sought out and deciphered information on the contents of specific libraries based on these catalogs, but these provide information about what books were available at a given point in time, not how, when, or in what condition those books became part of a collection, or how they were used. The most important resources for such studies are inventories taken at the time of the suppression of the Society, but these are not the only book lists available: occasionally, seventeenth- and even sixteenth-century inventories remain. Modern studies and reconstructions of these have focused on Europe and its American colonies, although occasional references to libraries in Africa and Asia can also be found.⁴⁴ We do not yet have much comparative work on the subject, to determine whether (for example) the libraries of the Spanish colonies deliberately imitated those of Spain or merely took what books they were offered and could print. These manuscript sources are difficult to use, as they were intended as inventory lists, not bibliographical catalogs. As librarianship has developed, methods of keeping track of the contents of libraries has progressed in a scientific manner, and the introduction of typed and then electronic cataloging has improved our ability

44 Among the many available, in addition to the works cited in the current narrative, see the following examples: Claudio Fedele and Italo Franceschini, eds., *La biblioteca del collegio dei gesuiti di Trento: Pubblicazioni e manoscritti nelle biblioteche Trentine* [The library of the Jesuit college of Trent: Publications and manuscripts in the libraries of the Trentino], 2 vols. (Trento: Soprintendenza per i beni librari e archivistici, 2007); Alfredo Eduardo Frascini, *Index librorum bibliothecae Collegii Maximi Cordubensis Societatis Iesu 1757* [Index of books in the library of the Jesuit Collegium Maximum of Córdoba] (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2005); Antonio Machado Freire, "Auto de inventario e avaliação dos livros achados no colégio dos jesuitas do Rio de Janeiro e sequestrados em 1775" [Record of the inventory and examination of books found in the Jesuit college of Rio de Janeiro and seized in 1775], *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 301 (1973): 212–59; Ludwik Grzebień, *Organizacja bibliotek jezuickich w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku* [Organization of Jesuit libraries in Poland from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries] (Kraków: WAM Akademia Ignatianum, 2013); Giuliana de Simone, *La biblioteca del Collegium Goritense s.l.* [The library of the Jesuit Collegium Goritense], 5 vols. (Baden-Baden: Valentin Korner, 2015–18); Jose del Rey Fajardo, "El archivo y biblioteca del colegio jesuítico de Maracaibo: Inventariados en la expulsión de 1767" [The archive and library of the Jesuit college of Maracaibo: Inventories from the expulsion of 1767], *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 62, no. 247 (1979): 573–606; and Šapro-Ficović and Vegh, "History of Jesuit Libraries in Croatia."

to use and to write the history of libraries. Still, more modern techniques contain and propagate their own inaccuracies. Both local and global catalogs suffer from typographical errors, misclassifications of subject, linguistic mistakes, and misidentifications of authors, paralleling the mistakes of earlier scribes. What electronic cataloging can do that was impossible before the internet age is cross-reference efficiently. Many countries have nationwide Online Public Access Catalog (OPAC) systems, and WorldCat provides global connections for participating institutions.

In the following sections, we will address the question of what was and is a “Jesuit” library chronologically as well as thematically. It is not a thorough global study, because to date research on Europe and the Americas has dominated the field. Instead, what follows unfolds topically, considering both the institutions and their impact on society, and on the Society.

1 Libraries before the Suppression

The first Jesuit libraries were small by modern standards but grew in some cases to include tens of thousands of books before the Society of Jesus was suppressed in a series of events between 1759 and 1773. For example, a pre-suppression library in Bahia (Brazil) held fifteen thousand volumes; north of that, in Maranhão, one library topped out at five thousand.⁴⁵ In this part, we will examine the size, contents, and role of these institutional libraries, connected with colleges and houses, around the globe, starting with Europe. The development of libraries in the mission territories was heavily dependent on European ideas and funding, so that continent is a natural starting point.

In the European cities where the Jesuits found their greatest successes, they also had the largest libraries: these included Madrid, Paris, Rome, and Prague. The collections consisted of the most important works of reference and scholarship associated with the Society and included books on every subject taught by its members as well as information on matters related to the global spread of the Jesuits: atlases, botanical manuals reflecting the flora of the Americas, reports from the missions, and administrative texts including reports of the congregations. They also held prohibited books (in dedicated sections of the library, so as not to fall into the wrong hands) and other texts designed to teach Jesuits material that was considered to be in error, for example books from

45 Luiz Antonio Gonçalves da Silva, “As bibliotecas dos jesuitas: Uma visão a partir da obra de Serafim Leite” [The libraries of the Jesuits: A view based on the work of Serafim Leite], *Perspectivas em ciência da informação* 13, no. 2 (May/August 2008): 219–37, here 229–31.

China, brought home by returning missionaries, explaining the philosophy of the ancient philosopher Kǒng Fūzǐ (孔夫子 [c.551–479 BCE]), whom they called Confucius.⁴⁶

Several research projects currently underway seek to understand the collection practices of the pre-suppression Society in Europe. These include the National Library of Latvia's reconstruction of the 1583–1621 Riga Jesuit College library, and a parallel project at Uppsala University in Sweden on the libraries of the colleges of Riga, Poznań, and Braniewo; the Biblioteca Statale Isontina di Gorizia's catalog of the Jesuit Collegium Goritense; the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon's Collection jésuite des Fontaines; the catalogs of libraries in several pre-1711 Hungarian cities; the project by Gaetano Colli, former head of the Biblioteca di Filosofia at the Università di Roma "La Sapienza," called Fondo Librario Antico, which catalogs more than ninety thousand volumes from 275 Jesuit houses and colleges in what was once the province of Italy; the Antics posseïdors (former owners) database at the University of de Barcelona's Rare Book and Manuscript CRAI Library; and the European Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project (EJLPP), a census of books known to have been in the possession of a European Jesuit house or college prior to the suppression of the Society.⁴⁷ These not only allow at least partial reconstruction of

46 On this, see Noël Golvers, "The Jesuit Mission in China (17th–18th Cent.) as the Framework for the Circulation of Knowledge between Europe and China," *Lusitania sacra* 36 (2017): 179–99.

47 "The Catalogue of the Riga Jesuit College Book Collection 1583–1621. Virtual Reconstruction," <https://kopkatalogs.lv/F/>, and Gustavs Strenga et al., eds., *Catalogue of the Riga Jesuit College Book Collection (1583–1621): History and Reconstruction of the Collection/Rīgas jezuītu kolēģijas grāmatu krājuma (1583–1621) katalogs: Krājuma vēsture un rekonstrukcija* (Riga: National Library of Latvia, 2021); Uppsala University Library, Riga Jesuit library, <https://www.ub.uu.se/finding-your-way-in-the-collections/selections-of-special-items-and-collections/riga-jesuit-library>; Poznań Jesuit Library, <https://www.ub.uu.se/finding-your-way-in-the-collections/selections-of-special-items-and-collections/poznan-jesuit-library>; and Braniewo Jesuit Library, <https://www.ub.uu.se/finding-your-way-in-the-collections/selections-of-special-items-and-collections/braniewo-jesuit-library> (and see Peter Sjökvist, "On the Order of the Books in the First Uppsala University Library Building," *JJS* 6, no. 2 [2019]: 315–26, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00602007>); Giuliana De Simone, *La biblioteca del Collegium Goritense Societatis Iesu nella Biblioteca statale isontina di Gorizia* [The library of the Jesuit Collegium Goritense in the Isontine State Library of Gorizia], 7 vols. (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 2015–18); Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, "Provenance des livres anciens" [Provenance of old books], https://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/collection/BML:BML_06PRV01000COL0001 (and see "La collection jésuite des Fontaines" [The Fontaines Jesuit collection], <https://www.bm-lyon.fr/nos-blogs/la-collection-jesuite-des-fontaines>; Gábor Farkas et al., eds., *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711: Kassa, Pozsony, Sárospatak, Turóc, Ungvár* [Jesuit libraries in Hungary until 1711: Košice, Bratislava, Sárospatak, Turók, Uzhorod],

libraries but also provide opportunities for data analysis. For example, using the information in the EJLPP, collected continuously since 2016, we can compare data from institutions across Europe and test certain assumptions about the pre-suppression collections. Among these are the following:

1. Jesuit libraries, because they depended on donations and had low budgets for purchasing volumes, were likely to contain books printed locally, preferably in the press at the Jesuit college housing the library.
2. The Society of Jesus would probably favor the use of Jesuit authors, because their conformity with the global mission of the Society could be assured, and because such authors were more easily available; they would also collect books by local authors, even those who were not Jesuits, because they were relatively easy to obtain.
3. While most of the texts would be in Latin and on subjects common to all Jesuit locations, each region would keep a collection of texts related to local history, culture, and language. This would serve those Jesuits who were not native to the area, as well as the students they taught.

Among the more remarkable conclusions of the number-crunching that multiple studies have reached is the weakness of these assumptions for the European context. It is not yet possible to do the same kind of analysis for Asian, African, or American Jesuit libraries prior to the suppression. However, one study of a North American mission library, that of Quebec, has drawn a connection between the presence of volumes from certain regions and the generosity of at least one printer: Sébastien Cramoisy (1585–1669) of Paris, who frequently printed for the Jesuits, “supplied the Library with new publications” to the extent that he “played a key role in the formation of the Library’s original core during the years prior to 1663.”⁴⁸ In summary, the current state of the data, comprised of over 6,200 entries in early 2022, tells us the following.

- 1a. *Local printing.* For reasons of convenience, it is reasonable to expect that most Jesuit libraries were well stocked with locally printed books, but

vol. 1 of 2 [Szeged: Scriptum, 1990], available at <http://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03228/index.phtml>; Il Fondo Librario Antico dei Gesuiti in Italia [The old Jesuit library collection in Italy], <http://www.fondolibrarioantico.it>; Universitat de Barcelona: Antics posseïdors [University of Barcelona: Former owners], <https://marques.crai.ub.edu/ca/posseidors>; and the European Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project, www.jesuit-libraries.com. All accessed on August 4, 2022.

48 André Beaulieu, “Introduction,” in *La première bibliothèque canadienne: La bibliothèque des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France, 1632–1800/The First Canadian Library: The Library of the Jesuit College of New France, 1632–1800*, ed. National Library of Canada (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1972), 14–18, here 18. For more on Cramoisy, see Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011), 17.

they were not. According to the information available in the EJLPP, only twenty-one percent of all books were located in the same political geography as their printers were.⁴⁹ The strongest correlation between printing location and library location was in the Holy Roman Empire: out of all the titles in the EJLPP, over nine percent of the books held at institutions in that region were printed there. Spain was second, with over six percent.

- 1b. *Jesuit printing.* Only about three percent of the books in the EJLPP were printed at a Jesuit-owned press (most associated with a college, but one with a professed house). Most institutions held no books printed by a Jesuit press. Breaking down the data by region shows that Jesuit presses played a minor role in all European countries represented, with the exception of Bohemia: there, more than forty-one percent of books once owned at Jesuit colleges and houses were printed by Jesuit presses in any geography. No other region comes close. Institutions in the Papal States (more than seven percent), Spain (over six percent), and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (just above five percent) are the only ones with more than five percent representation of Jesuit-printed volumes. The vast majority of surviving books owned by Jesuit colleges were printed by commercial printing houses, and at least forty-two percent of the printers of these books are known to have employed women as print-makers or booksellers.⁵⁰
- 2a. *Jesuit authors.* Prior to the suppression, libraries of the Society of Jesus contained significant numbers of books authored by members of the Society, and the relative representation of Jesuits increased over the centuries. Overall, around forty-one percent of all texts in the database were authored by Jesuits. By contrast, Franciscans and Dominicans were represented by just over two percent and slightly under four percent each. Jesuit authors constituted at least thirty-five percent of the total authors located so far in libraries in France and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (thirty-seven percent each), the Papal State (forty percent), Spain (forty-three percent), the Viceroyalty of Naples (forty-seven

49 Locally printed books were not necessarily cheaper, which may seem counter-intuitive; shipping alone can be quite expensive. However, as Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen point out in their discussion of monastic libraries of the 1490s, these institutions found it easier to purchase the right books from major cities, often with the proceeds from the sale of locally printed books, rather than to find a way of printing all the texts that one library needed. Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Library*, 80.

50 For more information on an ongoing project to identify the women printers, see <https://www.jesuit-libraries.com/the-printers> (accessed August 4, 2022).

- percent), Bohemia (fifty-one percent), the Duchy of Milan (fifty-two percent), and the Holy Roman Empire (fifty-four percent).
- 2b. *Local authors.* Only about twelve percent of the texts in the EJLPP were found in regions that corresponded to the author's geographical origins. The strongest correlation was in Spain: over four percent of the books in Spanish Jesuit libraries were authored by Spanish men. Second and third in line were England and the Holy Roman Empire, with more than two percent each.
- 3a. *Local languages.* Many Jesuits were sent to areas unfamiliar to them after joining; the Society actively separated the men from their families and native culture, and missionaries chose even more remote locations.⁵¹ Collections of texts that reflected regional history, geography, culture, and language would therefore have been welcome and could be used to learn about the place to which a given Jesuit was assigned. However, they appear to have been in short supply. Only about twenty-seven percent of texts in the EJLPP were written exclusively in the modern (mostly Western) European vernaculars of the day; nearly seventy percent were written only in Latin. The vernacular texts are widely dispersed, and slightly fewer than half of them can be found in regions where the languages of the book are the same as the spoken language of the people living there. The strongest correlations between language of text and language of location are found in the Holy Roman Empire (over eight percent of the texts kept in those regions were in German), the Viceroyalty of Sicily (over twelve percent in Italian), the Papal State (over fourteen percent in Italian), France (over seventeen percent in French), and Spain (over thirty-six percent in Spanish). As the EJLPP relies on surviving books, we must note a caveat: assuming that volumes reflecting the local region's language were of great interest, they may have been heavily used, and, as a result, have low rates of survival. For context, we can consult inventories from Jesuit institution libraries prior to or at the time of the suppression. A sample of such inventories from the Italian peninsula, Low Countries, and England shows that around fourteen percent of the

51 On the practice of sending members far from their families, see Gian Paolo Brizzi, "Educare il principe, formare le élites: I gesuiti e Ranuccio I Farnese" [Educating the prince, forming the elites: The Jesuits and Ranuccio I Farnese], in *Università, principe, gesuiti: La politica farnesiana dell'istruzione a Parma e Piacenza (1545-1622)* [Universities, princes, Jesuits: Farnesian politics of instruction at Parma and Piacenza (1545-1622)], ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi, Alessandro D'Alessandro, and Alessandra del Fante (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980), 133-211, here 157-68; and A. Lynn Martin, "Jesuits and Their Families: The Experience in Sixteenth-Century France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13, no. 1 (1982): 3-24, here 5-6.

books in these places were in English, Dutch, French, and Italian, the vernacular languages of the regions in which the institutions were found.⁵²

- 3b. *Local cultures and subjects.* Analysis of the texts in the EJLPP shows that, for the most part, local subjects (i.e., histories of the region, hagiographies of local martyrs, etc.), regardless of the language in which they were written, were not favored in the collection of books. For example, the combination of European geography, history, and missions account for fewer than five percent of all titles in the database, which represents only European institutions. In the same sample inventories as above, the same combination accounts for fewer than one percent.

In short, prior to the suppression, European Jesuit libraries were not especially local in character, relying on printers and authors from around Europe and containing texts unrelated to their geographical context; their collections were largely written in Latin; and they were heavily populated by texts penned by Jesuits. However, not all such libraries were created alike. In addition to colleges and houses in reliably Catholic areas, Jesuits operated missions for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales on the European continent.⁵³ The upheavals

52 Archive sources: Rijksarchief Antwerpen, Archief Nederduitse Jezuietenprovincie (Flandro Belgica) [hereafter RAANJ(FB)] 3278: Bibliotheekcatalogus [Library catalog] (n.d.); RAANJ(FB) 2045, Stukken betreffende een proces voor de Geheime Raad tussen Joachim Trognesium, boekdrukker in Antwerpen, aanlegger, en de provincie, verweerder, over het drukken van boeken voor de Sociëteit (1613) [Documents concerning a trial before the Secret Council between Joachim Trognesium, book printer in Antwerp, petitioner, and the province, defendant, about the printing of books for the Society (1613)]; RAANJ(FB) 2046: Catalogus van de boeken over architectuur, achtergelaten door P. Gulielmus Cornelii, overleden te Leuven in 1660 [Catalog of the books on architecture left by P. Willem Cornelius, d. Leuven, 1660], which in fact contains books on many non-architectural subjects; and Rijksarchief Leuven, Jezuieten College Leuven, 20. Catalogus van de schenkingen aan de bibliotheek, 1635 [Catalog of donations to the library, 1635]. Print sources: the Delft Catalog of 1614 (RAANJ[FB] 3002, fols. 2^v–4^v) is transcribed by Paul Begheyn, in “The Oldest Jesuit Library Catalogue in the Dutch Republic: The Book Collection at Delft (1614),” in *Emblematic Images and Religious Texts: Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimmler, s.j.*, ed. Pedro F. Campa and Peter M. Daly (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2010), 71–88. The St. Omer catalog is from Willem (Wim) Schrickx, “An Early Seventeenth-Century Catalogue of Books from the English Jesuit Mission in Saint-Omer,” *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique/Archief-en bibliotheekwezen in België* 46, nos. 3–4 (1975): 592–618. The inventory from the Irish College in Rome is from Hugh Fenning, “Some Irish Donors of Books to the Irish College in Rome, 1611–1678,” in *The Irish College, Rome, and Its World*, ed. Dáire Keough and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 45–63. I have transcribed all of these and made them available in the EJLPP, at <https://www.jesuit-libraries.com/the-database> (accessed August 4, 2022).

53 The English mission became a vice-province of its own in 1619 and a province in 1623. Francis Courtney estimates that “roughly half of the [English] Province was engaged on

associated with these colleges (both those in continental Europe and those intermittently operated in the British Isles) make information on their libraries seem especially precious. For example, in 1725, a fire in the English college in St. Omer (in France) resulted in the burning of “all [the fathers’] gowns, books, [and] musick instruments.”⁵⁴ The English college at Liège (also then in France) then sent books to St. Omer to make up for some of the losses.⁵⁵ For much of the pre-suppression period, foundations in England, Scotland, and Wales were illegal; nonetheless, these clandestine colleges and residences did accumulate some books. According to historian Hannah Thomas, more than three hundred volumes currently in Hereford Cathedral (around twenty-six kilometers east of the Welsh border) were part of the collection of the Jesuits living on three farms in Cwm, Upper Cwm, and Llangunville (all in Wales). Most of them were printed on the continent.⁵⁶ One of the early seventeenth-century English Jesuit houses was Clerkenwell (near London), belonging to the earl of Shrewsbury until they were discovered there in 1628. This house apparently contained many books, as a witness refers to “their library of books valued at £400.”⁵⁷ The fate of those books is unknown.

the Continent and the other half in England” before 1633, when the Jesuits established the Maryland mission, after which a handful of members associated with the English province resided there. Francis Courtney, “English Jesuit Colleges in the Low Countries 1593–1794,” *Heythrop Journal* 4, no. 3 (1963): 254–63, here 255. For the Irish mission, see Ciaran O’Sceá, “The Spanish Court, Ecclesiastical Patronage, and the Irish College of Santiago de Compostela (1611–17)”; Matteo Binasco, “The Early Failures of the Irish College Rome, 1628–78”; and Christopher Kortzen, “Financial Mismanagement at the Irish College, 1772–98,” in *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots, and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918*, ed. Liam Chambers (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 143–68, 169–79, 180–99.

- 54 Hubert Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst: A History of Two Centuries* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962), 261–62, quoting from a letter from Richard Hyde (procurator at St. Omer) to Thomas Ebersson (rector at Liège), November 11, 1725.
- 55 Reportedly, rector James Gooden (St. Omer) sent a letter on December 10, 1725 to rector Thomas Ebersson (Liège): “This to acknowledge, with a thousand thanks, my great obligations to your Reverence; as also to the rest of your community, especially to Mr. Fitzburn and Mr. Boucher, who have been so zealous to assist us in our pressing want of books. With this considerable supply we shall be able to continue our school duties after some tolerable manner; till Almighty God sends the means and opportunity of being better provided.” “The Library of Saint Omers,” *The Tablet* (June 28, 1902), 1019–20, here 1020.
- 56 Hannah Thomas, “The Society of Jesus in Wales, c.1600–1679: Rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral,” *JJS* 1, no. 4 (2014): 572–88, here 577–78, 577n18, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00104010> (accessed August 4, 2022).
- 57 Quoted in John Gough Nichols, “Discovery of the Jesuits’ College at Clerkenwell in March 1627–8,” *Camden Miscellany* 2 (1853): 6nb. This was a considerable sum: in that year, firewood cost nearly thirty shillings per cord, wheat prices ranged from twenty-four to thirty-five shillings per “Winchester quarter,” or eight bushels, and the average wage

These mission colleges were unlike their European counterparts not only in terms of stability but also in terms of their relationship to the region in which they were housed. The books used in the Irish, English, Welsh, and Scottish missions were frequently written by Jesuits and printed at the continental European colleges serving those missions. As historian Thomas Clancy has shown, in the period 1615–40, around five hundred English-language books on Catholic subjects were printed; about forty-two percent of those were authored or translated by English Jesuits.⁵⁸ The numbers for the latter part of the seventeenth century are smaller, but the percentages remain close: between 1690 and 1714, around 230 English Catholic works were printed, and Jesuit authors again account for slightly over one-third.⁵⁹ These texts were printed in locations like the presses attached to the English colleges in the Low Countries, France, Spain, and Rome. The continental English colleges as a result had many English-language books, just as Flemish colleges contained Dutch books, colleges in the Holy Roman Empire had German books, colleges in Spain were home to Spanish books, and so on. However, the libraries of the English colleges in the Netherlands owned more English-language books than those in Dutch or other local languages. Thus, though the aforementioned assumptions do not hold for most European colleges, they do for the colleges serving territory within Europe that was considered part of the missions. Western

for laborers in Dover, Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, and London was just over eleven shillings per week. Gregory Clark, “The Price History of English Agriculture, 1209–1914,” *Research in Economic History* 22 (2004): 41–124, here appendix 3, 81; Nicholas Poynder, “Monthly Grain Prices in England, 1270–1955,” <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/poynder-england.php> (accessed August 4, 2022); and Jan Luiten van Zanden, “Wages and the Cost of Living in Southern England (London) 1450–1700,” <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php> (accessed August 4, 2022). Until the decimalization of 1971, the pound was worth twenty shillings of twelve pence each; the coins were first revalued at five pence and then phased out entirely in 1990; for a well-illustrated history of the changes, see “Decimalisation,” <https://www.royalmintmuseum.org.uk/journal/history/decimalisation> (accessed August 4, 2022). According to the historical currency converter at the National Archives of England, £400 was equivalent to the wages a skilled tradesman would earn in 5,714 days (around fifteen years and eight months) in 1630. See <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter> (accessed August 4, 2022).

- 58 Thomas H. Clancy, *A Literary History of the English Jesuits: A Century of Books 1615–1714* (San Francisco: Catholic Scholars Press, 1996), 21, 129, 236. Maximilian Von Habsburg refines this point: among translations only, which account for eighty books from 1615 to 1640, seventy-five percent of those were done by Jesuits. *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 182. The single largest genres were hagiography, focusing largely on Jesuits, and Jesuit spiritual biography, but the list includes controversial theology, humanism, and art as well. Clancy, *Literary History*, 22–24.
- 59 Clancy, *Literary History*, 207.

Europeans treated Eastern Europe as missionary territory as well, for example in Transylvania, where many of the same questions as in the overseas missions arose, including language proficiency and hostile atmosphere.⁶⁰ The presence of Jesuits and their libraries was of great import to these regions, resulting in intellectual exchanges with Western Europe, the printing of texts in local languages, and the expansion of Catholicism.⁶¹ They resembled the Irish, English, Welsh, and Scottish missions, with which they shared the purpose of stamping out heretical forms of Christianity, but also had much in common with the global missions, though the question of orthodoxy was quite different in those arenas. In general, the written word was of paramount importance to evangelization. Jesuits who sought out such work were required to submit testimonies in the form of *litterae indipetae*, expressing their fervor for the undertaking.⁶² Those who went on missions created a literary genre, on which future generations of potential missionaries depended: the periodic (at first quarterly, then semestral, and finally annual) reports of activities in the different regions where evangelization took place. These letters were printed and distributed to Jesuit houses around the world, to be read at mealtimes, and were presented to

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- 60 Paul Shore, "The Life and Death of a Jesuit Mission: the Collegium in Uzhgorod, Transcarpathia (1650–1773)," *Slavonic and East European Review* 86, no. 4 (2008): 601–33.
- 61 See, e.g., Krzysztof Fordoński and Piotr Urbański, "Jesuit Culture in Poland and Lithuania, 1564–1773," *JJS* 5, no. 3 (2018): 341–51, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/5/3/article-p341_341.xml (accessed August 4, 2022); Andrea Mariani, "The Contribution of the Society of Jesus to the Political Culture of Lithuanian Elites," *Open Political Science* 2 (2019): 153–73, <https://doi.org/10.1515/openps-2019-0015> (accessed August 4, 2022); and Paul Shore, "Fragmentum annuarium Collegii Societatis Iesu Claudiopolitani: The Account of a Jesuit Mission in Transylvania, 1659–1662," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 8, no. 1 (2006): 83–106.
- 62 See Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, *Indipetae polonae: Kolatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej* [Polish *indipetae*: Knocking at the door of the Chinese mission] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2015); Camilla Russell, "Becoming 'Indians': The Jesuit Missionary Path from Italy to Asia," *Renaissance & Reformation/Renaissance et Reforme* 43, no. 1 (2020): 9–50; and Elisa Frei, "The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo, S.J. (1676–1724?), Petitioner for the Indies: A Jesuit Seen through his *Litterae indipetae* and the *Epistulae generalium*," *AHSI* 85, no. 170 (2016): 365–404. The 2012 survey of the literature on the subject (Aliocha Maldavsky, "Pedir las Indias: Las cartas indipetae de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI–XVIII, ensayo historiográfico" [Ask for the Indies: The *litterae indipetae* of the European Jesuits, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries; A historiographical essay], *Relaciones: Estudios de historia y sociedad* 33, no. 132 [2012]: 147–81, http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185-39292012000400006 [accessed August 4, 2022]), remains very useful. See also the Digital Indipetae Database, edited by Emanuele Colombo, at <https://en.indipetae.com> (accessed August 4, 2022), a collection of the letters members of the Society wrote to the superiors general in hopes of being sent on missions, hosted by the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies at Boston College.

existing and potential donors. Along with other items of importance to the life of the Society, for example, the *Spiritual Exercises* and operational documents, these Jesuit-authored books helped create an identity for the Society and for its libraries. Depositories of the periodical letters preserved and transmitted the global knowledge they contained, making it available to subsequent generations of potential donors and missionaries.

The libraries in overseas missions were initially created in a less systematic way than their European counterparts, depending on the transport of books by missionaries themselves, the generosity of patrons, the existence of local printing presses, and the safe arrival of requested books from Europe. The oldest Jesuit libraries in the Americas were established as part of the Spanish missions, starting with the construction of colleges in Brazil in the 1550s and in Spanish South America in the 1560s. In North America, too, the earliest Jesuit libraries are associated with the missions, for example, the Quebec Jesuit College Library. A mission college was founded in that city in 1635, rebuilt after a fire in 1640, and expanded considerably during the 1720s, the date of the first catalog of the library associated with that institution.⁶³ According to Martín: “Right from the start, every Jesuit group that crossed the Atlantic brought along a new shipment of books.”⁶⁴ Musicologist David R.M. Irving has noted that libraries were occasionally shipped intact, which meant that books published over long intervals may have arrived in the mission colleges and houses along with more recently written ones. However, many volumes were requested or sent individually, and “given the high cost of printed books [...], and the trouble in subjecting them to inquisitorial censorship before their transportation half-way around the world, it is likely that only the newest and most useful works were taken.”⁶⁵ As an illustration, in 1575, Superior General Everard Mercurian (1514–80, in office 1573–80), instructed Gonzalo de Esquivel (d.1573), the procurator of the Indies in Seville (starting 1569), to provide the missions with books. Mercurian wrote: “You can easily gather a good supply of books, having them sent from Flanders by way of merchants. And take special care to learn [about] the good books that come out, which can be approved for our ministries, and send those.”⁶⁶

63 Beaulieu, “Introduction,” 15–16.

64 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 75.

65 David R.M. Irving, “The Dissemination and Use of European Music Books in Early Modern Asia,” *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 39–59, here 45.

66 Antonio Egaña, ed., *Monumenta peruana*, vol. 1 of 8 (1565–75) (Rome: MHSI, 1954), doc. 176, “Ultima instructio patris Everardi Mercuriani pro procuratore Indiarum Occidentalium [Anno 1575]” [The final instruction of Fr Everard Mercurian as procurator of the West Indies (1575)], 692–69, here 696, paragraph 11: “Con facilidad puede hazer buena provisión

This means that, in theory at least, printed books that arrived in overseas Jesuit missions were similar to those in use in Europe.⁶⁷ It also means that Jesuits were of vital importance to the spread of the European intellectual heritage throughout the globe. Hundreds of copies of texts written by and/or used by the Society of Jesus in its training of priests and education of young boys around the world were transported throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.⁶⁸ This had a truly global impact. Grover has observed that mission libraries were of paramount importance to developing Jesuit librarianship around the world, a significant intellectual heritage: “As the [mission] libraries grew, the Jesuits established traditions of librarianship that were more developed in Brazil than in any other European colony.”⁶⁹ As the European understanding of libraries was unfamiliar to those in the colonies, this is not surprising. Many indigenous cultures of the Americas lacked written languages, obviating the need for collecting printed works. As historian Hortensia Calvo has observed, the Spanish brought the printing press to their American empire in 1539, just two decades after the Spanish–Aztec War (1519–21). The machine “served the ideological, political, and administrative purposes of Spain. The first presses were brought to Mexico City and Lima [1581] for the explicit purpose of aiding missionaries in the Christianization of native populations.” Within a century, the same printing presses produced not just catechisms and hagiographies but regal, legal, and administrative documents that “primarily served the purposes of peninsular administrators and reflected the growing prosperity and intellectual needs of lettered urban *criollos*, Europeanized white or *mestizo* colonists.”⁷⁰

de libros, haziéndolos venir de Flandes[n] por via de mercaderes; y tenga especial cuidado de saber los buenos libros que salen, que puedan aprovechar para nuestros ministerios, y embiarlos.”

- 67 See José del Rey Fajardo, “The Role of Libraries in the Missionary Regions of Orinoquia,” *JJS* 2, no. 2 (2015): 208–22, here 217, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202003> (accessed August 4, 2022).
- 68 Irving, “Dissemination and Use of European Music Books,” 47, uses Athanasius Kircher’s (1602–80) *Musurgia universalis, sive, ars magna consoni et dissoni in x libros digesta* [The universal musurgy, or, the great art of consonance and dissonance, arranged in ten books] (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1650) as an example: on some unidentified date prior to 1654, out of fifteen hundred copies printed, three hundred were given to Jesuits visiting in Rome for the occasion of electing a new superior general, leading to their distribution in the colonies; dozens of others were brought to the missions via other means.
- 69 Grover, “Book and the Conquest,” 267.
- 70 Hortensia Calvo, “The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America,” *Book History* 6 (2003): 277–305, here 278–79. See also Rey Fajardo, “Role of Libraries in the Missionary Regions,” 212–14.

Similar techniques of book collection were employed for the Chinese missions. The institution known as the Pei-t'ang Library in Beijing was begun by the Jesuits as a mission collection in 1601. Its most important early administrator was the missionary Nicolas Trigault of the Low Countries (1577–1628), whose 1613–20 trip to Europe (accompanied for part of the time by missionary Johann Schreck of the Holy Roman Empire [1576–1630], whom Trigault met in Rome in 1614), netted over six hundred books for the institution, of which around eighty percent were a direct gift of Pope Paul v (Camillo Borghese [1550–1621, r.1605–61]). Over the following centuries, other donations and purchases of books printed in Europe and Asia expanded the collection to encompass over five thousand volumes, as reflected in a 1949 inventory.⁷¹ Unfortunately, as Noël Golvers has demonstrated in his breathtakingly thorough study of Jesuit book collecting for Chinese missions, depending on donations could be a troublesome thing.⁷² Letters pleading for copies of particular volumes, or the money to procure them, did not always produce the desired result. Some colleges addressed this very complex problem, made more difficult in areas that did not use the Latin alphabet, by setting up printing presses, as in Japan.⁷³

In addition to requesting volumes from European colleges and houses, some mission libraries in other continents directly “seeded” others, providing new establishments with books from their existing collections. For example, the library at the Colegio Máximo de San Pablo de Lima (founded 1568), in Peru, began with a small collection of books brought over from Spain with the initial mission.⁷⁴ Over the following decades, this library received generous support from Spanish donors, including, in 1602, the private library of Jesuit Francisco

71 The mission in Pei-t'ang (North Church) was established in 1696 and took over the libraries of both the North Church and the South Church (Nan-t'ang), the latter of which, run by Portuguese Jesuits, was the larger of the two. The institution that today is called the Pei-t'ang library was not named that in the seventeenth century. The renaming is the result of the transfer of texts with the arrival of French Jesuits and the construction of Pei-t'ang. See J.S. [James Sylvester] Cummins, “Present Location of the Pei-t'ang Library,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, no. 3/4 (1967): 482–87, here 482; Noël Golvers, “The Pre-1773 Jesuit Libraries in Peking as a Medium for Western Learning in the Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century China,” *The Library* 7th ser. 16, no. 4 (2013): 429–45, here 430–31, and Golvers, *Johann Schreck Terrentius, s.j.: His European Network and the Origins of the Jesuit Library in Peking* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021). The 1949 catalog is Hubert Germain Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pe-t'ang Mission catholique des Lazaristes à Pékin* (Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1969 [1949]).

72 Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China*.

73 Yoshimi Orii, “The Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan: Trends in Bibliographical Research and in Intellectual History,” *JJS* 2, no. 2 (2015): 189–207, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202002> (accessed August 4, 2022).

74 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 75.

de Coello (c.1569–1622). Coello had been *alcalde de corte* (a justice) in Lima starting in 1592, after having taught at the University of Salamanca. He became rector of the college in Lima in 1614, by which time, according to contemporary testimony, the library had accumulated around four thousand volumes (excluding duplicates).⁷⁵ This large collection included “good histories of every period and every region of the globe” written by scholars from antiquity to the present, in Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, and Portuguese, for example tales of the Jesuit missions as well as texts like Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix’s (1682–1761) *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France* (History and general description of New France), histories of the great European cities, and of the religious orders.⁷⁶ Alongside these were volumes recounting indigenous religious practices, along with books on civil law and administration (regional and international), farming, botany, animal husbandry, commerce, economics, shipbuilding, navigation, geography, astronomy, geometry, mathematics, metallurgy, hydraulics, optics, mechanics, and electricity.⁷⁷ In addition to the main library, San Pablo also had a medical library, for which “the college’s administrators did not spare any expense to order the best medical books available from Europe.”⁷⁸ These included classic texts (and commentaries on them) as well as modern treatises on pharmacy, surgery, anatomy, and diseases, in Latin, Spanish, French, German, and Italian.⁷⁹ As a result, San Pablo became “a distributing center of the printed word for the entire Viceroyalty of Peru [...]. Single copies of all the new publications were immediately placed in the library, and the rest of the books were set aside to be sent to other Jesuit colleges throughout the viceroyalty [...]. During the seventeenth century thousands of books left San Pablo” to Jesuit foundations all over the region, even as far as the Viceroyalty of La Plata.⁸⁰

Brazilian Jesuit libraries were larger than their counterparts in New Spain and New France, and the largest Brazilian collection was at the College of Bahia. From the beginning of that mission, the Jesuits on site requested books from Portugal, and apparently received many—even from King João III (1502–57, r.1521–57)—on subjects useful for teaching, for the personal use of the resident Jesuits, and for combatting heresy. Like the college in Lima, this college sent volumes to other Brazilian Jesuit libraries “whenever books were

75 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 78. Martín does not indicate the size of Coello’s donation.

76 Paris: Rollin Fils, 1744. See Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 88.

77 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 89–95.

78 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 106.

79 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 107–8.

80 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 79–81, quote on 79.

needed to begin libraries or augment already existing collections.”⁸¹ In the late sixteenth century, the provincial of Brazil determined that when a resident died, the college or house should take an inventory. This means that we have detailed information from this region long before the suppression inventories, allowing for some understanding of how the libraries developed over time.⁸²

As was true of the American missions, Jesuit missions to Asia included the transfer of both personnel and books of importance to evangelization. The first Jesuit library in Japan was founded in 1556, with a collection of roughly one hundred volumes, including printed works of Plato (c.429–347 BCE), Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Augustine (354–430), Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–74), and the major European university theologians of the Renaissance and Reformation, along with manuscript translations of theological works in Japanese that were created after the arrival of missionaries in 1549.⁸³ Early Jesuit libraries in Japan have been the subject of intense study, made possible by the German Jesuit Johannes Laures (1891–1959), whose 1941 book *Kirishitan bunko* collected documentation from the early missions in Japan, largely from the Sophia University (Tokyo) library.⁸⁴ The database contains over 15,600 books as of mid-2022.⁸⁵

81 Grover, “Book and the Conquest,” 270–71 (quote on 271), 280n19. See also Gonçalves da Silva, “As bibliotecas dos jesuitas,” especially 222–24, referring to requests for specific texts, purchases, donations, and losses, including the 1601 seizure of books from Fernão Cardim (c.1549–1625) by corsairs, and the removal of volumes by the Dutch during their occupation of Bahia in 1624; and Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* [History of the Society of Jesus in Brazil], 10 vols. (Lisbon: Livraria Portugalia, 1938–50), esp. vol. 4.

82 Gonçalves da Silva, “As bibliotecas dos jesuitas,” 221, places this decision in 1587. According to Luiz Fernando Medeiros Rodrigues, the date was 1597. “As ‘livrarias’ dos jesuítas no Brasil colonial, segundo os documentos do Archivum Romano [sic] Societatis Iesu,” *Cauriensia* 4 (2011): 375–302, here 379, <https://dehesa.unex.es/handle/10662/2483> (accessed August 4, 2022).

83 Jesús López Gay, “La primera biblioteca de los jesuítas en el Japón (1556): Su continedo y su influencia” [The first library of the Jesuits in Japan (1556): Its contents and influence], *Monumenta Nipponica* 15, no. 3/4 (1959–60), 350–79, here 350–52. A reconstructed list of the library’s contents is found on 354–56.

84 Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan bunko: A Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Mission in Japan, with Special Reference to the Principal Libraries in Japan and More Particularly in the Collection at Sophia University, Tokyo, with an Appendix of Ancient Maps of the Far East, Especially Japan* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1941); it initially contained only thirty-five books but has since been expanded significantly in the Laures Kirishitan Bunko Library database (the English-language version is available at <https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/?lang=en> [accessed August 4, 2022]). For more on this, see Orii, “Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan.”

85 “Kirishitan Bunko Library,” https://www.sophia.ac.jp/eng/research/research/affiliated_r/Kirishitan_bunko.html (accessed August 4, 2022).

Although many of the books in demand in the missions related in some way to theology in its different forms, as Irving has observed, Jesuit missions, along with commercial and diplomatic endeavors, brought not only European songs and musical notation but also the instruments and theoretical treatises that allowed both the performance and continual production of such music. That would eventually contribute to a market for European music, but the demand for such material printed in Asia grew slowly. In Nagasaki, the Jesuit press produced “the earliest example of printed European music from Asia” in 1605: *Manuale ad sacramenta ecclesiae ministranda* (Manual for administering the sacraments of the church), by the Portuguese Jesuit and bishop of Funai, Japan, Luís de Cerqueira (1551/52–1614).⁸⁶ Despite its importance, it was not until more than a century later, in 1723, that a similar work was printed in China (in Chinese), and no other examples of printed music using European staff notation are known before the middle of the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ Music was critical to the missions for multiple reasons, not least of which was related to the Christian tradition, which connected music and religious ritual. Hymns, like prayers, served as ways to praise and communicate with the divine. Irving notes that “collections of plainchant and polyphony were imported to the Philippines, Japan and China” from the start of the missionary period: the first Jesuit library in Japan dates from 1556 and included works of plainchant and polyphony.⁸⁸ The Jesuit collections in Asia, thus, largely depended on European printing presses and manuscripts for their musical texts.

These varied institutions, in Europe and its missions, depended on the written word in multiple ways, and their collections reflected a desire to preserve and perpetuate that tradition. Before the suppression, libraries at Jesuit institutions did not have systematic collection practices. They chose or were given books that fall into predictable categories, but there appear to be no patterns for given percentages, for example, of rhetoric versus history, or for an emphasis on ascetical versus dogmatic theology. They chose or were given books by authors from multiple religious orders but demonstrated a bias toward Jesuit authors (corrected for the biases of availability, as both the Dominicans and Franciscans had been writing books since the mid-thirteenth century versus

86 Luís de Cerqueira, *Manuale ad sacramenta ecclesiae ministranda: Opera ad usum sui cleri ordinatum* [Manual for administering the sacraments of the church: Works ordained for the use of the clergy] (Nagasaki: Collegium Japonicum Societatis Iesu, 1605); a modern edition is available as Luís de Cerqueira, *Manuale ad sacramenta ecclesiae ministranda = サカラムンタ提要*, ed. Toshiaki Kōso (Tokyo: Yūshōdō Shuppan, 2006).

87 Irving, “Dissemination and Use of European Music Books,” 40, 50–53.

88 Irving, “Dissemination and Use of European Music Books,” 43. See also López Gay, “La primera biblioteca de los jesuitas en el Japón (1556).”

the Jesuits, authors since the mid-sixteenth). They chose or were given books authored by regional or local scholars. These practices could certainly have arisen from mere convenience. Wherever the Jesuit libraries were found, they acted as support for teaching, preaching, and administering the sacraments but depended heavily on the generosity of donors. Mission libraries, including those in Eastern Europe as well as the global colonies, differed from the Western European ones in notable ways, including relying more heavily on local printing and local authors. All of the libraries run by the Society served as repositories of knowledge, a bulwark against heretical thought, and centers of creativity. As such, they became targets in the suppression, and their contents were destroyed, stolen, sold, and seized by private individuals, other religious orders, and governments. We turn now to the period between 1759 and 1814.

2 Libraries during the Suppression

While Christian missionaries were expelled from Asian countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Jesuits were the subject of local expulsions in Europe during that same period, the order as a whole remained intact until the middle of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ The formal, international suppression of the Society of Jesus began with its expulsion from Brazil in 1754, followed by Portugal in 1759, France and its territories in 1764, then Spain and its territories in 1767. It was formalized in Western and Central Europe, and the rest of the European missions, by the papal brief *Dominus ac redemptor* (July 21, 1773). The Society was then banned in Austria and Hungary in 1782 but was never formally suppressed in Russia; it was restored by the papal bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* (August 7, 1814).⁹⁰ During this period, the possessions of the Society, including its libraries, were taken over by other religious

89 For more on the lengthy history of suppressions of the Society of Jesus, see, e.g., Bertrand M. Roehner, "Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of their Expulsions (1590–1990)," *Religion* 27, no. 2 (1997): 165–82, doi: 10.1006/rel.1996.0048 (accessed August 4, 2022), and Sabina Pavone, "Banishment, Exile and Opposition: Jesuit Crises before the 1760s," *Lusitania sacra* 32 (2015): 105–19.

90 On the period of the full suppression, see Paul Shore, "The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation," *Brill Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004423374> (accessed August 4, 2022). The brief of suppression is available in English at https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/1773_dominusacredemptor (accessed August 4, 2022); the bull of restoration is available in Latin at https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/la/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-vi_motu-proprio_19690624_sollicitudo-omnium-ecclesiarum.html (accessed August 4, 2022).

orders, private individuals, and governments, not only interrupting the tradition of collecting books that had begun more than two centuries earlier but permanently alienating many of those books from the Jesuits.

Cataclysmic events, as well as isolated problems, had previously led to the loss of Jesuit-owned books. A few examples can illustrate this. In Japan, Christianity was outlawed and all missionaries expelled in 1614; the Jesuit mission press books were burned in June 1626.⁹¹ In 1684, during the War of the Reunions between France and Spain (1683–84), the French navy bombarded Genoa for twelve days in May, as punishment for Genoese support for the Spanish. Among the casualties was the library of the Jesuit professed house there.⁹² The confiscation of territory in Goa and Malabar by the Portuguese viceroy to India in 1648–49 certainly threatened the possessions of the Society that were housed on that land.⁹³ During the Swedish occupation of Poland–Lithuania (1655–57), the siege of Kraków meant that multiple libraries were destroyed, but that of the Jesuit Collegium Maius was saved by what Maria Nowak has called “the heroic efforts of students and faculty.” These included giving books to the king of Sweden in exchange for protection against plunder. The material losses were partly offset by local donations to the collegium after the occupation ended, but the combination of plague (1651–53) and war meant that a greater loss occurred: the deaths of “many of its benefactors and its most prominent librarians [...] resulted in a severe mismanagement” of this generosity.⁹⁴ In England, the Glorious Revolution (1688–89) was the motivation for ransacking Jesuit libraries, for example, the colleges founded in the 1670s and ’80s in Wolverhampton, Wigan, Lincoln, Pontefract, Gateshead, London, and Bury St Edmunds; the books were distributed to other institutions or burned.⁹⁵ When the residents of the English mission college of St. Omer were exiled from France in 1764 with the suppression of the Society there, they

91 Peter F. Kornicki, “The History of the Book in Japan,” in *The Book: A Global History*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and Henry R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 605–21, here 609. I thank Yoshimi Orii for her help on this point.

92 Luigi Marchini, “Biblioteche pubbliche a Genova nel Settecento” [Public libraries in Genoa in the eighteenth century], *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria* n.s. 20, no. 2 (1979): 40–67, here 43.

93 Délio Mendonça, “Jesuits in Goa: Restoration after Suppression (1759–1935),” *AHSI* 83, no. 165 (2014): 131–60, here 138–39.

94 Maria J. Nowak, “The History of the Jagiellonian Library,” *Libraries & Culture* 32, no. 1 (1997): 94–106, here 98–99.

95 See T. Gregory Holt, “A Jesuit School in the City in 1688,” *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 32 (1981): 153–58. Arthur Charles Frederick Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II, 1547–1689* (London: Athlone Press, 1963), notes that at Wolverhampton, most of

moved to Bruges, taking what they could carry. There, among other hardships, they suffered the loss of books to mice.⁹⁶ After a decade there, because of the general suppression of the Society, most of the students and teachers migrated to Liège until 1794, and then, in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), transferred to England to establish a college in Stonyhurst at an estate owned by a former pupil, Cardinal Thomas Weld (1773–1837).⁹⁷ During that evacuation, the fleeing Jesuits auctioned off some possessions, including books, and left others behind.⁹⁸ John Gerard (1564–1637), author of a history of the college, observed: “It is said that the French destroyed all that was left, waggon loads of the best books being converted into wadding for the cannon, and the mathematical and optical cabinet being pillaged.”⁹⁹

The papal suppression was the cause of the widest and greatest destruction to Jesuit property, both real and movable. Events in Spain and its colonies, where the process began in 1767, illustrate the issue.¹⁰⁰ In January 1767,

the books were burned: 258–59, 259n1. Beales also describes the burning of books and other items in the house at Pontefract on 249.

- 96 Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead, “In Paradise and among Angels: Music and Musicians at St. Omers English Jesuit College, 1593–1721,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61 (2011): 57–82, here 59; John Gerard, *Memorials of Stonyhurst College* (London: Burns & Oates, 1881), 3; Gerard, *Centenary Record: Stonyhurst College, Its Life beyond the Seas, 1592–1794* (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1894), 8–12; and Janet Graffius, “St. Omers to Stonyhurst: Jesuit Education of English Catholics 1593–1900,” in *Catholic Collecting/Catholic Reflection, 1538–1850*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin (Worcester, MA: College of the Holy Cross, Cantor Art Gallery, 2006), 161–68, here 163. According to T. [Thomas] E. Muir, *Stonyhurst College 1593–1993* (London: James & James, 1992), 61: “Already, before the inspectors arrived to take their inventories, much property had been transferred over the border by Brother Blythe.”
- 97 Melody Layton McMahon, “Three Catholic Libraries in London,” *Theological Librarianship* 4, no. 1 (2011): 22–31, here 23; Atticus Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College, Its Past and Present: An Account of Its History, Architecture, Treasures, Curiosities, etc.* (Preston: “Chronicle” Office, 1870), 23; Chris Pedley, “Heythrop College Library,” *Bulletin of the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries* 11, no. 3 (2004): 8–10, here 8.
- 98 George Gruggen and Joseph Keating, *Stonyhurst: Its Past History and Life in the Present* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906), 43.
- 99 Gerard, *Memorials of Stonyhurst College*, 41.
- 100 J. Michelle Molina has written an evocative depiction of the twenty-four hours following the notice of evacuation of the Colegio Espíritu Santo in Puebla de los Ángeles, New Spain (modern Puebla, Mexico), starting at dawn on June 25, 1767, in a study focused on how deeply entrenched the Society was in the everyday life and culture of that city. It is based largely on the account of the notary Manuel del Castillo (dates unknown), hired by the surely coincidentally named Francis Xavier Machado y Fiesco, secretary of José de Gálvez y Gallardo, first marquess of Sonora (1720–87) and “a captain in the infantry and the commissioner charged with overseeing the arrest of the Jesuits [...] as well as the occupation and confiscation of all their holdings” in that city. The inventory was not taken

the Consejo Extraordinario de Madrid (Extraordinary Council of Madrid, an ad hoc government commission called by the king) issued a statement that included detailed instructions for those who were to take possession of the written materials belonging to the houses and colleges. Representatives of the state, accompanied by the Jesuits who administered the sites, were to seize “archivos, papeles de toda especie, Biblioteca común, libros y escritorios de aposentos” (archives, papers of all kinds, the common library, books, and writing desks in the [individual] rooms).¹⁰¹ In April, the royal government issued the *Instrucción de lo que se deberá observar para inventariar los libros y papeles existentes en las casas que han sido de los regulares de la Compañía en todos los dominios de s.m.* (Instruction for what must be observed in inventorying the books and papers existing in the houses that have been under the rule of the Society [of Jesus] in all of His Majesty’s domains), followed in May by a royal order that distributed the contents of the Jesuit libraries between the universities and colleges of the Spanish Empire.¹⁰²

The response of individual institutions to such directives, in Spanish territories and elsewhere, can be pieced together in some part by consulting the inventories that were taken at the occasion of the suppression. Shutting down the operations of a global corporation is a difficult business, and the secular and religious authorities sought detailed information about the contents of the Jesuit colleges and houses, to determine the scope of the Society’s wealth (and its debts) and provide for ways to manage it. These are the broadest pictures we have of pre-suppression collections, yet they are certainly incomplete, contain errors, and reflect only a moment in time, not a thorough history of Jesuit librarianship. Often taken in haste, by scribes who might not have been

until several years later, but the notary’s work included describing the library and making brief remarks on its contents, as well as commenting on books owned or borrowed by individual Jesuits. J. Michelle Molina, “God in All Things? The Sacramental Logics of Jesuit Material Remains,” *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 64, no. 4 (2020): 60–80, here 65, 68, 71–72, <https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2020.640404> (accessed August 4, 2022).

101 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Estado, 3,517, 10, quoted in Constancio Eguía Ruiz, “Los jesuitas, proveedores de bibliotecas” [The Jesuits, curators of libraries], *Razón y fe* 130 (1944): 235–58, here 235.

102 See, e.g., Alfonso Rubio Hernández, “Las librerías de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva Granada: Un análisis descriptivo a través de sus inventarios” [The libraries of the Society of Jesus in New Granada: A descriptive analysis based on their inventories], *Información, cultura y sociedad* 31 (2014): 53–66, here 55. The most thorough study of this process is María Dolores García Gómez, *Testigos de la memoria: Los inventarios de las bibliotecas de la Compañía de Jesús en la expulsión de 1767* [Witnesses to memory: The inventories of the libraries of the Society of Jesus at the expulsion of 1767] (San Vicente del Raspeig: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2010).

scholars versed in multiple languages, and constructed in a period before standardization of citation practices, handwritten lists of library contents inconsistently identified manuscripts vs. print books, often abbreviated or omitted either titles or authors, and rarely listed individual pamphlets or cheaply printed texts. For example, in an inventory from Bagnacavallo (1774), one entry reads simply “Libercoli n° 36” (worthless books, numbering thirty-six), while the census of books from Livorno (1773–75) indicates “Manoscritti t. 1/2/3/4/5” (manuscripts, five volumes).¹⁰³ Spelling errors and idiosyncratic abbreviations abound in the identification of authors, titles, and sometimes both. Indeed, as Italian historian Roberto Rusconi has observed: “It was not at all uncommon for the bibliographical elements to be translated into an inventorial Latin, thereby making it hard to be certain of the identification of a specific issue, especially when the same work circulated in Latin and in the vernacular.”¹⁰⁴ Venezuelan historian José Del Rey Fajardo, s.J. has lamented “la poca importancia que el Gobernador de los Llanos dio al acervo libresco” (the little import that the governor of the Llanos assigned to the collection of books) while seizing Jesuit assets in the Orinoco delta (modern Colombia and Venezuela), and notes that many of the bibliographical indications were imprecise.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Grover notes that less care was taken with libraries than with other goods: books were worth less than, for example, real estate, art, and liturgical

103 Archivio Comunale di Ferrara, Ex Patrimonio Gesuitico 78: Descriptio Bibliotheca Excollegi Societatis Iesu Balneocaballi [Description of the library of the former Jesuit college of Bagnacavallo, attested to by the commune of Bagnacavallo], and Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo. Gesuiti di Livorno. Inventario dei Libri, Fogli, Documenti, attenenti all’Istoria, Diritti, Ragioni, ed. Azienda del già Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù di Livorno 1773–1775 [Jesuits of Livorno: Inventory of books, papers, (and) documents, pertaining to the history, rights, claims, and authority of the former Jesuit college of Livorno]. In some cases, libraries were inventoried during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One set of transcriptions of these for central Italian colleges can be found in Brendan Connolly, “The Roots of Jesuit Librarianship, 1540–1599” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1955), 39–43. I have transcribed inventories from selected sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European Jesuit institutions, from archival or print sources, and made them available at <https://www.jesuit-libraries.com/the-database> (accessed August 4, 2022). For some of these inventories, I have provided the complete author and title information.

104 Roberto Rusconi, “The Devil’s Trick: Impossible Editions in the Lists of Titles from the Regular Orders in Italy at the End of the Sixteenth Century,” in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-industrial Europe*, ed. Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 310–23, here 313.

105 José del Rey Fajardo, “La cultura, el libro y las lecturas de los misioneros casanareños” [Culture, the book, and reading in the Casanareño missions], *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 81 (1998): 213–93, here 215.

plate.¹⁰⁶ This was, unfortunately, a traditional approach. The Dissolution of the Monasteries in England (1536–41), as an earlier example, had resulted in similarly vague inventorying. Pettegree and der Weduwen note that the desire for “hard-nosed efficiency” in the process led the assessors to “track the fate of every piece of silverware, every bell and every lead roof,” and to have concern for the documents detailing the value of the estates. They were not interested in books unless they had particularly rich bindings.¹⁰⁷ Even two centuries later, the printed word was not considered of sufficient value to linger over detailed descriptions. At times, this makes identification of the text very difficult, if not impossible. In some fortunate cases, those taking the inventories included a printing place and/or date. The largest example I have seen of this is from Maastricht, where the lion’s share of the more than three thousand entries includes place and date of printing as well as a general indication of subject.¹⁰⁸ Even such a thorough and careful listing may not be complete. According to Martín, nearly thirty-two thousand books from the library at the Colegio de San Pablo in Lima, “a true Babel of books printed in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Catalan, French, German, and in the most important Aboriginal languages of the new world,” were simply piled up and “never properly described in the inventory.”¹⁰⁹

These lists of books tell modern scholars what, at one point, the Jesuits owned; they do not account for what became of the possessions once the inventories were taken. That information comes from eyewitness accounts and from provenance research. Some books initially escaped the looting: as an example, Jesuits who left Spain for the Italian peninsula, where the Society was still in operation, carried books with them, but we do not know how many.¹¹⁰ Most were transferred in response to the government’s directives, including the contents of the libraries of the Jesuits of Granada, Oviedo, and Valladolid, which were sent to universities in those cities. The library of the college in Salamanca was divided unequally between the diocesan seminary and the

106 Grover, “Book and the Conquest,” 278.

107 Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Library*, 108–9; quotes from 108.

108 Rijksarchief in Limburg, Archief Jezuïeten Maastricht, Inv. 30: *Catalogus librorum Collegii Traiectensis ad Mosam Societatis Iesu anno 1733* [Catalog of the books of the Maastricht Jesuit college, 1733].

109 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 86, 165n20; he also notes that the officials taking the inventories skipped over the German books in one private collection at that college because they did not read German (85), which makes it likely that any German-language books in the main inventory were similarly passed over.

110 Eguía Ruiz, “Los jesuitas, provedores de bibliotecas,” 236.

local university.¹¹¹ Where there were no universities, books often ended up in the possession of the local religious authorities, including other religious orders: for example, the Dominicans of Manila, the Philippines, received an unknown number of books from the library of the Jesuit Colegio de Manila, which closed in 1768.¹¹² In Córdoba, the bishop created a diocesan library in part from books once owned by Jesuits; in the Canary Islands, the local seminary received the Jesuit books.¹¹³ The Reales Estudios de San Isidro, created in 1770–71 at the site of the former Jesuit Colegio Imperial in Madrid, collected “at least 34,000 volumes” from the college, professed house, and novitiate. While these combined libraries originally contained more books than that, the new institution weeded out duplicates and other material it considered inappropriate for a public, secular institution with a library open to the public.¹¹⁴ In Lima, Peru, the bulk of the collection of the College of San Pablo, amounting to over forty thousand books, was transferred to the University of San Marcos, which had no library of its own.¹¹⁵ Many of the colonial Jesuit libraries were similarly nationalized, but the slow pace of bureaucracy, combined with the vast numbers of books in question, meant that collections often sat in damp, bookworm-riddled places for years at a time before being transferred. Books were lost, for example, when the Real y Pontificia Universidad of Mexico City delayed taking possession of the Jesuit libraries.¹¹⁶ During the French Revolution, seized monastic libraries were sometimes sources of paper for kindling; likely, the same was true for the collections of non-monastic orders.¹¹⁷

111 Eguía Ruiz, “Los jesuitas, proveedores de bibliotecas,” 238, 240; Ramón Sánchez González, “La biblioteca del Colegio San Bernardo de la Compañía de Jesús en Oropesa (Toledo)” [The library of the Jesuit college of San Bernardo in Oropesa (Toledo)], *Hispania sacra* 63 (2011): 41–74, here 47.

112 John N. Crossley, “Dominican and Jesuit Formal Education in the First Years of Spanish Manila (c.1571–1621),” *Journal of Religious History* 42, no. 2 (2018): 181–99, here 187, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9809.12427> (accessed August 4, 2022).

113 Solana Pujalte, “El fondo del siglo xvi de la biblioteca del antiguo Colegio de Santa Catalina,” 121; Sánchez González, “La biblioteca del Colegio San Bernardo,” 48.

114 Aurora Miguel Alonso, “La biblioteca de los Reales Estudios de San Isidro” [The library of the Reales Estudios of San Isidro] (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, 1992), 292.

115 Martín, *Intellectual Conquest of Peru*, 96.

116 María Idalia García Aguilar, “Imprenta y librerías jesuitas en la Nueva España” [Print and Jesuit libraries in New Spain], in *El libro en circulación en la América colonial: Producción, circuitos de distribución y conformación de bibliotecas en los siglos xvi al xviii* [The book in circulation in colonial America: Production, distribution circuits, and the structure of libraries in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries], ed. Idalia García Aguilar and Pedro Rueda Ramírez (Mexico City: Quivira, 2014), 205–37, here 231–32.

117 See Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Library*, 236.

Others were lost in transit, or their origins were obscured in the name of efficiency. In Genoa, the “Deputazione ex gesuitica” (Deputation of the former Jesuits), a government body created to deal with the possessions of the Society after the suppression, reached the decision to combine all the libraries of the Jesuit colleges into one at the College of San Gerolamo, near the University of Genoa (the College of Theology there, founded 1471, had been taken over by the Jesuits in 1569), and rename it the university library. Starting in 1777, the new library was headed by one Gaspare Luigi Oderico (1725–1803), a former Jesuit. The books from the professed house in the city were added to the collection, and Oderico, along with an assistant Giovanni Battista Enrici (dates unavailable), completed an inventory in 1787, which they followed by selling duplicates and putting the proceeds toward the purchase of new books.¹¹⁸ Such actions do not appear to be losses in the larger sense, since once the different libraries were combined duplication was not necessary; but they must be counted as such for the individual collection of origin.

In Rome, the library of the professed house was raided by individuals, including Cardinal Francesco Saverio de Zelada (1717–1801), who took books for their own collections or those of their friends. The library of the Roman novitiate was sold, along with the private collection of the late superior general Giovanni Paolo Oliva (1600–81, in office 1664–81), to Nicola Felice Bischi (1730–c.1793), a cousin and chamberlain of Pope Clement XIV (Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli [1705–74, r. 1769–74]). Together with his own books, and those from the library of the Jesuit College of Tivoli, a city thirty kilometers northeast of Rome, Bischi donated this substantial collection to the city council of Tivoli. By 1796, the city council had opened this rich treasure to the public, where it remains as a part of the Biblioteca Comunale of Tivoli.¹¹⁹ In parts of France and the Low Countries, books were auctioned on a grand scale: for example, printed auction catalogs from Antwerp, Ghent, Leuven, Luxembourg, and Paris each contain hundreds of pages of titles for sale.¹²⁰ Presumably, some of

118 Giacomo Montanari, “*Docere, delectare, movere*: From the Library of the College of the Society of Jesus in Genoa to the Iconographic Interpretation of the Great Fresco Painted by Giovanni Andrea Carlone in the *Salone degli esercizi letterari*,” in *Jesuits and Universities: Artistic and Ideological Aspects of Baroque Colleges of the Society of Jesus; Examples from Genoa and Wrocław*, ed. Giacomo Montanari, Arkadiusz Wojtyła, and Małgorzata Wyrzykowska (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2015), 81–116, here 94; and Marchini, “Biblioteche pubbliche a Genova nel Settecento,” 44–45.

119 Aurora Miguel Alonso, “Los fondos jesuitas en las bibliotecas de Roma,” 360–61.

120 *Catalogue de livres des bibliothèques de la maison professe, du collège & du couvent des ci-devant jésuites d'Anvers* [Catalog of books from the libraries of the professed house, college, and convent of the former Jesuits of Antwerp], 2 vols. (Leuven: J.P.J. Michel, 1778); *Catalogue de livres des bibliothèques de la du Collège des ci-devant jésuites a Gand* [Catalog

the books sold were duplicates, and some of the proceeds were used to fulfill debts of a given college; however, the particulars—how items were chosen for auction, who profited from the sale—were likely to be specific to the context and depend on such concerns as anti-Jesuit feeling within the government, the needs of other religious orders or secular educational institution, and so on.

In Portuguese Mozambique (1759), evacuation and suppression of the missions was undertaken with directions that strictly limited what could and could not be auctioned. These did not directly mention books but required “that only perishable goods and stock should be auctioned [...]”¹²¹ There were likely to be both mission and college libraries (e.g., in Sena and Tete, both founded in the first decades of the seventeenth century in Mozambique) to consider in this territory: books that belonged to members of the Society, and books that they used to teach. However, information on collections in the region is sparse. One of the more recent studies of the Mozambique missions up to the time of the suppression provides significant details about the finances of those missions and the inventory of household items but says very little about reading material—even for the largest of the residential complexes of the mission (in Sena). The church in Murça is reported to have had one missal.¹²² In Portuguese Goa, the suppression was similarly chaotic and apparently dismayingly destructive. Many of the records there were lost and may have deliberately been destroyed. Augustinians, Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciscans, the Brothers of St. John of God, and parish priests took over the Goan foundations, meaning that it is likely that they were granted possession of at least some books too.¹²³ Jesuit historian John Correia-Afonso (1924–2005) wrote that local officials were “most faithless” in their attention to the king’s orders to ship the ecclesiastical archives to Lisbon, and that a 1774 attempt by Francisco da Assunção e Brito (1726–1808), the archbishop of Goa (1773–1808), came across the roadblock of a ship’s captain who “refused to take on board the huge heaps

of books from the libraries of the college of the former Jesuits of Ghent] (Brussels: n.p., 1778); Jean Pierre Georges Michel, J. Vanden Berghen, and Walter S. Davis, *Catalogues de livres du collège des ci-devant jésuites de Louvain* [Catalog of books from the college of the former Jesuits of Louvain] (Leuven: Chez Michel, 1778); *Catalogue de livres de la bibliothèque du collège des ci-devant jésuites à Luxembourg* [Catalog of books from the library of the college of the former Jesuits of Luxembourg] (Luxembourg: Leonardy, 1778); and *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque des ci-devant soi-disans jésuites du Collège de Clermont* [Catalog of books from the library former so-called Jesuits of the College of Clermont] (Paris: Saugrain & Leclerc, 1764).

121 William Francis Rea, *The Economics of the Zambezi Missions 1580–1759* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1976), 81–86, quote from 83.

122 Rea, *Economics of the Zambezi Missions*, 149, 153.

123 Mendonça, “Jesuits in Goa: Restoration after Suppression (1759–1935),” 147.

of official papers and letters piled up high on the pier, and had them burned at the Aguada Fort.¹²⁴ Some of the archival documents were purchased privately in 1776, and others were given to the British Museum in 1828 and 1835; still others are now found in Braga, Portugal. I have found no indications of what became of the printed works.

Globally, the fate of Jesuit libraries during the suppression fell into essentially four categories, identified by Grover in his study of Brazilian institutions. Some libraries were sold in their entirety, either to other religious orders or to individuals. Others were given at no cost to religious orders that took over the administration of the site from the Jesuits. Some books, and even entire collections, were sent from the colonies to Europe (again, either to religious orders or to individuals). Finally, a small number of libraries languished in place with no one to take over, leading to the destruction of their contents either by humans or by environmental factors.¹²⁵ To these four categories, we must add the sale or transfer to non-religious public entities, like university, state, or royal libraries, as happened in Spain and its territories and in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1759, the year of the suppression in Portugal, the British army requisitioned the college in Quebec and “turned it into a depot for provisions and supplies”—but not a well-guarded one, as it was raided in 1763. The community remained intact until 1773, and the last of the members to die disposed of the remnants of the library by donating them to local hospitals and the diocesan seminary.¹²⁶ In at least one case, that of the Colegio San Bernardo in Oropesa (Spain), the books reverted to a family. In his will, which helped establish that college, Don Francisco Álvarez de Toledo (1515–82), viceroy of Peru, donated not only a large sum of money but also his own books, with the stipulation that those texts “no se han de poder sacar en ninguna manera, ni por causa alguna, en ningún tiempo, del dicho Colegio” (must not be removed in any way, neither for any reason nor at any time, from the said college). Since the college had been suppressed, Spanish authorities determined that his family, not the state or any other entity, was the rightful heir of the books.¹²⁷

124 John Correa-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542–1773* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1969), 134.

125 Grover, “Book and the Conquest,” 278–79, 283nn55–57. See also María Idalia García Aguilar, “Entre el olvido y la supervivencia: Los libros jesuitas del colegio de San Luis Potosí” [Between oblivion and survival: The Jesuit books of the college of San Luis Potosí], *Revista de el Colegio de San Luis* n.s. 6, no. 11 (2016): 48–105, here 62–63.

126 Beaulieu, “Introduction,” 16.

127 Sánchez González, “La biblioteca del Colegio San Bernardo,” 44, quoting from Archivo histórico de la Nobleza (Toledo, Spain), Frias C.1288, D.7.

The contents of suppressed Jesuit libraries rarely remained in the places to which they were initially transferred. One particularly complicated example of suppression-related movement of texts is the collection once held by the Jesuit college in Gorizia (now in Italy), now held by the Biblioteca Statale Isontina di Gorizia. The Piarists first took over that library in 1780, when they assumed the educational role of the Jesuits there. Thirty years later, the government of the French Illyrian Provinces (in existence 1809–14) took over the Piarist foundation for a state lyceum. The restored Habsburg monarchy moved the books in the library to create one of the six institutions called *Studienbibliothek*, libraries that served the educational communities of important cities without universities (Gorizia [Görz], Linz, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana [Laibach], and Olomouc [Olmütz]). In 1825, the Gorizia *Studienbibliothek* opened to the general public and remained under the same administration through 1914. Italian occupation of the city during the First World War meant a transfer of the library's treasures temporarily to the Laurentian Library of Florence to protect them from destruction. When the province of Gorizia was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy after the end of the First World War, the collection was returned to Gorizia to the new State Library.¹²⁸

In rare cases, we can trace the fate of whole collections: for example, in Beijing, China, the so-called Pei-t'ang Library was given to the Vincentians, who kept it until the death of one Monsignor Pires, "the last Catholic European Priest [*sic*] still in China," in 1838. At that point, the Russian Orthodox mission in the city took over, until the return of Roman Catholic missionaries in 1860. It later survived the Chinese Revolution (1945–50), and its contents were fully integrated into the Chinese National Library.¹²⁹ In most cases, though, the libraries were broken up, and volumes once belonging to Jesuit colleges around the globe have been bought, stolen, and sold, leading to a vast dispersion of these texts around the world. The transfer of ownership sometimes led the new owners to obscure or excise provenance information, but fortunately, many indications of Jesuit provenance remain. This is a laborious, but effective, method of tracing the fate of books, which can fill significant *lacunae*. As Jeffrey Garrett has lamented, the Anglophone literature on the transfer of books during the suppression of the Society (and other religious orders)

128 Circolo di Gorizia e San Floriano, *Gorizia Europa* supp. 1/20 (2020): "Biblioteca e non solo" [Library and more], 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, and Rudj Gorian, "Note su alcune biblioteche a Gorizia tra seicento e inizio ottocento" [Notes on some libraries at Gorizia between the seventeenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century], *Acta historiae* 28, no. 2 (2020): 363–78, here 365–66, 372–73.

129 David R.M. Irving, "The Dissemination and Use of European Music Books in Early Modern Asia," *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 39–59, here 47–48.

is relatively sparse, particularly for Central Europe, where German studies predominate.¹³⁰

Faced with staggering losses, of their homes, possessions, and vocations, the suppressed Jesuits resisted expulsion from their property and the seizure of their moveable goods, but to no avail. Scholars over the centuries have suspected that some books were hidden or destroyed, so that they would not fall into the hands of any enemies of the Society, although one can only speculate on the extent of such subterfuge. Historian Rey Fajardo noted that in the colleges of Colombia and Venezuela, Jesuits, fearing the coming suppression, “deschicieron de libros y escritos que podrian considerar como peligrosos, comprometedores o innecesarios” (got rid of books and writings that might be considered dangerous, compromising, or unnecessary).¹³¹ We cannot know either the fate of such secreted books or those that might have been hidden for other purposes, for example, personal preference or the desire to sell them privately. In addition, some books were surely overlooked. Those who inventoried the items in the houses and colleges did so in a hurry and often with an eye to the value of the whole, not individual pieces. Despite the chaos, some members of the Society worked to preserve records of what had been. Among those was one Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809), a philologist and member of the Society at the time of the suppression, who left Spanish territories for the Italian peninsula in 1767, and thus experienced the suppression twice. Pope Pius VII (Barnaba Niccolò Maria Luigi Chiaramonti [1742–1823, r.1800–23]) appointed him prefect of the Quirinal Library (Rome) in 1804, and in this capacity, he met and consulted with multiple ex-Jesuits. His two-volume manuscript *Biblioteca jesuítico-española de escritores, que han florecido por siete lustros* (Jesuit-Spanish library of authors who were active over seven decades), compiled from 1759 through 1799, is a bio-bibliographical study of Spanish Jesuit writers, begun in the first year of the reign of Carlos III (1716–88, r.1759–88), and continued, in a mild form of civil disobedience, as though the suppression had not done away with the title of Jesuit.¹³²

After the formal suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, other religious orders suffered similar fates throughout Europe and its colonies. More than two

130 Jeffrey Garrett, “Klosturstorm and Secularization in Central Europe,” *Theological Librarianship* 8, no. 1 (2015): 61–69, here 63–66.

131 Rey Fajardo, “La cultura, el libro y las lecturas de los misioneros casanareños,” 217.

132 See Antonio Astorgano Abajo, “La biblioteca jesuítico-española de Hervás y su liderazgo sobre el resto de los ex jesuitas” [The Jesuit-Spanish library of Hervás and his leadership over the rest of the former Jesuits], *Hispania sacra* 56 (2004): 171–268, and Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Biblioteca jesuítico-española (1759–1799)* [Jesuit-Spanish library (1759–1799)], ed. Antonio Astorgano Abajo (Madrid: Libris, 2007).

hundred monastic houses in Bavaria alone were secularized and nationalized beginning in 1802, leading to state takeover of thousands of manuscripts and printed books.¹³³ In 1812, the Bavarian Benedictine Martin Schrettinger (1772–1851), a librarian at the monastery in Weißenhohe, was tasked by the king of Bavaria, Maximilian I Joseph (1756–1825, r.1806–25), with making order out of the chaos that had resulted from the seizures by creating a system of organization based on his 1808 treatise *Versuch eines vollständigen Lehrbuchs der Bibliothek-Wissenschaft oder Anleitung zur vollkommenen Geschäftsführung eines Bibliothekars in wissenschaftlicher Form abgefasst* (Toward a complete textbook of library science; Or a guide to the librarian's complete administration, written in scientific form).¹³⁴ Schrettinger defined a library as a collection of books organized in a way that is, to use a modern word, accessible: easily comprehensible and useful to those who wish to use that collection. In addition to the traditional alphabetical listing of authors, he drew up a set of standardized subjects and mapped libraries with shelflists that assigned numbers to the books contained in bookcases. In this sense, the suppression of religious institutions, including those associated with the Society of Jesus, helped create the modern, scientific library.¹³⁵ The movement of thousands of texts to private and public collections demanded a new approach that allowed patrons to find and use these texts. It is not surprising that the libraries in the urban areas were the largest, and that as a result, city libraries benefited most from both the transfer of material and the new systems of classification.

As had happened before 1773, Jesuits faced opposition upon the 1814 restoration, and local suppressions plagued the Society. These included multiple anti-Jesuit actions in France, the German states, the Italian peninsula, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland in the nineteenth century, another Mexican suppression in 1856, a second Spanish suppression in 1932, expulsions from Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Peru in the 1840s,

133 See Fabienne Henryot, "Le livre dans les couvents mendiants à la fin de l'Ancien régime, d'après l'enquête nationale de 1790–1791" [The book in mendicant convents at the end of the *Ancien régime*, after the national survey of 1790–91], *Histoire & mesure* 28, no. 2 (2013): 165–204. Garrett reports "modern estimates [that] have placed the total number of books in the libraries of the prelate orders alone at 1.2 million" just in Bavaria. Garrett, "Klostursturm and Secularization," 62.

134 Part 1: Munich: Schrettinger, 1808; part 2: Munich: Lentner, 1808; part 3, vol. 1: Munich: Lindauer, 1810; part 3, vol. 2: Munich: Lindauer, 1829. See Jeffrey Garrett, "Redefining Order in the German Library," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 1 (1999): 103–23, here 114–15.

135 On the development of cataloging systems, see Matthew Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), esp. 13–15, 118–19, 129–34, 138–45, 207–8, and Peter Devereaux, *The Card Catalog: Books, Cards, and Literary Treasures* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2017).

1850s, and 1860s; banishment from Iraq in 1968 (after only having been there a little over three decades), and the anti-religious campaigns of the Soviet Union and its allies. Since, in these instances, little was left in the possession of the Jesuit houses, and for the most part, the colleges had not been restored to the Society, the resulting damage to libraries was comparatively insignificant to the Society. In particular, the closing of schools in France, Spain, and Naples in the 1820s had little impact on libraries; the Society had had a very short time to regroup and rebuild.¹³⁶ However, these later actions, and the destruction of libraries in the extremely violent wars of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, certainly destroyed books formerly in the possession of the Jesuits, for example, ones that had been transferred to state or university ownership as the suppression progressed. The restoration of the Society, to a world deeply changed from the one that had suppressed the order, would not see the restoration of the great treasures the Jesuits had collected over their first centuries. The new Society of Jesus would, therefore, have to build again, rather than simply rebuild.

3 Libraries after the Restoration

This part will consider libraries at both revived institutions and new ones and raise again the question of what defines a Jesuit library. In the twenty-first century, Jesuit houses and colleges can be found around the world, but few of them have libraries with direct connections to the pre-suppression collections. Clearly, most of the great collections of the pre-suppression Society have been

¹³⁶ The Spanish government had returned the college in Madrid to the Jesuits upon the restoration, but only temporarily, from 1824 to 1834. See Miguel Alonso, "La biblioteca de los Reales Estudios," 9–10, 292, and Aurora Miguel Alonso, "Los bienes de la Compañía de Jesús incautados en Madrid en 1767 y 1835, y conservados en la Universidad Complutense" [The assets of the Society of Jesus seized in Madrid in 1767 and 1835 and preserved at the Complutense University], in *La desamortización: El expolio del patrimonio artístico y cultural de la iglesia en España* [Confiscation: The plundering of the artistic and cultural heritage of the church in Spain], ed. Francisco Javier Campos and Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial [Madrid]: Ediciones Escorialenses de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 2007), 413–32, here 419–20. The collection, now in the library of the Complutense University of Madrid, survived the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) with little destruction to the books (although other objects of interest, artistic and scientific, were lost or destroyed). Miguel Alonso, "Los bienes," 424, 429. On the loss to the Jesuits of Baghdad during the rebellion and coup d'état of 1968 led by the Ba'ath Socialist Party, see the brief memoir of Joseph MacDonnell, "The Jesuits of Baghdad," *America Magazine*, May 26, 2003, <http://americamagazine.org/issue/435/article/jesuits-baghdad-1932-69> (accessed August 4, 2022).

permanently rehomed, as they appear in private, secular, and religious collections not associated with the Jesuits. In preparation for writing this study, I conducted a survey of existing Jesuit schools and universities around the world, sending emails to around four hundred institutions. A total of eighty-seven sent in responses to the survey, slightly less than half (a total of forty-two) of which were universities. Only three of them had existed prior to the suppression. Most do not have significant holdings of pre-suppression books, and most are not currently headed by members of the Society of Jesus. Since the existing institutions have libraries quite far removed from the pre-1773 world, we must now ask, what are the characteristics of Jesuit libraries in the modern Society?¹³⁷

The restoration of the Society of Jesus began with the 1814 papal bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*.¹³⁸ Pope Pius VII named Polish scholar Tadeusz Brzozowski (1749–1820) the superior general of the Society of Jesus (in office 1814–20) and allowed him to recruit and train Jesuits once again, but the restoration was not immediate. The bull provided Brzozowski with authority, but not means, and said nothing about the difficulties that were immediately obvious, including the questions of how to finance this re-opening, whether or not the colleges and houses would have to start from nothing once again, and what would become of the property (real and movable) that had been transferred. The suppression had involved an extensive alienation of property from the Jesuits to other religious orders, private individuals, and governments. The six so-called Polish congregations (those held during the suppression, in 1782, 1785, 1799, 1802, and 1805) did not discuss what had happened to the property of Jesuit houses or colleges around the world, and the post-restoration general congregations, beginning in 1820, also avoided the subject.¹³⁹

137 A significant number of Jesuit institutions around the world today are associated with primary and secondary education, which requires a rather different kind of librarianship from that associated with colleges and universities. This short survey will not consider those institutions.

138 See <https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-vii/it/documents/bolla-sollicitudo-omnium-7-agosto-1814.html> (accessed August 4, 2022).

139 Translations of the decrees of the congregations during the papal suppression are found in Padberg, O'Keefe, and McCarthy, *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 407–26; the post-suppression general congregation decrees between 1820 and 1957 follow, 428–692. The Polish congregations were held in Połock (now Polotsk), in what is now Belarus, but which had been seized by Russia in the first partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. See Stanisław Obirek, “The Historiography on Early Modern Jesuits in Poland,” *Jesuit Historiography Online*, ed. Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2017), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_SIM_192569 (accessed August 4, 2022).

Although many of the books owned by suppressed Jesuit institutions still existed, they were now either in different locations or in the same place but under different management. For the most part, they remained outside the Society's ownership. In Europe, with few exceptions, books were not returned to the Jesuits. In at least one case, that of Sant'Apollinare in Classe (near Ravenna, Italy), the Society was granted control of a former Camaldolese monastery, complete with its library, which they were expected to administer as a public library.¹⁴⁰ After 1820, consistent with the Enlightenment changes throughout the continent, many libraries were secularized, and the Jesuits did not re-open colleges and universities where they had once stood.¹⁴¹ In some areas, the damage of the suppression was far greater than a loss of several decades of activity. For example, as historian Paul Shore has detailed, "Transylvania would never again be a land of literary Jesuits, who produced devotional and scientific works, nor would any Jesuit again occupy the post of *theologus*, which exercised such a direct influence on their neighbors practicing the Eastern Rite."¹⁴² This would not be confined to Eastern Europe. Most of the Jesuits had permanently lost their collections of books, built over the course of two centuries, and they were not well positioned to rebuild their role in the production of new books for some time to come. Considering their pre-suppression dominance—Jesuits ran colleges and universities around the world prior to 1759—this reflects a true sea change in the intellectual life of the Catholic Church, both in its rank-and-file members and in those who worked for it.

140 Christopher Korten, "Whose Restoration Is It? Acrimony and Division in the Fight for Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna (1814–30)," *Catholic Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (2020): 371–98, here 374.

141 Constancio Eguía Ruiz, "Los jesuitas, proveedores de bibliotecas," 242; Paul F. Grendler, *The Jesuits and Italian Universities 1548–1773* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2017); Shore, "Years of Jesuit Suppression." Currently, several Jesuit universities based in the United States have European campuses, including Fordham University (in London), Saint Louis University (Madrid), and Gonzaga University (Florence), but these are not in the physical locations of earlier Jesuit colleges, and their libraries are not built on the heritage of those colleges.

142 "La Transilvania non sarebbe mai più stata la patria di gesuiti letterati, che producevano opere devozionale e scientifiche, né alcun gesuita avrebbe di nuovo occupato l'incarico di *theologus*, che esercitava un'influenza così diretta sui vicini di Rito Orientale." Paul Shore, "Il destino degli ex gesuiti di Cluj, in Transilvania, dopo la soppressione" [The destiny of the ex-Jesuits of Cluj, in Transylvania, after the suppression], in *Morte e resurrezione di un ordine religioso: Le strategie culturali ed educative della Compagnia di Gesù durante la soppressione (1759–1814)* [Death and resurrection of a religious order: Cultural and educational strategies of the Society of Jesus during the suppression (1759–1814)], ed. Paolo Bianchini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2006), 155–80, here 170.

In addition to the temporary restoration of books to Madrid Jesuits noted in part 2, Pope Leo XII (Annibale Francesco Clemente Melchiorre Girolamo Nicola della Genga [1760–1829, r.1823–29]) issued the brief *Cum multa in urbe* on May 17, 1824, returning to the Jesuits those possessions that had yet to be transferred from Rome, including the property associated with the Roman and German Colleges and the Seminario dei Nobili.¹⁴³ They retained this property through the unification of Italy in 1871, until a law of June 19, 1873 took over the property for the Ennio Quirino Visconti College and a new branch of the Biblioteca Nazionale, named after King Vittorio Emanuele II (1820–78, r.1861–78). The Palazzo Borromeo was repurposed in that year to form the Pontifical University of the Roman College, which in 1919 moved to a larger space in the Piazza della Pilotta, but much of the library remained in the possession of the state. Some books from the original Roman Jesuit institutions can also be found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Casanatense, the Archivio storico della Pontificia Università Gregoriana and Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, and a handful of other smaller libraries in Rome and its environs.¹⁴⁴ Portions of the collections formerly belonging to

143 Miguel Alonso, “Los fondos jesuitas en las bibliotecas de Roma,” here 362. The text of the brief is available in Italian at <https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xii/it/documents/breve-cum-multa-17-maggio-1824.html> (accessed August 4, 2022), and in Latin in *Bullarii Romani continuatio, Summorum Pontificum Clementis XIII*, vol. 16 of 19 (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1835–57), 52–53. In Italian, the initial wording of the bull translates to “In this our dear city.”

144 Miguel Alonso, “Los fondos jesuitas en las bibliotecas de Roma,” 362–63, and Lorenzo Mancini, “I bibliotecari del Collegio Romano (1551–1873): Un contributo per la storia delle biblioteche della Compagnia di Gesù” [The librarians of the Roman College (1551–1873): A contribution to the history of the libraries of the Society of Jesus], *AHSI* 89, no. 177 (2020): 46–115, here 48–49. The distribution of the pre-suppression texts was far from even among the different institutions. In late 2021 and early 2022, the online catalog of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma listed nearly twenty-five thousand volumes printed up to 1773 with Roman College provenance, more than twenty-one thousand from the Roman professed house, over one hundred from the Roman novitiate, and more than 3,800 from the Preposto generale, along with texts from the Portuguese, French, and German assistancies and the colleges of Prague and Połock (Polotsk). In the same time period, I conducted searches in other Roman libraries and discovered that the Casanatense library holds just over 250 titles from the Roman professed house; the Alessandrina library, more than forty; the Angelica library, thirty; the Vallicelliana library, twenty-five; and the libraries of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana and Montecassino Abbey, twelve each. In addition to nearly 350 texts from the Roman College, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana holds a scattering of books from other Jesuit institutions, including 150 in which the provenance is simply listed as “Jesuits.” Undoubtedly, some titles are not yet found in the digital catalogs. The Gregorian University Library online catalog does not give provenance indications. The Jesuit curia library catalog is not searchable online offsite. The text

European Jesuit colleges and houses can be found in state, university, and private libraries in Europe and North America.

Collections that survived the suppression and other aspects of the Enlightenment suffered other losses, which might be considered ordinary (i.e., slow deterioration of materials, by overuse, for reasons of poor long-term storage, or through the work of insects and animals living in the libraries), accidental (i.e., the result of widespread or localized natural disasters, like flooding, earthquakes, or fires), and catastrophic (i.e., deliberate destruction associated with bombing or other explosives used during conflicts). Accounting for the lost books is not impossible, as inventories from the suppression allow scholars to seek out copies identified as once belonging to a particular collection; but it is painstaking work, and unquestionably, many volumes were lost. Among the notable attempts to address this issue is the work of literary and book historians Joran (formerly Goran) Proot and Leo Egghe on lost Jesuit plays. While the plays themselves were rarely printed, performance programs were, and these provide precious information about the dramas and their production. Using statistical analysis, Proot and Egghe attempt to determine what the number of printed programs was, and therefore what has been lost, and suggest ways to apply their methods to other datasets.¹⁴⁵

Collections of books that survived for many years continue to change, and at times even to move. A notable example is the collection designated as the Bibliothèque des Fontaines, a total of around five hundred thousand items donated to the Municipal Library of Lyon, France, by the Jesuits when they ceased occupation of the Centre Culturel des Fontaines in Chantilly in 1998–99. This treasure trove includes manuscripts, incunables, other printed material, and engravings from the Jesuit foundations on the island of Jersey (to which the Society retreated after the 1880 expulsion from France) and Enghien, Belgium, and is slated to accept more from Auvergne and Provence. Another fifty thousand items from this Fontaines collection, focused on Jesuit spirituality and

of the 1873 law (Legge 19 giugno 1873, no. 1402, “Che estende alla provincia di Roma le leggi sulle corporazioni religiose e sulla conversione dei beni immobili degli enti morali ecclesiastici” [Which extends to the province of Rome the laws regarding the religious orders and the conversion of the real property of the ecclesiastical moral entities] is available at <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/1873/06/25/073U1402/sg> [accessed August 4, 2022]).

145 For example, Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, “Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the ‘Provincia Flandro-Belgica’ before 1773, with a Note on the ‘Book Historical Law,’” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 102, no. 2 (2008): 149–74. Subsequent attempts to understand what has been lost over the centuries include multiple chapters in Bruni and Pettegree, *Lost Books*.

history, were sent to the Centre Sèvres in Paris.¹⁴⁶ The Fontaines collection was itself created from other institutions: Jesuit houses and colleges in Paris, Laval, and Poitiers.¹⁴⁷

As the suppression developed over decades, so did the restoration. In Goa, the Society did not return until 1935. In the more than 175 years of their absence, the Congregation of the Oratorians of Goa, the Dominicans, and later the archdiocese of Goa administered their properties, until in 1956 a Jesuit was appointed to care for the Bom Jesus Basilica, their former church.¹⁴⁸ Jesuits did not return to China until 1842, when they established a residence and library in the village of Xujiahui (Zikawei, 上海图书馆徐家汇藏书楼), near Shanghai, five years later. This library, since 1952 a branch of the Shanghai Municipal Library, still stands in the building originally constructed for its use in 1867 and describes itself as “the earliest extant modern library in Shanghai.”¹⁴⁹ As had been the case with pre-suppression mission libraries, the function of the Xujiahui library was to introduce Chinese students to Western learning and religions. It was administered by members of the Society until the death of its last director, Xu Zongze, s.J. (1886–1947), who had introduced the practice of allowing non-Jesuits to read in the library. In 1932, with over two hundred thousand volumes (eighty thousand of which were in European languages and over two thousand of which dated from before 1800), it was the largest library in Shanghai. Its contents still include the Jesuit-collected volumes, as the institution escaped the destruction of the Cultural Revolution.¹⁵⁰

While books once owned by pre-suppression institutions can be traced, many have not survived. The extensive bombing of twentieth-century wars caused, for example, the destruction on two separate occasions of a library in Leuven with a rich collection of Jesuitica, and of book repositories throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia, either by direct vandalism, or by leaving the contents

146 Pierre Guinard, “La collection des Fontaines à la bibliothèque municipale” [The Fontaines collection at the Bibliothèque municipale], *Théophilyon: Revue des facultés de théologie et de philologie de l’Université catholique de Lyon* [*Théophilyon*: Journal of the faculties of the theology and philology at the Catholic University of Lyon] 5, no. 2 (2000): 483–92, here 484–85, and “La collection jésuite des Fontaines” [The Fontaines Jesuit collection], <https://www.bm-lyon.fr/nos-blogs/la-collection-jesuite-des-fontaines> (accessed August 4, 2022).

147 Guinard, “La collection des Fontaines à la bibliothèque municipale,” 490.

148 Mendonça, “Jesuits in Goa,” *AHSI* 73, no. 1 (2014): 148; see also 153–55.

149 Institute of Scientific and Technical Information of Shanghai, “The Bibliotheca Zi-Ka-Wei (The Xujiahui Library),” <http://www.library.sh.cn/Web/news/20101213/n1139775.html> (accessed August 4, 2022).

150 Gail King, “The Xujiahui (Zikawei) Library of Shanghai,” *Libraries & Culture* 32, no. 4 (1997): 456–69, here 461–63, 466.

exposed to looters and the weather.¹⁵¹ This problem is particularly acute in Eastern Europe, not merely because of the physical losses to libraries and archives but also because of decades of restrictive archive policies during the Cold War, and the chaos of the period following the revolutions of 1989–91.¹⁵² Fernando Baez, a Venezuelan scholar who has written extensively about the damage done to books and art, has called such deliberate destruction *damnatio memoriae* (memory erasure), a kind of cultural genocide, because it is an attempt to suppress the historical diversity of the past.¹⁵³

As colonialism and its relative, missionary activity, are not restricted to the pre-suppression era, imperialism, cultural and otherwise, with its incumbent destruction (and the construction of a new culture in its wake), remains an issue of concern when studying the construction of Jesuit libraries. For examples, we turn to the Middle East. The Collège-Séminaire de Ghazīr was founded in 1843 and transferred to Beirut, where it became known as the Université Saint-Joseph. Such an early foundation was unique in the region: most Jesuit foundations in the territory once known as the Ottoman Empire were not established before the 1930s, though the Society had made initial contact with Syriac Christians in the region in 1610 and attempted to found a college in Aleppo shortly thereafter.¹⁵⁴ These Middle Eastern Jesuit institutions tended

151 On Leuven, see, e.g., Leo Kenis, “The Maurits Sabbe Library and Its Collection of Jesuit Books,” in *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540–1773: A Selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library*, ed. Paul Begheyn et al. (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2011), xi–xix, here xii, and Valentin Denis, *Catholic University of Louvain 1425–1958*, trans. Bartholomew Egan (Brussels: Elsevier, 1985), 28–33. For a more general study of twentieth-century destruction of libraries, see Rebecca Knuth, *Libricide: The Regime-Sponsored Destruction of Books and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003) and *Burning Books and Leveling Libraries: Extremist Violence and Cultural Destruction* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006).

152 For example, Ludwik Grzebień’s (1939–2020) “Organizacja bibliotek jezuickich w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku” [Organization of Jesuit libraries in Poland from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century], *Archiwa, biblioteki i muzea kościelne* 30 (1975): 223–78; 31 (1975): 225–81, has no parallel in most Eastern European nations. In “Transylvanian Libraries and Archives in Contemporary Romania,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 12, no. 2 (1991): 123–26, Martyn Rady discusses the decline of libraries and archives in that region, due to neglect, frequent and drastic reorganizations, and a policy on the part of the Communist Romanian government of suppressing information about religious and ethnic groups that could undermine the regime.

153 Fernando Baes, *A Universal History of the Destruction of Books: From Ancient Sumer to Modern-Day Iraq*, trans. Alfred MacAdam (New York: Atlas & Co., 2008).

154 Kristian Girling, “Jesuit Contributions to the Iraqi Education System in the 1930s and Later,” *International Studies in Catholic Education* 8, no. 2 (2016): 179–92, here 180–81, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19422539.2016.1206400> (accessed August 4, 2022), and Robert John Clines, “Fighting Enemies and Finding Friends: The Cosmopolitan Pragmatism of

to focus on what were once called “Oriental studies” (Arabic languages and literature, regional history and geography, etc.).¹⁵⁵ The Oriental Faculty at the Université Saint-Joseph published a journal, starting in 1906, initially called *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, renamed in 1922 to *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*.¹⁵⁶ The library at that institution also had an “Orientalist” bent, highlighting a superficial and patronizing Western understanding of Asian, Middle Eastern, and North African cultures, often based on little experience in those regions. This collection bias developed significantly under the library’s second curator, Louis Ciiekh, S.J. (1857–1927), who directed it from 1880 until his death. By the early twentieth century, in fact, this library “became the most important research center of its kind in the entire Middle East.”¹⁵⁷

This provides us with a sense of perspective: the restoration of the Society did not simply raise questions about where the former possessions of the Jesuits went; it also forced consideration of what the Society of Jesus would be. This is an issue that many scholars have pondered in detail from different angles; here, we are concerned only with those that affect the libraries. Globally, surviving or restored institutions, and new ones founded since 1814, created and now maintain new forms of Jesuit librarianship, based as much on traditions of the Society as on the development of the discipline of library science. Among the most remarkable changes since the nineteenth century are those associated with cataloging, a field that was literally transformed in the late twentieth century with the spread of digital forms of inventorying. As a result, modern Jesuit librarianship is considerably more accessible (in many senses of that word) than that of the pre-suppression Society. University and seminary catalogs are regularly available via digital means, and the practices developed by librarians since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of organizing and distributing knowledge make searching for and reading texts easier both in person and via remote access. In addition, members of the Society have continued to produce works stored by libraries, including items far newer than print texts: electronic books and articles, exhibition catalogs and websites, and other audio and visual media. For example, the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires, Argentina, hosts virtual exhibitions aimed at promoting its bibliographical heritage and publishes *Huellas en papel: Revista*

Jesuit Residences in the Ottoman Levant,” *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 1 (2015): 66–86, <https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12190> (accessed August 4, 2022).

155 See Rafael Herzstein, “The Oriental Library and the Catholic Press at Saint-Joseph University in Beirut,” *JJS* 2, no. 2 (2015): 248–64, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202005> (accessed August 4, 2022).

156 Herzstein, “Oriental Library,” 252.

157 Herzstein, “Oriental Library,” 255–56, quote at 256.

de la biblioteca y archivo históricos de la Universidad del Salvador (Imprints: Journal of the library and historical archive of the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires).¹⁵⁸ The library of Sophia University in Tokyo has extensive online resources, including digitized books of interest to the history of Christianity in Japan.¹⁵⁹

The “typical” Jesuit library of the early Society was for the most part a collection of texts that supported the mission of the administrative office, novitiate, professed house, or college to which it was attached; occasionally, it also housed art and scientific instruments. The missions of these entities have changed dramatically since the restoration, meaning that while the libraries associated with training and housing members of the Society, and those attached to the administration of the order, continue to support the work of the Jesuits as a whole, libraries attached to schools and universities, and those that form part of the Jesuit archive system, are quite different from their predecessors.¹⁶⁰ In other words, what we might call “typical” twentieth- and twenty-first-century Jesuit school and university librarianship closely resembles librarianship at the secular counterparts of these institutions, seeking a broad variety of works in subjects once far outside the purview of the Society’s teaching (e.g., literature and fiction by authors who were at one time listed on the Index of Prohibited Books; more sensitive and positive treatments of other religious traditions, even the inclusion of books once considered theologically dangerous; and disciplines like psychiatry, gender studies, and computer science, developed since the twentieth century) and arranging them according to cataloging systems developed by practitioners of library science.¹⁶¹ As a result, that which might be called “Jesuit librarianship” is no longer especially distinct.

158 See http://bibliotecas.usal.edu.ar/biblio_exposiciones-virtuales and <https://p3.usal.edu.ar/index.php/huellas> (accessed August 4, 2022).

159 See <https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/sophia-archives> and <https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/rarebook/> (both accessed August 4, 2022). For the Kirishitan Bunko database, see below.

160 The most comprehensive print study of Jesuit archives is Thomas M. McCoog, *A Guide to Jesuit Archives* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2001); it has not been revised since then. However, most of the global Jesuit archives have websites that are searchable and regularly updated. See, e.g., the archive of the Jesuits in Canada (<http://archivesjesuites.ca/en>), the Madurai (India) Jesuit province archives (<https://archivesj.in>), the archives of the Philippine province of the Society of Jesus (<https://www.phjesuits.org/portal/the-jesuits/jesuit-archives>), the archive for the Society of Jesus in Southern Africa (<http://archive.sj.org.za>), and the general archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome (<http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/en/archivum-romanum-societatis-iesu>). Many secular libraries and archives also host Jesuit collections, including the Archivo Nacional de Chile (<http://jesuitas.archivonacional.cl>) (all accessed August 4, 2022).

161 On the development of modern cataloging, see Devereaux, *Card Catalog*.

At the same time, the continuation of bibliographical work collecting the publications of Jesuits provides a kind of virtual all-Society library.¹⁶² Other virtual libraries include Loyola University Chicago's Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project (<https://jesuitlibrariesprovenanceproject.com>, with a companion site at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jesuitlibrariesprovenanceproject/>); Brill's Jesuit Historiography Online (<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/jesuit-historiography-online>); Boston College's Digital Indipetae Database (<https://indipetae.bc.edu>) and Jesuitica Collection of scanned books and manuscripts by and about Jesuits (<https://archive.org/details/jesuitica>); the Digital Repertory (https://sjweb.info/arsi/Digital_Repertory.cfm); the "Monumenta digitised" (<http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/en/publications/ihsi/monumenta>) pages of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; the Internet Archive's scans of Reuben Gold Thwaites's (1853–1913) *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* at <https://rla.unc.edu/Louisiane/jesuit.html>; the Jesuit Historical Institute in Africa, which has digitized records related to the history of the Society in Africa at <http://sources.jhia.ac.ke:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/196>, <http://sources.jhia.ac.ke:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/152>, and <http://sources.jhia.ac.ke:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/94>; and the Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database, a collection of 15,600 manuscripts, printed texts, art, music, and other documents, dating from the sixteenth century, related to the Japanese mission. It was begun in the 1930s by the German-born Jesuit Johannes Laures (1891–1959), who taught at Sophia University in Tokyo.¹⁶³

162 Among the first Jesuits was Spaniard Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527–1611), who, among many other written works, published *Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu catalogus* [A catalog of the illustrious writers of the religion of the Society of Jesus] (Antwerp: Plantin and Moretus, 1608), the first catalog of Jesuit authors and titles. Currently, Jesuit bibliography is maintained at Jesuit Online Bibliography (formerly New Sommervogel Online), <https://jesuitonlinebibliography.bc.edu>, described as "a free, collaborative, multilingual, and fully searchable database of bibliographic records for scholarship in Jesuit Studies produced in the 21st century." It is updated by the Contributor Network (<https://jesuitonlinebibliography.bc.edu/about/network>) lists the individuals in the network) and overseen by the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, the Jesuitica Project at KU Leuven, and the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies at Boston College. Partners include archives and libraries around the world (all accessed August 4, 2022). For a history of Jesuit bibliography up to 2016, see Kasper Volk and Christopher Staysniak, "Bringing Jesuit Bibliography into the Twenty-First Century: Boston College's New Sommervogel Online," *JJS* 3, no. 1 (2016): 91–83, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00301004> (accessed August 4, 2022).

163 All sites accessed August 4, 2022. The print edition of the *Jesuit Relations* is Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791; The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes*, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896–1901). More recent publications focusing on these missionary documents include Allan Greer,

One can also consider the collection of Jesuit items from different libraries, in the guise of Special Collections, to be a modern, virtual incarnation of a Jesuit library. As an example, the National Library of Australia currently owns over 5,400 titles in some eight volumes, published between 1564 and 1965, from colleges in the Low Countries, England, and Wales.¹⁶⁴ Among the reasons that this collection is significant is that there were no pre-suppression traditions of Jesuit education in Australia: the first Jesuits in that country were missionaries from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who arrived in 1851.¹⁶⁵ In Leuven, the Maurits Sabbe Library houses books from Jesuit colleges once found in Antwerp, Borgerhout, Bruges, Drongen, Ghent, Maastricht, Mechelen, Nijmegen, and Turnhout.¹⁶⁶

Physical Jesuit libraries continue to exist, however. Hundreds of Jesuit institutions currently operate around the world, with collections considerably larger than anything held by pre-suppression institutions. In 2021, the most recent data available at this writing, Georgetown University (Washington, DC), the oldest Jesuit university in the United States, owned around 2.3 million physical books and another 1.8 million e-books.¹⁶⁷ An institution with a

The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000) and a modern printing of Paul LeJeune's *Breve relation du voyage de la Nouvelle-France* [Brief description of a voyage to New France] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2020). LeJeune (1592–1664), a French Jesuit missionary, wrote of his adventures in the 1630s; his accounts were published individually in Paris by Sébastien Cramoisy in 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, and 1640, 1658, and 1662. The Kirishitan Bunko Library, and supplemental information added since Laures's original publication (*Kirishitan bunko: A Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Mission in Japan*), is available via <https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp> (accessed August 4, 2022). See also Orii, "Dispersion of Jesuit Books Printed in Japan."

164 <https://www.nla.gov.au/collections/guide-selected-collections/jesuit-collection> (accessed August 4, 2022). According to Susie Russell, coordinator of Curatorial and Collection Research at the National Library of Australia, the library purchased the collection in 1971–72—"with the Liaison Officer based in Australia House in London playing a key role"—from the bookseller Richard Booth (Hay-on-Wye, Wales), who learned of it from "a scholar at the University of New England [Armidale, NSW, Australia]." Email communication from Susie Russell, July 28, 2022.

165 For the story of Jesuits in Australia, see, most recently, Michael Head, *The Vine and the Branches: The Fruits of the Sevenhill Mission* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2016), and David Strong, *Jesuits in Australia: An Ethnographic History of the Society of Jesus in Australia* (Richmond, Victoria: Aurora Books, 1995).

166 <https://bib.kuleuven.be/english/msb/special-collections/major-subcollections> (accessed August 4, 2022).

167 "Georgetown University Library Data Snapshot," <https://library.georgetown.edu/about/data-snapshot> (accessed August 4, 2022). The university was founded in 1789 by ex-Jesuits in Maryland, including Bishop John Carroll (1735–1815); in 1805, five of the ex-Jesuits

considerably longer history, the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Pontifical Xavierian University, founded 1623) in Bogotá, Colombia, claims a total of just over one million print and electronic books in 2022. These figures would beggar belief to any pre-suppression Jesuit.¹⁶⁸ In some cases, a collection of books once owned by a Jesuit institution remains generally intact, integrated into another library. A notable example is the Regis College Library (founded in Kingston, Ontario, in 1930), now part of the University of Toronto Library System, “the third largest aggregated research university collection in North America.”¹⁶⁹ Using modern analytical tools to explore metadata, provenance, cultural information, and collection practices, the curators of this collection have worked to understand and adapt to changing norms in education and spirituality, seeking “a constructive, non-defensive engagement of the world from a faith perspective, which expects to find God present in other peoples, cultures, and religions” and “challenges us to continuing, self-critical reflection on the interrelations between knowledge, category definition, and the exercise of social power.”¹⁷⁰ All librarians, including those associated with Jesuit collections, have to contend with the limitations of cataloging systems and sometimes need to correct neglected or misrepresented topics. The integration of the Regis catalog into the University of Toronto system forced a reckoning with aging methods of classification and led to the development of new approaches to collection organization.

Meanwhile, Jesuit universities in the United States use the “Ignatian pedagogical paradigm” (IPP), based on the *Ratio studiorum*, to inform their modern library practices for institutions that belong to the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities.¹⁷¹ The IPP has five stages: context, experience, reflection, action, and evaluation. Librarians at Marquette University, the University

joined the Russian province, thereby nominally preserving the Jesuit heritage, and within nine years, the restoration of the Society meant that Georgetown was formally a Jesuit institution.

168 “Sobre nosotros” [About us], <https://www.javeriana.edu.co/biblos/sobre-nosotros#cifras> (accessed August 4, 2022).

169 Gordon Rixon, “Engaged Collecting: Culture Transforming Mission; The Regis College Library, University of Toronto,” *JJS* 2, no. 2 (2015): 265–82, here 266, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202006> (accessed August 4, 2022). This collection incorporates volumes from the Jesuit College of Quebec (founded 1635) as well as the St. Peter Claver Industrial School for Boys in Spanish, Ontario (open from 1946 to 1958). See Rixon, “Engaged Collecting,” 269, 275, 276.

170 Rixon, “Engaged Collecting,” 267.

171 For the IPP, see International Commission on the Apostolate of Jesuit Education, ed., “Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach; The IPP (1993),” available via download at <https://www.jesuits.global/ministries/education/> (accessed August 4, 2022).

of San Francisco, and Gonzaga University have developed courses to instruct both library staff and users to approach information literacy in ways that echo the ALA guidelines with a Jesuit twist.¹⁷² While library associations in other countries have adopted position papers similar to the ALA's "Framework," Jesuit institutions worldwide have not followed the path of US institutions in implementing library-based interpretations of the IPP.¹⁷³

What, then, is a modern Jesuit library? It is many things: physical (single-location collections of print, manuscript, and other media at existing Jesuit universities around the world) and virtual (compilations of materials from different collections, accessible in whole or in part via databases, search engines, and bibliographical studies), preserved (as in the restored collections of the Riga Jesuit college found in Uppsala University) and merely remembered (testimonials of works no longer in existence, known to modern scholars only by descriptions). It retains some of the pre-suppression ideals of collecting knowledge to support the mission of the Society of Jesus but also has adapted to the modern world, expanding to include sections on disciplines either unknown or forbidden to the early Society. It resembles its secular counterparts far more than the premodern Jesuit libraries did; indeed, not since 1966 has a general congregation of the Society addressed libraries, indicating that the management of such aspects of the work of the Jesuits is now handled by those who administer the educational institutions, who are increasingly members of the laity.¹⁷⁴

172 See Eric Kowalik, Leatha Miles-Edmonson, and Vicki Rosen, "Introduction to the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm: An Online Course for Librarians," *Jesuit Higher Education* 8, no. 2 (2019): 87–99, <https://epublications.regis.edu/jhe/vol8/iss2/7> (accessed August 4, 2022), and Anthony Tardiff, "Ignatian Information Literacy: Applying the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm to Library Instruction," *Jesuit Higher Education* 10, no. 1 (2021): 77–87.

173 See, e.g., the Canadian Association of Research Libraries position statements at <https://www.carl-abrc.ca/publications-and-documents>; the publications of the Turkish Association of University and Research Libraries, at <https://unak.org.tr/yayinlar>; the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions' "Code of Ethics for Librarians and Other Information Workers," at <https://repository.ifla.org/handle/123456789/1850>; and the publication 図書館における知的自由マニュアル(第10版) [Manual: Intellectual freedom in the library (10th ed.)], downloadable at <http://www.jla.or.jp/publications/tabid/87/pdid/p11-000000584/Default.aspx> (all sites accessed August 4, 2022).

174 Decree 28, "The Apostolate of Education," General Congregation 31 (1966): paragraph 13.a reads, in part, "superiors should favor research, experiments, the discovery of new methods of teaching, and see to it that the members have libraries, audiovisual aids, conferences by experts, possibilities of attending meetings, and other helps," https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/1966_decree28gc31 (accessed August 4, 2022). As of this writing, of the twenty-eight Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States, only eight are headed by members of the Society. The survey I referenced above demonstrates

Conclusion

Ignatius of Loyola (c.1491–1556) famously exhorted his colleague and friend, Jesuit co-founder Francis Xavier (1506–52), to “go forth, and set the world on fire.” In this, he surely meant to ignite a passion for Christianity, but the Society of Jesus has long been associated with a passion for learning as well. As they built their colleges and houses around the world, Jesuits also built large collections of books, which were intellectual kindling for that passion. Jesuits have been librarians since the beginnings of the Society of Jesus and continue to maintain significant collections of books in their institutions today. The history of these collections is rich, yet much remains poorly understood. By way of concluding this survey, I offer some observations on what gaps need to be filled by scholars of the book, of printing, of education, of missions, of globalization, of religious orders, and of information management.

The largest set of *lacunae* relate to the history of the book: authorship, production, and reading are all companion studies to librarianship. While scholars have long engaged the question of how books were read, and by whom, in the early modern period, the specifics of Jesuit reading remain only partly understood.¹⁷⁵ Extant copies of books with Jesuit provenance demonstrate a tradition of marginalia, which have yet to be explored in depth. The history of Jesuit libraries, after all, is not merely a history of material culture and collection; it is also intellectual history, supporting (or interfering with) the work of teaching in the Jesuit colleges, formation in the Jesuit houses, and evangelization in the Jesuit missions. The lack of information on personal library collections, either in the hands of administrators or of individual teachers or students, makes this a difficult pursuit to engage. The period of the suppression presents particular challenges here, as libraries were dismantled and dispersed, and as it caused the mixing in of the private libraries of individual Jesuits with the institutional collections. One text can serve multiple purposes, and when it becomes part of a different collection, those purposes may change. Over time, too, systems for classification of knowledge have changed. There is also no question that twenty-first-century readers approach texts in

that the vast majority of Jesuit university libraries are no longer headed by members of the Society of Jesus; only one of the responding institutions, St. Xavier's Public School, a secondary education institution established in 2019 in Bagnan, West Bengal, India, reported that a Jesuit was the supervisor of the library. For forty-one percent of responders, the last time that a Jesuit was head librarian was prior to 1970. Please note that only thirty-four replies were received for this question.

175 On the use of books for teaching, see, e.g., Emidio Campi et al., eds., *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva: Droz, 2008).

ways quite different from our predecessors from the sixteenth through twentieth centuries.

The relationship between libraries and the printing houses is also at present under-explored. Research endeavors such as the EJLPP and its partners in Uppsala and Barcelona provide some information on surviving texts and can help establish links related to printing, but much remains unknown here. We have little doubt that, at least prior to the suppression, the Jesuit printing presses did supply texts both to individual members of the Society and to the libraries of the colleges and houses, but we do not know the methods by which such texts might have been commissioned or the ways in which the more famous authors might have crowded out teachers at given colleges. We also do not know whether there was ever any attempt to create a deliberate practice of collecting books printed by Jesuit presses outside mission territories. The questions, and answers, are quite different for not only the pre- versus post-suppression periods but also for the European versus global markets. Few sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or eighteenth-century European presses had the capability to print books in (for example) Japanese or Chinese, so the mission presses were fundamental to the creation and maintenance of libraries of use to the indigenous people, including many who joined the Society, in those regions. These locally printed works were supplemented by books from Europe in European languages, but as the missionary religious orders were instrumental in committing some American, African, and Asian languages to print for the first time, and as the missionaries made significant use of imagery in their catechizing, having printing technology within reach was essential.¹⁷⁶ By contrast, European colleges and houses held books printed by Jesuit presses as well as secular printers, and by local as well as remote printing houses. In some areas, Jesuits did dominate printing: for example, the Klementinum press in Prague, associated with the Jesuit college there, exerted a commanding influence over the production and suppression of texts in the region and, as a result, on the collection practices of the university's libraries.¹⁷⁷

176 In addition to works cited above, see Abhijit Gupta, "The History of the Book in the Indian Subcontinent," in Suarez and Woudhuysen, *Book*, 553–72, esp. 555–58; Carla Gamalinda, "A Contribution to the History of the Jesuit Press in Manila through a Study of Graphic Art (1622–1768)," *Philippine Studies: Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints* 69, no. 4 (2021): 627–54; and M. Antoni J. Üçeler, "Missionary Printing," in Suarez and Woudhuysen, *Book*, 107–15.

177 Devana Pavlik, "The History of the Book in the Czech Republic and Slovakia," in Suarez and Woudhuysen, *Book*, 461–69, here 466. See also Jakub Zouhar, "Historical Research in the Czech Republic between 1974 and 2019 on the Pre-suppression Society of Jesus," *AHSI* 89, no. 178 (2020): 467–98.

The Tipografia della Compagnia di Gesù, in Rome, was the first Jesuit printing house and was supposed to print books for the use of the Collegio Romano.¹⁷⁸ In practice, the Collegio Romano, like other Jesuit colleges in Europe, owned books printed in many locations, so that intent was not realized. Nevertheless, Jesuits were important players in both the production and collection of books worldwide and dominated the market on certain subjects. The press in Vilnius, owned by Polish court official Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616), was among the most important printers of Jesuit material in Eastern Europe.¹⁷⁹ Paul Gehl has noted the importance of European Jesuit colleges in the production of grammar texts, for example, with the caveat that even in Jesuit colleges, regional markets were as important as Jesuit authorship. It is certainly clear that the Jesuits “created a steady demand for textbooks” as they opened colleges and houses around the world and filled them with teachers and students. Even though they did not impose a standardized reading or teaching list throughout their institutions, they both wrote and printed textbooks for their classes, and relied on proven texts with strong local followings.¹⁸⁰ His conclusion that the Jesuits “came to control the market for the textbooks they used, primarily because they commissioned new texts for their colleges and then used them more or less exclusively,” is difficult to replicate when considering surviving texts.¹⁸¹ Latin grammars were heavily used, and we should not expect that the majority have survived. On the other hand, among surviving grammar texts in the EJLPP database, none were printed by Jesuit college presses. Thus, Gehl’s caveats—that “the Jesuits never completely overcame the more traditional way of making and selling textbooks, namely under local patronage for local schools at the behest of local teachers,” who had their favorite authors, and that “the Jesuits, and the Catholic world more generally in the sixteenth century, grasped at a universal idea. But their glorious educational armada foundered on the shoals of nationalism, sectarianism, and profound

178 Marta Brunelli, “Educating and Disciplining Readers: Books, Publishing, and Libraries in Italy at the Time of the Enquiry of the Congregation of the Index,” *History of Education and Children’s Literature* 4, no. 2 (2009): 17–59, here 45.

179 See Tomasz Garwoliński, “Ślady działalności oficyn jezuickich w Wilnie i Braniewie na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku w zbiorach biblioteki ‘Hosianum’ w Olsztynie jako przykład procesów integracyjnych w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów” [Traces of the activity of Jesuit printers in Vilnius and Braniewo at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the collection of the “Hosianum” library in Olsztyn as an example of integrative processes in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth], *Archîwa, biblioteki i muzea kościelne* 113 (2020): 117–44.

180 Paul F. Gehl, “Religion and Politics in the Market for Books: The Jesuits and Their Rivals,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 97, no. 4 (2003): 435–60, here 439.

181 Gehl, “Religion and Politics in the Market for Books,” 459.

educational conservatism”—are fundamental in understanding that despite attempts to dominate the market for supplying libraries and students with books in specific subjects, Jesuit libraries around the world were in possession of texts printed both nearby and far away.¹⁸² Further study, particularly in non-European colleges, is needed before one can draw conclusions.

With some exceptions, the non-European presses have received little attention.¹⁸³ In 2014, María Idalia García Aguilar summarized the state of research on pre-suppression Jesuit printing houses and libraries in New Spain in a broad historiographical article largely focused on renewing interest in the subject.¹⁸⁴ She covered a broad swath of institutions and drew attention to the documentary record associated with the suppression inventories. Since then, the field has not expanded dramatically, but the large number of articles highlighting these inventories before and after García Aguilar's article demonstrates that the field is a rich one. The eleven colleges of the Spanish American colonies were of signal importance to the building of the global empire, both by transferring European intellectual, religious, and cultural norms to the rest of the world and by protecting those investments with the physical markings of those norms: printed books. To my knowledge, no similar study for Europe, the rest of the Americas, Asia, or Africa exists; some of that can be accounted for by the late development of university presses in Africa (the earliest was established at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa, in 1922) and Asia (the first was at the University of Calcutta, in 1908) and the rarity of Jesuit universities in Africa (Loyola University in the Democratic Republic of Congo, founded 2016, and Arrupe Jesuit University in Zimbabwe, established as a college in 1994 and accredited as a university in 2017).¹⁸⁵ Further investigation of

182 Gehl, "Religion and Politics in the Market for Books," 459, 460.

183 Some examples include Guillermo Wilde, "Adaptaciones y apropiaciones en una cultura textual de frontera: impresos misionales del Paraguay jesuítico" [Adaptations and appropriations in a textual culture of the borderlands: Mission prints in Jesuit Paraguay], *História Unisinos* 18, no. 2 (2014): 270–86; Ichiro Taida, "The Earliest History of European Language Education in Japan: Focusing on Latin Education by Jesuit Missionaries," *Classical Reception Journal* 9, no. 4 (2017): 566–86; and Miguel A. Bernad, "The Colegio de San Jose 1601–2001: The Turbulent 400-Year History of an Educational Institution," *Landas* 15, no. 1 (2001): 117–48. Ines G. Županov noted the dearth of material about Indian Jesuit printing in "Language and Culture of the Jesuit 'Early Modernity' in India during the Sixteenth Century," *Itinerario* 31, no. 2 (2007): 87–110.

184 María Idalia García Aguilar, "Imprenta y librerías jesuitas en la Nueva España" [Print and Jesuit libraries in New Spain], in García Aguilar and Rueda Ramírez, *El libro en circulación en la América colonial*, 205–27.

185 Kwasi Darko-Ampem, "A University Press Publishing Consortium for Africa: Lessons from Academic Libraries," *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 36, no. 2 (2005): 89–114, here 89–90, 94. European universities established presses in Africa and Asia well into the

Jesuit presses, in particular those in the mission territories of the Old Society and throughout the world for the New Society, should be of considerable interest to scholars of global history as well as those whose specialties include colonization, cultural and intellectual history, and decolonization. The journals developed at Jesuit colleges and universities after the restoration, for example those in Turkey and Syria, can be quite useful for understanding not only the history of mission education but also the complex geopolitical developments related to global conflict and decolonization since the world wars.¹⁸⁶ The business of publication is subject to, but also shapes, contemporary attitudes. As the landscape of scholarly publishing is again in flux in the twenty-first century, with the development of new models—including online-only journals, Open Access, and publishing on demand—the role of both Jesuit presses and the libraries they help to stock will require ongoing investigation.

The relationship between manuscript and print text preserved in the libraries is also a subject that deserves further consideration. While it is easier and more practical to focus on printed volumes (as more of these were produced, and more survive, than do manuscripts), doing so can by nature tell only a portion of the story. Recent work by historian Maria Giulia Genghini on Quito calls our attention to the importance of manuscripts on biblical exegesis,¹⁸⁷ and historians and linguists have discussed the existence of manuscript language dictionaries and wordlists in mission territories for some time. In addition, the written work that students produced, whether as marginalia, lecture text, or preparation for disputations, has occasionally been preserved; however, it has rarely been investigated. Other ephemera, including music, pamphlets, and scripts for plays, were also kept in the libraries but have been studied separately; yet a study of a library is not complete without consideration of even the most delicate or small material it holds.¹⁸⁸

twentieth century, e.g., Oxford University Press in India (1912) and Nigeria (1949); see C.C. [Christian Chukwunedu] Aguolu and I. [Ify] E. Aguolu, "Scholarly Publishing and Nigerian Universities," *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 29, no. 2 (1998): 118–29, here 120.

186 See, e.g., Philippe Luisier, "Présence des jésuites en Turquie au XIX^e et au XX^e siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen-Age* 110, no. 2 (1998): 783–94.

187 Maria Giulia Genghini, "Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena? Jesuit Re-invention of Scriptural Commentary in a Newly Recovered Text from Seventeenth-Century Quito," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (May 21, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12138-022-00612-y> (accessed August 4, 2022).

188 The following are only examples. For dictionaries and wordlists in the missions, see Johanne Biron, "Les livres que les missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus ont apportés avec eux un Nouvelle-France: Écrire l'histoire d'une bibliothèque jésuite," in *De l'orient à la Huronie: Du récit de pèlerinage au texte missionnaire* [From the east to Huronia: From pilgrimage narrative to missionary text], ed. Guy Poirier, Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud,

In addition to printing texts, the Jesuits participated in censorship. This includes the destruction of books, leading to difficult questions about the loss of texts, and the curation of knowledge, which necessarily means foregrounding certain subjects and minimizing others. The history of library classification systems is one of balancing access to the perceived needs of the community with the desires of that community, and therefore has close ties to questions of censorship. For example, Melvil Dewey's (1851–1931) cataloging system was designed not merely to organize books so that they could easily be found in groups of similar subjects but also to promote access to certain subjects. Such practices have historically included broad strokes like segregation or destruction of controversial and/or prohibited books, and more subtle actions like creating subject headings and determining their scope.¹⁸⁹ Jesuits were among those who maintained prohibited book lists and dedicated sections of their libraries to locking up forbidden knowledge.¹⁹⁰ They also engaged in the destruction of texts considered to be too controversial to keep, sometimes

and François Paré (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011), 165–84. On the use of emblem manuscripts, see Grégory Ems, "Manuscript Circulation in the Society of Jesus: Student Emblems from the Brussels Jesuit College," *Emblematica* 21 (2014): 161–208. On the availability of pamphlets and printed music in Połock (modern Belarus), see Jerzy Kochanowicz and Beata Topij-Stempińska, "Education in Jesuit Boarding Schools for Nobles in Połock (1772–1820)," *History of Education and Children's Literature* 15, no. 2 (2020): 541–61. Samuel Claro Valdés (1934–94) examines print and manuscript music in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Bolivia in "La musica en las misiones jesuítas de Moxos" [Music in the Jesuit missions of Moxos], *Revista musical chilena* 23, no. 108 (1969): 7–31. Dolores García Gómez focuses on religious literature in manuscript form from the Colegio Máximo de Alcalá de Henares in "'Cartapacios de verbos': Los manuscritos de literatura propia de la Compañía de Jesús" ["Portfolios of words": Manuscripts of literature belonging to the Society of Jesus], *Hispania sacra* 65, no. 131 (2013): 161–80. For a discussion of Jesuit theater in Spanish South America, see Pedro Guibovich Pérez, "A mayor gloria de Dios y de los hombres: El teatro escolar jesuita en el virreinato del Perú" [For the greater glory of God and of men: Jesuit school theater in the viceroyalty of Peru], in *El teatro en la Hispanoamérica colonial* [Theater in colonial Latin America], ed. Ignacio Arellano and José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido (Madrid: Iberoamericana Editorial Vervuert, 2008), 35–50.

189 The literature on classification systems is vast; for a very readable overview, see Matthew Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015).

190 See, e.g., Christoph Sander, "*Uniformitas et soliditas doctrinae*: History, Topics, and the Impact of Jesuit Censorship in Philosophy (1550–99)," in *Jesuit Philosophy on the Eve of Modernity*, ed. Cristiano Casalini (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 34–71; Michael John Gorman, *The Scientific Counter-Revolution: The Jesuits and the Invention of Modern Science* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), chapter 3, "Discipline, Authority, and Jesuit Censorship: From the Galileo Trial to the *Ordinatio pro studiis superioribus*," 85–124; and Javier Vergara Ciordia and Beatriz Comella Gutiérrez, "La censura pedagógica de la Compañía de Jesús en la edad moderna a través de su reglamentación jurídica" [Pedagogical censorship by the

by expurgation, and sometimes by attempted eradication. Infamously, they joined in the suppression of indigenous knowledge throughout their missions, though they did not rival other religious orders in the despoliation of native cultures in the Americas.¹⁹¹ They kept both expurgated books and those prohibited outright, often in dedicated spaces in their libraries: for example, ninety-five out of the 613 titles inventoried in Leuven in 1635 were marked as prohibited.¹⁹²

The Jesuits were also faced with censorship themselves. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Congregation of the Index, empowered to determine which books could be read by Catholics, requested a very particular kind of help. In order to identify all of the books that should be expurgated or banned outright, that office needed to know what books were in circulation, so it requested that bishops and inquisitors report their suspicions about texts, and their holdings, to Rome. Although this was not universally embraced—the religious orders, in particular, resisted the idea that their collections would be

Society of Jesus in the modern era, via its legal regulation], *Hispania sacra* 69, no. 140 (2017): 545–66.

- 191 On Franciscan destruction of native culture in the Spanish colonies, see, e.g., the work of Patricia Lopes Don (including *Bonfires of Culture: Franciscans, Indigenous Leaders, and the Inquisition in Early Mexico, 1524–1540* [Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012]). The Jesuits are generally considered to have taken a softer approach to the indigenous cultures, but they did promote languages at the expense of others, for example preferring to communicate in Nahuatl in New Spain, because it was the dominant tongue of the region, and instructing and preaching both in Spanish and native languages. See Charles Polzer, *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976). The pro-native language policy of the Spanish government supported this; see Mónica Díaz, “The Education of Natives, Creole Clerics, and the Mexican Enlightenment,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 24, no. 1 (2015): 60–83, here 65–68. Many of the dictionaries and vocabulary lists generated by those men who went on missions were kept in manuscript form in the missions and rarely printed or transferred to (or copied by) European libraries. See Kathleen M. Comerford, “Did the Jesuits Introduce ‘Global Studies’?,” in *Embodiment, Identity, and Gender in the Early Modern Age*, ed. Amy E. Leonard and David M. Whitford (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 197–209, here 199–200. Fabián R. Vega notes that while there were certainly texts in Guaraní in the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria (province of Paraguay), those were generally found in the possession of individual Jesuits, not the libraries. “Los saberes misionales en los márgenes de la monarquía hispánica: Los libros de la reducción jesuítico-guaraní de Candelaria” [Missionary knowledge at the margins of the Spanish empire: The books of the Jesuit-Guaraní reduction of Candelaria], *AHSI* (2017): 337–86, here 367–70.
- 192 Rijksarchief Leuven, Jezuieten College Leuven, 20. Catalogus van de schenkingen aan de bibliotheek [Catalog of the donations to the library], 1635. For more on Jesuit collection of prohibited books, see, e.g., Francisco Malta Romeiras, “Putting the *Indices* into Practice: Censoring Science in Early Modern Portugal,” *Annals of Science* 77, no. 1 (2020): 71–95, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00033790.2020.1714295> (accessed August 4, 2022).

inspected by outsiders and managed to convince the congregation to allow them to inspect their own libraries—between 1596 and 1603, around 9,500 religious libraries were inventoried, and the resulting reports were sent to Rome.¹⁹³ The lists were supposed to contain all books held in the libraries, including those already expurgated or prohibited, and to identify the language as well as printing information.¹⁹⁴ The inventories therefore provide a great deal of information about sixteenth-century collection practices and can be used in comparison with the eighteenth-century lists for fruitful investigations of how both requirements and tastes changed, of what books might have been lost or added over the centuries, and so on. However, these eighteenth-century inventories were not created with a focus on the organization of the libraries. They were designed, like the rest of the lists made during the suppression, to list the possessions of the colleges, and thus give few of the details that are considered necessary bibliographical information today. Most, for example, note only abbreviated author and title indications and omit publication details.

Other areas that need investigation relate to context. Studies of libraries and librarianship among religious orders are relatively siloed. The Dewey Decimal Classification system (DDC), for example, devotes a class to “College and University Libraries” but does not subdivide this into categories (the class “School Libraries” specifically mentions “libraries in religious schools,” but that for higher education does not).¹⁹⁵ The DDC, and systems based on it (including Universal Decimal Classification), are the most widely used classification systems in the world, and these systems are used in libraries throughout Africa, the Americas, the Asia Pacific Region, Europe, and the Middle East.¹⁹⁶ A search in OCLC WorldCat for publications between 1972 and 2022 on the subjects “academic libraries,” limited to “universities and colleges,” “university and college libraries,” “libraries and colleges,” and “libraries, university and college” (all listed as subjects in WorldCat), does not point to any sources specific to colleges or universities administered by religious organizations.¹⁹⁷ In other words, most of the works on libraries in higher education treat Jesuit

193 Brunelli, “Educating and Disciplining Readers,” 19–20; Flavia Bruni, “The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy,” in Walsby and Constantinidou, *Documenting the Early Modern Book World*, 207–30; and Rusconi, “Devil’s Trick,” 310–23.

194 Bruni, “Book Inventories of Servite Authors,” 210.

195 For more information about the Dewey system, see OCLC, “Dewey© Services,” <https://www.oclc.org/en/dewey/resources.html> (accessed August 4, 2022).

196 For up-to-date usage of DDC-based systems, see <https://www.oclc.org/en/dewey/resources/countries.html> (accessed August 4, 2022).

197 Search conducted on February 24, 2022.

libraries as part of a larger intellectual history of book collection for colleges and universities. In 2016, the US-based Association of College & Research Libraries (ACRL) approved the current “Framework for Information Literacy for Higher Education,” available in seven languages at the website of the American Library Association (ALA).¹⁹⁸ In it, the ACRL notes the importance of libraries in the construction, maintenance, and understanding of what it calls knowledge practices as well as access to authoritative information. Librarians have a responsibility to instruct, define, supply context, provide access, support open-minded investigation, protect intellectual property, and engage in cooperation and conversation with multiple experts and disciplines. In short, twenty-first-century libraries and librarians must be trained to confront and combat the flood of information and misinformation that threatens the basic endeavors of any educational institution. This has certainly been an ongoing issue since the creation of the first Jesuit libraries, only one century after the invention of movable-type printing in Europe and in the midst of information wars associated with the Reformations and the construction of colonial empires. Nevertheless, the challenges of the current age are accompanied by far greater connectivity, which leads to the spread of news with far greater speed, along with more sophisticated and subtle methods of falsification.

There is also a dearth of studies in which the libraries of educational institutions administered by religious orders are analyzed in comparison to each other. In part, this is a methodological issue associated with the study of those religious orders: a wealth of books and articles treat monastic libraries of the Middle Ages, but the same attention has not been given to their early modern or modern counterparts.¹⁹⁹ An exception is the searchable database

198 American Library Association, “Framework for Information Literacy for Higher Education,” February 9, 2015, <https://www.ala.org/acrl/standards/ilframework> (accessed August 4, 2022).

199 Exceptions to this in the last fifty years include Silvano G.A. Benito Moya, *“Agradable a Dios y útil a los hombres”: El universo cultural en las bibliotecas de los franciscanos de Córdoba del Tucumán (1575–1850)* [Pleasing to God and useful to men: The cultural universe in the libraries of the Franciscans of Córdoba del Tucumán (1575–1850)] (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Castañeda, 2019); Donatella Nebbiai, *La bibliothèque de l’Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle* [The library of the Abbey of St.-Denis in France from the ninth to the eighteenth century] (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1985); Mary Dorothy Neuhof, “In the Benedictine Tradition: The Origins and Early Development of Two College Libraries Founded by American Benedictine Men and Women” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1998); William Smith, “The English Benedictines and the Early Printed Book,” *American Benedictine Review* 72, no. 1 (2021): 27–48; and Società internazionale di studi francescani, ed., *Libri e biblioteche: Le letture dei frati mendicanti tra Rinascimento ed età moderna* [Books and libraries: The readings of

RICI, Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice (Research on the investigation by the Congregation of the Index), which aggregates the lists of many Italian religious orders whose libraries were inventoried between 1598 and 1603.²⁰⁰ It is headed by historian Roberto Rusconi and a team of scholars at various Italian universities and has produced numerous studies since 2006. It allows for searching via library, author, title, place of publication, or edition, and thus makes comparative analysis possible; however, this database excludes Jesuit libraries. Attention to such issues would be of interest for the entire history of Jesuit libraries, but perhaps most so at the point of restoration, because of the inevitable clashes. Since some of the Jesuit colleges and their libraries had been transferred to different religious orders, for example, the question of restoration involved turf wars. When, instead, books had been sold, the religious orders had little standing to make claims that their property should be given back with no compensation. As historian Christopher Korten has observed for the Italian peninsula: "Between 1796 and 1814, too many ecclesiastically-owned properties had been sold to too many important men; too much damage and looting had been done to structures formerly in possession of religious congregations; and too much money had been taken." Forty-six religious orders had been suppressed, and all wanted their property back; the situation was impossible and caused bitter competition across the Catholic world.²⁰¹

The geographical spread of information about libraries is very uneven. Indeed, the story of Jesuit libraries in Africa, both before and after the suppression, is sadly underappreciated. In part, this has to do with the Society itself: members did not write histories of most of the early missions during their ministry (excepting Ethiopia, the mission that has received the largest amount of attention), though they did author biographies that focused on the adventures in which the subjects participated.²⁰² While more recent studies of the

the mendicant friars between the Renaissance and the modern age] (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2019).

200 See Giovanna Granata, "On the Track of Lost Editions in Italian Religious Libraries at the End of the Sixteenth Century: A Numerical Analysis of the RICI Database," in Bruni and Pettegree, *Lost Books*, 324–44. The database is at <https://rici.vatlib.it/site/index> (accessed August 4, 2022).

201 Christopher Korten, "Whose Restoration Is It? Acrimony and Division in the Fight for Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna (1814–30)," *Catholic Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (2020): 371–98, here 373.

202 Festo Mkenda, "Jesuit Historiography in Africa," *Jesuit Historiography Online*, ed. Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2017), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192529 (accessed August 4, 2022). On the Jesuit use of books in Ethiopia, see Kristen Windmuller-Luna, "*Guerra com a língua: Book Culture and Biblioclasm in the Ethiopian Jesuit Mission,*"

Society in that continent are careful to include consideration of Jesuits during and after the suppression, collections of books are not at the forefront of these discussions.²⁰³ This is true despite the nineteenth- and twentieth-century missionary journal, which in its final incarnation was called *Revue missionnaire des jésuites belges* (Missionary journal of the Belgian Jesuits)—a journal that might have been read with some interest by those living in one of those missions.²⁰⁴ With the exception of China and Japan, studies of Jesuit books in Asian countries are also fairly uncommon. The corpus of work by Noël Golvers on the libraries of the Chinese Jesuit missions is unparalleled.²⁰⁵ Macau, where most of the European missionaries to Japan and China learned Asian languages, certainly had a notable library; Goa, the capital of the eastern Portuguese Empire and a stopping point for members of the Society to complete their studies, must have had one as well, and certainly had a printing press “which generated a vast body of printed material, including the first local-language (Konkani) Grammar, in 1640.”²⁰⁶ I have to date found no in-depth study of Jesuit libraries in these locations, but Portuguese historian of the book Rui Manuel Loureiro discusses both book production and collection in the East Asian missions.²⁰⁷ The library associated with the province of Japan apparently held “more than five thousand volumes” at the end of the sixteenth century.²⁰⁸ The earliest Jesuit library in Manila was reportedly quite small but had grown enough by

JJS 2, no. 2 (2015): 223–47, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00202004> (accessed August 4, 2022).

- 203 See Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, eds., *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900* (Boston: Brill, 2014); Robert A. Maryks and Festo Mkenda, eds., *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Africa* (Boston: Brill, 2018); Victor M. Fernández et al., *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Missions in Ethiopia 1557–1632* (Boston: Brill, 2017); and Basil Amaeshi, *Classical Readings in African Library Development* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003).
- 204 *Précis historiques* [Historical summaries] (published 1852–98) changed its name to *Mission Belges de la Compagnie de Jésus* [Belgian mission of the Society of Jesus] (1899–1926) and then to *Revue missionnaire des jésuites belges* [Missionary review of the Belgian Jesuits], under which it published 1927–51. See Mkenda, “Jesuit Historiography in Africa.”
- 205 Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China*; Golvers, “The Pre-1773 Jesuit Libraries in Peking as Medium for Western Learning in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century China,” *The Library* 16 (2015): 429–45, and other publications cited here, *passim*.
- 206 Mendonça, “Jesuits in Goa: Restoration after Suppression (1759–1935),” 135.
- 207 See *Na Companhia dos livros: Manuscritos e impressos nas missões jesuítas da Ásia Oriental 1540–1620* [In the company of books: Manuscripts and prints in the Jesuit missions of East Asia 1540–1620] (Macau: Universidade de Macau, 2007).
- 208 Leonor Diaz de Seabra, “Macau e os jesuítas na China (séculos XVI e XVII)” [Macau and the Jesuits in China (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)], *História Unisinos* 15, no. 3 (2011): 417–24, here 419.

1768 to be lamented when the Society was forced to leave.²⁰⁹ Despite the large number of Jesuits currently working in India, there is also no study of libraries associated with the Society of Jesus in that country.²¹⁰

As a final geographical consideration, the history of the libraries of the Western Asian and Middle Eastern Jesuits is little known outside of that region. Many factors complicate investigating this subject, including problems related to twentieth-century wars and decolonization movements and the forms of nationalism that accompanied them; the continuing tensions between Christians and Muslims in the region; and the role of anti-Western, and in particular anti-American, sentiments in the establishment and continuation of remote campuses associated with US universities (e.g., Georgetown, in Qatar, established 2005) or other administrative units (e.g., the New England province of Jesuits, who created Al-Hikma University in Baghdad, Iraq, in 1956).²¹¹ Since library catalogs for study abroad centers are routinely included within general library catalogs, studying the collections on-site in those campuses can be complicated. An investigation into the processes of acquisition and cataloging should provide insights into the ways that these institutions have struck a balance between the curriculum requirements of the parent university and the context in which the program exists. Presumably, the construction and population of libraries for branch campuses, which began in the mid-twentieth century and continues to the present, has developed along lines similar to those used in fashioning libraries for campuses created by Jesuit institutions founded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, a comparison of, for example, the collections of the Georgetown Qatar campus with those of Université Saint-Joseph of Beirut, founded by French Jesuits in 1875, should be of great interest in understanding the distinct missions of institutions dedicated to quite different purposes but administered by the same religious order.

Perhaps the most neglected aspect of Jesuit library history is associated with staffing. In 2020, intellectual historian Lorenzo Mancini provided a

209 John N. Crossley, "Dominican and Jesuit Formal Education in the First Years of Spanish Manila (c.1571–1621)," *Journal of Religious History* 42, no. 2 (2018): 181–99, here 187–88, 10.1111/1467-9809.12427 (accessed August 4, 2022). The Jesuit books are now held by the Dominican University of Santo Tomas Library in Manila, the Philippines; see <http://library.ust.edu.ph/index.html> (accessed August 4, 2022).

210 For example, a broad survey, Jashu Patel and Krishan Kumar, eds., *Libraries and Librarianship in India* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 6, makes only passing reference to libraries established by Jesuits under the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1592–1666, r.1628–58).

211 See Joseph Seferta, "The Jesuit Contribution to Christian Education in Iraq: A Personal Reflection," *International Studies in Catholic Education* 8, no. 2 (2016): 193–201, here 196–98.

chronology of all the librarians of the Roman College between 1551 and 1873, a herculean task not attempted by any other scholar of Jesuit libraries.²¹² Modern approaches to library history still often ignore general staffing issues, preferring to focus on “star” librarians, like the English diplomat and founder of the Bodleian Library, Thomas Bodley (1545–1613); Americans Melville Dewey, inventor of the DDC, and Carla Hayden (b.1952; librarian of Congress starting 2016); and Indian librarian and professor of library science Shiyali Ramamrita Ranganathan (1892–1972), but most of those who have worked in libraries, including those who have engaged in the formidable, ongoing task of cataloging, remain unknown and unknowable. Among the few exceptions is Czesławowi Michalunio (1919–2013), the Polish Jesuit who directed the Jesuit Philosophical Library of the Society of Jesus Kraków (Biblioteka Filozoficzna Towarzystwa Jezusowego) to whom a *Festschrift* was dedicated in 2004.²¹³

Staffing is one of the most significant costs associated with any institution and thus naturally leads to questions about library budgets. For the contemporary age, questions on this front are significantly complicated by factors related to the technological demands of remote access imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic. These are costly changes and updates, and libraries associated with schools and universities have had to face major budgeting challenges, and concerns about the usage of space, with little warning. The economic downturn that has accompanied the pandemic led to significant demands on resources (particularly on remote access) and staffing, and its effects are not yet well understood.²¹⁴ However, libraries have always required funds not

212 Lorenzo Mancini, “I bibliotecari del Collegio Romano (1551–1873): Un contributo per la storia delle biblioteche della Compagnia di Gesù” [The librarians of the Roman College (1551–1873): A contribution toward the story of the libraries of the Society of Jesus], *AHSI* 89, no. 177 (2020): 46–115, here 69–79, followed by brief biographical notes in alphabetical order, 80–108.

213 Andrzej Paweł Bieś, *Librorum amatori: Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana ks. Czesławowi Michalunio SJ na 50-lecie ofiarnej pracy w bibliotece filozoficznej Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie* [Librorum amatori: A commemorative book, donated to Fr. Czesław Michalunio, S.J., on the fiftieth anniversary of his dedicated work at the philosophical library of the Society of Jesus in Kraków] (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna “Ignatianum,” 2004).

214 For some preliminary attempts to assess the impact of the pandemic on higher education in the United States, see Ruth Sara Connell, Lisa C. Wallis, and David Comeaux, “The Impact of COVID-19 on the Use of Academic Library Resources,” *Information Technology and Libraries* 40, no. 2 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.6017/ital.v40i2.12629> (accessed August 4, 2022); Sandra L. De Groote and Jung Mi Scoulas, “Impact of COVID-19 on the Use of the Academic Library,” *Reference Services Review* 49, no. 3/4 (2022): 281–301, <https://doi.org/10.1108/rsr-07-2021-0043> (accessed August 4, 2022). Kay Tucker and Becky Batagol examined the effects of the pandemic on marginalized students and staff at Monash

only to acquire books but also to maintain and store them, and they represent an institutional division that in most cases is designed for continued growth. Untangling the issues associated with library financing for the history of Jesuit-associated institutions will depend on deep study of the operating costs of the colleges and universities, professed and probationary houses, missions, secondary schools, and regional as well as central administrative units. While some have attempted this for the pre-suppression Society, I have been unable to locate any economic studies of Jesuit libraries following the restoration.²¹⁵

All things associated with Jesuit libraries have changed significantly over the centuries: the production and storage of books, the decline of religious censorship, the rise of politically motivated censorship, the creation of virtual curated collections, the processes of cataloging inventory, the accessibility of library possessions, the size of collections, continued expansion of digital media resources, the development of a “Learning Commons” approach rather than a focus on the acquisition and maintenance of print book collections, the introduction of more remote learning resulting by necessity from the global COVID-19 pandemic, and even the Society of Jesus itself. At the same

University in Australia in “Pandemic Pressures in Universities and Their Libraries: A View from Australia,” *Legal Information Management* 21, nos. 3–4 (2021): 129–45. For the United Arab Emirates, see Abdoulaye Kaba, “Assessing an Academic Library Performance before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Case Study in UAE,” *Performance Measurement & Metrics* 22, no. 3 (2021): 187–99. A student-centered study in South Africa by Sibonokuhle Ndlovu is “The Impact of Covid-19 on Students with Disabilities’ Access to Education in South Africa,” *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 35, Special Issue (2020): 131–66; a different South African perspective, from Madina Institute (Cape Town), is found in Ramoshweu Solom Lebelo, Kholeka Constance Moloi, and Saleemeh Jaffer, “Corona Virus Pandemic and Change to Online Learning in One South African Private Higher Education Institution: An Action Research,” *Loyola Journal of Social Sciences* 34, no. 2 (2020): 51–74. The leadership role of academic libraries during the pandemic in India is explored in Sandip Majumdar, “Tryst with Uncertainty: Efforts of Department of Library and Information Science, University of Gour Banga, Malda, West Bengal, India,” *Education for Information* 36, no. 3 (2020): 327–31 and Elangovan N. et al., “Transitional Challenges in Technology Adoption among Academic Communities of Indian Higher Education,” *Journal of International Technology & Information Management* 30, no. 2 (2021): 59–96.

215 Studies of the economics of the global missions, both pre- and post-suppression, abound, as do discussions of the funding of European Jesuit colleges. I speak here of the specifics of funding the libraries. For information on the economics of pre-suppression Jesuit libraries, see “Introduction,” and Idalia García, “Para que les den libre paso en todas partes sin que los abran ni detengan’: Libros para las comunidades religiosas de la Nueva España” [“To give them free passage everywhere without opening or stopping”: Books for the religious communities of New Spain], *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 42, no. 1 (2017): 151–73. As with other aspects of modern and contemporary university history, the study of library financing for Jesuit institutions tends to be folded into that of similar religious and secular colleges and universities.

time, the libraries of the modern Society continue a long tradition of supporting their educational communities of faculty, students, staff, and researchers from other institutions. Developments in both library science and education have helped with this flexibility, as have changes in the understanding of the global mission of the Jesuits. The Society continues to evangelize but no longer with the cooperation of secular colonial powers, and no longer with the goal of Europeanizing all to whom they minister. In the guise of international research universities—like the Universidad Iberoamericana in Tijuana, Mexico; the Ateneo de Manila in the Philippines; and the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil—Jesuit libraries continue to create and preserve knowledge in a broad array of subjects and make it available to a global scholarly community. That might be the most important *desideratum* of all: a recognition that the practice of Jesuit librarianship is now, and has been since its inception, a complex balancing act between serving the needs of the moment (an inherently conservative and institutional action) and preparing for the needs of the future (an inherently flexible and open-minded one). Despite their appearance as static loci for the preservation of objects that represent the past, Jesuit libraries are dynamic means of both creating knowledge and fostering ethical responsibility.

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