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Heresy and Error

Eric Marshall White PhD
ericwhite@princeton.edu

Rebecca Howdeshell
Southern Methodist University, bhowdeshell@smu.edu

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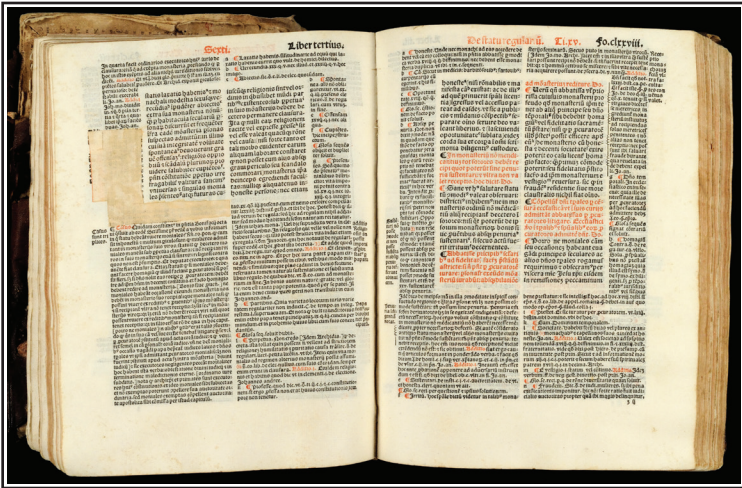
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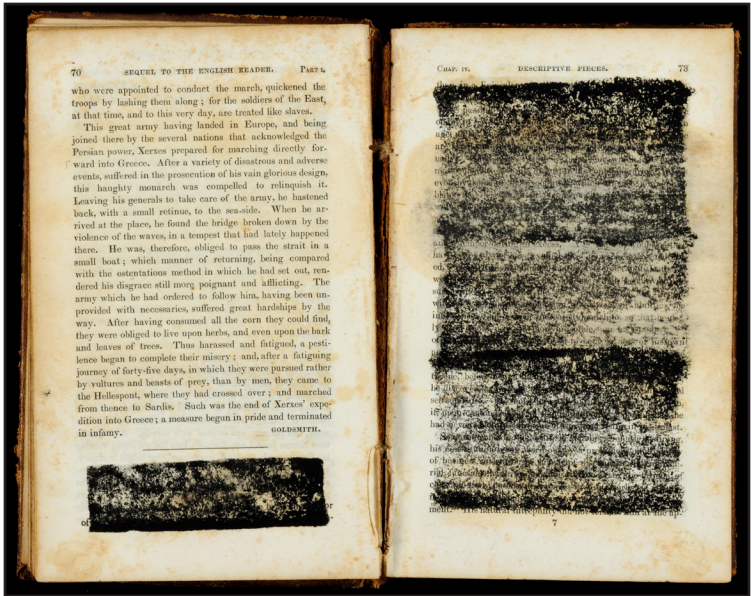
“Heresy and Error”

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS 1400–1800



Eric Marshall White
Curator of Special Collections

Bridwell Library
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
2010



Murray, *Sequel to the English Reader*, 1839 (exhibit 55).

Front cover: Erasmus, *In Novum Testamentum annotationes*, 1555 (exhibit 1).

Title page and back cover: Boniface VIII, *Liber sextus decretalium*, 1517 (exhibit 46).



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FROM ITS INCEPTION THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

sought to suppress books believed to contain heretical or erroneous teachings. With the development of the printing press during the latter half of the fifteenth century, Christian authorities in Europe became increasingly aware of the need to control the mass production of unfamiliar and potentially unacceptable texts. Initially, censorship of the press was enforced locally. However, with the spread of the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church required a more centralized and organized approach. Thus, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) ratified the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (“Index of Prohibited Books”), which listed individual banned titles as well as authors whose writings had been condemned outright. Catholic officials also published lists of expurgations, which identified specific passages to be deleted from every copy of an edition. From the sixteenth century well into the nineteenth, the censorship of books remained a primary, if not entirely effective, means of eradicating heresy and error.

It is unusual for Bridwell Library to showcase its damaged volumes. In this exhibition, however, it is necessary to focus not on handsomely preserved rare books, but on the historical evidence offered by the intentional alteration and suppression of books by Christian censors during past centuries. Of the sixty-two books and broadsides in this exhibition, thirty-seven were prohibited, enduring either physical expurgation or the threat of destruction. The remainder are publications that assisted the Church in its battle against heresy and error: several are indexes of prohibited books or expurgations, while others were written in defense of ecclesiastical censorship. Combined, the exhibited books and broadsides contribute to a fuller understanding of the role of post-publication censorship in the religious controversies of the past.

ECCLESIASTICAL CENSORSHIP

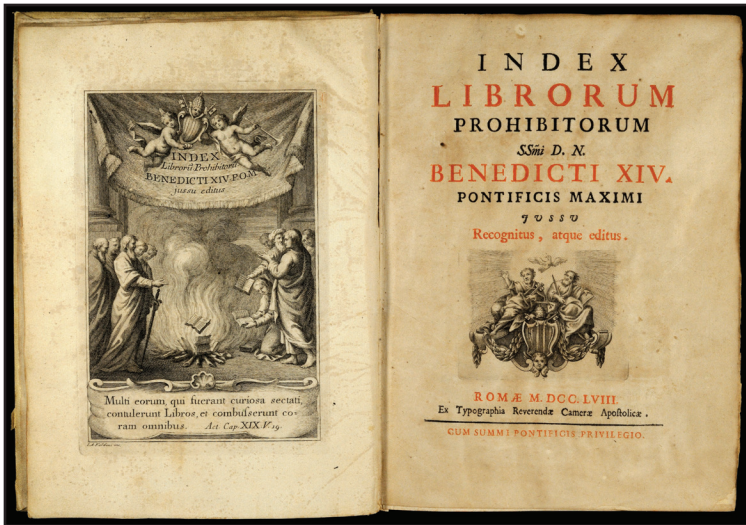
This section of the exhibition offers an introduction to ecclesiastical censorship: its nature, historical origins, and theological rationale. Beginning with a book that exemplifies the drastic physical intervention of sixteenth-century censors, these selections include an *Index librorum prohibitorum* that invokes a Biblical precedent for the burning of books, a fifteenth-century printing of the earliest papal decree against heretical writings, catalogues of condemned books from the earliest phase of the Protestant Reformation, and a sixteenth-century defense of censorship by ecclesiastical authorities.

1. Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam (c. 1466–1536). *In Novum Testamentum annotationes*. Basel: Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus, 1555.

Ecclesiastical authorities not only controlled what could and could not be printed or read, they often left physical traces of their oversight within books deemed controversial. This volume, a commentary on the New Testament by the Catholic theologian Erasmus of Rotterdam, contains numerous passages that were inked out or excised by a censor because they were considered inconsistent with traditional interpretations of the scriptures. The book's title page also bears an inscription in Spanish stating that the volume was "Visto e corregido" ("inspected and corrected") in 1587 according to an official catalogue of expurgations published by the Inquisition.

2. Benedict XIV (b. 1675, Pope 1740–1758). *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Ss^{mi}. D. N. Benedicti XIV. pontificis maximi iussu recognitus, atque editus. Rome: Ex typographia reverendae camerae apostolicae, 1758.

Throughout the history of Christianity, various ecclesiastical authorities have argued that their jurisdiction over the censorship of books has a scriptural basis. To that end, the *Index librorum prohibitorum* published by the Catholic Church in 1758 features an engraved frontispiece that illustrates the Biblical account in the Acts of the Apostles 19:18–19.



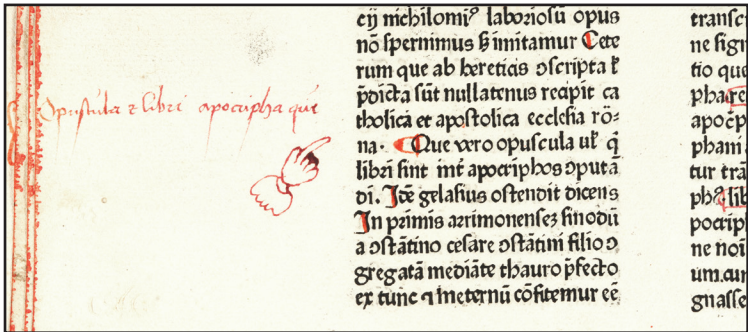
Benedict XIV, *Index librorum prohibitorum*, 1758.

This passage narrates how St. Paul and his disciples converted the Greeks and Jews at Ephesus, who willingly threw their profane books into the fire: “And many of them who had followed curious arts, brought together their books, and burnt them before all.” In the engraving, this passage is quoted in Latin below the image of book-burning.

3. Gratian (fl. 12th century). *Decretum*. [Strasbourg]: Heinrich Eggestein, 1472.

The first papal decree to list forbidden writings was the *Decretum Gelasianum*, attributed to Pope Gelasius (d. 496). While this list canonized the works of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other “orthodox fathers,” it also enumerated which Christian writings were to be rejected as apocryphal and which were to be condemned as heretical. The apocryphal writings included the works of Tertullian and several “gospels” attributed to various apostles of Christ; the heretical writings included those of Simon Magus, Priscillian, Nestorius, and numerous “authors to be condemned forever to

the inextricable shackles of anathema.” In the exhibited 1472 edition of the *Decretum* of Gratian, a compilation of early canon law, a Latin inscription and pointing hand in red ink indicate where the list of apocryphal works compiled by Pope Gelasius begins. This papal decree served as the point of departure for all subsequent Christian censorship.



Gratian, *Decretum*, 1472.

4. Bernard of Luxemburg (c. 1460–1535). *Catalogus haereticorum*. Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1522. [Bound with:] Henry VIII (1491–1547). *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*. Antwerp: Michael Hillen, 1522. [Bound with:] Eustache van Rivieren (1482–1538). *Errorum Martini Luther brevis confutatio, simulque cum eorum rationibus*. Antwerp: Michael Hillen, 1522.

This catalogue of heretical writings was compiled during the first years of the Protestant Reformation by Bernard of Luxemburg, a Dominican theologian and Inquisitor of Cologne. It was among the first publications to identify the “heretical” works of Martin Luther and his followers, and in subsequent decades it served as the basis for several regionally administered lists of prohibited books as well as the first “Pauline” *Index librorum prohibitorum*, published for Pope Paul IV in 1559.

5. Bernard of Luxemburg (c. 1460–1535). *Catalogus haereticorum*. Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus and Godefrid Hittorp, 1523.

The second edition of the *Catalogus haereticorum* includes an allegorical woodcut of the “statua hereticalis” (“effigy of the heretic”). While the heretic listens to the hot air bellowed into his ear by a winged demon, two other monsters below prepare to pull him into the flames of hell.

6. Henric van Cuyck, Bishop of Roermond (1546–1609). *Panegyricae orationes septem.* Louvain: Philippus Zangrius, 1596.

The Catholic Church actively defended its suppression of controversial literature. This collection of seven essays by the Bishop of Roermond in the Netherlands includes one concerning the need for censorship of the press. Praising the essential role of writing within the history of Christian learning, the author commented that the

invention of printing by Johannes Gutenberg had resulted in a world infected by “pernicious lies.” He specifically condemned the writings of Martin Luther and Jean Calvin, the Talmud, and the Qu’ran, but reserved his greatest censure for Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose writings, he claimed, had corrupted the Christian religion from within by subtle trickery. Cuyck described the ongoing need for censors at the Universities of Paris and Louvain, and lamented that “prohibited” books were what printers and booksellers profited from most.



Bernard of Luxemburg,
Catalogus haereticorum, 1523.

EARLY CENSORSHIP IN ENGLAND

This section of the exhibition concerns the censorship of books in England, a kingdom that was long at the forefront of the effort to control religious literature. As early as 1408, England's churchmen aggressively suppressed John Wycliffe's English translation of the New Testament, and in 1526 Archbishop William Warham of Canterbury issued Europe's first formal catalogue of prohibited books. Preceding all other such lists by two decades, it included William Tyndale's English New Testament and seventeen other works by various "heretical" authors such as Jan Hus, Martin Luther, and Ulrich Zwingli. Between 1530 and 1555, further decrees by Henry VIII and his Catholic daughter Mary I prohibited the printing, import, sale, and possession of works by all of the principal reformers, and all English printing had to be approved by royal license. Censorship under Elizabeth I and subsequent Anglican monarchs remained stringent, but it was directed increasingly toward maintaining the political status quo within the kingdom.

7. [Middle English New Testament. Wycliffite Version]. Illuminated manuscript on vellum. [England, c. 1400–25].

The first widely circulated English version of the Bible, translated from St. Jerome's Latin by followers of John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384), was outlawed in 1408 by Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury (1353–1414). Fearing the Wycliffites' adoption of scriptural authority in place of Church rituals and institutions, Arundel's council ruled that the use of unauthorized vernacular Bible translations propagated "heresy and error" because they failed "to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things." Consequently, the Church prohibited translation of the Bible into English under the severe penalty of excommunication, while the use of Wycliffite translations was subject to fines and imprisonment.

Bridwell Library's Wycliffite New Testament features various interlinear annotations and marginal markings. These demonstrate that the manuscript, despite its prohibited status, was used regularly for scholarly study and pious reading according to the schedule for readings provided by the church lectionary.



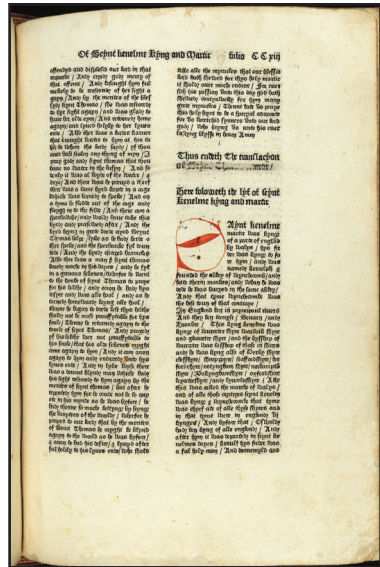
Sarum Missal, c. 1418.

8. [Missal. Sarum Use, in Latin]. Illuminated manuscript on vellum. [England, c. 1418].

Presented by Henry Chichele (c. 1364–1443), Archbishop of Canterbury, as a wedding gift to his niece for the celebration of the Mass in her family chapel, this magnificently illuminated Missal was censored in the sixteenth century by order of Henry VIII (1491–1547). Unable to resolve his religious, political, and personal conflicts with Pope Clement VII and Pope Paul III, the king broke with the Roman Church and decreed in 1538 that all mention of the papacy should be removed from England’s service books. In this manuscript the phrase “patre nostro papa” (“our father the pope”) has been expurgated from one of the hymns. The first two words, “patre nostro,” have been deleted in ink and the third word, “papa,” has been scratched from the vellum.

9. Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298). *The Golden Legend*. Translated and enlarged by William Caxton. Westminster: William Caxton, [between 20 November 1483 and March 1484].

This translation of the *Legenda aurea* by William Caxton (c. 1422–1491) is the first English edition of Jacobus de Voragine's highly popular compendium of saints' lives. In Bridwell Library's copy, as in several others that survive, several leaves pertaining to St. Thomas Beckett (d. 1170), Archbishop of Canterbury, were removed or defaced. This was done in 1538 or shortly thereafter by order of Henry VIII (1491–1547). Following England's break with the Church of Rome, the king had commanded the destruction of all memorials for St. Thomas Beckett in churches, chapels, altars, service books, and hagiographies because the English martyr personified “clerical supremacy” and allegiance to the papacy instead of to king and country. In this copy, the saint's name has been scratched from the page that concludes the partially excised chapter recounting the transfer of Beckett's remains to his shrine at Canterbury Cathedral.



Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, c. 1484.

10. William Tyndale (d. 1536). *The Parable of the Wycked Mammon.* “Malborowe, in the lande of Hess: Hans Luft, 8 May 1528” [London?: s.n., 1537?]. Copy 1.

11. William Tyndale (d. 1536). *The Parable of the Wycked Mammon.* “Malborowe, in the lande of Hess: Hans Luft, 8 May 1528” [London?: s.n., 1537?]. Copy 2.

Supporting the Protestant belief in justification by faith, William Tyndale's essay on Christ's parable of the unjust steward (Luke 16) was

one of the eighteen works prohibited in England by mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1526. Heavily influenced by Martin Luther's tract on the same parable first published in 1522, Tyndale's version likely was in print by 1526, although no copy of that date survives. The earliest extant copies are from an edition published in Antwerp in 1528 by an anonymous printer who used a false imprint claiming that it had been produced by one of Luther's leading publishers in Marburg, Germany. Bridwell Library's two copies of the work share this false imprint, although they are actually from an edition published secretly in England approximately ten years later.

12. Sir John Stubbs (c. 1541?–1590). *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by an other French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof.* [London: H. Singleton for William Page], 1579.

This pamphlet on the proposed marriage between Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) and the much younger Francis, Duke of Anjou (1555–1584), argued that English sovereignty, religion, and morality would be undermined by the queen's union with this Catholic French suitor. In a particularly controversial passage, Stubbs wrote "S. Paul speaking of contrary couplings together, compareth them to the uneven yoking of the cleane Oxe to the uncleane Asse, a thing forbidden in the lawe." The booklet was banned by the queen's order, and most copies were publicly burned. Convicted of sedition, Stubbs and William Page, his patron, were punished in the market at Westminster by having their right hands cut off.

13. John Milton (1608–1674). *Areopagitica; A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing, to the Parliament of England.* London: [s.n.], 1644.

In 1643, after a brief period of uncensored printing in England, the Presbyterian majority in the Parliament reinstated mandatory licensing as a means of censoring books before publication. That same year, church authorities ensured that the poet John Milton was refused a license to publish a controversial essay in favor of the right to divorce. In response,

Milton composed the pamphlet entitled *Areopagitica* (after the ancient Athenian court of Areopagus), considered by many to be the most eloquent defense of the freedom of the press ever written. Defiantly published without license, Milton's pamphlet calls for the "liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience," observing that "Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself."

CENSORSHIP AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

During the Reformation, the Catholic theologians at the University of Paris (the Sorbonne) took responsibility for the censorship of texts within the kingdom of France. Relying on the French Crown and Parliament to enforce its decrees, the Faculty of Theology sought to control domestic printing presses as well as the importation of foreign books, particularly those from Calvinist Geneva and Zwinglian Basel. Suspicious of humanist scholarship, conservative theologians at the university even censured the works of the great Catholic scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam, despite his strong support from the French royal court. The theologians of Paris also extended their strict censorial powers in a series of catalogues of prohibited books, published regularly beginning in 1546.

14. Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam (c. 1466–1536). *Declarationes Des. Erasmi Roterodami, ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas sub nomine Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis*. Basel: Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus, 1532.

The Catholic theologian Erasmus of Rotterdam continued to modify his *Annotations* on the New Testament for many years following their first publication in 1516. In 1526, however, the *Annotations* were condemned by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris. Erasmus's 1532 *Declarationes* present his counter-arguments to each of the charges against his work. In each section his original proposition is followed by the Faculty's "Censura" ("condemnation") and then Erasmus's "Declaratio" ("reply"). In Proposition 12, Erasmus defended translations of the Bible into vernacular languages, arguing that people who read the scriptures

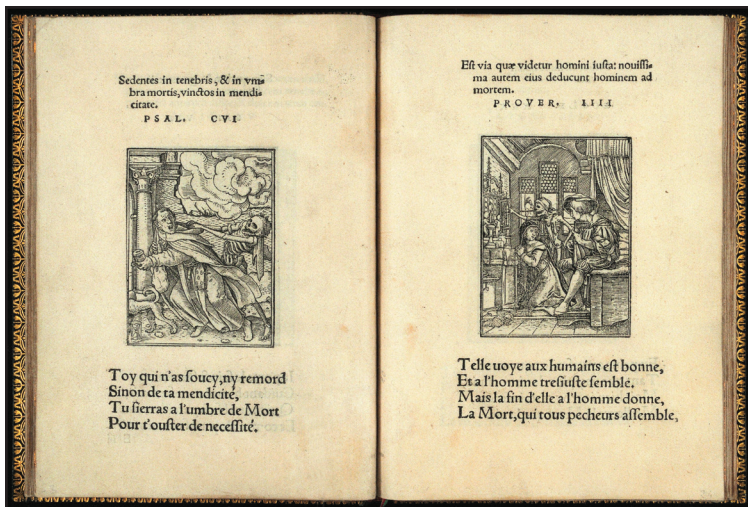
in their own language will not be drawn automatically to the heresies of Lutheranism.

15. Noël Bédá (c. 1470–1537). *Annotationum natalis Bedae Doctoris Theologi Parisiē. in Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo: et in Desiderium Erasmus Roterodamum liber unus, qui ordine tertius est. Primus in Commentarios ipsius Fabri super Epistolas beati Pauli. Secundus in eiusdem Commentarios super IIII. Evangelia. Tertius in Paraphrases Erasmi super eadem quattuor Evangelia, & omnes apostolicas epistolas.* Paris: Josse Bade, 1526.

In this three-part work, the most conservative of the theologians at the University of Paris outlined his objections to the commentaries of two leading biblical scholars, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455–1546) and Erasmus of Rotterdam. Bédá's censures of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the Gospels and Epistles comprise the third part of the work. In response, Erasmus appealed to King Francis I of France, who ordered that Bédá's "odious remarks" must be withdrawn from the market. However, by the time the king's order was received, Josse Bade had already sold half of the 625 copies he had printed.

16. [Dance of Death]. *Les simulachres & historiees faces de la Mort, autant elegamment pourtraictes, que artificiellement imaginées.* Lyon: [Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel], 1538.

The anonymous Lyon edition of the "Dance of Death," the first to be illustrated with woodcuts designed by Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1498–1543), was banned by the Faculty of Theology in 1551 because it parodied the morals of the clergy and all secular walks of life. Accompanying each woodcut is a related passage of Scripture in Latin, with its equivalent in French verse. In one of the most engaging openings, the woodcut on the left shows the skeletal figure of Death taking a mendicant friar so that he will no longer have to beg for a living; on the right, as Death extinguishes the candle on the altar, a young nun is distracted from her prayers by the handsome lute player who sits on her bed.



Dance of Death, 1538.

17. [French Bible. Olivétan-Calvin Version]. *La Bible, qui est toute la sainte escriture, en laquelle sont contenuz, le vieil testament & le nouveau, translatez en Francois, & reveuz: le vieil selon l'Ebrieu, & le nouveau selon le Grec.* [Geneva: Jehan Girard], 1546.

The 1546 French Bible translated by Pierre Robert Olivétan (c. 1506–1538) and revised by Jean Calvin (1509–1564) was listed in the Sorbonne's catalogue of censored books in 1551. Bridwell Library's copy is a rare variant issued for surreptitious circulation in France. Its title page omits the place of publication and the name of the printer, and Calvin's name is excluded from his preface. These omissions were considered prudent for copies intended for use within France, although Calvin's name did accompany a separate note to the reader in the New Testament. This variant, one of four known copies, is the only recorded copy in the United States of either issue of Calvin's 1546 revision.

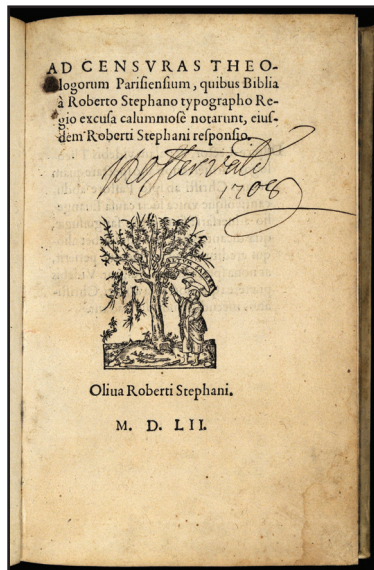
18. [Latin Bible with commentary]. *Biblia, quid in hac editione praestitum sit, vide in ea quam operi praeposuumus, ad lectorem epistola.* Paris: Robert Estienne, 1545.

Robert Estienne's densely annotated 1545 edition of the Latin Bible was the work of a respected team of humanist scholars based in Zürich: Leo Juda and Theodorus Bibliander translated the Old Testament, Petrus Cholinus translated the Apocrypha, the New Testament was revised and corrected from the translation of Erasmus by Rudolphus Gualtherus, and the whole was edited by Conradus Pellicanus. However, in 1546 the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne condemned this edition, declaring that it was "scattered with things that are erroneous, conducive to scandals, favoring Lutherans, and breathing heresies long ago condemned."

19. Robert Estienne (1503–1559). *Ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium, quibus Biblia à Roberto Stephano typographo Regio excusa calumniosè notarunt, eiusdem Roberti Stephani responsio.* [Geneva]: Robert Estienne, 1552.

After the suppression of his Bible in 1546, the printer Robert Estienne continued to battle the censors at the University of Paris for four years before moving to Geneva, where he joined the Calvinists. In 1552, in an unprecedented action by a printer, Estienne published this response to the Sorbonne's condemnations, offering an introductory account of his two decades of conflict with the Parisian censors and a point-for-point defense of his Bible.

Bridwell Library's copy was inscribed by an early owner, Jean-Frédéric Ostervald (1663–1747), a leading Swiss Protestant theologian whose French translation of the Bible appeared in 1744.



Estienne, *Ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium*, 1552.

THE INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS

The *Index librorum prohibitorum* (“Index of Prohibited Books”) was a direct outcome of the *Concilium Tridentinum*, or Council of Trent, the ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church that convened from 1545 to 1563. The Tridentine councilors reasserted many traditional dogmas that had been challenged by Protestant reformers, including transubstantiation, justification by good works, and the role of the Virgin Mary as intercessor. In 1546, the fourth Tridentine session determined which books of the Latin Bible were canonical and decreed that only the Catholic Church was authorized to interpret Scripture. In 1562, the eighteenth session mandated that a special conciliar commission would examine the growing problem of heretical literature. The Council’s action resulted in the publication of the first Tridentine *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1564. Although it had been preceded by Spanish indexes beginning in 1551 and the Pauline *Index* published in Rome in 1559, the Tridentine *Index*, backed by the authority of the Council of Trent, initiated four centuries of rigorous censorial control within Catholic realms.

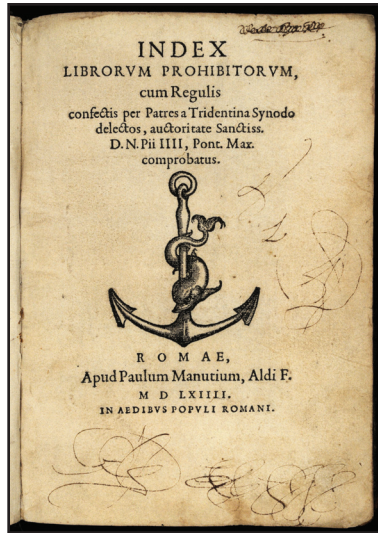
20. Council of Trent (1545–1563). *Canones, et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III, Iulio III, Pio III, pontificibus max.* Rome: Paulus Manutius, 1564.

In the first edition of the official decrees of the Council of Trent, the necessity of an organized approach to censorship was clearly stated in the summary of the eighteenth Tridentine session (here translated into English):

It has been noticed that the number of suspected and pernicious books, wherein an impure doctrine is contained and is disseminated far and wide, has in these days increased beyond measure, which indeed has been the reason that many censures have been published out of a godly zeal in diverse provinces, and especially in the fair city of Rome; and yet no salutary remedy has availed against so great and pernicious a disorder; thus, [the Council] has thought it good that Fathers specially chosen for this inquiry shall carefully consider what ought to be done in the matter of censures and of books.

21. Pius IV (b.1499, Pope 1559–1565). *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate sanctiss. D.N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus.* Rome: Paulus Manutius, 1564.

The first Tridentine *Index* prohibited the complete writings of 610 authors, identified 69 additional authors whose prohibited works were listed individually, and banned 297 anonymous titles. As would be the case with all indexes of prohibited books, no explanation for a text's suppression was provided. Owned by an unidentified Spanish nobleman in the later sixteenth century, Bridwell Library's copy of the first edition is bound with a contemporary handwritten Spanish translation of the collected decrees of sessions 17 through 25 of the Council of Trent.



Pius IV, *Index librorum prohibitorum*, 1564.

22. Council of Trent (1545–1563). *Sacros. Concilium Tridentinum: additis declarationibus cardinalium, ex ultima recognitione . . . Editio reformata . . . cum indice librorum prohibitorum ex praescripto Concilii.* Cologne: Johannes Busaeus, 1664.

The Tridentine *Index* of 1564 presented ten rules that were established by the Council of Trent to control the censorship of texts. In the *Index librorum prohibitorum* that accompanies this 1664 edition of the Council's decrees, the ten rules were reprinted in full. These are summarized in English:

1. All books condemned by popes or councils before 1515 will remain prohibited.
2. All books by “heresiarchs” (heretical leaders) and theological books by heretics are prohibited.
3. Heretics’ Bible translations are banned; heretics’ translations of other texts require approval.
4. Vernacular translations of the Bible by Catholic scholars require approval.
5. Compilations of works edited by heretics require correction and approval.
6. Theological writings in vernacular languages require correction and approval.
7. Obscene or immoral works are prohibited; Classical works may be read by adults.
8. Books that are generally sound, but which contain isolated heresies must be corrected.
9. All books treating magic, superstition, astrology, or occult practices are prohibited.
10. The bishop and the inquisitor require all books to be licensed prior to publication.

These rules were expanded and modified over the centuries, but they remained the core determinants for Catholic censorship until use of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* was discontinued in 1966.

23. Pius IV (b. 1499, Pope 1559–1565). *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate sanctiss. D.N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus.* Lyon: Gulielmus Rovillius, 1564. [Bound with:] **Council of Trent (1545–1563). *Canones, et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini.* Lyon: Gulielmus Rovillius, 1564.**

The 1564 Tridentine *Index* defined three basic classes of prohibited books: Class I—Books by heretical authors, all of whose writings are prohibited. Class II—Individual prohibited books, classified alphabetically by author. Class III—Anonymous prohibited books, classified alphabetically by title.

During its first century of existence the *Index librorum prohibitorum* listed condemned books in an alphabetical sequence subdivided into the three classes of prohibition. For example, in the exhibited Lyon edition of the

1564 *Index*, under the letter P, authors of Class I were listed first by name, books in Class II were listed next by author, and anonymous works in Class III were listed last by title. Beginning in 1664, every book in the *Index* was listed in a single continuous alphabetical sequence, regardless of its class.

CLASS I: PROHIBITED AUTHORS

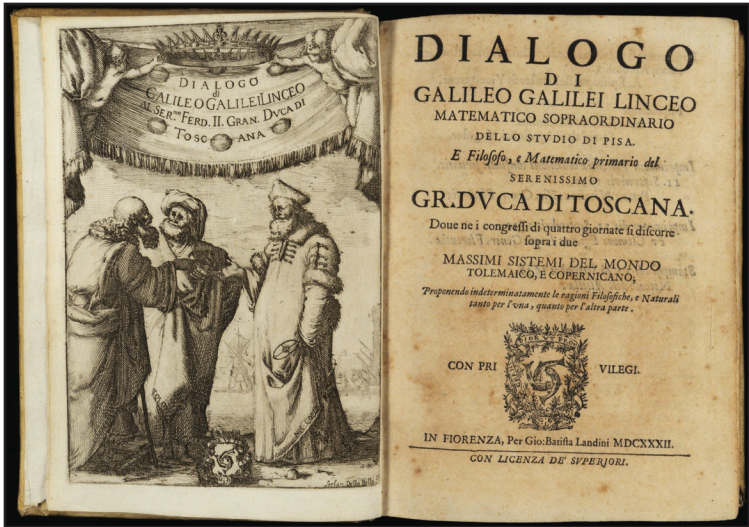
24. Martin Luther (1483–1546). *Belijdinghe oft bekentenisse D. Martini Lutheri vant Aventmael des heeren tegen die blasphemie Ulrici Zwinglii ende Joannis Ecolampadii ende teghen den Swermgeest inder Slesie.* “Wittemberch” [Antwerp: The “Hans Luft in Marburg” Printer], 1528.

For the compilers of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Martin Luther was the most significant heretic of the first class. This book is the only surviving copy of the Dutch translation of Luther’s principal work on the Eucharist, *Vom Abendmal Christi, Bekendnis*. Its rarity is a direct result of Church censorship. Beginning in 1520, copies of Luther’s writings were confiscated and burned in Louvain, and by 1529, the printing or possession of Protestant works in the Low Countries carried the death penalty, although enforcement was lax in cosmopolitan Antwerp. Throughout this period, most printers of Protestant texts outside of Germany concealed their identities behind false imprints. The *Belijdinghe* was one of several clandestine editions published in Antwerp by a printer who often used the pseudonym “Hans Luft of Marburg.”

CLASS I: PROHIBITED AUTHORS

25. Jacob Otther (fl. 1500). *Fragmenta passionis domini nostri Iesu Christi. A celeberrimo (divini eloquii oratore) domino Ioanne Geiler ex Keisersberg theologo.* Strasbourg: Matthias Schürer, 1508.

This prohibited book by Jacob Otther of Speyer was compiled from the unpublished sermons of his controversial teacher, the Catholic preacher Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445–1510). Bridwell Library’s copy of the book reflects the prohibited status of its author according to the *Index librorum prohibitorum*: on the title page, an early owner or librarian wrote “NB Otherus est Authore prohibitus, primae classis” (“Note: Otther is a prohibited author of the First Class”).



Galileo, *Dialogo*, 1632.

CLASS II: PROHIBITED TITLES

26. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). *Dialogo . . . sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo Tolemaico, e Copernicano.* Florence: Giovanni Batista Landini, 1632.

Galileo’s “Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican” remains one of the most significant books in the history of science. Controversy arose over Galileo’s proof of the Copernican cosmology, which placed the sun, not the Earth, at the center of the solar system. This contradicted the biblical statement in Joshua 10:13 that God had made the sun stand still in the sky over the earth. Prohibited in 1634, Galileo’s *Dialogo* remained on the *Index* until 1824.

The engraved frontispiece depicts three great students of astronomy in dialogue: from left to right, Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Ptolemy (90–168 CE), and Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543). Ptolemy holds an armillary sphere with the Earth at its center, while Copernicus grasps a heliocentric model of the solar system.

27. Clement X (b. 1590, Pope 1670–1676). *Index librorum prohibitorum Clementis X. pontificis maximi iussu editus.* Rome: Ex typographia reverendae camerae apostolicae, 1670.

In later editions of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, the three classes were interspersed in one alphabetical sequence, so that heretical authors, prohibited titles, and anonymous works could be more easily found in one sequence. Thus, Galileo Galilei, an author of the second class, is listed under the letter G with a cross-reference to the one work by him that was prohibited, the famous *Dialogo*.

CLASS III: ANONYMOUS WORKS

28. [Berthold Pürstinger, Bishop of Chiemsee (1465–1543)]. *Onus ecclesie.* Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1524.

The *Onus ecclesie* was listed in the Tridentine *Index* in Class III among the anonymous works. However, its author is now known to be Berthold Pürstinger, the Bishop of Chiemsee in the Bavarian Alps. Written in 1519, the work was a daring call for internal reform within the Catholic Church. In the large woodcut by Jörg Breu, the earthly Church suffers a firestorm, plagues of insects, and attacks by Satan, as predicted in the quotations from the Book of Revelation held aloft by God and the angels.



Pürstinger, *Onus ecclesie*, 1524.

29. Phillip II, King of Spain (1527–1598). *Philippi II Regis Catholici edictum de librorum prohibitorum catalogo observando.* Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1570. [Issued with:] *Index librorum prohibitorum . . . cum appendice in Belgio, ex mandato Regia Cathol. Maiestatis confecta.* Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1570.

A powerful defender of Catholicism, King Phillip II of Spain insisted that his territories in the Netherlands should not fall into Protestant “heresy.” This 1570 edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* was augmented for his Netherlandish subjects with the king’s edict proclaiming that the authority to censor books emanates from the Crown and that its enforcement will be overseen by the Duke of Alva (1507–1582), Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The accompanying *Index*, a reprint of the Tridentine version of 1564, includes a supplement listing prohibited Bibles and other books printed in Spanish, French, and Dutch.

THE SPANISH INDEX

Even before the publication of the first Tridentine *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1564, the Inquisition in Spain had grown particularly aggressive in its local censorship, publishing its own indexes of prohibited books at Valencia in 1551 and at Valladolid in 1554 and 1559. Further editions were printed at Madrid in 1583 and 1612, Seville in 1632, and again at Madrid in 1640 (reprinted in 1667), 1707, 1747, and 1790. Backed by the strict enforcement of the Inquisition, the Spanish indexes were typically larger and more restrictive than the Tridentine *Index* and its derivative Roman editions, focusing particular attention on vernacular texts.

30. Antonio Zapata, General Inquisitor of Spain (1550–1635). *Novus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum*. Seville: Francisco de Lyra, 1632.

In the exhibited Spanish *Index*, the elaborate title-page engraving designed by Juan de Herrera shows St. Peter (left) and St. Paul (right) within an architectural framework with personifications of Christian



Zapata, *Novus index librorum prohibitorum*, 1632.

learning and faith. Compiled for Cardinal Antonio Zapata, this Spanish *Index* was the most expansive to date, listing more than 2,500 forbidden titles.

31. Pedro Ximénez de Prexano, Bishop of Coria (c. 1420–1495). *Luzero de la vida christiana*. Salamanca: [Printer of Nebrissensis, ‘Gramática’], 24 March 1499.

King Ferdinand V (1452–1516) invited the Bishop of Coria to write the *Luzero de la vida christiana* (“Morning Star of the Christian Life”) in order to “expel the darkness of ignorance” from Spain, particularly among Jews and Muslims who had endured forced conversion to Christianity. Published in six Spanish editions beginning in 1493, the *Luzero* derived its theological lessons from meditations on the life and ministry of Christ. However, because it paraphrased the New Testament in the vernacular and embroidered Christ’s life with non-Biblical episodes, the *Luzero* was placed on the Spanish *Index librorum prohibitorum* published at Valladolid in 1559. Bridwell Library’s *Luzero* is the only recorded copy of the 1499 edition.



Ximénez de Prexano,
Luzero de la vida christiana, 1499.

32. [Spanish New Testament. Pérez de Pineda Version]. *El testamento nuevo de nuestro señor y salvador Iesu Christo. Nueva y fielmente traduzido del original Griego en romance Castellano*. “Venecia: Juan Philadelpho” [Geneva: Jean Crespin], 1556.

As in pre-Reformation England, vernacular versions of the Bible were prohibited in sixteenth-century Spain for fear that such translations would give rise to unauthorized interpretations. Although the Inquisition

effectively prevented Spanish printers from producing vernacular Bibles, printers in Protestant countries succeeded in making Spanish Bibles available to readers abroad. In addition, some copies were smuggled into Spain.

As the Inquisition could pursue Protestant agitators outside of Spain, the Swiss publisher of this Spanish New Testament concealed his identity by using the pseudonym “Juan Philadelpho” and claiming Venice as the place of publication. The small size of the New Testament allowed copies to be transported secretly by smugglers such as Julianillo Hernández, who carried wine casks filled with copies into Seville. Nevertheless, the Inquisition soon captured and executed Hernández, burned an effigy of the translator Juan Pérez de Pineda (c. 1500–1567), and destroyed all confiscated copies of the book.



El testamento nuevo, 1556.

SAVONAROLA'S PROHIBITED SERMONS

One of the most controversial religious figures of the fifteenth century, the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) wrote numerous influential works calling for ecclesiastical reform and spiritual renewal. Savonarola's fiery sermons gained a great following, but many of the texts were considered threatening to the temporal rulers of Florence and the papacy in Rome, and his accusatory apocalyptic prophecies eventually drove the public to fear and reject him. Excommunicated for papal insubordination in 1497, Savonarola continued to challenge the pope and was burned at the stake for heresy the following year. Although Pope Paul IV wished to ban all of Savonarola's writings permanently, the Dominican order defended the majority of his texts, and the Tridentine

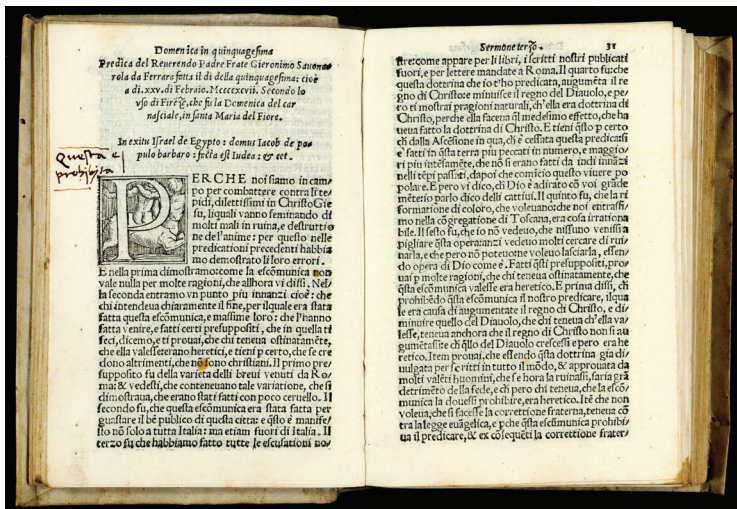
Index librorum prohibitorum of 1564 listed only his anti-papal *Dialogo de la verità prophetica* and fifteen of his sermons. All fifteen of Savonarola's prohibited sermons are represented by censored copies in the exhibition.

33. Clement XIV (b. 1705, Pope 1769–1774). *Index librorum prohibitorum usque ad annum M.DCCXI. regnante Clemente XI.* Rome: Ex typographia reverendae camerae apostolicae, 1711.

Under the entry “Hieronymi Savonarolae Ferrariensis sermones,” this *Index* of 1711 lists Savonarola's fifteen prohibited sermons and his book, *Dialogo de la verità prophetica*.

34. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche del reverendo padre frate Gieronimo Savonarola de l'ordine di San Domenico dell'osservantia di toscana sopra l'Esodo.* Venice: Giovanni Antonio di Volpini, 1540.

Eight of the twenty-six sermons on Exodus in this edition are marked “questa e prohibita” (“this is prohibited”). In the prohibited Sermon 3, Savonarola responded vehemently to his excommunication by Pope Alexander VI, arguing that such decrees carried no weight with God.



Savonarola, *Prediche . . . sopra l'Esodo*, 1540.

35. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche del reverendo padre fra Gieronimo da Ferrara per tutto l'anno*. Venice: Giovanni Antonio di Volpini, 1540.

In Bridwell Library's copy of Savonarola's sermons on the Books of Ruth and Micah, Sermon 7 on the third chapter of Ruth was censored by the removal of twelve leaves (folios 82–93). Only the beginning and the very end of the sermon remain.

36. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche de fra Hieronymo per tutto l'anno*. Venice: Cesare Arrivabene, 1520.

The more complete removal of the same prohibited sermon on Ruth in this earlier edition had drastic consequences for the physical book as a whole. When the censor cut out all seven leaves of Sermon 7, he also removed the ending of Sermon 6 and the beginning of Sermon 8. Moreover, the gap opened by the missing leaves in this otherwise tightly bound book invited damage both by moisture and bookworms in the upper and lower margins.

37. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche di fra Girolamo da Ferrara sopra Ezechiel*. Venice: Giovanni Antonio di Volpini, 1541.

In this copy of Savonarola's sermons on the Book of Ezechiel, the three prohibited sermons in this collection were left undisturbed but a later note states that Sermons 21, 32, and 40 were cited in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. The woodcut on the title page shows Savonarola preaching in a public square while a figure seated at the left transcribes the sermon.

38. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Le Prediche d'il reverendo frate Hieronimo Savonarola sopra li salmi & molte altre notabilissime materie*. Venice: Bernardino de Bindoni, 1539.

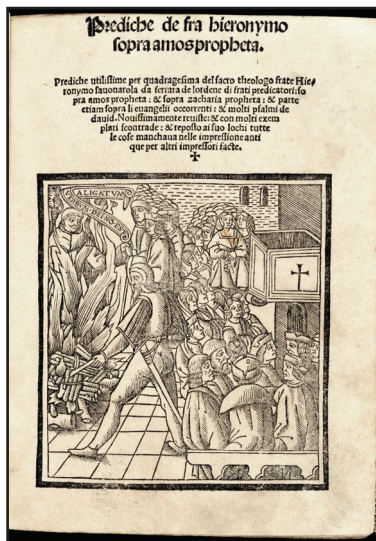
A censor tore ten leaves from this collection of Savonarola's sermons, removing the prohibited third sermon entitled "Ecce gladius Domini" ("Behold the Sword of God"), which had alarmed church officials with its apocalyptic warnings. Several other sermons were deleted with brown ink and bear the inscription "non legatur" ("cannot be read"), although these were never listed in any edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

39. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche sopra Iob del R.P.F. Hieronimo Savonarola da Ferrara, fatte in Firenze l'anno 1494. nuovamente venute in luce.* Venice: Niccolo Bascarini, 1545.

In this collection of forty-seven sermons on the Book of Job, a censor marked the beginning of Sermon 14 as “proibita” (“prohibited”) in brown ink, and the bottom right corner of the first leaf of the sermon was torn away. It was later repaired, with the text replaced in manuscript.

40. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche de fra Hieronymo sopra Amos propheta.* Venice: Cesare Arrivabene, 1528.

The title page of this edition of Savonarola’s Lenten sermons on the prophecies of Amos bears a woodcut depicting the author’s public execution. While the assembled men and women look to his empty pulpit, the martyr, engulfed in flames, holds aloft a scroll that reads “Verbum Dei non est alligatum” (“the word of God is not bound”). Nevertheless, inside this copy, Sermon 12 on Amos, chapter 4, was stricken through with brown ink and marked as “proibita” (“prohibited”).



Savonarola, *Prediche . . . sopra Amos propheta*, 1528.

41. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Prediche quadragesimali . . . sopra Amos propheta, & sopra Zacharia, & parte sopra li Evangelii occorrenti, & molti Psalmi di David.* Venice: Alvise de Tortis, 1544.

In this later edition of Savonarola’s Lenten sermons on Amos, the eleven leaves containing the prohibited Sermon 12 were excised by a



Savonarola, *Prediche quadregesimali . . . sopra Amos propheta, & sopra Zacharia*, 1544.

ensor.

42. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Devotissimi patris fratris Hieronymi Savanarole Ferrariensis . . . De simplicitate vitae christianae*. Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguia, 1529.

The most conservative elements of the Catholic Church, including the Jesuits, refused to read any of Savonarola's writings. This copy of his *De simplicate vitae christianae*, printed in Spain, bears a seventeenth-century inscription on its title page warning that the "Auctor iste damnatus" ("the author is damned"). However, citing the *Historia pontifical y cathólica* by Gonzalo de Illescas (1565–1633), the inscription concedes that this particular treatise by Savonarola, written "prior to his deceptions," is a laudable Christian work.

43. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). *Lectione o vero sermone facto da il reverendo padre frate Hieronymo da Ferrara a molti sacerdoti, religiosi & seculari in Sancto Marco di Firenze a di 15 di Febraio nel 1497*. [Italy: s.n., c. 1530?].

This sermon by Savonarola, never prohibited by the *Index*, was inscribed by an early owner "Si puo leggere senza scrupolo" ("You may read this

without scruple”).

THE INDEX OF EXPURGATIONS

The *Index librorum expurgatorum* (“Index of Expurgated Books”) was designed to allow books that were only partially objectionable to be circulated as soon as corrections by an ecclesiastical censor had been entered. Such indexes listed the specific passages of books that required censorship in the expectation that all copies would be brought forward to the censor for physical correction. This correction usually took one of three forms: deletion of the text by applying ink over the printed passage, deletion of the text by gluing blank paper over the printed passage, or removal of the text by cutting the leaves containing the passage out of the book. In rare cases, the correct words were substituted in place of incorrect ones. Typically, the censor would sign and date the book to certify that it had been expurgated correctly. Not all expurgated books were considered heretical. Many books of mainstream Catholic orthodoxy were expurgated simply because they contained errors.

44. Pius IV (b. 1499, Pope 1559–1565). *Index expurgatorius librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt*. Lyon: Johannes Mareschall, 1586.

This 1586 Lyon edition of the *Index librorum expurgatorum* lists corrections and deletions to be applied to a ten-volume annotated 1555 edition of St. Augustine’s works printed in Paris by Charlotte Guillard. Bridwell Library’s copy of that edition does not bear any expurgations.

45. Gaspar de Quiroga, General Inquisitor of Spain (1512–1594). *Index librorum expurgatorum*. Saumur: Thomas Portau, 1601.

This *Index librorum expurgatorum*, a reprint of the first Spanish edition of 1584, was published by Protestants at the French university town of Saumur in an effort to expose the methods of the Catholic censors. It includes a preface by the Protestant scholar Philippe de Mornay Du Plessis (1549–1623), who had intercepted a copy of the Spanish *Index* intended for a Catholic censor. One of its longest entries lists numerous expurgations to be made in the glosses that accompany the *Decretales* of Gregory IX, a collection of papal decrees printed at

Lyon in 1553.

46. Boniface VIII (b. 1235, Pope 1294–1303). *Liber sextus decretalium*. Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1517. [Bound with:] Clement V (b. 1264, Pope 1305–1314). *Constitutiones*. Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1517. [Bound with:] John XXII (b. 1249, Pope 1316–1334). *Extravagantes Johannis xxii*. Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1517. [Bound with:] *Extravagantes communes*. Paris: Thielman Kerver, 1517.

Erroneous passages in this collection of medieval Canon Law compiled for Pope Boniface VIII were expurgated by gluing blank paper slips over the offending glosses. A Latin inscription added at the beginning of the book c. 1570 states that the text was diligently expurgated according to an exemplar provided by Father Manriquez, Master of the Sacred Palace. Tomás Manriquez (d. 1573), Spanish Dominican priest, was chief advisor of Pope Pius V and overseer of the Tridentine *Index* from 1565 until his death.

47. [Book of Psalms in Hebrew]. *Sefer Tehillim*. Commentary by David ben Joseph Kimhi, corrected by Jacob Baruch ben Judah Landau. Naples: Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser, 4 Nisan 5247 (28 March 1487).

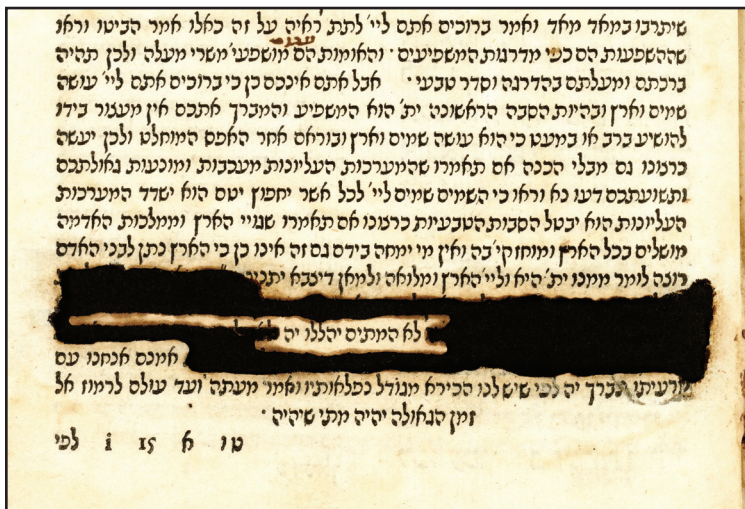
Hebrew books suffered extensive expurgation beginning in 1555 with the papacy of Paul IV. Although there were no printed indexes for censors of Hebrew books during the sixteenth century, four manuscripts of the *Sefer Hazikuk* (“Book of Expurgations”) compiled by the converted rabbi Domenico Irosolomitano (c. 1552–1621) survive. The papal censors, primarily Jewish converts to Christianity, used the *Sefer Hazikuk* to expurgate thousands of passages from the Talmud and other Hebrew texts and commentaries.

In this fifteenth-century edition of the Hebrew Psalms, the texts of the Psalms, printed in large letters, are accompanied by the often anti-Christian commentary by Rabbi David Kimhi (1160–1235) in smaller type. Several words of the commentary on Psalm 73 were inked out by a censor who added his “correct” readings in the margins. Extensive glue stains indicate that a later censor covered the entire passage with paper,

but this more intrusive censorship was removed by a subsequent owner.

48. Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508). *Sefer Zebach Pesach*. Venice: Marco Antonio Giustiniani, 1545.

Rabbi Abravanel's commentary on the Hebrew *Haggadah*, first published at Constantinople in 1506, was written in Italy shortly after the author was forced to leave the Spanish royal court when the country's Jews were expelled in 1492. As Venetian law did not permit Jews to own or



Abravanel, *Sefer Zebach Pesach*, 1545.

operate printing presses, it was necessary for the financiers of this second edition to employ a Christian printer, Marco Antonio Giustiniani. The final leaf of Bridwell Library's expurgated copy bears the date 1617 and the signatures of two censors who were active in Mantua, Clemente Renatto and Giovanni Domenico Carretto. In the commentary accompanying Psalm 115, the censors' ink deletions have corroded the paper, creating a large loss. Remarkably, a small fragment of uncensored

text, formerly surrounded by the missing portions of this page, has survived loose within the book. In the translation of the expurgated text below, the deleted portions surrounding the fragment are struck through:

~~“that the nations and the kingdoms are called dead even while they are still alive because their souls do not remain and they die completely. They did not praise the divine Name that gave them the land, which is why he says, ‘The dead cannot praise the Lord, nor can all who descend into silence,’ these being the nations that go down en masse into the grave, which is silence and stillness, and their souls do not remain.”~~

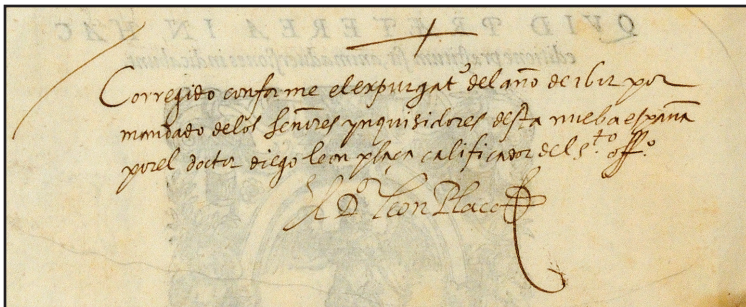
The Inquisition apparently considered this passage to be a denial of the Christian belief in salvation and renewed life after death.

49. Antonio de Sotomayor, General Inquisitor of Spain (1547–1648). *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum novissimus*. Madrid: Diego Diaz, 1667.

This combined edition of the indexes of prohibited and expurgated books is a reprint of Cardinal Antonio de Sotomayor’s highly restrictive 1640 edition. It lists numerous prohibited passages in the notes in the 1584 Salamanca edition of the *Biblia Sacra* compiled by Franciscus Vatablus (1485–1547). The directions to the censor are quite specific. For example, under “In Psalmos,” the second entry calls for note 20 on Psalm 16 to be expurgated after the words “deseres animam meam” to the end of the note, while the third entry calls for the deletion of note 22 in its entirety.

50. [Latin Bible, with commentary]. *Biblia sacra, cum duplici translatione, & scholiis Francisci Vatabli*. Two volumes. Salamanca: Gaspare à Portonariis, Gulielmus Rovillius, and Benedictus Boier, 1584.

In Bridwell Library’s copy of the 1584 *Biblia Sacra* compiled by Franciscus Vatablus, note 20 on Psalm 16 was expurgated after the words “deseres animam meam,” and note 22 was deleted entirely. Although these



Biblia sacra, 1584.

expurgations match those dictated by Sotomayor’s *Index*, inscriptions in both volumes of the *Biblia Sacra* indicate that the expurgations were made by Diego León Plaza, censor of the Inquisition, in accordance with an earlier Spanish *Index librorum expurgatorum*, compiled in 1612 for Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, the Archbishop of Toledo.

51. Pedro Mexía (1496–1552). *Historia imperial y cesarea, en que sumariamente se contienen las vidas, y hechos de todos los emperadores.* Expanded by Basilio Varen de Soto (d. 1673). Madrid: Melchor Sanchez, for Gabriel de Leon, 1655.

The title page of this expanded edition of Pedro Mexía’s history of the Roman and Christian emperors bears an ink inscription in Spanish stating that the book has been “corregido segun el expurgatorio de 1747” (“corrected according to the 1747 expurgations”). Only a single passage of text was deleted, one that repeated the ancient legend that Constantine I (c. 272–337 CE), the first emperor to adopt the Christian religion, was cured of leprosy by washing his sores with the blood of infants executed for that purpose.

52. Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298). *Legenda aurea sanctorum.* Madrid: Juan Garcia, 1688.

Several chapters in the *Legenda aurea* (the “Golden Legend”) expanded upon biblical narratives in ways that were unacceptable to the Catholic Church. In this Madrid edition, a censor deleted the apocryphal tale of the



Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, 1688.

two midwives, found nowhere in the four Gospels, which offers additional “proof” of Mary’s virginity at the Nativity. The passage translates:

There is a fourth proof, for Brother Bartholomew, apparently borrowing from the Book of the Infancy of the Savior, writes that when the hour had come for Mary to be delivered, Joseph called two midwives—one called Zebel, the other Salome—not that he doubted that the Virgin would bring forth the Son of God, for he was following the custom of the country. When Zebel, probing and realizing that Mary was a virgin, cried out that a virgin had given birth, Salome did not believe it and tried to find out for herself; but her hand instantly withered. Then an angel appeared and told her to touch the child, and she was cured immediately.

A Spanish inscription on the verso of the title page explains that Bridwell Library’s copy was “corregido por el Sto. Officio segun el nuevo expurgatorio del año de 1707” (“corrected by the Holy Office according to the new expurgations of 1707”) by a censor named Pablo.

53. Antonio Lobera y Abio (d. 1760). *El porque de todas las ceremonias de la iglesia, y su mysterios*. Girona: Ignacio Portèr, [1769].

In this book explaining the mysteries of the Catholic liturgical ceremonies, pages 650 and 655 were deleted with ink, while pages 652 through 654 were removed by cutting. Although the Spanish Inquisition called for strict censorship of texts containing “new ideas” about the traditional Christian sacraments, none of the Spanish indexes prohibited the specific passages that were deleted from Bridwell Library’s copy of this book. Instead, this censorship may have been carried out in Mexico. The censored texts concern several auxiliary Masses, including those celebrating the wounds of Christ, the exile of the Holy Family, and the Rosary, which were condemned in 1772 by the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council. Seeking to emphasize the central miracle of Communion, this Council forbade the celebration of these alternative Masses. The verso of the title page of this copy was inscribed “Corregido segun santo oficio” (“Corrected according to the Holy Office”).

54. Paul Henri Thiry, Baron of Holbach (1723–1789). *Common sense: or, Natural ideas opposed to supernatural . . . Translated from the French*. New York: [s.n.], 1795.

The practice of expurgation continued far beyond the jurisdiction of the *Index librorum expurgatorum*. Even in the United States of America, a land founded on the principles of religious liberty and the freedom of the press, books with objectionable passages could suffer expurgation that rendered their contents acceptable to authorities. In this English translation of the Baron of Holbach’s atheistic manifesto, *Bon Sens, ou idées naturelles opposées aux idées surnaturelles*, first published at Amsterdam in 1772, the lengthy footnote on page 137 explaining how priests were “enemies of public liberty” was excised from all copies.

55. Lindley Murray (1745–1826). *Sequel to the English Reader*. New York: John S. Taylor, 1839.

Lindley Murray’s *English Reader* was an immensely successful textbook in nineteenth-century grammar schools in the United States. In this copy of the author’s *Sequel to the English Reader*, first published in 1801,

an entire reading by the Scottish historian William Robertson (1721–1793) entitled the “Character of Martin Luther” was deleted by means of stamping with heavily inked blocks. In a public lecture at St. James Church in New York City on July 27, 1840, Rev. John Hughes (1797–1864), Bishop of New York, denounced the inclusion of this passage in books used in the city’s schools. He argued that such Lutheran propaganda was symptomatic of the sectarian education in public schools that would make children in the Catholic minority “subject to the ridicule of their companions, and . . . ashamed of their religion.”

CENSORSHIP IN MEXICO

The Mexican Inquisition, usually working under the direction of the Spanish Inquisition, fortified the effort to censor books within Spain’s overseas dominions by printing official proclamations that served as updates to the Spanish *Index librorum prohibitorum* and the *Index librorum expurgatorum*. Most often published as single-sheet broadsides bearing the official seals and signatures of the ecclesiastical authorities, these decrees warned that violators of censorship laws were subject to excommunication.

56. [Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico]. *Nos los inquisidores contra la heretica pravedad, y apostasia en esta ciudad, y arzobispado de Mexico, estados, y provincias de la Nueva-España, Nueva-Galicia, Goathemala, Nicaragua, Yucatán, Vera-Paz, Honduras, Islas Filipinas, sus districtos, y jurisdicciones. Por autoridad apostolica, &c. A todos los vecinos y moradores* [Mexico: s.n., not after 16 March 1713].

This edict promulgated by the Mexican Inquisition warned the Catholic faithful against several prevailing offenses to Christian beliefs, with sections devoted to the Jewish Law of Moses, Islamic teachings, Lutheranism, followers of the mystical sect known as “Alumbrados,” and prohibited books. The edict also served as a reminder not to read condemned texts, which in 1713 still included the vernacular Bibles that had been banned during the sixteenth century.

57. [Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico]. *Nos los inquisidores apostolicos, contra la heretica pravedad, y apostasia, &c. . . . Sabed, que à nuestra noticia ha llegado haverse escrito, impresso, y divulgado varios libros, tratados, papeles, y manuscritos, que pueden ocasionar la ruina espiritual de vuestras almas, los quales mandamos prohibir, o expurgar respectivamente . . . y son los siguientes.* [Mexico: s.n., 1761].

This notice prohibits sixteen works and orders the expurgation of seven others. The prohibited works include several small-format or single-sheet prayers that offered apocryphal indulgences and other benefits. Bearing the paper and wax seal of the Inquisition, the order was endorsed with the signatures of three inquisitors. The order printed at the bottom of the sheet, “Nadie le quite, pena de Excomunion mayor,” warns that the broadside “should not be removed, under penalty of excommunication.”

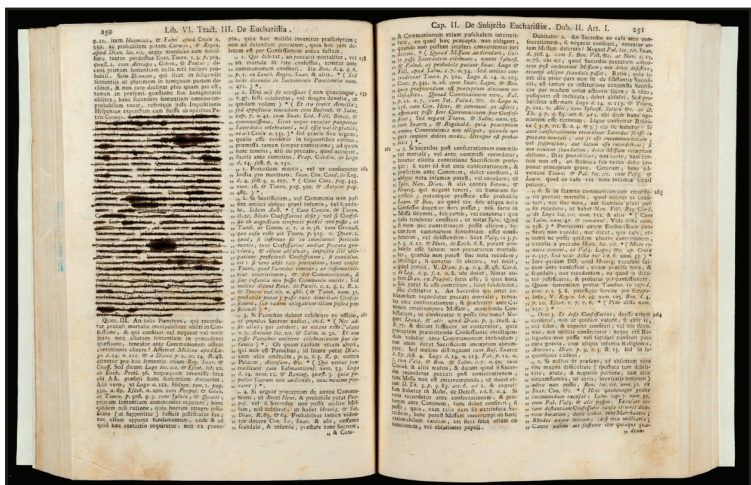
58. [Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico]. *Nos los inquisidores apostolicos, contra la heretica pravedad, y apostasia, &c. A todos, y qualesquier personas de qualquier estado, grado, y condicion Sabed, que à nuestra noticia ha llegado haverse escrito, impresso, y divulgado varios libros, tratados, y papeles, los quales mandamos prohibir, ó expurgar respectivamente, como aqui se expresa: i son los siguientes.* [Mexico: s.n., 1763].

This decree prohibits ten heretical works, including the entire literary output of the French philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778), and orders the expurgation of three other titles. The paper and wax seal of the Mexican Inquisition is affixed to the lower left corner.

59. [Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico]. *Nos los inquisidores apostolicos contra la heretica pravedad y apostasia, en la ciudad de México, estados y provincias de esta Nueva España, Goatemala, Nicaragua, Islas Filipinas, sus distritos y jurisdicciones Hacemos saber, que á nuestra noticia ha llegado haberse escrito, impresso, ó divulgado varios libros, tratados, y papeles, que pueden ocasionar la ruina espiritual de vuestras almas, los quales mandamos prohibir, ó*

expurgar respectivamente, como aqui se expresa, y son los siguientes.
[Mexico: s.n., 1804].

In this proclamation, the Mexican Inquisition lists twenty-one titles that may not be read without license to do so, forty books that are prohibited, and thirteen more texts that require expurgation. Among the expurgated books, No. 2 is St. Alfonso María de Liguorio's *Theologia moralis*. The broadside mandates that in volume II, book 6, tract 3, chapter 2, problem 2, article 1, question 1, section 257, the entire passage beginning "Sed



St. Alfonso María de Liguorio, *Theologia moralis*, 1785.

hoc non obstante" and ending "Sententiam esse valde probabilem" must be deleted.

60. St. Alfonso María de Liguorio (1696–1787). *Theologia moralis*. Volume 2 of two. Venice: Bassani, for Remondini, 1785.

In Bridwell Library's copy of the 1785 Venetian edition of St. Alfonso María de Liguorio's work, the passage condemned by the Mexican Inquisition in 1804 has been thoroughly deleted in ink. As the broadside explained, the passage questioned the necessity of confession before communion and therefore must be expurgated "por ser peligrosa en la

práctica” (“because it is dangerous in practice”).

61. [Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico]. *Nos los inquisidores apostolicos contra la heretica pravedad, y apostasia, en la ciudad de México, estados y provincias de esta Nueva España, Nicaragua, Islas Filipinas, sus distritos, y jurisdicciones Sabed, que á nuestra noticia ha llegado haberse escrito, impreso, y divulgado varios libros, tratados y papeles, que pueden ocasionar la ruina espiritual de vuestras almas, los quales mandamos prohibir, y expurgar respectivamente, como aqui se expresa, y son los siguientes.* [Mexico: s.n., 1809].

This notification prohibits fifty-five books and mandates the expurgation of six others. The prohibited titles range from No. 9, the obscene French novel *Voyage dans le Boudoir de Paulina*, to No. 14, Edward Gibbon's six-volume *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1776–1789). The latter work, widely considered one of the foundations of modern historical method, was banned on account of its negative characterization of the early Church.

62. [Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico]. *Nos los inquisidores apostolicos contra la heretica pravedad, y apostasia en la ciudad de Mexico, estados, y provincias de esta Nueva España, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Islas Filipinas, sus distritos, y jurisdicciones Sabed: que el prudente, y religioso zelo del exmô. Sr. Virrey de este Reyno, há puesto en nuestras manos una proclama del intruso Rey José . . .* [Mexico: s.n., 1810].

This broadside prohibits several politically seditious works as well as the novel *Lettres à Eugénie*, here listed erroneously under the authorship of the French scholar Nicolás Freret, but actually the work of the renowned atheist Paul Henri Thiry, Baron d'Holbach (1723–1789). The novel is said here to have “declared war on religion, its dogmas, mysteries, ministers, and ceremonies.”

