

Spanish Jesuits and their British and Irish books: St. Ignatius College, Valladolid*

Rebeca MARTÍN-MOZO
Universidad de Valladolid, Spain

ABSTRACT: This article studies a group of books by early modern British and Irish authors in the library of the Jesuit school of St. Ignatius (Colegio de San Ignacio) in Valladolid, Spain. Despite the initial suspicions of heterodoxy these books raised, most titles studied — even those banned by Catholic authorities — fit within the model suggested by the *Ratio studiorum* and would have been considered beneficial for the humanities-based educational program of a Jesuit college or the Society of Jesus's missionary work. The content of some of these books also hints at a possible interest in the British Isles at St. Ignatius.

KEYWORDS: Early modern books, Jesuit libraries, early modern libraries, Anglo-Spanish relations, Society of Jesus.

Los Jesuitas españoles y sus libros británicos e irlandeses: El Colegio de San Ignacio, Valladolid

RESUMEN: Este artículo estudia un grupo de libros escritos por autores británicos e irlandeses renacentistas en la biblioteca del Colegio Jesuita de San Ignacio en Valladolid (España). A pesar de las sospechas iniciales de heterodoxia con las que estos libros podían encontrarse, la mayoría de obras (incluso aquellas prohibidas por las autoridades católicas) se acomodan a las sugerencias que establece la *Ratio studiorum* y se habrían considerado beneficiosas para el programa educativo basado en las humanidades de un colegio Jesuita o la misión de la Sociedad. El contenido de algunos de estos libros también insinúa un posible interés hacia las Islas Británicas en San Ignacio.

Os jesuítas espanhóis e os seus livros britânicos e irlandeses: Colegio de San Ignacio, Valladolid†

RESUMO: Este artigo estuda um conjunto de livros de autores britânicos e irlandeses da proto-modernidade na biblioteca do colégio jesuíta de Santo Inácio (Colegio de San Ignacio) em Valladolid, Espanha. Apesar das suspeitas de heterodoxia inicialmente levantadas por estes livros, a maioria dos títulos estudados — mesmo os que foram proibidos pelas autoridades católicas — enquadra-se no modelo sugerido pelo *Ratio studiorum* e estes teriam sido considerados benéficos para o programa educativo baseado nas humanidades típico de um colégio jesuíta ou para o trabalho missionário da Companhia de Jesus. O conteúdo de alguns destes livros também indicia um possível interesse pelas Ilhas Británicas no Colégio de Santo Inácio.

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PALABRAS CLAVE: Libros renacentistas, bibliotecas Jesuitas, bibliotecas renacentistas, relaciones anglo-hispanas, Sociedad de Jesús.

PALABRAS-CHAVE: Livros da proto-modernidade, bibliotecas jesuítas, bibliotecas da proto-modernidade, relações anglo-espanholas, Companhia de Jesus.

1. Introduction

Libraries are considered places where knowledge is accumulated, whether for individual use or to make it available to society. This is not a new concept: from the collection of the Assyrian ruler Ashurbanipal and the well-known library of Alexandria, all the way to the Middle Ages when abbeys and convents linked them to educational purposes as well, books have been gathered as repositories of learning (van Miert 2016, 218). During the early modern period, the growth of universities and cities led to the foundation of university and public libraries. The content of these libraries could differ largely depending on the institution's purpose, the book donations they received, their economic situation, or their possible benefactors. The same conditions also applied to religious institutions. In the case of Jesuit colleges' libraries, where funds for the library were to come from was established in the foundational documents of each one (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 317). Most of this budget was used in the acquisition of books, although a library's collection could also be expanded through the direct donation of books and in some cases through the creation of in-house printing presses (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 317; 331). Many books in a Jesuit library were acquired for teaching and adhered therefore to the *Ratio studiorum*, the curriculum established by the Company of Jesus, although non-*Ratio-studiorum*-related books were hardly scarce in Jesuit libraries. This article will study a singular group of books in the library of St. Ignatius Jesuit College (Colegio de San Ignacio) in Valladolid, Spain: books by early modern authors from the British Isles. During this period, foreign authors, and especially those from non-Catholic countries, were seen with distrust — if not suspicion — in Spain, and even more so if they wrote about religious controversy and heterodoxy (Sáez-Hidalgo 2018; 2021, 156). Therefore, the presence of their works on the shelves of a religious institution deserves attention and a detailed analysis that will show how national identities did not always hinder the dissemination of books and their usage in Spanish Jesuit colleges.¹

¹ Many studies have been done on the presence of books by authors from the British Isles in colleges

Although the books analyzed in this article used to belong to the collection of the library of St. Ignatius, they are currently part of the collection of the Library of Santa Cruz, the University of Valladolid's Historical Library.² This collection comprises volumes from different sources. Initially, most books were donated and bought by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–1495), the founder of the College of Santa Cruz — the origin of the current institution.³ However, nowadays many of the volumes come from the 1767 dissolution of Jesuit colleges (Galindo Azkunaga 2017, 22). The books confiscated from these colleges were first sent to the College of Santa Cruz and, after the suppression of all colleges in 1807, the whole collection went to the University of Valladolid. In the first years of the twentieth century, the Monument Committee of the Province of Valladolid's Council responsible for the library at the time decided to entrust the University of Valladolid with the conservation of the books by merging the university library holdings with Santa Cruz's (Alcocer Martínez and Velázquez de Figueroa 1918, 270; Galindo Azkunaga 2017, 24–25). As a result of all these fluctuations, the current collection of the Historical Library of Santa Cruz includes on its shelves a notable number of books coming from St. Ignatius.

2. St. Ignatius College and jesuit education

St. Ignatius was one of the three Jesuit colleges in Valladolid — the other two were St. Ambrose's and the English College of St. Alban's. Initially founded in 1545 as the Professed House of Anthony of Padua, St. Ignatius faced numerous legal and economic issues that forced its formal transformation into a college in 1626 (Arranz Roa 2003, 135–38).⁴

for English, Scottish, and Irish exiles (see Courtney 1963; Revilla Rivas 2020; or Schrickx 1975). However, St. Ignatius was a local college that was not part of the English Mission. This meant that books authored by this type of writers would have been more strictly controlled.

² During most of the time this article was being written the Historical Library of Santa Cruz remained closed for renovations. This made complete access to the books in this corpus arduous at first. I would like to express my eternal gratitude to the Historical Library's staff who digitized part of many of these books for my analysis.

³ Until 1807, the College of Santa Cruz was an institution of its own, independent from the university. They were closely related, but the former was not entirely part of the latter. Once colleges were dismantled in Spain at the end of the eighteenth century, the former college building and its library's collection went to the University of Valladolid (Alcocer Martínez and Velázquez de Figueroa 1918, 270). Today, the college as an educational institution does not exist, but its building and the library it contains belong to the university.

⁴ Although professed houses and colleges performed the same ministries, the latter were mostly focused on education, while the former focused more on charity work (Arranz Roa 2003, 163). They mostly differ in terms of their financial management: a professed house was to be exclusively

The importance that education held for Jesuit colleges — and professed houses to some extent — made it necessary for Jesuits to be educated in rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and theology. Additionally, in Valladolid, Jesuits from St. Ignatius were allowed to preach sermons at the city’s cathedral as part of their apostolic mission. Further, alumni could be sent on international missions, although that does not mean that St. Ignatius was part of the English mission — that would be St. Alban’s. Hence such training was not part of its main activities — those being local charity and preaching. These sermons were delivered with a persuasive intent and integrated within a deliberate program of content that all orders needed to adhere to if they wanted to be allowed to preach in the cathedral (Burrieza Sánchez 2004, 800). To effectively deliver the intended message, Jesuit preachers at St. Ignatius needed to possess a comprehensive knowledge of the theme, as well as to dominate different rhetoric devices and to be able to improvise (800). All were skills and expertise that were extremely important on the Jesuit curriculum, as reflected by the *Ratio studiorum* (Grendler 2019, 21).

Nevertheless, St. Ignatius in particular did not prioritize education (Arranz Roa 2003, 163). Due to its prior nature as a professed house, there was a tendency to continue their mission as such, putting more emphasis on activities such as confession, preaching, eucharistic celebrations, and visits to hospitals and prisons. It had a school for orphaned children and an upper school for theological studies, but it was open to the public (Arranz Roa 2003, 161; 163), not reserved for “priesthood students and ordained clergymen,” as was the custom (Grendler 2019, 23). Therefore, St. Ignatius was a college mostly in form, adhering to a broad definition of the Jesuit *Collegium* (Arranz Roa 2003, 163). Still, the schools in it needed to adhere to the *Ratio studiorum*.

Since the aim of Jesuit schools was to “educate [lay boys and youths] to become able, eloquent, and virtuous leaders of civil society who would act for the common good” (Grendler 2019, 19), a thorough education based on the humanities was of great importance. The reasons behind this relevance were the “many advantages for practical living” that humanities offered and their contribution “to the right government of public affairs and the proper making of laws,” the “splendor of public affairs and the proper making of laws,” and their support of religion and guidance “to our proper end with God” (Grendler 2019, 20). Such a centrality of the humanities was not intrinsic to the Society of Jesus

funded through charity (2003, 130), whereas colleges received regular endowments from civil governments or private benefactors (Grendler 2019, 13).

though. In 1584, the Society was not as keen on teaching humanities and was more interested in theology. This trend led Fulvio Cardulo (1529–1591) to address “a fervent plea on the importance of a humanistic education for students who would be future leaders of society to a committee charged with preparing the *Ratio studiorum*” (Grendler 2019, 21). In his appeal, Cardulo highlighted the benefits that teaching humanities could have for the state and society and made suggestions on how to tackle the task of this educational model, which led to the eventual elaboration of the *Ratio studiorum*, in which humanities were at the forefront. In fact, some Jesuits held fast to the conviction that a Jesuit humanities-based education benefited the students and supported the social order as they were concerned secular rulers were “destroying the Society” (Grendler 2019, 22). Eventually, at the end of the seventeenth century, a process of “baroquization” of the *Ratio studiorum* started in Spanish Jesuit colleges according to Miquel Batllori, by which learning materials became “hispanized,” with an increase in Spanish handbooks (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 325).

As a teaching manual, the *Ratio studiorum* recommended how the day should be spent at Jesuit schools or which works and authors should be used for learning. For instance, commentaries of Aristotle by Francisco de Toledo (1532–96) and Pedro da Fonseca (1528–99) were listed as logic handbooks (Grendler 2019, 23). However, the explicit prescription or imposition of certain works rarely occurred. The *Ratio studiorum* mostly made suggestions to educators as to how to approach a certain subject without actively imposing anything (i.e., non-Christian commentators of Aristotle could be used, but carefully). Despite the suggestions made by the *Constitutions*, the 1580 thirty-book list of “‘basic’ books for Jesuits,” and the more thorough list of books that could *not* be in a Jesuit library because of their heterodox content, the holdings were often discussed by the *Rules* of that particular college (Comerford 2015, 184; 2023, 128–31). In addition, each school and college had its own intricacies and inner workings, mostly covering up spaces left by the *Ratio studiorum* itself, but also depending on the schools’ own material circumstances. This gave librarians relative freedom as to what to include and accept in their libraries’ collection. So although the *Ratio studiorum* suggested the study of mathematics in upper schools, only those with a math teacher among their ranks were able to (Grendler 2019, 24). All these particularities had an impact on each school’s library, therefore shaping them as unique repositories of knowledge with traces of their own intellectual, financial, cultural, political, and religious circumstances.

3. British and Irish books at St. Ignatius⁵

The book collection at St. Ignatius had some idiosyncrasies as well, its collection of British and Irish authors being one of them and is of particular interest for the study of Anglo-Spanish cultural relations. For the purpose of this article, the books have been selected on the basis of: (1) having belonged to St. Ignatius; (2) being written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and (3) being authored by British or Irish writers.⁶ As such, out of the few thousand books that matched the first two criteria, only twenty-three⁷ met all of them (see appendix for the full list). Meager though it may appear, this group of books reveals these Jesuits' interest in certain topics in which British and Irish authors were particularly well-versed, some of them within the *Ratio studiorum*, but not all of them. For my analysis, the British and Irish books at St. Ignatius have been grouped together thematically. Unsurprisingly for a religious house, little over half of the corpus (thirteen books) consists of religious titles, while only four are history books, three more about controversy, and three literary works. All these categories, the books' authors, and other details will be discussed in relation to the *Ratio studiorum* and the Jesuit order. This article will start answering how these British and Irish books could be part of an early modern Spanish Jesuit library at a time when almost everything related to the British Isles — especially England — was regarded with distrust.

⁵ This article analyzes books by English, Scottish, and Irish authors. Although they can be considered separately (for instance Seget's oeuvre can be analyzed from a Scottish nationalist point of view), for the purposes of this article they are all lumped together because due to England's ongoing colonization endeavors authors from these countries were perceived as one and the same — part of the English empire — even when the books themselves specified the origin of the author, as is the case with Paul Sherlock.

⁶ Interest in these materials started with a research on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English books of controversy at the Library of Santa Cruz, done for a scholarship funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education in 2018–19. See Martín-Mozo.

⁷ Although not a selection criterion, all twenty-three books were written in Latin. As the language of knowledge, this, along with the "Latinization" of the authors' names, might have made it easier for them to arrive in Spain. The books' language differentiates Spanish Jesuit libraries from those in colleges for exiles from the British Isles, where it was common for students to bring books from their homeland with them. These colleges would also have in their libraries heterodox books to study the heresy they would fight when they were sent back home (Comerford 2022, 16–17; 23). Ana Sáez-Hidalgo (2024) has also studied the books at the English College of St. Alban's in Valladolid and found a significant number of them were in English and by authors from the British Isles. For the rest of libraries in Spain, however, any book written in English was automatically banned without consideration of whether it was orthodox or not.

4. Religious books

Since theology was central to the studies that St. Ignatius' upper school offered, it is no surprise that more than half of the British and Irish books fit in this category, from Bible commentaries to the history of the Church, some of them even discussing the Protestant-Catholic controversy. Two of these titles are the most famous works of Jesuit theologian Anthony Bonville (*alias* Terill) (1623–76), *Fundamentum totius theologiae morales, seu, Tractatus de conscientia probabili* (1669) and the posthumous *Regula morum, sive, Tractatus bipartitus de sufficienti ad conscientiam rite formandam regula* (1677), both of which established his

reputation as one of the most systematical expounders of the seventeenth-century moral-theological doctrine of probabilism, whose central tenet was that when faced with a choice between two courses of action, neither of which has been explicitly condemned by the church, it is permissible to choose one course of action even though it is probable that the other course of action is morally safer. (Blom and Blom 2004)

The third theological work is *Responsio ad expostulationes recentium theologorum* (1644) by St. Ignatius' alumnus Paul Sherlock (1595–1646). In it, Sherlock defends the *scientia media* doctrine by Luis de Molina (1535–1600), an attempt “to reconcile divine foreknowledge with human free will” (Murphy 2004) which was proscribed at Rome by Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) and heavily criticized by the Dominicans. Perhaps suspecting the risks of discussing Molinist theories, Sherlock published it under the pseudonym Paul Leonardi (after Sherlock's mother). Still, nothing in the book indicates that it was received with suspicion of heterodoxy, as it bears no traces of criticism or censorship. In any case, the edition of the work clearly distanced itself by avoiding any reference to his membership to the Society of Jesus, unlike the other three titles by Sherlock in St. Ignatius' library, which have Jesuit anagrams on their title pages.

In addition to theological treatises, Bible commentaries by British and Irish authors are also present among the works at St. Ignatius College. Two of them are titles by the aforementioned Paul Sherlock (now stating he was a Jesuit): the already mentioned *Anteloquia cogitationum in Salomonis Cantorum Canticum* (1640) in two volumes and *Cogitationes in Salomonis Cantorum Canticum* (1640). Both titles com-

ment on the biblical Song of Songs, allegedly written by Solomon. The topic is also reflected on their elaborate title pages' allegorical motifs related to the Song, such as the personifications of the Christ-groom and Church-bride, along with representations of Solomon (groom) and the Shulamite (wife) at the top of the page (Gregory 2021). The other biblical commentary is also a Solomonic book: *In Proverbia Salomonis* (1555), by Ralph Baynes (1504–59), and comments on the Book of Proverbs.

All three books by Sherlock appear to have been in Valladolid not long after their publication. Their provenance marks suggest that the college library was quite up to date with the latest publications, at least those by their students and fellow Jesuits. For instance, Baynes's *In Proverbia Salomonis*, as per its title page annotations, was already in "Cabezón [de Pisuerga]" in 1578 (twenty-three years after its publication), apparently having belonged to "p. Fuensalida," and it was already part of the St. Ignatius' library when it was still a professed house, that is prior to 1626, as the ex-libris attests. Sherlock's works also bear a manuscript note, "p. Escobar," (f.[ather] Escobar) on the back of their cover or on the flyleaf, probably as a mark of ownership. This father Escobar was probably Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza (1589–1669), author of the popular *Examen de Confesores* (1628) and innumerable plays, who had been part of St. Ignatius at the end of his life and that was where he died in 1669 (Arranz Roa 2003, 152). Considering Escobar's affiliation with the college, it is highly possible that he left his book collection to its library in his will. Sherlock's books — published in 1640 — would have been within St. Ignatius' library walls a few decades after its publication. This would be a relatively early date, considering that it was printed outside of the Iberian Peninsula and importing it would have been expensive and arduous, especially after the 1555 restrictions on foreign books (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 354; Peña Díaz 2015, 42). In addition, Jesuit libraries required the rector or Provincial to manage imports. These Bible commentaries appear to have arrived at St. Ignatius' library only a few decades after their publication.

Three other religious works formerly at St. Ignatius deal with religious life, two of which are specifically about the Franciscan order. The first title is *De proprietate et vestuario monachorum* (1582) by Richard Hall (c. 1537–1604). Hall details the proper behavior expected from those leading a religious life and lays out a defense of monastic custom (LaRocca 2004). The works about the Franciscan order are *Nitela franciscanae religionis* (1627) by Anthony Hickey (d. 1641) and *Annales Minorum* (1628) by Luke Wadding (1588–1657). Both authors were

Irish Franciscans. Wadding had an extensive career as a writer and as a member of the Curia, holding a number of offices throughout his life (Millett 2012). His *Annales Minorum* is an eight-volume history of the Franciscan order, intended to be the official historical account, and was published between 1625 and 1654. The copy at St. Ignatius is therefore incomplete, consisting only of the second volume. Hickey's work is an explicit defense of "the principles of the order of St. Francis" (McCormack 2009).

This volume does not have any provenance mark other than the St. Ignatius ex-libris annotation on its title page and a University of Valladolid library sticker, with no other traces that might help identify its original owner. The volume has few signs of wear, and the only hints of deterioration are the humidity and oxide stains on its paper. Its parchment cover is in fairly good condition and although the lettering on the spine is faded there are no signs of cracks due to frequent use. By contrast, Wadding's *Annales* does show evident signs of use, especially its table of contents at the end of the volume, where there are several stains and a broken page, which imply heavy use and possibly a lack of binding for some significant time. Unfortunately, there are no records for the moment when these volumes became part of St. Ignatius' library or about their possible use for educational or religious purposes. Still, as Federico Palomo has pointed out, "the Franciscans had a range of intellectual references and texts which, beyond the spiritual and theological texts linked to their own traditions and identity, was not very different from those of the Augustinians, Jesuits, Dominicans and Carmelites," (2016, 2) which suggests that the contents of these volumes might have been useful for a Jesuit readership.

Finally, the last three religious works are about various topics: a history of the church presented from a polemical perspective (*De visibili monarchia* [1592], by Nicholas Sander[s]⁸ [1530–81]), a biblical concordance (*Oeconomia concordantiarum scripturae sacrae* [1572] by George Bullock [1520/21–72]), and a book of sermons on religion, ethics, morals, and philosophy (*Sermones fideles* [1641] by Francis Bacon [1587–1657]). Bullock's *Oeconomia concordantiarum* is a two-volume book that represented the work of Bullock's lifetime where, as expressed in its dedication to Pope Gregory XIII (1470–1546), "he speaks of it as a project of many years' standing, and twice interrupted by exile" (Rex 2004). Sander's and Bacon's works will be examined in detail below, the former

⁸ Although both spellings can be found for this name, the most widely accepted today is Sander, which will be used throughout this article.

in the section on religious controversy and the latter in the section on censorship.

5. History books

History is one of the subjects on the curriculum at Jesuit schools according to Fulvio Cardulo's report (Grendler 2019, 21), and it was taught as part of the humanities class, especially ancient history (17). These history books by British and Irish authors and their presence in a Jesuit library are not surprising. One of them is a universal chronology of historical events by James Gordon (1541–1620), *Opus chronologicum: annorum seriem, regnorum mutationes, et rerum toto orbe gestarum* (1614), and the other is Paul Sherlock's *Antiquitatum hebraicarum dioptra*, a 1651 posthumous edition detailing the history of Ancient Israel. However, the most interesting volume is *De principatibus Italiae* (1631) by the Scotsman Thomas Seget (1569/70–1627). It is part of the 24mo *Republics* series printed by Abraham (1592–1652) and Bonaventura Elzevir (1610–62) that could be considered predecessors to modern travel guides inasmuch as the history, economy, geography, and population of a given country was presented to the reader (Lyons 2011, 80; Velema and Westseijn 2018, 12). One of its most striking features is its expurgation and its *caute lege* notes. These will be discussed below in the section on censorship.

Another volume whose presence at St. Ignatius was probably out of the ordinary is Thomas Dempster's (1579?–1625) edition of Rosinus's (c. 1550–1626) *Antiquitatum Romanorum corpus absolutissimum* (1645), considering both its prohibition by Rome in 1621 (Du Toit 2004) and Dempster's status as an *auctore damnatus* in Spain (Sotomayor 1667, 647; Martínez de Bujanda 2016, 480). This posthumous edition does not include the dedication to James VI and I of Scotland and England (1566–1625) that the first 1613 Paris edition did, which had granted the author access to the English court (Stenhouse 2004, 397). Actually, the author loses importance in the preliminaries, and a "Iacobus Dempsterus" (Dempster 1645, 4v) addresses the reader. This could be Thomas Dempster's eldest brother, James. This title was banned by Rome after accusations of possession of heretic books were thrown against Dempster, and he was also a condemned author in Spain. Despite this prohibition, his edition of Rosinus was commended by writers on Ancient Rome. The work's success may have been the reason behind

its re-edition by Jost Kalckhoven (d. 1669) for the Company of Jesus, as attested by the mention on the title page of the Society, both through the printed text “Studio And. Schotti. Soc. I.” and its vignette of an anagram of the Society. The fact that this re-print was specifically intended for the Society, the work’s popularity and praise, and the absence of the dedication to King James I, which is explicitly mentioned in Antonio Sotomayor’s 1640 Inquisition index of forbidden books, could have made it easier for this work to enter into Spanish libraries — Jesuit libraries included. Thus, a banned book that was useful for a humanistic — and hence Jesuitic — education could be added to the collection of a Jesuit College. This copy does not have any visible signs of frequent use on its binding — since it was recently rebound — but the text block is quite worn, full of humidity and some ink stains.

6. Literature books

The *Ratio studiorum* encouraged the study of humanities, but when it came to literature, there was a heavier focus on classical texts than contemporary literature. The recommendations by the 1599 *Ratio studiorum* when studying poetry were

Virgil, with the exceptions of some eclogues and the fourth book of the *Aeneid* [...], along with Horace’s selected odes. To these may be added elegies, epigrams, and other poems of recognized poets, provided they are purged of all immoral expressions (qtd. in Farrell 1970, 80).

However, the books at St. Ignatius include a number of non-classical works by British authors. One of them is *Poematum libri duo* (1615) by John Barclay (1582–1621), printed in London by Edward Griffin (d. 1621). The reason why the presence of this work is noteworthy is threefold: firstly, the work was contemporary British poetry — albeit in Latin —, not classical. Secondly, its printing location. Books printed in the British Isles were systematically regarded with suspicion of “heresy” (i.e., heterodoxy) in Spain, and the fact that Griffin’s printing press was moderately successful, especially under his son’s management (Plomer 2006, 86), and that his printing press is not listed among the clandestine Catholic presses by specialists (Allison and Rogers 1989; Southern 1950),⁹ leads one to hypothesize that he printed Protestant

⁹ Catholic presses were forbidden in England under Elizabeth I.

works. Thirdly, John Barclay, son of William Barclay (1546–1608), was a famous anti-Jesuit Catholic. In his successful *Euphormionis lusini Satyricon* (1605), for example, he satirizes the “Jesuit modes of education and recruitment” (Royan 2004). The *Satyricon* helped John Barclay progress in the Jacobite court, to the point of receiving a pension from King James and having him “ask the French king to suppress an attack made by Bellarmine on [William Barclay’s] *De potestate papae*” (Royan 2004). Consequently, although Barclay remained a Catholic — he left for the Vatican court so that his children could be Catholic in a non-hostile environment —, his relationship with the Society of Jesus was certainly antagonistic and notorious due to the popularity of the *Satyricon*. His *Sylvae* (1606), from among his verse writings, seemed to be better known than the *Poematum*, in which he wrote about matters concerned with the court of James I and VI, including some poems requesting gifts that he felt he was owed due to late payment of his pension (Fleming 1966, 231). These are all reasons why the presence of Barclay’s *Poematum* in St. Ignatius is remarkable. The dedication to Prince Charles of England — uncensored — does not help to understand how this book fits the profile of St. Ignatius’ collection, especially without any cautionary entries as to its content. The only clue to ownership is a mark on the back of its binding reading “P. Andres,” but research has proved fruitless so as to who he was or his connection to Barclay or England.

The other two British literary volumes on St. Ignatius’ shelves are plays by William Drury (bap. 1584–d. in or after 1643) and Emmanuel Lobb, known as Joseph Simons (1594–1671). Drury’s *Dramatica Poemata* (1641) and Simons’s *Zeno: Tragoedia* (1648) are Catholic plays which might be more expected in a Jesuit library than Barclay’s *Poematum*. More so in the case of Simons’s Jesuit tragedy *Zeno*. Theater was held in high esteem in Jesuit colleges as a means to further students’ education in Latin, their diction, and their grace, and to promote Catholic orthodoxy (Stevenson 2020, 181). Simons’s plays, as part of that didactic program, would be considered in line with the educational methods for St. Ignatius’ students. Drury’s case is somewhat different: the title page of the *Dramatica poemata* at St. Ignatius says that he was British without mentioning the Society or any other information that could have deactivated suspicions of heterodoxy in Spain. But Drury *was* a Catholic: he had received a Jesuit education at Saint Omers English College and the Venerable English College of Rome (Shell 2021, 120). At both colleges students could write allegorical plays to be performed in front of the rest of the college, parents, and patrons (McCabe 1937; Levy and Kay 1996;

Wetmore 2016). However, the three plays contained in the *Dramatica Poemata* (*Alfredus, sive Alfredus, Mors, and Reparatus sive Depositum*) were performed between 1618 and 1621 at the non-Jesuit English College in Douai (Shell 2021, 120): they were English Catholic college drama with English themes and not specifically written for Jesuits. In fact, Drury's views of the Jesuits were that they were "dim" (121), which is reflected both in his English and Latin plays (117). Still, Drury was one of the best-known Catholic college playwrights in the seventeenth century to the point that his work penetrated even Protestant and anti-Catholic circles and was reprinted several times (121). Because of their popularity throughout Europe without much consideration of faith, Drury's plays could have easily fit into the theater program at St. Ignatius. In fact, the book seems to have been read frequently, as shown by the cracks on its spine and some loosening pages. Therefore, the importance of theater for Jesuits was a factor in bringing these plays within St. Ignatius' walls. Though not classical literary texts, their didactic character made them a valuable tool for students.

7. Books of religious and political controversy

Four British and Irish works of controversy were already mentioned above: Sherlock's *Responsium ad expostulationes recentium*, Terill's *Fundamentum totius theologiae* and *Regula morum sive tractatus*, and Sander's *De visibili monarchia*. The first three deal with debates within Catholicism: Sherlock defending the Molinist doctrine and Terill condemning probabilism (Blom and Blom 2004; Murphy 2004). However, *De visibili monarchia* and two more works comment on controversies between Protestantism and foreign powers, especially England. *De visibili monarchia* defends the legitimacy and superiority of a papal monarchy over civil powers in opposition to the Protestant tenets against the papacy (Tutino 2007, 23), to which Sanders adds an English martyrology (Mayer 2004). Sander's defense of papal authority was based on the divine establishment of the pope's power, in his eyes comparable to monarchical power. His notions became so foundational for early modern Catholics that they were used by the English government as the basis for the infamous "bloody questions."¹⁰ With this work and his world famous *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani* (1585), Sander

¹⁰ The "bloody questions" had become a standard part of the interrogation of Catholics arrested in England since 1581. See McGrath (1991).

became an important Catholic polemicist. The latter surpassed the impact of *De visibili monarchia* and was translated to several languages, including Spanish: Pedro de Ribadeneira's popular *Historia eclesiástica del cisma del reino de Inglaterra* (1588, 1593), though presented as history, is a version of Sander's work that was widely used for anti-Protestant purposes. Both pieces by Sander were frequently found in early modern Spanish libraries.¹¹

The library also included the polemicist Robert Persons (1546–1610), with a copy of his *Elizabethae Angliae Regina* also known as *Philopater*, the pseudonym used by Persons for it (1593). First printed in 1592, in this treatise, Persons responds “satirically to the royal proclamation of October 1591 accusing Jesuits and seminarians of a treasonable alliance with Spain” (Houlston 2004). Persons crafted it as part of his efforts to promote the English Mission, especially in Spain, where the detailed descriptions of the persecution that Catholics suffered under Elizabeth's reign cemented the already present anti-Protestant views. The presence of Persons' work — especially the *Philopater* and other controversy books — in a Jesuit library is not at all surprising, especially considering the apostolic rather than educational focus that St. Ignatius had and the importance it gave to preaching locally. St. Ignatius College, even in its upper school, was not overly concerned with producing priests, favoring apostolic and charity work due to its previous incarnation as a professed house.

The final controversy is William Barclay's *De regno et regali* (1600). Father to the abovementioned John Barclay, William also entered a dispute with the Society of Jesus of France when he prevented his son from joining the order. This led to him leaving France in 1603 for a year, during which he was part of James I's court, although he later decided not to join permanently because he refused to convert to Anglicanism and in the end returned to France (Nicholls 2018, 409). Like his son's work, the presence of *De regno* poses some questions as to why a Jesuit college would be interested in it, and an examination of its content might offer an answer. In *De regno*, Barclay defends the monarch's power and its sacredness, a point that he underlined in *De Potestate Papae* (1609) as well, published posthumously by his son John to keep the favor of James I. William Barclay also establishes in *De regno* the term

¹¹ The Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (Catalog of Spanish Bibliographical Heritage, url: <http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCPB/cgi-ccpb/abnetopac>), although not yet an exhaustive catalog, records quite a high number of sixteenth-century copies of Sander's works in Spanish libraries.

“monarchomachs,” defining them as individuals who “aimed at the destruction of monarchies” (Nicholls 2018, 408), and heartily criticizes them. In his dedication to Henri IV of France, he praises the monarch for his “prudence in his management of the kingdom and especially for bringing civil wars to an end,” opposing the Catholic League — led by Spain — and its view of the French king (408). Barclay admired Henri despite French policies discouraging Catholicism in England — until the hesitant endorsement of the Appellants starting in 1601 — so as to not potentially benefit Spain (Bossy 1965, 80). However, this inaction also kept Jesuit institutions at bay, as Robert Persons’s exhortation to the king to not heed the Appellants in favor of a Jesuit-beneficial strategy testifies (91). Barclay would have perceived Henri IV’s approach as beneficial because of his hostility towards the Society. As a religious order that in Spain was closely aligned with Philip II and the crown, it makes sense that Spanish Jesuits would relate to Barclay’s royalist view. However, his polemics against the French Jesuits and closeness to James I makes Barclay’s inclusion in St. Ignatius’ library curious to say the least. Still, the copy bears clear signs of frequent use, such as the worn parchment binding and the many stains that the text block has, some of which resemble grease and others dark enough to look like burn marks from holding a flame too close to the paper. Questions about the status and use that this book had in the Jesuit college abound but a clear answer is elusive, since the copy shows no signs of expurgation nor is it on any inquisitorial index of banned books, unlike the later *De Potestate Papae*.

The analysis of the physical state of these British and Irish works on religious controversy demonstrates heavy use, showing that at St. Ignatius there was a clear interest in this topic as opposed to the books on theology and Catholic polemics, which are in a much better shape. As discussed before, interest in works like *De regno et regali* and *De visibili monarchia* might have stemmed from priests’ needing to be well informed on such matters, either for future missionary work or educational purposes, even though the latter was not as relevant for St. Ignatius as charity work.

8. The inquisition and censorship

Censorship in Spain was an addition to the Vatican indexes of forbidden books: books banned by the Roman authorities would normally also be

prohibited in Spain. However, the Spanish Inquisition also developed its own indexes with more titles — usually for slander of Spanish authorities or the kingdom (Peña Díaz 2015, 141–42). There were times in which the Roman and Spanish criteria aligned, but others when the Spanish Inquisition favored the Spanish monarchy over the “blatant Papism” of certain works, preferring to only censor “las posiciones antipontificias [...] cuando cayeron en lo irreverente y podían ocasionar problemas a la diplomacia [...] o mostraban un maquiavelismo demasiado evidente” [anti-pontifical positions [...] when they lapsed into disrespect and could cause diplomatic issues [...] or if their Machiavellianism became too evident]¹² (141). The authorities had several *modi operandi* for this purpose. Expunging as suppression was not standard in Spain until the sixteenth century, outright prohibition having been the preferred method (47–8). In the case of Jesuit libraries, there was an additional layer of censorship added to the Roman and Spanish indexes. Authors were also classified as “heinous,” “banned,” or “conflictive”; and the prohibition of works was qualified with “*ad casum*,” “*ad personam*,” or “*ad tempus*” (Bartolomé Martínez 1988, 359). In the case of St. Ignatius and its censored British and Irish books, they do not have any of these labels on them, although that does not necessarily mean that they were not under some sort of control.

As mentioned above, three of the books examined from St. Ignatius include expurgation marks. One is *Sermones Fideles* by Francis Bacon, the Latin translation of Bacon’s essays. Although there are no official notes on the book categorizing Bacon as an *auctor damnatus* (*opera omnia*) although the 1707 inquisitorial *Index* did (Martínez de Bujanda 2016, 313), the book does present signs of expunging. The censorship does not appear to be as thorough as with the *Republics* due in great part to the fact that the expunged material was still legible through the censorial ink. However, this could be caused by the oxidation and subsequent fading of the ink, not a lack of rigor during the expurgation process. Although a more in-depth analysis of the expunction of these books goes beyond the scope of this article, the presence of Bacon’s work in this library raises unanswered questions: he was an *auctore damnatus* and had been charged with writing a negative response to Person’s *Philopater* in 1592 defending English Catholics from Elizabeth’s persecution (Peltonen 2004), so he would not have been a very welcome author amongst Spanish Jesuits. His identity, however, was not concealed in

¹² Translation my own.

any way, since he is referred to as “Verulamio” on the book’s title page and as “Berulamio” on the spine. Bacon was known all over Europe as Francis, Lord Verulam, after he was appointed Baron Verulam of Verulam by the king in 1618 (Peltonen 2004), so there is no intention to conceal the author’s identity.

The two other expunged books are by condemned author Thomas Smith (1513–77) and Thomas Seget, who, unlike Smith, does not appear on any inquisitorial index. Still, the St. Ignatius copy of his *De Principatibus Italiae* (1631) includes a handwritten note warning the reader to read with caution (*caute lege*), a 1707 expurgation note — both notes on the verso of the title page —, and whole paragraphs and sections are marked in the margins with the cautionary notes “*caute lege*.” Smith’s *De Republica Anglorum* (1641) also includes these notes. The first handwritten note references alleged fragments of the books that slander Catholic princes, also mentioning Pope Clement VIII as the one who commanded these titles be expurgated, despite his papacy ending in 1605, before the publication of the series that these two titles belong to;¹³ that is, Elzevir’s *Republics*. What stands out about these books is not only their small format — 24mo — but the *caute lege* note and the 1707 expurgation note that they all have. Since the handwriting in the former is not the same as in the latter, and the fact that paragraphs marked as *caute lege* are now thoroughly crossed out, the most plausible hypothesis would be that the *caute lege* notes were added to all the books at the same time: all of their content is the same, including the mention of Pope Clement VIII. This addition would have taken place some time between 1660 — the last printing date on the books — and 1707 — the expunging date.¹⁴

Research on these Elzevirian Republics and the possible reason for their ban had been fruitless:¹⁵ the books, the authors, and the printing

¹³ The full content of the note, which for the sake of brevity will be referred to as “*caute lege* note,” is: “Sunt in his tomis phrases nonnullæ animi hæretici redolentes *caute legendæ*. Sunt non pauca verba acerba contra Principes, et personas Ecclesiasticas, et Provincias Catholicas, *caute legenda*, et iuxta instructionem Pontificiam Clementis VIII expungenda. Sunt non nullæ historiæ, aut narrationes falsæ in odium Catholicorum Principum, et Ecclesiasticorum, quæ propter integritatem historiæ cum prædicta cautione, et admonitione tolerantur.” [There are some phrases in these volumes redolent of a heretical spirit, to be read with caution. There are not a few bitter words against Princes, and Ecclesiastical persons, and Catholic Provinces, which must be carefully read, and deleted according to the instruction of Pope Clement VIII. There are false histories or narratives in hatred of the Catholic Princes and Churchmen, which for the sake of the integrity of history are tolerated with the aforesaid warning and admonition.] My translation.

¹⁴ These dates are approximate, because there are very few chances of the books arriving at St. Ignatius the very same year of 1660 and of being expunged the same year that the 1707 Inquisition Index was proclaimed and published.

¹⁵ During the revision of this article, I was able to present tentative results on the possible reason

press are not on Clement VIII's index — nor on any following Roman indexes or bulls from 1601 to 1667 — and, although some of the titles do appear individually in the Spanish Index after 1640 — Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (Martínez de Bujanda 2016, 1022) —, there are no references to Clement VIII mentioned.¹⁶ On the other hand, a survey of digital copies of the *Republics* series extant in other Spanish libraries revealed that volumes that are not from Jesuit colleges tend to not have the *caute lege* note or any signs of expunging. In contrast, those copies with *ex-libris* from other Spanish Jesuit colleges do. What can be attested within the scope of this article is that the copies of Seget's *De Principatibus Italiae* and Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* at St. Ignatius were not targeted by censors solely for being written by British authors. Instead, they are part of a larger collection of expunged books that once were on the shelves of the Jesuit library of St. Ignatius.

9. Conclusion

The twenty-three early modern titles by British and Irish authors that the library of St. Ignatius in Valladolid harbored show that despite possible suspicions of heterodoxy these sorts of books and their presence have proven to be not as unexpected as one might initially think in Spanish libraries. Most of these works' contents adhered to the suggestions stated in the 1599 *Ratio studiorum*, which favored a humanities-based education over exclusively theological studies, important as they might be. Hence, commentaries on the biblical Song of Songs (*In Proverbia Salomonis* by Ralph Baynes and *Cogitationes in Salomonis Cantorum Canticum* and *Anteloquia Cogitationum in Salomonis Cantorum Canticum* by Paul Sherlock), a Bible concordance (*Oeconomia concordantiarum scripturae* by George Bullock), descriptions of monastic life (*De proprietate et ves-*

behind the *Republics*' handwritten notes during the seventieth Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Chicago. In 1640, the *Elenchus librorum omnium tum in Tridentino, Clementinoque indice tum in aliis apmibus sacrae indicis congregationis particularibus, ordine uno alphabetico* by Francis Magdalen was published in Rome. This index establishes in its tenth general rule that booksellers and printers must be approved by local ecclesiastical officers in representation of Roman authorities and that all books imported into a Catholic state must be examined. Abraham and Bonaventura Elzevier were orthodox Calvinists, the series' main editor — Johannes de Laet — was a condemned author in Spain, as per the 1640 (Sotomayor 629) and 1707 (Sarmiento y Valladares 649) Spanish indexes, and the series contains a significant number of condemned authors (sixteen). Therefore, in applying the general rules of this Clementine index, the series would have been flagged as suspicious in its first examination following 1640. Once the 1707 Spanish *Index* was published, the books were reexamined and consequently expunged.

¹⁶ All this information was available in the 1640 Sotomayor *Index*, which includes the 1640 Spanish index of forbidden books, along with several Roman indexes.

tiario monachorum by Richard Hall, *Nitela franciscanae religionis* by Antony Hick[e]y, and *Annales Minorum* by Luke Wadding), and histories (*Opus chronologicum annorum seriem* by James Gordon and *Antiquitatum hebraicarum dioptra* by Paul Sherlock) comprise the majority of the British and Irish titles at St. Ignatius. In addition, the presence and worn condition of the Jesuit play *Zeno* by Joseph Simons and the Catholic drama collection *Dramatica Poemata* by William Drury reflect the prominence that St. Ignatius as a Jesuit college gave to drama as part of its educational program. Drury's plays in particular and the Englishness of their themes hints at a possible interest in English topics.

The presence of the Catholic-Protestant controversial works — focused especially on England — would be in line with that potential interest in subjects related to the British Isles. Still, we must take into consideration that St. Ignatius was not an international college aiming to educate priests for the English mission. It could also imply a general interest in Jesuits in theological issues and doctrines — like the presence of other titles pertaining to Molinism or relativism show. The *Philopater* by Robert Persons, *De visibili monarchia* by Nicholas Sander, and *De regno et regali* by William Barclay all discuss religious authority and the legitimacy of civil governments against one's faith and are to be expected in a Spanish Jesuit library: they both denounced English persecution of Catholics and helped disseminate negative views of Protestantism that were already present in Spain and that prevailed for centuries. Those same arguments could not be so neatly applied to William Barclay's *De Regno* due to the author's turbulent relationship with French Jesuits and his legitimization of monarchs' authority over the Pope's.

William Barclay's hostility towards the Society of Jesus is also present in his son John's work, especially his *Satyricon*. His *Poematum*, as a contemporary poetry collection, is a turn from the classical literary works that the *Ratio studiorum* suggested and favored. The contents about the Jacobite English court could speak of that interest in topics related to the British Isles that the presence of Drury's plays and the controversial works first hinted at. However, the *Poematum* does not present as many signs of wear as the other books with English-related content, so it is not clear if its presence is the result of a deliberate purchase due to an active interest in the British Isles or if the book was donated by a previous owner — "p. Andres" — as discussed above, with no other reasons. Still, even if the *Poematum's* presence was not due to an interest in topics related to the British Isles at St. Ignatius, there seems to be a

lingering interest reflected by the presence of other works examining these topics from a religious, political, or literary point of view.

St. Ignatius also had books by British and Irish authors on its shelves that had been condemned by the Vatican or the Spanish Inquisition. Spanish libraries usually had a small cabinet for banned books called “infierno” (“hell”), so their presence at St. Ignatius, albeit unexpected, is not entirely surprising, especially when considered in relation to the *Ratio studiorum* or Jesuit interests. That is the case of *Antiquitatum Romanorum corpus absolutissimum* by Thomas Dempster, which had been forbidden by the Vatican but was so popular and celebrated by experts on Ancient Rome that it fit well in what the *Ratio studiorum* suggested in relation to history. Other works that could be relatively easy to link to Jesuit concerns of missionary work — especially abroad — are the Elzevirian *Republics*, expunged as they might have been. This series provided basic information on different countries that could be useful for missionaries intending to evangelize foreign lands. The warning to read them with caution (*caute lege*) and the expunction of the entire series reveal that its works written by British authors (*De republica Anglorum* by Thomas Smith and *De Principatibus Italiae* by Thomas Seget) were not specifically targeted or expunged on the basis of where their authors were from but for reasons that involve the entirety of the series, and which exceed the scope of this article.

The British or Irish origin of an author would not necessarily impede their works from being part of the collection of early modern Spanish Jesuit libraries if their content aligned with the Jesuit educational program established by the *Ratio studiorum* or with Jesuit philosophy and morality. Further comparison of the presence of authors from the British Isles in English, Scottish, and Irish colleges to their presence in local colleges unaffiliated with the English Mission could shed more light on the interest that the latter had in matters related to the Isles. The majority of the books examined in this article fit within the Jesuit standards for book acquisition, some more than others. However, the Baconian *Sermones Fideles* poses several questions as to how it fits into St. Ignatius’ library as a work by an English Protestant philosopher that was popular throughout Europe and whose views on religion and morality would vastly differ from Jesuit tenets. This copy, though expunged, does not mention Bacon’s status as a condemned author whose works were all banned by the 1707 Spanish index of forbidden books nor does it present any visible signs of attempts to conceal the author’s identity. So even though the majority of the British and Irish books at St. Ignatius,

once examined, fit in the college's library for one reason or another, others leave more questions that cannot be as easily explained without more evidence concerning the book's provenance, acquisition, or even how easy it was for students or members of the Society to read. Therefore, the examination of this part of the St. Ignatius' book collection helps reverse initial expectations on the treatment that British and Irish works would have in a Spanish Jesuit library, while also raising more questions to attract academics worldwide and pave the way for further research on Jesuits, their libraries, and their relationship to books.

Appendix of British and Irish works at St. Ignatius

- Bacon, Francis. 1641. *Sermones fideles, ethici, politici, æconomici: sive interiora rerum*. Leiden: Franciscus Hackius. USTC No. 1028736. Allison & Rogers Catalogue [ARCR] —. Biblioteca Histórica Santa Cruz [BHSC] U/Bc BU 09029.
- Barclay, John. 1615. *Ioannis Barclaii Poematum libri duo*. London: Edward Griffin. USTC No. 3006457. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 09321.
- Barclay, William. 1600. *De regno et regali potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos Monarchomachos, libri sex*. Paris: Guillaume Chaudière. USTC No. 158529. ARCR 58. BHSC U/Bc BU 09538.
- Baynes, Ralph. 1555. In *Proverbia Salomonis tres libri commentatoriorum ex ipsis Hebraeorum fontibus manatium*. Paris: Michel de Vascosan. USTC No. 151832. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 02125. Bullock, George. 1572. *Oeconomia concordantiarum scripturae sacrae*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin. USTC No. 401545. ARCR 124. BHSC U/Bc BU 02608 (Vol. I), U/Bc BU 02609 (Vol. II).
- Dempster, Thomas. 1645. *Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum: In Quo Praeter Ea, Quae Joannes Rosinus delineverat, Infinita suppletur, mutantur, adduntur. Ex Criticis, Et Omnibus Utriusq[ue] Linguae auctoribus collectum ...*, Thoma Dempstero; J.C. Scoto Auctore Huic Po. Köln: Jost Kalckhoven. USTC No. 2136803. ARCR —.¹⁷ BHSC U/Bc BU 09660.
- Drury, William. 1641. *Dramatica poemata*. Antwerp: Petrus Bellerus III. USTC No. 1003203. ARCR —.¹⁸ BHSC U/Bc BU 09069.
- Gordon, James. 1614. *Opus chronologicum annorum seriem, Regnorum Mutationes, Et Rerum Toto Orbe Gestarum Memorabilium sedem annumque: a Mundi exordio ad nostra usque tempora complectens*. Köln: Johann Crith. USTC No. 2533934. ARCR 616. BHSC U/Bc BU 05917.
- Hall, Richard. 1585. *De proprietate et vestiario monachorum, aliisque ad hoc vitium extirpandum, liber unus. Epitaphium reverendissimi in Christo patris ac d.d. Arnoldi*

¹⁷ As an edition that is out of scope of the Allison & Rogers catalog, there is no entry for it. Such titles were looked up on the Clancy Catalogue of English Catholic books from 1641 to 1700 (1996), but none of them were included.

¹⁸ This edition falls out of the scope of the Allison & Rogers catalog by one year, but they do mention it in entry 330 on a 1628 Douai edition.

- de le Cambe alias Gantois, abbatis Marcianensis defuncti*. Douai: ex officina Jean Bogard. USTC No. 110975. ARCR 625. BHSC U/Bc BU 08207.
- Hick[e]y, Anthony. 1627. *Nitela franciscanae religionis et abstersio sordium quibus eam conspurcare frustra tentavit Abrahamus Bzovius*. Lyon: Claude Landry. USTC No. 6903889. ARCR 669. BHSC U/Bc BU 09658.
- Lynch, Richard. 1654. *Universa philosophia scholastica*. Lyon: Philippe Borde & Claude Rigaud II. USTC No. —. ARCR —. UHSC U/Bc BU 04211 (Vol. i); U/Bc BU 04212 (Vol. II); U/Bc BU 04213 (Vol. III).
- Persons, Robert. 1593. *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae haeresim Calvinianam propugnantis saeuissimum in catholicos sui regni edictum, quod in alios quoque reipublicae Christianae principes contumelias continet indignissimas. Promulgatum Londini XXIX Novembris MDXCI. Cum responsione ad singula capita, qua non tantum saevitia et impietas tam iniqui edicti, sed mendacia deteguntur et confutantur*. Rome: Luigi Zanetti. USTC No. 846898. ARCR 888. UHSC U/Bc BU 03951.
- Sander[s], Nicholas. 1592. *De visibili monarchia, libri VIII. In quibus diligens instituitur disputatio de ecclesiae Dei tum successione, tum gubernatione monarchica*. Wüzburg: widow of Heinrich von Aich. USTC No. 629770. ARCR 1016. BHSC U/Bc BU 01674.
- Seget, Thomas. 1631. *De Principatibus Italiae: tractatus vary*. Leyden: Abraham Elzevier & Bonaventura Elzevier. USTC No. 1011872.¹⁹ ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 10894.
- Sherlock, Paul. 1640. *Anteloquia cogitationum in Salomonis Cantorum Canticum*. Lyon: Jaques Prost & Pierre Prost. USTC No. —. ARCR 1080. BHSC U/Bc BU 01911 (Vol. I); U/Bc BU 01912 (Vol. II).
- Sherlock, Paul. 1651. *Antiquitatum hebraicarum dioptra in duos libros tributa*. Lyon: Laurent Arnaud, Philippe Borde & Claude Rigaud II. USTC No. 6118672. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 09332.
- Sherlock, Paul. 1640. *Cogitationes in Salomonis Cantorum Canticum, volume tertium*. Lyon: Jacques Prost & Pierre Prost. USTC No. —. ARCR 1085. BHSC U/Bc BU 01913.
- Sherlock, Paul. 1644. *Responsionum ad expostulationes recentium quorundam theologorum contra scientiam mediam, liber singularis*. Lyon: Laurent Arnaud, Philippe Borde & heirs of Pierre Prost. USTC No. —. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 04152.
- Simons, Joseph [Emmanuel Lobb]. 1648. *Zeno: Tragoedia*. Rome: heirs of Francesco Corbelletti. USTC No. 4021081. ARCR —.²⁰ BHSC U/Bc BU 08634.
- Smith, Thomas. 1641. *De Republica Anglorum libri tres*. Leiden: Bonaventura Elzevier. USTC No. 1527900. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 10896.

¹⁹ In the USTC entry for *De Principatibus Italiae*, Johannes de Laet (1581–1649), as compiler and editor of Elzevier's *Republics*, appears as the author of the work, but the dedicatory acknowledges Seget as the actual author.

²⁰ Allison & Rogers do not have a proper entry for this edition since it is out of the scope of their catalog. However, they do mention it in entry 947, although they specify that it was published under the alias Joseph Simeon, not Simons.

- Terill, Anthony [Anthony Boville]. 1669. *Fundamentum totius theologiae*. Liège: Joannes Mathias Hovius. USTC No. 1553727. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 04150.
- Terill, Anthony [Anthony Boville]. 1677. *Regula morum sive tractatus bipartitus de sufficienti ad conscientiam rite formandam regula in quo usus cujusvis opinionis practice probabilism convincitur esse licitus*. Lyon: Joannes Mathias Hovius. USTC No. —. ARCR —. BHSC U/Bc BU 03401.
- Wadding, Luke. 1628. *Annales Minorum: in quibus res omnes tri[n]u ordi[n]u a S. Francisco institutoru[m] ponderosi[us] et ex fide asseruntur ... tom. secundus*. Lyon: Claude Landry. USTC No. 6903921. ARCR 1307. BHSC U/Bc BU 03839.

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Author's contact: rebeca.martin.mozo@uva.es

Postal address: Dpto. Filología Inglesa, Fac. Filosofía y Letras, Pza. del Campus s/n, 47011, Valladolid.

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