

The Jesuitica Project

Twenty Years – Twenty Stories

Edited by

Yannick Van Loon, Rob Faesen, S.J.,
Wim François and Ward De Pril

THE JESUITICA PROJECT

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Images front cover: Oil paintings on canvas by anonymous painter (19th century) of the Jesuits
(from top left to bottom right) Gregorius de Valentia, Cornelius a Lapide, Christophorus Clavius,
Athanasius Kircher, Franciscus Suarez and Martinus Becanus, Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Library

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Image back cover: *Empire des solipses divisé en cinq assistances et subdivisé par provinces* (Paris: Louis Denis, 1764)
Maurits Sabbe Library, P271.5 EMPI, plate 4.

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Preface

Twenty years ago the Jesuitica Project was founded. Who would have thought that a project, initially funded for five years, would still be alive and kicking after all this time? The Jesuitica Project started off as a ‘project’, with clear goals and deliverables: namely to integrate the Jesuitica collection of the North Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus in the online catalogue of Leuven’s university libraries, and to stimulate scientific research in the field of Jesuitica. This second goal was concretised by setting up a website as a virtual portal where researchers could get access to all kinds of relevant data and information, by organising an international conference, and by publishing a book focused on the Jesuitica collections (Paul Begheyn, Bernard Deprez, Rob Faesen, Leo Kenis & Eddy Put, eds., *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540–1773: A Selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library*, Documenta Libraria 38 [Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Library – Peeters, 2009]).

However, after only a couple of years well into the project, it began to outgrow its own framework. Not only did the thematical collection itself grow, when the entire Jesuitica collection of the Dutch province was added in 2006, the ways of stimulating research also expanded over the years. A significant digitisation component was added to the project, the researcher’s need for quicker access to bibliographical information was catered to, resulting in the Jesuit Online Bibliography, and aspects laterally linked to the Jesuitica collections, such as the Jesuit Armarium (i.e. the platform for all the book collections of the Jesuits in the European Low Countries), also fell under the project’s scope. This project, now in its twentieth year, has undergone significant changes and resembles somewhat a Ship of Theseus. Nevertheless, the project is still much alive today and this is thanks to a lot of people that delivered, often with great enthusiasm, tremendous efforts for the benefit of a project they strongly believed in. We, the current Jesuitica Project



staff, would therefore like to explicitly thank some people who have been involved in the Jesuitica Project in the past twenty years in one way or another: Paul Begheyn, S.J., Lieven Boeve, Frans Chanterie, S.J., Rita Corstjens, Etienne D'hondt, Bernard G. F. Deprez, Ward De Pril, Eva De Ridder, Marc Desmet, S.J., Johan De Tavernier, Wim François, Leo Kenis, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, Mathijs Lamberigts, Jan Verkoyen, Johan Verschueren, S.J. and Veronique Verspeurt.

This book is meant to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of this project. The objective and common thread of this volume is to showcase the diversity and richness of scientific research made possible by the Jesuitica Project, and the Jesuitica and Jesuit collections at the Maurits Sabbe Library. We would also like to thank everyone who contributed to making this publication possible. We thank the authors of the articles, but also members of the editorial team. Thanks are also due to the Imaging Lab of KU Leuven Libraries for providing high quality images and to Brian Heffernan, who proofread the texts. Of course, this publication could not have been possible without the generous help and support of the Region of the European Low Countries of the Society of Jesus and all the members of staff of the Maurits Sabbe Library. It is our hope that this project and the scientific output it facilitates can carry on for many years to come, providing more data and information and ever changing to benefit the actual need of researchers. This publication should therefore not be seen as the final realisation and the beckoning of the end of the project, but as the celebration of a milestone somewhere on the road the project is following.

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Twenty Years Jesuitica Project: A Brief History

Yannick VAN LOON

Twenty years into the Jesuitica Project, we – the Jesuitica Project staff – decided it was time to produce a celebratory volume to give readers a glimpse of the broad range of research subjects that have been made possible by the project. The table of contents gives an idea of the variety of subjects in this volume. There are several articles that focus on the ideas, thoughts or artistic talents of some of the greatest Jesuit minds of the past. Then there are articles that shed light on the Society of Jesus in Leuven, exploring its libraries and their history. As book production is also undeniably linked to Jesuit history, it is no surprise that some of the articles discuss aspects relating to this. We are very proud to be able to present this volume as a small introduction into the diverse world of Jesuitica. This chapter offers a short and selective history of the Jesuitica Project.

To give the reader a quick idea at the outset of the results of twenty years' work: c. 70,000 Jesuitica have been catalogued; more than 650 early printed books digitised; approximately 1,000 newsletters sent to more than 600 researchers; c. 200,000 people have visited the Jesuitica website and c. 26,000 references have been incorporated into the Jesuit Online Bibliography.

The brief definition of Jesuitica used within the Jesuitica Project – books written by Jesuits and/or relating to the history/spirituality of the Jesuits – has undoubtedly been the most frequently repeated sentence since its inception.¹ As is well known, the Jesuits have a long tradition of collecting and preserving books connected to their own history.² The Jesuits of the Flemish Province marked off the books within their library that fell within the definition and designated this the 'Jesuitica collection'. While the largest part of the Flemish Jesuits' library was moved to the library of the University of Leuven's theology faculty in the 1970s, this specific collection remained in the Jesuit college in Heverlee until 2003, when the province decided to move it to the Maurits Sabbe Library too. The Maurits Sabbe Library, in collaboration with the Jesuits, immediately set up a project to make this collection accessible for research and stimulate further research of Jesuitica and Ignatiana.³

Since its beginning, the Jesuitica Project focused primarily on cataloguing uncatalogued Jesuitica, starting with the oldest works, the early printed books. This cataloguing process has changed considerably within the timespan of twenty years. Some changes were deliberate and voluntary, others were involuntary and circumstantial due to changes in library management systems. During the first ten years, a thorough and extensive descriptive model was used. Then the supervisory board realised that, although this model had its advantages, it would simply take too long to catalogue the entire Jesuitica collection of c. 20,000 volumes. In addition, in 2006, the Dutch

¹ For more on the Jesuitica collection as a thematic collection, see Van Loon, "Disclosing Thematic Collections," 357-381.

² De Ribadeneyra & Torrentius, *Illustrium scriptorum* (1609); Alegambe, *Bibliotheca scriptorum* (1643).

³ Faesen, "Preface," IX-X.

Ignatiana is a sub-category of Jesuitica that concerns the life and writings of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), founder of the Jesuits.



Figure 1: Bolland, et al., *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (1640)
MSB, P271.5.018/F° IMAG 1640, engraved title page.

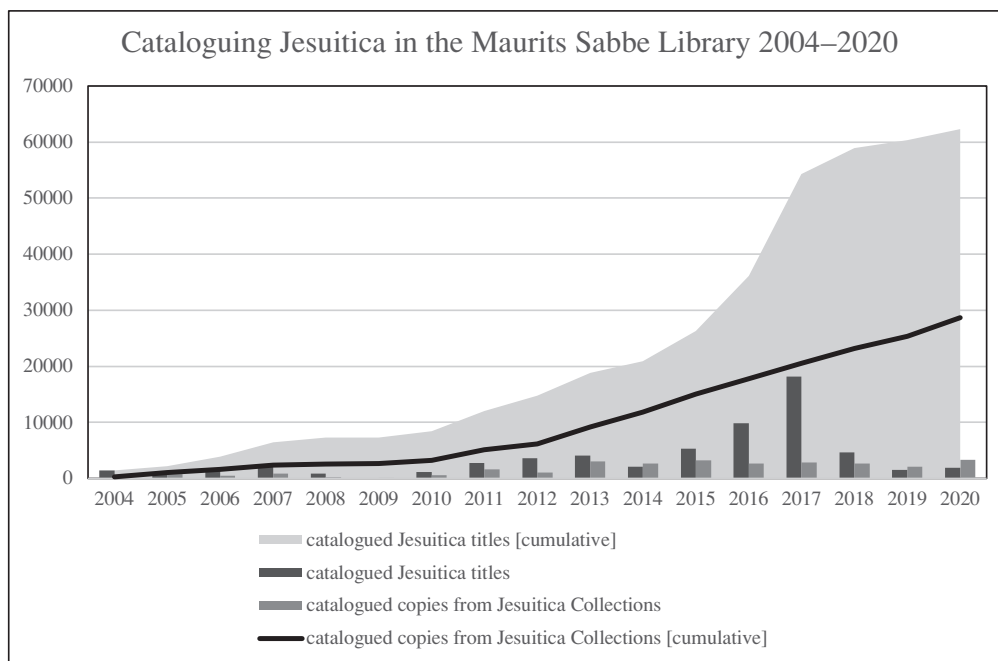


Figure 2: *Catalogued Jesuitica in the Maurits Sabbe Library 2004–2020. There is a notable change in the slope of the line graph in 2012. The numbers have been growing at a significantly higher rate since 2012.*

province’s own Jesuitica collection – also amounting to c. 20,000 volumes – was transferred to the Maurits Sabbe Library too. The Jesuitica Project was given responsibility to make this collection, from the Berchmanianum monastery in Nijmegen, accessible for research too. Considering this, and following a cost-benefit analysis, a new metadata model was proposed and accepted. The older descriptive model for cataloguing Jesuitica from then on became a ‘core’ model, while the focus of cataloguing shifted towards searching for and incorporating direct links to external content of digitised versions (Google Books, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, HathiTrust, etc.) and external bibliographical databases (STCV, STCN, ESTC, USTC, SBN OPAC, VD16, VD17, etc.). This proved much more efficient and within just a couple of years the number of catalogued books had doubled and processing speed greatly increased (fig. 2).

Even though the primary focus of the project was on making Jesuitica at the library accessible, the Jesuitica Project also participated in various pioneering and innovative side-projects to stimulate research of Jesuitica and Ignatiana. The project developed several tools in a digital environment that could and can still be accessed through a website called www.jesuitica.be. More than ten years ago, in September 2010, KU Leuven Libraries carried out its first internal digitisation projects: *Ex Cathedra* and the digitisation of the Anjou Bible. Immediately afterwards, in 2010–2011, the Jesuitica Project took part in several digitisation projects (*Bibliotheca Imaginis Figuratae*, Flandrica.be, digitisation of the Kamel manuscript) within KU Leuven, which eventually resulted in a Jesuitica digitisation programme (2016).⁴ Digitisation has created added potential for the Jesuitica Project, providing new data in the form of fully digitised books, in addition to the ‘traditional’ metadata from the library catalogue.

⁴ LIBIS – KU Leuven, “Limo – Curated Collections”. For more on the Kamel manuscript, see Sebastian Kroupa’s contribution in this volume, entitled “Plants from the Philippines: The Origins of the Illustrated Manuscript of Georg Joseph Kamel, S.J. (1661–1706)”.



Figure 3: *Kamel, Herbarum ([1700]) MSB, PM0038/V, f. 82r.*

The way the digital images are processed, accessed and used has also changed significantly. The first digitisations were done with a monochrome book scanner or with a digital camera and tripod. The data was stored on external hard drives or CD-ROMs. When the famous Kamel manuscript was first digitised, copies on CD-ROM were sent to Brno and the Ateneo de Manila. Now, KU Leuven Libraries has its own highly sophisticated and professional imaging lab, which is specialised in the digitisation of precious and fragile documentary heritage materials. A couple of years ago, the Kamel manuscript was digitised again, using these improved digitisation tools. Scholars from Brno, the Ateneo de Manila, and from the entire world can now view and study the Kamel manuscript from behind their computer, without the need for a physical copy in the form of a CD-ROM or external hard drive.⁵ The digital images can be

consulted on a virtual platform developed by LIBIS (Teneo) and the data is stored in a long-term preservation environment (Rosetta). Descriptive, technical and structural metadata for the digital images has similarly been optimised and the digitisation policy of KU Leuven Libraries is to make its digitised collection as open to the public domain as possible. Developing FAIR (findable, accessible, interoperable and reusable) data and the usage of a IIIF-compatible viewer facilitates the accessibility of the recently digitised Jesuitica.⁶

Another aspect of digital pioneering for the Jesuitica Project was the establishment of a non-exhaustive, authoritative online bibliographical database on www.jesuitica.be. This responded to researchers' demand for an up-to-date bibliography on Jesuit studies. The authoritative Jesuit bibliographies by László Polgár, S.J. (1920–2001) and Paul Begheyn, S.J. appeared annually in print in the *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* from 1980 to 2001 and 2006 to 2018.⁷ But researchers wanted quicker updates of the latest publications on Jesuit studies, and this gave rise to alternative bibliographies, such as the database on www.jesuitica.be. The bibliographical database was not limited to KU Leuven's academic output in the field of Jesuit studies, but also included new publications from all over the world in various languages. New monographs acquired, specific book chapters within these monographs and articles published in the most recent issues of theological and historical journals held by the Maurits Sabbe Library were a constant influx of material

⁵ To consult the digital images of the Kamel manuscript, visit <http://resolver.libis.be/IE4764079/representation>.

⁶ Gabriels, "Digitalisering"; IIIF, "IIIF FAQs".

⁷ Curia Generalizia della Compagnia di Gesù, "Bibliography on the Society of Jesus".

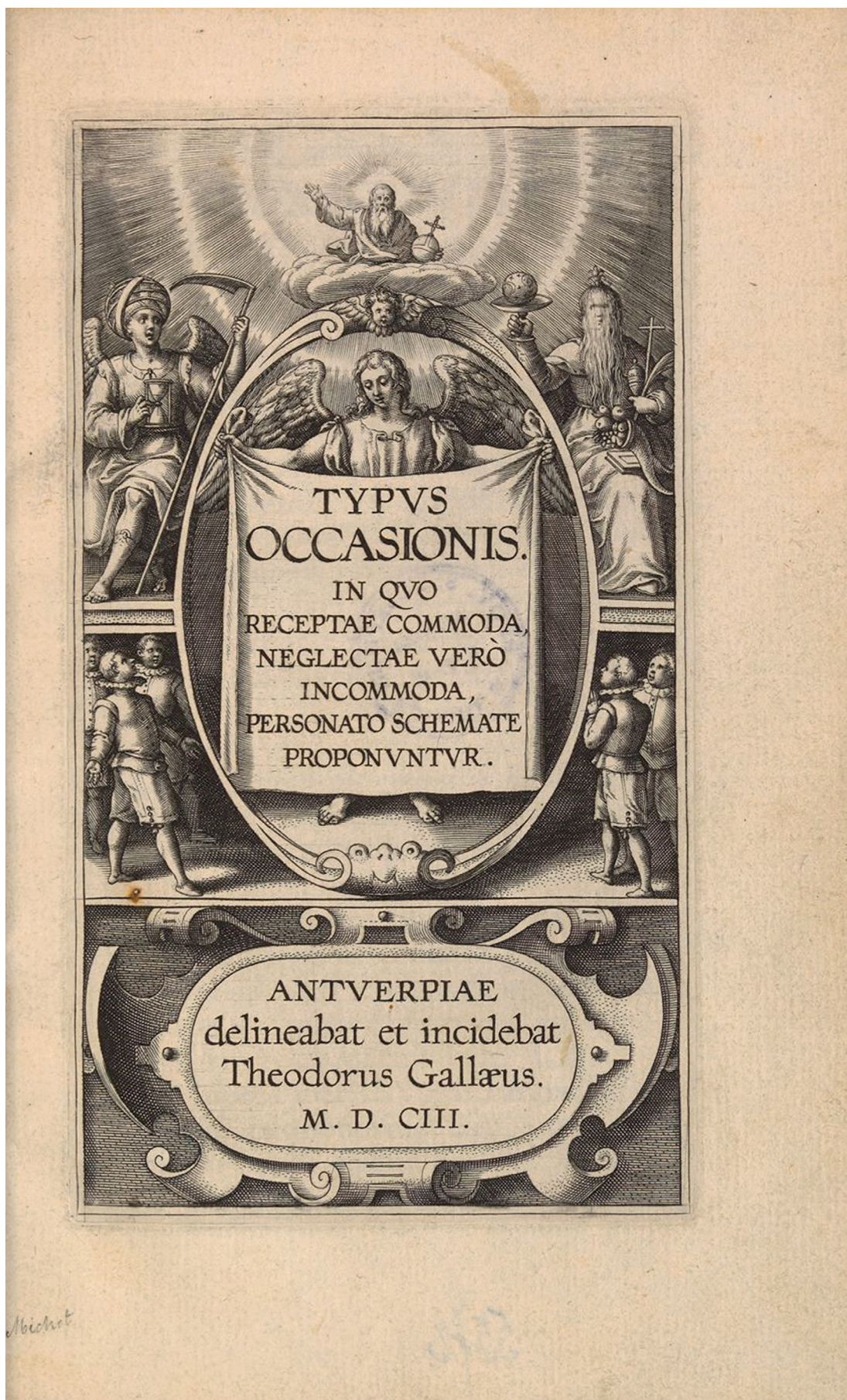


Figure 4: *David*, *Typus occasionis* (1603) MSB, PN00211/Q°, title page.

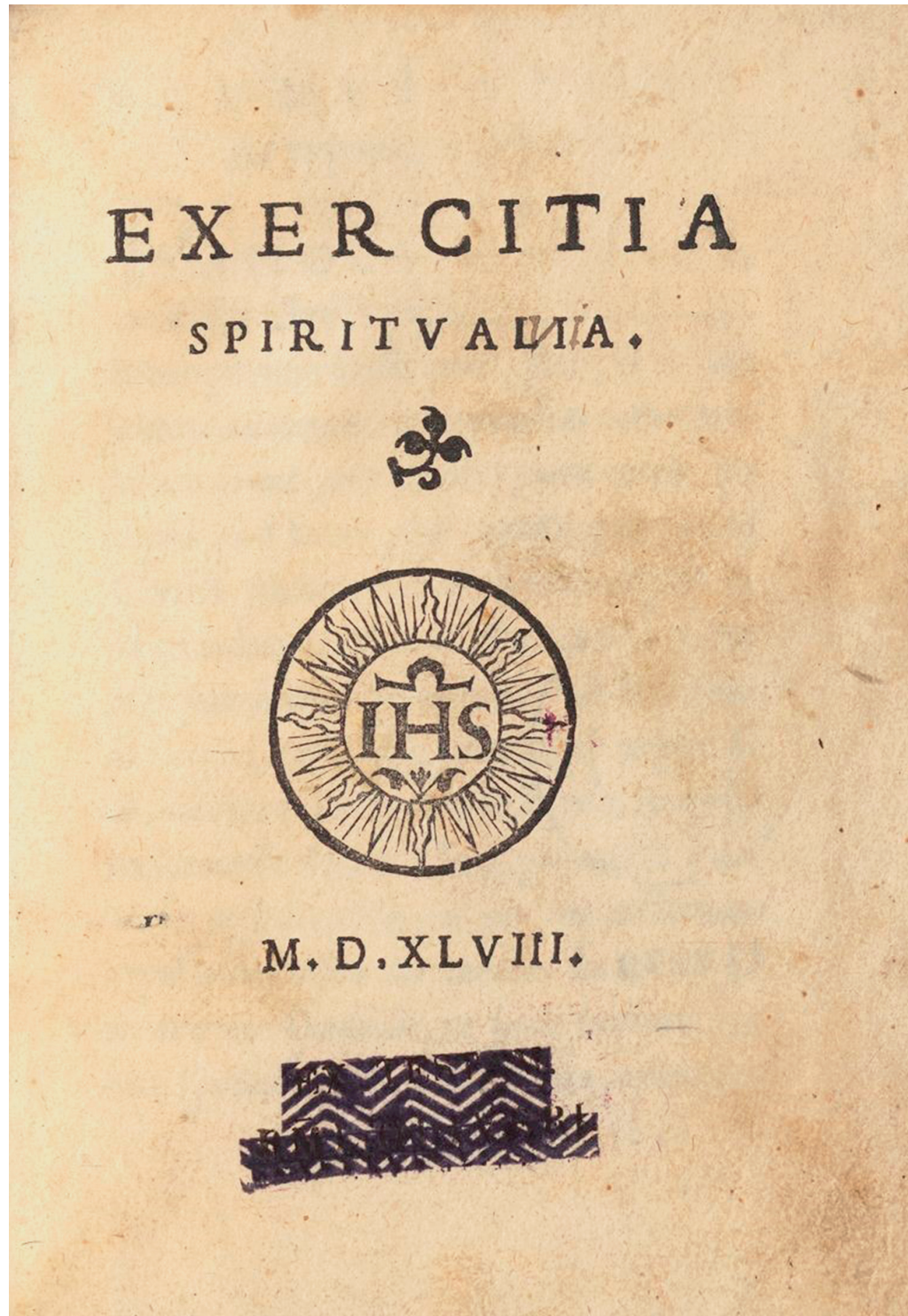


Figure 5: *Ignatius of Loyola, Exercitia spiritualia (1548) MSB, P248.692 IGNA Exer 1548, title page.*

for this database. Other input came from random search queries on the internet. At that time, the goal of the bibliography was not to create an exhaustive list of KU Leuven publications, but rather to help researchers find whatever sources were out there that could be of use to them. The project published a weekly newsletter with updates on the latest additions to the database. In 2018, talks between Boston College's Institute of Advanced Jesuit Studies, the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in Rome and the Jesuitica Project at KU Leuven resulted in the co-foundation of the Jesuit

Online Bibliography (JOB). The Jesuitica Project stopped adding new titles to its separate bibliographical database on www.jesuitica.be and decided to join forces to contribute to the Jesuit Online Bibliography. This bibliography has the advantage of being a collaborative effort within the context of firmly established partnerships, resulting in greater stability, guaranteed continuity and a larger and more diverse output. This authoritative bibliography on twenty-first-century Jesuit studies was launched in April 2019.⁸ What began as a secondary initiative of the project is now a collaborative authoritative online resource for scholars around the world, which is used on average by c. 1,000 users every month.⁹

Since 2019, the Jesuit European Low Countries Region has been giving greater attention to its library patrimony. The book collections of the Belgian and Dutch Jesuits, spanning more than 500,000 volumes, are managed by various institutions and kept at different locations. To provide an overview of this patrimony, a virtual platform was created by LIBIS, entitled ‘Jesuit Armarium’ (or Jesuit ‘bookcase’). KU Leuven Libraries’ Maurits Sabbe Library, KADOC and the Library of the Ruusbroec Institute in Antwerp are linking their Jesuit-owned collections to this search interface to make them accessible to researchers and enthusiasts of Jesuit library heritage.¹⁰

Since 2006, the Jesuitica Project has participated in numerous exhibitions and related publications, including *Emblemata Sacra* and *Quadráginta margaritae*. The *Emblemata Sacra* exhibition at the Maurits Sabbe Library (27 January 2005 – 3 March 2005) was subsequently also displayed in its entirety at the Francis A. Drexel Library I in Philadelphia (19 March 2006 – 21 May 2006).¹¹ *Quadráginta margaritae* was published in 2014 to mark the library’s fortieth anniversary.¹²

A book entirely devoted to the Maurits Sabbe Library’s Jesuitica collection was published in 2009: Paul Begheyn, Bernard Deprez, Rob Faesen, Leo Kenis & Eddy Put, eds., *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540–1773: A Selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library*, Documenta Libraria 38 (Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Library – Peeters, 2009). In December of the same year, an international congress took place in Leuven, entitled *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773)*. The proceedings of this congress were published three years later: Rob Faesen & Leo Kenis, eds., *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773): Proceedings of the International Congress at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven (3–5 December 2009)*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 251 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012). We are now several years later, and in line with the past activities of the Jesuitica Project, the current publication and the corresponding exhibition in the library are intended to showcase a variety of Jesuitica-related research carried out on the collections at the Maurits Sabbe Library.

We think we can conclude that over the past twenty years, the Jesuitica Project has provided valuable information in many forms for a specific, yet very international, audience of Jesuitica researchers. It is our ambition to keep offering the Jesuitica research community the tools and data it needs to carry out its academic research in the best possible way.

⁸ Boston College – Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, “Jesuit Online Bibliography”.

⁹ The Jesuitica website similarly reaches just over 1,000 users per month on average.

¹⁰ LIBIS – KU Leuven, “Jesuit Armarium”.

¹¹ Chorpenning, Dekoninck, Guiderdoni, Van Vaeck & Faesen, eds., *Emblemata Sacra*.

¹² Kenis, Storme, Van Loon & Verspeurt, eds., *Quadráginta margaritae*.

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Traces of Jesuit Ownership and Provenance in the Jesuitica Collections at the Maurits Sabbe Library: Exploring a Search Methodology with Focus on Leuven

Bernard G. F. DEPREZ

In memory of Frans Gistelinck (1939–2023)

Anyone who searches the Jesuit Online Bibliography looking for recent studies pertaining to Jesuit libraries will be amazed. It really is a hot topic.¹ Historical library holdings are being reconstructed, acquisition logistics laid bare, and the knowledge that was available at any given college or university assessed.² What can the contribution of the Maurits Sabbe Library to this field of study be? As it is itself an amalgam of different historical libraries, such as the Major Seminary library of Mechelen, the Leuven Jesuit library – lastly housed at the Jesuit scholasticate in Heverlee –, the library of the Dutch Jesuit province (Nijmegen), and the Jesuitica collections from Maastricht University, I will argue that the detailing of former ownership in the university library database would be major progress.³

The Maurits Sabbe Library mainly houses books from post-restoration libraries. Yet, despite the dispersal of the books at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus, some volumes from pre-suppression libraries have survived and have found their way back into Jesuit institutional libraries.⁴

Interpretation of provenance marks should have its share in attempts to reconstruct collections, alongside external aids such as library catalogues, acquisition lists and sales catalogues. I plan to restrict myself to researching the provenance of the (virtual) Jesuitica collection at the Maurits Sabbe Library, and build a repertory of Jesuit-related provenance marks.⁵ I believe it is a good place to start, as many post-restoration institutional Jesuit libraries of the Low Countries will be represented. A structured repertory will be helpful for future researchers in the Maurits Sabbe Library and in other library collections (table 1).

¹ Boston College – Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, “Jesuit Online Bibliography”.

² Similarly, a special website was launched in 2020 to virtually bring together all books currently owned by the Jesuits (former North-Belgian and Dutch provinces), housed at different institutional libraries: LIBIS – KU Leuven, “Jesuit Armarium”.

³ Kenis, “The Maurits Sabbe Library,” XI-XVII; Lamberigts & Kenis, “De Maurits Sabbebibliotheek,” 1-20; Van Loon, “Disclosing Thematic Collections,” 357-381.

⁴ For more information, e.g., on the relationship between Jan Frans Van de Velde (1743–1823), librarian of Leuven University, and Lodewijk Vincent Donche, S.J. (1769–1857), see: Op de Beeck, “Boeken uit de bibliotheken van de Engelse jezuïetencolleges te Brugge,” 83; Roegiers, “De Leuvense Bibliotheek Godgeleerdheid 1445–2010,” 31-32.

⁵ Since 2004, any book written/edited by, dedicated to a Jesuit, or about (a) Jesuit(s), *and* held at the Maurits Sabbe Library is considered as part of the virtual Jesuitica collection (fig. 1). These books receive a special tag, which makes retrieval by the librarians possible. For more information on the term Jesuitica collections, see: Van Loon, “Disclosing Thematic Collections,” 357-381.

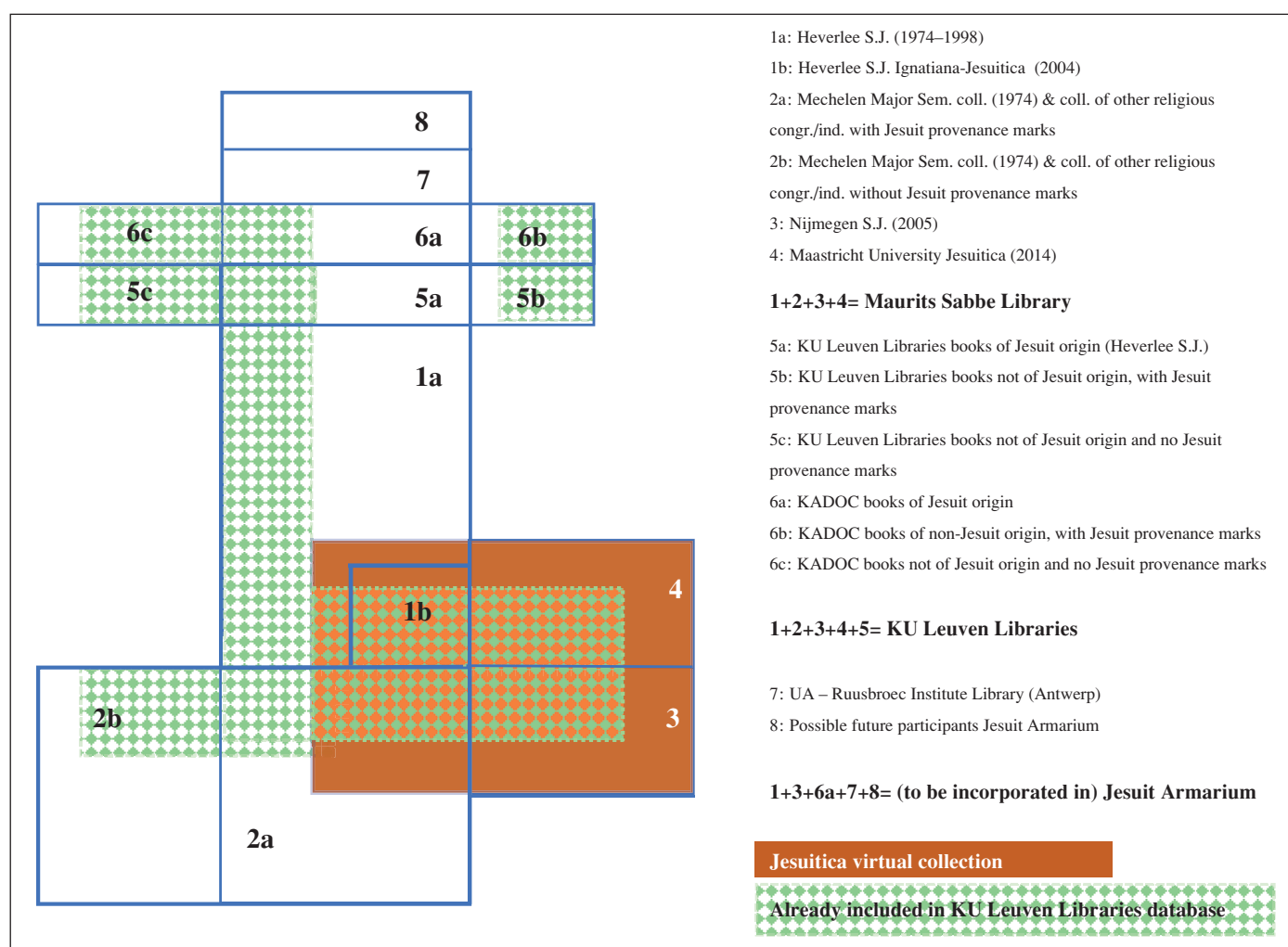


Figure 1: *Schematic visualisation of library collections in relation to Jesuit provenances.*

A thorough analysis of the book markings and inscriptions, collectively called provenance marks, that often adorn old books can offer a sure guide and reference for any research on book collections.

The vocabulary of this field of study merits some discussion: private owners of books frequently write their name on the title page, or paste printed ex-libris bookplates onto the front endpaper or fly-leaf, or use a monogram ink stamp. Institutional owners might inscribe a handwritten note, or apply an institutional ink/dry stamp, or affix a printed bookplate indicating the name of the library, often tied to a location. These markings provide primary information about the previous ownership of a book.

Furthermore, libraries also apply (colour-coded) stamps, book labels and written notes in fixed places on covers and pages to indicate the place of the book in their library system, such as shelf marks, acquisition stamps and acquisition serial numbers. These similarly provide clues for a book's former provenance. I will regard this latter series as secondary markings.⁶ Distinguishing the different markings can be helpful. Tying a marking to a particular institution and/or location

⁶ Noël Golvers distinguishes eight kinds of inscriptions, see Golvers, "Reconstructing Western Book Collections," 215–221.

can be easy or difficult. Establishing a chain of provenance by dating each of the markings would be a major breakthrough.⁷ It is not as easy as is often assumed to correctly and coherently describe a stamp/bookplate. This involves interpreting textual elements, often composed of abbreviations, Latin elements, punctuation marks, mingled with visual features or acronyms. How can a consistent interpretation of these elements be devised?

An analysis of the Maurits Sabbe Library and its Jesuit-related holdings with their acquisition/provenance marks may initially be disappointing, as the records in the card catalogues hardly contained any provenance indications. But with the advent of the computerised information system, it became feasible to record the marks. Since 1974, some notes on the provenance of books were entered: at least personal names – when they could be deciphered – and a location with the acronym of the congregation/society, and possibly the type of mark, such as ‘Leuven: S.J.’ or ‘Culemborg: SJ Bookplate’. But this information does not suffice to trace the chain of provenance. Given the many subsequent librarians, and the successive introduction of ever new library software, it is understandable that accuracy and consistency are hard to find.⁸ As David Pearson acknowledges: ‘Provenance information added to these catalogues could not always be retrieved by users, because of system limitations. The cataloguing codes in standard professional use gave scant attention to copy-specific details, and record formats were still evolving to become hospitable to such data’.⁹

In 2004, librarians started to transcribe the complete text on stamps/book labels that pointed to Jesuit provenance in the library management system, and this information was used as a template for further entries.¹⁰ Unfortunately, as of today, provenance notes are not yet searchable by the researchers.

In order to have correct and comparable data for all provenance/acquisition marks, I would like to propose an exemplary format for studying data relating to Jesuit provenance. Ideally, this should contain the following elements: (1) a literal line per line transcription (// indicating a change of line, or change of direction of text) of (a) the textual element on the stamp/bookplate/label including possible acronyms (such as IHS) – preferably at the back but preceded by | if in the centre –, punctuation marks, diacritics and abbreviations; this will probably indicate whether the library belonged to a residence, a novitiate, a college, etc. (b) a handwritten annotation; (2) an indication of the location in the vernacular or in English; (3) an expansion of possible abbreviations; (4) the type of acquisition/provenance mark: manuscript, stamp (metal, wood, rubber), bookplate, label; (5) colour of ink of stamp; colour of label and colour of printing on label; (6) form of stamp/bookplate/label: circular (CR), oval (OV), mandorla (MA), rectangular (RE) or modified rectangular (RE-mod.), and rectangular-portrait mode (RE-p), square and square-like (SQ) or other (OT); (7) the size of the stamp / text block or (outer/inner) frames on printed bookplates/book labels:

⁷ Comerford, *Jesuit Libraries*, 10, alludes to the difficulty of tracing transfers between institutions. See also Pearson, Cataldo de Azevedo, Martins, Bibas & Henrich, “Editorial by Guest Editors,” 6.

⁸ For example, ‘Biblioth. College N. D. Anvers IHS’ and ‘Biblioth. du collège N.D. à Anvers’ are two transcriptions in the database of the same stamp, pertaining to the Jesuit secondary school in Antwerp city. Likewise, ‘BIBLIOTHECA COLL. MAX. S.J. LOVAN. IHS’ and ‘Coll. Max. S.J. Lovan. Bibliotheca’ both refer to the Leuven *Collegium Maximum*.

⁹ Pearson, *Provenance Research*, 235.

¹⁰ The library management system is limited in the sense that this system is not case sensitive and therefore does not distinguish capitals from minuscules, even though an ‘as is’ description might require this.



Figure 2a: Institutional marks of the Leuven/Heverlee Jesuit institutions found in the Maurits Sabbe Library (Jesuitica collection) (part 1).



Figure 2b: Institutional marks of the Leuven/Heverlee Jesuit institutions found in the Maurits Sabbe Library (Jesuitica collection) (part 2).

Ø or h × w in mm.; (8) translation of Latin text elements; (9) date range of the existence of the library/institutional context; and (10) a picture.¹¹

By way of example, and as a test of the proposed format, I will briefly look at the institutional marks of the Leuven/Heverlee Jesuit institutions, in alphabetical order (table 1); images in chronological order (fig. 2).¹² Starting from the data recovered from the library management system of KU Leuven, I selected twenty-nine different labels and stamps. After manually checking the provenance marks in the books one by one I found many variants of the labels and stamps that were previously known; the number of marks currently stands at forty-four.¹³

SOME POINTERS FOR CONTEXTUAL INTERPRETATION

The Jesuits bought their first residence in Leuven in 1557, and organised the formation of their candidates in this city until 1773.¹⁴ After the restoration of the order in the Low Countries in 1832, Leuven again proved to be the right place for the education of aspiring Jesuits.¹⁵ In 1839, a new *Collegium Maximum (Sancti Johannis Berchmans)* was opened in the Minderbroedersstraat – formerly Rue des Récollets 11 – in Leuven. As both philosophy and theology courses were taught here, the library's full name was *Bibliothèque du Collège Philosophique et Théologique de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 25,000 books collected by Lodewijk Vincent Donche, S.J. (1769–1857) came from the Gent residence, where a theologate had been established in 1832 (fig. 3). Donche is therefore considered to be the founder of the Leuven library. A first stamp, 'Sem. Prov. Belg. S.J.' (A1) was probably used for the front page, often combined with a written serial number.

This Belgian province still encompassed residences in both Belgium, the Netherlands and Düsseldorf. But in 1849, the Dutch section became a separate vice-province, and in 1850 a fully separate province. By 1854, under Henri Rosa, S.J. (1800–1857, librarian 1850–1857), a new large library hall was built for the Leuven college, and soon the philosophical collection from Tournai and Namur was transferred to Leuven. The labels for this period were probably the 'Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu. Lovanii' series.

How can the many variants of the 'Bibl. Soc. Jesu Lovanii' label be explained? Looking at the fonts used, I believe that this is because a handpress was used. So far, I have found eight variants, which

¹¹ Inspiration for this checklist was found in the Municipal Library of Lyon, which allows for comprehensive searches regarding provenances, see e.g. Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, "Numelyo"; Tkacz, *Book Stamps*; Comerford, "The European Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project," 290-310; Golvers, "Reconstructing Western Book Collections," 213-234; Roberts, *The Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project*. The difference between 'bookplate' and 'label/sticker' is a moot point, see: Pearson, *Provenance Research*, 107. In the library management system of KU Leuven only 'bookplate' is used. I will use 'label' for all 'smaller' bookplates, whether on the front cover or inside the book, usually accompanied by shelf mark indications. In 2009, Luc Knapen already made the first series of high-quality photographs of a series of Jesuit ownership stamps and book labels. Not used nor published at that time, they nevertheless kept the interest alive.

¹² In this setup, no handwritten provenance notes (Jesuit or other) are taken into account.

¹³ The overall results of the yearlong search for Jesuit-related provenance marks in the Jesuitica collection can be found in the pages of the appendix, arranged according to country and location. At the moment of proof reading (Feb. 2024), yet another different stamp "COLL. S.J. LOVAN." (used in 1952) was discovered, already challenging one of my provisional conclusions.

¹⁴ Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I, 118-119.

¹⁵ The novitiate started in Nivelles in 1831, and moved to Drongen in 1837.

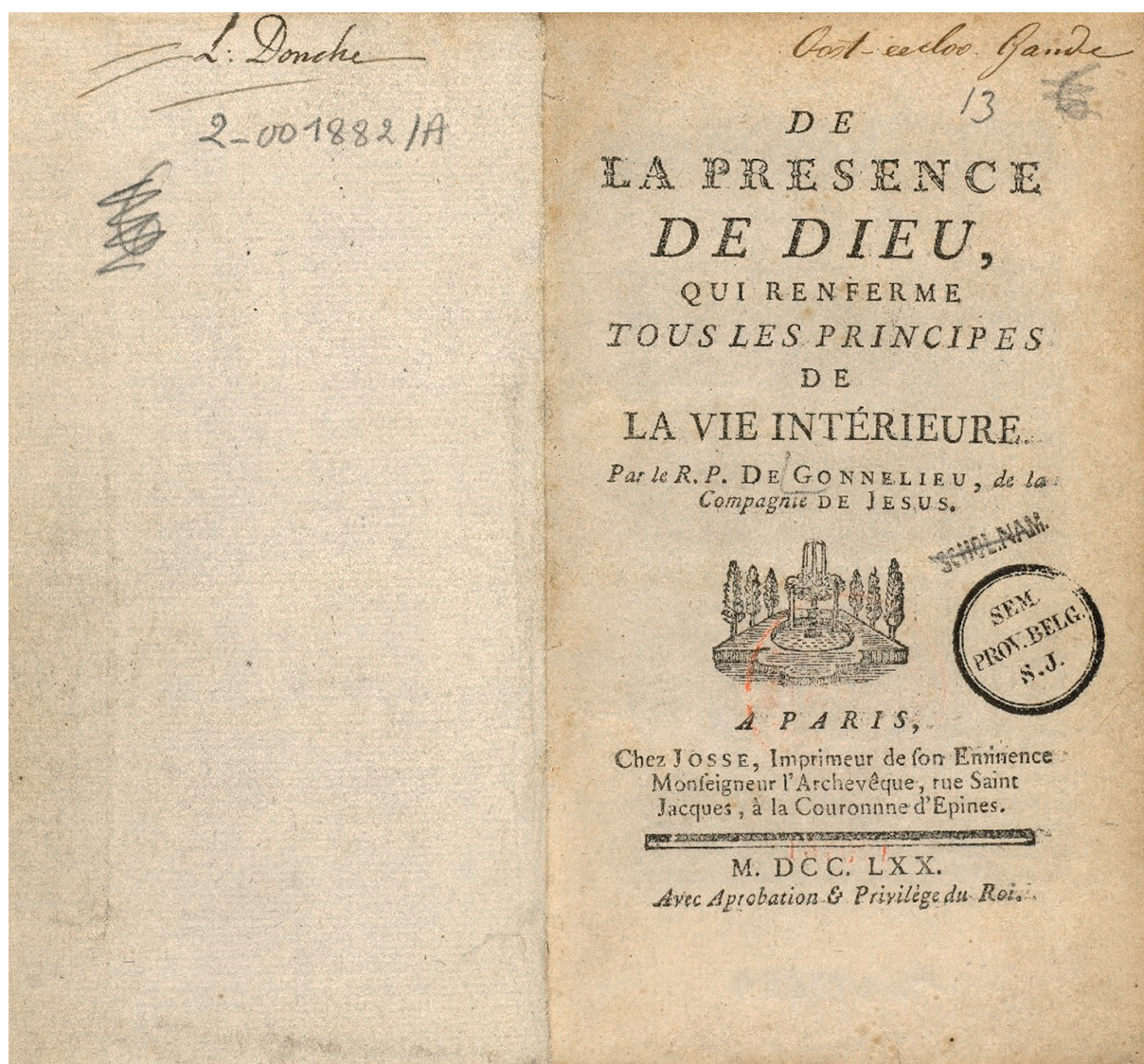


Figure 3: *De Gonnellieu, De la présence de Dieu* (1770) MSB, 2-001882/A, left endleaf v and title page.

became neater over time: C-D1, A-B-C-D2, A-B3. Surveying these labels, it becomes clear that a classification system was being introduced which would later lead to partially coded pre-printed labels.

During his time in Leuven, Everard Weemaes, S.J. (1809–1893) took up a supportive role in managing the library between 1840 and 1861 while exercising other ministries. The famed Aloys de Backer, S.J. (1823–1883) is mentioned as the librarian in some sources, but his obituary only remembers him as aiding in his brother's bibliographic work, although he came to Leuven in 1857.¹⁶ Subsequent librarians were Théodore van den Hove, S.J. (1842–1930) and Karel Van Duerm, S.J. (1852–1948, librarian until 1909).¹⁷

A noted librarian, Joseph de Ghellinck d'Elseghem, S.J. (1873–1950), aided by Pierre Scheuer, S.J. (1872–1957) and Xavier Jansen, S.J. (1870–1954), was the driving force behind changes

¹⁶ *Litterae annuae Provinciae Belgicae Societatis Jesu, anno scholari 1892–1893*, 74; *Litterae annuae Provinciae Belgicae Societatis Jesu, anno scholari 1882–1883*, 70–71.

¹⁷ *Litterae annuae ... 1892–1893*, 74; *Litterae annuae ... 1882–1883*, 70–71. The obituary of Van den Hove (*Litterae annuae ... 1929–1930, 1930–1931, 1931–1932*, 161) does not mention any activity in the library.

between 1909 and 1941. It can be inferred from De Ghellinck's article in *Essais pédagogiques* (1921–1931) that the red 'Bibliotheca Coll. Max. S.J. Lovan' stamp (A7), on the verso side of the title page, was his idea, and the series of 'Bibliothèque S.J. de Louvain' labels (labels C1-D8-C9) are testimony to his attempt to reorganise the collection¹⁸ Here, too, there are many variants. It seems every *rayon*, with pre-printed letter, had its own version of the label. The later version 'BIBLIOTHÈQUE' seems more uniform.

On 25 and 26 August 1914, De Ghellinck organised a major rescue operation to save the principal part of the books from possible war damage. In the meantime, a new building was being constructed to house the theological collection, but the transfer could only take place in 1919, after the First World War.

During the 1927–1948 period, philosophy was taught at a new venue called *Faculté jésuite Saint-Albert* at Egenhoven, whose library was bombed on 15 May 1940. The college in Leuven only housed theology students during that period. The Leuven library always had several sub-libraries. Was theology one of those? Contextualising the 'Bibliotheca theologorum Coll. Lovan. S.J.' stamps/labels may require more research at archives and sister libraries in Brussels and Wallonia.

Meanwhile, in 1929, the southern, French-speaking part of the *Provincia Belgica* became a vice-province. In 1935, the unified province was split into the *Provincia Belgica Meridionalis* and the *Provincia Belgica Septentrionalis*, and so were the book collections. The Southern province's share of books moved to Egenhoven. This division of the collection can be seen in the B-C-D5 stamps: 'Bibl. Theol. Prov. Belg. Sept. S.J.', 'BIBL. PHILOSOPHORUM PROV. BELG. SEPT S.J.' and 'Bibl. Philosophica Prov. Belg. Sept.' Were these last two stamps used in Egenhoven, or in Leuven, as the philosophical collection only returned in 1948?

During the first half of the twentieth century, the Jesuits in Leuven, especially Pierre Charles, S.J. (1883–1954), had a keen interest in the foreign missions and missiology. Could the stamps 'Bibl. Miss. Mus. Xaver. Lovanii', 'Bengal Mission S.J. Louvain', 'BIBLIOTHECA MISSIONUM LOVANII S.J.' (A-B-C6) and the later label 'Bibl. Miss. Louv.' (D6) – clearly a reference to a sub-library – reflect this important movement, or simply the fact that the Bengal Mission was part of the Belgian province?¹⁹

After the Second World War, in 1948, the philosophy department (*Provincia Belgica Septentrionalis*) moved back to Leuven college, joining the theology department which was still there. A larger library hall was built there (1951). Since 1948, the *Provincia Belgica Meridionalis* taught both philosophy and theology at Egenhoven, meaning there was a *de facto* split between formation houses according to language. A new library building was erected in Egenhoven in 1957–1960.

Mark Dykmans, S.J. (1905–1991, librarian 1941–1961) succeeded Joseph de Ghellinck during the Second World War.²⁰ Dykmans reorganised the library, improving catalogue and research possibilities and introduced index cards made with the aid of a computer.²¹ All shelf marks were

¹⁸ Labels C1-D8-C9 can be found in Bellessort, *L'apôtre des Indes et du Japon* (1918) MSB, 2-002781/A; De Ghellinck d'Elseghem, "Nos bibliothèques," 489.

¹⁹ Three mission stamps can be found in de Charlevoix, *Geschichte von Paraguay* (1830), MSB, 2-001594/A.

²⁰ De Moreau, "R.P. Joseph de Ghellinck d'Elseghem. 1872–1950," 1570-1573.

²¹ Dykmans, *Le déménagement d'une bibliothèque semi-publique*; Theologische en Filosofische Faculteiten van de Sociëteit van Jezus, *Systematische catalogus van de bibliotheek*.

replaced to reflect a new alphanumeric classification system, of which the green and red square labels 'Leuven' (C-D10) are the witnesses. In 1959, Dykmans also oversaw the move of the library (350,000 volumes) to the new premises at the Waversebaan 220 in Heverlee, where books were ordered systematically according to subject matter. The house at the Minderbroedersstraat 11 became the home of Lessius University College (1959–1966), housing Jesuits studying at the university (stamps A-B10). In 1961, Dykmans was asked to reorganise the Gregorian Library and he was succeeded by Frans Theodoor Bossuyt, S.J. (1938–1993) as librarian in Leuven/Heverlee until 1967.

The acquisition stamp 'Coll. SJ Lovan' (A-B-C-D11 and A-B-C12) seems to have been used mainly in Heverlee. Seven versions have appeared so far, with black, blue and purple ink, and the evidence is that it was used from the 1960s to the 1990s. C12 is still in use at the Maurits Sabbe Library. Herman Morlion, S.J. (1925–2008, librarian 1967–1997) assumed the librarianship in 1967, as teaching at the Jesuit faculties of theology and philosophy in Heverlee came to an end.²² Under his leadership, many books from other Jesuit institutions in Flanders found their way to Heverlee, as these institutions closed down too. Father Morlion ultimately also had to oversee the dismantling of the holdings of the Leuven/Heverlee library. In 1974, the theological collection was moved to the library of the Faculty of Theology of Leuven University – which has been called Maurits Sabbe Library since 2004 – in the centre of Leuven, at the Charles Deberiotstraat 26. The philosophical and other collections were transferred to this library in 1998, and the Jesuitica and Ignatiana followed in 2003. Other sections – such as sciences, literature and philology – were sold to the sciences faculty library, or transferred to Leuven University's Central Library. Copies of editions that were already present in the library were then sold and the proceeds used to buy Jesuit-related books. Series of monographs to which the Jesuits subscribed remained in Heverlee for another ten years, before being transferred to the Maurits Sabbe Library. Up to 1996, Herman Morlion was responsible for the acquisition of new books for the Jesuit library, even though the Jesuits' theological collection had already moved to the Maurits Sabbe Library. Since 1974 the university has paid the Jesuits rent for housing their collections in the theology faculty library. This yearly rental sum is being reinvested in the acquisition of new books for the Maurits Sabbe Library.²³ In Heverlee, green and red labels marked 'Leuven' (stamps C-D10) continued to be used as there were large quantities available: green labels for books destined for the Maurits Sabbe Library, red labels for those that were to remain – for a while – in Heverlee. Silveer De Smet, S.J. (1924–2007, librarian 1972–2004) was mandated by the Jesuits to oversee the transfer of the theological collection from Heverlee to the Charles Deberiotstraat.

In 1969, a similar phenomenon took place in Eindhoven. The French-speaking philosophy students left for Namur, and the books were incorporated into the collection of the *Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Religieuses*, now part of the *Bibliothèque Universitaire Plantin Moretus*. In 1972, the theology students from Eindhoven left for Brussels, to the *Institut d'études théologiques*, the new Jesuit theological faculty, which opened in 1970.²⁴ In 1990, the archives of the Flemish Jesuits moved from Brussels to the Waversebaan 220 in Heverlee (Stamp D12).

²² Philosophy students moved to Antwerp, to the *Universitaire Faculteiten St Ignatius*. Theology students enrolled in Leuven, at *Centrum Kerkelijke Studies/Centre for Ecclesial Studies*.

²³ Lamberigts & Kenis, "De Maurits Sabbebibliotheek," 4.

²⁴ Dumont, "Vie et destinée d'un Collège jésuite Louvain 1838 – Bruxelles 1989," 7-48.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LEUVEN TEST CASE

We did not expect there to be such a large variety of stamps and labels bearing the same text and having the same format. The variants of the ‘Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu. Lovanii’ labels most probably only refer to different print runs of new sets of labels, and not to any internal reorganisation of the library. Those bearing the words ‘Bibliothèque S.J. Louvain’ seem to refer to different sections of the collection. In order to differentiate among the variants found, we needed to constantly give further details about the format, which required measuring the length of text lines, defining the type of frame, the type of line (e.g., dotted) and the distance between lines, and distinguishing between ornamental elements.

A large portion of the labels and stamps proved difficult to ‘read’. Many stamps are unclear, or new ones have been superimposed upon them purposefully, to mark the newest owner. It has proven difficult to match labels and stamps that do not mention a locality with a location, because sometimes institutes (e.g., the philosophy course) were moved from one locality to the next. For instance, when the Jesuit library of Leuven moved to the Heverlee premises, no new stamps or labels referring to Heverlee were made, since the Leuven shelf marks were retained.

Nor did it prove easy to determine which mark was oldest. Multiple labels and stamps could sometimes be tied to a single location. In some cases the older mark is crossed out, partly torn or partly erased, or a new mark has been superimposed upon it. In other cases, volumes were rebound, which results in some older marks being cut at the rim. We also noticed that the language on the stamps/labels developed over time, from Latin to French to Dutch, mirroring the ecclesio-linguistic and politico-linguistic changes in the Belgian church and society. Perhaps this may help to pinpoint a certain stamp to a more specific time in history.

The suggestion of distinguishing between primary and secondary provenance marks does not make much sense with regard to this collection. Bookplates (*ex-libris*) are hardly present, nor do they refer to Jesuit ownership, and both stamps and labels almost always are supplemented by acquisition numbers and/or shelf marks.

Our research methodology can still be improved or carried out more thoroughly. Measuring equipment should be more precise, and perhaps digital means can help with this. Even then, it can still be difficult to find elements that can help to compare labels and that can be measured: for example, frame (outer, inner), text bloc, several text lines, as labels were often apparently cut arbitrarily. Some labels had additional dotted lines to enable clean cutting. Additional research at sister libraries, for instance of the collection at the University of Namur and at the KADOC archives, may help solve some of the dating problems.

SOME PRELIMINARY WIDER CONCLUSIONS (INVOLVING THE DATA FROM THE APPENDIX)

This research project, and especially the Leuven test case, has shown that researching the provenance marks in the Maurits Sabbe Library is no easy task. It is clear that all provenance research depends on the quality of the input and interpretations of the initial bibliographers. The input from the library management system database is a good start, but fails to account for the wide variety of stamps and labels that were actually used. These can only be discovered by opening each volume manually. It has equally become evident that only pictures can truly communicate all the

details of stamps and labels: there are limits to the details that can be conveyed in any merely textual description in a database.

Since the research focused on identifying stamps and labels, a wealth of available handwritten provenance information was left untouched. Nevertheless, it might be important to signal the names of a number of Jesuits that have been identified and that formed the nucleus of the restored Society in the Low Countries, such as Peter Jan Beckx (1795–1887), Lodewijk Vincent Donche (1769–1857), Petrus De Hasque (1776–1846), Desiderius van Huerne (1780–1816), Cornelius Geerts (1734–1819), Henricus Groenen (1740–1814), Carolus Valentijns (1791–1865), Jan-Baptist Verkest (1795–1858), Matthias Wolff (1779–1857), suggesting they all reacquired books that originally belonged to the Society but were auctioned off after the suppression.

Similarly, the research has also uncovered that a good number of pre-suppression locations figure among the handwritten annotations.²⁵ However, the stamps and labels discovered so far show the wide variety of locations at which the Society was active in Belgium and the Netherlands from the restoration onwards. Some institutions/locations are seemingly absent, for instance the Egenhoven philosophical college of the Belgian Jesuits, which was bombed in 1940. But until 1948, philosophy courses at Egenhoven were attended by both French- and Dutch-speaking Jesuit scholastics. Perhaps some stamps, referring to the philosophical collection of books, were actually used at Egenhoven: some two thousand books survived the bombing since they were brought to safety in Brussels. Moreover, the linguistic divide in Belgium might also explain some *lacunae*.

Equally, references to the libraries of the exiled French and Spanish Jesuits, like Marneffe, Alseberg, Sint-Pieters-Leeuw seem absent, except for Enghien. On the other hand, various marks prove the presence of books from Valkenburg, Bleijenbeek and 's Heerenberg – home to the exiled German Jesuits.

As of December 2022, going by the results listed in the appendix, a total of 262 different stamps and labels have been found and identified. One hundred thirty-eight refer to Belgian locations/institutions (forty-four of which to Leuven/Heverlee), eighty-eight refer to Dutch locations/institutions, and thirty-six refer to other (European) countries.

Further research might still uncover the existence of stamps and labels linked to more locations and Jesuit institutions in the Low Countries and Europe, especially if the scope of the research is widened to include all of the (Jesuit) holdings in the Maurits Sabbe Library, or even all holdings in the university's library management system. We dare hope that further technical progress will one day allow researchers to discover online what now requires manual handling. The Maurits Sabbe Library is a treasure trove of provenance marks, definitely of Jesuit-related marks.

I hope that this exercise will be an eye-opener that may inspire others to do more widespread and profound research. I even dream of a database of Jesuit provenance marks.²⁶

²⁵ Pre-suppression locations found thus far: Antwerp professed house, Dinant, Douai, Eichstätt, Gent, Groningen, Leiden, Oost-Eeklo (=Gent), Leuven, Liège, Lier, Mechelen, Munich, Namur, Neuß, Nivelles, Ravenstein, Roermond, Rome, Saint-Omer, Ticino, Tournai, and Düsseldorf (part of the new Belgian province in 1832). Roegiers, "De Leuvense Bibliotheek Godgeleerdheid 1445–2010," 31-38.

²⁶ This research would not have been possible without the benevolent and unrelenting help of Yannick Van Loon, Hans Storme and Jo Luyten, and the suggestions of Etienne D'hondt, Luc Knapen, Bart Op de Beeck, Lieve Watteuw, Steven Van Impe, Magda Engelen, Veronique Verspeurt nor without the input of the late Frans Gistelinck and the Maurits Sabbe Library cataloguers since 1974.

Table 1: *Alphabetical repertory of Jesuit provenance marks pertaining to Leuven/Heverlee (up to December 2022)*

'as is' transcription (except for hyphens)	# image	Holding/acquisition [not explicitly stated]	Type	Shelf mark of random copy	Form	Size	Colour of ink ²⁷ Location
ARCHIEF DER// VLAAMSE JEZUÏETEN// Waversebaan 220 // 3001 Heverlee	D12	Heverlee: S.J. (bibl. ABSE)	Stamp	2-021480/B	RE	47×22	BLU
Bengal Mission// S.J. Louvain	A6	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	2-002789/A	MA-2 mandorlas	50×34	PU-BLU
Bibl. Miss. Louv.// N...// T...	D6	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-001594/A	RE-frame 41×22 Larger outer dotted frame		BLA
Bibl. Miss.// Mus. Xaver. Lovanii	B6	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	2-001594/A	MA-2 mandorlas	51×34	PU
Bibl. Philosophica// Prov. Belg. Sept.	C5	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	P Plano 131 TOUR	OV	51×34	BLU
BIBL. PHILOSOPHORUM// PROV. BELG. SEPT. S.J.	D5	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-006898/C	OV	45×24	PU
BIBL PROF. S.J.// LEUVEN	D10	Heverlee: SJ	Label	3-040684/A 1-4	SQ	25×24	RD print Front cover, upper left corner
BIBL. THEOL.// COLL. LOVAN. S.J.	A4	Heverlee: S.J. (bibl. ABSE)	Stamp	2-021465/B	RE-frame	48×14	BLA
BIBL. THEOL. LOVANII	A5	Heverlee: SJ	Label	2-023967/A	RE-frame	45?×21	BLA
Bibl. Theol.//Prov. Belg. Sept. S.J	B5	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-017424/B	OV-double line	30×20	PU verso title page/ tp
BIBLIOTHECA// COLL. MAX. S.J. LOVAN. I H. S	B7	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	2-002755/A	CR (2 circles) Ø 30		PU verso title page
BIBLIOTHECA// COLL. MAX. S.J. LOVAN. I H. S	C7	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	2-002751/A	CR (2 circles) Ø 30		TE verso title page
BIBLIOTHECA// COLL. MAX. S.J. LOVAN. I. H. S.	A7	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-003902/A	CR (2 circles) Ø 30		RD verso title page
BIBLIOTHECA MISSIONUM // LOVANII S. J.	C6	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-001594/A	CR (2 circles) Ø 32		BLU/PU title page
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU.// LOVANII.	C1	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002781/A	RE-doubly dotted frame 51×32? outer 41×24 inner Text first line: 29		BLA
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU.// LOVANII.	D1	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002752/A	RE-double frame 51×32 outer 43×22 inner Text first line: 29		BLA

²⁷ Colours could be black (BLA), blue (BLU), red (RD), green (GN), purple (PU), teal (TE). De Ghellinck advised on using red greasy ink for stamping (p. 502), and on the use of differently coloured labels for subcollections.

BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU// LOVANII.	A2	Heverlee: SJ	Label	2-009710/A	RE-frame 40×25 Text first line: 31	BLA Inside cover, upper left corner
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU// LOVANII.	B2	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-004742/B	RE-frame 41×26 Text first line: 34	
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU// LOVANII.	C2	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002484/A	RE-frame 40×24 Text first line: 31 Text second line: 16	BLA
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU// LOVANII.	D2	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002698/A	RE-double frame 52×32 outer 41×22 inner Text first line: 32	BLA
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU// LOVANII.	A3	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002303/A* (2)	RE-dotted frame 43×26 Text first line: 37	BLA
BIBLIOTHECA// SOC. JESU// LOVANII.	B3	Heverlee: SJ	Label (damaged)	2-003902/A	RE-dotted frame 50×37? (part. perforated rim) Text first line: 37	BLA
BIBLIOTHECA// THEOLOGORUM// COLL. LOV.	D3	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-017424/B1-2	No frame 27×8 Text 2d line: 27	BLU
BIBLIOTHECA THEOLOGORUM// COLL. LOVAN. S. J// ...// ...// ...	D4	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002595/A	RE frame 47×33 Text first line: 29	BLA
BIBLIOTHECA// THEOLOGORUM// Coll. Lovan. S.J//...// D// ...	B4	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002774/A	RE-p double frame 55×40 outer 45×30 inner	BLU - BLA
BIBLIOTHECA THEOLOGORUM// Coll. Lovan. S. J.	C4	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002238/A*	RE frame 39×21 Text first line: 37	
BIBLIOTHEEK// LESSIUS UNIVERSITAIR// COLLEGE Minderbroedersstr. 11// LEUVEN (België)	B10	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-004114/C	RE 41×24	PU
BIBLIOTHEEK S.J// LEUVEN	C10	Heverlee: SJ	Label	2-005456/B	SQ 25×23	GR print on white Front cover, upper left corner
Bibliothèque S. J// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon ²⁸ Numéro H	A8	Heverlee: SJ	Label	2-009538/A 1-4	RE, indented rim 53×41 Text first line: 33 Text vertical: 19-20	BLA Pastedown upper left corner Variant lay-out (ornament)
Bibliothèque S. J// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon Numéro I	B8	Heverlee: SJ	Label	2-009534/A*2	RE, indented rim 53×41 Text first line: 33 Text vertical: 19-20	BLA Pastedown upper left corner Variant lay-out (ornament)

²⁸ In measuring the vertical distance between line 1 and 3, the letter printed under 'Rayon' is omitted, since this would render different results, according to the size of the letter involved.

Bibliothèque S. J.// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon Numéro L	C8	Heverlee: SJ	Label	2-012491/A	RE, indented rim 58×39 Text first line: 33 Text vertical: 20	BLA Variant lay-out (ornament)
Bibliothèque S. J.// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon Numéro J	D8	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002781/A	RE Text 38×27 Text first line: 33	BLA Variant lay-out (ornament)
Bibliothèque S. J.// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon Numéro K	A9	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002238/A*	RE 58×39	BLA Variant lay-out (ornament)
Bibliothèque S. J.// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon Numéro M	B9	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002484/A	RE 58×39 Text 38×27 Text first line: 33	BLA Variant lay-out (ornament)
BIBLIOTHÈQUE S. J.// LOUVAIN// Travée Rayon Numéro J	C9	[Heverlee: SJ]	Label	2-002781/A	RE, indented rim Size label: 55×39 Text first line: 42 Text vertical: 20+	BLA
COLL. S.J. LOVAN.	C11	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-008903/A	RE-frame 36×15 Text: 27	BLA verso title page (1976)
COLL. S.J. LOVAN	B1	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-001569/C	RE-mod.-frame 34×14	PU (1965)
COLL. S.J. LOVAN	A12	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-008902/A	RE-frame 34×15 Text 25	BLA (1995)
COLL. S.J. LOVAN	A11	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	2-002283/A	RE-double frame 31×11	PU
COLL. S.J. LOVAN	B12	[Heverlee: SJ]	Stamp	2-002282/A	RE-mod.-frame 35×14	BLU (1997)
COLL. S.J. LOVAN	C12	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	Any modern jesuitica item	RE-mod.-frame 34×15	BLA (2022)
EX LIBRIS// BIBLIOTHE- CAE// LESSIANI UNIV. COLL.// LOVANIENSIS// SOCIETATIS IESU	C10	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-003653/A	RE 40×24	BLU
SEM.// PROV. BELG.// S.J.	A1	Heverlee: SJ	Stamp	2-003898/A*2	CR Ø 23	BLA, title page iron gall ink?

Table 2: *Expansion of abbreviated provenance marks (stamps and labels)*

Bibl. Miss. Louv.// N ... // T ...	Bibl[iothèque] Miss[ionnaire (de)] Louvain// N[uméro]// T[ravée]	Label
Bibl. Miss. Mus. Xaver. Lovanii	Bibliotheca Miss[ionaria] Mus[ei] Xaver[ii] Lovanii	Stamp
Bibl. philosophica Prov. Belg. Sept.	Bibl[iotheca] philosophica Prov[inciae] Belg[icae] Sept[entrionalis]	Stamp
BIBL. PHILOSOPHORUM// PROV. BELG. SEPT. S.J.	BIBL[iotheca] PHILOSOPHORUM// PROV[inciae] BELG[icae] SEPT[entrionalis] S.J.	Stamp
BIBL PROF. S.J.// LEUVEN	BIBL[iotheek] PROF[essoren] S.J.// LEUVEN	Label

Bibl. Theol. Coll. Lovan. S.J.	Bibl[iotheca] Theol[ogorum] Coll[egii] Lovan[iensis] S.J.	Stamp
BIBL. THEOL.// COLL. LOVAN. S.J	BIBL[iotheca] THEOL[ogorum] COLL[egii] LOVAN[iensis] S.J.	Stamp
BIBL. THEOL. LOVANII	BIBL[iotheca] THEOL[ogorum] LOVANII	Label
Bibl. Theol.// Prov. Belg. Sept. S.J	Bibl[iotheca] Theol[ogorum]// Prov[inciae] Belg[icae] Sept[entrionalis] S.J	Stamp
BIBLIOTHECA// COLL. MAX. S.J. LOVAN. IHS	BIBLIOTHECA// COLL[egii] MAX[imi] S.J. LOVAN[iensis] IHS	Stamp
BIBLIOTHECA// Soc. Jesu.// LOVANII.	BIBLIOTHECA// Soc[ietatis] Jesu.// LOVANII.	Label
Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu. Lovanii	Bibliotheca Soc[ietatis] Jesu. Lovanii	Label
BIBLIOTHECA// THEOLOGORUM// COLL. LOV.	BIBLIOTHECA// THEOLOGORUM// COLL[egii] LOV[aniensis]	Stamp
BIBLIOTHECA// THEOLOGORUM// Coll. Lovan. S.J.// ...// B// ...	BIBLIOTHECA// THEOLOGORUM// Coll[egii] Lovan[iensis] S.J.// ...// B// ...	Label
Bibl. Theol. Coll. Lovan. S.J.	Bibl[iotheca] Theol[ogorum] Coll[egii] Lovan[iensis] S.J.	Stamp
COLL. S.J. LOVAN.	COLL[egii] S.J. LOVAN[iensis]	Stamp
EX LIBRIS// BIBLIOTHECAE// LESSIANI UNIV. COLL.// LOVANIENSIS// SOCIETATIS IESU	EX LIBRIS// BIBLIOTHECAE// LESSIANI UNIV[ersitatis] COLL[egii]// LOVANIENSIS// SOCIETATIS IESU	Stamp
SEM.// PROV. BELG.// S.J.	SEM[inarii]// PROV[inciae] BELG[icae]// S.J.	Stamp

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Appendix: *Provisional list of Jesuit related provenance marks in the Maurits Sabbe Library*²⁹

Location	Text (as per Libis database ³⁰)	Stamp/Bookplate ³¹	Shelf mark MSB ³²
BELGIUM			
<i>Unidentified locations</i>	Bibl. Philol. Prov. Belg. S.J.	Bookplate	<u>2-030851/B 1</u>
	BODE// VAN HET H. HART	Stamp	2-002545/A
	PETITE BIBLIOTHÈQUE// CHRÉTIENNE IHS	Stamp	2-002238/A* 2
	Bibl. Praep. Prov.	Label	2-001569/C
	Nederl. Ascet. bibliotheek Belg. Prov. S.J. BIBLIOTHEEK// NEDERL. ASCET. BELG. PROV. S.J.	Stamp	2-004944/A
Aalst			
Aalst – College (1831–)	Bibl. Magist. Coll. Alost. S.I. Pretiosa	Stamp	2-001100/D
	Bibl. Magist. Coll. Alost. S.I.	Stamp	2-011984/A
	Bibl. Magist. Coll. Alost. S.I.	Bookplate	2-011984/A
	Bibliotheca Coll. Alost. S.J.	Bookplate	2-011984/A
	Boekerij der leerlingen Aalst. (Aalst: Sint-Jozefcollege)	Stamp	2-006839/B
	Boekerij der leerlingen St Jozefcollege Aalst	Stamp	<u>2-017348/B</u>
	Ex bibliotheca Collegii Alost.	Bookplate	2-007497/A 1-5
Aalst – Residence	Coll. Alost. Bibl. Dom. Soc. Iesv	Stamp	2-011984/A
	Coll. Alost Soc. Iesv Bibl. Dom.	Stamp	1-000532/A
Alken (retreat centre) (1904–1970)	RETRAITENHUIS// ALKEN I.H.S.	Stamp	2-003288/A
Antwerp			
Antwerp (Borgerhout) – Xaverius college/residence	XAVERIUS-COLLEGE// STEENEN-BRUG// BORGERHOUT-ANTWERPEN	Stamp	2-028297/B
(1935–)	JEZUIETENHUIS XAVERIUS	Stamp	2-028297/B
	XAVERIUS COLLEGE// BORGERHOUT // Bibl. Mag:	Stamp	2-028297/B
Antwerp – Onze-Lieve-Vrouwecollege (1840–)	Bibl. Magistr. Coll. B.V: Ant: I.H.S.	Stamp	3-072798/B
	Bibl. Stud. Coll. B. M. V. Ant. IHS	Stamp	1-001636/A
	Biblioth. du Collège d'Anvers	Stamp	1-000224/D 1-2
	Biblioth. du collège N.D. à Anvers	Stamp	2-000594/A
	Bibliotheek O.L.V. College S.J. Antwerpen	Stamp	1-000055/B
	Colleg. Antverp. Soc. Jesu.	Bookplate	2-008978/A*10

²⁹ Manuscript provenance notes are excluded from this list, since this would have yielded lots of references to older institutional libraries. Even without these, the appendix has no claims whatsoever to completeness. KU Leuven's library management database as a whole (Maurits Sabbe Library and other libraries) contains even more Jesuit-related provenance stamps and labels. Mainly in the Jesuitica collections of the Maurits Sabbe Library, as found in KU Leuven's library management system, arranged per country (Belgium – Netherlands – other countries)/city/institution.

³⁰ Formatted texts 'as is' (with CAPITALS, // and | e.g.) have been added manually upon inspection of volumes, because the library database a.o. only provided abbreviated provenance notation, e.g. Alken: SJ.

³¹ KU Leuven's library management database today only differentiates between 'Ownership stamp' and 'Bookplate'.

³² Shelf marks of non-Jesuitica items will be *italicised* and underscored.

Antwerp – Ruusbroec Genootschap (1925–)	Bibliotheek van het Ruusbroec-Genootschap Antwerpen	Stamp	2-030964/B
Antwerp – Sint-Ignatius Institute	Biblioth: Instit: Sti: Ignat: Antverp:	Stamp	2-004505/A
	Instit. Antv. S. Ignii	Stamp	2-004124/A
	Instit. Antverpiense S. Ignatii	Stamp	39E/F° LESS Iust
	Bibl. Facult. St. Ign.-Antwerpen	Stamp	2-002537/A
	Instit. Si Ignatii Bibl. Domus	Bookplate	<u>2-024890/A</u>
Arlon (1855–2001) 1872: novitiate	Bibl. Arlun. S.J.	Bookplate	2-024182/A
	BIBLIOTHECA ?/?? ARLVN. SOC. JESV. IHS	Stamp	2-024182/A
Bruges			
Bruges – Residence (–2016)	Bibliotheca Resid. Brug. S.J.	Stamp	2-030858/B 1-2
	Resid. S.J. Brug.	Bookplate	2-030858/B 1-2
Brussels			
Brussels – Museum Bollandianum	Museum Bollandianum	Bookplate	2-018855/A
Brussels – Provinciale	Provinciaat S.J. Haachtsesteenweg 8 B-1210	Stamp	2-021461/B
Brussels – Provincial Archives	Arch. Prov. Belg. Sept.	Stamp	2-000594/A
	Archief S.J. Prov. Belg. Sept.	Stamp	2-021463/B
Brussels – Residence	Gesù Haachtsesteenweg 8, Brussel 3	Stamp	2-001925/D 2-010285/C
	Resident. Bruxell. Soc. Jesu IHS	Stamp	2-001925/D
	Resid. Brux. S.J. Catéch.	Bookplate	268.1/F° HAZA Trio
Brussels – Saint-Michel college (1935–1953)	College St. Michel S.J.	Stamp	279.318.6/F° SUAR Trac
	Coll. St. Michel Rue des Ursulines Bibl. des Professeurs	Stamp	<u>2-023935/A</u>
Brussels – Sint Jan Berchmanscollege (1953–)	Coll. Sti. Jnis Berchmans Brux. Bibliotheca Domus	Stamp	<u>2-029932/B</u>
	Collegium S. Joannes Berchmans Bruxellis Bibliotheca Professorum	Stamp	<u>2-024295/A</u>
Drongen			
Drongen – Juniorate (1837–1911 / 1919–)	Bibl. Schol. Rhet. Dom. Trunc. S.J.	Stamp	2-025173/A
	Bibl. Schol. Rhet. Trunc.	Bookplate	271.5.03 CEPA
Drongen – Novitiate (1837–)	Bibl. Nov. Trunc.	Stamp	P271.5.018/F° Imag
Drongen – Tertianship	Bibl. domus exercit. Trunc.	Stamp	3-059377/A
	Bibl. Dom. Prob. Trunc.	Bookplate	1-001958/A
	Bibl. Dom. Prob. Trunc.	Stamp	P H1389
	Bibl. D.P. Trunc.	Bookplate	2-015229/A 2-012626/A
	Bibl. Magistrorum Dom. Trunc. S.J.	Stamp	<u>2-029726/B</u>
	Bibl. PP. Tert. Prob. Dom. Trunc. S.J.	Stamp	2-010225/C
	Bibl. Prof. Abdij Drongen	Bookplate	<u>2-030619/B</u>

Enghien (1887–1957) Theologate Exiled French <i>Province de Champagne</i>	Collegium Angiense Societas Iesu-IHS	Stamp	2-009349/A* 2 2-017992/B
	Bibliotheca S.J. maison Saint-Augustin Eng-hien	Bookplate	2-009349/A* 2
Gent			
Gent – College (1833–)	Coll. S. Barbar. Gand. Bibl. Stud. BIBL. STUD.// COLL.// S. BARBAR.// GAND	Stamp	2-017322/B
	Coll. S. Barb. Gandae IHS	Stamp	P248.694.1/ Q° DAVI Veri
	Coll. Stae Barb. Gandae	Bookplate	P248.694.1/ Q° DAVI Veri
	Collegium S. Barbarae Gandae IHS	Stamp	2-012471/A
	Collegium S. Barbarae Gandae IHS - praemium	Gold-tooled stamp on cover	2-014910/A
Gent – Residence	Bibl. Resid. S. J.// Gandavensis// N°	Bookplate	2-012780/A
	Bibl. R. M. G.	Bookplate	2-012780/A
	Resid. Gandav. S.J. Theo. Dogm. ³³	Bookplate	2-000262/D
	Resid. Gandav. S.J.	Stamp	2-020511/B
Kortrijk	Bibliotheca residentiae S.J. Cortraci	Bookplate	2-010169/A
	BIBLIOTH.// RESID.// CORTRAC.// S.J.	Stamp	279.318.6/F° SUAR Com V. 1, 3
	Bibl. Res. Cortrac. Soc Jesu	Stamp	2-021464/B1-2
	Res. Cort. Soc. Jes	Stamp	2-021464/B1
Leopoldsbuurg (1922–1940)	IHS Bibl. Soc Jesu Bourg-Léopold	Stamp	2-003647/A
Leuven	Cf. article + table 1		
Liège			
Liège – College (1828–)	Biblioth. Colleg. Leod. Soc. Jes. IHS	Stamp	P248.159.4 CROI Lust
	Bibliotheca Colleg. Soc. Jesu Leodien.	Stamp	2-004294/A
(1892–)	Collège Saint-Louis S.J. Liège	Stamp	1-001340/A
Liège – Residence	Biblioth. Resid. Leod. Soc. Jesu	Stamp	2-029749/B
Lier (1841–1899 / 1969–1981)	Retraitenhuis I.H.S. Lier RETRAITENHUIS // LIER IHS	Stamp	2-009586/A 2-014971/A
Malines/Mechlin			
Mechlin – Residence (1868–)	Bibl. Res. Mechl. S.J.	Stamp	2-024010/A
	Bibl. Resid. Berchmans. Mechl. S.J.	Bookplate	1-000538/B
	Res. Mechl. S.J. Bibl. Domus	Stamp	1-000538/B
Namur	Bibliotheca Collegii D. V. Pacis	Stamp	2-013870/A
	CENTRE DOC. RECH. RELIG.// P. B. M. IHS	Stamp	2-024182/A
	Colleg. Namurc. S.J. Bibl. Domus	Bookplate	2-025173/A
	Ex Archivo// Prov. Belg. Merid.// Soc. Iesu	Stamp	2-024182/A
	SCHOL. NAM.	Stamp	2-001882/A

³³ Other subsections have separate bookplates: Ad Religiosos / Ad Sacerdotes / Ascetae Gall. / Conc. Gall. / Conc. Lat. / Exerc. Spirit. / Jus Can. & Civ. / Litterae / S. Cor. / S. Euchar. / Script. / Theol. Mor.

Oostakker (1877–)	Bibl. Resid. S.J. Oostakker	Stamp	2-000313/D
	Ex bibl. residentiae S.J. in Oostakker	Bookplate	248.695.1/16° DREX Aloe
Oudenaarde	Prize binding (1809)		38 Y REMO POE 1614
Tournai			
Tournai – College (1839–)	Bibl. Coll. Torn. S.J.	Bookplate	2F 1678 B
Tournai – Residence	Collegivm Soc. Iesv Tornacense - Bibliotheca domvs	Stamp	2-003647/A
	COLLEGE NOTRE DAME// TOURNAI. JHS	Stamp	P279.316.6 POSS Iudi 1592
Turnhout (1845–)	Bibl. Domus Coll. S. Jos. Turnhout Or COLL. S. JOS// BIBL. DOMUS// TURNHOUT	Stamp	2-010913/A* 2
	Bibliotheca coll. Turnh. S.J.	Bookplate	2-010913/A* 2
	bibliotheek s.j. stokse heide	Stamp	2-012782/A
	Coll. Turnh. Bibl. Mag.	Stamp	2-012781/A*2

NETHERLANDS			
<i>Unidentified locations</i>	Bibl. Mag. S. C.	Bookplate	2-004828/A
	BIBLIOTHEEK// HERAUT v/h HART	Stamp	PN00229
Juniorate	Bibl. Jun.	Stamp	2-004834/A
Province	Bibl. Prov. Ned. S.J.	Bookplate?	2-016142/A
	Bibl. Prov. Neerl. Soc. Jesu.	Bookplate	PN00324
	Bibliotheca Prov. Neerl. S.J.	Stamp	2-004842/A* 4
Provincial	B. Praep. Prov.	Bookplate	2-004829/A
	Bibl. Praep. S.J. Prov. Neerl.	Bookplate	2-004834/A 2-007279/A
Scholasticate	Bibl. Schol. Phil. S.J. Prov. Neerl.	Stamp	2-004505/A
	Bibl. Schol. Theol. Prov. Neerl.	Stamp	2-004808/A* 2 2-012959/B
	Bibl. Schol. Theol. Prov. Neerl.	Bookplate	P279.315.4 LESS Quae 2-012959/B
	Bibl. Semin. S.J. Prov. Neerl.	Bookplate	2-016142/A 2-004975/A
	BIBL. SEM. PHIL. SJ.// PROV. NEERL.	Bookplate	2-004825/A*2
	Bibl. Sem. Phil. S.J. Prov. Neerl.	Stamp	PN00145/F°
Tertianship	Bibl. Dom. Prob. Prov. Neerl. S.J.	Bookplate	P246.8 GHEE 1634
	Bibl. Dom. Prob. Prov. Neerl. S.J.	Stamp	2-009034/A
	Dom Prob. S.J. Prov. Neerl.	Bookplate	2-004509/A
	Dom Prob. S.J. Prov. Neerl.	Stamp	2-009060/A
	Tertiaat Ned. Prov. S.I.	Stamp	2-026669/B 2-004837/A* 2

Amsterdam			
Amsterdam – Residence-Church De Zaaier (1814– / 1928–1971)	Bibliotheca Residentiae Ignatii Amsterdam De Zaaier	Stamp	2-024985/B
	BIBLIOTHECA RESIDENTIAE// IGNATII DE ZAAIJER	Stamp	PN00147/F°
Amsterdam – Residence Krijtberg (1814–)	RESID. S.J.// KRIJTBURG// AMSTERDAM	Stamp	PN00230 PN00231
	Bibl. Res. Krijtberg S.J. Amstelaedam	Bookplate	2-003090/C
	“De Krijtberg” Roothaan-bibliotheek Amsterdam	Stamp	2-011876/A
	Bibl. Res. S.J. “De Krijtberg” in bruikleen a.h. P. Roothaan-Genootschap Amsterdam	Stamp	1-000365/B
Amsterdam – College (1911–1974)	Bibl. Gymn. Amst. Soc. Jesu.	Stamp	2-004849/A* 11 2-004856/A*3
	Bibl. Gymn. Soc. Jesu Amstelodam IHS	Stamp	2-004856/A*3
	Bibl. St. Ignatius-college Amsterdam	Stamp	2-011661/A* 2
	Amsterdam: Bibl. St. Ignatiuscollege BIBL. St. IGNATIUS-COLLEGE// AMSTERDAM	Stamp	2-017116/A
Blyenbeck (Castle <i>Bleijenbeek</i> , often written in German) (1872–1904)	Domus probat. Blyenbeck S.J. Domus probat// Blyenbeck S.J.	Stamp	LEUVEN MU 2141 A 1
Culemborg			
Culemborg – Residence (1628–1917)	Residentiae Culemburgensis S.J.	Bookplate	2-005179/A* 3
	Residentiae Culemborgensis S.J.	Stamp	2-004813/A* 6
	Residentiae culemburgensis	Stamp	1-000829/B
Culemborg – Seminary (1818–1825; 1841–1906)	Seminarii Culemburgensis S.J.	Bookplate	2-009034/A
	Seminarii Culemburgensis S.J.	Ownership stamp	2-003937/A* 2
Grave (Novitiate, 1865–1966) (Philosophicum, 1867–)	Bibliotheek Mariëndaal Grave	Stamp	2-011741/A 2-0012896/B
	Bibl. Novit. Dom. Prob. S.J. Mariaevallensis	Stamp	2-007456/A 2-009871/A
Groningen			
Groningen – College (1946–)	Bibliotheek St. Maartens College Groningen	Stamp	P268.115 CANI Summ 1577
Groningen – Residence	Bibliotheca Residentiae Groninganae Soc. Jesu	Stamp	2-011726/A 1-2
(1956–1956)	Residentia Groningensis ad Sancti Josephi S.J.	Stamp	1-000874/A
	Biblioth. Res. Gron. Soc. J.	Bookplate	1-000874/A
The Hague			
The Hague – College (1925–1986)	Bibliotheek Aloysius-college 's-Gravenhage.	Stamp	2-007458/A
	Coll. Alois. S.J. Hagan	Stamp	2-012960/B
	St. Aloisiuscoll. 's-Gravenhage	Stamp	MU 2070 E 19
The Hague – Huize Katwijk (1928–1946)	Bibliotheek St. Aloysius-college Huize Katwijk BIBLIOTHEEK// St-ALOYSIUS-COLLEGE HUIZE// KATWIJK	Stamp	2-012795/A 2-013030/B 2-017126/A
	Huize Katwijk 's-Gravenhage Raamweg 47	Stamp	2-012794/A 2-013030/B

The Hague – Residence (1836–)	Bibl. Res. Hag. in Conc. B.M.V.	Bookplate	2-007689/A
	Res. S.J. Hag. Com. ad S.ae Ther.ae	Bookplate	2-008110/A* 2
Helvoirt (1966–1973)	Bibliotheek Guldenberg Guldenbergweg 12 Helvoirt Holland	Stamp	2-011438/A
Katwijk a/d Rijn (College 1831–1842–1928) (cf. The Hague ³⁴)	Bibl: Gymn: Catv.	Bookplate	2-007458/A
	Bibl.-Gymn. Catv.	Bookplate	2-012795/A
	Bibl.-Gymn. Catv.	Stamp	2-007458/A 2-012795/A 2-010914/A* 2
	Gymnasium Catvicense	Stamp	2-011872/A
Maastricht (1852–1967)	Bibliotheek Canisianum Maastricht	Stamp	MU 2256 I 12
	Bibliotheek Canisianum MAASTRICHT	Stamp	2-013031/B
	Bibliotheek Theol. College S.J. Maastricht	Stamp	2-020743/B* 8
	Bibliotheca Collegii Maximi S.J. Traiectensis	Stamp	2-020743/B* 8
	Bibliotheca Collegii Maximi Traiectensis	Stamp	2-003132/C
In 1973, philosophical and theological books were sold to University Maastricht	Bibliotheek R. U. Limburg	Stamp	PN00299
	Universiteitsbibliotheek Universiteit Maastricht	Stamp	PN00138/F° 1-2
Nijmegen			
Nijmegen – Berchmanianum (1928–1967)	Berchmanianum Scholastiekenbibliotheek Nijmegen	Stamp	2-017425/B 1-2
	Bibliotheek “Berchmanianum” Nijmegen	Stamp	2-026830/B
	Bibl. Berchmanianum Nijmegen	Stamp	2-004825/A* 2
1980: repurchase of books sold earlier	Wederinkoop	Stamp	2-004505/A
Nijmegen – Canisius college (1900–1982)	Bibliotheek St. Canisius college Nijmegen	Stamp	2-003939/A* 2
	Bibliotheca Collegii Neomagensis S.J.	Stamp	2-002087/C
	Bibl. Coll. Neom. S.J.	Stamp	2-015147/B* 16
Nijmegen – Ignatius church (1821–1993)	Bibliotheek St. Ignatius-kerk Nijmegen	Stamp	2-015588/B
Nijmegen – Residence	Bibliotheca Dom. Neomag. S.J. Ascetici	Bookplate	2-009060/A
	Bibliotheca Dom. Neomag. S.J. Exerc. & Med.	Bookplate	2-004807/A* 2
	Bibliotheca Dom. Neomag. S.J. Polemici	Bookplate	2-009033/A
	Bibliotheca Dom. Neomag. S.J. Conciones	Bookplate	2-024974/B
Oosterhout (1858–1920)	Biblioth. Res. Oosterh. S.J.	Bookplate	2-004809/A* 2
	Residentia Oosterholtana Soc. Jes.	Stamp	2-004809/A* 2
Rotterdam (1893–1947)	Bibl: Res: Rott: Soc. Jesu.	Bookplate	2-009227/A
’s Heerenberg (German province, Novitiate 1932)	Bibl. Dom. S. Bonifatii IHS ’s-Heerenberg	Stamp	MU 3100 G 34
Sittard – College (1851–1900)	Bibl. Coll. Sittard S.J.	Stamp	2-003938/A
Spaubeek (1925–1968)	Retraitehuis “St. Ignatius” Spaubeek	Stamp	2-004808/A* 2

³⁴ The college moved from Katwijk a/d Rijn to a new location in The Hague. Locating the stamps in either location is difficult at the moment.

Utrecht (1906–1980)	Bibl. Res. S.J. Ultraiect.	Stamp	2-013031/B
	BIBLIOTHECA// COLLEGII MAXIMI S.J. // TRAIECTENSIS	Stamp	1-000668/A
Venlo (1908–1967)	Bibliotheca Domus “Manresa” Venlo	Bookplate	2-016614/A
	Manresa Bibl. Domus	Stamp	2-0012896/B
Vught (1913–1966)	Retraitehuis “Loyola” Vught	Stamp	2-004833/A* 4
	Bibliotheca Domus “Loyola” Vught	Bookplate	2-016618/A
	Bibliotheca Domus “Loyola” Vught	Stamp	2-011092/A
Zeist (1946–1982)	Huize Katwijk Zeist “De Breul”	Stamp	2-012794/A 2-013030/B 2-002320/D
	Bibliotheek Huize Katwijk	Stamp	2-007909/A
Zierikzee (station 1619–1781)	van de Catholijke kerk te Zierikzee	Bookplate	2-003937/A* 2

ALGERIA			
Algiers	Residentia S.J. Algèr JHS	Stamp	2-024395/A 1-2

AUSTRIA			
Innsbruck	Colleg. Oenipont. S.J.	Stamp	2-003744/A* 3
	Bibliotheca [...] Innsbruck Jesuitenkolleg	Stamp	2-003741/A* 2

FRANCE			
Amiens	? libre de la Providence, IHS	Bookplate	2-005354/B
Anjou / Angers	Bib. Dom. Andegav. S.J.	Bookplate	2-027114/A
	BIB. NOVIT.//ANDEGAV.// S.J.	Bookplate	2-002303/A*(3)
Avignon	Collège St Joseph JHS Avignon	Stamp	<u>2-027098/A</u>
Laval (1814–1880)	Domus Lavalliensis IHS	Stamp	PN00733
Le Mans	Seminarium Cenomanense IHS	Stamp	2-011001/A
Lille	Bibliothèque des P. Jésuites de Lille	Bookplate	2-030759/B
Lyon	Collegium Lugdunense St-Joseph	Stamp	2-026165/A
	Domus Lugdunensis Soc. Jesu	Stamp	2-026165/A
Marseille (1839–1901)	Massiliae Soc. Jes.	Stamp	2-009667/C
	Residentia IHS maior Massiliensis	Bookplate	2-009667/C
Metz	Collegium Metense Soc. Jesu.	Stamp	1-000005/D 1-3
	Domus Metensis S.J.	Stamp	1-000005/D 1-3
Paris	Gymnasium Conc. S.J. Paris. ad Vall. Gir.	Stamp	51/F° TACQ Oper
	Gymnas. Imm. Conc. Soc. Ies. Paris. Ad. Vall. C. R.	Stamp	2-030875/B
	Ecole Sainte Genevieve B. D. J.	Stamp	2-003968/A
	OLIM EX BIBL.//COLL. PARIS. S.J.// SANCTAE GENOVEFAE	Bookplate	2-002755/A
	Domus parisien ad S. Germani	Stamp	<u>1-000007/D</u>
Poitiers (1860–1901)	Bib. Resid. Pictav. S.J.	Bookplate	2-030319/B 1-2

Rouen	Bibl. Resid. Rothom. S.J.	Bookplate	2-025291/A
	IHS Residentia Rothomagensis	Stamp	2-025291/A
Saint-Etienne	College St. Michel St. Etienne	Stamp	<u>2-026846/A</u>
Tours	Bib. Coll. Turon. S.J.	Bookplate	P271.504.93 HONO
	Ecole Saint Gregoire de Tours	Stamp	P271.504.93 HONO

GERMANY			
Aachen	Domus Aquensis Societatis Jesu	Bookplate	2-026985/A
<i>unidentified</i>	Biblioth. dom. Prob.// Monast. Soc. Jesu // Series Num.	Label	LEUVEN MU 2141/A 1

GREAT-BRITAIN			
Jersey (1880–libr. 1912–1940) French <i>Province de Paris</i>	Dom. S. Aloys. Jerseiens. S.J. - IHS	Stamp	51/F° TACQ Oper
Oxford	Campion Hall	Stamp	2-002406/D 1-2
	WITHDRAWN// FROM// Campion Hall// Library	Stamp	2-002406/D 1-2

ITALY			
Rome	Bibl. Dom. Prof. Rom IHS	Stamp	2-001061/D 1-3
	Ex Bibliotheca// majori Coll. Rom.// Societ. Jesu	Bookplate	P279.316.6 POSS Conf 1586

SWITZERLAND			
Luzern	Collegij Soc. Jesu Lucernae	Stamp	P279.222.4 LEDE Divi
Zurich	Archivum V.-Prov. Helveticae	Stamp	PN00924 conv 1

The Library as *Imaginotheca*¹

Mia M. MOCHIZUKI

‘The library is on fire’.

Michel Foucault (1926–1984)²

A pandemic makes a reader wonder if inspiration is contagious. How do you ‘catch’ a hint or a glimmer, much less a flash of insight, often at great distances from fellow scholars and the research libraries that nobly continue to support them? Is it like the flaming hearts falling from the sky, as so many hot potatoes, caught by a woman who has cast aside her worldly distractions in the image ‘Who Will Separate Us from the Love of Christ?’ by Frederick II Bouttats (1620–1676) for the illustrated *Geestelycke oeffeninghen* (1673) of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) (fig. 1)?³ The enflamed hearts seem to function like the miraculous tongues of fire of the Holy Spirit that enabled the apostles to converse in different languages at Pentecost (Acts 2:1-4) after Babel (Gen 11:1-9), a global antidote to a universal condition. Like Ignatius’s exhortation at the closing of his letters to ‘go forth and set the world on fire’ (*Ite inflammate omnia*), Foucault’s comment that ‘the library is on fire’ underscored this institution’s role in the creation of ideas – as what could be called an *imaginotheca* – whose cosmic parameters would come to constitute a beacon for the future, the staunch humanism Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986) would invoke in the first line of *The Library of Babel* (1941): ‘The universe (which others call the Library) [...] became congruent with the unlimited width and breadth of humankind’s hope’.⁴

Leuven played a vital role in this tradition. In the first monograph devoted to the history of libraries, *De bibliothecis syntagma* (1602), Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips, 1547–1606), then back in Leuven as a Latin professor, defined the *bibliotheca* as three things: a place (*locum*), a bookcase (*armarium*), and books (*libri*). Lipsius wrote this while soliciting support for a university library in Heverlee, where St John Berchmans University College, or the *Jezuïetenhuis*, would come to house this collection of Jesuitica after the Restoration of the Society of Jesus (31 July 1814) until its transfer to the Maurits Sabbe Library in 2004.⁵ First, the library as a collection in a specific location was central to this vision, as opposed to the *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545) of Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), which was more of a bibliographic catalogue than a site stocked with

¹ This essay is written in gratitude for Bernard Deprez, Yannick Van Loon, and the ever-inspiring *imaginotheca* they have created.

² Foucault, ‘Fantasia of the Library,’ 92.

³ Rom 8:35; Ignatius of Loyola, *Geestelycke oeffeninghen* (1673), 150.

⁴ Bloch, *The Unimaginable Mathematics*; Borges, ‘The Library of Babel,’ 112–113, 115; Borges, *The Library of Babel*; Grau, *Borges*; Werle, *Copia librorum*, 36–52.

⁵ The Society of Jesus was suppressed beginning in 1759, with the order abolished by Pope Clement XIV (1705–1774, r. 1769–1774) on 21 July 1773 until its restoration by Pope Pius VII (1742–1823, r. 1800–1823). Hendrickson, *Ancient Libraries*, 26, 66–67; Lipsius, *De bibliothecis syntagma* (1602), 9.

tangible volumes.⁶ The Leuven-trained humanist Nicolas Clenardus (Nicolaes Cleynaerts, 1495–1542) praised the library of Ferdinand Columbus (Hernando Colón, 1488–1539), the son of the explorer Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), in his edition of *Historiae Romanae decades* (1533) by Livy (Titus Livius, 59 BC–AD 17), for just this reason: ‘As your illustrious father has planted in the New World Spanish might and civilisation, [...] so you [...] gather the wisdom of the whole universe in Spain’.⁷ Like the Jesuit *imago* that was intertwined with *locus*, the Jesuit library constructed a Foucauldian *heterotopia*, a place outside a place or a world within a world, which acted as much as the infrastructure for Ignatian spirituality and its art as a forum for the global exchange of ideas.⁸ The passing of the enflamed hearts from the heavens to hands below was the key. For Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), the ‘most distinguished trait of a collection will always be its transmissibility’ and to the mind of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), the ‘authentic purpose’ of the model library *à ma phantasie* was the circulation of an encyclopaedic *repertorium*.⁹ No one understood the cultural imperative of the ‘apostolate of the pen’ as a vehicle for the sixteenth-century tides of thought better than the Jesuits, whose library in Japan tripled from approximately one hundred titles in 1556, before the Society of Jesus’s forced evacuation to Macau, to over three hundred titles afterward (c. 1633).¹⁰

Second, for Lipsius, bookcases were not only furniture for the ordering of knowledge; they also structured the possible, in the words of Georges Perec (1936–1982), ‘as joggers of the memory, as cat-rests and as lumber-rooms’.¹¹ Libraries framed inspiration: ‘The imaginary [...] grows among signs, from book to book, in the interstice of repetitions and commentaries; it is born and takes shape in the interval between books’, recalling the observation of the Jesuit Michel de Certeau (1925–1986) that meaning in the *Spiritual Exercises* is constructed in the spaces ‘between’, in the generative purpose of the interstitial break.¹² It is fitting that in an opening scene of the illustrated *Exercises*, ‘The Teacher of Religion’, St Ignatius is pictured mid-reverie, about to put pen to paper outside the cave at Manresa (Catalonia, Spain), where he reputedly wrote this book (c. 1522–1523) with the aid of Mary’s inspiration (fig. 2).¹³ In a similar vein, Leibniz chose to end his *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l’homme et l’origine du mal* (1710) with Pallas Athena, the librarian of her father Jupiter’s collection, explaining how the first stirrings of ideas are built into the library: ‘Here are representations not only of that which happens, but

⁶ Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545).

⁷ Columbus stated his intention in his first request for funding to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), c. 1520–1521: to establish ‘a place in your kingdom where all the books will be gathered, in every language, and concerning all the sciences and arts that can be found both in Christian and in non-Christian nations’. Borges, “Ariosto,” 122–127; Hernández Díaz & Muro Orejón, *El testamento*, 241; Livy, *Historiae Romanae decades* (1533); McDonald, *The Print Collection*, I, 37–51, 126–127, 145–167, 295–297; Wagner, “Ego arabicomane,” 96–97, n. 5.

⁸ De Boer, Enenkel & Melion, eds., *Jesuit Image Theory*; Mochizuki, *Jesuit Art*, 31–38, 78–99, 192.

⁹ Benjamin, “Unpacking My Library,” 66; Hui, “Dreams,” 522–532; Palumbo, “Leibniz,” 613; Steierwald, *Wissen und System*.

¹⁰ Humbertclaude, *Recherches sur deux catalogues*; Humbertclaude, “Suppléments,” 435–444; Laures, “Two Macao Catalogues,” 432–434; López-Gay, “La primera biblioteca,” 350–379; Schütte, *El ‘Archivo del Japon’*, 30–37; Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3, 197–205.

¹¹ The choice of *syntagma* (‘arrangement’) for the title of Lipsius’s book underscored the conscious construction of a library. Hendrickson, *Ancient Libraries*, 24; Perec, “Brief Notes,” 155.

¹² De Certeau, “L’espace du désir,” 122–124; Foucault, “Fantasia,” 90–91; Ignatius of Loyola, *Geestelycke oeffeninghen* (1673), 10; Mochizuki, *Jesuit Art*, 171.

¹³ Bolland et al., *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (1640), 461; O’Malley, ed., *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits*, 552–553.



Figure 1: *Ignatius of Loyola*, *Geestelycke oeffeninghen* (1673) MSB, P248.692 IGNA Gees, 150, Frederick II Bouttats, 'Who Will Separate Us from the Love of Christ?', engraving, 13.7×9 cm.

also of all that which is possible'.¹⁴ In the bibliophilic 'palace of fates', the library of potential that stimulated the raw 'anticipation which these books arouse in a genuine collector', Benjamin writes, he or she 'seems to be seeing through them [i.e., the books] into their distant past as though inspired'.¹⁵ The acquisition of an old book became its rebirth, where the reader's desire to 'renew the old world' echoed the 'history of the future for present times' that the gifted early modern Jesuit orator António Vieira (1608–1697) challenged his audiences to emulate.¹⁶

And third, if Lipsius's last definition of the *bibliotheca* is to be followed, books provide a *Denkraum*, a space for reflection, or better still, a *Problembibliothek*, in the words of Aby Warburg (1866–1929), a fluid laboratory for refining hypotheses.¹⁷ Ferdinand Columbus annotated each of his books not only with the conditions of its acquisition, but also where and when he read it, and his response to it, so his library mapped a personal taxonomy of imaginaries.¹⁸ For the fictional character General Stumm von Bordwehr in *The Man without Qualities* (1978) by Robert Musil (1880–1942), being inside the catalogue room of the Austrian *Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna 'felt like being inside an enormous brain'.¹⁹ Warburg even devised the 'law of the good neighbour' for his 'intensely alive' collection, where 'the unknown neighbour on the shelf contained the vital information'.²⁰ Books juxtaposed mental connections to compose 'a body of living thought', as Fritz Saxl (1890–1948), the Warburg librarian, observed: 'Warburg never tired of shifting and re-shifting them [i.e., books]. Every progress in his system of thought, every new idea about the interrelation of facts made him regroup the corresponding books'.²¹ Perec admitted that nearly three-quarters of his books were constantly being relocated from 'one room to another, one shelf to another, one pile to another', in such a way that 'those that are not arranged in a definitively provisional way are arranged in a provisionally definitive way'.²² Choice provided the bedrock for the *bibliotheca imaginis*, as in the *Spiritual Exercises*, whose authority was founded in discernment, the 'election', and the *kairos* of a life-changing decision.²³ Books 'made' other books, leading Foucault to adopt a singularly Ignatian perspective:

It [i.e., a book] dreams other books, all other books that dream and that men dream of writing – books that are taken up, fragmented, displaced, combined, lost, set at an unapproachable distance by dreams, but also brought closer to the imaginary and sparkling realization of desires.²⁴

This was the 'library on fire' – as a *locus* of and in the world, ripe with possibility, and sparking with the dynamism of original thought, in sum, as *imaginotheca* – that best testifies to the enduring value of the Jesuitica Project at the Maurits Sabbe Library on its twentieth birthday.

¹⁴ Borges, "The Library of Babel," 113; Leibniz, *Essais de Théodicée* (1710); Leibniz, *Theodicy* (2001), 370–373.

¹⁵ Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," 59, 61; Bloch, *The Unimaginable Mathematics*, 93–106 ("Geometry and Graph Theory"); Borges, "The Library of Babel," 117; Manguel, *Library at Night*, 268–290 ("The Library as Imagination"); Taussig, "Unpacking My Library," 421–435.

¹⁶ Vieira, *História do futuro* (1718); Vieira, *História do futuro*; Vieira, "History of the Future," 80.

¹⁷ Springer & Turpin, eds., *Fantasies of the Library*, 43–45, 90.

¹⁸ McDonald, *Print Collection*, I, 41, 129; Wilson-Lee, *The Catalogue of Shipwrecked Books*, 7.

¹⁹ Manguel, *Library at Night*, 15–17, 192–212 ("The Library as Mind"); Musil, "General Stumm Invades the State Library," 502.

²⁰ Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library (1886–1944)," 327.

²¹ Manguel, *Library at Night*, 199; Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library," 327, 331.

²² Perec, "Brief Notes," 153.

²³ Mochizuki, *Jesuit Art*, 71–74; Palumbo, "Leibniz as Librarian," 613–617.

²⁴ Springer & Turpin, *Fantasies of the Library*, 35; Foucault, "Fantasia of the Library," 91–92.



Figure 2: *Ignatius of Loyola, Geestelycke oeffeninghen* (1673) MSB, P248.692 IGNA Gees, 10, Frederick II Bouttats, 'The Teacher of Religion', engraving, 13.7×9.4 cm.

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Magister Scholarum Gislebertus of Xanten and the *Evangeliarium* of Millingen

Lieve WATTEEUW

The oldest manuscript preserved in the Maurits Sabbe Library is the late tenth-century Gospel book known as the *Evangeliarium* of Millingen. The manuscript was formerly kept in the Jesuit collection of Nijmegen and has been in Leuven since 2005.¹ The impressive manuscript, written in a beautiful Carolingian minuscule (f. 1r-81r and f. 96r-199v), has large colourful Ottonian initials, in the style of the artistic production seen in the scriptorium of the Benedictine Abbey of Reichenau on Lake Constance in Southern Germany. This important scriptorium for illuminated manuscripts flourished at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and produced manuscripts meant for export to noble and wealthy patrons of the higher clergy, bishops, abbots and abbesses, as well as imperial rulers. Reichenau was the largest and most influential school of book illumination in Western Europe. The Reichenau style was copied in other important monastic scriptoria, such as the abbeys of Saint Gall, Fulda, Cologne and Trier.² Luxuriously embellished liturgical manuscripts were given as presents and functioned in monastic libraries as well as in secular and royal households.³

The Gospel texts in the Millingen codex are accompanied by impressive, large, decorated puzzled initials painted in gold and silver with borders in orange lines and marked with bright green, blue and purple (f. 11r, 55r, 80v, 99r and 147r). These initials in silver and gold with orange frames have foliated ornaments and interlaced tendrils at the ends. They are placed on blank parchment or on coloured ground. The first lines of the text have capital initials in silver, touched with green or blue. Red decorated initials with reserved designs are used for headings and introductory words, and some words in the text are highlighted with a transparent yellow bar.⁴

Unfortunately, the *Evangeliarium* fell into the hands of a nineteenth-century vandal, and the six folios with canon tables and at least four full-page illuminations with representations of the evangelists, as well as the introductory leaves of major texts were cut out. The theft was done quickly and roughly, as many knife cuts are still visible in the parchment folios near the gathering folds. The work was not destroyed completely though; 197 text folios are preserved, but probably 12 to 15 full page illuminated folios have been missing since the nineteenth century. As the manuscript is now separated from its most brilliant Ottonian illuminations, which were probably painted on a gilded ground, it is difficult to attribute an exact production place. Still, this

¹ *Evangeliarium* (10th century) MSB, PM0020/V. Former shelfmark Jesuits Nijmegen, 5000 BI 1; Byvanckdatabase 326; Gruijs, "Een unieke verzameling Nijmeegse handschriften," 171-172; *Beschrijving van de handschriften: Bibliotheek Canisianum*.

² Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I; Dodwell & Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered*.

³ McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*.

⁴ For comparison in script, lay-out and initials, see similar manuscripts: *The Reichenau Epistolary* (c. 960-980) FM: MS McClean 30 and *Evangeliarium* (c. 895) SB: Cod. Sang. 53.

little-known *Evangeliarium* is testimony to an important artistic achievement and its provenance is interesting, mainly due to the text added by Gislebertus.

For more than a hundred years after its creation, the Gospel book was kept in the Abbey of St Victor at Xanten, on the lower Rhine. Xanten was the first centre of Christianity on the lower Rhine.⁵ The first blank folio of the manuscript contains a copy of a deed by Archbishop Frederick of Schwarzenburg of Cologne (c. 1075–1131) about the status of St John the Evangelist's church in Millingen, and this text mentions the name of *Magister scholarum* Gislebertus of Xanten.⁶ This document, dating from 1120, is the first to mention the church of Millingen, on the River Hetter near the Rhine, and according to ecclesiastical law, the church belonged to the masters of the school of Xanten. Around 1120, Gislebertus of the chapter house of this church, fulfilled the tasks of secretary, librarian, archivist and teacher of the young members of the chapter house.

The church of Xanten exercised the role of archdeaconry, which included the bishop's responsibility to oversee the lower clergy of the parish churches located in the archdeaconry's district. The supervision was important, as the income from these parish churches was given to the scholaster, the head of the chapter school, in aid of his tasks. The deed written on the first folio stipulates explicitly that the usufruct of the church belonged fully to Gislebertus of Xanten and his successors, as there had been difficulties in the past with a third party that had unlawfully claimed the usufruct of the church of Millingen. The deed is clear about the penalty: 'If, however, anyone takes anything away from Master Gislebertus or any of his successors, if anyone, even as master, indulges more in his worldly lust than provide for the eternal benefit of his successors and thereby reduces the possession in anything, he will be stricken with the spell of an eternal curse and any reduction will be invalid'.⁷ The codex was extended around 1450–1470: in the centre of the manuscript a quire with *pericopes* was added, written in a *littera hybrid* (f. 82r-95r.), and used during the liturgy, as can be seen from the dirty borders smudged by fingers. At the same moment, the codex was given a treasure binding, which has unfortunately disappeared, but the many perforations in the wooden board are proof of a luxurious covering. The cutting out of the illuminated folios and the theft of the precious binding probably occurred at the same time in the nineteenth century. The *Evangeliarium* has a half alum tawed leather binding over thick oak boards with primary and secondary headband in green, red, and white silk. Many small perforations in the front and back oak boards refer to the former attachment with precious metal plaquettes.

The Abbey of Xanten had a renowned library, which dates back to the foundation of the monastery of St Victor in the eighth century. After fire destroyed parts of the collection in 1109, a *libraria* was established at the beginning of the twelfth century, which was extended by a *studium* in 1366–1367. By this time, the abbey library had already acquired roughly 250 volumes on theology, philology, medicine and the free arts. The works were attached to desks and shelves by chains to prevent theft.⁸ During later centuries, the library was enriched with the private holdings of deceased canons who were members of the chapter of Xanten cathedral. On 4 July 1802, under

⁵ Runden, *Xanten*, 311–312.

⁶ Classen, *Das Erzbistum Köln*, 100.

⁷ *Siquis uero supradicto magistro gisleberto uel alicui successo(rum) suo(rum) de usufructu subtraxerit aliquid, siquis (etiam) magister suę magis consentiens temporali cupiditati qua(m) successo(rum) suo(rum) p(er)petuę p(ro)uidens utilitati aliquid diminuerit, p(er)petuę maledictionis anathemate feriatur, (et) irrita sit quęcu(m)q(ue) subtractio.* We thank Michiel Verwey (Royal Library of Belgium) for the transcription.

⁸ Feldmann, *Stifts- und Pfarrbibliothek Xanten*.

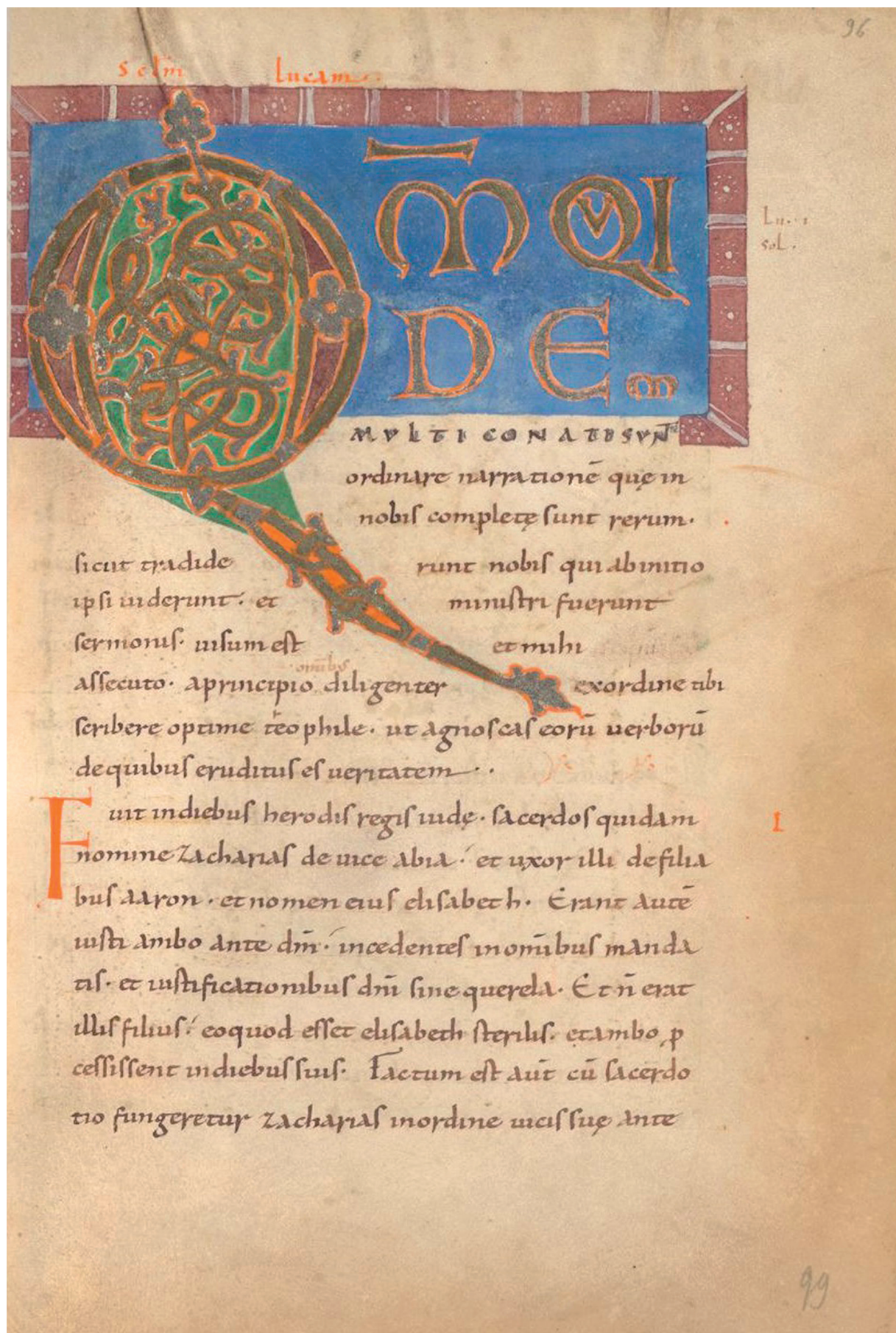


Figure 1: Evangelarium (10th century) MSB, PM0020/V, f. 96r.

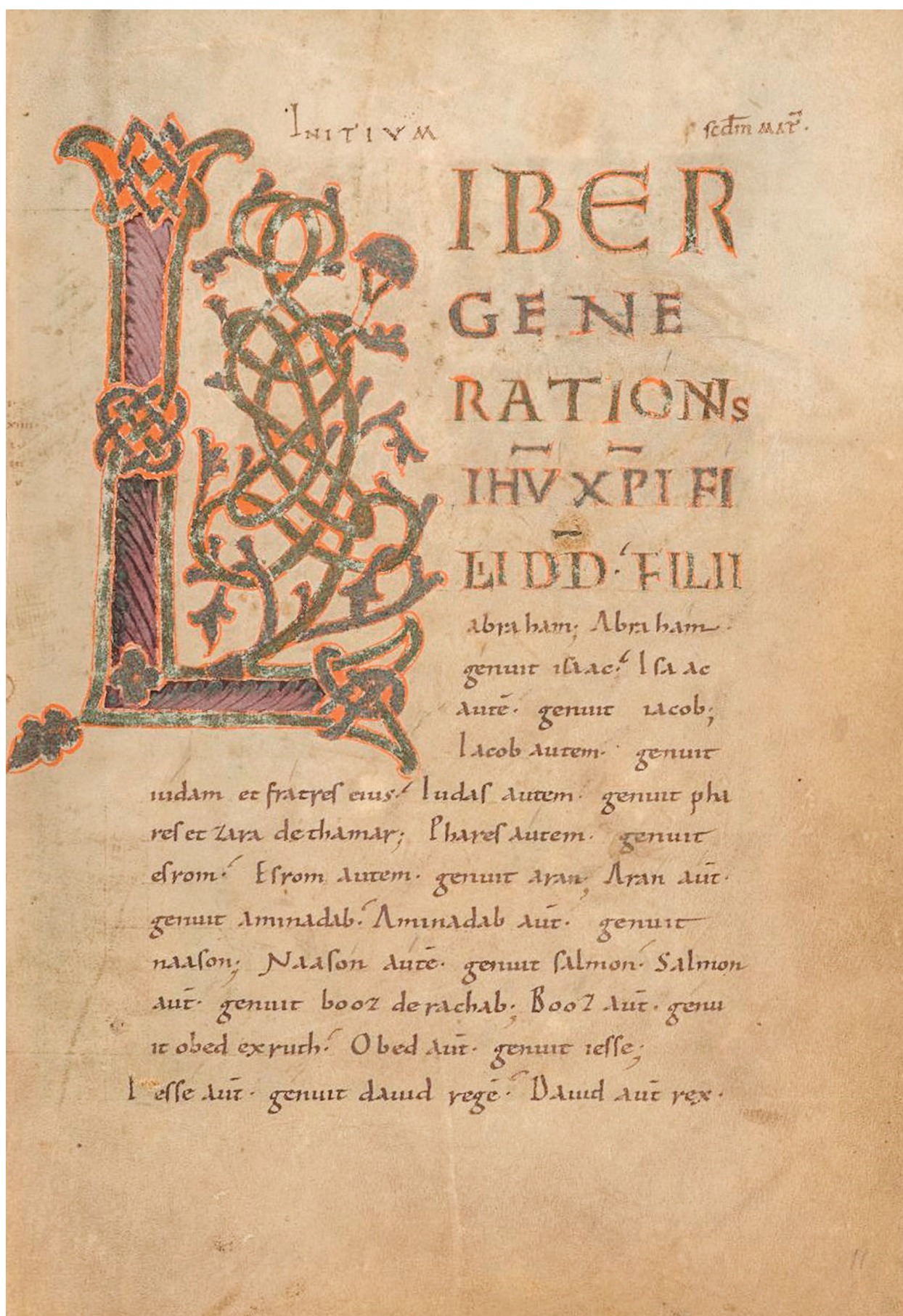


Figure 2: Evangelium (10th century) MSB, PM0020/V, f. 9r.

Napoleonic rule, the abbey was officially suppressed.⁹ Johannes Antonius IJserman (1806–1869), vicar in Kleve, became the new owner of the manuscript and wrote his name in pen on the first folio. The codex arrived in St Ignatius's church (presently St Peter Canisius's church) in Nijmegen, as the library stamp on the first front leaf attests. There are two notes in pencil on the endpapers 'Inc: I', indicating that the manuscript was stored in the incunabula collection. It was listed in the Berchmanianum at Nijmegen in 1963, and moved to the Maurits Sabbe Library along with the other works of the collection of the Berchmanianum in 2005.

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⁹ Föh & Benger, *Katalog der Stiftsbibliothek Xanten*.

Greek and Unique: A Curious Incunable from Venice

Eva DE RIDDER

A CRETAN ENTERPRISE

At the turn of the fifteenth century, two Cretans of noble descent joined hands to found a Greek press in Venice. The whole enterprise had a Greek patriotic feel to it: it prided itself on being entirely run by (Cretan) Greeks, while being the first of its kind to print texts exclusively in the Greek alphabet. Nikolaos Vlastos (Nicolaus Blastus, active 1499–1500), a man with the necessary financial resources, was the official owner of the press, whereas Zacharias Kallierges (1473–1524?) was in charge of creating a most sophisticated typographical fount for the Greek letters. Both having experience in the copying of manuscripts, they sought to produce editions of Greek texts that could cater to the intellectual needs of Greek humanists and at the same time technically rival the splendour of manuscript craftsmanship. To achieve this goal, the press received funding from Anna Notaras (?–1507), daughter of Loukas (1402–1453), the last megaduke of the Byzantine Empire. It was her contribution to boosting the rediscovery and study of Greek texts during the Renaissance.

On 21 September and 29 November 1498, Vlastos gained privileges for using a fount that Kallierges had newly created for their undertaking, and for the publication of commentaries on the famous Aristotle (384–322 BC), respectively.¹ Less than a year later, in July 1499, they published the first edition of the Byzantine lexicographical work entitled *Etymologicum magnum*. Only three more works would follow. Vlastos and Kallierges produced the *Hypomnemata in Aristotelis categorias* by Simplicius (c. 480?–560) in October 1499, the *Commentarii in Quinque voces Porphyrii* by Ammonius Hermiae (c. 435/445–517/526) in May 1500, and finally the *Therapeutica* of Galen (129–199) in October 1500. Both Vlastos and Kallierges had their own mark, which can be found in these works. Vlastos's mark was his name surrounded by vines (fig. 1), and Kallierges's depicts a crowned double-headed eagle with his initials ZK (fig. 2). Soon after the Galen edition, Kallierges moved to Padua, only to return to Venice between the years 1509 and 1515 to resume his printing activity, this time without his former partner Vlastos. After his second Venetian period, he established a new printing shop in Rome.

Although the partnership between Vlastos and Kallierges was short-lived, the two Cretans enjoyed great recognition for their produce. Not only was Kallierges's combined mastery of design and punch cutting of Greek letters (including accents) unparalleled, he is also famed for his use of gold printing, which was a very rare technique that demanded a high degree of specialisation. In fact, Kallierges is one of only two printers to have used actual gold for printing in the fifteenth

¹ Fulin, "Documenti," 135–136, notes 85 and 88. The text of the privilege can be found on the project website "Early Modern Book Privileges in Venice" (www.emobooktrade.unimi.it).



Figure 1: *Simplicius*, *Hypomnemata* (1499)
MSB, P Inc SJH F R 606 G AMMO 1500/2,
mark of Vlastos on title page.



Figure 2: *Simplicius*, *Hypomnemata* (1499)
MSB, P Inc SJH F R 606 G AMMO 1500/2,
mark of Kallierges in colophon.

century.² He applied the technique mainly in copies of Ammonius, and to a lesser degree in those of Simplicius.

THE INCUNABLE IN THE MAURITS SABBE LIBRARY

The Maurits Sabbe Library is privileged to be the place of safekeeping for products from this Venetian-Cretan printing shop. It would be difficult to overstate the uniqueness of the incunable, not least because of its book-historical value. The volume is in fact a *Sammelband* in folio format that contains the editions of both Ammonius and Simplicius, thus covering no less than fifty percent of the titles that were produced by Vlastos and Kallierges, and 2.5% of all Greek books printed before 1501.³ What is more, our copy of Ammonius is one of those refined unique editions

² The other printer was Erhard Ratdolt (1442–1527 or 1528) in his *editio princeps* of Euclid's *Elementa geometriae* in May 1482. See the article of Carter, Hellinga & Parker, "Printing with Gold".

³ Only eighty books are known, see Staikos, "The Printing Shop," 12 (footnote 2).

in which Kallierges's use of gold printing can be admired (fig. 3).⁴ From a philological and academic perspective, the Venetian editions provided widespread access to the texts included in them. From that moment on, Greek scholars no longer had to resort to handwritten copies to read and discuss their contents.

The leather cover of the folio appears to indicate that the binding took place in the first half of the sixteenth century. The sequence in which the works are bound, is not motivated by their publication date in Venice, but respects the actual chronological order of the writings: hence, the first title of the *Sammelband* is Ammonius's *Commentarii in Quinque voces Porphyrii*, the second is Simplicius's *Hypomnemata in Aristotelis categorias*. Both works are situated in the Neoplatonist environment of Alexandria in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Ammonius, son of Hermias, was a teacher and the founder of the Alexandrian tradition of producing commentaries on the works of Aristotle. The manuscript tradition transmits a commentary by Ammonius on a work by his fellow Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry, who lived and wrote two centuries before him (c. 233–301/305). Porphyry authored a highly influential *Introduction* (Greek *Εἰσαγωγή*, Latinised *Isagoge*) to logical philosophy which gave a key role to Aristotle's logical treatises in general and more specifically his *Categories*.⁵ Its alternative Latinised title *Quinque voces* refers to the five fundamental philosophical statements or so-called predicables. Ammonius's commentary on the *Isagoge* or *Quinque voces*, which holds the honour of being the earliest surviving exposition on Porphyry's text, could not compete with the popularity of the original work, but is certainly not without philosophical merit itself.⁶

The story of Simplicius of Cilicia was one of the pupil who becomes the master. A former student of Ammonius in Alexandria and of Damascius (c. 462–550) in Athens, he took the study of Aristotelian commentaries to the highest level. The fact that only three of these exegeses have survived the ages, viz. those on Aristotle's *Physica*, *De caelo*, and the *Categoriae*, sheds new light on the importance of Vlastos's and Kallierges's publication of the latter, and, as an extension thereof, of the Jesuit copy.

FROM VENICE TO LEUVEN

More than 1000 kilometres and 500 years separate the publishing of Kallierges's editions in Venice from their current location in Leuven. Two handwritten provenance notes offer an insight into the historical whereabouts of the incunable before entering the Jesuit library of Leuven and ultimately the Maurits Sabbe Library. The precious volume once belonged to Nicholas Wilson, a cleric who then gifted it to Thomas Clement (*Nicolai Wilsoni sacerdot[is], liber: datus filio meo Thome Cleme[n]ti*). Could these men have been the royal chaplain Nicholas Wilson (?–1548) and law student Thomas Clement (?–1595), who both visited Padua around 1525 and 1555, respectively? Padua is a city near Venice and, as has been seen, the place where Kallierges resided between his two Venetian periods.⁷

⁴ The occurrence of gold printing in the Jesuit volume was not known to Carter, Hellinga & Parker, "Printing with Gold," 2 (endnotes 6 and 7), who listed eight copies.

⁵ Thanks to Boethius's translation into Latin (around 480–524), the work became a standard text in scholastic Europe.

⁶ Fortier, "Ammonius," 21–33.

⁷ See "Appendix," Woolfson, s.v. 'Wilson, Nicholas' and 'Clement, Thomas'. Interestingly, Thomas Clement was in Leuven at the time of his death.

Wilson's donation note has been crossed out by a second statement saying that the book became the property of the Jesuit college in Brussels in the year 1639 (*Collegij Soc[ieta]tis Jesu Bruxellis 1639 M.B.*). As can be deduced from the abbreviation, the volume was placed in the so-called *maior bibliotheca*, or the grand reference room.⁸

The volume re-emerges only after the restoration of the Jesuit order in 1814. Two ownership stamps and one book plate refer to the Jesuit study house and accompanying library in the Minderbroedersstraat in Leuven that was re-established in 1839. The book plate reads 'Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu Lovanii', with a handwritten indication of its precise location (row 346, shelf B, book no. 5). The stamps 'Sem. Prov. Belg. S.J.' and 'Coll. Max. S.J. Lovan. Bibliotheca', which can both be spotted on Ammonius's title page, relate to the same *seminarium* or *Collegium Maximum*.⁹

When the collection was moved to the Waversebaan in Heverlee in 1959, the volume received a new call number in line with the Jesuits' own classification system for Greek philosophical commentators (see the book plate 'Bibl Prof. S.J. Leuven F° R 606 G AMMO 1500' on the inside of the front cover).¹⁰ Only ten years later the incunable, together with the rest of the Jesuit collection, switched location again, this time to the newly founded library of the Faculty of Theology in the Charles Deberiotstraat in Leuven city centre. Its shelf mark in the Maurits Sabbe Library (P Inc SJH F R 606 G AMMO 1500) echoes the previous one of the Waversebaan library. For fifty years now, the two editions by Vlastos and Kallierges have been in their current location in the Maurits Sabbe Library.

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⁸ De Smet & Gistelinck, "Vroeg zestiende-eeuwse boeken," 10. It is unknown how the book entered the Brussels college. It is not mentioned in Stroobant, "Catalogue," 257-281, whose publication summarises the information from a handwritten and incomplete donation album of the college. On this album, see Op de Beeck, "De bibliotheek van het Brusselse jezuïetencollege," 56-61.

⁹ De Smet & Gistelinck, "Vroeg zestiende-eeuwse boeken," 7. I thank Bernard Deprez, who helped me identify the stamps found in this incunable. See his contribution on the matter in the present volume.

¹⁰ The call number is to be interpreted as follows: 606 = Greek philosophy; G = Greek commentators; AMMO = Ammonius's name abbreviated; 1500 = publication date of the first work. See Theologische en Filosofische Faculteiten van de Sociëteit van Jezus, *Systematische catalogus* (1967).

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Two Friends Collaborate in Favour of Contemplative Literature: Peter Canisius, S.J. (1521–1597), Laurentius Surius (1523–1578) and the *Institutiones Taulerianae*

Rob FAESEN, S.J.

In historical research of the Jesuit order and Jesuitica, the field of study of the publications in the order usually starts chronologically with the publication of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius.¹ The order was officially approved by Pope Paul III (1468–1549) in 1540, with his bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. The first edition of the *Exercises* dates from 1548.² We know that this text has a long history, because Ignatius gave the *Exercises* years before this little book was published, and we also know that it was initially a notebook, on which he worked for many years. He updated the text from the time he was in Manresa to about 1539–1541 in Rome. But as the date of papal approbation and its publication is 1548, it is easy to date the beginning of Jesuit literature from this first publication by the founder of the order. After all, not only is the founder its author, but the *Spiritual Exercises* are the backbone of the order's spirituality, and they have shaped the members of the order throughout the ages, up to the present day.

There is, however, another notable publication from a few years earlier, 1543, by someone who was not yet a Jesuit at the time but would soon become one, Peter Canisius. It is a book that purports to be an edition of the works of Johann Tauler, O.P. (c. 1300–1361), but is in fact much more complex. Moreover, this book was published in a Latin translation in 1548 – the same year as the first edition of Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* – and was a true bestseller for many centuries, with translations into several Western European languages. It could be argued that this edition is as emblematic of the spirituality of the order as the *Spiritual Exercises*, at least for the early years of the order – even if the book has been entirely forgotten by researchers. In this contribution I would like to introduce briefly the book and its genesis, and then look at its significance for the study of Jesuitica.

THE EDITION OF THE *INSTITUTIONES TAULERIANAE*

The book in question is based on the sermons of Johann Tauler, a German Dominican friar who worked in Strasbourg. These sermons, of course, were originally handed down in manuscripts. Collections were made during Tauler's lifetime, none of them exhaustive. These sermons were published in print quite early on in the development of the printing press. The first printed

¹ Occasionally, the *Breve directorium ad confessorii ac confitentis munus rite obeundum concinnatum* (Leuven: Jan de Winghe, 1554) by Ignatius's secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco, S.J. (1517–1576) is also mentioned in this regard.

² Ignatius of Loyola, *Exercitia spiritualia* (1548).

edition of Tauler's works is the incunable print of 1498.³ This edition was reprinted in Augsburg in 1508. The work was then expanded considerably and published in Basel in 1521.

The important point for present purposes is that some years later, in 1543, 'Petrus Noviomagus' collaborated with the Cologne Carthusians to prepare another, even longer edition.⁴ This edition contained many texts that were not included in the earlier versions, including anonymous pieces, but also passages from John of Ruusbroec (Jan van Ruusbroec, 1293–1381), Meister Eckhart, O.P. (c. 1260–c. 1328), and others. This edition is also known in later references as *Taulerus*, and it has had a remarkable reception.

Petrus Noviomagus – that is, 'Peter of Nijmegen' – has been identified as Peter Canisius.⁵ An important element in support of this identification is that a Latin translation of the edition in question was published quite soon afterwards by Canisius's best friend, Laurentius Surius (Laurenz Sauer). Canisius and Surius had studied together at the university of Cologne, where they lived in the study house of Andreas Herll (c. 1476–1556), a canon of Saint Gereon in Cologne and rector of the university. The group of students lived under the tutelage of the somewhat older Nicholas Eschius (Nicolaas van Esch, c. 1507–1578). He had a major impact on the spiritual and intellectual lives of students such as Canisius, Surius and Cornelius Wischaven (1509–1559); the latter would join the Society of Jesus in 1543 and would thus become the first Jesuit from the Low Countries.⁶ Their tutor Eschius was in close contact with the Cologne Carthusians and even had a cell there. In 1538, he was appointed parish priest of the beguinage in Diest, but he continued to visit the Cologne Carthusians often. Eschius was an ardent reformer of the beguinage and was known to the Cologne Carthusians as *vir summe spiritualis et contemplativus*. He wrote various spiritual texts, including the *Exercitia theologiae mystica*, and he edited the (anonymous) *Evangelical Pearl* and the *Temple of Our Soul*.

It is in this period that *Des erleuchten D. Johannis Tauleri, von Eym waren Evangelischen Leben, Götliche Predig, Leren, Epistolen, Cantilenen, Prophetien* was written. Its Latin translation, by Laurentius Surius, dates from a few years later, when Peter Canisius had already joined the Society of Jesus, and Laurentius Surius had become a Carthusian in the Charterhouse which they had often visited together as students.⁷

During Canisius's and Surius's student years, there had been good contacts between the nascent group of Jesuits and the Cologne Carthusians. A clear example of this is the friendship between Prior Petrus Blomevenna, O.Carth. (1466–1536) and Pierre Favre, S.J. (1506–1546), one of Ignatius's first companions. For a time during the summer of 1543 and the spring of 1544, Favre resided in the Charterhouse of Cologne and gave the Ignatian *Exercises* to the monks.⁸ The good contacts were later also to the fore in the fact that the Carthusians, through Dirc Loer (1495–1554), dedicated their 1556 edition of the *Theologia mystica* of Hendrik Herp, O.F.M. (c. 1400–1477)

³ Tauler, *Sermonen* (1498).

⁴ Tauler, *Des erleuchten D. Johannis Tauleri (...) Predig, Leren, Epistolen* (1543).

⁵ De Pelsemaecker, "Canisius éditeur de Tauler," 102–108. This identification has recently been questioned, but unconvincingly so: Van de Schoor, "Canisius als Herausgeber," 161–186.

⁶ For more on Cornelius Wischaven: De Smet, "Wischaven, Cornelius," 4044–4045.

⁷ Tauler, *Tam de tempore quam de sanctis conciones* (1548), from f. a1r: *D. Ioannis Thauleri sublimis et illuminati theologi, saluberrimae ac plane divinae institutiones aut doctrinae, recens inventae*. The only thorough studies of the so-called *Institutiones* are Ampe, "Een kritisch onderzoek van de 'Institutiones Taulerianae'," 167–240; Gueullette, *Eckhart en France*.

⁸ Rüthing, "Kalkbrenner," 1653–1657.

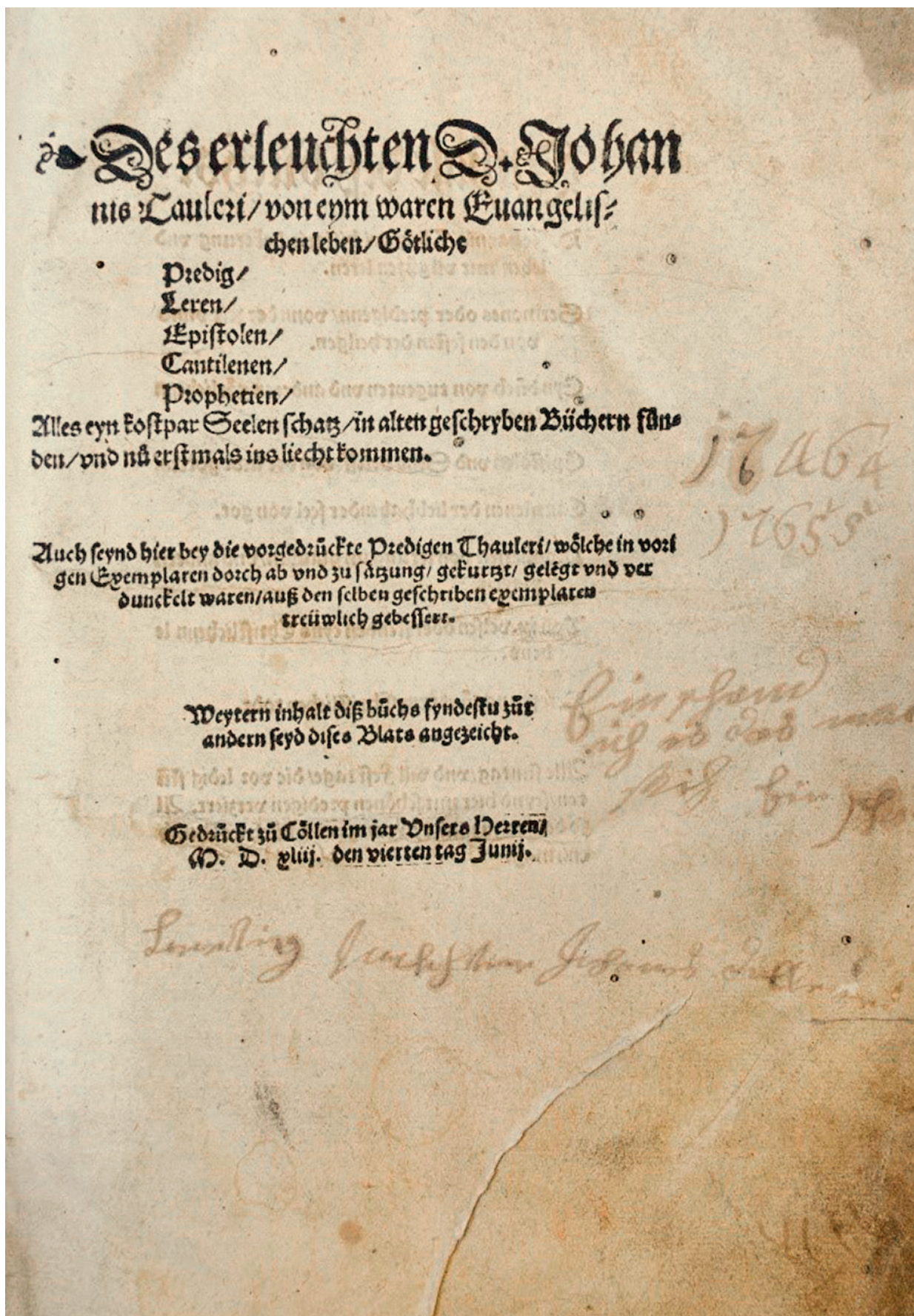


Figure 1: Tauler, Des erleuchten D. Johannis Tauleri (...) Predig, Leren, Epistolen (1543)
UA-RG, RG 3112 A 3, title page.

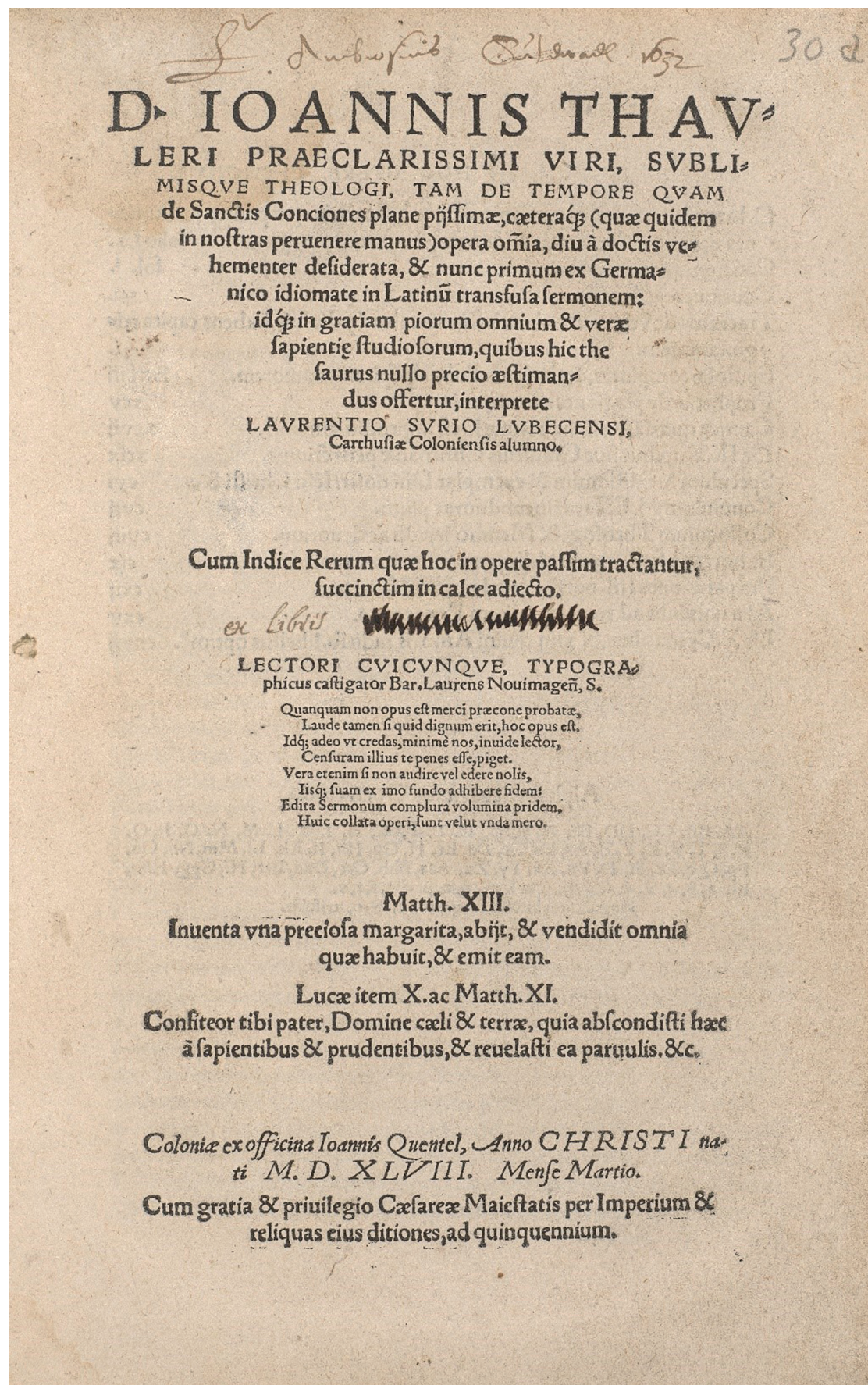


Figure 2: Tauler, Tam de tempore quam de sanctis conciones plane piissimæ, cæteraque (1548)
 MSB, P248.662.4/F° TAUL Tam 1548, title page.

to Ignatius and his confreres – we will come back to that later. The so-called *Taulerus* was translated into several languages, from the Latin edition of 1548: Castilian, Italian, French, Dutch and English.⁹ The Castilian translation was placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books* in 1559, and as a consequence it was never reprinted. Nevertheless, according to Jean Orcibal (1913–1991), John of the Cross (1542–1591) undoubtedly knew it.¹⁰

As has been mentioned, this edition became very influential. The first impact it had was on Canisius himself, as Anton De Pelsemaecker has explained in detail.¹¹ But its influence reached much further. Jean-Marie Gueullette has made extensive study of this influence, which was geographically largely limited to France, but included major spiritual authors. He first mentions monks such as Louis de Blois (1506–1566), Dom Augustin Baker (1575–1641) and Dom Claude Martin (1619–1696). The subsequent fate of this text among the Jesuits is remarkable. As we will see later, its reading was banned in the Society of Jesus at one point, but great figures such as Jean-Joseph Surin, S.J. (1600–1668) and other disciples of Louis Lallemant, S.J. (1588–1635) nevertheless read the *Taulerus*, as did Capuchins such as Benoît de Canfield (1562–1611) and Joseph de Paris (1577–1638). It is also noteworthy that the *Taulerus* was read in the Carmelite order: John of the Cross, Madame Acarie (1566–1618) and Jean de Saint-Samson (1571–1636) were undoubtedly influenced by it.

THE CONTENT

What is the content of this edition published by Peter Canisius and his friend Laurentius Surius? I will look here at the vernacular edition of 1543, as the Latin translation includes other pieces added later. Albert Ampe, the author of the only thorough investigation of this book to date, has identified the sources or the authors of the chapters as far as possible.

The first part of the book contains Tauler's sermons – also including texts that may not be Tauler's – for the entire liturgical year. The second part (f. CCLXXIXr–CCCLIV) contains what the Latin translation calls the *Institutiones* (in the vernacular original: *Leren*). According to Albert Ampe, the *Epistolenen* (chap. 40–65), *Cantilenen* (chap. 66–71) and *Prophetien* (chap. 72–73) mentioned in the title have been incorporated into this second volume.

The various chapters of this second volume are a remarkable compilation of passages from very different sources – sometimes from well-known authors, sometimes from unknown ones – organically brought together around major themes of late medieval mysticism. In fact, the compilers explicitly indicate in the Latin translation that not all the chapters are by Tauler, and that they added many pieces that they also considered valuable, but without specifying who the authors are. Ampe was able to identify many passages, such as pieces from the *Tempel onser sielen*, from *Vanden XII dogheden* (formerly attributed to Ruusbroec but now considered to be a work by Willem Jordaens [c. 1321–1372]), *Das Buoch von dem Grunde aller Bôsheit*, *Boecksken der verclaeringhe* (Ruusbroec), *Das Leben Seuses*, *Der Rechte Wech zo der Evangelische Volkommenheit*, *Sarmoen der omoedicheit*, Eckhart's Sermons, *Swester Katrei*, Eckhart's *Rede der Unterscheidunge*, the *Evangelische*

⁹ Extensive information in Gueullette, *Eckhart en France*, 42–44.

¹⁰ Gueullette, *Eckhart en France*, 43.

¹¹ De Pelsemaecker, "Saint Pierre Canisius," 167–192.

peerle, Meister Eckharts Wirtschaf. Incidentally, it should be noted that many of the passages borrowed from *Vanden XII dogheden* actually contain passages from Eckhart's work, so that Gueullette concludes that Eckhart was actually much more frequently read in the later centuries than was supposed, even though it is then an anonymous Eckhart, included he is in these *Institutiones Taulerianae*. But Ampe's work on this point is not complete, as he himself acknowledges: many of the passages from the *Institutiones* are still unidentified. One could also wonder whether the Carthusian from Cologne did not play an important role in the creation of these anonymous passages. Could it be that important spiritual authors from the Carthusian order, such as Petrus Blomevenna, were its authors? The investigation into this has not even begun.

As has been mentioned, the compilation discusses most of the themes of the mystical tradition, especially those of the late Middle Ages. As an illustration, I will quote a passage on the great importance of inner union with God. Michel de Certeau, S.J. has also indicated (in his edition of Pierre Favre's *Mémorial*) how much the Carthusian Petrus Blomevenna and the Jesuit Favre had a shared concern for this inner relationship with God and the inner renewal of the church.¹² In the edition of Canisius and Surius it sounds as follows:

These people (i.e., 'friends of God') constantly maintain a free inward inclination to God and a union with God in true, unhindered love. Many people sadly neglect themselves on this point, in a multiplicity of superfluous things and concerns. Whoever loses the inward vision of God and the loving inclination to him for one hour loses more than if one were to lose the authority over an entire kingdom. More still, if we were to have insight into all the Scriptures, if we were to be teachers who could form others and guide them to everlasting life, if we were to possess sufficient riches to ban all poverty from the world, it would all be of little use if we were to lack God, if we were to cling to our own self-sufficiency and thus to impose an obstacle and a hindrance to God to enter us and for us to abandon ourselves entirely to him and to work to his honour. The entire teaching of the Scriptures consists in offering ourselves to him unceasingly, living for him, abandoning ourselves to him inwardly, and never separating ourselves from him. (c. 37).

THE RECEPTION OF THE *INSTITUTIONES* IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

The association between the young Peter Canisius and his friend Laurentius Surius on the one hand and the Carthusians on the other thus produced a publication characterised by a climate of great reverence for the older spiritual-mystical tradition, and by the wish to make the treasures of this spirituality accessible to readers of their time. The dates are obviously not unimportant: 1543 (the vernacular edition) and 1548 (the Latin translation) fall in the period of the expanding Reformation and the beginning of the reactions to it, including the Council of Trent (1545–1563). But anyone who reads the *Institutiones* sees that there is no polemical tone at all, not even in the anonymous passages that may have been written by contemporary authors. The book, in its general scheme, is not interested in doctrinal discussions or polemics, but rather in the believer's fundamental relationality with God, as had been the case for centuries in the mystical tradition. The many initiatives taken by the Cologne Charterhouse during this period were along the same lines. This corresponds with the concerns of the first group of Ignatius's companions.

¹² Favre, *Mémorial*, 33.

John O'Malley has rightly emphasised in his study of the early Jesuits that they did not intend to form a group with a specific identity of their own, but simply a group of priests who wanted to promote the spiritual life in the Church.¹³ We might add: that was precisely the ideal of great spiritual authors such as John of Ruusbroec or the leading figures of the *Devotio Moderna*, Geert Grote (1340–1348), Gerard Zerbolt (1367–1398), and others.¹⁴

The incipient Society was apparently regarded as a beacon for the defence of contemplative spirituality; this is apparent from the fact that the Carthusians of Cologne dedicated their beautiful 1556 edition of Hendrik Herp's *Theologia mystica* to Ignatius and the Society – the dedication is dated 1555, but the book was published in 1556, that is, just before Ignatius's death:

To the venerable and most renowned father and lord Ignatius, superior of the brothers and fathers of the Society of the Name of Jesus, and to all the other venerable and most renowned fathers and brothers of the same Society, Brother Bruno Loher, procurator of the Charterhouse sends many greetings from Cologne.¹⁵

For some this was a reason to be suspicious of the young Society of Jesus, as the Spanish theologian Melchior Cano, O.P. (1509–1560) put it: 'I have heard that they follow Tauler and Herp'.¹⁶

But this openness to the contemplative tradition soon disappeared in the Society of Jesus. Indeed, less than twenty years later, in 1575, the then superior general of the order, Evrard Mercurian (1514–1580), decided that the *Taulerus* – just like the works of Ruusbroec and Herp – could not be read by Jesuits without special permission from the superior.¹⁷ His argument was that such literature did not suit the spirit and identity of the order. This decision was certainly not followed very strictly. A good example is the French Jesuit Jean-Joseph Surin, who mentions them among the most important mystical authors.¹⁸ Nevertheless, it is clear that the original spirit as it appears in this monumental edition edited by Peter Canisius and his friend Laurentius Surius, had changed in the order – at least in the minds of those who held offices of responsibility.

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¹³ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 18.

¹⁴ Faesen, "Tentamen Vitae Contemplativae in Actione," 69–89.

¹⁵ Herp, *Theologiae mysticae* (1556). One of the copies in the Maurits Sabbe Library (P248.571/F° HERP THEO 1556; part of the Jesuitica collection) mentions: *Questo libro è stato tutto revisto e correcto, conforme a quello che fu stampato in Roma l'anno 1586*; and its title is corrected thus: *Theologiae mysticae D. Henrici Harphii theologi erudiss. Ordinis Minorum ac rerum divinarum contemplationis profundissimi, libri tres, nunc denuo studio multo attentiori, quam hactenus unquam plurium theologorum opera castigati et correcti* (which indeed corresponds to the edition of 1586, see Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, 112 [no. 22A] and 113 [no. 23A]).

¹⁶ Quoted by Michel de Certeau in Favre, *Mémorial*, 38. This was no exaggeration: De Certeau gives a convincing list of topics in Favre's writings that clearly correspond to Herp's works, see Favre, *Mémorial*, note 8.

¹⁷ Faesen, "Dupliciter Intelligi Potest," 285–307.

¹⁸ Surin, *Guide spirituel*, 245.

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Bellarmino, Lessius, and the Leuven Faculty of Theology

Mathijs LAMBERIGTS

BELLARMINE AND/IN LEUVEN

In 1569, a young Italian Jesuit, Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), arrived in Leuven. He was soon appointed to teach in the Jesuit house in this town, where he offered courses on scholastic theology according to the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, O.P. (c. 1225–1274). At the time of Bellarmine's arrival, the Leuven Faculty of Theology studied both Augustine (354–430) and Thomas Aquinas with much respect. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, Augustine had been rediscovered by Catholics and Protestants alike, and the Leuven Faculty of Theology would publish Augustine's works in ten volumes in 1576–1577, an edition that corrected that by Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) in many ways.¹ According to the *Ratio studiorum* of the Jesuits, Bellarmine was expected to teach the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, but he did so very much in an Augustinian way. Bellarmine's tractate on predestination, the result of courses taught in 1573–1574 offers ample proof of this Augustinian impact.

Thomas Aquinas was similarly very much appreciated in Leuven. A royal chair for the study of Thomas Aquinas had been founded at the university in 1546. Leuven professors such as Ruard Tapper (1487–1559) – professor from 1530 to his death and present at the Council of Trent in 1551–1552 – preferred Thomas Aquinas and Thomas Cajetan, O.P. (1469–1534) over Augustine in the discussion about the human capacity to do good works. In several cases, Tapper quoted Augustine as found in the works of Thomas or Cajetan.² While Tapper opted for a scholastic approach, Michael Baius (Michel de Bay, 1513–1589) and Johannes Hessels (1522–1566) – both of whom were also present at the Council of Trent during its last period – argued for more attention to Scripture and the Early Christian writers, especially Augustine. For them, a return to the sources was urgently needed. They considered this as more effective in the debate with Protestants than any appeal to the scholastic approaches. This explains why their focus was on the anti-Pelagian works of Augustine, more so than on his early writings. In any case, the premature death of Hessels, the great promoter of the renewal, and the condemnation of Baius in 1567 would not result in a decline of interest in Augustine at the faculty.

BELLARMINE AND BAIUS

When Bellarmine joined the Jesuits in Leuven, seventy-nine theses of Baius had already been censured by the papal bull *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*, published in 1567. Baius's positions, partially

¹ Augustine, *Opera* (1576).

² Schrama, "Ruard Tapper," 63–98.

developed to combat the Protestants, attracted many students but were criticised by some of his colleagues. Professor Josse Ravesteyn (1506–1570), who was opposed to Baius's search for renewal in theology, had transferred fifteen propositions to Spain, where they were examined at the theological faculties of Alcalá and Salamanca. These and other propositions were censured by the Spanish theologians and sent to Rome, where a condemnation of these propositions followed. Baius and his colleagues submitted, even although Baius was convinced that several of the propositions condemned were not present in his own work.

Whether Bellarmine took classes at the university, is still a matter of discussion. He denied that he had ever taken classes with Baius, but he was clearly interested in Baius's work. He criticised Baius's positions, but without mentioning his name.³ In 1576, Bellarmine left Leuven for Rome. A year before, Baius had delivered a speech in which he argued that the bishops receive their jurisdiction immediately from God and not from the pope and in which he questioned the infallibility of the pope. Baius's positions caused unrest and people appealed to Rome. At the end of 1579, Bellarmine wrote a memoir on Baius which might have influenced Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585), who again condemned Baius in his bull *Provisionis nostrae*. It prompted Bellarmine to compose a tractate on the basis of a manuscript prepared at Leuven but completed in Rome: *Sententiae D. Michaelis Baii Doctoris Lovaniensis, a duobus Pontificibus damnatae et a Roberto Bellarmino refutatae* (Brussels, KBR, Ms. 4318-4320, f. 144-247). In this substantial work, Bellarmine mentioned Baius twice.⁴ Bellarmine seemingly respected the pope's order not to insult Baius. Moreover, Bellarmine's Leuven notes in a sense had undermined a correct interpretation of the condemnation of Baius by Pius V (1504–1572), something that might have caused scandal among Baius's friends. Indeed, the work of Bellarmine suggested that more was condemned than in fact was the case in the bulls of the popes.⁵

The theological debates continued in Leuven too. Although Baius had submitted twice, he continued to teach positions that caused unrest. Moreover, he refused to ask his students to swear an oath of obedience to the bull of Pius V. Rome intervened again. The faculty was asked to present its doctrine. Professor Johannes Lensaeus (Jean de Lens, 1541–1593) wrote a document that would be finished and approved by his colleagues in 1586. This document, entitled *Doctrinae ejus quam certorum articulorum damnatio postulare visa est, brevis, & quoad fieri potuit, ordinata & cohaerens explicatio*, explained that the faculty accepted the subsequent bulls and obeyed Rome. At the same time, this very Augustinian document could be read as the theological programme of the faculty. The faculty proved to be well aware of the issues that dominated Catholic theology at the time: grace and free will, merits, the Eucharist as a sacrifice et cetera.

THE ARRIVAL OF LEONARD LESSIUS

In the same year 1586, the Jesuit Leonard Lessius (1554–1623), formerly a student of the Faculty of Arts at Leuven University, was appointed professor of theology and prefect of studies

³ Biersack, *Initia Bellarminiana*.

⁴ It was partially published in Le Bachelet, *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, 314-338. In passing, it should be said that the first censure of Pius V was already sloppily put together, reason why Baius rightly protested against it; see Van Eijl "L'interprétation de la bulle de Pie V portant condamnation de Baius," 499-542.

⁵ Ceyssens, "Bellarmin," 179-205.

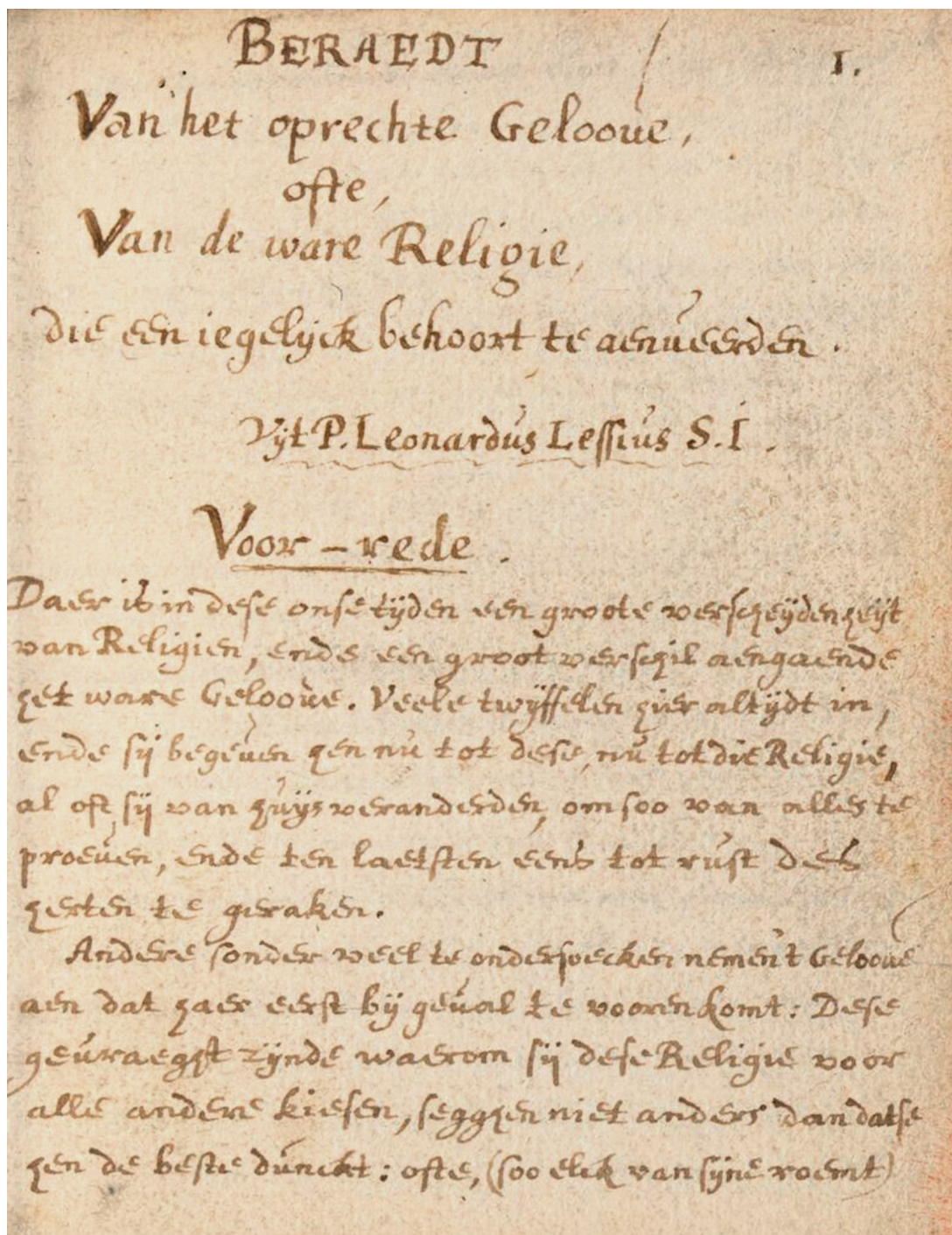


Figure 1: *Lessius, Beraedt van het oprechte gelooue (c. 1650) MSB, PM0703, f. 1r.*

at the Jesuit college in Leuven. Lessius had joined the Jesuits as a university student in Leuven in 1572. After his ordination in 1580 he had studied in Rome with Bellarmine and with Francesco Suarez, S.J. (1548–1617), who was considered to be one of the greatest scholastic scholars of that time. In line with the guidelines of the Jesuit order, Lessius took the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas as the basis for his lectures. Lessius, at that moment thirty-one or thirty-two years old, criticised the theological positions of Baius without mentioning his name. The Faculty of Theology was angered by this criticism of an old, sick, but respected professor, who had served his faculty several times as dean and his university once as rector. As a result, during the first half of 1587, the faculty

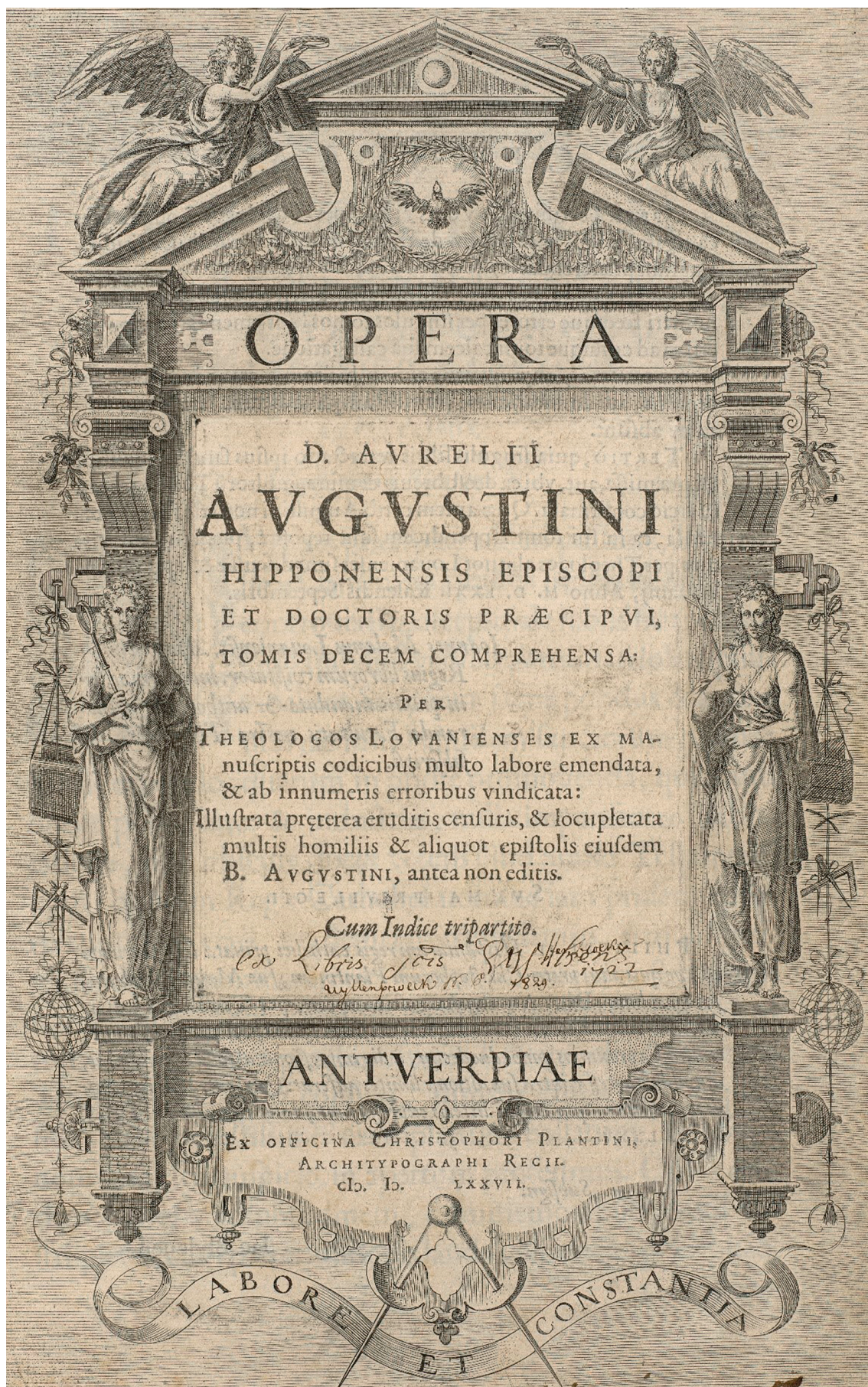


Figure 2: Augustine, Opera (1577) MSB, P276.567.2IF° AUGU Oper 1576, title page volume 1.

decided to examine Lessius's own theology on the basis of course notes received from students. The theologians felt obliged to react to Lessius's ideas, because they were not in line with the doctrine of the Leuven Faculty of Theology. The faculty maintained that the positions held by Lessius misrepresented Augustine. Lessius's position came very close to semi-Pelagianism. After this examination, the faculty censured thirty-one propositions held by Lessius.⁶

LESSIUS'S SELF-DEFENCE

Lessius responded to the faculty's censure with a text consisting of thirty-four propositions. He submitted these to the faculty on 15 May 1587. Lessius's answer was entitled *Conclusiones de praedestinatione et reprobatione*. He insisted that sin is the result of human free will. Therefore, salvation and reward, punishment and damnation depend on our responsibility. God's prevenient and inciting grace prepares human beings in such a way that they are able to do what they should do. God foreknows what human beings will do and thus helps those who want to do the good. God is prepared to offer his grace to all so that they may persevere, for God is merciful and will not refuse to help humanity. Predestination does not precede our moral behaviour: it is a gift of God but also a reward for our merits. In sum, for Lessius, God gave all people the *auxilium sufficiens* to do the good that they should do. Sufficient grace only becomes efficient whenever human beings accept God's invitation. Thus, predestination is based on God's foreknowledge of human merits.

The Leuven Jesuits asked Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), the superior general of the Jesuits, and Bellarmine for advice. In a letter to Bellarmine, written in September 1587, Lessius wrote that he had quite vehemently but secretly refuted Baius's positions and that this was the reason he was being attacked. In 1588, Lessius still believed that he taught the same doctrine on grace as Bellarmine had once done. But while Bellarmine's teaching had always been inspired by Augustine, Lessius tended more towards a theology in which grace depended in a certain way on the approval by the human free will.⁷

THE FACULTY'S REPLY: *CENSURA LOVANIENSIS*

The faculty was of the opinion that Lessius was maintaining his 'errors' and asked Professor Henricus Gravius (Hendrik van Grave, 1536–1591), an expert on Augustine's doctrine on grace and an opponent of Baius's ideas (and thus considered to be objective), to react. Gravius was a friend of Lessius, but was critical of the ideas of Luis de Molina, S.J. (1535–1600) which were supported by Lessius. The introduction to this *Censura Lovaniensis* was written by Johannes Lensaeus, who acted as the faculty's representative in the dispute. On 9 September 1587, the censure was approved by the faculty and on 12 September it was given to the rector of the Jesuits in Leuven. It was also sent to the Faculty of Theology at Douai, which wrote its own censure in January 1588.

According to the faculty, the Jesuits were causing unrest among its students. Time and again, the faculty took Augustine as its point of reference, as he was regarded as holding the right answer

⁶ Lamberigts, "The Dispute," 32–46.

⁷ Lamberigts, "The Dispute," 32–46.

to the Pelagians, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists. It was this Augustine that the Jesuits attacked, and this was an attack on the church and the Apostolic See, for they followed the doctrine of Augustine. If Augustine, who was immensely popular in the sixteenth century, was to be ‘suspect’ in the eyes of Catholics, while he was ‘venerated’ by the Protestants, this might not only undermine the authority of the Catholic Church – as the church would be robbed of the *doctor gratiae* –, but it could also easily lead to the accusation that the Roman Catholic Church was a Pelagian church. A rejection of Augustine’s positions on grace and the promotion of the natural capacities of human beings reminded people of Pelagianism. In essence, the faculty suspected Lessius of maintaining foreknowledge over predestination, free will over grace, natural qualities over the impact of grace. In line with Augustine, the faculty rejected the idea that grace is given according to our merits, and that faith, conversion, good works and perseverance in these good works are the result of our efforts. The Jesuits’ main problem, according to the faculty, was that they were not able to hold together the truth and efficacy of Christ’s grace and the existence of free will. In its conclusion, the faculty referred to Bellarmine, who had recently taught positions in the house of the Jesuits in Leuven that diverged from those held by the current Jesuit professors of theology.

THE JESUITS’ REPLY

The Leuven Jesuits were shocked and answered in a *Responsio ad Censuram Facultatis Sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis*. The text was written by Lessius in about six days. Lessius sent his answer first to the superior general in Rome, hoping that the Holy See would intervene and react against the faculty’s accusations. Lessius was of the opinion that the faculty sometimes misinterpreted the *doctor gratiae* and was not sufficiently familiar with dogmatic theology. He suggested that the current generation deviated from their predecessors. Those who accused Lessius thus accused these predecessors. The faculty harmed both the reputation of the Jesuits and the orthodoxy of their doctrine.⁸ Bellarmine’s answer arrived in Leuven at the end of November 1587. Bellarmine seemed pleased by Lessius’s apology but also made certain critical observations, including about Lessius’s interpretation of Bellarmine’s view on predestination, which should be nuanced.⁹

In their reply, the Jesuits argued that their doctrine was in agreement with Scripture and the tradition of the church. Lessius also referred to the Church Fathers, medieval and modern authors and the Council of Trent. Lessius explained that with regard to the predestination to glory he preferred the teachings of the Greek Fathers, who had lived before Augustine. He maintained that the predestination to glory will happen *ex praevisis meritis*. If Augustine defended another position, this should not be a problem, for he was one among many teachers. In any case, Lessius wanted to remain a loyal disciple of Bellarmine, the teaching of Rome and universities such as Paris, Salamanca, Coimbra and Complutense. But Lessius firmly defended his basic intuition that God had not predetermined reward and reprobation without taking human freedom into account.¹⁰

⁸ Van Eijl, “La controverse louvaniste,” 207-282.

⁹ Rai, “*Ex Meritis Praevisis*,” 111-150.

¹⁰ Lamberigts, “The Dispute,” 32-46.

In 1587–1588, Bellarmine defended Lessius in his disputes with the faculty. However, when more than twenty years later Lessius published his views on the matter in *De gratia efficaci*, he ran into trouble in Rome, not Leuven. Lessius's work was written against a treatise by Francisco de Avila, O.P. (?–1604), *De gratia et libero arbitrio sive de auxiliis divinae gratia*, published in 1599. Francisco de Avila had criticised the positions of Luis de Molina. Francisco de Avila defended predetermining grace and accused the Jesuits of holding the opposite. In his reply, defending Molina, Lessius argued that *gratia efficax* is always accompanied by our collaboration.¹¹ In a second part, *De praedestinatione et reprobatione*, Lessius rejected the idea that only the absolutely gratuitous divine will leads to the election to glory. To these treatises, he added a small treatise, *De praedestinatione Christi*. The three treatises would form a volume that was approved by the Belgian provincial of the order, Franciscus Flerontinus (?–1615), in 1608 and printed in 1610.¹² In this book, Lessius defended several views that had been censured in the 1580s by the faculty professors.

The book caused the ire of the general of the order, Acquaviva, who was convinced that Lessius's position on predestination could not be accepted. He required a *retractatio*. Bellarmine and other Jesuits criticised Lessius's positions, for they believed that effective grace belonged to God's absolute and independent will. In 1586–1587, Bellarmine admitted that he had supported Lessius in the controversy with the theologians. Now, according to Bellarmine, Lessius held an unacceptable position for he stated that predestination simply and absolutely depended on the *previsa merita*.¹³ Bellarmine concluded: this cannot be considered orthodox doctrine on predestination.¹⁴ The intervention of the Roman Jesuits meant the end for Lessius's career as systematic theologian. Even worse, Lessius's fame was disputed and when his nephew, Jacob Wijns, S.J. (1593–1649), wrote a biography of his uncle in 1640, it was put on the *Index*.¹⁵

JANSENIUS

In his work *Augustinus*, Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638) spoke with respect about Bellarmine. As is known, five propositions considered to be present in this work were condemned in 1653 by Pope Innocent X (1574–1655). The first of these propositions was: 'Some of God's commandments cannot possibly be observed by just human beings with the strength they have in the present state, even though they wish and strive to keep them; the grace that would make their fulfilment possible, is also lacking'. Jansenius never held this position. Jansenius argued that it might be impossible to fulfil the commandments because of the current weak position of human beings, but through prayer a person can obtain this grace so that the human being, helped by God, can be without sin.¹⁶ The same position had been held by Bellarmine in his Leuven lectures.¹⁷ Jansenius did not agree with all positions as Bellarmine held them, but treated Bellarmine with respect, calling him '*noster*

¹¹ Rai, "God (Fore)knows It All," 499–516.

¹² Lessius, *De gratia efficaci* (1610).

¹³ Rai, "God (Fore)knows It All," 499–516.

¹⁴ Le Bachelet, *Auctarium Bellarminianum*.

¹⁵ Van Houdt, "Jacob Wijns," 104–107.

¹⁶ Jansenius, *Augustinus* (1640), col. 132 (III, 3, 13).

¹⁷ Ceyssens, "Bellarmin," 179–205.

Bellarminus'. In Rome, Bellarmine publicly declared that he owed whatever he taught in the first place to God, and to his seven years as a young man in Leuven. Bellarmine became a saint and doctor of the Church, Jansenius, also a respected Leuven professor and a great expert on Augustine, was condemned and accused of heresy.

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Divus Lessius:
Theology and Sanctity in Leonard Lessius's Journey
(1554–1623)

Eleonora RAI

Jesuit history enthusiasts will certainly recall the words of Jerónimo Nadal, S.J. (1507–1580), one of the main figures in the early history of the Society of Jesus: in Alcalá in 1561, he exhorted the members of the newly founded Ignatian order to follow their personal inclinations in their service of the order.¹ The Society needed logicians, theologians, humanists, and experts in many other disciplines as well. It thus represented an extraordinary opportunity for Jesuit candidates to follow their passions and make the most of their capacities or, more precisely, to use their skills to serve the aims of the Society of Jesus. Evangelisation was the order's original founding goal, but in time it also engaged in education as well as producing works of theology, science, and art. Of course, Jesuits were also supposed to learn to bend their personal aspirations to the so-called principle of Ignatian indifference and accept the decisions of the superiors. In other words, a perfect Jesuit bowed obediently to authority.

Take this principle and overturn it, and you will have an idea of the animating spirit of one of the most fascinating, oft-criticised, and bold Jesuits of the Society of Jesus's first century: Brecht-born Lenaert Leys, who has gone down in history under his Latin name Leonard Lessius (1554–1623), was not the most obedient fellow. Lessius was at home in Leuven, where he taught theology in the late sixteenth century at the Jesuit college and lived for most of his life.² The first accusations of Lessius's disobedience and unwillingness to submit to the authority of the order's superiors came directly from Jesuit Generals Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) and Mutius Vitelleschi (1563–1645). To various extents, they both stressed how this Jesuit meticulously avoided submitting some of his theological writings to the Jesuit central censure system. Second, Lessius's insubordination was also noted by some of those who considered opening a canonisation cause for him, including Vitelleschi.

This brief contribution begins with the question what Lessius did to earn such critiques and warnings (from the leaders of his own order, no less!), and then brings the reader along the theological and hagiographical journey our theologian undertook both during his life and after his death, when a devotional movement arose calling for his canonisation.³ On one hand, we will retrace the attempt to use theology, and especially the promotion of a certain kind of theology, as a basis for Lessius's model of sanctity; on the other, we will explore how the cause for Lessius's canonisation eventually failed due precisely to his theological positions.

¹ O'Malley, *I primi gesuiti*, 70.

² On Lessius's biography see, for example, Van Sull, *Léonard Lessius de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1554–1623* and Stanciu, "An Aristotelian, an Example of Virtue and/or a Mystic?," 369–393.

³ On the attempt to open a canonisation cause for Lessius see Rai, "The 'Odor of Sanctity'," 238–258.

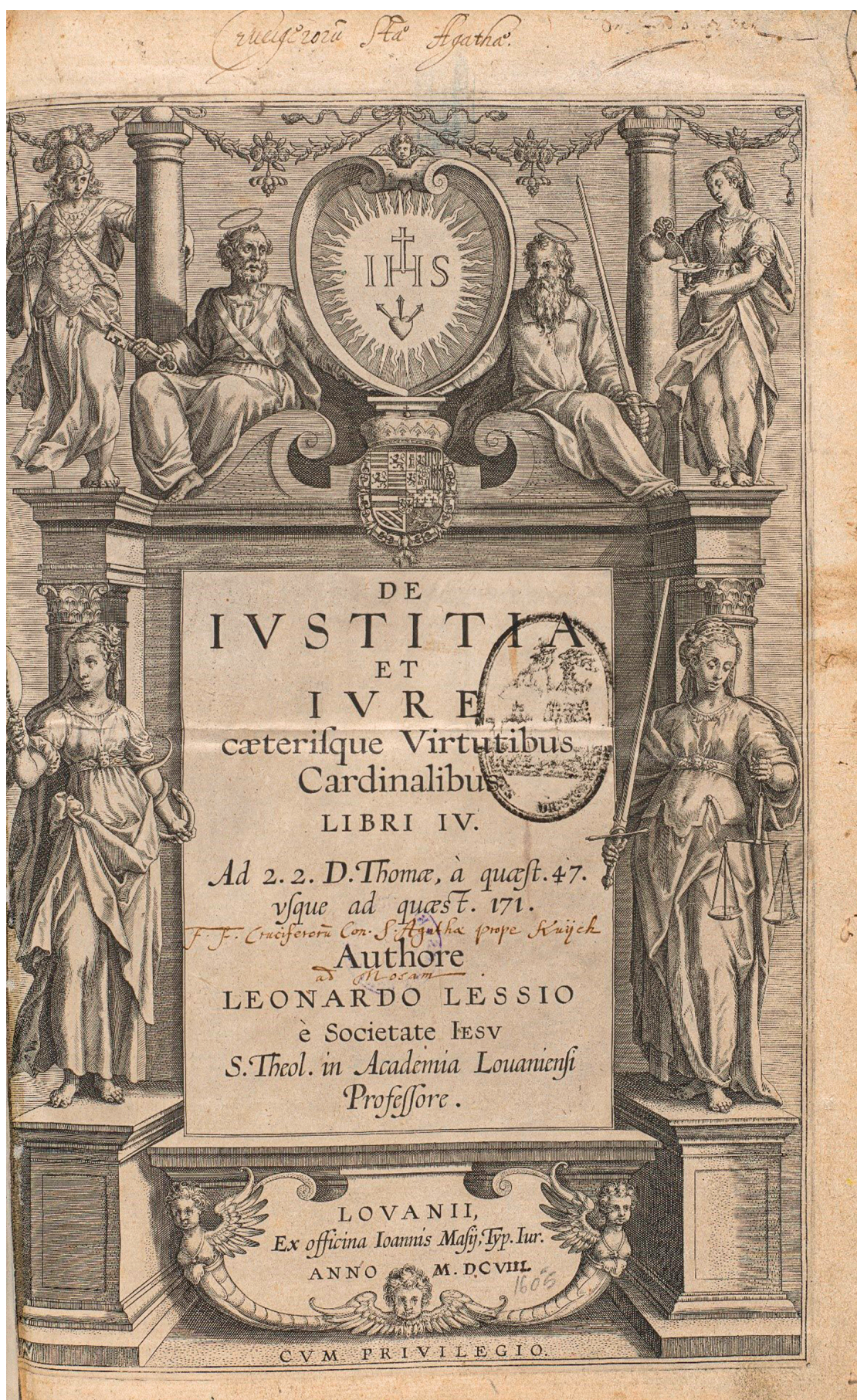


Figure 1: Lessius, De iustitia et iure (1605) MSB, P279.315.4/F° LESS Iust, engraved title page.

Lessius was a prolific author of theological works, notably including treatises dealing with the doctrine of salvation – that is, the theology of grace, free will, and eternal predestination – and morality, especially moral economy but also sobriety and the perfect diet for living a virtuous life far removed from the sin of gluttony.⁴ These treatises, titled *De gratia efficaci*, *De iustitia et iure*, and *Hygiasticon*, allow us to grasp a specific articulation of early modern Catholic theology based on an optimistic view of human beings' capacities to use their free will after the Fall and original sin.⁵ Many early modern theologians, spurred on by both the Protestant Reformation and an evolving process of Catholic revival, devoted themselves to clearly explaining the extent to which God, on the one hand, and human beings, on the other, each contribute to the process of saving the soul. Four ingredients combine to make up the cocktail of salvation: God's predestination of humankind, God's grace, God's foreknowledge of people's merit, and free will, by means of which human beings act. However, the proportional weight of each of these ingredients is not as clear: in other words, there are doubts as to how and in what measure these elements count in saving a person's soul.

It is my opinion that Lessius, along with the anti-Aristotelian Tommaso Campanella, O.P. (1568–1639), was one of the most engaged defenders of free will in the economy of salvation – namely, the process through which human beings can achieve the salvation of the soul – vis-à-vis God, his predestination of humankind, and grace. Without going into too many theological details that might test readers' patience, let us take a brief look at Lessius's model. Despite a widespread view at the time that stressed the primacy of God's grace and predestination (as an expression of his sovereign authority) over human free will, based on Augustine's (354–430) teachings after his controversy with the British monk Pelagius (360–420), Lessius taught that God predestines human beings to be saved only *after* and *because* of his foreknowledge of their good works and merit. In 1587, this doctrine was perceived by the strictly Augustinian professors of the University of Leuven's Faculty of Theology as depriving God of his independent power of decision. The university's theologians severely criticised it, censored it and condemned it as heretical, thereby sparking the so-called Leuven controversies. No official condemnations were issued by the Holy See, however, and both Lessius and the Leuven theologians went on professing their respective theses.⁶

We also find the same attention to the abilities and capacities of free will in Lessius's moral treatise *De iustitia et iure* addressing issues of contract law – lending at interest, commerce, and contracts – in a way that favours people's freedom of action in the economic field despite the Church's numerous bans.⁷ Here as well, our Jesuit interprets the issues in a way that allows human beings to accumulate merit so as to be saved in the afterlife – even while performing traditionally prohibited commercial practices. Merit can be accumulated in any field of daily life: even adhering to a diet can count as practicing sobriety and temperance and can accumulate credit in the eyes of God, as Lessius explains in his *Hygiasticon*. In 1610, despite a papal prohibition against publishing

⁴ See Casalini & Madella, "The Jesuit Cultivation of Vegetative Souls," 177–198.

⁵ The Jesuitica catalogue is precious for scholars who look for these important sources, and includes physical or digital copies of Lessius's main works. Lessius, *De gratia efficaci* (1610); Lessius, *De iustitia et iure* (1605); Lessius, *Hygiasticon* (1613).

⁶ On Lessius's theology of salvation see Rai, "Ex Meritis Praevisis," 111–150. On the early modern theological controversies about salvation see Scheermann, *Controversiarum de divinae gratiae* and François & Gerace, "The Doctrine of Justification," 9–40.

⁷ See, for example, Van Houdt, *Leonardus Lessius over lening, intrest en woeker* and Decock, *Le marché du mérite*. In recent years, Wim Decock dedicated several key studies to Lessius's economical thought.

works on grace, Lessius published his treatise *De gratia efficaci*, further explaining his doctrines on free will. General Acquaviva and Jesuit cardinal and theologian Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) both immediately responded expressing their disapproval, both regarding the publication *per se* and the content of Lessius's doctrine, but Lessius responded with his typical boldness and non-chalance. Both this treatise and the abovementioned *De iustitia et iure* were harshly criticised by Jesuit censors. The highest echelons of the Society of Jesus feared that Lessius's theology, which they regarded as excessively open and lenient to humankind's role in both moral daily life and the economy of salvation, might make the order the target of severe accusations.

We are thus dealing with a Jesuit theologian who was not much appreciated by his superiors in Rome. In the Spanish Low Countries, on the contrary, not only did Lessius's fame of sanctity as an ascetic grow during his life and explode soon after his death, but his doctrine of salvation was vaunted as an emblem of the Jesuits' role in Leuven in contraposition to the theology taught at the university, a theology Lessius himself had accused of being crypto-Calvinist.

An account of the Leuven controversies and Lessius's positions was included in the first hagiography composed with the specific aim of initiating a canonisation cause for Lessius, the *Vita* (1640) of Leonard Schoofs, O.Praem. (1580–1636).⁸ Soon after publication, Schoofs's book was reported to the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books in Rome, where it was condemned (1646) on two grounds: first, the way the author clearly attributed sanctity to Lessius before the Church had issued a decision on the matter; and second, its narration of the Leuven controversies. Even in the nineteenth century, when the Jesuits asked that the *Vita* be removed from the Index so that Lessius's canonisation cause could finally be launched after the first, failed, attempt in the seventeenth century, these theological disagreements were understood as an obstacle to the cause by the consultors of the Holy Office and Index.

The idea of canonising Lessius not only as an ascetical model but as a saintly theologian, still promoted by the postulators of the cause in the 1930s, clashed with the intentions of the generals, both Vitelleschi in the seventeenth century and Luis Martin (1846–1906) in the early twentieth century. However, such opposition was not understood at all by many of the ecclesiastics who handled the condemnation of Schoofs's *Vita* (especially the Dominican consultors of the Index) or Jesuit attempts to initiate the canonisation cause. They erroneously thought, in fact, that Lessius's doctrinal teaching represented the theological position of the entire Society of Jesus, and that the highest ranks of the Society were pushing for Lessius's canonisation in an attempt to canonise the theology of the whole order along with him: nothing, however, could be more misleading or further from the truth. The Jesuit generals who dealt with Lessius did not share his doctrine, as we have seen, and even accused him of putting the order in a dangerous and risky position by teaching it.

Over the course of its history, the Society of Jesus fostered the hagiographical model of the theologian, pursuing theological legitimation through sanctity and vice versa, as in the cases of Robert Bellarmine or Peter Canisius (1521–1597). We must draw a distinction, therefore, between two stances on Lessius in the seventeenth century: on one hand, there was the canonisation attempt by the Jesuit fathers of the college of Leuven who, out of *esprit de corps*, pushed for Lessius's canonisation as an emblem of the doctrine taught at the college against that developed at

⁸ Schoofs, *De vita, et moribus* (1640).



Figure 2: Bolswert, Leonardus Lessius, engraving, 36.2×25.7 cm,
KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, PA03275.

the university, when two theological worlds rightfully existing within the Catholic panorama clashed; on the other, there was the antipathy, almost aversion, of the leaders of the order, Acquaviva and Vitelleschi, against Lessius's doctrine. It must be added that, in the early twentieth century, General Martin favoured the cause to canonise Bellarmine, eventually made a saint in 1930 after three hundred years of attempts, and later proclaimed doctor of the Church by virtue of his illuminating theology, over that of Lessius. More specifically, Martin wished to halt Lessius's canonisation in case disagreement between him and Bellarmine – who had been Lessius's mentor and friend – might come to light. In the early seventeenth century, Bellarmine had indeed supported Acquaviva in his criticism of Lessius's *De gratia efficaci*.

We can even view the entire matter as a clash between the centre and the peripheries. In the periphery, early modern Leuven hosted Jesuits who propounded Scholasticism as an alternative to the strict Augustinism taught at the university, and defended Lessius's doctrine to the hilt, aspiring to theological legitimation through canonisation of a man also considered an example of Christian perfection.⁹ In the centre, the Jesuit upper echelons in Rome looked with horror at the idea that Lessius's theology might be taken to represent the official doctrine of the entire order – and for good reason, given that, even at the dawn of the twentieth century, attempts to canonise Lessius were still interpreted as a Jesuit design to validate their theology.

In the final analysis, Lessius's free will and human agency-based theology was the main reason his cause for canonisation never took off, in addition to a series of legal issues related to the unauthorised cult dedicated to him in the seventeenth century. This seems paradoxical when we think that at the heart of his teachings lay the idea of helping human beings – his penitents, students, and readers – to live morally, through their free will, with the aim of avoiding sin and thus potentially achieving Christian perfection or, in other words, sanctity. In the Spanish Low Countries, in the mid-seventeenth century, devotees still turned to Lessius for aid, through his relics, viewing him as a powerful mediator between earth and heaven, capable of obtaining miraculous healings and even exorcisms for the faithful. The fine points of theological argument did not matter at all to those in need, nor did supplicants care about grace or free will. It was certainly not a holy theologian they were asking for help, but rather a long-dead pious man they recognised as *divus*, inextricably tied to the spheres of the divine: a patron saint for the Spanish Low Countries, with the power to intercede for the same human beings he so strenuously defended in his theological teachings.¹⁰

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⁹ On the matter see Lamberigts, ed., *L'augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté de théologie de Louvain*.

¹⁰ A woman praying to be healed: KADOC, *Poncelet*, envelope 5, *Relatio sanitates*, fol. 103.

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Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), Hubert Audejans (1574–1615) and the Leuven Jesuits

Gilbert TOURNOY

In March 1578, Justus Lipsius fled from the troubles in the Southern Netherlands to the North, where he was welcomed by his friends Janus Dousa (Johan van der Does, 1545–1604) and Jan van Hout (1542–1609) at the recently founded University of Leiden. He stayed there for almost thirteen years, until March 1591, experiencing some of the happiest and most productive years of his life there.¹ Nevertheless, and despite positive incentives on the part of the town and the university, Lipsius started to feel less and less at home in Leiden, for numerous reasons: his poor health, his wife's insistence on returning, the growing tensions, and – perhaps most importantly – the intolerance in religious matters. Therefore, in September 1586, he asked the academic authorities to be relieved of his duties. They granted him a few months to restore his health. In reality, preparations had already been made to return to the South and to the true, Catholic, sheepfold, but the plan did not work out and two months later, in November 1586, Lipsius had to return to Leiden. A second and more successful attempt followed five years later. Lipsius travelled via Amsterdam, Vlieland and Hamburg to Frankfurt, where he arrived on 10 April. He continued his journey a few days later to Mainz, where he arrived on 14 April, Easter Sunday, going straight to the Jesuit college to confess and be reconciled with the Catholic church. Eleven days later he was in Cologne, where he visited the Jesuit college and met the papal nuncio, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani (1544–1612). Then he went on to Spa – the medicinal springs being the official purpose of his journey – where he arrived on 19 May, to settle finally in Liège on 27 June.

In the meantime, he conducted intensive correspondence with religious and political leaders who could be of assistance in preparing his return to Brabant and to the University of Leuven. For a general pardon, he needed official proof of his reconciliation with the Catholic church. His former fellow students, the Jesuits Johannes Oranus (1544–1603) and especially Martinus Antonius Delrio (1551–1608), assisted him in word and deed, and thanks to their intercession, the rector of the Liège Jesuit college issued a certificate of Catholic orthodoxy on 9 July 1591.² Still, it was a good year before all formalities were fulfilled, and Lipsius did not return to Leuven before August 1592. Especially during the first years, he remained under close supervision of his Jesuit friends, primarily his confidant Delrio. Delrio's role was later taken over by the reputed theologian Leonardus Lessius, S.J. (1554–1623), who guided Lipsius as his mentor and confessor and assisted him during the last days of his life.³

¹ De Landtsheer, "Le retour de Juste Lipse de Leyden à Louvain," 347–368; De Landtsheer, "From North to South," 303–331; De Landtsheer, *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal*, 31–137.

² For the relationship between Delrio and Lipsius, see Thomas, "Martín Antonio Delrío and Justus Lipsius," 345–366; De Landtsheer, Sacré & Coppens, eds., *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606)*, 51–61.

³ For Leonardus Lessius, see the pages and bibliography in De Landtsheer, Sacré & Coppens, eds., *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606)*, 262–270.



Figure 1: *Coats of arms of Justus Lipsius; Leuven, AR, Fonds SJ Leuven, Dossier 20.*

Lipsius did not forget the Leuven Jesuits in his will. The exact text of this will has not yet surfaced, except for a codicil, drafted on Thursday 16 February 1606, which stipulates that all dispositions in his will of 21 August 1599 remained in full force, except for a few small adaptations.⁴ But thanks to the biography by the Antwerp canon Aubertus Miraeus (1573–1640), we know the fate of his library: Lipsius donated all his books to his great-nephew Guillaume de Greve (1593–1672), except his Greek books and manuscripts, which he bequeathed to the Leuven Jesuit college (fig. 1).⁵ The library of this college suffered the fate of all other colleges after the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 and was almost completely dispersed. About three hundred

⁴ Tournoy, “Lipsiana novissima V,” 165–171.

⁵ Miraeus, *Vita Iusti Lipsii* (1609), 51; reprinted with only a few small changes, in Miraeus, *Elogia Belgica* (1609), 137–174; Leuven, AR, *Fonds SJ Leuven*, Dossier 20, contains a list of generous donors who had donated books to the Leuven Jesuit college, amongst them Justus Lipsius.

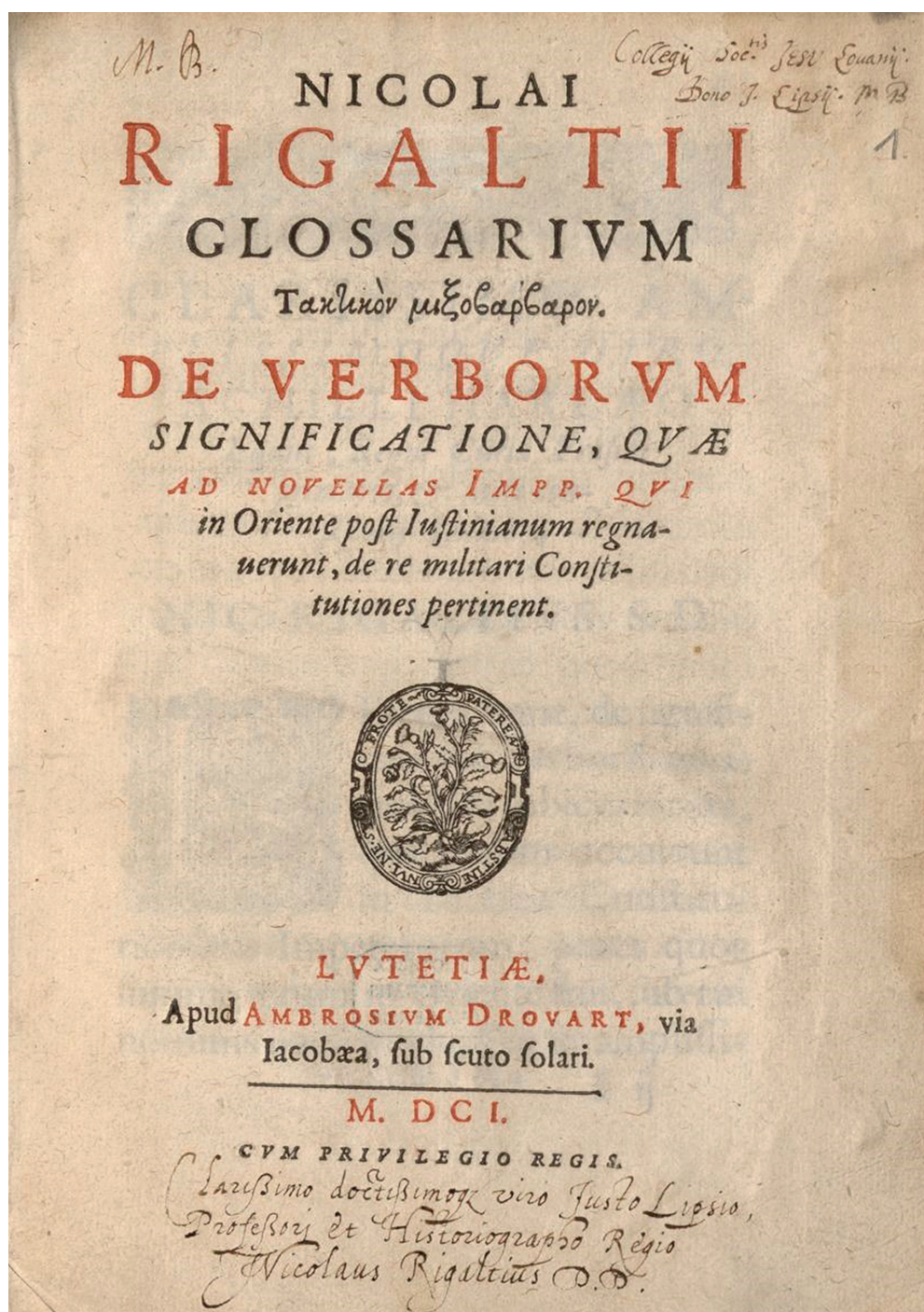


Figure 2: Rigault, Glossarium (1601) KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, CaaA1179/1, title page with inscriptions.

books of the Leuven Jesuit college ended up in the Royal Library of Belgium; less than twenty of these were bequeathed by Lipsius.⁶ A few other items have been found elsewhere, such as the *Glossarium* (Paris, 1601), which the French lawyer Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654) had gifted to Lipsius, who presented it later on to the Leuven Jesuits (fig. 2).⁷

⁶ Adam & de Schepper, eds., *Bibliotheca Lipsiana Bruxellensis*, 39.

⁷ Photograph of the title-page with the inscriptions in Tournoy, Papy & De Landtsheer, eds., *Lipsius en Leuven*, 179.

This good relationship between Justus Lipsius and the Jesuits of course also affected his students, friends and acquaintances. No wonder then that the *album amicorum* set up by Hubert Audejans, the Bruges humanist who had served Lipsius for seven years as his secretary, contains several inscriptions by Leuven Jesuits, all dated 1605 and following the very first one of that year, by Justus Lipsius himself (31 August 1605); there are a few other ones by Audejans's fellow-students, such as Philippus Rubenius (1574–1611) and Georgius Uwenus (1564–1649), and by Leuven professors, such as the lawyers Stephanus Wamesius (1553–1633) and Gerardus Corselius (1568–1636), and the theologians Joannes Malderus (1563–1633), Joannes Clarius (1547–1611) and Jacobus Baius (Jacques de Baÿ, c. 1545–1614).⁸

The only inscription by a Leuven Jesuit that is entirely in Latin, is the one by the Antwerp-born Bernardus Bauhusius (Bernard van Bauhuysen, 1576–1619) (fig. 3). Because it was one of the two items in the entire album containing a few original verses in Latin, it was published, translated and recently discussed in a previous publication of my hand.⁹ A second contribution, mostly in Latin, with a few lines in Greek, was by Nicolaus Bonardus or Nicolaes Bonaert, S.J. (Boonaert, Bonnaert). This learned Jesuit, born in Brussels on 16 April 1564, taught theology in Leuven from 1603 onwards. Later he went to Spain, where he died in Valladolid on 9 March 1610.¹⁰ The personal note in his contribution (*Perpetuae amicitiae symbolum Posuit*) was obviously inspired by the one his ten-year older and much more distinguished fellow Jesuit Leonardus Lessius had written three days earlier: *Hoc tibi a me, Vir optime, sit / Perpetuum amicitiae symbolum / Vel μνημόσυνον* (see below). Bonnaert's entry, dated 19 September 1605, mainly consists of a series of quotations, all on the idea of friendship, and taken from Holy Scripture and three classical authors: Manilius, Plautus and Horace (fig. 4).

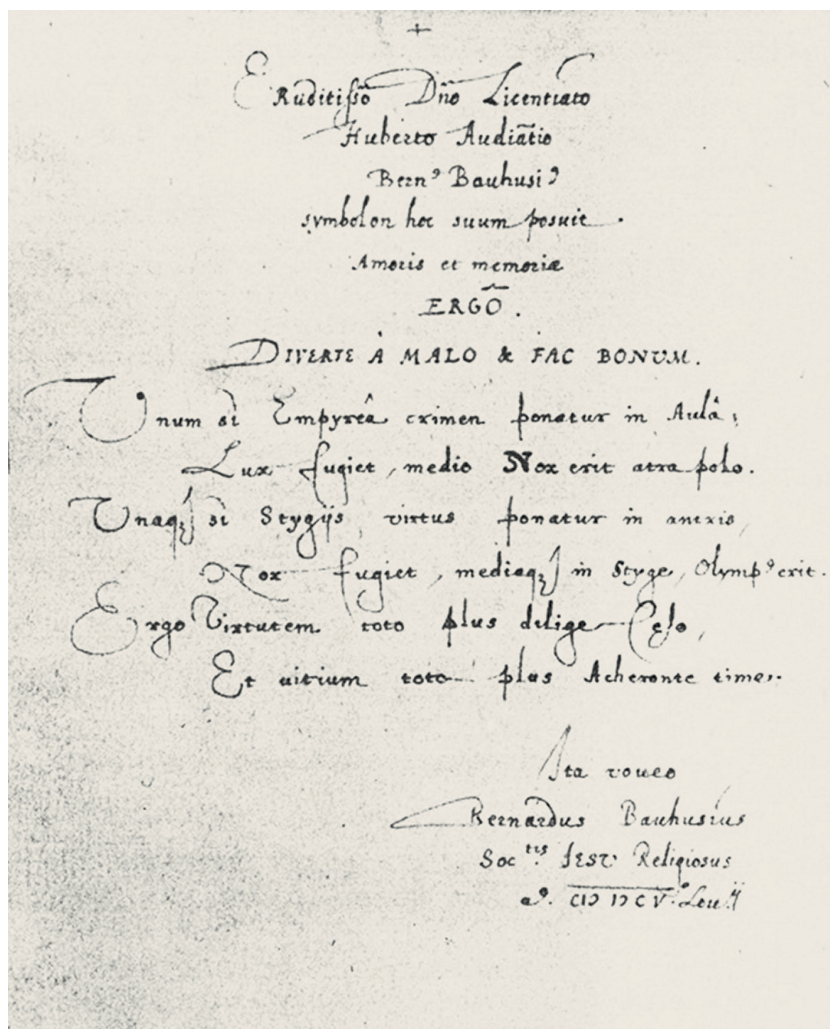


Figure 3: Album amicorum Audejans, private collection, f. 74v, inscription by Bernardus Bauhusius.

⁸ For Audejans, see Tournoy, "Hubert Audejans," 369-395; Tournoy, "De Brugse rederijker Jan-Baptist Dienberghe en zijn stadsgenoot, de humanist Hubertus Audejans," 232-245; a complete list of contributions to his album can be found in Tournoy, "Neo-Latin Poetry in the *Album Amicorum* of Hubert Audejans," 253.

⁹ Tournoy, "Neo-Latin Poetry in the *Album Amicorum* of Hubert Audejans," 255-257.

¹⁰ For Bonardus, see the entry by Reusens, "Boonaert (Nicolas)," 694-695; Audenaert, *PIBA*, 128-129.

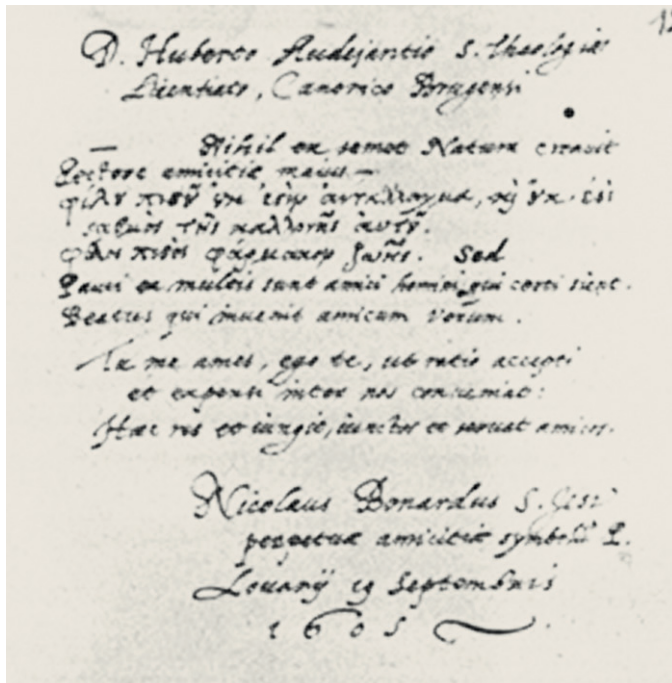


Figure 4: Album amicorum Audejans, *private collection*, f. 12r, inscription by Nicolaus Bonardus.

D(omino) Huberto Audejantio S(acrae) Theologiae
Licentiatō, Canonico Brugensi

Nihil ex semet Natura creauit
Pectore amicitiae maius.¹¹
Φίλου πιστοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
σταθμὸς τῆς καλλονῆς αὐτοῦ.¹²
Φίλος πιστὸς φάρμακον ζωῆς.¹³ Sed
Pauci ex multis sunt amici homini qui certi sient.¹⁴
Beatus qui inuenit amicum uerum.¹⁵

Tu me ames, ego te, ut ratio accepti
Et expensi inter nos conveniat:¹⁶
Haec res et iungit, iunctos et seruat amicos.¹⁷

Nicolaus Bonardus S(ocietatis) Jesu
Perpetuae amicitiae symbolu(m) P(osuit).
Louanij 19 Septembris
1605.

The last entry in Hubertus Audejans's album to be treated here is the one Leonardus Lessius penned on 16 September 1605. This prominent Jesuit did his best to impress the Bruges canon by combining a Latin introduction with a quote from the Book of Job, in Hebrew as well as in Greek, followed by a verse from the Greek lyric poet Pindar (c. 518–438 BC). By way of conclusion, he added an enigmatic line, in which Greek, Hebrew and Arabic characters form a line that has hitherto defied every attempt at decipherment, even by the most prominent specialists in Oriental languages (fig. 5).

¹¹ Manilius, *Astronomicon*, II, 581–582; see Goold, ed., *M. Manilii Astronomica*, 45: *idcirco nihil ex semet natura creauit / foedere amicitiae maius*.

¹² Modeled after Sir 6:15: Φίλου πιστοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν σταθμὸς τῆς καλλονῆς αὐτοῦ.

¹³ Sir 6:16.

¹⁴ Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 390; see Lindsay, ed., *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*.

¹⁵ Sir 25:12.

¹⁶ Inspired by Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 304–305: *Bene igitur ratio accepti atque expensi inter nos convenit. / Tu me amas, ego te amo; merito id fieri uterque existimat.*; see Lindsay, ed., *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*

¹⁷ Horatius, *Satires*, 1, 3, 54; see Shackleton Bailey, ed., *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, 177.

Huberto audia(n)tio S(acrae) Theologiae
Lice(n)tiato Canonico Brugensi
Leonardus Lessius S(ocietatis) J(esu)

Hoc tibi a me, Vir optime, sit
Perpetuu(m) amicitiae symbolu(m)
Vel μνημόσυνον

הן יראת אדני, היא חכמה

ἰδοὺ θεοσέβεια ἐστὶ σοφία¹⁸

Ζώει δὲ μάσσων ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων¹⁹

Louanij 16 Sep(tembris) 1605

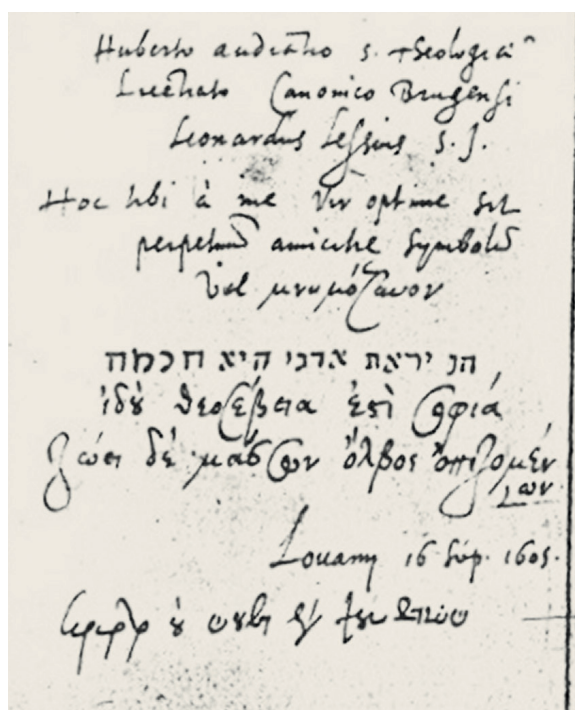
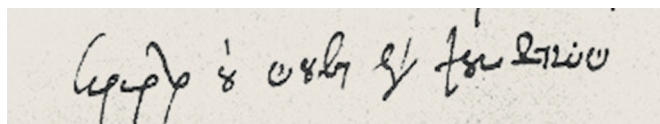


Figure 5: Album amicorum Audejans, private collection, f. 6r, inscription by Leonardus Lessius.



It is our hope that the publication of this line may stimulate some researcher to shed light on this enigma.

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¹⁸ The Hebrew and Greek texts are taken from the Bible, Job 28:28 ('Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom').

¹⁹ Pindar, *Isthmia* 3, 5-6. English translation: 'Greater prosperity lives with those who revere you'; see Sandys, intr. and trans., *The Odes of Pindar*.

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Reprinting Jeremias Drexel, S.J.

Alexander SOETAERT

The Bavarian Jesuit Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638) has sometimes been considered the most published author of the (early) seventeenth century. The Munich publisher Cornelius Leysser (active 1625–1643) estimated that between 1620 and 1639, he and other publishers operating in the Bavarian capital issued nearly 160,000 copies of Drexel's works. Three years later, they had produced another 12,000 copies.¹ In addition, most of Drexel's books were reprinted across Europe and translated from the Latin into several vernaculars. Leysser's figures thus only show a fraction of the total number of copies produced.

Drexel was born in Augsburg to Lutheran parents but converted to Catholicism at a young age. He studied at the Jesuit college and entered the Society of Jesus in 1598. In 1615, Drexel was appointed preacher to the ducal court and he subsequently became Duke Maximilian I's (1573–1651) personal confessor. Many of his books were related to his work as a preacher. He often rearranged his sermons, held in German, into a Latin text suitable for publication. Sometimes the Latin text would then be retranslated into German. Not unlike two contemporaries, the French bishops François de Sales (1567–1622) and Jean-Pierre Camus (1584–1652), both also very popular preachers and best-selling authors, Drexel aimed to make theological and spiritual concepts more comprehensible, irrespective of the backgrounds of his listeners and readers. His most favourite topics included death, heaven and hell. He felt it was his duty to remind the faithful of their responsibilities, such as regular confession and fasting, and to encourage them to practise spiritual self-scrutiny. In short, he tried to transpose fire and brimstone sermons from the pulpit to the printing press.²

My first encounter with Drexel's work was while I was compiling a database of Catholic books published in Douai.³ Between 1622 and 1638, at least thirty-three editions of Drexel's books were published in this French-speaking university town on the southern border of the Low Countries. The Maurits Sabbe Library holds copies of many of these Douai editions, as well as of the *editiones principes*.⁴ This makes it a unique laboratory for comparing Drexel editions and for investigating how publishers positioned Drexel editions in what appears to have been a highly competitive market. Drexel published a book almost every year between 1618 and his death. For that reason, I limited my research to five titles for which the Maurits Sabbe Library has copies of (almost) all known editions: *Recta intentio* (1626), *Heliotropium* (1627), *Aeternitatis prodromus* (1628), *Gymnasium patientiae* (1630), and *Infernus damnatorum* (1631).

Drexel's *editiones principes* were published in Munich by Nikolaus Heinrich (c. 1575–1654), Anna Berg (active 1610–1629) and Cornelius Leysser. In a preface to a posthumous Drexel edition

¹ Breuer, "Cornelius Leysser," 63–64.

² Crowe, *Jeremias Drexel's 'Christian Zodiac'*, 1, 3, 5–6, 16–17, 21–22.

³ KU Leuven – Early Modern History, "Impressa Catholica Cameracensia".

⁴ In total, the library has 380 copies of over 40 different Drexel titles up to 1700.

in 1639, Leysser explained that they generally printed the first edition of a Drexel book in octavo, while they chose vicesimo-quarto for the second. Leysser also provided a list of all the print runs in Munich, showing that he published almost 60 percent of the total number of copies. Heinrich and Berg published 31 and 9 percent respectively.⁵ Since Leysser was the court printer, it is not surprising that Drexel, who was the court preacher and confessor, turned to him to print his books.

The Munich publishers were granted a printing privilege for Drexel's works, which theoretically protected them against reprints elsewhere in the German Empire. However, Peter Henning (active 1617–1633) swiftly reprinted most books in Cologne, the empire's most prolific typographic centre for Catholic books. Henning started reprinting Drexel titles in the mid-1620s. He first reissued two older books, but from 1626 onwards his reprints followed the initial Munich editions more closely, producing them within one or two years of the *editio princeps*. In total, Henning issued thirteen editions of twelve different titles between 1625 and 1634.

However, it was Douai that grew into the most prolific centre for Drexel reprints. Since the foundation of the university there in 1562, the town developed into a major centre for Catholic book production. The town also housed the Collège d'Anchin, one of the largest Jesuit colleges in the Low Countries. All but one of the Douai reprints were published by Balthazar Bellère (1564–1639), the town's most prestigious printer, publisher and bookseller. Just like Henning, Bellère succeeded in reprinting new books within one or two years following the *editiones principes*. In 1636, Bellère also delivered an edition of Drexel's collected works, counting 1,500 pages across two volumes and twelve different texts, eleven of which he had published earlier.

In the late 1630s, Bellère seems to have lost interest in Drexel, possibly because of the appearance of a new player on the market. In 1631, the Antwerp publisher Jan Cnobbaert (1590–1637), working next to the local Jesuit headquarters, issued his first Drexel reprint, an edition of the *Infernus damnatorum*. Interestingly, this was a shared edition with Bellère. While the Douai publisher had been granted a printing privilege by the provincial of the Walloon Jesuit province, Cnobbaert obtained a similar permission from the Flemish province and the Privy Council in Brussels. The latter privilege was applicable to the entire Low Countries, which may imply that Bellère could no longer print new Drexel texts without Cnobbaert's consent. Bellère even asked permission from Cnobbaert for one of the texts included in the *opera omnia* edition of 1636. The Antwerp publisher and, from 1638 onwards, his widow, not only reprinted the Latin texts, as Bellère had done for over a decade, but also started to issue Dutch translations.

One final actor needs to be introduced. Twenty-eight editions or states of eleven different titles bear the imprint of Cornelius ab Egmond (active 1615–1666) in Cologne. Typographic evidence has suggested and, for some books, demonstrated, that these editions were actually printed by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638) in Amsterdam. Blaeu was a Mennonite who was becoming increasingly sympathetic to the Remonstrant Brotherhood, but he also recognised the potential of Catholic books, including Drexel's. In the mid-1620s, the Amsterdam authorities reprimanded him for printing Catholic books. This may have prompted him to publish Catholic texts with Egmond's Cologne imprint. The role of Egmond in the partnership is not entirely clear, but he may have helped to distribute the print run beyond the Dutch Republic. Yet, there are indications

⁵ Breuer, "Cornelius Leysser," 61, 63–64.



Figure 1: *Different sizes of editions of Drexel's Gymnasium patientiae (from left to right):*
 (Cologne: Peter Henning, 1630) MSB, LEUVEN MU 2258 C 4 – (Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich, 1630)
 MSB, 248.695.1 – (Cologne: Cornelius ab Egmond, 1632)
 MSB, LEUVEN MU 2258 F 24 – (Douai: Balthazar Bellère, 1631)
 MSB, 2-008826/A – (Cologne: Cornelius ab Egmond, 1632)
 MSB, 248.695.1/16 DREX Gymn.

that the print runs were partly destined for the domestic market too, which also counted a significant number of Catholic clergy and faithful.⁶ While Henning and Bellère issued their reprints over a period of nine and fourteen years respectively, the Egmond imprint was all printed between 1630 and 1635. The editions of the former publishers also followed the Munich editions more swiftly. Blaeu's intention thus might have been other than to provide a reprint as quickly as possible.

In sum, it can be said that during the 1620s and 1630s six publishers in five different places were making profits by reprinting Drexel's books, or at least believed they would do so. The question then arises how they positioned their editions in such a competitive market. What strategies did they use to make their edition the most attractive, both financially and visually, to the readership they had in mind? Comparing the copies held by the Maurits Sabbe Library offers some insights that may help to answer these questions.

According to Leysser, the Munich publishers always printed the *editio princeps* of one of Drexel's books in the duodecimo format. A second edition was then printed in vicesimo-quarto, a format 'light to carry wherever one desires'.⁷ For the five titles discussed here, this sequence can only be

⁶ Schmitz, "Der Kölner Buchdruck," 352-356, 359-360.

⁷ Breuer, "Cornelius Leysser," 61 (*da leicht zu tragen, wohin immer es beliebt*).

seen for *Gymnasium patientiae*. Henning's reprints were all in duodecimo, while Bellère and Blaeu preferred the smaller sextodecimo and vicesimo-quarto formats. The first two editions of Drexel's complete works, published by Melchior Segen (active 1623–1655) and Heinrich in Munich in 1628 and by Bellère in Douai in 1636, were both printed in quarto. Drexel's books thus mostly circulated in relatively small formats, enabling their use at home or underway. The *opera omnia*, by contrast, might instead have been found in institutional libraries.

One of the notable typographic differences between the Drexel editions was character size and line spacing. In order to compare various editions, bibliographers express these parameters by measuring twenty lines of type. In the Munich editions, twenty lines measure between 61 and 81 millimetres. Henning's duodecimo reprints follow the original editions, twenty lines measuring 79 or 81 millimetres. In the Bellère and Blaeu reprints, by contrast, twenty lines measure only between 51 and 54 millimetres (Table 1). The first editions in Munich and the Cologne reprints were thus set in relatively large characters, while the use of smaller characters and less line spacing was a typical feature of the reprints issued by Bellère and Blaeu. Of course, smaller characters and minimal line spacing also reduce the readability of the text. Especially the Bellère editions give the impression of being a lower-quality product compared to the books printed in Munich and Cologne.

Table 1: *Measurements of twenty lines of type in Drexel editions (in millimetres)*

Edition	<i>Recta intentio</i>	<i>Heliotropium</i>	<i>Aeternitatis prodromus</i>	<i>Gymnasium patientiae</i>	<i>Infernus damnatorum</i>
Munich 12°	61	80	81	66	70
Munich 24°		55		56	55
Douai 24°	52	52	52		52
Douai 18°		52		54	
Douai 16°				53	
Cologne 12°	79		79	81	79
Cologne 16°	51				52
Cologne [=Amsterdam] 16°	53	51	51	52	
Antwerp 24°					52

Printer's choices regarding bibliographical format, character size and line spacing determined the amount of paper they needed to produce one copy of a book. As a result, the number of sheets of paper per copy for the successive editions of the same Drexel book differs significantly. Depending on the length of the text, printers in Munich and Cologne used between 18 and 25 sheets per copy. Bellère and Blaeu, however, used only 8 to 15 sheets to print one copy of the same books. They managed to issue Drexel's books with only two thirds or even half the amount of paper of the *editiones principes* in Munich. For four of the five titles analysed here, Bellère produced the edition with the lowest number of sheets. Since paper cost was a major factor in the overall production cost, less paper meant that a book could be sold at a cheaper price. The demand for cheaper editions of Drexel's texts was acknowledged by the Munich publishers, and clearly also noticed by Bellère and Blaeu. The fact that Drexel's books were affordable for relatively large readerships certainly contributed to their great and enduring success.

Table 2: *Sheets of paper used for one copy of a Drexel edition*

Edition	<i>Recta intentio</i>	<i>Heliotropium</i>	<i>Aeternitatis prodromus</i>	<i>Gymnasium patientiae</i>	<i>Infernus damnatorum</i>
Munich 12°	20	24.5	20.33	19	19
Munich 24°	14	15.5		13.17	11
Douai 24°	10	12.5	8.54		8
Douai 18°		16.61		14.67	
Douai 16°				15	
Cologne 12°	23.33		18	21.5	19.5
Cologne 16°	13				9
Cologne [=Amsterdam] 16°	13.5	15	11	12.25	
Antwerp 24°					8

Drexel considered engravings to be an integral part of his books. They supported his aim to make theology and spirituality more easily understandable. In modern research, several Drexel titles have been described as emblem (or at least emblematically illustrated) books.⁸ These titles were precisely the ones that were published in Cologne, Douai and Amsterdam. The Munich editions were usually issued with an engraved title page and a varying number of engravings to illustrate the text (three in *Aeternitatis prodromus* and *Gymnasium patientiae*, five in *Heliotropium*, and nine in *Infernus damnatorum*). The copper plates for these engravings were all cut by members of the Sadeler family.



Figure 2: *Engravings in three different editions of Drexel's Aeternitatis prodromus (from left to right):*
 (Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich & Melchior Segen, 1628) MSB, LEUVEN MU 2258 C 20, f. B4r –
 (Douai: Balthazar Bellère, 1633) MSB, 2-015545/A, p. 1 – (Cologne [=Amsterdam]:
 Cornelius ab Egmond, 1630) MSB, 2-016863/A, f. A8r.

⁸ For instance: Begheyn, "The Emblem Books of Jeremias Drexel SJ in the Low Countries," 269-288; Gierke, "Sommer, Herbst und Winter im Lauf der Welt," 52-71.



Figure 3: Engravings in three different editions of Drexel's *Aeternitatis prodromus* (from left to right):
 (Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich & Melchior Segen, 1628) MSB, LEUVEN MU 2258 C 20, p. 131 –
 (Douai: Balthazar Bellère, 1633) MSB, 2-015545/A, p. 112 – (Cologne [=Amsterdam]:
 Cornelius ab Egmondt, 1630) MSB, 2-016863/A, p. 93.



Figure 4: Engravings in three different editions of Drexel's *Aeternitatis prodromus* (from left to right):
 (Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich & Melchior Segen, 1628) MSB, LEUVEN MU 2258 C 20, p. 287 –
 (Douai: Balthazar Bellère, 1633) MSB, 2-015545/A, p. 245 – (Cologne [=Amsterdam]:
 Cornelius ab Egmondt, 1630) MSB, 2-016863/A, p. 211.

Illustrations were an additional challenge for reprint publishers. Their Munich competitors were of course not willing to lend them the copper plates. Additionally, copper plates wore out and thus could not be used infinitely. If Henning, Bellère or Blaeu wanted to include the illustrations in their editions, they had to order new engravings, which could be expensive and time-consuming. It was undoubtedly for these reasons that Henning issued his reprints without the

engravings, although he retained the bibliographical format and character size of the Munich editions. On the other hand, Bellère and Blaeu included all the illustrations that appeared in the *editiones principes*. Bellère collaborated with the local engraver Martin Baes (active 1604?–1637?). His engravings are clearly based on Aegidius Sadeler's (1570–1629), but executed with much less detail. The letters linking the representations on the emblem to the passages in the text were also lacking in the Douai engravings. The engravings in Blaeu's editions are of a better quality. They are more detailed than those in Bellère's reprints and included the letters referring to the text. Both publishers understood the importance of illustrations in Drexel's work and made the effort to order new engravings. It is striking that Bellère was able to do this in a very short time. His reprints of *Aeternitatis prodromus* and *Infernus damnatorum* were issued within the same year as the first Munich edition, although they included three and nine engravings respectively.

In conclusion, the publishers involved in (re)printing Jeremias Drexel's books all developed their own strategies to cover the different market segments. The Munich publishers initially opted for duodecimo editions with relatively large characters. Peter Henning in Cologne imitated his Bavarian competitors, but left out the engravings. Balthazar Bellère in Douai developed what could be defined as lower-quality pocket editions, which still included the illustrations. The editions attributed to Willem Blaeu adopted a middle course with smaller bibliographic formats than the Munich imprints, but better-quality typography and engravings than the Douai reprints. In addition to the themes Drexel dealt with, the accessibility of his style and the emblems, these dynamics of printing and reprinting, so typical for the seventeenth-century book business, can help explain why his books became extraordinarily popular.

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O Vere Augustum Super Omnia Nomen Iesu Salvificum: Matteo Ricci and the Holy Name of Jesus in China

James CLIFTON

The memoirs of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the most renowned early Jesuit missionary to China, were first published in 1615, translated into Latin and heavily redacted by Nicolas Trigault, S.J. (1577–1628), under the title *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu* (*On the Christian Expedition to China Undertaken by the Society of Jesus*).¹ The work quickly appeared in further Latin editions, as well as German, French, Italian, and Spanish translations, but Ricci's original Italian text was first published only in the twentieth century.² In conjunction with Trigault's tour of Europe, *De Christiana expeditione* was instrumental in raising both funds and personnel to sustain the China mission.³ Engraved by Wolfgang Kilian (1581–1662), the book's frontispiece presents Francis Xavier (1506–1552) – a founding member of the Society of Jesus and an exemplary missionary for subsequent generations of Jesuits – and Ricci flanking the title and a map of China (fig. 1). Surmounting the architectural structure of the composition, two angels hold a radiant disk with the Jesuit insigne, which was virtually *de rigueur* on Jesuit publications and thus spread throughout the world. Here it appears in its simplest form – an abbreviation of Jesus's name (*IHS*) surmounted by a cross – which Ricci also bears on his chest.⁴ Across the architrave is inscribed a quotation adapted from Acts 9:15: *ut portent nomen meum coram gentibus et regibus* ('that they may carry my name before the Gentiles and kings'). The frontispiece thus articulates the global reach of Jesuit missionary work from the earliest years of the Society under the aegis of the Holy Name.

Though *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas* is not otherwise illustrated, many of its passages describe the important role played by images in that missionary work – some painted, some printed; some imported from Europe, some produced at the missions, including in China.⁵ We might consider as images the non-mimetic as well, such as the locally produced woodcuts of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, used by converts to displace traditional images. As Ricci described it, 'because the Chinese customarily keep on their doorways, especially in the new year, images on

¹ Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* (1615).

² Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione*.

³ On Trigault and the *De Christiana expeditione*, see Logan & Brockey, "Nicolas Trigault, SJ," 157–167; Lewis, "Revisiting *De Christiana expeditione*," 47–69.

⁴ On the frontispiece of the 1616 Lyon edition, the insigne on the architrave is elaborated with three nails and a heart, common in Jesuit iconography. On the Jesuit use of the Holy Name, see Coton, *Institution catholique* (1612), 404–414; Götter, "*Nomen mirificum*," 796–844; Appuhn-Radtke, "Innovation durch Tradition," 243–259; Clifton, "A Variety of Spiritual Pleasures," 334–337.

⁵ On the use of images on the China mission, see Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 82–111; Zürcher, "Prints and Painting in the Seventeenth Century," 809–822; Bailey, "The Image of Jesus in Chinese Art," 395–415; Guarino, "Images of Jesus," 417–436; Chen, *Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences*, 195–204; Shin, "The Jesuits and the Portrait of God," 194–221; De Caro, "From the Altar to the Household," 129–144.

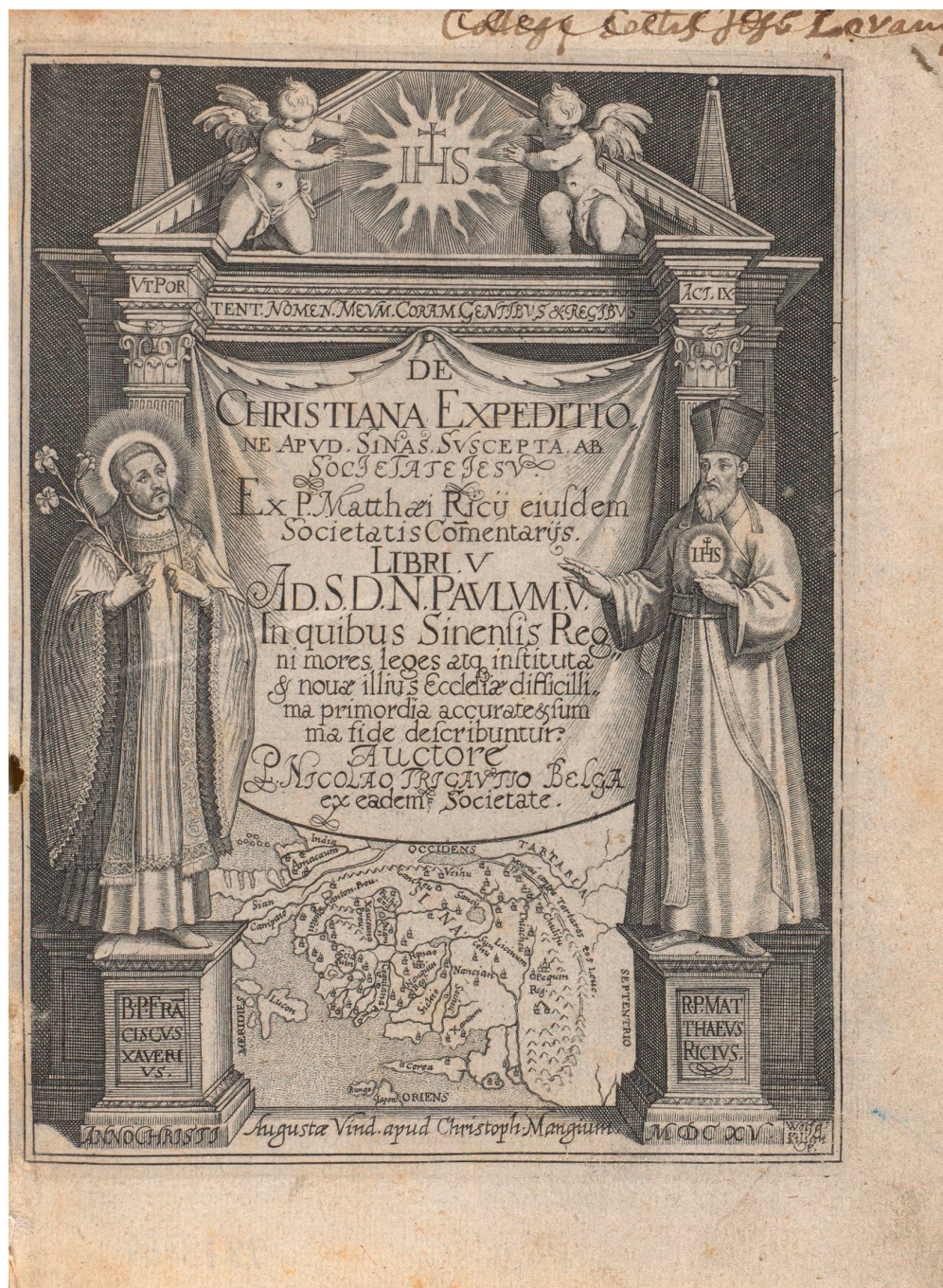


Figure 1: Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* (1615) MSB, P271.505.1/Q° TRIG Chri, frontispiece by Wolfgang Kilian.

paper of their idols and other spirits as their defence against some evils, they also cut two wood-blocks of the most holy name of Jesus and of his most blessed Mother; for which the Christians printed on paper of various colours as many as they wanted, to place them on their houses and doorways'.⁶ Comparing the Chinese Christians to the Israelites in Egypt spared the horrors of the

⁶ Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione*, 339; Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* (1615), 502 (5.4); Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, 460. Ricci indicates that the tablets (*tavole*) functioned as matrices for indefinitely reproducible prints, but Trigault drops Ricci's reference to paper for both the traditional and the Christian images, asserting that the 'incised ... names' (*insculpta ... nomina*) on 'single tablets' (*singulis tabulis*) were placed above the converts' doorways.

final plague, Ricci recorded that the Jesuits were heartened to see the doorways marked, ‘in place of blood, with the name of the Lamb and of his Mother as a sign of the faith they professed’.⁷

Among illustrated European publications, Ricci especially valued the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, with its 153 engravings of scenes from the lives of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, as well as its companion volume, the *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia* (*Annotations and Meditations on the Gospel*) by Jerónimo Nadal, S.J. (1507–1580).⁸ Originally intended for Jesuit scholastics, the propaedeutic proved useful for proselytising worldwide. Ricci, who previously had a copy of the book – which was taken by Manuel Dias, S.J. (1559–1639), for the Southern Mission – requested, in February 1605, a copy or two of what he called *Il libro delle imagini del p. Natale* from Rome.⁹ A few months later, he mentioned his request in a letter to João Alvares, S.J. (active 17th century) in Rome, noting that the book is more useful even than the Bible, ‘since with it we describe – rather, place before the eyes – that which we can sometimes not describe with words’.¹⁰ The Holy Name appears as the Jesuit insigne on the frontispieces of both volumes of the work, but also as a crucial part of the narrative of the circumcision (Luke 2:21), depicted in an engraving by Hieronymus Wierix (1553–1619) after a design by Bernardino Passeri (c. 1540–1590) (fig. 2). In his annotation for the image, Nadal implicitly evokes Phil. 2:8–11, pointing to the heavenly spirits, earth-dwellers, and those in purgatory who adore Jesus’s name on bended knee, and he explains that the name Jesus means both Saviour and Salvation.¹¹

The Holy Name could bear meaning variously, as hieroglyph of the Society of Jesus, as devotional prompt, as proclamation of faith, as apotropaic instrument, and as distillation of Catholic doctrine. Early in the first decade of the seventeenth century, after the arrival of the Jesuits in

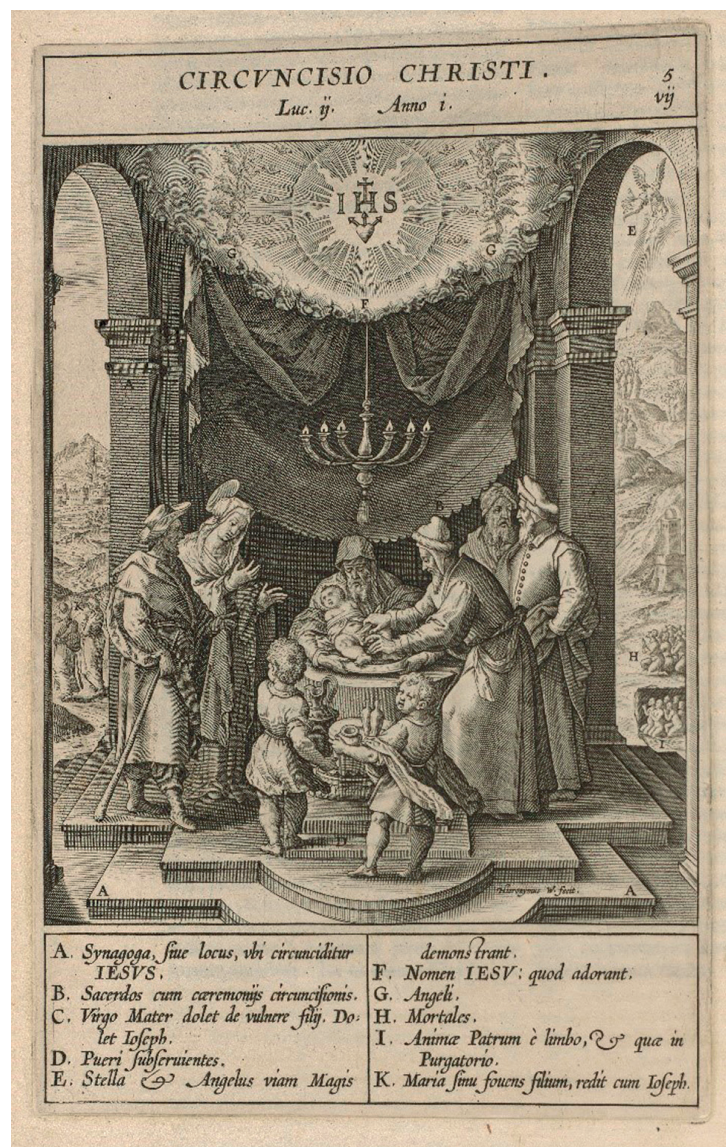


Figure 2: Nadal, *Adnotationes* (1594) MSB, P248.693.1/F° NATA Adno, plate 5, Hieronymus Wierix after Bernardino Passeri, *Circumcision of Christ*.

⁷ Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione*, 339. On the apotropaic use of Christian images in China, see De Caro, “From the Altar to the Household,” 135–137.

⁸ Chen, *Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences*, 195–204.

⁹ Ricci, *Opere storiche*, 260.

¹⁰ Ricci, *Opere storiche*, 283–284.

¹¹ Nadal, *Annotations* (2003), 146–148; Nadal, *Adnotationes* (1594), 27–29.

Beijing, Ricci was afforded an opportunity to exploit its didactic value when the Chinese emperor enquired about the dress of European kings:

He wanted to know then what clothes our kings wore and if the Fathers had some models of the palaces of their kings. It was not possible to describe this with words, but God willed that the Fathers had an image of the name of Jesus, at which angels, men, and those in hell are kneeling, with the inscription, *In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium et infernorum* [in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth (Douay-Rheims)]. And because among the men was the pope, the emperor, kings, queens, and other powers, with their mitres and clothes, it seemed that with this they could make him see not only what he was asking about the clothes and insignia of our kings, but also what the Fathers wanted to say, that he should also revere that Holy Name, at which heaven, earth, and hell kneel. And so, with a brief statement that Father Matteo made in Chinese writing, they brought him that image. And because he did not understand the artifice of our figures, as the image was small and with shadows, which the Chinese do not usually paint, he ordered his painters to paint for him another, larger one, with colors; which was done immediately, with the Fathers remaining there two or three more days to be able to make it better. And with the grace of God, they showed the King with this image that which could not be told to him.¹²



Figure 3: Galle, Adoration of the Name of Jesus, engraving, 24.8 cm diameter (c. 1569)
Brussels: KBR, S.V 91908.

¹² Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione*, 130-131. Ricci's anecdote is cited by Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 92-93, who notes: 'By a remarkable coincidence – and probably for the same pragmatic reasons – the same image, within a decade, was enlarged in colour by court artists on the walls of the palace of the Mughal emperor Jahangir'.

This small picture (*imagine*) is not otherwise identified, but it may have been an engraving of around 1569 by the Antwerp printmaker, Philip (or Philips) Galle (1537–1612), the subject of which derives from Paul’s letter to the Phil. 2:8-11 (fig. 3), later alluded to by Nadal.¹³ Arrayed around the Holy Name of Jesus are souls in purgatory below; representatives of the church to the left (pope, bishop, cardinal, and so on); secular figures to the right (Holy Roman Emperor, a king, a soldier, a scholar, a peasant, and so on); and a host of angels in glory above. In this instance, the Holy Name of Jesus is constructed of the instruments of the Passion (*arma Christi*). The cross is surmounted by the crown of thorns and the *INRI* titulus proclaiming him Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. The print lacks the queens and direct quotation from Philippians mentioned by Ricci, but this may be simply the result of Ricci’s imprecise memory of the work.¹⁴ The Latin inscription (by Hadrianus Junius [1515–1575]) encircling the image might be loosely translated as ‘Oh, truly the saving name of Jesus, exalted above all; the virtue of God that corresponds to His glory. To which all those on earth, in the kingdom of Acherusia [that is, the underworld], and heaven bow down, and which by kneeling they reverently adore’. (*O vere augustum super omnia nomen Iësu / Salvificum, virtus[ue] Dei, & quo gloria constat. Cui cum terricolis, Acherusia regna, polusq[ue] / Procumbunt, positoq[ue] genu reverenter adorant.*)¹⁵

Both the subject of the print and Ricci’s use of it manifest the charge inscribed on the frontispiece of the *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, ‘that they may carry my name before the Gentiles and kings’. Ricci’s written explanation of the picture for the emperor is unknown, but, in addition to identifying the figures for the emperor, he would have also taken the opportunity to proselytise, even though the emperor would not have been interested in theological or devotional aspects of the image. As much as Ricci was known for accommodating his missionary work to local circumstances, he held fast to the belief that there could be only one lord of heaven, to whom all people are subject and owe their adoration and praise, a belief manifested by those kneeling before the Holy Name of Jesus in Galle’s print and again on the title page of *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, where the Holy Name glows high above the map of China.

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¹³ On the print, see Veldman, “Philips Galle,” 275-276.

¹⁴ Both those discrepancies are avoided in Trigault’s version, perhaps because he wanted to match the description specifically to Galle’s print (Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* [1615], 412 [4.12]).

¹⁵ Here as later published under the title *Pinax nomen Iesu exprimens* in Junius, *Poëmatum* (1598), 191.

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Optics and Emblematics: *Camera Obscura* in Gulielmus Hesius's *Emblemata Sacra* from Manuscript (1624) to Print (1636)

Nicholas DE SUTTER

There is no question that the Jesuits were the most prolific authors of emblem books in the early modern period, as is amply attested by the rich collection of emblematic literature in the Maurits Sabbe Library. This also includes the book of *Emblemata sacra* by the Jesuit author Gulielmus Hesius, S.J. (Willem van Hees, 1601–1690), printed at the Officina Plantiniana by Balthasar I Moretus (1574–1641) in 1636.

Hesius was a veritable early modern polymath: apart from carving out an impressive career within the Society of Jesus, he was also well-versed in various scientific disciplines such as mathematics and astronomy, practiced as an architect, and garnered fame as both a preacher and a poet. However, neither his life nor his oeuvre has received much scholarly attention. Only his work as an author of emblems has received some of the attention it deserves, in particular his popular printed volume of *Emblemata sacra de fide, spe, charitate* (*Sacred Emblems on Faith, Hope, and Charity*).¹ It is a little-known fact that Hesius actually left behind an extensive repertoire of emblems in manuscript form as well: not only do we still have access to the preparatory manuscript for his *Emblemata sacra*, illustrated by the young Hesius himself in 1624, the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels also holds another overlooked autograph manuscript of Hesius's containing an impressive collection of so-called 'nude emblems' (i.e., emblems without *picturae*).² A more mature Hesius apparently started this series of *emblemata nuda* centred on the theme of *praecepta christiano-politica* ('Christian political precepts') in 1651, but never got around to publishing them.

In this contribution, I will zoom in on Hesius's *Emblemata sacra* and confront the printed and manuscript versions with each other in light of the remarkable occurrence of optical phenomena, and of *camera obscura* in particular.³ The two stages of the work differ significantly: not only is the manuscript largely unfinished (only the first part *de fide* contains a more or less complete series of emblems), the poems and pictures themselves also underwent considerable change between 1624 and 1636.⁴ While the Neo-Latin poems seem to have benefitted from the author's extensive *labor limae* over the years, it is interesting to note that Hesius's own exquisite drawings eventually

¹ Hesius, *Emblemata sacra* (2002).

² Hesius, *Emblemata* (1624); Hesius, *Praecepta christiano-politica* (1651). Perhaps not incidentally, 1624 was the same year that the fellow Jesuit Herman Hugo (1588–1629) published his *Pia desideria* in Antwerp (see also Hesius, *Emblemata sacra* [2002], 13–15).

³ I would like to thank Gregor J. M. Weber for our illuminating discussions on this topic, and to refer the reader to his recent book on Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) and especially to the chapter *Vermeer en het licht van de jezuiteten*, for a more extensive discussion of optical phenomena in Jesuit emblems (Weber, *Johannes Vermeer: Geloof, licht en reflectie* [2002]).

⁴ Sacré, "Emblemata," 69. The second book *de spe* is only about 40% complete, the third book *de charitate* roughly 10%. The incomplete emblems are simply *picturae* accompanied by quotations from the Bible and mottoes but without the actual poetry.



Figure 1: Typus mundi (1627) MSB, PN00133, p. 68.

gave way to the somewhat more simplistic printed *picturae* by the woodcut designer Christoffel Jegher (1596–c. 1653), which were in their turn based on drawings by yet another artist, Erasmus Quellin (1607–1678).

As mentioned above, Hesius's *Emblemata sacra* are full of references to and applications from the field of optics. Optical phenomena constitute one of the three networks of extended metaphors that symbolise the various aspects of *fides*, *spes*, and *charitas* throughout the entire work, the other two being acoustics (e.g., the recurrence of string instruments) and anchors. The first book in particular, focussing on faith, is brimming with allusions to light and shadow and to instruments such as mirrors, magnifying glasses, and lenses, all of which are used to meditate on the invisible nature of faith and God himself.

One remarkable optical instrument that occurs in Hesius's emblems is that of *camera obscura*, the precursor to modern photography. Though the technique of projecting an inverted image of the outside world on a canvas or wall inside a darkened room by letting light shine in through a tiny hole dates back to antiquity, it was popularised mainly in the early modern period, when it also started to be used by artists as an aid for drawing. It went by the name of *camera obscura* ever since the famous astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) coined this phrase in 1604. As far as I can tell, Hesius seems to have been among the very first to represent the technique in early



Figure 2: Hesius, Emblematum ([1624])
EHC, B 129141, f. 34r.



Figure 3: Hesius, Emblematum (1636)
MSB, P7.04 HEES Embl, p. 94.

modern emblematic literature. He was certainly not the last: other emblematic occurrences of the technique printed in seventeenth-century Antwerp, for instance, can be found in the works of Henricus Engelgrave, S.J. (1610–1670) (*Lux evangelica*, 1648) and Adrianus Poirter, S.J. (1605–1674) (*Het leven vande H. maeghet Rosalia*, 1658), to name but a few. What is more, between Hesius's manuscript preparations of his emblems in 1624 and their printing in 1636, another instance of *camera obscura* was put to print by the pupils of the Antwerp Jesuit college, who produced a volume of emblems titled *Typus mundi* (fig. 1).⁵

Hesius's preparatory manuscript contains many more *picturae* with optical phenomena and instruments than eventually made the cut in the 1636 edition, with only a number of his autograph *picturae* serving as an obvious model for the print. The same holds true for the *camera obscura*, which inspired two manuscript emblems that were condensed into a single printed emblem. Hesius's original drawings of the phenomenon contained more elements and details than the printed version. Just as in *Typus mundi*, the manuscript images both represent putti inside a darkened room holding up a canvas with an inverted projection of the outside world: a tree and a city in the background on f. 14r (fig. 4) and some broken branches on f. 34r (fig. 2). The former also contrasts this effect by having another putto sitting outside and facing the same direction but holding a blank canvas. The printed emblem (fig. 3), on the other hand, has eliminated the putti

⁵ *Typus mundi* (1627), MSB, PN00133.



Figure 4: Hesius, Emblemata ([1624])
EHC, B 129141, EHC, f. 14r.

altogether and simply shows a projection of an empty room on the wall. The inverted image itself is difficult to discern but seems to be a building.

Textually, however, the printed edition is more elaborate. Not only has the usual accompanying poem (*subscriptio*) been entirely rewritten and recast into iambic trimeters, it has also been supplemented with another, much longer, meditative poem, possibly influenced by similar elaborations (albeit in prose) in the *Pia desideria* of Herman Hugo, S.J. (1588–1629). The central message throughout the poems remains the same, however: just as the tiny ray of light in the *camera obscura* can create a more detailed and colourful image than any artist could ever reproduce on a canvas, so the human mind, even though it lingers in the dark, will be able to bask in the light of God by the grace of the tiny spark that is faith. It is interesting to note, however, that the claim of the 1636 meditative annex – i.e., that those of pure faith can comprehend so much more than learned theologians (pejoratively labelled *sciolī*) ever could – is a better visual match with the manuscript *pictura*, which similarly confronts the putti on either side of the wall (fig. 4), than with the accompanying printed *pictura* itself (fig. 3).

Despite their frequent connection with ostensibly non-religious topics such as modern science and tech-

nology, sacred emblems should never be separated from the meditative practices in which they were so clearly embedded. This also holds true for the exemplary case of Hesius's *camera obscura* emblems. In addition to possibly serving a didactic purpose, these technical references were primarily meant to serve as a steppingstone towards devotional contemplation, and especially so in Jesuit emblems. Much like the emblems devoted to visual phenomena in *Duodecim specula* (1610) by Jan David, S.J. (1545–1613), it seems that Hesius's use of modern optics was not so much concerned with the transmission of technical know-how, but aimed at sparking deeper meditation by relying on the reader's assumed general knowledge regarding these techniques.⁶ Therefore, by instrumentalising the spectacle that was *camera obscura* as a gateway toward enlightenment in his emblems on faith, Hesius managed to give a contemporary twist to one of the core functions of early modern emblems, which were precisely meant to capture abstract notions in material form and render the invisible visible. Moreover, since authors of emblem books generally did not provide the material for *picturae* themselves, the preservation of the young Hesius's manuscript offers a unique glimpse into his own visual conception of this metaphor, and allows us to analyse the genesis of his oeuvre in greater detail.

⁶ On devotional optics in David's *Duodecim specula*, see De Bruyn, "Devotional Reflections," 169–196.

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Jesuit Dreams Become Digital: *Litterae Indipetae* and Databases

Elisa FREI

This article presents a digital project involving Jesuit sources, the results of which will become available online on the Digital Indipetae Database (DID) webpage. Jesuit documents are abundant and precious, as the order can be considered a fundamental institution not only in European history but in many global and local histories as well. Jesuit written accounts came from all over the world and covered all kinds of topics – as seen from various perspectives. The potentialities of Jesuit sources today can harmoniously adapt to digital platforms, substituting the old paper editions and at the same time allowing for new and different kinds of research that was not possible before. Finally, the open accessibility of many digital projects like the Digital Indipetae Database allows scholars and enthusiasts from everywhere to see and enjoy this kind of material.

LITTERAE INDIPETAE

In the last decades, and even more so in the past few years, the Society of Jesus has become the focus of attention of an increasing number of historians. In 2022, many publications celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of the canonisation of the founder of the order, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), and of the first missionary, Francis Xavier (1506–1552), also known as the ‘Apostle of the Indies’ and invoked as intercessor for all aspiring missionaries.¹

The present short essay looks specifically at Jesuits who aspired to work in overseas missions. They applied for these positions in *Litterae indipetae*, from the Latin *Indiam petens*, meaning ‘asking for the Indies’.² The term ‘Indies’ was understood to include both Asia and the Americas. Starting from the 1550s (more regularly from the 1580s), and until recent times, thousands of Jesuits sent their letters from all over Europe to the superior general in Rome, and all the *Indipetae* are therefore kept (in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI]). However, it is only in the last decades that scholars have dealt with *Indipetae* in a deeper and more systematic way, specifically in the form of case studies of the most famous – or persistent – petitioners. Historians sought to find out whether these desires were fulfilled or they had to stay in Europe, but also investigated the wide network involved in every missionary appointment.

The superior general had the last word, but he did not know the petitioners personally, so he had to rely on what others reported about them. A fundamental role, both consultative and promotional, was played by procurators, who were responsible for the economic, administrative and

¹ Motta & Rai, eds., “Jesuits and Sanctity” and Ditchfield, ed., “How to Be a Jesuit Saint” are available in open access on the journal’s webpage (www.brill.com/view/journals/jjs/jjs-overview.xml).

² The bibliography on *Indipetae* is constantly growing. For the most recent bibliographic review, see Colombo & Mal-davsky, “Studi e ricerche,” 43–81; see also Frei, *Early Modern Litterae Indipetae*.

legal aspects of their missions. During their visits to Europe, returning from assignments in the East and West Indies, procurators sought out new recruits from among Jesuits at different stages of their studies, often through in-person interviews to evaluate their skills and vocations. Local superiors (rectors, teachers, spiritual directors) could either vouch for petitioners by including their own ‘letters of recommendation’, or invite the superior general to dismiss certain applications. The natural family of every Jesuit played another important role, especially if he was of noble lineage or wealthy background, because many parents were not keen on being separated from their offspring forever – which was as long as the missionary appointment was supposed to last.

Indipetae thus aid the study of the missionary endeavour of the Society of Jesus from many different perspectives and from a wide array of disciplines: cultural studies, family histories, early modern understandings of emotions and masculinity, art history, rhetoric and psychology. *Indipetae* are also a valuable source for scholars because of their sheer number. More than sixteen thousand early modern petitions are preserved in ARSI, written by more than five thousand Jesuits before the suppression of the Society (1774); but there are also thousands of letters written after the restoration (1814).³

THE DIGITAL INDIPETAE DATABASE

Such precious and abundant sources can be promoted (and better managed) today thanks to a digital humanities project, as the Digital Indipetae Database (DID) demonstrates.⁴ Born of an idea by Professor Emanuele Colombo (DePaul University, Chicago, IL), the database has been developed by the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies (IAJS) at Boston College in collaboration with ARSI. The DID project develops students’ awareness of early modern manuscripts, demonstrates how history can be studied using primary sources and shows how students’ work can contribute to digital repositories of Jesuit sources, in this way also fruitfully employing methodologies of public history.⁵

In the last few years, the DID has involved dozens of students from high schools and universities in both Europe and the Americas in the transcription of thousands of *Indipetae* letters. They are such a unique type of written correspondence that they can be described as a literary genre of their own, with particular themes and structures. All the applicants share the same goal (of becoming a missionary), but define it in different and creative ways. Nonetheless, *Indipetae* usually present a similar, formal structure: in the opening, the Jesuit recognises his unworthiness and humbly seeks the general’s attention, then he summarises the circumstances that led him to write the letter, and finally greets the general.

Today’s students familiarise themselves quickly with the *Indipetae* because, even though they date back centuries, most were written by young men of their own age, expressing a desire to change their lives in a radical way, talking about their dreams and hopes, as well as their fears. Although they had a definite, concrete aim and were composed in the context of Jesuit education

³ Massimi & Brunello, “*Indipetae*,” 119-152.

⁴ The website can be found at: www.indipetae.bc.edu. On the genesis of the database, see Colombo, “From Paper to Screen,” 213-230. The DID is always looking for new collaborators: those interested can send a message to freie@bc.edu and will receive all the information they need.

⁵ See on the topic Cauvin, *Public History*.



Figure 1: *Trigault, De Christianis (1623) MSB, P271.505.20/Q° TRIG Chri 1623, engraving p. 169.*

and spirituality, *Indipetae* are ego-documents which retain an ageless fascination. Moreover, most of them are readable after a basic class in palaeography and once one becomes accustomed to early modern cursive handwriting.

DIGITAL TOOLS

The DID aims to publish a critical edition of every *Indipeta* preserved until today. This is only possible in digital format, and thanks to crowdsourcing collaborations. Both high school and university students are assigned groups of *Indipetae* written by the same Jesuit. They transcribe every letter in a Word document; the only changes to the original text allowed are expansions of abbreviated words (archaic spellings or mistakes by the Jesuit are not corrected). Through this activity, transcribers have the chance to develop palaeographic, philological, and historical skills.



*S. Franciscus Xaverius Indiarum Apostolus In Iaponia
Pro fide Lapidatus, Virgis Cæsus, Sagittis Vulneratus,
Non Sine Sanguine, Sed Mirabiliter à Deo Liberatus :*

Figure 2: *Cardim, Fasciculus e Iapponicis floribus (1646) MSB, PN00311/Q°, engraving of the martyrdom of Francis Xavier.*

Once the document is revised by one of the DID project assistants, it is put online. This means there is no longer any need for historians to go to the archive to look for *Indipetae*, as they can consult them at any time and from anywhere. The database offers not only the high-resolution image of each letter and a transcription that is fully searchable by keyword, but also select meta-data, available in English (even though the letters are mainly written in Italian, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese and so on). The advanced search includes several clickable areas: for instance, names and addresses of the writer and the addressee, and the former's position in the Society of Jesus (brother/father, novice, temporal coadjutor and so on). One of the most useful areas is the destination which the aspiring missionary requested, as this allows us to understand whether certain places were more popular and in which periods. It should be kept in mind, however, that the majority of *Indipetae* do not request any specific place, and actually express full indifference in this regard. Users can also browse all the names mentioned in each letter, which refer to models of Christianity, saints, and other Jesuit missionaries. The 'official' (and most frequently mentioned) model for aspiring missionaries was Francis Xavier, but research will allow us to find other important figures of the missionary story of the Society of Jesus, follow their popularity through the centuries, and find previously unknown cultural connections through mentions in letters by Jesuits from different geographic areas. On the other hand, the names may also be those of other Jesuits – such as superiors, procurators and confreres – who can be easily identified thanks to this search facility.

Databases are important when one thinks 'beyond' them and tries to understand how they can (and should) relate to other digital projects. Databases are planned and built in a certain way but take a different shape after the first trial phases, and they develop over time. Like living organisms that change in content and structure, they require constant updates and attention, otherwise they will die and all the effort is in vain. They have great potential for different people worldwide, in multiple fields.

How can databases be connected, now and in the future? In the case of the DID, its contents are indexed within the search capabilities of the Portal to Jesuit Studies, a free service provided by the IAJS which offers informed guidance on using some of the richest materials associated with the Society of Jesus, located on a variety of websites. The Portal grants access to 'a curated and fully searchable collection of important primary sources and some of the latest secondary texts related to the history, spirituality, educational heritage, and pedagogy approaches of the Society of Jesus'.⁶ One of its features is the Jesuit Online Bibliography, a free searchable collection of Jesuit studies scholarship, which is shared weekly through the Jesuitica Project's newsletter. Thanks to this and other digital interactions, scholars can expand their research in new and unexpected ways.

CONCLUSIONS

The DID is a critical edition of early modern documents and can be used by historians from anywhere in the world. An edition of so many sources is only conceivable in this way, and no longer as an endless series of printed books in dozens of volumes. The DID is a public history project: it involves people from different backgrounds, not only scholars at an advanced stage of their careers, but undergraduates, PhD candidates, high school students and teachers, digital librarians

⁶ Boston College – Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, "Portal to Jesuit Studies".

and IT experts. It is international as well: developed by the IAJS with documents preserved in Rome, it boasts the participation of collaborators from across the world.

The DID is more than a critical edition: it is very useful – if not indispensable – for preparing and analysing statistics on a large scale. It can help to answer fascinating questions such as: when were Jesuits writing more often? How many letters did the general in Rome receive every day during the early modern period? How many Jesuits applied during each general's term of office, and for which destinations? Are there any geographical areas from which *Indipetae* have not been preserved? Did the European voyages of the procurators from the East and West Indies have any influence on missionary vocations? Over the coming years, collecting further transcriptions of *Indipetae* and making them accessible through the DID will hopefully make it possible to find (more) answers to these and many other, constantly new questions.

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Elie Trigault's *Petit Discours*, 1618–1620: A Jesuit Travelogue to China

Noël GOLVERS

Global missionary action since the sixteenth century was not only a major enterprise of evangelisation but also represented a project of transport, management, financing and logistics. These aspects appear, among others, in missionary travelogues, in the form of letters or monographs describing the vicissitudes and the enormous difficulties experienced by the missionaries *in via*, texts which often enough approximate the characteristics of a *Historia tragico-maritima*. In the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits made exclusive use of the ships of the *carreira da India* (*Via Lusitana* or *Via Goana*) – later paralleled by other routes such as the *Via Batavica*, the *Via Gallica* etc. – for the missions to Japan and China, which they considered to be their most extreme missions, both in terms of distance and life conditions, and therefore a preferred field of desired martyrdom.¹ One of these travelogues is the correspondence of Ignatius Hartoghvelt, S.J. (1629–1658), preserved in the form of autograph manuscripts.² Another missionary travelogue is the printed edition of *Petit discours contenant plusieurs belles particularitez de son voyage aux Indes Orientales* by Elie Trigault, S.J. (1575–1618), of which only a few very rare copies are extant. This book will be the topic of the current contribution, which has relied on one of these rare copies, kept in the Maurits Sabbe Library.³

The *Petit discours* describes the preparations and first part (until Goa) of the epoch-making return journey of Nicolas Trigault, S.J. (1577–1628) with a large group of more than twenty new ‘recruits’ for the China mission.⁴ The journey, on the *S. Carlos*, started in Lisbon on 17 April 1618 and would arrive in Macau on 22 July 1619. However, the report ends in May 1619 in Goa, due to the author’s untimely death. Among the new recruits were some of Nicolas Trigault’s relatives, including Elie (Philippe), one of his brothers (*coadjutor temporalis* in the college of Tournai) and Hu(m)bert de Saint-Laurent, S.J. (1588–1618); both would die during the journey.⁵ Another famous member of the group was Johann Schreck Terrentius, S.J. (1576–1630), a German polymath, who was Trigault’s *socius* in Rome and had since crisscrossed Europe, as an active scientist collecting a very large number of books and instruments for the Jesuit mission, by donation and purchase. The most remarkable acquisition was certainly that of 332 books in the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp, on 6–7 December 1616, followed by a series of other, smaller-scale purchases. All of these and other items they had collected, including the famous donation of Pope Paul V (1552–1621) (the *Bibliotheca Pontificia*), were brought to Lisbon through the ports of

¹ Duncan, “Navigation between Portugal and Asia,” 3–25; Brockey, “*Largos Caminhos*,” 45–72; Brockey, “Jesuit Missionaries,” 111–132; Leitão, “All Aboard!,” 113–132.

² Hartoghvelt, *Diarium navigationis Indicae* (1657).

³ Trigault, *Petit discours* (1620); Audenaert, *PIBA*, II, 373; Dehergne, *Répertoire*, 273.

⁴ Audenaert, *PIBA*, II, 374; Dehergne, *Répertoire*, 274; Dehaisnes, *Vie du père Nicolas Trigault*.

⁵ Dehergne, *Répertoire*, 237; Audenaert, *PIBA*, II, 284; Wicki, “Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer,” 289, 645a.



Figure 1: Trigault, *Petit discours* (1620) MSB, P271.5.018 TRIG Hist/2, title page.

Hamburg, Nantes and Dunkirk. After passing through the harbour of Macau, most of these books continued on to Peking where they arrived in 1625 and became the basis of a representative, if not 'complete' Western library, which facilitated the scientific, pastoral and apologetic practices and writings of the Jesuits in Peking and some other cities in China.⁶

Elie (Philippe) Trigault – who was directly involved in this project since the beginning – demonstrates in this *Petit discours* that he was a good observer and professional writer. In his description he pays attention to many aspects of the journey: the direct preparations for the journey, including

⁶ On this whole enterprise, see Golvers, *Johann Schreck Terrentius, SJ*.

the payment and transport of the books; the consecutive arrival of the members of the group; the arrival of the *pacquets* (including the books arriving from Dunkirk); Nicolas's activities in Madrid (obtaining authorisation and passports for the Jesuit travellers); the accidental loss of the *tapisserie* offered as a present by Marie de' Medici (1575–1642) in Paris; finally the setting out of the fleet from the port of Lisbon (as most of the local Jesuit authorities and a huge crowd waved them off). The main part of his report describes conditions on board: the activities of the individual Jesuits on board and their interaction with the crew, problems of navigation, the sanitary, nutritional and medical conditions, and the death of several members of the mission.

Trigault introduced a strict daily schedule on board, with varied activities in regular sequence: on Monday spiritual exercises by Father Quentin Cousin, S.J. (?–1618), on Tuesday mathematical lessons by Johann Schreck Terrentius, on Wednesday Chinese lessons by Nicolas Trigault, and this cycle was repeated from Thursday to Saturday.⁷ In addition, Terrentius organised special mathematical lessons and astronomical demonstrations every day, and the captain – a 'good mathematician' Terrentius noted, who disposed of a well-equipped apothecary – acted as a professional physician if necessary.⁸ Holy Mass was said every day on the deck or in the Jesuits' cabin, accompanied by music, including instrumental music performed, among others, by the Jesuit Father Jean de Celles (?–1618) from Liège.

Elie Trigault's report was complemented by some other reports, including one by Nicolas Trigault, *Iter Trigautii et sociorum*, sent from Goa on 20 December 1618.⁹ Publications such as Elie Trigault's *Petit discours* were not primarily written for *divertimento* (as the title – *Contenant plusieurs belles particularitez de son voyage* – may suggest), but were intended to become printed or manuscript documents of learning, encouragement and edification. The copies were distributed through Jesuit colleges to raise interest in the non-European missions among young Jesuit novices. The references to the many deaths and physical ailments were not counter-productive, to the contrary, they rather appealed to a deep desire for martyrdom, a prospect expressed in many *Litterae indipetae*. The use of French, however, seems to indicate that the primary intended audience were the Jesuit novices of his own Gallo-Belgian province. This may also explain why (to my knowledge) there are no copies in libraries outside French speaking countries.

After arrival in Goa, Nicolas Trigault sent Elie Trigault's manuscript to Douai (at least, so I presume), on 2 January 1619. It received the *imprimatur* from François de Montmorency, S.J. (1578–1640), the provincial of the *Provincia Gallo-Belgica* in Aire, on 15 March 1620.¹⁰ The manuscript arrived at Jean Vervliet's (active 1604–1641) printing house in Valenciennes (*À la Bible d'or*) after the last folio of *Histoire du massacre de plusieurs religieux* was printed. It was added to this text *in extremis* and the *Sammelband* was published in 1620, as a small octavo format, of which Elie Trigault's text is the last part.

The copy of Trigault's *Petit discours* that is now in the Maurits Sabbe Library – now freely accessible in digitised form – has a series of older sigels, referring to the book's former shelf marks

⁷ Trigault, *Petit discours* (1620), 23–26.

⁸ This is interesting first-hand evidence for the medical aspect and the hygienic conditions of these sea journeys to the Far East; for a systematic study of this aspect on the basis of the 'medicinal notebook' of François de Rougemont, S.J. (1624–1676), of some 35 years later, see Baboi, *Healing the Jesuit Body*.

⁹ ARSI, *Japonica-Sinica*, 121, f. 95–115.

¹⁰ Audenaert, *PIBA*, II, 144; Audenaert, *PIBA*, III, 323.

in previous repositories which cannot be precisely reconstructed. A handwritten inscription on the pastedown of the left cover refers to Lodewijk Vincent Donche, S.J. (1769–1857) as a former owner.¹¹ A bookplate and ownership stamp refer to the Jesuit novitiate of the ‘new’ Society of Jesus in Drongen. The copy does not contain any further (handwritten) annotations.

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¹¹ Marlier, *Lodewijk-Vincent Donche*.

From Image to Text: A Reading of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Jesuit Texts and Rubens's Upper Gallery Ceiling Paintings in the Jesuit Church at Antwerp

Barbara M. FAHY

The Twelve Years' Truce of 1609, along with steady government under the Habsburg Archdukes Albert and Isabella, allowed the Southern Netherlands to restore and build Catholic churches following the sixteenth century iconoclastic fury, although the religious atmosphere remained tense and uncertain. Jacobus Tirinus, S.J. (1580–1636), head of the professed house, commissioned the construction of the Jesuit church at Antwerp in 1615. It was completed in 1621 and consecrated in 1622. Despite cost overruns and the subsequent dismissal of Tirinus, the church stood as a commanding testimonial to the Jesuit order and its commitment to the salvation and conversion of souls.

Dubbed 'The Marble Temple', the splendour of this building's façade was equalled by the magnificent art and even the furnishings of the interior. Michael Grisius (Michiel de Grys(z)e, ?–1651), a Jesuit observer, fastidiously records the beauty of the interior. He mentions the golden-threaded antependium covering the heightened altar, the crystalline cross on the ebony base in addition to the golden, jewel-encrusted instruments of Christ's Passion, all of which would have satisfied the spectators.¹ Grisius's vivid description recalls a visual Ciceronian *delectare*, a deliberate Jesuit strategy to stimulate the senses and engage the audience immediately. However, the Jesuits as master preachers and teachers were much more committed to Cicero's *docere* and *permovere*. As Howard Hibbard notes in his study on the decoration of the earlier Il Gesù in Rome, the ultimate impact was always meant to be conceptual, not visual. There is always careful and progressive evolution toward a message of conversion and salvation, delivered just as crisply as a Jesuit sermon.²

The *Spiritual Exercises* by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), founding father of the Jesuit order, was a manual of progressive prayer to be followed by a willing exercitant under the guidance of a spiritual advisor, not intended to be read or experienced on one's own. During the approximately defined, four-week programme, the goal was to discern God's will in leading the exercitant toward a more virtuous path to salvation. Hopefully, the exercitant would experience a life-changing 'election' along the way. It was open to all but not all were expected to complete the journey. Ideally the 'election' might lead to a vocation that would help the exercitant shed worldly distractive fetters so that he could follow and serve God.

¹ Grisius, *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola* ([1622]), 6 and 17.

² Hibbard, "Ut Picturae Sermones," 40.



Figure 1: *Vranckx & Neefs, Inner View of the Jesuit Church of Antwerp, painting oil colour on oak wood (1630)*
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG_1051

Realising the critical importance of the *Spiritual Exercises* with the Society of Jesus this brief study will consider certain select images from the upper gallery cycle of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), demonstrating how the Jesuits could combine the ‘exercises’ with images in guiding the exercitant, successfully, through the Ignatian programme. Furthermore, additional contemporary Jesuit theological texts will be cited since many of them, in fact, were published in Antwerp and would have been readily available to the exercitant visiting the Jesuit church in that city. Ultimately the combination of Rubens’s images and Jesuit texts, conceivably, would assist the exercitant in reaching an ‘election’ or, at least, assist in finding a spiritual place in the tumultuous religious world outside the walls of the Antwerp church.

The upper gallery was an ideal venue for the spiritual advisor to guide the exercitant through the four weeks. It was remote and away from the hustle of nave activity. It is important to note, however, that, while Rubens always had close ties with the Jesuits, he did not design the upper gallery ceiling paintings specifically with the *Spiritual Exercises* in mind. The Old and New Testament typological pairings consisted of traditional scenes, so traditional that they were adaptable for new and ripened interpretation. The *Exercises* were as flexible as the Jesuits. It is hard to imagine the Jesuits overlooking such an opportunity of wedding the Rubens upper ceiling cycle to the *Exercises* and to Jesuit explication. This study will assume that the paintings were probably used for the Ignatian programme, at least by some exercitants. Although the original paintings were lost in the devastating fire of 1718, they are known to us from some original drawings as well as from numerous copies and prints.

Rubens Upper Gallery Ceiling Paintings

East		
	Main Altar	
1. Fall of the Rebel Angels		10. Raising of the Cross
2. Nativity		11. Sacrifice of Isaac
3. Solomon and Sheba		12. Resurrection
4. Adoration of the Magi		13. Triumph of Joseph
5. David and Goliath		14. Ascension
6. Temptation		15. Translation of Elijah
7. Abraham and Melchizedek		16. Assumption
8. Last Supper		17. Esther and Ahasuerus
9. Moses in Prayer		18. Coronation of the Virgin

Figure 2: Schematic of the Upper Gallery Ceiling Paintings of Rubens in the Jesuit Church at Antwerp.

Rubens's *Fall of the Rebel Angels* – otherwise known as *The Archangel Michael Defeats Satan and the Rebellious Angels* (Revelation 12:7-9) –, the first plafond on the north aisle nearest the altar, would give the exercitant an effective spiritual jolt during the first week (fig. 3). While both Tirinus and Cornelius a Lapide, S.J. (1567–1637), in citing Isa. (14:1-12) stress Lucifer's sin of deception and pride, the fourteenth-century *Speculum humanae salvationis*, more positively, signals the redemption possibilities arising from the occasion of the first sin.³ Rubens presents a confident and resolute Michael with three companion angels as he thrashes furiously at the rebel angels, while a defensive but decidedly weakened Lucifer helplessly gazes back at the triumphant Michael. The angelic host fling the rebel band out of the heavens through the viewer's space as the exercitant watches them tumble toward eternal damnation. A Lapide hailed Michael as the commander of the first heavenly army, charged with the task of being guardian of the Church.⁴ This could be a subtle warning of the imminent need for heavenly forces as the Twelve Years' Truce drew to a close in 1621.

With the second week under way, as the exercitant approaches the spiritual 'election', Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* offers a powerful inspirational message. The traditional reading marks the initiation of the messianic era, since this event was Christ's first presentation to the Gentiles. The interpretation of Leonardus Lessius, S.J. (1554–1623), is more attuned to the Jesuit missionary enterprise. Following a detailed account of the missionary activities of Francis Xavier, S.J. (1506–1552) throughout Asia – India, China, and Japan –, Lessius deliberately enumerates the multitude of various peoples reached by the Jesuit missionary efforts, so that the reader will understand the global

expansion of the Jesuits. He is very specific in listing Jesuit accomplishments throughout the globe, identifying their work among Persians, Tartars, Turks, Africans, Brazilians, Peruvians and

³ Tirinus, *Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam* (1702), I, 382; *Speculum humanae salvationis* (1907), f. 46r; A Lapide, *Commentaria in acta apostolorum epistolas canonicas et apocalypsin* (1627), 390.2C.

⁴ A Lapide, *Commentaria in omnes divi Pauli epistolas* (1627), 851.



Figure 3: *Rubens, The Archangel Michael Defeats Satan and the Rebellious Angels (Revelation 12:7-9), painting oil on oak panel (1620) Brussels, RMFAB, Inv. 7444.*

Mexicans, careful to cover three continents beyond Europe. The Jesuits, he says, converted souls, then established altars and administered sacraments, giving the impression of a solidity of the faith throughout the world due to the Jesuit enterprise. Lessius insisted that Protestants, despite their proselytising zeal, were so deficient in faith and message, that they had only marginal success within the boundaries of Europe despite eighty years of fruitless attempts.⁵ Clearly the successful Jesuit record of conversion and salvation would provide a gentle nudge to an exercitant perhaps approaching the moment of vocational election, despite the Ignatian insistence that election be free and without pressure.

The *Two Standards*, the ongoing conflict between Christ and the devil, or the cosmic war between good and evil, appears formally during the exercitant's second week, as the retreatant contemplates 'election'. It is a continuous reminder of the devil's tenacity in the world and a reminder of Christ's ultimate triumph. Cornelius a Lapide contends, vehemently, that Luther and Calvin, as heretics before them, are progeny of the devil and authors of all heresy.⁶ Commenting on Luther's death, A Lapide, almost slyly, gloats that among the salacious companions at Luther's funeral were demons, not just ordinary demons, but imported devils, who crossed the border from

⁵ Lessius, *Quae fides* (1609), 33-41; A Lapide, *Commentarius in quatuor evangelia* (1639), II, 384.2C.

⁶ A Lapide, *Commentarius in quatuor evangelia* (1639), II, 384C.



Figure 4: *Rubens, The Temptation of Christ in the Desert (Matthew 4:3-4), painting oil on panel (1620) London, Courtauld Gallery, P.1978.PG.370.*

Ghele into Saxony, just to attend Luther's funeral.⁷ Most people from the Southern Netherlands would have understood the references and implications. St Dymphna, patron saint of the popular shrine at Ghele in Brabant, is credited with the exorcism of countless demons throughout the centuries. Cornelius a Lapide's further allusion here is both "national" and religious. Expelled demons from the Catholic Southern Netherlands would find a welcome haven in Saxony at the funeral of the diabolical and heretical Martin Luther.

Subtle but forceful is Rubens's *Temptation of Christ* (fig. 4). Only two figures fill the space. It is a singular conflict. In the place of the customary monstrous medieval devil there is an unpleasant, pathetic old man holding out two stones while taunting Christ to change the stones into bread. The London version of Rubens's *Temptation* portrays Christ in vivid, even majestic colours while the devil languishes in lifeless and drab clothing that seems to mark his pull toward the grim bowels of the earth where it was believed that hell was located. Considering Christ's hunger after forty days of fasting, his human nature is tested, as Tirinus and A Lapide point out, but Rubens demonstrates Christ's steadfastness as he looks directly into the devil's eyes and instantly rebuffs him. Tirinus warns that temptations lurk everywhere: It is only through prayer, meditation, watchfulness, Scripture and other acts of vigilance that one may avoid evil.⁸

⁷ A Lapide, *Commentaria in acta apostolorum epistolas canonicas et apocalypsin* (1627), 302.

⁸ Tirinus, *Commentarius in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (1632), 103.



Figure 5: *Rubens, The Raising of the Cross (Matthew 27:31-37), painting oil on panel (1620)*
Paris, Louvre Museum, MI 964.

As the exercitant enters the third week following the ‘election’, compassion and empathy deepen while he/she accompanies Christ through the sorrowful journey of his Passion, imagining each painful step while considering a commitment to action (*permovere*). At this juncture, the exercitant has completed the *election*. A commitment to the sacraments is represented here as Rubens’s *Last Supper* recalls Christ’s sacrifice of Himself and the exercitant realises that the Eucharist is, as Tirinus says, ‘true and real’, stressing the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.⁹ The *Moses in Prayer* at the end of the north tribune is a link to the *Last Supper*. Moses prefigures Christ and also refers to a priest elevating his arms during Mass. In the background, Joshua and the Israelites are successful against the Amalekites as long as Moses keeps his arms elevated, assisted by Aaron and Hur. Anna Knaap cites Franciscus Costerus, S.J. (1532–1619), who claims that this scene is an allusion to the power of the Eucharist which will lead to the defeat of the Protestants.¹⁰ In addition, the Jesuit *Two Standards* in its militant form signals the ultimate victory of good over evil.

Appropriately placed for celebrating Mass, Rubens’s *Raising of the Cross* was on the south side closest to the main altar below and both altars on the gallery level (fig. 5). It is a haunting representation of Christ’s agony. The cross cuts dramatically across the scene revealing the passive and suffering figure who dominates the landscape. The adjacent sacrifice of Abraham shows an equally

⁹ Tirinus, *Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam* (1702), II, 139.

¹⁰ Knaap, “Peter Paul Rubens’ Ceiling Cycle,” 154-190.

submissive Isaac. Both Christ and Isaac obediently accept their fate. Of course, Isaac fortunately escapes execution when a ram is substituted. Louis Richeome, S.J. (1544–1625), summarising an old typological motif, says that Abraham prefigures God the Father who sacrificed His Son.¹¹ The *Speculum* points out Christ's obedience and indicates that Christ was a willing victim because he was ready to endure his intense suffering and death for the salvation of all of humankind.¹²

The fourth week of the *Exercises* brings joy and exaltation to the exercitant. Rubens complies with the *Resurrection* and *Ascension* along with their typological counterparts, the *Triumph of Joseph* and the *Translation of Elijah*. In accordance with the *Spiritual Exercises*, the exercitant now has completed the spiritual journey. At this point the Rubens cycle seems to diverge from the Ignatian text in that Rubens's last segment of the upper gallery ceiling programme now addresses *The Triumph of Mary* specifically.

The Virgin Mary came under relentless attack from the Protestants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rubens's last segment of his cycle provides a vigorous defence of Mary. These final images are worthy of consideration in this study due to the Jesuit devotion to Mary, although they are not a formal progression of the Exercises. It is believed that Mary appeared to Ignatius at Manresa between 1522 and 1523. On the day of the Assumption, August 15, 1534 Ignatius and his seven companions took their vows of chastity and poverty at the altar in St Denis's Martyrium, Montmartre, Paris. Mary was the patron saint of the Society of Jesus and, as well, the Antwerp church was dedicated to her. She had a strong visual presence throughout the church in both sculpture and painting. Mary's significance to the Jesuits justifies her inclusion here as part of the celebratory nature of the fourth week.

The three final ceiling paintings on the south side, the *Assumption*, *Esther before Ahasuerus* and the *Coronation of the Virgin*, were meant to be read together. In this context Mary fulfils a powerful role for the Jesuits. Vincent Bruno views Esther and Mary as mediators. Queen Esther, a Jew, saved her people when she intervened successfully after she learned that her husband, King Ahasuerus, planned to annihilate all the Jews within his vast empire. Mary, on a much grander scale, is an ongoing spiritual advocate for all of humankind.¹³

Rubens's preliminary modello of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in London attests to the confirmation of Mary's importance to the seventeenth-century Catholic Church (fig. 6). Pronounced linear diagonals in the painting connect Mary to the Trinity. A Lapide sees Christ as the Head of the Church and Mary as the neck.¹⁴

According to John Martin, the author of *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* indicates that Rubens probably meant to draw a parallel between the opposite-placed Moses plafond on the north aisle, in which Moses is praying for the victory of the Israelites, and the *Coronation* painting on the south where Mary emerges as mediatrix and queen.¹⁵ Not only is she an intercessor, as was Moses, but she is also a ruler. She reigned in Antwerp where some 500 statues were dedicated to her throughout the city. She was also the patron saint and protectress of the Netherlands. Now as Queen of Heaven she represents the universal Catholic Church.

¹¹ Richeome, *Tableaux Sacrez* (1601), 119; Augustine, *Opera omnia*, IV, col. 244-245.

¹² *Speculum humanae salvationis* (1907), f. 50r.

¹³ Bruno, *Meditations sur la vie*, 39 and 126.

¹⁴ A Lapide, *Commentarii in Eccliasten* (1649), 182.

¹⁵ Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 201.



Figure 6: *Rubens, Coronation of the Virgin, painting oil on panel (1620)*
London, Courtauld Gallery, P.1978.PG.363.

The Jesuits saw themselves as workers in the vineyard. Such work can only be completed if workers enter that vineyard in the first place. The *Spiritual Exercises* provided the inspiration to do so. As John O'Malley says, it is a manual, a directive.¹⁶ It should move the exercitant from contemplation to action (*permovere*). With Rubens as a visual guide aligned with the *Spiritual Exercises* and other Jesuit texts, the exercitant was now ready to accept the religious challenges of the seventeenth century that would be in accordance with one's station and abilities. Perhaps for the exercitant the future would include an energetic defence of faith and sacraments against the Protestants and other heretics during these unsettled times. On the other hand, there were opportunities to do God's work by converting and saving souls at home and abroad. Combining the *Spiritual Exercises* with Rubens's inspirational Biblical cycle and additional Jesuit texts, the exercitant is now ready to work in God's vineyard, in some capacity, at some level, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

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Cornelius a Lapide, S.J. (1567–1637): Scholar of the Jesuit Rear Guard

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Although editions of Cornelius a Lapide's Bible commentaries are very many, the facts of his life are few. He was born Cornelis Cornelissen Vandensteen to Mathias Cornelissen and Catharina Tilmans on 19 December 1567 at Bocholt, a village in what is now the Belgian province of Limburg.¹ 'A Lapide' is the Latinised form of Vandensteen, the family name of his father. The Vandensteens appear to have been upper-middle-class independent farmers, who were fairly well-off for their time.² Cornelius's birth coincided with the build-up to the Eighty Years' War in the Low Countries (1568–1648), which continued through his lifetime.³ His family lived in the contested municipality of Maastricht in the south-eastern Netherlands, and passing armies of Spanish troops, German squadrons and freedom fighters of William of Orange left devastation near Bocholt. The bleak political and religious situation of his homeland had a profound formative effect on A Lapide, so it is not surprising that he will later see the primary task of the Jesuits in Mechelen as winning back the opponents of the church and restoring unity with the bishop.⁴

ACADEMIC ENDEAVOURS AND CHARACTER

In 1574, the fast-rising Jesuit order opened a school in Maastricht and seven-year-old Cornelius began studies that would eventually flower into his contributions to Catholic biblical theology. However, likely because of a citizen revolt at Maastricht and the subsequent 'Spanish Fury' of the garrison stationed there (20 October 1576), the precocious nine-year-old was forced to give up his studies. In 1578, his parents moved his education further east to Cologne, where the Flemish Jesuit Franciscus Costerus (Frans de Coster, 1532–1619) spearheaded a humanist-oriented programme at the *Tricoronatum gymnasium*.⁵ Now in a more stable situation, A Lapide attended the *Tricoronatum* for six years (1578–1584) with about one thousand other students. The academic and spiritual formation from the disciples of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) accorded closely to the 1599 *Ratio studiorum* blueprint for Jesuit education and A Lapide's commentaries show an obvious and continued affinity to the *Ratio*.⁶ During his scholastic cursus A Lapide first studied

¹ A Lapide's biographers gleaned his birthdate from the autograph of the Society of Jesus entry document: *Album novitiorum* (16th century), KBR, Ms. 1016; Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, 764; De Backer & De Backer, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 4, col. 1511-1526. Raymond Noll, in his excellent work on A Lapide's Mariology, provides a list of twenty-four older biographies of A Lapide (Noll, *Die mariologischen Grundlinien*, 24).

² Remans & Van Winkel, "Bijdragen tot de genealogie," 254; Noll, *Die mariologischen Grundlinien*, 24.

³ See a.o. Kooi, *Reformation*; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*.

⁴ See A Lapide's dedication to his beloved Archbishop Mathias Hovius: A Lapide, *Commentaria in omnes D. Pauli epistolas* (1614), f. *2r-*5v.

⁵ Kuckhoff, *Die Geschichte des Tricoronatum*.

⁶ On the *Ratio* and Jesuit intellectual formation, see: Murray, *Jesuit Biblical Studies*, 29-33.

Latin (in Maastricht), then poetry (1578), rhetoric (1580), logic (1581) and philosophy. He earned his Master's degree at the age of only seventeen on 15 March 1583.⁷

Following the conferral of the Master's degree, that same year A Lapide received his tonsure from Andreas Strengnart (1535–1615), the auxiliary bishop of Liège, marking his beginnings as a churchman.⁸ He then commenced studies at Douai University in the French-speaking south of the Low Countries, although he only stayed there for a year and half before transferring to Leuven. The Leuven Jesuits instructed A Lapide in scholastic theology for four years (1586–1590), and he learned 'positive sciences' (*positiven Wissenschaft*) at the University of Leuven.⁹ The high-profile controversies on grace, free will and predestination were coming into full swing at this point, primarily a contest between renowned Leuven Jesuit Leonard Lessius (1554–1623) and the Leuven Faculty of Theology, especially its own influential professor, Michael Baius (1513–1589). These controversies play a significant role in a theological assessment of A Lapide's approach to the working of grace.¹⁰ Here we also acknowledge the likely influence of the Englishman Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598), a defender of Lessius who joined the Leuven Faculty as royal professor of Sacred Scriptures in 1590, in succession precisely to Michael Baius.

The period between 1590–1592 is obscure. The next point of reference is A Lapide's entrance into the Jesuit novitiate at Tournai in July 1592, where he underwent the typical Jesuit formation of spiritual exercises, hospital service, a pilgrimage financed by begging, service to the poor and teaching catechism. Cornelius's primary apostolate was teaching catechism.¹¹ He was admitted early to priestly ordination on 24 December 1595.

In 1596, the newly ordained Jesuit began his academic career teaching Hebrew in Leuven. He quickly developed a good reputation and his Rome superior, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) boasted that A Lapide's lectures were known to 'fill the grandstands and benches'.¹² A Lapide retained his position in the tumultuous university town for twenty years (1596–1616). By all attestation, he was a conscientious and pious priest, a dedicated preacher and guardian of the sacraments. He maintained a ministry at the pilgrimage site of Scherpenheuvel (Montaigu) and, in a *Prayer to the Prophets* which closes his *Commentary on Daniel*, A Lapide recounts an incident at the shrine on 8 September 1604 in which his desire for blood martyrdom was nearly fulfilled. While the young scholar was hearing confessions, a detachment of Dutch calvary invaded the sacred space and 'ravaged all things with iron and flame'.¹³ Cornelius managed to rescue the Eucharist from the tabernacle and attributes his survival to the miraculous protection of Mary and said Eucharist. Prayers and spiritual reflections such as these will abound in A Lapide's forthcoming commentaries which inevitably exhibit the same magnetic pull toward martyrdom and the role of martyrs.

⁷ *Album novitiorum* (16th century), KBR, Ms. 1016; Remans & Van Winkel, "Bijdragen tot de genealogie," 252–253; Noll, *Die mariologischen Grundlinien*, 27.

⁸ Noll, *Die mariologischen Grundlinien*, 26.

⁹ *Album novitiorum* (16th century), KBR, MS. 1016; Roegiers, "Awkward Neighbours," 153–176.

¹⁰ Boss, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre*; François, "Grace," 175–197.

¹¹ There exists a set of meditation journal entries from this period: A Lapide, *Notes* ([1593–1594]), Brussels, AR, Ms. 1070/2, no. 7, 1–I; Noll, *Die mariologischen Grundlinien*, 31.

¹² Poncelet, *Histoire*, II, 253–254.

¹³ A Lapide, *Commentaria in Daniele prophetam* (1621), 167–168 'Conclusio et Votum'. Also Coulombe, *Introduction*.

During his period of teaching in Leuven, A Lapide assembled the notes that would become his first commentary. Cornelius's friend Mathias Hovius (1542–1620), the archbishop of Mechelen, and his aforementioned Jesuit superior, Claudio Acquaviva, encouraged the young professor to refine his notes, and in 1614 Antwerp publishers Martinus III Nutius (heirs) and Joannes Meursius produced the first edition of *Commentaria in omnes D. Pauli epistolas*.¹⁴ A Lapide dedicated the edition to Hovius and in doing so gave four main reasons why Paul's letters became the object of his initial efforts:

I drew from the Epistles of St Paul: 1) because these have the greatest gravitas, and are the most difficult to use; 2) because I had taught them three times and weighed them with the other books of the Holy Scriptures; 3) because the sectarians of our day loudly rattle on about Paul, holding forth about him and his followers before an ignorant multitude; and finally 4) because Paul, as a vessel of election and teacher of the peoples, through these letters prepares and educates both rulers and shepherds, as well as the princes, officials and all Christians, whatever condition, status and quality they may be, for wisdom as well as for virtue and Christian perfection.¹⁵

Thus we see A Lapide's apologetic initiative from the beginning, which continued consistent and undeterred through his lifetime.

In 1616 A Lapide moved to Rome to continue teaching at the 'German' Jesuit college there – now the Germanicum –, the publication of his *Commentary on the Pentateuch* was released that same year, but it was not until 1621 that A Lapide first expressed hope about commenting on the entire Scriptures.¹⁶ In 1622 he published a massive four-volume set, *Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores*, which brought together individual commentaries on Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah (with Lamentations and Baruch) and Daniel.¹⁷ His obvious skill as a commentator brought relief from his teaching duties and eventually he was allowed to dedicate all his time to study of Sacred Writ. Cornelius continued to write and publish a major line-by-line biblical commentary every three to seven years until his death: the *Twelve Minor Prophets* in 1625, *Acts of the Apostles/Canonical Epistles/Revelation* in 1627, *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)* in 1634 and *Proverbs* in 1635. His Gospel commentaries remained unpublished until a two-volume posthumous edition of 1639, chock full of citations and anecdotes, a fitting capstone to A Lapide's long years as a Bible scholar. When A Lapide died on 12 March 1637, he had completed substantial, line-by-line commentary on nearly all the books of the Bible. Apart from commentary on the biblical text itself, Cornelius also developed sets of *Canones*, interpretive principles which amalgamate biblical genres, as well as introductions which articulate his methodology.¹⁸ All the first editions of his work were published in Antwerp, by the aforementioned Nutius/Meursius. More posthumous commentaries followed, primarily on the wisdom and historical books, and by 1645 every canonical book save Psalms and Job was represented by an A Lapide commentary; all of

¹⁴ A Lapide, *Commentaria in omnes D. Pauli epistolas* (1614).

¹⁵ A Lapide, *Commentaria in omnes D. Pauli epistolas* (1614), f. *2r-*5v.

¹⁶ A Lapide, *Commentaria in Daniele prophetam* (1621), 167–168.

¹⁷ A Lapide, *Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores* (1621–1622).

¹⁸ Among other topics, Romualdo Galdós produced an illuminating article about a Lapide's *Canones*: Galdós, "De canonicis," 146–152.

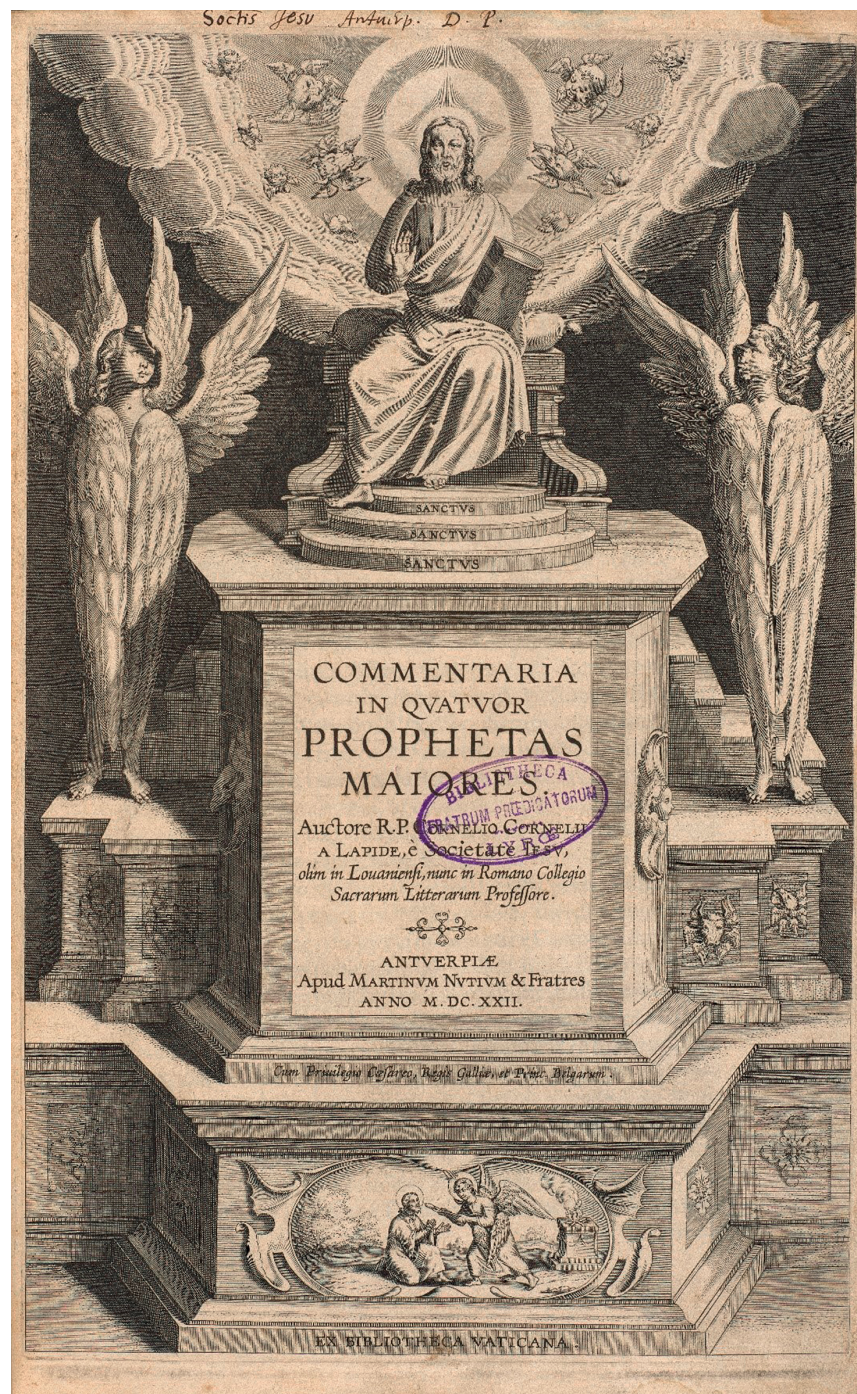


Figure 1: *A Lapide, Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores, 4 vols.* (Antwerp: Martinus III Nutius and brothers, 1621–1622) MSB, 2-003037/D 1-2, title page volume 1.

them were reprinted and re-edited numerous times, both separately and collectively even into the twentieth century.¹⁹

¹⁹ Of the 1614 *Commentaria in omnes D. Pauli epistolas*, A Lapide saw at least eleven editions in his lifetime; by 1773 no less than seventy editions got published (Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, 1075). A complete A Lapide set (with Job and the Psalms added by other hands) first appeared at Antwerp in 1681 and was reprinted continuously throughout Europe until the late nineteenth century. For publication history specifics see De Backer & De Backer, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 5 and more recently the 'Jesuitica Project' catalogues (www.jesuitica.be).

COMMENTING APPROACH AND STRUCTURE

A Lapide's theological influences are largely unsurprising, Augustine (354–430), Thomas Aquinas, O.P. (c. 1225–1274) and the Greek line of John Chrysostom (?–407), Theodoret (393–457) and Theophylact of Ohrid (c. 1055–after 1107) are frequently cited, in addition there are frequent references to the classical authorities *ad fontes* – Plato (428/427–348/347 BC), Aristotle (384–322 BC), Homer (c. 800–c. 750 BC), Thucydides (c. 460–c. 400 BC), etc. During the course of his publication history, citations of classical Greeks and Romans, Church Fathers, medieval masters and early modern (frequently fellow Jesuit) biblical scholars become more diverse. As noted, the posthumous Gospel commentaries are dense with citations and quotes of every kind.

For his part, A Lapide works out of the traditional set of interpretive categories: literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical (not necessarily in that order). Although he places a good deal of emphasis on unpacking the literal sense, doctrinal concerns and pious reflections often obviate a sense of flow around the biblical text.²⁰ Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) probably had the greatest influence on A Lapide's approach to the literal meaning, although he views Erasmus as a shady ally. 'Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched' A Lapide states on more than one occasion. Part of A Lapide's project is to assess the chick from the egg. He parallels Erasmus's method of examining the original Greek text to determine authentic meaning and pointing out discrepancies from the *Vulgata typica* (although he will most often downplay rather than highlight incongruities). For the Old Testament Hebrew, A Lapide frequently consults the work of François Vatable (Vatablus, c. 1495–1547).²¹

DEATH AND LEGACY

Efforts to distil and consolidate A Lapide's material began within his own lifetime. In 1619 an *Epitome* collection by Jan van Gorcum (?–1619) combined extracts from A Lapide's Pauline commentary with the posthumous work of Douai scholar Gulielmus Estius (Willem Hessels van Est, 1542–1613), who commented on the New Testament epistles.²² Jacques Bonfrere, S.J. (Bonfrerius, 1573–1642), in his famous 1625 *Praeloquia* for his commentary on the Pentateuch, writes about A Lapide as a standard-bearer for comments on the Old Testament.

A Lapide died in Rome in 1637, the same year René Descartes (1596–1650) published the *Discours de la méthode*. During the subsequent epochal shift from humanist studies to modern science, the world of biblical scholarship came to embrace entirely the historical-critical method, while at the same time Catholic confessionalism slowly quenched the fire of humanist biblical scholarship in favour of aggregated doctrinal manuals. In the wash, the innovative Catholic biblical scholars of the 'post-Tridentine' era (1550–1650) were generally lumped into the sum of neo-scholastic puppets and pious simpletons or, most often, ignored altogether. By the mid-seventeenth

²⁰ For an explanation of A Lapide's expanded literal approach, see Murray, *Jesuit Biblical Studies*; Fischer, François, Gerace & Murray, "The 'Golden Age' of Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 217–274.

²¹ Fischer, "Impact of Erasmus," 371–411.

²² Estius & A Lapide, *Epitome* (1619).

century A Lapide's synthetic commentary, which attempted to integrate a robust literal interpretation into theological-doctrinal Bible analysis, no longer found favour in scholarly let alone historical-critical quarters.²³ Despite his enormous popular appeal he was not included in the great biblical initiatives of the age such as the *Biblia maxima* (Paris 1660) of Jean de la Haye (1593–1661) whose selected commentators – Nicholas of Lyra (Liranus, 1270–1349), Jean de Gagnay (Gagnius, c. 1450–1512), Gulielmus Estius, Giovanni Stefano Menochio, S.J. (Menochius, 1575–1655) and Jacobus Tirinus, S.J. (1580–1636) – aim more directly at literal exegesis.

In the 1680s Richard Simon, C.O. (1638–1712), marked even more strongly the trend toward purely literal/scientific interpretation with his four *Critical Histories*. These seminal works included the first serious assessment of the Catholic exegesis during the post-Tridentine era, placed in light of burgeoning scientific biblical criticism. Needless to say, A Lapide did not fare well with the French scholar. The historical-critical pioneer viewed A Lapide's synthesis of humanism, tradition and doctrine as prolix, messy and uninformed about the 'oriental languages'.²⁴ However, Simon acknowledged that the Jesuit's ignorance in the specialised fields of philological, historical and archaeological research does not entirely undermine his precise knowledge of Catholic interpretive tradition, especially patristic theology and doctrinal lineage, which would be of continued benefit to preachers. Seventeenth-century writers of popular piety such as Saints Louis-Marie de Montfort (1673–1716) and Alphonsus Liguori (1696–1787) also highlighted these strengths and presented A Lapide in a very positive light.²⁵ And since A Lapide composed with the early Jesuit objective of mission and evangelisation in mind, when the itinerant order circulated his commentary sets throughout the known world – Japan, India, Latin America – the editions became and remained a 'one-stop shop' for biblically based personal scholarship, preaching and classroom evangelisation.

The nineteenth-century Catholic revival in France also brought a greater sense of perspective to what A Lapide had actually accomplished with his vast synthesis of Bible and tradition. For example, in 1856 a four-volume compendium, first published at Le Mans and Paris, the parish priest Abbé Barbier, who spent nine years combing the A Lapide set and organising the material thematically, apologises for what he considers unfair derision toward A Lapide.²⁶ A Lapide's comments reached their publishing apex in a twenty-one-volume (with three supplements) Paris edition (1859–1863) with editorial additions and essays from Augustin Crampon (1826–1894) and Joseph Maxence Perrone (1813–1892) that present A Lapide vis-à-vis biblical scholars of the mid-nineteenth century. In this same era Jacques Paul Migne (1800–1875) selected A Lapide to represent several sections in his important *Cursus Sacrae Scripturae* (1840–1845) the biblical forerunner to *Patrologia graeca* and *latina* (although, efficient as always, Migne merely reprinted Jan van Gorcum's epitome for the Pauline material). A Lapide's comments continued to see occasional references in theological handbooks and manuals, and in the late nineteenth century, English translations of the Gospel commentaries along with 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians and the Johannine

²³ Fischer, François, Gerace & Murray, "The 'Golden Age' of Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 217–274.

²⁴ Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (1693), 655–665; Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), 475; Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament* (1689), ch. 23–24.

²⁵ Both of these authors wrote very famous books on Marian piety, *True Devotion to Mary* and *The Glories of Mary* respectively. Still in print, these works recommend A Lapide's comments of great value in fostering Marian devotion.

²⁶ Barbier, *Les trésors* (1856). The work was re-edited at Paris, 1859, 1872, 1876, 1885, 1896. An Italian translation by Francesco Maria Faber appeared in Parma, 1869–1870, in 10 vols.; and a four-volume Spanish translation in Madrid & Barcelona, 1866.

Epistles were produced by Thomas W. Mossmann and William Frederick Cobb respectively.²⁷ In the early twenty-first century, Loreto press refined and reproduced these editions (with new translations of the technical grammatical material Mossman and Cobb had omitted) as the first instalments of an ongoing A Lapide project.²⁸

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²⁷ These are of varying quality, see: Fischer, François, Gerace & Murray, "The 'Golden Age' of Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 217-274.

²⁸ Loreto Publications, "Loreto's A Lapide Project".

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The Jesuits of Antwerp and the Engravers and Designers of Their Publications

Joep VAN GENNIP

In 1619 the Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527–1611) and his Flemish confrere Heribertus Rosweyde (1569–1629) published the *Generale legende der heylighen* (*General Legends of the Saints*). In the introduction of this edition they distinguished four functions for the use of images in books and churches: 1) educational, 2) commemorative, 3) emphatic and 4) devotional.¹ In the third edition of this work, they explained the educational function as follows: ‘Paintings offer to the unlearned viewer what writings offer the reader’ (*Tghene dat de schrifture gheeft den lesenden, dat gheeft de schilderije den onghelerden aensiender*).²

Since the sixteenth century, Antwerp had been a main centre of printing in Europe, and although its significance as a city of publishing houses and engravers slowly diminished during the following century, it remained vitally important for the printing industry, especially for the large-scale production and reproduction of engravings after paintings by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) or Gerard Seghers (1591–1651). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in addition to this medium, Rubens started illustrating book titles in a new and inventive way.³ With several famous book publishers such as Plantin-Moretus and ditto engravers working in Antwerp, this led to a flourishing market. Religious institutes and high Catholic church officials became their main patrons.

Dozens of studies have been published about Rubens and his artistic activities, including his work as a history painter or designer of frontispieces. Other history painters who also illustrated books, such as Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596–1675), Cornelis Schut (1597–1655), Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1678) or Philip Fruytiers (1610–1666), have received less attention from researchers. Some studies of their work as designers of book prints have recently seen the light. One of these bears the telling title *The Shadow of Rubens*.⁴

In this contribution, I will investigate the relationship between the Flemish-Belgian Jesuits and some specific designers and engravers of their books. As a case study, I have chosen the *Kerckelycke historie* (*History of the Church*), which was written by the famous polemical writer Cornelius Hazart, S.J. (1617–1690) and published between 1667 and 1671 in four volumes by the Antwerp publisher Michiel Cnobbaert (1628–c. 1673). What readers did Hazart have in mind for this publication? Do we know who designed and engraved the illustrations for this work, and what their connections were? My main interest is not in the contents of the book but in its genesis from a publisher’s perspective.

¹ Van Dael, “De Christelijcke leeringhe met vermaeck gevat,” 122.

² De Ribadeneyra & Rosweyde, *Generale legende der heylighen* (1640).

³ Van Hout, “Enkel op zondag: Rubens en het boek,” 124–133.

⁴ Diels, *The Shadow of Rubens*.

Before we turn to *Kerckelycke historie*, something has to be said about the Jesuits in seventeenth-century Antwerp and their relationship with publishers, history painters – including Rubens – and the author of the work in question: Cornelius Hazart.

THE JESUITS, PUBLISHING HOUSES AND HISTORY PAINTERS IN ANTWERP

The Spanish general Alexander Farnese's (1545–1592) reconquest of the city on the Scheldt in 1585 was followed by a very successful campaign of Catholic reform. The instructions of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) were implemented, new seminaries and parish churches erected and religious brotherhoods and sodalities founded, and above all, religious orders became active in the city (again). One of these active orders were the Jesuits, who reopened their college in Antwerp in 1593, followed by several other successful settlements, with their newly built St Ignatius's church as the culminating point (1615–1626). In the first half of the seventeenth century, the good financial and political connections between the Jesuits, the city magistrate, a number of influential families, and the higher secular clergy gave this religious order great influence in Antwerp. As a result, the Jesuits became important patrons for painters like Rubens and Van Dyck, for the Plantin-Moretus press and for a whole range of other history painters, publishers and engravers. Although usually contacts between the Jesuits and the engravers were limited, since this was mainly left to the publishers, sometimes the author intervened and communicated his preference for a specific history painter to make the book illustrations. This was the case in 1627 with Heribertus Rosweyde, who insisted that Rubens should draw the frontispiece of his *Vitae Patrum*, even though the designer Abraham van Diepenbeeck and the engraver Cornelis Galle (1576–1650) had already been paid for the design.⁵ It appears that Cornelius Hazart also had a say in deciding who should make illustrations for the first part of his *Kerckelycke historie*, and perhaps he chose Van Diepenbeeck as the designer. Some documents related to the lawsuit between Van Diepenbeeck and the publisher Cnobbaert regarding a conflict about the salary show that Hazart wanted engravings in the first volume to depict local people.⁶ Thus it is not surprising to find an image of cruelties committed by the Protestants in the Low Countries set against the background of the city of Oudenaarde, Hazart's birthplace, in the third volume.

THE AUTHOR

Cornelius Hazart was born in 1617 in the Flemish city of Oudenaarde, where he attended the local Jesuit college.⁷ In 1635 he entered the Jesuit noviciate in Mechelen, after which he studied philosophy and theology in Leuven. It was here, in this university city, that Hazart became familiar with polemical debates and controversial lectures against the Protestants. In 1647 he was ordained a priest in Antwerp, and he subsequently worked as a teacher in the Jesuit college in Brussels for some years. In 1654 Hazart took up residence in Antwerp, where he would stay for

⁵ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 6.

⁶ Van de Velde, "Van Diepenbeecks illustraties voor *De Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele werelt*," 231–233, 250, 252 and 256.

⁷ On Hazart, see: Van Gennip, *Controversen in context*, 402–485.

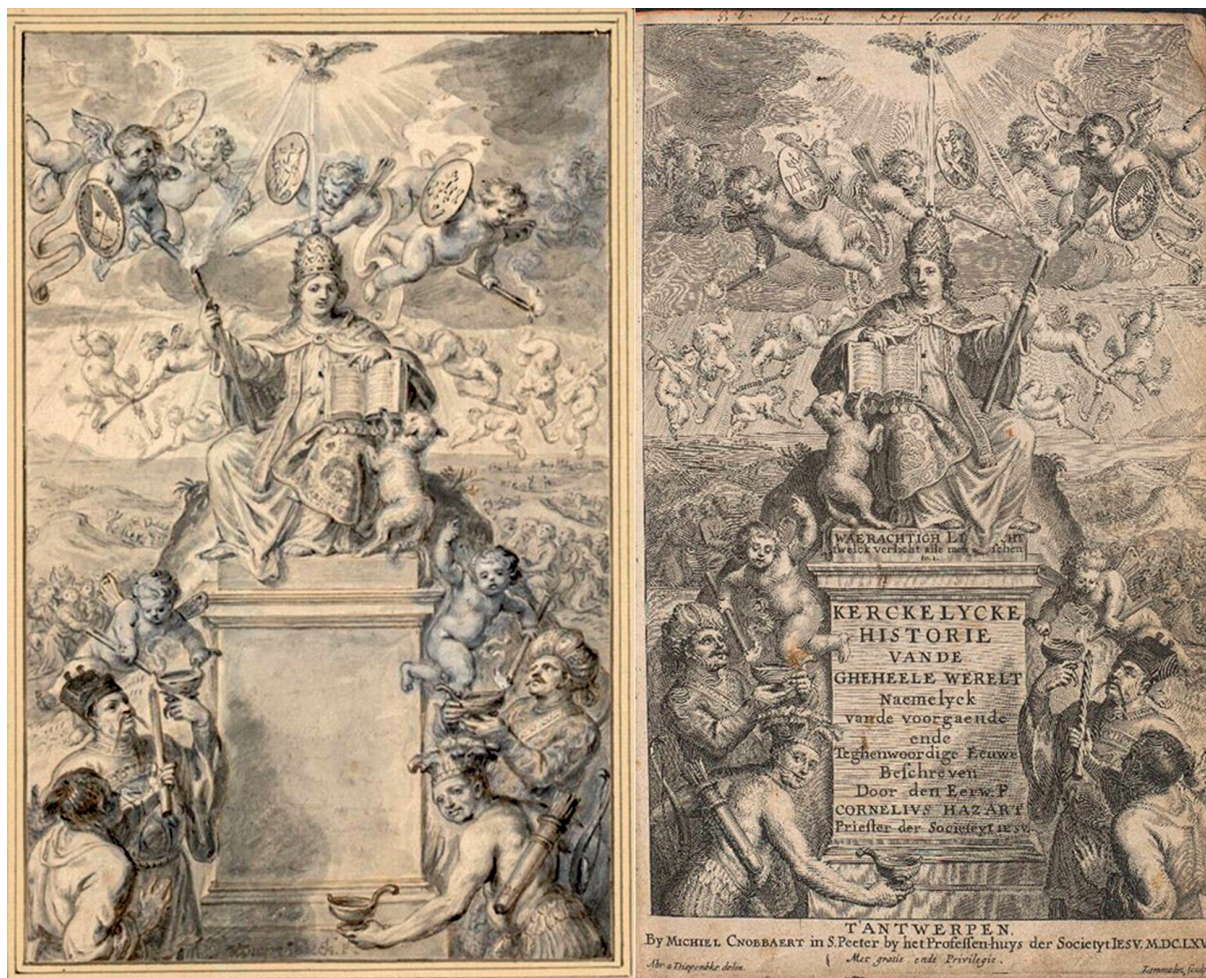


Figure 1: (left) Van Diepenbeeck, Drawing for the Frontispiece of C. Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie*, Antwerp 1667 (c. 1667) Vienna: The Albertina Museum, inv. no. 9485. (right) Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671) MSB, P270.093.3/F° HAZA Kerc, frontispiece designed by Van Diepenbeeck.

the rest of his life. He lived in the professed house of the order, situated next to St Ignatius's church. Almost every week Hazart held controversial lectures in the vernacular for a wide audience, including Protestants. In the meantime, he wrote polemical and controversial treatises, most of them in the vernacular. Between 1657 and 1688 he worked on at least seventy-eight publications, the majority of which were printed by Michiel Cnobbaert, just a stone's throw from the house where Hazart lived. In his obituary, Hazart was praised as someone 'who worked day and night and in addition to his regular activities also studied Catholic doctrine (*studio doctrinae*) for eight to ten hours daily'.⁸ Near the end of his life, Hazart wrote several voluminous works: his *Kerckelycke historie*, as well as *Triumph vande waerachtige kercke* (*Triumph of the True Church*) (1673); *Triumph der pausen van Roomen over alle hare benyders ende bestryders* (*Triumph of the Popes of Rome over All their Envyers and Contestants*) (1678, 1679 and 1681) in three parts; and *Triumph vande christelycke leere* (*Triumph of the Christian Doctrine*) (1683) in two volumes. The latter publication embroiled him in the anti-Jansenist debate in the Dutch Republic. He died in Antwerp at the age of 73 in 1690.

⁸ *Elogium P. Hazaert, 25-12-1690*, KBR, inv. no. 6487, f. 278r-288v.

Cornelius Hazart began writing the *Kerckelycke historie* when he was around fifty. The book describes the propagation and history of the Catholic church on all continents, from the beginning until the present time. Hazart gave special attention to the contribution of several religious orders and missionaries in this venture, especially – unsurprisingly – to the role of the Jesuits. And he lost no opportunity to criticise the Protestants. The first volume (1667) focuses on Asia and the Americas; the second (1668) on Africa, Germany, Hungary and France; the third (1669) on the Low Countries and England, and the last (1671) on Turkey, Palestine, Greece, ‘Moscovien’ and Morocco. According to Johan Verberckmoes, it is no coincidence that Hazart’s first volume was devoted to the East and West Indies. As the Jesuits faced internal competition with other religious orders and the secular clergy within the Catholic church at the end of the seventeenth century, they were looking for new missionary territories.⁹

Hazart was never a missionary himself and the information gathered for the four volumes of *Kerckelycke historie* is based on a remarkable list of printed sources in several languages. *Kerckelycke historie* was written in Dutch in popular style; Hazart was clearly aiming for a broad audience. It was probably used as teaching material in one of the many Jesuit colleges in the Southern Netherlands. This is all the more plausible if we look more closely at the publisher’s invoices. Each time a new volume was published, several Jesuit colleges ordered one or more copies from Cnobbaert’s publishing house.¹⁰ The numerous illustrations make it an attractive book for a young audience. The heroic adventures of the missionaries would have appealed to students and might have prompted them to enter the Society of Jesus themselves. Jesuit missionaries who were active in the Dutch Republic bought several copies too, probably for educational purposes for their Catholic flock or to impress Protestants. On 30 November 1667, the publisher received an order of twelve copies of the first volume *voor Hollant* (‘for Holland’).¹¹

In 2017 the eminent art historian Carl van de Velde examined Van Diepenbeeck’s illustrations in the first volume of *Kerckelycke historie*. He showed that out of a total of forty-six engravings, Van Diepenbeeck made fourteen. Preparatory drawings exist for at least ten of these illustrations, including the title page, for which Van Diepenbeeck combined two of Rubens’s inventive frontispiece designs (fig. 1-4),¹² that for *Breviarium Romanum*, published in 1614, and for *Generale kerckelycke historie* (1623), compiled and translated by the Flemish Jesuit Heribertus Rosweyde from the work of Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607) and Henricus Spondanus (Henri de Sponde, 1568–1643).¹³ The history painter Van Diepenbeeck acquired a reputation for his book illustrations and drawings from the early 1630s onward. In 1640, he provided the illustrations for the Jesuits’ jubilee book *Af-beeldinghe van d’eerste eeuw der societeyt Iesu*, including the frontispiece, and a year later he also made the famous Canisius print, which was engraved by Paul Dupont (1603–1658). His work for *Kerckelycke historie* in 1667, when he was already 71 years old, was

⁹ Verberckmoes, *How Brazil Affects Your Emotions*.

¹⁰ Antwerp, AR, APFB, inv. nos. 1036, 1353.

¹¹ Antwerp, AR, APFB, inv. no. 1036.

¹² These drawings can be found in the collections of Albertina (Vienna), Staatliche Sammlungen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), Museum Boymans van Beuningen (Rotterdam), Hermitage (St. Petersburg), Museum of Art (Philadelphia), and some private collections.

¹³ Van de Velde, “Van Diepenbeecks illustraties,” 234; Judson & Van de Velde, *Corpus Rubenianum*, 73, 234–236.



Figure 2: Breviarium Romanum (1614) MSB, P264.13/F° BREV Roma, frontispiece designed by Peter Paul Rubens.

one of his last achievements. The 1667 edition was reprinted with the same illustrations in 1683, after Van Diepenbeeck's death.

Most of the illustrations in Hazart's work were engraved by the Antwerp engraver Adriaen Lommelin (1636?–1673). Probably born around 1636 in Amiens, he came to Antwerp as a young boy with his father Samuel, who taught him to use the burin.¹⁴ Adriaen engraved many books as

¹⁴ His father was listed in 1635–1636 as 'salesman' in the records of the Antwerp St Lucas's Guild. Remarkably, Adriaen is not mentioned as a member of this guild, even though he worked in Antwerp for almost his entire life. Hymans, "Lommelin, Adrien," 339–342; Van der Aa, "Adriaen Lommelin," 582; Rombouts & Van Lierus, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven* ([1864–1876]), 72.



Figure 3: *Baronius, Generale kerckelycke historie* (1623) MSB, 270.007.7/F° BARO 1623, frontispiece designed by Peter Paul Rubens.

well as individual prints, often after Van Dyck, Rubens or Van Diepenbeeck. Thus he made engravings of Van Dyck's portraits of Jean Baptist de Bisthoven, S.J. (1603–1655), the rector of the Jesuit college in Aalst, and of the mathematician Jean-Charles della Faille, S.J. (1597–1652). His engravings for Van Diepenbeeck were of a higher quality than those for the two other famous Flemish painters, probably because Van Diepenbeeck was involved in the production process.¹⁵ Father and son Lommelin also worked for the Antwerp Jesuits engraving devotional pictures depicting Saints Ignatius, S.J. (1491–1556), Francis Xavier, S.J. (1506–1552) and Norbert (c. 1080–1134). In 1664, Anna Maria Klingenberg, a spiritual virgin in Cologne, ordered 750 devotional pictures from the Flemish Jesuits, to be executed by Samuel Lommelin in the *Pantstraet in onses Lieven Vrou tot Antwerpen* ('in the Pawnee Street of Our Lady of Antwerp') for the total amount of 160 Charles guilders and 5 cents.¹⁶

However, Adriaen Lommelin was not the only engraver to work on *Kerckelycke historie*. Just like the work as a whole, illustrations were cut by well-known Antwerp engravers such as Jacobus Neeffs (1610–1660), Jacques Bruyne(e)l (?–1691), Gaspar Bouttats (1640–1695), Frederik II Bouttats (1620–1676), Adrian Melaer (Adriaen Millaert, 1633–1667), Pieter II de Jode (1606–1674) and Peter van Liesebetten (Pieter van Lisebetten, 1630–1678). With forty-six illustrations, the first volume was by far the most elaborately illustrated of the project. The second volume had only seventeen engravings, the third thirty-seven and the last twenty. In addition to Van Diepenbeeck, the Antwerp history and portrait painters Hendrik Herregou(d)ts (1633–1704) and Joseph Lamorlet (1626–1694) contributed to the first volume of *Kerckelycke historie*. Remarkably, only the painter and glazier Jacobus or Jacques de Lof (?–1673) contributed to the second volume, which was published in 1668. The title page which De Lof made for this second volume was re-used for Hazart's *Triumph van de christelycke leere* (1683). The portraitist and tapestry designer Justus van Egmon(d)t (1602–1674) made the designs for the thirty-seven illustrations of the third volume (1669) of *Kerckelycke historie*.¹⁷ Preparatory sketches for the illustrations are extant only for the illustrations used by Van Diepenbeeck. Due to the absence of the designers' names on the illustrations in the fourth volume, we do not even know who made them, although they are of lesser quality than those in the other volumes. The title page of the fourth volume, depicting Saint Helena with the Holy Cross flanked by the Emperor Constantine and King Rudolf I of Germany (1218–1291), was inspired by a design by Quellinus and Rubens for *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (1645), but it was slightly altered for Hazart's volume.¹⁸

CLOSING REMARKS

Publishing illustrated books in seventeenth-century Antwerp was a lucrative business, which involved not only the author and the publisher, but also one or more engravers and history painters. They were often in contact with each other, were competitors, or copied and altered models of frontispieces for their own purposes. The Church, and specifically the Jesuit order in Antwerp,

¹⁵ Hymans, "Lommelin, Adrien," 341.

¹⁶ Antwerp, AR, APFB, inv. no. 1278.

¹⁷ Rombouts & Van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven*, 197 and 426.

¹⁸ Judson & Van de Velde, *Corpus Rubenianum*, 334–336; Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (1645).

was an important patron for all in the book industry. The *Kerckelycke historie* was just one of the many books printed in the second half of the seventeenth century. This case study has shown that the use of different sources and approaches can be fruitful to understand the context and use of illustrated publications in that era.

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Appendix

Publication, vol.	Publication year	Publisher	Engraver(s)	History painter(s)	Number of illustrations, incl. title page	Number of pages
<i>Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereltd</i> , vol. I (reprinted 1682)	1667	M. Cnobbaert	A. Lommelin (primarily), I. Neeffs, J. Bruyne(e)l, G. Bouttats, A. Melaer, P. de Jode II, P. van Liesbetten (?)	A. van Diepenbeeck (primarily), H. Herregou(d)ts, J. Lamorlet	46	[18], 484, [36]
<i>Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereltd</i> , vol. II	1668	M. Cnobbaert	A. Lommelin (primarily), A. Melaer, G. Bouttats	J. de Lof	17	[22], 406, [26]
<i>Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereltd</i> , vol. III	1669	M. Cnobbaert	A. Lommelin (primarily), G. Bouttats, F. Bouttats, I. Neeffs.	J. van Egmon(d)t	37	[16], 455, [21]
<i>Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereltd</i> , vol. IV	1671	M. Cnobbaert	A. Lommelin (primarily)	Unknown	20 (all portraits)	[20], 412, [23]

Cornelius Hazart, S.J. (1617–1690) and the *Kerckelycke Historie*

Johan VERBERCKMOES

While he was a theology student at the University of Leuven in the 1640s, the Flemish Jesuit Cornelius Hazart delivered an oration giving moral instruction on Francis Xavier, S.J. (1506–1552), the apostle of the Indies.¹ He had it printed in 1680 when he was an established author. It was perhaps the celebration of the first centenary of the Jesuit order in 1640, emphasising global aspirations, which had inspired Hazart to explicitly tackle the topic of worldwide evangelisation through the lens of Francis Xavier. Francis Xavier's star was steadily rising in the Spanish Netherlands during the seventeenth century. This inspired dozens of Flemish and Walloon Jesuits to apply for overseas missions. However, in the paraenesis or ethical exhortation of his oration, Hazart stressed that Francis Xavier had duly and dutifully obeyed Ignatius, the main founder of the Jesuit order. This double aspect of a worldwide vision on Christianity as the result of Jesuit loyalty to the Catholic Church characterises Cornelius Hazart's writings. In his view, there was no question of intercultural religious dialogue such as might result in culture-specific varieties of Catholic Christendom, as much recent research would argue. On the contrary, as a fierce polemicist and highly skilled public orator, Hazart relentlessly emphasised obedience to the superiors and to the Catholic Church as instrumental in keeping the Catholic religion one, wherever it was on the globe. A magnificent testimony of this was his *Church History of the Entire World*, published from 1667 to 1671 in four massive folio volumes and comprising a total of 1757 pages, printed by Michiel Cnobbaert (1628–1673?), whose printing house was located beside the Jesuit house of the professed in Antwerp. Volume one has chapters on Japan, China, Mughal India, Bisnaga (Vijayanagara, south India), Peru, Mexico, Brazil, Florida, Canada, Paraguay and Maranhão (north Brazil). Volume two is on east and central Africa, central, east and northern Europe and France, volume three on the Netherlands and England and volume four on Turkey, Palestine, Syria, Greece, Moscow, Persia, Fez, Morocco and Tartary (Manchu China). The bulk is about the spread of Christianity in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century and the challenges the Catholic Church faced after the Reformation. China and the short chapter on Paraguay take the narrative up to Hazart's own time. As a history book, *Kerckelycke historie* includes extracts from more than a hundred sources in each volume, in Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Dutch.

From 1654 to his death in 1690, Hazart was attached to the professed house in Antwerp.² There he found fertile ground for his skills as a writer and orator. He preached in the professed house as well as in the adjacent St Ignatius's church (currently St Charles Borromeo's). In the preface to the first volume of *Kerckelycke historie*, Hazart explains that he had been giving Antwerp audiences several exemplary stories about Catholic priests and religious endorsing the true faith

¹ Hazart, *Oratio paraenetica* (1680): two copies in Royal Library of Belgium, two copies in UCLouvain.

² See Joep van Gennip's contribution in the present volume for more details about Hazart's life.

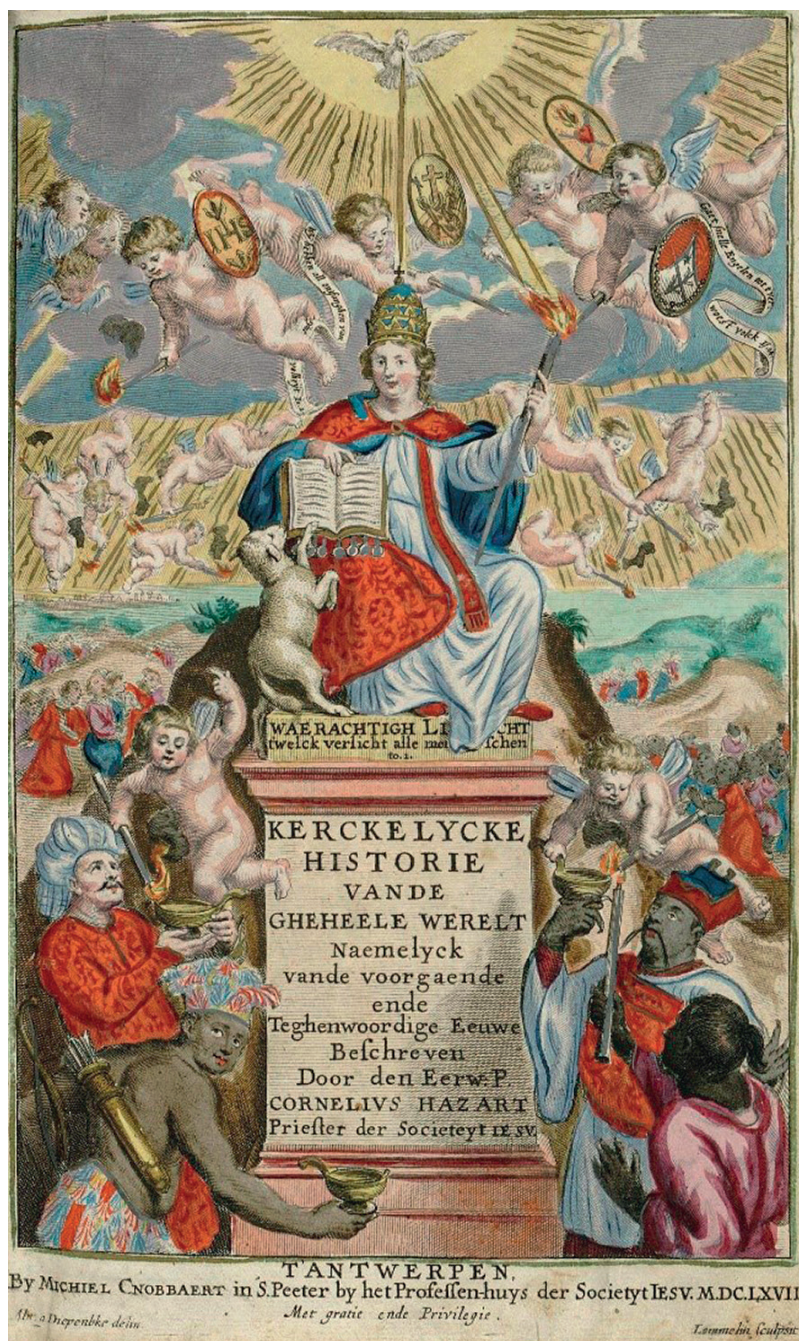


Figure 1: Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671) Tokyo, Kirishitan Bunko, Sophia University, KB 401-H49-l(1), engraved title page.

with their own blood among the cannibals in Mexico, Brazil and other parts of the Americas, and among the most important barbaric peoples of Asia. Yet, martyrdom was as sensitive as were questions about the loyalty of missionaries to Rome. In a *protestatie* or declaration immediately following the preface of the first volume, Hazart further explains that he regarded the miracles and stories of martyrdom as human histories, so that his work was in line with the Roman decrees which reserved all decisions on who was to be seen as holy and as a martyr to the Apostolic See. In other words, Cornelius Hazart intimately connected missionary enterprise across the globe with a fierce desire to preserve unity within the Catholic Church. Moreover, his history of the church on the four continents tied each martyr's combat to what happened at home in Antwerp.

There, the fight against Dutch Calvinists was nothing less than a moral obligation for Hazart, as he himself endlessly illustrated in the nearly 80 anti-Calvinist polemical books he published. The first volume starts with a history of the Christian church in Japan. This sets the tone for the four volumes. While Christianity had flourished on the Japanese islands with hundreds of thousands of followers in the second half of the sixteenth century, by the start of the seventeenth century, the new emperor forbade Christianity altogether. Half a century later, Hazart looked back on this dramatic turnaround and presented the exemplary behaviour of Japanese Christians during their plight as moral lessons for his contemporary Antwerp audience. For instance, he commented that Japanese children in Christian families demonstrated more unwavering loyalty to Catholicism in the most difficult circumstances of violent and bloody persecution, including executions, than the young people in Antwerp did who lived undisturbed. And, as in the port city on the Scheldt, Hazart identified Dutch Calvinists as the main threat to the Catholic religion in Japan. Hazart alleged they had shown more cruelty to Japanese Catholics than the barbaric leaders of the Japanese empire had.

A main feature of the Church History is that Hazart shortened chronology and mixed history and remembrance with current events. During his lifetime, Catholic hopes for evangelisation on a large scale shifted from Japan to China. In the first volume, Hazart included a chapter on China in which he quoted extensively from contemporary letters from Walloon and Flemish Jesuits, including Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688). He also communicated a sense of immediacy by explaining that in the professed house of Antwerp where he was writing, ‘he expected letters from China any hour now’.³ A similar sense of connection across time and space is in evidence from the examples Hazart included on people from Antwerp who worked overseas. The Antwerp Dominican Ludovicus Flores or Lodewijk Frarijn (c. 1570–1622) died a martyr in Japan, his death by fire seeing him ‘triumph over the cruelty of the Calvinists from Holland who, in the farthest corners of the world, had tortured him in a more than beastly fashion’.⁴ The Antwerp captain Louys Pieterssen underwent a similar fate in Japan, but the Antwerp Jesuit Justus van Suerck (1600–1666), by contrast, had very successfully evangelised in Paraguay.⁵ Paraguay was the second main destination of Jesuit missionaries from the Habsburg Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Yet, in terms of exemplarity, the historical persecution of Japanese Christianity was the touchstone. Not only was the lavishly illustrated opening chapter on Japan the longest chapter in the Church History, it was presumably the reason that volume one of the Church History was the only of the four volumes to be reprinted by Cnobbaert in 1682. This new edition inspired Jesuit colleges in Bergues, Kortrijk, Brussels and Antwerp to stage plays by students on the Japanese Christians’ constancy in the faith.

The impressive four folios of Hazart’s Church History are attractively presented with nearly 120 full-page engravings.⁶ These were produced by the finest craftsmen in Antwerp at the time.⁷ The engravings illustrate passages from the historical descriptions Hazart accumulated in his

³ Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671), I, 482.

⁴ Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671), I, f. a4v.

⁵ Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671), I, f. a4v.

⁶ The number varies according to editions, but is as follows in the most extensive versions: vol. 1, 44 engravings, vol. 2, 17, vol. 3, 36, vol. 4, 19. The only known copy of volume 1 with coloured engravings is preserved in Tokyo, Kirishitan Bunko, Sophia University, KB 401-H49-I(1).

⁷ See Joep van Gennip’s contribution in the present volume for more on this.



Figure 2: Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671) Tokyo, *Kirishitan Bunko*, Sophia University, KB 401-H49-l(1), 245.

Church History. The chapter on Japan is best served, with a dozen illustrations; most other chapters have only between one and five engravings. The imagery is decidedly European. Some are inspired by costume books that presented people in distinctive dress ('Mughal clothing') (fig. 2).⁸ The dramatic scenes are an iconographic representation of anecdotal evidence. About half are on executions and the violent deaths of missionaries. The dramatisation of the scenes and emotional expressions in body postures and on faces suggest that Rubens and Van Dyck were sources of inspiration. Yet, the engravings were also intended to convey a sense of authenticity. The cultural specificity of Asia, Africa, America and the Middle East is shown in dress, hair style, weapons, houses, boats, buildings and natural scenery. These are superficially in accordance with the sartorial and material cultures of these non-European cultures insofar as these were captured through the lens of Europeans documenting other continents since the sixteenth century. More often than not, however, the representations are Europeanised and not ethnographic. Nevertheless, in all their details, the extensive descriptions and sophisticated and expensive visualisations conveyed a sense of a global church that was taking root in distinct countries and was meeting distinctive challenges.

⁸ Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* (1667–1671), I, engraving bound before p. 245.

Hazart's Church History is an exceptional document on world cultures as seen from Antwerp. Although it offers an outright political apology for the Spanish Habsburg Netherlands as a Catholic state, and despite its constant hectoring of Calvinists, the *Kerckelycke historie* may be argued to have decentred the universal church of Rome by emphasising exemplary Christian lives overseas.

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Printing for the Jesuit College in Seventeenth-century Brussels

Tom EERKENS, Heleen WYFFELS

The Society of Jesus understood as no other how to use the printed word to teach and persuade.¹ This article explores the commercial relationship between the Jesuit college in Brussels and the town's printers in the seventeenth century. The capital of the Spanish Netherlands was home to more than sixty printers and booksellers during this century. Despite the fact that Brussels became a vibrant centre for the production of printed books, scholars studying the early modern printing press in this region generally focus on Antwerp or Leuven.²

This contribution analyses sixty-four editions that were published for the Jesuit college in Brussels between 1604 and 1700, based on *STCV. The Flemish Bibliography of the Hand Press Book* and the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1890–1932) by Carlos Sommervogel, S.J. (1834–1902), Augustin de Backer, S.J. (1809–1873) and Aloys de Backer, S.J. (1823–1883).³ Even though the STCV database does not yet give a conclusive total number of editions, its rich bibliographical data allows us to compile a meaningful survey of publishing for the Jesuit college. In doing so, we will highlight the close connection between the institution and printers working in the capital of the Spanish Netherlands and explore the kind of books the college commissioned.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE CAPITAL OF THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS

As supporters of the Counter-Reformation in a religiously divided Europe, the Society of Jesus strongly promoted authorship and book production to spread the Catholic faith. In the Low Countries, the local branches of the order became Catholic strongholds against Protestantism. In 1586, the Jesuits founded a residence for their religious community in Brussels. Eighteen years later, they opened a college in the Zavel, one of the more prestigious neighbourhoods in the capital. After several building campaigns in the following decades, the monastery and school buildings of the *Regium Gymnasium Bruxellense* came to occupy the entire residential block between the Strostraat, Ruisbroekstraat and Goudstraat. It accommodated a community of over fifty Jesuits and more than six hundred pupils.⁴ Publishing soon became part of the college's activities, with a first edition rolling off the press as early as 1609. During the seventeenth century, the college commissioned several printed books for events such as processions and theatrical performances.

¹ For an extensive list of early modern Jesuit authors in the Low Countries, see: Andriessen, "Apostolaat," 61–73.

² Gradually, this focus is shifting. For a recent historiography on different book historical subjects regarding early modern Brussels, see: Sorgeloos, "Bruxelles," 13–36. For Jesuits' relationship with printing elsewhere, see, amongst others, the recent special issue: Lamal & Machielsen, eds., "Jesuits and Print," 405–555.

³ A complete list of these sixty-four editions, with the short title, printer's name and date of publication, can be found in appendix 1.

⁴ Brouwers, *De jezuieten te Brussel*, 18–32.

Brussels-based printers produced at least sixty-four editions for the Jesuit college during this period, fifty-four of which contain an imprint. This allows us to take a closer look at the relationship between typographer and client.

AT THE SERVICE OF THE *REGIUM GYMNASIUM BRUXELLENSE*

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the printing offices of the Velpius-Anthoon and Mommaert families dominated the Brussels printing market.⁵ The Jesuit college clearly preferred the former. Shortly after the reconquest of Brussels by the Spanish troops of Alexander Farnese (1545–1592) in March 1585, Rutgeert Velpius (c. 1540–1614) managed to obtain the lucrative office of court printer, which gave him and his descendants the printing monopoly on government publications. His workshop ‘In the Golden Eagle’ was located near the palace on the Koudenberg.⁶ The Brussels Jesuits possibly chose Velpius, and later his son-in-law Huybrecht I Anthoon (c. 1570–1630), due to their position as court publishers and the convenience of their physical proximity to the college in the aristocratic quarter in the Zavel. The college relied on the Velpius-Anthoon dynasty for no fewer than ten of twelve publications commissioned between 1609 and 1624.

However, this almost exclusive reliance on one printing house did not last. Even though ties with the Velpius-Anthoon workshop remained until 1689, the college gradually started looking for other opportunities in the competitive Brussels market and alternated between Anthoon and other publishers, such as Jan I Pepermans (1594–1635?), Lucas van Meerbeeck (active 1633–1639) and Jan II Mommaert (1611–1669).⁷ In the 1630s, the Jesuits no longer exclusively used Velpius’s workshop - now managed by Catharina Velpius (1569–1642), Huybrecht I’s widow – but chose to alternate between Van Meerbeeck and Jan II Mommaert. Indeed, the college seems to have shifted its focus from the Velpius family to another printing dynasty, as Pepermans and Mommaert were the nephew and son respectively of Jan I Mommaert (c. 1560–1631), Rutgeert Velpius’s direct competitor.⁸ Although Jan I had missed out on the office of court printer, he did acquire the privilege to print official publications of the Council of Brabant, securing a strong position within the Brussels printing community for himself and his successors.⁹ Only Van Meerbeeck cannot be traced back to either of the two dynasties.

Unlike Velpius, the workshops of the college’s new printers were not located in the upper part of the city, near the court, but in the more popular neighbourhoods surrounding the Grote Markt. After Jan I Mommaert’s death, his widow Martine van Straelen (c. 1565–c. 1660) and their son Jan II continued the workshop ‘In the Print Shop’, located in the Stoofstraat behind the city hall. Pepermans’s office ‘In the Golden Bible’ was located in the same area, and Lucas van Meerbeeck ran his print shop ‘In Saint Anne’s’ in the Putterie. Between 1647 and 1650, Guiliam Scheybels’s (active 1641–1668) workshop ‘At the Rose’ received a good deal of Jesuit commissions too. This was rather an unusual choice, because his shop was located even further away from the college, on the other side of the Grote Markt on the Anderlechtsesteenweg.

⁵ Claessens, “Les Velpius et les Anthoine-Velpius,” 340–341.

⁶ Adam, “Printing,” 78–81; Adam, “The Printing Industry,” 27–30.

⁷ Adam, “Printing,” 80–81.

⁸ Adam, “The Printing Industry,” 27–30.

⁹ Claessens, “Les Mommaert et les Fricx,” 206–208.

Proximity seems to have been an important consideration in the relationship between printers and the college, but in itself was not enough to secure a commission from the Jesuits. For instance, Franciscus Vivien's (?–c. 1670) 'In the Good Shepherd' was located behind the city hall, but does not appear in our list of editions. Even Jan vanden Horick (active 1645–1654), who proudly stated in his imprints that his shop 'In the Golden Compass' could be found 'opposite the Jesuit church', and Petrus Cocus (active 1654–1659), who used the same address for his office 'In Saint Francis Xavier's', are notably absent. Although the Jesuits did not use every nearby printer in the 1640s and 1650s, they clearly preferred particular publishers that worked in the vicinity, almost never availing of the services of those located on the other side of town. For example, the Jesuits did not use Govaerdt Schoevaerdt's (active 1624–1663) workshop on the Kaasmarkt.

A new phase in the relationship between the Jesuit college and the local printing community began towards the end of the 1650s. Instead of relying on a specific printer or dynasty, the college collaborated with various publishers only once or twice, continuously switching between workshops. As Renaud Adam has pointed out, printing and selling books in the capital of the Spanish Netherlands became a crowded and competitive business in the second half of the seventeenth century, to the extent that the town created a separate guild for printers in 1662.¹⁰ During this period, the Foppens printing dynasty appeared on the Brussels scene. Franciscus I (?–1684) and his son Franciscus II (?–1730) ran the printing office 'In the Holy Spirit' in the Gasthuisstraat, using the college as a landmark in their imprints as they situated their shop 'near the Jesuit college'. Nevertheless, the Jesuits worked with Franciscus I only once, in 1656, and with Franciscus II only once too, in 1694. The bookseller Guillaume Hacquebaud (active 1651–1661), located 'opposite the gate of the Jesuit college', similarly managed to acquire only one commission, in 1661. Other printers did not succeed in retaining the college's continued loyalty as a client either, each receiving only one or two commissions.

As more printers settled in Brussels during this time, the larger number of options may have increased the importance of convenience in the Jesuits' choice, in addition to other factors such as timing, price, quality, and reputation. As a result, printers who were further away from the Zavel no longer seemed to receive any commissions from the college. For instance, the Jesuits did not avail of the services of Jan de Grieck (active 1670–1699), who worked on the other side of the city from the Graanmarkt, or printers such as Gilles t'Serstevens (1630–1694), who worked near the Mint.

Only towards the end of the century did two printers manage to form a more lasting relationship with the college. Pieter de Cleyn (active 1666–1688) and later his widow, who had their printing house 'opposite the Jesuit college', appear seven times between 1667 and 1691. Later, between 1695 and 1698, Martinus II van Bossuyt (active 1669–1699) printed four editions in his workshop in the Vercierstraat. It is remarkable that the Jesuit college did not choose the more prestigious printing house of Eugenius Henricus Fricx (1644–1730), with whom they collaborated only once, in 1670. His printing office was roughly the same distance from the college as van Bossuyt's, albeit in a different part of the city. Fricx continued the business of his uncle Jan II Mommaert from 1669 onwards, and received the privilege to print government publications in 1689 after the last member of the Velpius family had died. As he was henceforth at the service of the court, he moved his print shop 'In the Print Shop' from the Stoofstraat to the Magdalenastraat,

¹⁰ For example, see: Adam & Meunier, "Une enquête de police," 53–64.

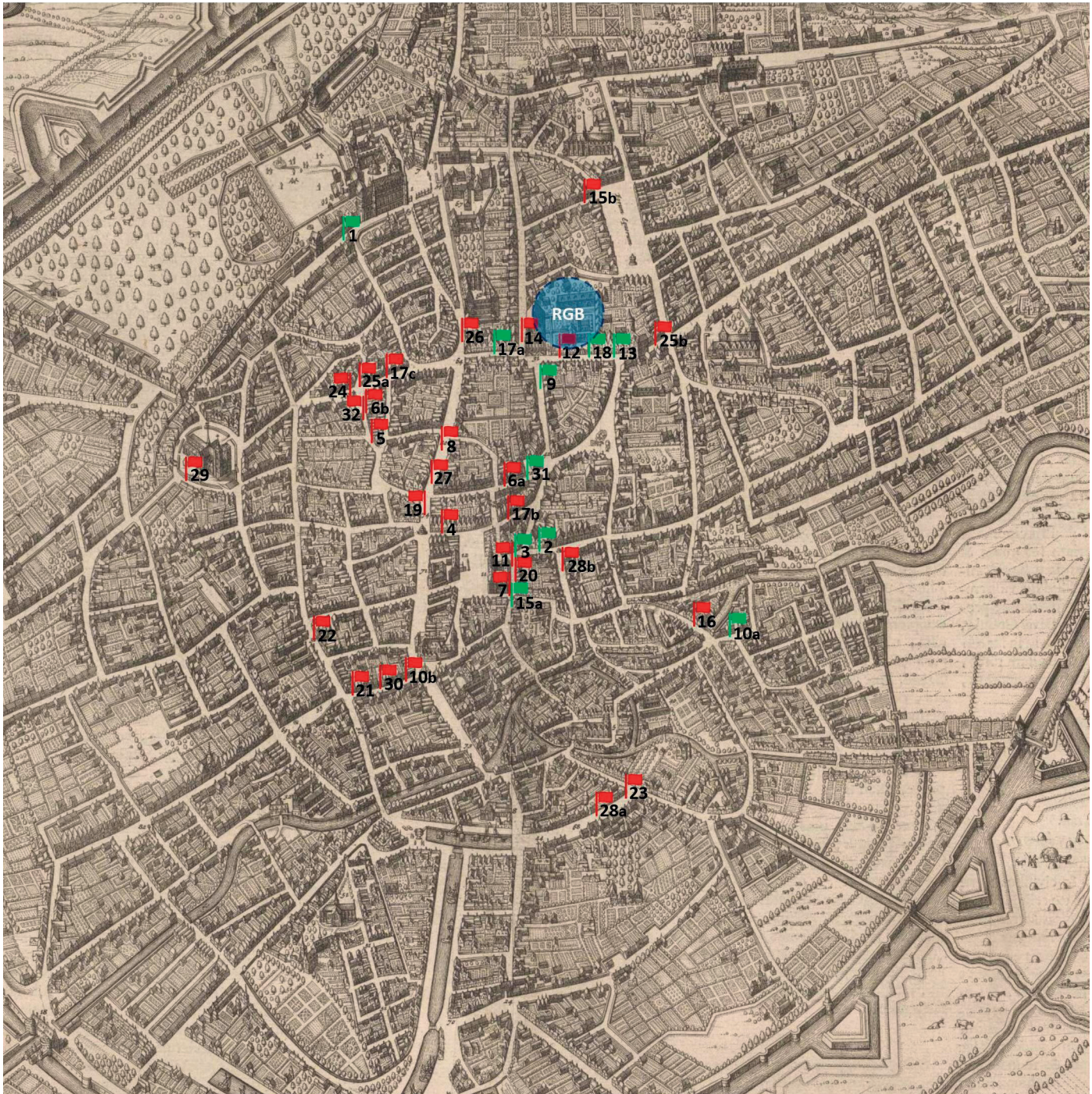


Figure 1: *Johannes Willemszoon Blaeu, Novum ac magnum theatrum urbium Belgicae, vol. 2* (Amsterdam: Johannes Willemszoon Blaeu, 1649) Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, nr. RP-P-AO-17-68-2, Map of Brussels (detail), etching and engraving, 46.7×57.7 cm (<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.691115>).¹¹

¹¹ For the legend to this detail of the map of Brussels, see appendix 2.

closer to the court and to the Jesuit college. Still, he does not appear ever to have worked for the Jesuits.¹²

Could the dispute between the Jansenists and their opponents have caused the Jesuits to steer clear of certain printers? As Brussels became a refuge for exiled French Jansenists in the 1670s, notably Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) and his entourage connected to the Abbey of Port-Royal, this feud intensified with a fierce polemic. The Jesuit order openly adopted a radically anti-Jansenist profile, and Jansenism operated as an underground movement due to persecution. As a result, Jansenist publications were clandestine (with false imprints) and are therefore hard to trace back to a certain publisher. However, as Marie Kervyn's research has shown, these printers were known in their lifetime as printers for the Jansenist cause.¹³ The printing houses of Eugenius Henricus Fricx, Franciscus II Foppens, and Lambert II Marchant (active 1670–1704) became the go-to Jansenist printers.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the Jesuit college in Brussels rarely, if ever, used these.

PRINTING FOR THE COLLEGE AND THE SOCIETY

By commissioning and distributing books, the Jesuit college of Brussels presented itself as a local institution and community integrated into the social structure of urban life, as well as representatives of an international religious order. The college mainly ordered books for theatrical performances, urban processions, devotional or polemical poetry, and tributes to religious and worldly leaders. By publishing the text or programme of the occasion, the ephemeral event was transformed into a thing of more lasting memory. These copies were not only functional tools or practical guides to be read during the performance, they also served as memorabilia afterwards, functioning as representations of the community's social and cultural position in society.

As a religious order committed to teaching, the Jesuits reserved a special role for school plays in their educational system.¹⁵ From a pedagogical viewpoint, drama performances stimulated group dynamics among students and encouraged the cultivation of language skills and rhetoric ability in Dutch, French, or Latin.¹⁶ According to the order's rules, the librarian of each college of the Society had to file the plays after their performance. In this way, an archive was formed that could inspire playwrights in the future.¹⁷ These kinds of plays presented virtuous examples of (Catholic) figures from the past to a wider audience. Naturally, the heroes of the Society of Jesus were to the fore, especially Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and Francis Xavier (1506–1552). Mythical martyrs of the early church were also given a place on the stage, such as Gallicanus (?–363) in *Sainct Gallican comico-tragedie* (1630), as well as protagonists of the militant church resisting the rise of the Islam, for example the crusader Godfrey of Bouillon (1060–1100) in *Godefroy de Buillon [...] conquerant de la terre sainte, et de Hierusalem* (1648).

¹² Claessens, "Les Mommaert et les Fricx," 216–218; Sorgeloos, "Travaux et clients de Guillaume Fricx," 141–142.

¹³ Kervyn, *Jansénistes et anti-jansénistes à Bruxelles*, 61–62.

¹⁴ Solère, "Fricx et les éditions jansénistes," 54–59; Kervyn, *Jansénistes et anti-jansénistes à Bruxelles*, 50–53.

¹⁵ For an extensive book historical analysis on school plays in the Jesuit colleges of the *Provincia Flandro-Belgica*, see: Proot, *Het schooltoneel van de jezuiteten*.

¹⁶ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 221–225.

¹⁷ Op de Beeck, "De bibliotheek van het Brusselse jezuitencollege," 49–51.

To proclaim the Catholic faith, Jesuits also stepped outside their college walls into the urban scene. During the Counter-Reformation a renewed Catholicism was introduced to combat Protestant thought. The Brussels Jesuits were active participants in the politics of confessionalisation. In 1611, for instance, they published a 300-page book called *Posthumum Calvini stigma*, containing a collection of poems written by the college's students, in which the showcasing of literary skills, Catholic zeal and demonisation of Protestants went hand in hand with the taunting and jeering of the 'arch-enemy' John Calvin (1509–1564). A booklet such as *Den H. Xaverius patroon tegen de peste* (1668) stimulated the veneration of Catholic saints, and at the same time provided an opportunity for the Society to emphasise the miraculous life of one of their famous members.

In addition, the Jesuits used pomp and circumstance to promote Catholic piety and fidelity among the urban population. A tragicomedy about Our Lady of Peace was performed by the students of the college in September 1626 for the inauguration of Maria Pacis, a sculpture mounted onto the façade of the Broodhuis on the Grote Markt. The veneration of the Sacrament of Miracle was another devotional practice connected to the city of Brussels, one which had already been given a boost by the printed work of Étienne Ydens (?–1615).¹⁸ On 20 July 1670, the Jesuit college took part in the city's large-scale celebrations to mark the 300th anniversary of this miracle. A programme was printed for the occasion, which contained the Latin inscriptions made by the students on the triumphal arches and placards decorating the streets.

Attracting high-ranking people was beneficial to the prestige and reputation of the college. In 1611, for instance, the prizes for the best students were distributed by none other than the nobleman and knight of the Golden Fleece Charles III de Croÿ (1560–1612). The booklet *Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Carolo de Croy* with poems dedicated to the duke commemorated the occasion. As the seventeenth century progressed, the Jesuits in Brussels could rely on a growing network of former pupils across all secular and spiritual levels of government, because the vast majority of its students came from wealthy and noble families in the capital. After their studies, they usually ended up in public administration, in legal practice or working for the Catholic church.¹⁹ Furthermore, generous benefactors who had donated part of their fortunes to the college, such as Marie-Marguerite Schetz de Grobbendonk (1566–1642) in 1640, received the necessary honours in printed form as well.

Compared to their colleagues in Antwerp, Gent or Leuven, the Brussels Jesuit college was closest to the highest authority of the Spanish Netherlands. Tributes to the Spanish king or his representatives, such as Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662) and John Joseph of Austria (1629–1679), or to high dignitaries within the church, such as bishops and abbots, were not uncommon. For example, the college celebrated the consecrations of François Villain de Gand (1588–1666) as bishop of Tournai in 1647 and of Philips Erard van der Noot (1638–1730) as bishop of Gent in 1694. The same goes for the twentieth anniversary of Françoise de Bette (1593–1666) in 1659 as abbess of Forest, a Benedictine abbey located on the southern outskirts of Brussels in the valley of the river Senne.

¹⁸ Adam, "L'Histoire du Saint sacrement," 416–431.

¹⁹ Bruneel, "*De viris illustribus*," 238–239 and 241–246.

CONCLUSION

The *Regium Gymnasium Bruxellense* recognised the opportunities presented by the printing press and its publications were geared towards education, the propagation of the Catholic faith and the celebration of local and Habsburg dignitaries. Books printed for the Jesuits mainly fell into the category of occasional writings for temporary events, like school plays, urban celebrations or tributes to important figures. As an institution, the college regularly supplied printing jobs and established close relationships with the local printing community. The data on imprints collected in the STCV database clearly shows that most printing offices that served the college were located in its vicinity. Hence, proximity played an important role in the choice of a particular printer in a competitive market, but it was not the only factor. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits initially preferred the printing house of Velpius-Anthoon, but gradually they broadened their choice to printing houses predominantly allied to the Mommaert dynasty. Subsequently, after 1660, the college opted to take advantage of the increasing number of printers who were setting up shop in the capital and largely avoided those with Jansenist sympathies. In sum, long-term analysis of the close connections between institutions and their local printing communities shows how commercial relationships evolved and how clients supported either a particular printing house or encouraged competition between workshops.

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Appendix 1: List of editions published for the Jesuit college in Brussels (1601–1700)²⁰

<i>Title</i>	<i>Printer</i>	<i>Date of publication</i>
<i>Tragicomedie intitulee Jacob, ou Antidolatrie [...] Ce qui se representera par la Ievnesse du college de la société de Iesus le 14 jour de septembre 1609, pour la dedicace de la premiere chapelle dudit college à Bruxelles</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert	1609
<i>Mera deliratio iesvitalis. Eene H. tragi-comoedie ge-intituleert Den salighen Ignatius de Loyola, oft anti-Luther [...] Vertoont in ’t collegie der jesuyten door de scholieren desselven tot Bruessel [...] op den 2 den ende 3 den augustus 1610</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert	1610
<i>Clarissimis amplissimisq. dominis Dn. Petro Peckio [...] Gvilielmo de Steenhvys [...] Folcardo van Achelen [...] Collegij Societatis Iesv Bruxellensis iuuentus studiosa L. M. in debite obseruantia argumentum hæc D. C. Q</i>	Mommaert, Jan I	1611
<i>Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Carolo de Croy [...] magnificentissima in studiorum innouatione iuuenibus præmia distribuenti, hocce debite clientelæ & honoris symbolum L.M.D.C.Q. [...] 3. octobris anno 1611</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert & Huybrecht I Anthoon	1611
<i>Posthumum Calvinii stigma in tria lilia, sive tres libros dispertitum</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert & Huybrecht I Anthoon	1611
<i>Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Hispaniarum regis ad sermos. nostros principes legato</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert	1612
<i>Albert, cardinal et euesque de Liege [...] l’an 1612, en novembre, il est elevé de terre à Rheims par l’instance et conduite de nos serenissimes princes Albert et Isabelle, placé au monastere [...] des dames religieuses carmelines en Bruxelles</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert & Huybrecht I Anthoon	1613

²⁰ Compiled with data derived from Flanders Heritage Libraries, “STCV: The Flemish Bibliography of the Hand Press Book”; and De Backer & De Backer, *Bibliothèque*, 12 vols.


<i>Representation des poincts principaux de la vie de saint Guillaume, duc d'Aquitaine [...] dédiée a leurs excellences monseigneur Philippe Guillaume, prince d'Orange [...] par les escoliers du college de la Société de Iesus à Bruxelles le 5. de feburier 1614</i>	Velpius, Rutgeert & Huybrecht I Anthoon	1614
<i>Iason dialogismus leoninus illustrissimis excellentissimisq. principibus Philippo duci Arschotano [...] a collegio societatis Iesu Bruxellae</i>	–	1618
<i>Novæ triadi avrei velleris. Lusus poeticus allusus [...] principibus</i>	Anthoon, Huybrecht I	1618
<i>Vellus avreum comedia dedicata illustrissimis excellentissimisq. principibus. Philippo duci Arschotano [...] a collegio societatis Iesu</i>	Anthoon, Huybrecht I	1618
<i>Funerailles du serenissime prince archiduc Albert representees par les escoliers du college de la compagnie de Iesus</i>	Pepermans, Jan I	1622
<i>En quoy gist la vraye foelicité. Tragicomedie</i>	Anthoon, Huybrecht I	1624
<i>Tragi-comédie Nostre Dame de la paix, à l'honneur de l'image de Nostre Dame de la paix placée devant la maison ordinairement appelée Broot-huys: par son altesse serenissime Isabella Clara Eugenia [...] représentée par les escoliers du college de la compagnie de Jesus, à Brusseles [...] septembre 1626</i>	Pepermans, Jan I	1626
<i>Tragi-comedie, onse lieve vrouwe van peys. Tot vereeringhe van het beeldt Maria pacis, ghestelt voor het Broodt-huys door haere doorluchtichste hoocheydt Isabella Clara Eugenia [...] verthoont binnen Brussel, den 22 september 1626. Door de studenten der societeyt Iesu</i>	Pepermans, Jan I	1626
<i>Le culte du vray Dieu, qv'on appelle Latrîe, triomphe sur l'idolatrie, par l'incarnation du fils de Dieu. On le representera par les escoliers de la compagnie de Iesus à Bruxelles [...] ianvier, 1630</i>	Pepermans, Jan I	1630
<i>Saint Gallican comico-tragedie: sera représentée par les escoliers de la compagnie de Iesu, à Bruxelles, le xvie septembre 1630</i>	Pepermans, Jan I	1630
<i>Romanus Diogenes Constantinopolitanus imperator in scenam dabitur a studiosa iuventute collegij societatis Iesu die xiiii. septembris</i>	Velpius, Catharina	1633
<i>Septenarius Bruxellae in septimontio Romano illustratus et patriae suae dum ab humanioribus litteris ad altiora studia transit</i>	Meerbeek, van, Lucas	1637
<i>Tragoedia Ioannis Momioiae dynasta in scenam dabitur ab humanitatis studiosis in collegio societatis Iesu Bruxellis XXVIII. martij, anno M.DC.XL.</i>	–	1638
<i>Aen-sprake aen [...] iongh-vrouwe Maria-Margareta de Grobbendoncq [...] in het besluuten van 't jubilé der societeyt Jesu [...] haer verklaerde fondateresse van 't collegie der societeyt Iesu binnen Brussel</i>	–	1640
<i>Falco iuvenis Constantinopolitanus sive pietas in angelum custodem exhibebitur a syntaxianis gymnasii societatis Iesu Bruxellis mense aprili die 30. anno 1641</i>	–	1640
<i>Action theatrale des deux contraires estandarts: a sçavoir de Iesus Christ et de Lucifer ou st. Ignace de Loyola [...] la ieunesse du college de Bruxelles de la mesme compagnie ioüera publiquement cete action pour honorer la célébrité de l'an centenaire</i>	Meerbeek, van, Lucas	1640
<i>Avaritia punita: seu Mavritius, orientis imperator; tragoedia, in scenam dabitur ab eloquentiae studiosis gymnasii Bruxellensis societatis Iesu. Anno M.DC.XI. mensis decembris, die 13</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1640
<i>Argumentum salutationis gratulatoriae dicatae [...] Francisco de Mello [...]; Cum solenni pietate religioni vacasset in templo collegii societatis Iesu Bruxellis, à juventute gymnasii Brux.ejusd. soc. anno 1642. febr. 10.</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1642
<i>Integerrimae religionis viro illustrissimi stemmatis heroi reverendissimae dignitatis praesuli Francisco, ex comitibus Iseghemiis Ganda-Villanis [...] post nobile obsequium in aula serenissimorum archiducum Belgii principum et praesidium</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1647
<i>Gedeon représenté à l'honneur [...] de S.A.S. l'archiduc Leopold de Guillaume exprimé dans le blason de ses armes, par la ieunesse du college de la compagnie de Iesus. A Bruxelles, le XVIII fevrier M.DC.XLVIII</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1648
<i>Serenissimo Leopoldo Gulielmo Austriae archiduci [...] annum festum celebranti collegium Bruxellense societatis Iesu. Anno M.DC.XL.XVII. kal. decemb.</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1648
<i>Serenissimo Leopoldo Wilhelmo [...] vota kal. ianvarii M.DC.XLVIII</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1648

<i>Godefridus Bullionius Lotharingiae dux, terrae sanctae assertor, Hierosolymae expugnator et rex, exhibitus a litterarum alumnis gymnasii societatis Iesu Bruxellis 17. septembris, anno 1648</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1648
<i>Godefroy de Buillon, duc de Lorraine, conquerant de la terre sainte, et de Hierusalem, dont il fut esleu et couronné roy. Representé par les escoliers du college de la compagnie de Iesu. A Bruxelles le 17. septembre, de l'an 1648</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1648
<i>Nobilissimis amplissimis dominis amptmanno, consuli, urbisque Bruxellensis senatoribus, annua praemia iuventuti gymnasii soc. Iesu Bruxellae erogantibus XIV. sept. M.DC.XLIX</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1649
<i>Ioseph Aegypti prorex a fratribus agnitus symbolis illustrissimis ordinis equitum avrei velleris [...] dabitur à gratulabunda iuventute gymnasii societatis Iesu Bruxellis die (5) decembris 1650</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1650
<i>Aequitas via ad principatum in Lesco Cazimiri principis Poloniae filio iniquitas iter ad interitum in Romano Russorum duce exhibebitur a [...] collegij societatis Iesu, Bruxellis [...] augusti 1651</i>	Anthoon Velpius, Huybrecht II	1651
<i>Sanctus Hermenigildus Hispaniae princeps, catholicae fidei adversus arianos propugnator [...] ludis [...] in scenam datus 1652</i>	Anthoon Velpius, Huybrecht II	1652
<i>Illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Francisco Joanni de Robles, e comitibus d'Annapes [...] nunc demum in Iprensis ecclesiae meritissimum praesulem solemniter consecrato [...] V. idus octobris M.DC.LIV. devotissimum gymnasium Bruxellense societatis Jesu</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1654
<i>Perillustri viro domino Augustino Navarro [...] debita cum veneratione exigua haec maioris obsequii vota suspendit gymnasium Bruxellense societatis Iesu. M.DC.LV</i>	–	1655
<i>Ad festos ignes qui ob auspiciatissimam electionem S.D.N. Alexandri VII. pont. opt. max. Romae factum VII. aprilis M.DC.LV. Bruxellae structi fuerunt; flammula a collegio societatis Iesu ibidem addita III. die maii M.DC.LV</i>	Scheybels, Guiliam	1655
<i>Serenissimo principi Ioanni Austriaco [...] gubernatori et capitaneo generali Belgii et Bvrgvndiae [...] Bruxellam publica ordinum omnium gratulatione et plausu ingredienti [...] II. may M.DC.LVI.</i>	Foppens, Franciscus I	1656
<i>Serenissimo principi Ioanni Austriaco Valencenarum vindici inter ignes triumphales [...] applaudit collegium soc. Jesu Bruxellis 23. iulii M.DC.LVI</i>	Foppens, Franciscus I	1656
<i>Lof ende eere aen de [...] maghet Maria [...] onder wiens standaert de sodaliteyt oft vergaderinghe der gehouude mans, op-gherecht tot Brussel in 't jaer 1607. by de paters der societeyt Jesu [...] jubileert binnen Brussel in 't iaer 1657, den 30. september</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1657
<i>Christo Deo haec sua de miraculoso sacramento singulari Bruxellensium praesidio religionis suae tessaram dd. cc. rhetores gym. societatis Jesu. Bruxellis, 1658</i>	–	1658
<i>Perillustri ac admodum reverendae dominae d. Franciscae de Bette, in nobili d. virg. monasterio Foresti abbatissae [...] feliciter quinquaginta annorum spatio, jubileum venerabundè gratulatur Bruxell. gymnasium societatis Jesu.</i>	Mommaert, Jan II	1659
<i>Ingratitudo mortalium beneficiis Dei injurias reponentium. Exhibebitur a supremae classis grammaticae studiosis in gymnasio collegii societatis Iesu Bruxellae 8. aprilis 1661</i>	Hacquebaud, Guillaume	1661
<i>Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles [...] exhibebitur in Amano et Mardochaeo a suprema classe grammaticae collegij societatis Iesu Bruxellis mense aprili die 29. 1664</i>	Vleugaert, Philips	1664
<i>Peccatricis animae in Deum relindae et elenahan Asiae regum, perfidia in scenam dabitur, actoribus studiosis humanitatis gymnasii societatis Jesu, Bruxellis 18. martii 1667</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter	1667
<i>Den H. Xaverius patroon tegen de peste</i>	Dobbeleer, de, Peeter	1668
<i>Argument ou entiere explication de la procession generale et du triomphe, orné et accompagné par la jeunesse de la compagnie de Jesus dans laquelle on portera le saint sacrement de miracles a Bruxelles le 20 de juillet [...] jubilé de trois cents ans</i>	Fricx, Eugenius Henricus II	1670
<i>Kort begryp ende verklaringhe van de generale processie ende triomphe verciert door de jonckheyt der scholen vande societeyt Jesu, in de welcke sal om-ghedraeghen worden het H. sacrament van mirakel: binnen Brussel op den 20 julii [...] dryhondert-jaerigh jubilé</i>	Fricx, Eugenius Henricus II	1670

<i>Illustrissimo ac reverendissimo domino d. Humberto Guilielmo a Praecipiano [...] Bruxellis inaugurato gratulatur et applaudit gymnasium Bruxellense societatis Jesu, M.DC.LXXXIII</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter	1683
<i>De gehoorsaemheydt van het kindt Jesus, tot synen hemelschen vader ende syne ouders [...] verthoont [...] door de minder-jarighe ionghelincskens van de kleyne sodaliteyt [...] by de paters der societeyt Jesu. Tot Brussel, op den (24) van september 1687</i>	–	1687
<i>Triumphus quadrisaecularis post victoriam Woringanam reportatam a Joanne [...] trigesimo-primo Brabantiae duce [...] a studiosa juventute gymnasij societatis Jesu, encaenialibus diebus, M.DC.LXXXVIII</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter	1688
<i>Vier-hondert-jarighen zeghenprael naer den gheluckighen slaghe van Woeringhen door Joannes, [...] hertogh van Brabant [...] den 30. mey in't jaer ons Heeren M.CC.LXXXVIII [...] wordt verthoont [...] den XXX. mey op den kermis-verjaerdagh M.DC.LXXXVIII</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter	1688
<i>Le triomphe de quatre cens ans, ou la victoire de Woering remportée par Jean XXXI [...] représenté par la jeunesse de la compagnie de Jesus</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter	1688
<i>Balthassar rex impius exhibebitur a studiosa juventute gymnasii societatis Jesu</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter	-
<i>Machabaei tragoedia, in scenam dabitur a studiosa juventute regii gymnasii Brux: societatis Jesu, die 10. septembris M.DC.XCI</i>	Cleyn, de, Pieter (widow)	1691
<i>Joseph Aegyptii prorex a fratribus agnitus. In scenam dabitur [...] a studiosa juventute regii gymnasii Brux: societatis Jesu, die 9 septembris MDC.XCII</i>	–	1692
<i>Agar tragoedia in scenam dabitur [...] a studiosa juventute regii gymnasii Brux. societatis Jesu, die 9 septembris 1693</i>	–	1693
<i>Illustrissimo ac reverendissimo domino, domino Philippo Erardo vander Noot, Gandavensium episcopo decimo tertio [...] Bruxellis inaugurato applaudebat regium gymnasium societatis Jesu Bruxellis 1694</i>	Foppens, Franciscus II	1694
<i>Hippodromia qua S.P.Q.B. et regium gymnasium societatis Jesu Bruxellis serenissimorum principum Maximiliani Emmanuëlis, utriusque Bavariae et Palatinatus [...] publica [...] gratulatione prosequuntur</i>	Bossuyt, van, Martinus II	1695
<i>L'autel de Marie mere de misericorde dans l'église de la compagnie de Jesus à Bruxelles</i>	–	1698
<i>Ludi solennes ob instauratam feliciter pacem, redditamque publicam laetitiam [...] per studiosam iuventutem gymnasij societatis Iesv, die 21. julii 1698</i>	Bossuyt, van, Martinus II	1698
<i>Cavalcade des écoliers du college de la compagnie de Jesus aux jeux publics [...] en vëue de la paix heureusement rétablie. Le 21 juillet 1698</i>	Bossuyt, van, Martinus II	1698
<i>Cavalcade ende triumph-waghens de welcke door de jonckheydt der scholen van de paters der societeyt Jesu in de stadt van Brussel sullen vertoont worden den 21. julij 1698</i>	Bossuyt, van, Martinus II	1698

Appendix 2: Legend to Map of Brussels (detail)

Location of the Jesuit college in Brussels:

 : *Regium Gymnasium Bruxellense* (RGB)

(Approximate) location of Brussels' printing houses:



: Printing house associated with RGB



: Printing house not associated with RGB

This list of printer's addresses was compiled from data available in *STCV. The Flemish Bibliography of the Hand Press Book* at the time of writing. The list contains printers active in Brussels for one year or longer. Years of activity at a specific address are added between brackets after their names.

1. 'In the Golden Eagle' near the court/palace
Rutgeert Velpius (p/a:1585–1615), Huybrecht I Anthoon (p/a:1615–1630), Catharina Velpius (p/a:1630–1635), Huybrecht II Anthoon Velpius (p/a: 1635–1670), Marcel Anthoon Velpius (p/a:1671–1677), and Jan Theodore Anthoon Velpius (p/a:1677–1689)
2. 'In the Print Shop' behind the city hall
Jan I Mommaert (p/a:1585–1631), Martine van Straelen (p/a:1631–1635), Jan I Mommaert (p/a:1636–1669), Gaspar Mommaert (p/a:1669), and Eugenius Henricus II Fricx (p/a:1670–1689)
3. 'In the Golden Bible' behind the city hall
Jan I Pepermans (p/a:1620–1635)
4. 'In the Three Nymphs' in the Heuvelstraat
Ferdinand de Hoeymaker (p/a:1619–1624)
5. 'In Saint Anne's' in the Putterie
Jan van Meerbeeck (p/a:1624–1632)
- 6a. 'In the Writing Book' in the Vercierstraat at the cheese market
Govaerdt Schoevaerds (p/a:1624–1659)
- 6b. 'In the Writing Book' at the timber market
Govaerdt Schoevaerds (p/a:1662–1663)
7. 'In the Good Shepherd' behind the city hall
Franciscus Vivien (p/a:1628–1663) and Balthazar Vivien (p/a:1661–1668)
8. 'In Saint Peter's' in the Steenweg opposite the Magdalene church
Martinus I van Bossuyt (p/a:1637–1678) and Martinus II van Bossuyt (p/a:1669–1678)
9. 'In the Holy Spirit' in the Gasthuisstraat near the Jesuits
Franciscus I Foppens (p/a:1637–1686) and Franciscus II Foppens (p/a:1689–1731)
- 10a. 'At the Rose' in the Anderlechtsesteenweg
Guillaum Scheybels (p/a:1641–1650)
- 10b. 'In Saint John-the-Baptist's' in the Korte Ridderstraat
Guillaum Scheybels (p/a:1651–1675) and Guillaum Scheybels's widow (p/a:1682–1689)
11. 'In Red Cloisters' behind the city hall
Lambert de Grieck (p/a:1643–1644)
12. 'In the Golden Compass' at the Steenpoort near the Jesuits
Jan vanden Horick (p/a:1645–1654)
13. Opposite the Jesuit college
Guillaume Hacquebaud (p/a:1651–1658) and Guillaume Hacquebaud's widow (p/a:1665)
14. 'In Saint Francis Xavier's' near the Jesuit church/college
Petrus Cocus (p/a:1654–1659)

- 15a. 'In the Custodian Angel' behind the city hall near the blue fountain
Philips Vleugaert (p/a:1657–1676)
- 15b. 'In the Custodian Angel' in the Sint-Annastraat
Claudine Gielis (p/a:1677–1693)
16. 'In the Printing Press' in the Anderlechtsesteenweg near the Baardbrug
Gielis I Stryckwant (p/a:1657–1685)
- 17a. 'In the Pelican' in the Keizerstraat
Peeter de Dobbeleer (p/a:1662–1668)
- 17b. 'In the Pelican' in the Hoedenmakersstraat
Peeter de Dobbeleer (p/a:1668–1678)
- 17c. 'In the Pelican' at the timber market
Peeter de Dobbeleer (p/a:1681–1704)
18. Opposite the Jesuit college
Pieter de Cleyn (p/a:1666–1688)
19. 'In the Good Shepherd' at the grass market
Lambert II Marchant (p/a:1670–1704)
20. 'In Saint Augustin's' behind the city hall
Jacob I van de Velde (p/a:1669–1688)
21. 'In the New Print Shop' in the Korte Ridderstraat near the Mint
Peeter van de Velde (p/a:1676–1691) and Peeter van de Velde's widow (p/a:1694–1710)
22. 'In the Golden Bible' opposite the Dominicans
Gilles t'Serstevens (p/a:1672–1694), Joanna Hueninckx (p/a:c.1695), and Franciscus I t'Serstevens (p/a:1697–1712)
23. In the Vinketstraat, at the grain market next to the malthouse
Jan de Grieck (p/a:1672–1700)
24. At the timber market opposite the Kantersteen
Peeter Vleugaert (p/a:1675–1694) and Peeter Vleugaert's widow (p/a:1698)
- 25a. 'In Saint Jerome's' at the timber market
Judocus de Grieck (p/a:1679–1681)
- 25b. 'In Saint Hubert's' near the Steenpoort
Judocus de Grieck (p/a:1686–1710)
26. In the Hofstraat near the Kantersteen
Jean I Leonard (p/a:1685–1691) and Jean II Leonard (p/a:1696–1731)
27. In the Magdalenstraat
Eugenius Henricus II Fricx (p/a:1689–1732)
- 28a. 'In the Print Shop' at the grain market
Judocus I Stryckwant (p/a:1691)
- 28b. 'In the Print Shop' in the Vollestraat behind the city hall
Judocus I Stryckwant (p/a:1692–1697)
29. 'In the Three Moors' in the Berghstraat near the Princes de Berghes' *hôtel*
Georgius de Backer (p/a:1694–1720)
30. 'In Saint John the Baptist's' in the Korte Ridderstraat
Zacharias Bettens (p/a:1691–1721)
31. In the Vercierstraat
Martinus I van Bossuyt (p/a:1696–1699)
32. At the timber market
Jan Baptist de Leeneer (p/a:1698–1718)

Plants from the Philippines: The Origins of the Illustrated Manuscript of Georg Joseph Kamel, S.J. (1661–1706)

Sebastian KROUPA

Catalogued under the shelf mark PM0038/V is a volume with one of the most curious histories in the Maurits Sabbe Library.¹ The manuscript contains 261 folios of drawings of plants and animals from the Philippine Islands, which were produced around the year 1700 by the Bohemian Jesuit pharmacist stationed in Manila, Georg Joseph Kamel.² Three of the illustrations – folios 83r, 175r, and 185r – are original images that Kamel charted in his humble workshop on thin and fragile Chinese rice paper. The remaining drawings are lower-quality reproductions with occasional spelling mistakes, drawn in Europe. Apart from images of animals depicted on the last three folios, the focus of the volume is clearly on flora. The specimens of Philippine plants are ordered alphabetically in an index pasted in at the front, in which Kamel's Latin names blend with terms in Filipino Indigenous languages and those derived from Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, Nahuatl, Mayan, and Indian tongues. As such, we may see the volume as a microcosm of the increasingly globalised early modern world. Yet despite the proliferation of commercial, migratory, and imperial channels that reopened lost connections, intensified existing relations, and created new links around the world, materials from the Philippines remained incredibly rare in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. So how did Kamel's images, produced in Manila, end up in Leuven, and why?

To answer this question, we need to start with Kamel and his journey to the Philippines. Kamel was born in 1661 in Brno in the present-day Czech Republic, which was then part of the Habsburg Monarchy. In its Catholic realms, education was monopolised by the Society of Jesus, and Kamel's parents, the cloth-shearer Andres and his wife Rosina, therefore sent their son to the local Jesuit college. Although Kamel did not manage to finish his secondary education, he showed talent for crafts, so the Jesuits offered him training in pharmacy.³ Aged twenty-one, Kamel joined the Jesuits as a lay brother: a special rank of non-clerical members who took religious vows but were not bound for the priesthood and could therefore devote themselves to worldly activities. Four years later, having only just finished his apprenticeship in pharmacy, Kamel was selected by his superiors for the Jesuit overseas missions: a great honour. His new home was to be the distant Philippine archipelago, then a colony under the Spanish flag. Due to their rigorous training,

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¹ Kamel, *Herbarum* ([1700]).

² For Kamel, see Kroupa, "Ex Epistulis Philippinensibus," 229-259; Kroupa, *Georg Joseph Kamel*. I am currently working on a monograph based on my PhD dissertation.

³ For Jesuit apothecaries, see especially Boumediene, "Jesuit Recipes," 227-254.

apothecaries from the German-speaking lands boasted an excellent reputation in early modern Europe. They began to be recruited for overseas missions in increasing numbers after the Spanish Empire opened its colonial possessions to missionaries from other Habsburg dominions in 1664. To reach the Philippines, Kamel set out on a lengthy journey of more than a year, during which he crossed the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, Mexican hinterlands, and the Pacific. Upon his arrival, Kamel took charge of the Jesuit pharmacy in Manila, which he turned into an important hub of colonial medicine.

Due to his access to Philippine nature, Kamel emerged as a major agent in worldwide networks of knowledge exchange which extended from Mexico City to Manila to London. As part of his medical duties, Kamel devoted himself to the study of local and especially medicinal plants, specimens of which he began to collect and document to use in his practice. As Kamel himself acknowledged on numerous occasions, he gained much of his information and specimens from the Indigenous Filipinos.⁴ Kamel's accounts are brimming with details about Filipino customs, from useful plants and vernacular names to healing practices and mythology. Due to his growing reputation, by the late 1690s Kamel entered into correspondence with two Fellows of the Royal Society in London: the pharmacist James Petiver (1665–1718) and one of the most prominent naturalists of his time, John Ray (1627–1705). In the late seventeenth century, Philippine natural riches were largely unknown to European scholars, who valued Kamel's rare communications highly. From what Kamel compiled, at least 3,000 descriptions, 1,000 images, and 300 specimens of Philippine nature survive to this day and are held predominantly in London, in the British Library, the British Museum, and the Natural History Museum.

This immense oeuvre, of which the manuscript in Leuven is part, makes the Philippines one of the best-documented places in early modern science. Based on these materials, Petiver and Ray published more than 15 treatises of Philippine nature in London on Kamel's behalf. These publications predominantly contained textual descriptions without Kamel's beautifully crafted drawings. Publishing images was a costly endeavour in early modernity, especially due to the price of engraved copperplates.⁵ Just as so many other scholarly projects, the fate of Kamel's life's work was at the mercy of funders. Despite their best efforts, Ray and Petiver failed to raise the money required to print the drawings. In their absence, Kamel's textual descriptions lacked any point of visual reference that would enable his readers to visualise Philippine plants. Where Ray, who was most qualified to judge, saw a man who 'deserves to be by all means obliged [...] for advancement of natural knowledge', other scholars could find hardly any use for them.⁶ Visual elements were essential to the practices of early modern natural history and, without them, Kamel's work was doomed to fall into oblivion.

The lack of wider availability of Kamel's rare drawings explains why the Leuven volume was produced and why it is so valuable. Besides Ray and Petiver, one of the few eighteenth-century scholars who made extensive use of Kamel's work was perhaps the most illustrious previous owner of the Leuven manuscript, the prominent French botanist Antoine Laurent de Jussieu (1748–1836). In his monumental work *Genera plantarum*, De Jussieu acknowledged drawing on 'Kamel's

⁴ Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo* (1708), 113.

⁵ For early modern visual cultures of natural history, see for example Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature*; Margócsy, *Commercial Visions*; Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*.

⁶ *Letters to Sir Hans Sloane*, BL, Sloane Ms. 4063, f. 227r: John Ray to James Petiver, Black Notley, 22 December 1703.

images, not engraved in copper'.⁷ Altogether, De Jussieu referenced Kamel's work on six occasions and cited the corresponding folio in the Leuven volume in all but one.⁸ Access to the images proved to be the crucial condition for taking full advantage of Kamel's work on Philippine nature. After Antoine Laurent's death, the manuscript passed over to his son, another major botanist, Adrien-Henri (1797–1853), before it was purchased by the Belgian Count Alfred de Limminghe (1834–1861) at the 1858 auction of the De Jussieu family estate in Paris.⁹ Only three years later, De Limminghe died suddenly, and his father, Eugène-François (1797–1870), donated the volume to Father Auguste Bellynck (1814–1877), a Belgian Jesuit priest and botanist who had taught Alfred during his studies in Namur.¹⁰ Alfred de Limminghe's inscription on the volume's title page attests to the veracity of the images contained inside the manuscript and reveals that De Jussieu 'regarded it as one of the most valuable pieces in his collection'.¹¹ It is not entirely clear how the manuscript went from Namur to Leuven, but by 1869 it was in possession of the library of the local Jesuit college.¹²

The library of the *Institut de France* in Paris holds two manuscripts which form a set of three with the Leuven volume and offer further insights into the complex histories of Kamel's images. The first, MS 967, includes 100 folios filled with some 300 original drawings in Kamel's hand, while the complementary MS 966 contains copies of them. Three of the originals copied in MS 966 are missing from MS 967, which, coincidentally, are the three originals present in the Leuven volume. The two Paris manuscripts once belonged to the library of Benjamin Delessert (1773–1847), an affluent French banker and naturalist, who bequeathed his vast collection to the *Institut*. In his youth, Delessert studied with Antoine Laurent de Jussieu, which could explain the connection with the Leuven volume.¹³ Given Delessert's wealth, it is not impossible that he purchased the rare manuscripts directly from De Jussieu, or perhaps they were part of the payment or collateral for a loan that the banker Delessert provided to his friend.

The relationship between De Jussieu and Delessert might shed light on how the three manuscripts were split up, yet the origins of the three volumes still remain unclear. The paper sheets used in MS 966 and the Leuven manuscript suggest that the copies may be dated to mid-eighteenth-century France. Watermarks in the two volumes show designs of several paper-making families that were active in the Auvergne region in the first half of the eighteenth century, in addition to other motifs associated with the province of Auvergne which supplied Paris with paper until the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁴ Two series of watermarks in MS 966 even give the years in which the paper sheets were produced: 1742 and 1749. This evidence raises the possibility that the copies came into existence in connection with one of Antoine Laurent de Jussieu's uncles, either Antoine (1686–1758) or Bernard (1699–1777). Although both brothers were exchanging letters with Fellows of the Royal Society in London, including Petiver, the correspondence consulted does not

⁷ De Jussieu, *Genera plantarum* (1789), 4.

⁸ De Jussieu, *Genera plantarum* (1789), 103, 325–326, 331, 352, 451.

⁹ Decaisne, *Catalogue* (1857), no. 3888.

¹⁰ Bogaert-Damin & Piron, eds., *Livres de fleurs*, 10. A large portion of de Limminghe's library is still housed at the University of Namur.

¹¹ Kamel, *Herbarum* ([1700]), 1r.

¹² De Backer & De Backer, *Bibliothèque*, Vol. 1: A–G, 1022.

¹³ For Delessert, see for example Spary, *Feeding France*, 302–308.

¹⁴ Reynard, "Les mécanismes sociaux," 23–48; Bustarret, "Usages," 37–65.

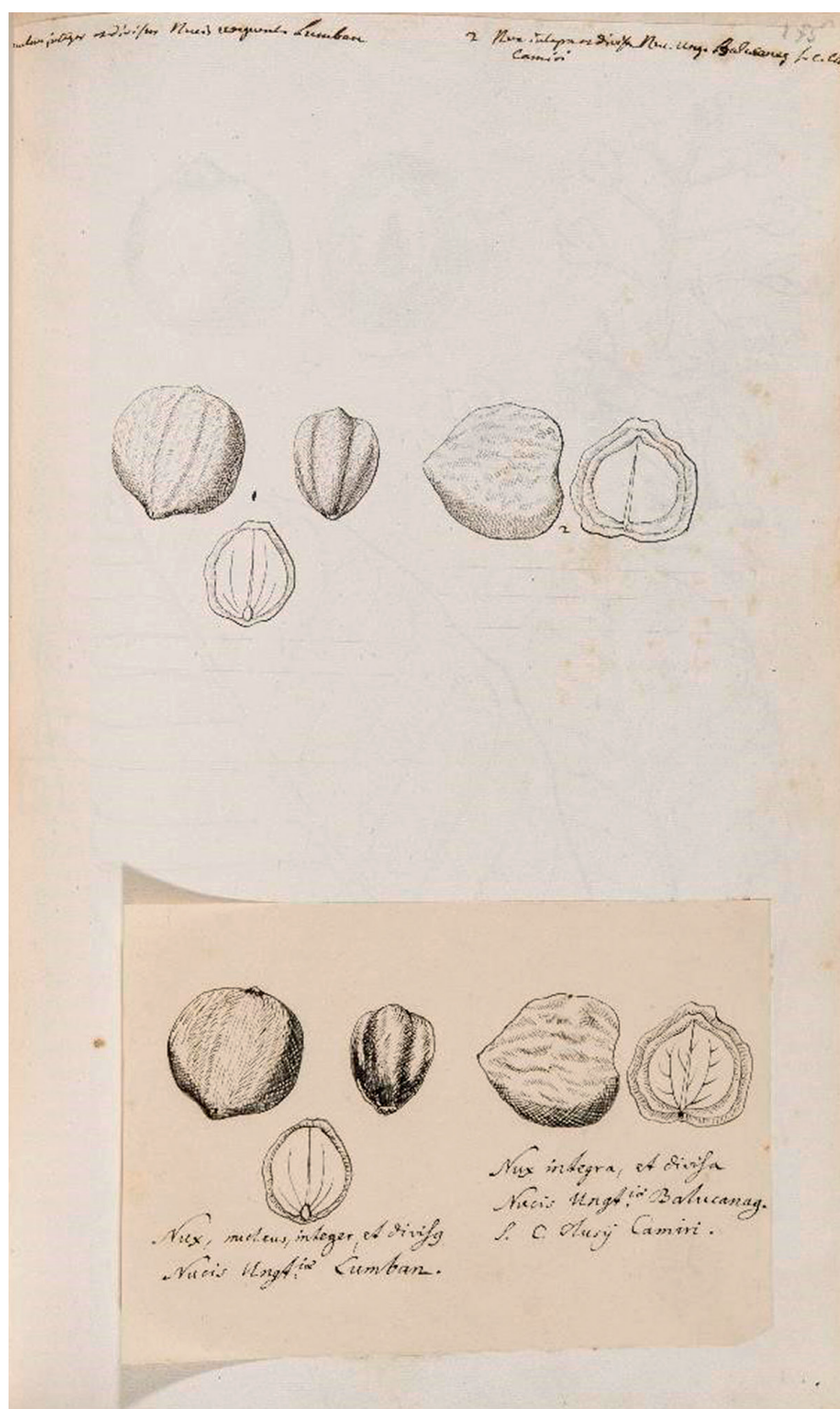


Figure 1: Kamel, Herbarum ([1700]) MSB, PM0038/V, f. 175r, Kamel's original drawing of two kinds of *nux unguentaria* (oily nut) and their copies. Kamel wrote that the nut called Balucanag in Indigenous Filipino languages (right) had an unpleasant taste and provoked intoxication and diarrhoea if consumed in large quantities. However, Indigenous communities made the nuts edible by roasting them. Oil from the Balucanag nut was employed in medicine and shipbuilding: the crushed nuts alone cured skin ulcers, whereas if mixed with resin and quicklime they could be used to repair holes in ships. The Lumban nut (left) was also edible if roasted and its oil was used by local painters.¹⁵

¹⁵ Kamel, "Historia stirpium" (1704), 61.1, 62.2.

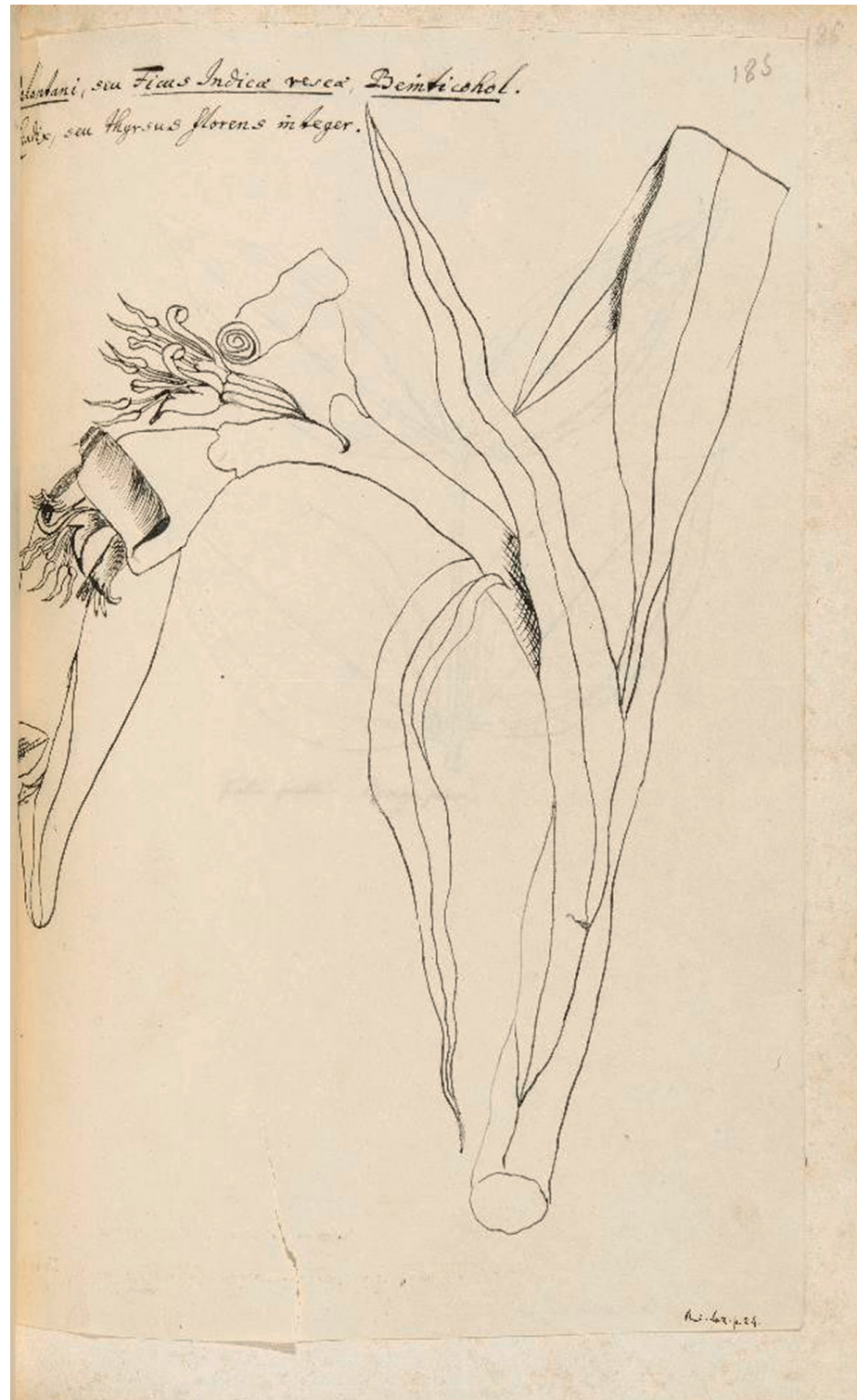


Figure 2: Kamel, Herbarum ([1700]) MSB, PM0038/V, f. 185r, Kamel's original drawing of a species of banana called Beinticohol in Indigenous Filipino languages. During his studies, Kamel identified more than twenty kinds of different bananas and plantains found in the Philippines.¹⁶ Kamel usually drew his images to size and ad vivum, or 'from life'.¹⁷

¹⁶ Kamel, "Historia stirpium" (1704), 61.1, 62.2, 24-25.

¹⁷ For *ad vivum*, see for example Kusakawa, "Conrad Gessner on an 'ad vivum' Image," 330-356.

seem to mention Kamel's images or any loans of materials. Another possible route that may have taken Kamel's images to France was through the French Jesuits in China. Both Antoine and Bernard were educated at the Jesuit college in Lyon and maintained relations with French Jesuits sent to China who were interested in botany, including Pierre Nicolas Le Chéron d'Incarville (1706–1757).¹⁸ Several of Kamel's original images feature in a manuscript collection of Chinese Jesuitica held in the Vatican Library, which suggests that Kamel's materials were finding their way to Europe through the Chinese missions, which were well connected with Manila.¹⁹ In addition to providing insights into the cosmopolitan worlds of early modern Manila and eighteenth-century practices of natural history, the volume held in the Maurits Sabbe Library therefore stands witness to the complex channels that tied Leuven to European scholarly hubs and Jesuit global missions.

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¹⁸ For example, Bernard, *Un correspondant*.

¹⁹ *Barberini oriental 151*, Vatican Apostolic Library.

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