

A Theatre of Cleanliness: a Study of Early Modern Book Microcensorship and the Digital Humanities¹

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Abstract. Censorship sometimes took on a spectacular, even theatrical aspect, as when book burnings were organized in the squares of major cities such as Lisbon, London, Paris or Rome. But, besides the elimination and prohibition of books, there was another form of censorship, common, and also spectacular, in the first sense: made to be seen. It is the expurgation of printed matter, or censorship in the texts themselves. The present work deals with the phenomena of micro-censorship which, for several centuries, have marked the circulation and reading of a very large number of works throughout Europe. It was particularly well organized in the Catholic countries where the tribunal of the Holy Office, or Inquisition, was established, with a staff qualified for this type of task. The systematic study of these phenomena has been made possible thanks to the principles and methodological means presented here. Finally, a case study, the *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* by Theodor and Jacob Zwinger, provides an insight into the interest and potential of microcensorship studies.

Keywords: early modern book, censorship, digital humanities.

Introduction

The theme of the multitude of books, which in modern terms we would translate as an overabundance of bibliographical information, goes back to antiquity. As Jean-Marc Chatelain has explained, this motif constitutes ‘one of the commonplaces of the Western tradition.’² The industrial production of the book through printing and its circulation on a global scale has only exacerbated the problems. There is a domain where the question is posed in a particularly acute way, namely the censorship of books, a question that curiously does not arouse the historian’s interest. However, this infinite abundance of books (*haec infinita librorum copia*)³ or, rather, its pestilent abundance (*Hanc adeo pestilentem noxiorum librorum*

¹ This article had the support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAC), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020).

² Chatelain, Jean-Marc, ‘L’excès des livres et le savoir bibliographique’, *Littératures classiques*, 2008/2 (No. 66), pp. 143-160, p. 145. A whole section of the Republic of Letters was trained in Jesuit pedagogy. The *Ratio studiorum* of 1591 is formal: ‘even the great number of useful books burdens the intelligence and prevents a suitable performance in daily duty’ (*Utilium etiam librorum multitudo et opprimit ingenia, et impedit, ne quotidianum pensum commode reddatur.*) *Ratio et institutio studiorum*, Rome: In Collegio Societatis Jesu, 1591, p. 83). René Descartes, a former student of the college of La Flèche, will thematize the uselessness of books (Baudry, Hervé, *Le Dos de ses livres. Descartes a-t-il lu Montaigne?*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015, pp. 276-283). On anti-book plethora, see Nouis, Lucien, *De l’infini des bibliothèques au livre unique. L’archive épurée au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013.

³ *Epistola sive Declaratio in Edictum Caesareae Maiestatis promulgatum anno salutis M.D.xlvi. Praeterea Catalogus et declaratio librorum reprobatorum a Facultate sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis Academiae, Jussu et ordinatione praenominatae M. C.* Louvain: Servais van Sassen, 1546, f. 21v; reproduced in *Index de l’Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Centre d’Études de la Renaissance; Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986, p. 407.

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copiam)⁴, occupies a central place, as these two expressions show: the first was used by the theologians of Louvain, commissioned by Charles V, to draw up a list of forbidden works, promulgated in 1546; the second, by the archbishop of Prague in his pastoral at the head of the Bohemian list in the eighteenth century. In fact, the phenomena related to what we call censorship are found at the crossroads of various fields, starting with those of librarianship and bibliography. At the least, the censorship of books offers itself to the historian as a considerably vast set of direct sources that are themselves books. The present study considers two types thereof: the indexes of the forbidden books which belong to the bibliographical lists, and the so-called bad books (in Latin *libri mali*) which were the target of these indexes.

The word index has different meanings according to its contents. In all cases, be they peritextual or censoring texts, they reflect an abundance which needs to be organized for the reader. The books of the second group have, in their majority, undergone microcensorship as instructed in specific indexes, those of expurgation (*Index librorum expurgatorum* or *expurgandorum* now abbreviated as ILE).⁵ Two aspects should be highlighted: on the one hand, the indexical relationship between ILEs and expurgated items is cumulative, extensive and organizational (upstream, the control authorities; downstream, the controllable objects); on the other hand, the abundance of data provided by these indexes and the censored copies point to this as particularly significant in the history of censorship in the first three centuries of the printed book. It is well known that, compared to the indexes of prohibition (*Index librorum prohibitorum*, now abbreviated as ILP), the expurgatories are voluminous. Historians generally handle them on a case-by-case basis. Dealing with an ILP is easy as, in short, it conveys basic information (name of author, titles) which is not the case with ILEs due to the textual dimension of their information (the passages to be modified). For example, under letter M, the Roman ILP of 1596 contains 137 entries over five pages and a half⁶ whereas, to take the first Spanish ILE of 1584, a small one compared to its successor of 1612, this contains two entries over seven pages.⁷ Another example can be given: in the Portuguese ILE of 1624, the most expurgated (with the highest number of instructions) authors are: Erasmus (2,249 instructions), Charles Du Moulin (1,887), Conrad Gesner (1,612), the Bible (1,364) and Theodor Zwinger (1,112 instructions).

The overabundant information within the ILEs has turned them slightly into the monsters of early modern censorship studies. Some works have been dedicated to them, but a general history is lacking.⁸ In a general point of view, microcensorship studies, as opposed to the macro level of the phenomena that focuses on the disappearing of the object of expression, need analysable digital documents.

⁴ Koniáš, Antonín, *Index Bohemicorum librorum prohibitorum et corrigendorum*, Vetero Pragae: Johannes Carolus Hraba, 1770, f. A3r (on the date of 1770, not 1767, according to Wögerbauer, Michael, 'Část první. 1749-1810. V zájmu rozumu a spásy duše. Literární cenzura mezi protireformací a osvícenstvím', in: *V obecném zájmu. Cenzura a sociální regulace literatury v moderní české kultuře 1749-2014*, edited by Wögerbauer, M. et al., Praha: Academia, 2015, pp. 102-103).

⁵ Reusch, Franz H., *Der Index den verbotenen Bucher*, Bonn: Max Cohen und Sohn, 1883, 1885; Hilgers, Joseph, *Der Index den verbotenen Bucher*, Freiburg in Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1904; Putnam, George H., *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and Its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature: A Study of the History of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, Together with Some Consideration of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State*, New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, Vol. 2; *Index des livres interdits*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance; Genève: Librairie Droz, Vol. 11, 1985-2002; *El índice de libros prohibidos y expurgados de la Inquisición española (1551-1819). Evolución y contenido*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2016.

⁶ *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Romae: apud Impressores Camerales, 1596, pp. 31v-34r; facsimile in: *Index de Rome, 1590, 1593, 1596*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Genève: Librairie Droz, 1994, pp. 962-964.

⁷ *Index librorum expurgatorum*, Madriti: apud Alfonso Gomezium regium typographum, 1584.

⁸ On the Portuguese expurgatories: Régio, Raul, *Os Índices expurgatórios e a cultura portuguesa*, Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1982. Historical information about each expurgatory of the sixteenth century is to be found in *Index des livres interdits* (1571: Vol. 7; 1581: Vol. 4; 1584: Vol. 6) and, by the same, the Spanish ones (*El Índice de los libros prohibidos*, pp. 3-233). On the Roman expurgatory of 1607: Gibbings, Richard, *An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, the only Vatican Index of this kind ever published*, Dublin: Milliken and Son, 1837; Rebellin, Elisa, 'Il miraggio dell'espurgazione. L'indice di Guanzelli del 1607', *Società e storia* 2008, Vol. 31, pp. 715-742; Jones, Derek, 'Pedro de Valencia's Defence of Arias Montano: The Expurgatory Indexes of Rome (1607) and Madrid (1612)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1978, Vol. 40/1, pp. 121-136.

The present study is concerned about the use, readability and accessibility of the ILEs. Two of them have been reedited in the past, the Roman one of 1607, already mentioned, and the first Portuguese one of 1581, but they are not easily accessible.⁹ The Digital Revolution completely changed the situation for those who need to consult the texts, expurgatories and expurgated items from the inside. Not only are copies of the ILEs now in image format but more and more copies of microcensored printed books have been digitized (but regarding this aspect of such research, local item consulting remains unavoidable). All the early modern expurgatories can be accessed and downloaded through the main catalogues, such as the KVK-Karlsruhe Virtual Catalogue or Europeana.¹⁰ Most of them are in image format and when word search is available, it is not fully accurate. Given this, the present study will consider the different aspects of research into early modern censorship in three steps. Firstly, it is necessary to explain in more details how censorship indexes manage bibliographical information. The second stage will describe the digital tools for prohibitories and expurgatories. Finally, since these indexes are instruments for censoring books, it will describe what could be considered the digital library of expurgated books through the case of Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*.

Censorship indexes and bibliographical information processing

In this analytical perspective, indexes of banned books are organized collections of onomastic and bibliographical data. In addition to broad historical and cultural factors, their appearance is determined by the disturbing abundance of books resulting from the invention of printing. As a chapter in the history of catalogues, they are a logical result. A particularly important precedent is that of the names of heretics, already established in the printed book, such as the *Catalogus haereticorum*, reprinted by 1537, by the Dominican Bernard de Luxembourg.¹¹ To this must be added the practice of listing heretical propositions, *Collectio errorum*, with the famous 'list of Paris', drawn up following the condemnations by the University of Paris at the end of the thirteenth century.¹² Developed and used in ecclesiastical structures, they result from a confessional treatment of information. It is possible to consider the Spanish catalogue of 1554 as a prototype of the expurgatory.¹³ Bearing a significant title, *Censura generalis contra errores*, it only deals with the Bible. Following the list of the editions that need correction ('*indigent castigatione*'), one by one it cites and comments on erroneous and heretical propositions.¹⁴ Finally, these works provide information for legal actions, which will be specified in the next part of this presentation.

The first bibliographical lists appeared in the years following the launch of the Reformation. Censorial cataloguing of printed production extends into the twentieth century (e.g. the Otto list in occupied France; in 1948, the publication of the last Catholic index in Rome, or in the Irish Republic). Our chronological domain is limited to the first modernity (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries) period.

Originally, in the sixteenth century, the compilation of lists was undertaken empirically, during visits to places with a concentration of information (libraries, publishers and booksellers). Then it was rationalized and reached high levels in terms of what was accumulated thanks to the first bibliographical

⁹ Reusch, Franz H., *Der Index den verbotenen Bucher*, pp. 363-372.

¹⁰ For the Portuguese ILE of 1624, the copy of the National Library of Portugal is complete (*Index librorum prohibitorum*, Ulyssip: ex officina Petri Craesbeeck, 1624. Access at: <https://purl.pt/38729>) and of better quality than that of the Library of Lausanne.

¹¹ Luxembourg, Bernard de, *Catalogus haaereticorum omnium pene, qui a scriptoribus passim literis proditi sunt, nomina, errores et tempora quibus vixerunt ostendens*, Coloniae: typis E. Cervicorni, 1522.

¹² *Collectio errorum in Anglia et Parisius condemnatorum*, [Köln]: Heinrich Quentell, 1490. See Bianchi, Luca, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'Université de Paris: XIIIe-XIe siècles*, Paris: les Belles lettres, 1999, pp. 58-61, 215.

¹³ 'It can be considered as an expurgatory index with its own characteristics' (*Index de l'Inquisition espagnole, 1551, 1554 ILE, 1559*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Genève: Librairie Droz, 1984, p. 161). But, contrary to the prescriptive indexes published from 1571, no precise instruction is given toward a systematic textual modification.

¹⁴ *Censura generalis contra errores, quibus recentes haeretici sacram scripturam asperserunt*, Pinciae: Franciscus Ferdinandus Cordobensis, 1554, f. b8r-d2v.

tool, the *Bibliotheca universalis* by Conrad Gesner (1545),¹⁵ as well as the catalogues of book fairs.¹⁶ This was accumulation perpetuated by indexical intertextuality. It is necessary to clarify something obvious: the history of these lists was that of a diachronic accumulation, since it was a matter of establishing new information, that is to say – a part of the bibliographical production.

The indexes of banned books reflect a selective, rational and bureaucratic management in accordance with some ideological criteria (first theological, then moral and political). Their composition varied in the first decades, where structures were put in place, and then alphabetical order, which was quickly adopted in the lists with a complex structure and imposed on the whole work (Rome, 1665; Madrid, 1790).¹⁷ As the Roman Index of 1665 explained, this was a more convenient and quicker usage.¹⁸ This shift reflects an evolution from qualitative primacy (classes of authors and books) to quantitative primacy.¹⁹

Indexes accumulate bibliographical information for censorial use, i.e. for repression and standardization. But early on their contents were used for other reasons, which reflects their interest in the more general framework of the accumulation of knowledge, which is one of the major dynamics of humanist culture and its heirs. The misuses would deserve a large-scale study in its own right. I will limit myself to two types: polemical and bibliographical. The first case would seem congenital to the first indexes with the ex-catholic bishop passing to Pier Paolo Vergerio of the Reformation.²⁰ A censor due to his functions, he delivered counterfeits of the Italian indexes that he openly criticized.²¹ The first librarian of the Bodleian in Oxford, Thomas James, published the only English index in 1627²² following a treatise against the Jesuit librarians Jacob Gretser and Antonio Possevino.²³ Its purpose was to inform, not to censor. From the Reformation to the Counter-Reformation, the 'battlefield'²⁴ was also bibliographic.

A second use of the selective bibliographical information, provided by the indexes of forbidden books, appeared as early as the seventeenth century. At least, it can be deduced from the classification of this type of work in library catalogues where they are listed among the *bibliothecarii*.²⁵ In the Cordesiana (1643), under this heading in a folio format, we can find Phocus's *Bibliotheca* and that of Gesner; in quarto format, two indexes of forbidden books, the 1601 Saumurian forgery of the Spanish indexes of 1571 and 1584²⁶ and the index of Thomas James. This classification, which is not a sign of a generalized change in status, should not be surprising. The major places which drew up the indexes were the countries where the Inquisition was established - Italy, Spain and Portugal, and, in a more limited period, the Habsburgian Lower Countries. However, their use, especially that of the Roman indexes, can be extended

¹⁵ Nelles, Paul, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book: Zurich, Frankfurt, Venice (1543)', in: *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, edited by Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles, Jeroen Salman, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 39-66.

¹⁶ On these catalogues, see *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arthur der Weduwen et al, Brill, 2021.

¹⁷ By languages (Paris, 1544); classes (Rome, 1564); author (Rome, 1607; Prague, 1770).

¹⁸ *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Roma: Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1665, p. XXIII.

¹⁹ On the qualification of error and the degrees of heterodoxy see Neveu, Bruno, *L'Erreur et son juge, remarques sur les censures doctrinales à l'époque moderne*, Naples: Bibliopolis, 1993, in particular pp. 396-403.

²⁰ On this curious character of the Reformation in Italy, Pierce, Robert A., *Pier Paolo Vergerio the Propagandist*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003; Rozzo, Ugo, 'Pier Paolo Vergerio censore degli indici dei libri proibiti', in: *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Giovane, un polemista attraverso l'Europa del Cinquecento*, Udine: Forum, 2000, pp. 143-177; Schutte, Anne Jacobson, *Pier Paolo Vergerio: the making of an Italian reformer*, Geneva: Droz, 1977.

²¹ Bonnant, Georges, 'Les index prohibitifs et expurgatoires contrefaits par des protestants au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1969, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 611-640.

²² James, Thomas, *Index generalis librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis, una cum Editionibus expurgatis vel expurgandis, juxta seriem Literarum et triplicem classem. In usum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, et Curatoribus eiusdem specialiter designatus*, Oxoniae: Guilielmus Turne, 1627. See Richard W. Clement, 'Librarianship and Polemics: The Career of Thomas James (1572-1629)', *Libraries & Culture*, Spring, 1991, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 269-282.

²³ James, Thomas, *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*, London: Printed by H.L. for Mathew Lownes, 1612.

²⁴ Balsamo, Jean, 'How to doctor a bibliography: Antonio Possevino's practice', in: *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Fragnito, Gigliola- et al., Cambridge: University Press, 2001, pp. 50-78.

²⁵ Naudé, Gabriel, *Bibliothecae cordesiana catalogus*, Paris: Antonius Vitray, 1643, p. 133.

²⁶ *Index librorum expurgatorum*, Saumur: Thomas Portau, 1601.

to all Catholic countries, starting with France.²⁷ We have seen the polemical use through the forgeries of Vergerio. These become more numerous at the end of the sixteenth century. They came from the Protestant workshops and were in particular indexes of expurgation, the bibliographical contents of which were much more elaborate than those of the indexes concerning prohibition. They would be commonly found in eighteenth century libraries in the bibliographical sections. In Estrées's private library catalogue, there are twelve indexes in the section of the 'particular bibliographers'.²⁸ One fact provides a measure of this evolution: the first expurgation index, published in Antwerp in 1571, was 'restricted to the visitors in charge of carrying out the expurgations'.²⁹ Its forgeries, like the Spanish one of 1612, published in 1619 in Geneva with two different title pages according to the targeted confessional public, extended its uses well beyond the strict legality of textual control and repression.

Indexes: selective bibliographical information on two levels

Two types of indexes have just been mentioned. Their respective differences should be briefly explained. Both are indeed indexes of 'forbidden books'. However, the former, which appeared originally, catalogued the definitively cancelled (prohibition index), while the latter temporarily and partially prohibited (expurgation index) texts, since it implied a number of textual modifications. From the point of view of the bibliographical contents, the prohibitory indexes consisted mainly of onomastic lists, with the first name and then the name of the authors whose works were prohibited. The appearance of three classes in the Roman indexes (1559 and 1564, the so-called Tridentine index) introduced an important difference, from our perspective: the second and third classes catalogued specific titles. Whatever the class (a structure adopted by the Spanish indexes even though the Tridentine was not promulgated there), it was the second-level ban that, from a general point of view, constituted the field of specific bibliographical information. The case of Erasmus is paradigmatic in this respect because, whether he was a first- or second-class author, his titles, apart from the Bible, were the subject of the greatest number of expurgation instructions, i.e. textual modifications imposed so that the work could enter into circulation again. The quality of the bibliographical information was very reliable since the expurgation instructors had held the target work in their hands. Hence bibliographical puzzles, such as that of the Portuguese *Cancioneiro Geral*.³⁰

As far as the processing of the indexing data is concerned, where are we in 2021? A large number of indexes of both types are accessible in image format, from that of Paris (1544)³¹ to the Roman ILP of 1892. The last two editions are those of 1940 and 1948, which are not yet available for public access. Some twentieth century printed materials enable word searching, e.g. the 1892 pdf downloaded from Archive.org.³² The results depend on the quality of the OCR. In regards the older printed matter they are much

²⁷ Baudry, Hervé, 'Les index de censure en France aux XVI^e-XVII^e siècles', in: *À qui lira...? Littérature, livre et librairie en France au XVII^e siècle*, edited by Mathilde Bombart et al., Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2020, pp. 386-400.

²⁸ *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Monseigneur le maréchal duc d'Estrées*, Paris: Jacques Guerin, 1740, 2nd Part, pp. 159-160.

²⁹ *Index d'Anvers, 1569, 1570, 1571*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988, p. 42. For the passage of the decree of Philip II on the restricted circulation of this first expurgatory: *Index expurgatorius librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt, vel doctrinae non sanae erroribus inspersis*, Antverpiae: Chr. Plantin, 1571, f. 2v (reproduced in *Index d'Anvers*, p. 714).

³⁰ The last instructions (nr. 89-94) of the Portuguese expurgatory of 1624 (*Index Auctorum damnatae memoriae*, Ulyssiponae: ex off. Petri Craesbeeck, 1624, p. 349) refer to folios 228-232; however, the only edition, of 1516, contains only 227. Anselmo Braamcamp Freire had pointed out this fact without being able to explain it (Freire, Braamcamp A, *A Censura e o Cancioneiro Geral*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1921, p. 68). It is not a simple numbering error: in the expurgatory, the foliation differs from f. 223 (column b), which should be f. 220; 228 should be 222 (6 folios difference), then 229, 224 (5), etc.

³¹ *Le catalogue des livres censurez par la faculté de theologie de Paris*, Paris: Jehan André, 1544.

³² *Index librorum prohibitorum sanctissimi domini nostri Leonis XIII pont. max. jussu editus*, Turini: Typ. Pontificia et Archiepiscopalis Eq. P. Marietti, 1892, [accessed: 26 March 2022]. Access at: <<https://archive.org/details/indexlibrorumpro00turiuof>>.

more limited. A search on the Latin word *oratio* in the digitized copy of the Portuguese ILPE of 1624 from the Library of Lausanne,³³ accessible in Google Books, gives 28 results. In fact, we can find 162 occurrences of the word in a transcribed edition.

The field, opened by the systematization of early modern microcensorship studies, extends to the twelve indexes from 1571 to 1790-1805. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are the ‘Golden Age’ of ILEs. We know they are voluminous. That of 1624 contains about 400,000 words for 26,000 instructions. Such data was obtained thanks to the first full transcription of two ILEs, both Portuguese and published in 1581 and 1624. The latter is a folio of more than 1,000 pages, composed of three sections: Roman prohibitory, Portuguese prohibitory and Portuguese expurgatory.³⁴ The expurgatory extends over more than eighty percent of the volume.

Current OCR applications give good results with contemporary printed materials. However, transcribing older texts, due to their typographical quality and quantity of pages, requires an advanced and specific character recognition model for their automated transcription. For the Portuguese ILEs, an HTR (Handwritten Text Recognition) model was created on the Transkribus platform for digital palaeography.³⁵ The HTR model created is available for public access and can be used, for example, as a base model for the transcription of the other seventeenth century indexes.³⁶ Nothing has to be said on the historical benefits of such an undertaking, particularly about the comparative study of expurgative practices, not only at the level of the entries (authors, titles) but also of the instructions (operations, texts).

The two transcribed Portuguese ILEs are available in a pdf format on the website Early Modern Indexes of Expurgation (EMIE).³⁷ The other tool provided, thanks to this edition, is the database IndApp. IndApp serves two purposes: to search and to describe. It provides a full search within the information provided by the ILEs (a total of 26,000 instructions), and in particular within the instructions and not only the bibliographic data.³⁸ According to the second purpose, similar to the use of the ILEs by the *revisores*, who applied the instructions in the copies they had to ‘cleanse’, investigators and librarians in the early modern censorship can check the application of the instructions in the copies possessed by the library. This side of the microcensorship analysis of individual copies ensures a systematic and methodological inventory of the phenomena allowing the full description of the individual copies with evidence of censoring control *versus* those which are immune. The indexes of censorship were texts which had the force of the law. It is the question of their effectuation and of the censorial effectiveness that is posed, and where these new resources enable searching on a large scale in this *mare magnum* of indexed items.³⁹ In fact, this metaphor is all the more relevant since, in addition to the bibliographical accumulation of authors’ names and works, it is necessary to join that of textual instructions, that is to say all the modifications that must be made in the target texts.

³³ *Index auctorum damnatae memoriae*, Ulyssiponae: ex off. Petri Craesbeck, 1624. Lausanne copy, access at: <https://books.google.pt/books?id=agY-AAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-BR&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false/>.

³⁴ Until 1607, the expurgatories are independent books. Whereas the ILE of 1624 separates prohibitories and expurgatory, from the Spanish index of 1612, entries of prohibition and expurgation are alphabetically listed together. Therefore, all these indexes can be abbreviated into ILPE. One independent expurgatory will be published at the end of the eighteenth century: *Index Bohemicorum librorum prohibitorum et corrigendorum*, Prague: Johannes Carolus Hraba, 1770.

³⁵ Access at: <<https://readcoop.eu/transkribus/?sc=Transkribus/>>.

³⁶ Access at: <<https://readcoop.eu/model/latin-portuguese-print-17th-century/>>.

³⁷ Access at: <<https://ind-exp.eu/>>.

³⁸ Free access to database consulting (Search); editing registers of individual copies to be available in early 2023.

³⁹ Savelli, Rodolfo, ‘La censura dei libri di diritto nella seconda metà del Cinquecento’, in: *A Ennio Cortese. Scritti promossi da Domenico Maffei e raccolti a cura di Italo Birocchi, Mario Caravale, Emanuele Conte, Ugo Petronio*, Roma: Il Cigno edizioni, 2001, Vol. 3, p. 226.

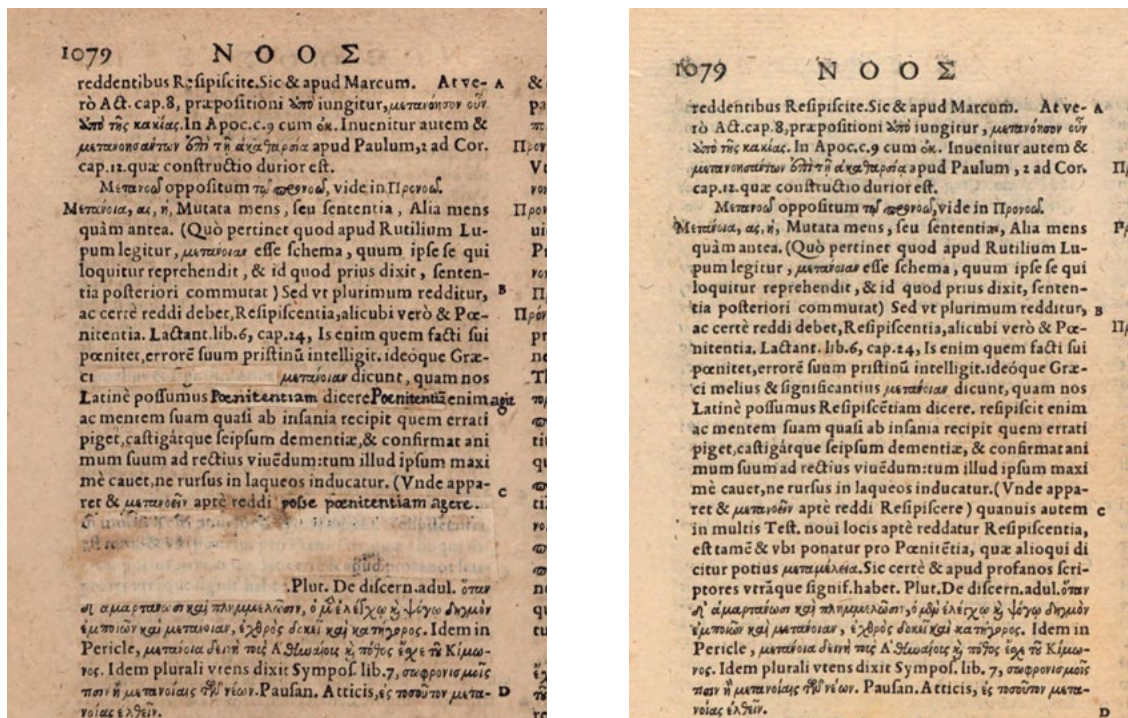


Fig. 1. Estienne, Henri, *Thesaurus tes ellenikes glosses*, Genève, 1572, Vol. 2-2, p. 1079. On the left: the expurgated page (ink, paper and glue). Copy provenance: Jesuit College of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). On the right, an immune page.

The IndApp application is intended to provide the indexed data for this inventory. As a first step, the database consists of the Portuguese expurgatories of 1581 and 1624. Each of the instructions is presented in a synthetic form. The analysis of a copy in a library or (they are not yet in the majority) in its digitized form is thus carried out as if the person in charge of this research came to verify the extent of the censorial task carried out at a given moment (sometimes more or less precisely dated) between the sixteenth (in principle, from 1571) and the eighteenth centuries. Although the vast majority of copies bearing expurgation marks and, more generally, censorial control marks, have been modified in the countries where these indexes were produced, it should be remembered that the expurgation of books does not result entirely from such instructions, although it is the case for the great majority of them. Almost all of the authors from Antiquity are not included in the index (and when they are, it is for their peritext, that is the comments made by heretics), as well as the Hebrew literature. Moreover, there is an unknown number of copies, in every country, mainly of Catholic culture, that may bear such traces, such as, for example, the *unicum* of the original edition of *Pantagruel* (1531?) by François Rabelais, owned by the National Library of France.⁴⁰

Information processing: the case of Theodor and Jacob Zwinger's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*

The choice of this work is justified first of all by its title: the notion of theatre links to the fields of bibliography and encyclopaedia, the ordered accumulation of knowledge being possible only thanks to the writings produced since Antiquity. Ann Blair explained how Zwinger used cut-and-paste for many of his columns.⁴¹ The editorial history and censorial reception of the *Theatrum* illustrate the cumulative pattern of phenomena at play. From the first edition in 1565 to the last one in 1631, we go from a work

⁴⁰ Rabelais, François, *Pantagruel*, Lyon, Claude Nourrit, [1531?], f. C4r, H1r-v, H3r-v, I2r, [accessed: 26 March 2022]. Access at: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86095855>>.

⁴¹ Blair, Ann, 'Reading strategies for coping with information overload, ca.1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (2003), pp. 11-28, p. 27.

of 1428 pages to 4373.⁴² On the other hand, this work was the subject of expurgatory instructions, which also increased: from eighty in 1584 to more than one thousand from 1612 onwards.⁴³

It is therefore a work that is particularly representative of the problem of the accumulation of knowledge and the systematic controls to which works in this category were subjected. The edition of the Portuguese expurgatory of 1624 and the formalization of the instructions for the IndApp application, have made it possible to describe and quantify the instructions to be realised in the text (Basel edition, 1604). As to the three types of textual modifications imposed by the expurgation indexes, we have the following: 973 deletions, 76 substitutions and 4 additions.

Most of the text cleaning done in print (sometimes, handwritten copies) follows the instructions of the indexes. However, the indexing relationship can appear more complicated. As an example, the copy owned by the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania shows the deletion of a paragraph.⁴⁴ This is the 1565 edition. Now, the indexes were based on two other editions: the first Spanish expurgation (1584) on the Paris edition of Sonnius (1572); the later expurgations (Spanish of 1612, etc., and Portuguese of 1624) – on the 1604 text. However, the crossed-out paragraph in the Vilnius copy belongs to the edition of 1565, reprinted in 1571. This first condition of the text of the *Theatrum* has not been consulted, and therefore could not be indexed. Therefore, the expurgation of the Vilnius copy is not directly indexical (in the case of this passage– I have not consulted the rest of the work). It is not, however, arbitrary. It must have been undertaken by a member, perhaps a librarian, of the Jesuit College that owned it. Be that as it may, Gregory the Great did not go unnoticed by the censorious readers. Two passages concerning him were to be crossed out from the index of 1584. Another indication of the sustained attention paid to this author is that in the copy of Ghent (Paris, 1572), where a passage was expurgated, however,



Fig. 2. Zwinger, Theodor, *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, Basileae: Oporinus, Froben, 1565, p. 256. On the left, the expurgated page. The name of the entry, Gregorius, was made illegible by tracing out the capital letters. Copy provenance: Jesuit College in Kražiai (ink; Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania). On the right, an immune page.

⁴² Vega, María José, 'Enciclopedismo y conflicto religioso: la expurgación del *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* de Theodor Zwinger en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII', *Saberes (in)útiles: el enciclopedismo literario áureo entre acumulación y aplicación*, edited by Mechthild Albert and Ulrike Becker, Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016, pp. 287-315, p. 289.

⁴³ *Index librorum expurgatorum*, Madriti: apud Alfonsum Gomezium regium typographum, 1584: 79 instructions (taken up in full by Antonio Possevino in his first edition of the *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum*, Romae: ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1593, L. 1, pp. 85-88, then in the second edition, Colonia: J. Gymnicus, 1607, Vol. 2, L. 16, cap. 4, pp. 345-348); *Index librorum expurgandorum in studiosorum gratiam confecti tomus primus*, Romae: Typographia R. Cam. Apost., 1607, p. 472; *Index Auctorum damnatae memoriae*, Ulyssiponae: ex off. Petri Craesbeck, 1624 (some variants with the *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum*, Madriti: apud Ludovicum Sanchez typographum regium, 1612), p. 1053.

⁴⁴ Page presented by Kvizikevičiūtė, Milda, 'Not worth reading?' or Emotional Polemics between a Book and its Reader in Grand Duchy of Lithuania', *The Inaugural Durham History of the Book Conference: Bibliophilia and Bibliophobia*, Durham University, 29-30 June 2020.

seemingly, this did not result from the application of the instruction (ILE 1584, p.190), otherwise the other instructions would have been applied. The text of 1565 disappears from the *Theatrum* from the Roman edition of 1587 onwards and is therefore not to be found in that of 1604 either.

To conclude very briefly, the present research was made possible by the instruments described as well as by the digitized copies of the works cited. De Bujanda described the expurgation studies as a ‘huge project that will have to be explored by analytical studies for each of the cases.’⁴⁵ The synthesizing tools of the Digital Humanities enable it to assume a less impressive dimension. They do more than opening the frontiers between books and readers. They provide powerful and stimulating tools and push the limits of our capacities to process and use information that was previously difficult to access, especially because of its extent. The copies described here, from Ghent or Vilnius, will therefore join the virtual shelves of the library of expurgated books. The widespread use of such tools makes possible their improvement and the progress of our knowledge.

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