

Review Essay

Researching the Modern Jesuit Library: A Case Study from Portugal's Campolide Library

Francisco Malta Romeiras*

*Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia,
Universidade de Lisboa*

Introduction

Repositories of knowledge, places of sacred silence, cradles of civilization, palaces of memory and forgetfulness, libraries contain a multitude of meanings and purposes. As privileged spaces for the pleasures of reading and the fleeting atonement of curiosity, they have been admired for their capacity to inspire young and not-so-young readers to explore distant places and times, whether real or imagined. As readers of this journal are aware, histories of individual libraries pervade both learned and popular settings. The destruction of libraries, in particular, has been a recurrent theme in pieces of academic writing, best-selling novels, press articles, and social media.¹ Librarians and archivists keep reminding us that rare books and manuscripts are fragile and should be handled with care. Because they have arguably been the most successful and widespread application of paper technologies up to our days, printed books and manuscripts are under constant threat of being destroyed by fire, water, bugs, mold, or corroding ink. These menaces cannot be easily dismissed and are, one may argue, integral to the very history of li-

* Francisco Malta Romeiras is a Research Fellow at the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Lisbon. His research interests include science and religion, early modern science and medicine, and book censorship. He has published widely on Jesuit science and education and is the author of *Jesuits and the Book of Nature* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). The author wishes to thank José Maria Moreno Madrid, Jorge Flores, Henrique Leitão, and Seth Meehan for reading and commenting upon an earlier version of this manuscript, as well as the anonymous peer reviewer for their insightful comments and bibliographic references. Thanks also to Claude Pavur for help with the translation of some quotes into English.

1 When thinking about the destruction of libraries, *The Name of the Rose* is arguably one of the first writings that comes to mind: Eco, *Il nome della rosa*. For a recent overview on the destruction of libraries across history, see Ovenden, *Burning the Books*.

braries as embodied institutions. In many cases, it is the materiality and content of individual books that makes them so valuable for researchers. As books historians have emphasized, the existence of distinctive patterns of material interventions such as marginal notes, traces of censorship, ownership marks, modest manicules and more creative drawings not only allow for the identification of individual copies, but they also make compelling arguments for the study of books as archives of reading practices.

Books and libraries are often coveted either for their intrinsic value or for what they represent, and yet they are subject to other kinds of human destruction, that range from the embezzlement of a few rare printings to the plunder and dispersion of entire collections. This article focuses on such a story. Founded in the 1850s, the library of the Jesuit College of Campolide, in Lisbon, was pilaged and scattered in the wake of the country's Republican revolution in 1910. After a decade of litigation over its property, the remnants of the Jesuit library were incorporated in the collections of the Portuguese National Library. Despite being the most celebrated boarding school in late nineteenth-century Portugal, the absence of a catalogue prevented historians to study the library until now. The tracking of hundreds of copies pertaining to the so-called "Learned Library of Campolide" at the Portuguese National Library has allowed me to sketch a partial reconstruction of its collections and to study them in the broader context of science and education in modern Portugal in my recent monograph-length book (*A biblioteca erudita de Campolide*). Written in Portuguese, this book is among the first attempts to reconstruct and study a Jesuit library in this period. It brings together the study of about 380 individual copies, the testimonial of the public officer assigned to catalog the library in 1918, and a collection of the annual letters concerning the College of Campolide, translated and published by an anti-Jesuit scholar in 1913. This article draws on the main findings of the book with the aim to provide a case study to a wider English-language readership, intended as a potential guide and stimulus to future research in the (hitherto) understudied subject of Jesuit libraries in the modern era. The article takes as its focus a selection of titles from the key fields (by no means exhaustive) of theology, philosophy, history, mathematics, natural and medical sciences, literature, and music.

The study of Jesuit books and libraries has been a topic of scholarly interest for some time. Following a more general trend, most his-

torians have dedicated their time to researching books and libraries in the period between the official foundation of the Society of Jesus in 1540 and the universal suppression in 1773.² Nevertheless, some attention is being paid to the creation and dispersion of Jesuit libraries after the papal restoration of the order in 1814.³ Given the actual and perceived discontinuities between both periods, however, studies that bridge the two eras are rare.⁴ Scholarship on Jesuit libraries in the Lusophone world follows the same pattern, with no attention being paid to nineteenth- and twentieth-century books and libraries.⁵ Despite its limited scope, I will argue that the Jesuit Library of Campolide provides an excellent case-study to understand the practices of librarianship in a Catholic setting. In a period characterized by passionate discussions around modernity that classically opposed science and progress on the one hand, and obscurantism and papal infallibility on the other hand, the study of a Catholic library can shed light into what was really at stake for parents and educators. Hopefully, the study of this collection will encourage historians and librarians to reflect upon the devastating consequences of the combination of realpolitik and carelessness for the preservation of knowledge.

Jesuit Libraries (and Librarianship)

There should be a general library in the colleges, if possible, and those who in the judgment of the rector ought to have a key should have one. Furthermore, each one should have the books that he requires.⁶

Despite the short reference in the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (1558), libraries were among the most cherished and emblematic places in Jesuit colleges in the early modern period. As the maxim attributed to Peter Canisius (1521–97)⁷ has it, it was “better a college without a church of its own than a college without a library of its

2 Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China*; Begheyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic*; Vacalebre, *Come le armadure e l'armi*. See also Comerford, ed., “Jesuits and their Books” and Golvers, “The Western Library of Matteo Ricci”.

3 Moledina, “Books in Exile”.

4 One recent exception is Mancini, “I bibliotecari del Collegio Romano (1551–1873)”.

5 Gomes, “As antigas livrarias dos jesuítas em Lisboa”; Pereira, “Vida e morte de uma biblioteca jesuíta”.

6 *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, no. 372.

7 Peter Canisius, * 8.V.1521 Nijmegen (Netherlands), SJ 8.V.1543 Mainz, † 21.XII.1597 Fribourg (Switzerland) (DHCJ I, 633–5).

own".⁸ Although the attribution to the Jesuit missionary to German lands is unlikely at best,⁹ its persistent use in Jesuit and non-Jesuit sources throughout the twentieth century certainly echoes the privileged status libraries enjoyed in Jesuit colleges. The foundation of libraries in the early modern Jesuit colleges must be understood against the backdrop of political and religious turmoil brought by the Reformation and the Wars of Religion. As gatekeepers of theological orthodoxy and spiritual primacy claimed by Rome, libraries were of paramount importance for Catholic scholars who were heavily invested in countering the writings of Martin Luther, Andreas Karlstadt, Thomas Muntzer or John Calvin, to name but a few. Jesuit books and libraries reflected an ethos of the Catholic Reformation, but they did it within a well-defined and distinctive "culture of instruction, edification, learning, and dissemination of the faith" that characterized—and, to a certain extent, shaped—the Society of Jesus before the universal suppression in 1773.¹⁰

The Society of Jesus is regarded—and one may add cherished—by early modern historians for its proverbial diligence in documenting and archiving everything of remote interest to the government of its members.¹¹ As an emerging order in a period of religious turmoil, the Jesuits were also particularly concerned with the printed word and its public image. The cultivation of a bookish culture of knowledge was embedded, one may argue, in the Jesuits' "way of proceeding" that Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions sought to define very early on. Jesuit librarianship arose alongside these cultures of archiving and book collecting and its origin can be traced back to the College of Jesus, in Coimbra. In the school year of 1545–1546, Simão Rodrigues (1510–79)¹²

8 Broderick, *Saint Peter Canisius*, 186. The German version reads: "Lieber ein Kollegium ohne eigene Kirche, als sein Kollegium ohne eigene Bücherei". This aphorism may be a Jesuit adaptation of the famous medieval sentence: "Castrum sine armario est quasi castrum sine armamentario".

9 Despite its universal use, I was not able to trace this adage in Canisius's printed works nor in his letters: *Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Iesu, Epistolae et Acta*. Some scholars trace it to a letter from Canisius to Diego Laínez on September 29, 1563, but, alas, I did not find it there either: *Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Iesu, Epistolae et Acta*, 4: 336–7. The earliest reference seems to be Braunsberger, "Ein Freund der Bibliotheken, und ihrer Handschriften", 5: 455.

10 Golvers, "Jesuit Libraries in the Old and the New Society of Jesus", 1.

11 See especially Friedrich, "Government and Information-Management in Early modern Europe" and "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*".

12 Simão Rodrigues, * 1510 Vouzela (Portugal), † 15.VII.1579 Lisboa (Portugal) (DHCJ IV, 3390–2).

sent general instructions to the rector of the College of Coimbra on the government of the recently found school (1542).¹³ These instructions—which preceded the foundation of the College of Messina (1548) and the publication of the *Constitutions* (1558), two cornerstones of Jesuit education—encompass the first principles of Jesuit librarianship. The rules stipulated that the librarian's main functions were to keep a systematic catalogue of all books and to shelve them appropriately, that is “according to the diversity of sciences”. He should keep a record of book loans and another of books brought by Jesuits when they entered the order, to make their devolution possible in the event of leaving. Besides, the librarian was also bound to keep track of books loaned by the rector to outsiders. He was responsible for cleaning the library and was instructed to clear the dust of the books every other week and to sweep the upper and lower floors every two days. Finally, he oversaw the handling of writing supplies, including ink, paper, quills, and scissors.¹⁴

The rules for the College of Coimbra were updated and eventually extended to libraries at other Jesuit colleges. In 1553, Jerome Nadal (1507–80)¹⁵ made the first adjustments and extended the rules to the Iberian colleges. While he saw no need for the Jesuit librarian to perform the duties of a clerk, he added a significant prescription regarding the annotation of books. With the exception of typos—which should be corrected with “perfect handwriting”—books could not be annotated by their readers.¹⁶ This, of course, suggests that the practice was customary. Not surprisingly, though, the rule was sometimes ignored as extant copies of early modern Jesuit libraries so well attest. In 1567, during the generalate of Francis Borgia (1510–72, in office 1565–72),¹⁷ the rules were updated to include the purchase of the latest edition of the *Index of Forbidden Books*.¹⁸ Published in 1559 by Paul IV (r. 1555–9), the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was harshly criticized for its severity, namely by prominent Jesuits.¹⁹ In

13 See especially: Vacalebre, *Come le armadure e l'armi*, 33–62.

14 *Broëti*, 835–6; *Regulae*, 58–61.

15 Jerome Nadal, * 1.VIII.1507 Palma de Mallorca (Spain), SJ 29.XI.1545 Rome, † 3.IV.1580 Rome (DHCJ III, 2793–6).

16 *Regulae*, 477–9.

17 Francis Borgia, * 28.X.1510 Gandía (Spain), SJ 2.VI.1546 Gandía, † 30.IX.1572 Rome (DHCJ II, 1605–11).

18 Connolly, “Jesuit Library Beginnings”; Comerford, “Jesuits and their Books: Libraries and Printing around the World”.

19 For a modern edition of the Roman Indexes, see Bujanda, ed. *Index des Livres Interdits*. Vol. VIII.

a letter to Superior General Diego Laínez (1512–65),²⁰ Canisius argued that in German lands the Index was “intolerable” and “scandalous”—literally a “stumbling block”—for the Catholic Church.²¹ After some failed attempts, the Pauline Index was revised during the last session of the Council of Trent and rolled off the presses in March 1564.²² Besides being more reasonable, the Tridentine embodied, at least to a certain extent, a greater authority since it was a conciliar, and not a papal, document. For those reasons, the introduction of this norm in the Jesuit libraries in 1567 was arguably less controversial than it would have been earlier under Paul IV. During Everard Mercurian’s (1514–80)²³ tenure as superior general (1572–80), the instructions were revised to include new regulations on the purchase and exchange of books; the creation of public libraries in the larger colleges; and the registry of solemn academic acts.²⁴

These rules were also adapted in the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries and gave rise to more inclusive treatises of Jesuit librarianship.²⁵ Although they were based on existing European libraries, these treatises were inspired, on a deeper level, by the scholarship on Catholic librarianship inaugurated by the publication of Antonio Possevino’s (1553–1611)²⁶ *Bibliotheca Selecta* in 1593.²⁷ Given the prominence of books, print culture, and libraries during the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, it is perhaps advisable to take a moment to reflect upon two somewhat conflicting—but by no means exclusive—ways to establish a Catholic library. Embodied in the *Index of Forbidden Books*, or alternatively in Possevino’s *Bibliotheca Selecta*, these ways shared the same goal: to promote theological orthodoxy, moral righteousness, and, more generally, Catholic faith and beliefs in a post-Tridentine context. However, the ways to create

20 Diego Laínez, * 1512 Almazán (Spain), † 19.I.1565 Rome (DHCJ II, 1601–5).

21 Peter Canisius to Diego Laínez (28 March 1559): *Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Iesu, Epistolae et Acta*, 2: 377–82, 380. This letter is also mentioned in O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 314 and in Scaduto, “Laínez e l’Indice del 1559”. The expression stumbling block (“petram scandali”) referred to Is 8, 14.

22 O’Malley, *Trent*, 177–8; 266–7. See also Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*.

23 Everard Mercurian, * 1514 Marcourt (Belgium), SJ 8.IX.1548 Rome, † 1.VIII.1553 Rome (DHCJ II, 1611–4).

24 “Regulae praefecti bibliothecae”, in *Regulae Societatis Iesu*, 71–73.

25 Golvers, “Jesuit Libraries in the Old and the New Society of Jesus”, 2–3. Golvers account draws especially from the treatises written by Claude Clément, Jean Garnier and Michael Denis.

26 Antonio Possevino, * 12.VII.1533 Mantua (Italy), SJ 29.IX.1559 Rome, † 26.II.1611 Ferrara (Italy) (DHCJ IV, 3201–3).

27 Possevino, *Bibliotheca Selecta*.

a library suitable for pious Catholic readers were diametrically opposed. On the one hand, the creation of a Catholic library, whether royal, ecclesiastical, or private, was based on the purging of undesirable heterodox works, through a variety of censorship practices, that ranged from spectacular bonfires to the more precise expurgation of heretics' names and sinful sentences. To put it differently, the enforcement of the Index allowed for the creation of a Catholic library by means of exclusion, rather than inclusion. This was, of course, deeply grounded in scriptural sources, most notably the Jewish-Christian decalogue. On the other hand, Jesuit librarianship treatises, such as Possevino's, postulated the creation of a Catholic library by means of inclusion of good works by classical, medieval, and early modern authors. The main criteria for the inclusion of a work in a Catholic library were theological orthodoxy, the stature of the author, the utility of text, and, most importantly perhaps, the ability to nurture faith, hope, and charity.²⁸ In the case of Roman and Greek classics, the main concerns were not theological orthodoxy nor the piety of the authors, but rather the elegance of the prose and the ability to inspire the emulation of classical virtues. In this sense, Catholic libraries in general—and Jesuit libraries in particular—were seen as privileged spaces to foster an ethics of Christian virtue, that is an ethics grounded on a quest for common good that was oriented to eternity.²⁹

The general library of a Jesuit college should be built in an upper floor and have proper natural lighting. Books should be placed in wooden shelves and arranged according to the classification system recommended by Possevino in 1593. The libraries of university colleges were richly ornamented and sometimes they also served as cabinets of curiosities, displaying, side by side, scientific instruments, statues, portraits, and medallions. Although the existence of a general library was a *sine qua non* condition for the conversion of a Jesuit house into a college, this does not mean that all books were to be found there. Along with the so-called major or secret library, Jesuit colleges often housed a few thematic libraries, such as the library of the mathematical class, the library of the apothecary, and the rector's library. It goes without saying that convenience was the main rationale behind the creation of such collections. Following the same

28 Although these treatises also considered the books that should not be bought, such as the works by heretics, obscene books, and treatises of magic, that was not clearly their focus.

29 The Jesuit treatises were deeply rooted in a Christian understanding of Aristotle's ethics. See Macintyre, *After Virtue*.

line of reasoning, individual Jesuits often had at their disposal valuable manuscripts and printed works in their study rooms and lodgings.³⁰ When they were no longer being used, the books were restored to the general library and the natural cycle of loans resumed.³¹

Between 1540 and 1759, the Society of Jesus was arguably the most scattered and influential religious order in the Portuguese empire.³² By the time of the Pombaline expulsion in 1759, the Jesuits ran one university and over thirty colleges in four continents, being responsible for the education of tens of thousands of students.³³ As required by the *Constitutions* (1558), there was at least a general library in each of the Portuguese colleges. Although the collections were scattered in the wake of the expulsion, it is possible to estimate the dimension—and in some cases to research the contents—of these Jesuit libraries in this period by examining the inventories and catalogues compiled under Pombal's orders.³⁴ At a first glance, Jesuit libraries can be roughly subdivided into three categories, according to its dimension: small, medium, and large.³⁵ Out of the nineteen libraries catalogues after 1759, four stood out for their sheer dimension: the ones of the professed house of São Roque, in Lisbon (5,000 items); the College of Jesus, in Coimbra (3,500 items); the College of the Holy Spirit, in Évora (2,500 items); and finally, the College of Santo Antão [Saint Anthony], in Lisbon (2,000 items).³⁶ Taking into consideration the reconstructions made possible by the arrest inventories, the total dimension of Jesuit collections in continental Portugal can be roughly estimated between 20,000 and 25,000 titles (not necessarily volumes).

The library of São Roque was surely one of the largest ecclesiastical libraries in eighteenth-century Portugal. In Lisbon it harbored probably the fourth largest collection, second only to the libraries of the Augustinians (10,000 items in 1743), the Oratorians (10,000 to 20,000

30 Golvers, "Jesuit Libraries in the Old and the New Society of Jesus", 2–5.

31 See especially: Mancini "L'ordine e i libri: fonti per la storia dell'uso delle biblioteche della Compagnia di Gesù".

32 Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*; Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal*.

33 Romeiras, *Jesuits and the Book of Nature*, 23–41; Leitão and Romeiras, "The Role of Science in the History of Portuguese anti-Jesuitism".

34 For a similar story in the Netherlands, see Begheyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic*, 17–24.

35 Giurgevich and Leitão, eds., *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, 295–317. See also Giurgevich, "Visiting Old Libraries".

36 Due to the disparity between the catalogues, Henrique Leitão and Luana Giurgevich's census refers to the number of items instead of the number of volumes.

items, ca. 1756–1759), and the Count of Ericeira (18,000 printed volumes, ca. 1755).³⁷ Although it is difficult to make precise comparisons, it seems that the libraries of the Brazilian colleges outsized their continental counterparts, with the colleges of Baía (15,000 vols.), Rio de Janeiro (5,434 vols.) and Maranhão (5,000 vols.) featuring at the top of the list.³⁸ The same goes for the European context. In mid-eighteenth century, the College of Munich held a collection of about 25,000 vols.; the Imperial College of Madrid, the College of Mainz, and the professed house of Paris about 30,000 vols.; and the College of Clermont about 47,000 vols. The library of the Roman College was arguably the largest Jesuit library before the suppression in 1773. According to the extant catalogues, the secret library alone had around 30 to 40,000 books.³⁹

When compared to the European and the Brazilian libraries, the Jesuit libraries in Portugal seem rather modest. The crucial role that the Jesuits played both in the promotion of Catholic education and in the consolidation of Portuguese authority in Brazil explain why these libraries were so sizeable. Even if they were comparable in terms of size and importance, the libraries of Santo Antão and São Roque suffered a heavy toll in 1755. Besides, after the expulsion in 1759 these libraries became vulnerable to plunder. In any case, the main reason behind the discrepancy between Jesuit libraries in Portugal and Brazil is an underestimation of the former, especially because the arrest inventories were compiled in a hastily manner.

New Beginnings

When news of the restoration of the Society of Jesus reached the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro in 1814, the reply was swift and unsurprising: the Jesuits were not welcome in the Portuguese empire.⁴⁰ It was not until 1829, under the absolutist King Miguel (r. 1828–34), that the Jesuits returned to Coimbra and Évora only to be expelled alongside the other male religious orders four years later.⁴¹ After two decades of political, economic, and religious turbulence,

37 Giurgevich and Leitão, *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, 99, 348–9. For the estimate of the library of the Count of Ericeira, see: Costa, *Corografia portuguesa*, III: 438; Castro, *Mappa de Portugal*, 3:288.

38 Grover, “The Book and the Conquest”.

39 Diamond, “A Catalogue of the Old Roman College Library”, 108. See also Serrai, “La bibliotheca segreta del Collegio Romano”.

40 Casimiro, “O governo de D. João VI e a restauração da Companhia de Jesus”.

41 Veiga, “O breve regresso da Companhia de Jesus”.

Regeneration reforms brought prosperity and appeasement to the country.⁴² However, the sizeable investments made on transports and infrastructures diverged sharply from the poor literacy rates. As Portuguese historians have consistently shown, the country had one of the lowest literacy rates in nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Europe.⁴³ From the 1850s onwards, the gradual return of the religious orders—including the Jesuits—was conceded, and sometimes openly sought, by the succeeding liberal and conservative governments as a necessary action to counter this trend. It was in this context that the restoration of the Society of Jesus took place in Portugal.

Exiled from Chieri, Italy, in the wake of the Jesuits' proscription, Carlos Rademaker SJ (1828–85)⁴⁴ came to Lisbon in 1848 with the desire to complete his religious training in the Society of Jesus. The road was not without a few bumps, but he did manage to complete his training and reinstate the order. With his fatherly inheritance and the approval of Superior General Peter Jan Beckx (1795–1887),⁴⁵ Rademaker bought an estate in the outskirts of Lisbon to establish the first Jesuit college in modern Portugal. Dedicated to the Immaculate Conception—solemnly proclaimed as a Catholic dogma by Pius IX (r. 1846–78) in 1854—the College of Campolide inaugurated on June 21, 1858, the feast of Aloysius Gonzaga,⁴⁶ an esteemed Jesuit saint and patron of youth (see Fig. 1). As he stated to the Spanish provincial in 1856, Rademaker considered foundation of the College of Campolide as the cornerstone of the restoration of the Society of Jesus in Portugal. Thanks to his efforts, the Portuguese branch was formally acknowledged as a mission of the Spanish province in 1858 and as an independent province in 1880. By the time of his death in 1885, the Portuguese province comprised 161 members with the Jesuits running two boarding schools for lay students and two others for religious training.⁴⁷

Between 1858 and 1910, the Jesuit Colleges of Campolide and São

42 Ramos, "A revolução liberal (1834–1851)".

43 Ramos, "Culturas da alfabetização". According to Ramos, the rate of literacy was about 21% in 1878. See also Ramos, "O chamado problema do analfabetismo".

44 Carlos Rademaker, * 1.VI.1828 Lisbon, SJ 26.X.1846 Chieri, + 6.VI.1885 Lisbon (DHCJ IV, 3276).

45 Peter Jan Beckx, * 8.II.1795 Zichem (Belgium), SJ 29.X.1819 Rome, + 4.III.1887 Rome (DHCJ II, 1671–5).

46 Aloysius Gonzaga, * 9.III.1568 Castiglione delle Stiviere (Italy), SJ 25.XI.1585 Rome, + 21.VI.1591 Rome (DHCJ II, 1592).

47 Romeiras, *Jesuits and the Book of Nature*, 42–60.

Fiel were arguably the most preeminent boarding schools nationwide. Campolide was the first choice for the Lisbon elite. Paradoxically, the student body was diverse in terms of social origins, political stances, and religious views. Partly inspired by the medieval ethos of *Convivencia* and partly inspired by the country's recent history, Campolide was attended by highborn aristocrats and aspiring bourgeois with competing views on almost everything that mattered these days, such as the virtues of liberalism, the appropriate form of government, or the separation between state and church. As an alumnus recalled, the Jesuit colleges "were rightfully acknowledged for being the finest private secondary schools in Portugal", even by their fiercest critics. He went even further as to suggest that Jesuit schools were the top choice for liberal and anti-clerical families.⁴⁸ Although they were penned several decades after the closure of the colleges in 1910, these memoirs do reflect the diversity of the student body the primary sources disclose. Besides, they echo a popular argument in nineteenth-century anti-Jesuit literature which claimed that most families sent their children to the Jesuit colleges because they wanted them to receive an excellent scientific and humanistic education. In the words of an anti-Jesuit critic, families did so "hoping that, when leaving the college, it would be easy to remove the vestiges of Jesuit education".⁴⁹

As their opponents dutifully acknowledged, the teaching and practice of natural sciences was a trademark of Jesuit education in nineteenth-century Portugal. According to the Jesuit's most celebrated alumnus, the neurosurgeon Egas Moniz (1874–1955), "at the college, along with the exaggerated religious life that took our time and hijacked our energies, there was a good humanistic and scientific education, which was not more perfect merely by virtue of being restricted to state programs, some of them hardly recommendable". Moniz added that although "the equilibrium of prayer, physical exercise, and study ought to have been better organized", the Jesuits "brought about a certain development on the experimental side, which contrasted with most high schools at the time". Besides, their laboratories "were sufficiently equipped, and the teaching [of the natural sciences] was based on experiments whenever possible".⁵⁰ Both colleges had a physics cabinet, a chemistry laboratory, and a natural history museum since the 1870s. In addi-

48 Moncada, *Memórias*, 24; 34–35.

49 Refóios, *O collegio de São Fiel*, xii.

50 Moniz, *A nossa casa*, 254.

tion, the Jesuits built an astronomical observatory in Campolide in 1886 and a meteorological observatory in São Fiel in 1902. While all students benefited from a first-rate general course in which the natural sciences were especially valued, some were given the opportunity to further their scientific studies. Following a usual practice in the early modern colleges, the most talented students complemented their instruction with private lessons and engaged in a variety of tasks that allowed them to acquire a most-welcomed familiarity with scientific novelties, trends, and practices. These students engaged in fieldtrips to observe solar eclipses, collected new specimens for the natural history museum, participated in scientific academies, and performed a variety of spectacular demonstrations in solemn occasions.⁵¹

The natural history collections at Campolide and São Fiel were praised—and cherished, one may add—for their opulence and utility. Alongside a frantic culture of collecting every kind of plants, animals, and minerals for the natural history museums, arose a systematic program of classification that culminated in the foundation of a taxonomy journal of international circulation. Created in 1902 by three high-school teachers at São Fiel, the journal *Brotéria* (1902–2002) was the first periodical published by the Society of Jesus worldwide exclusively dedicated to science. It was also, to the best of my knowledge, the most successful publication created in a secondary school. Unlike the nineteenth-century colleges, *Brotéria* outlived the Republican revolution in 1910 and came to be acknowledged as one of the most preeminent journals in twentieth-century Portugal. Throughout its centenary history, *Brotéria* printed about 1300 research articles on a variety of subjects, including botany, zoology, plant breeding, biochemistry, and molecular genetics.⁵²

As in the previous centuries, the success of Jesuit education cannot be fully grasped without considering the key role of libraries.

51 Romeiras, “For the Greater Credibility”.

52 Romeiras and Leitão, “One Century of Science”. Before the creation of *Brotéria*, the most important journal in the natural sciences was arguably the *Bullettino meteorologico dell’Osservatorio del Collegio Romano* (1862–77). Unlike *Brotéria*, the journal was circumscribed to a field of research (meteorology). The bulletin was edited by the renowned astronomer and astrophysicist Angelo Secchi. See Udías, *Jesuits and the Natural Sciences in Modern Times*, 44. Between 1862 and 1877, Angelo Secchi edited a bulletin on meteorology.

The Learned Library of Campolide

These things were of the utmost importance for keeping the boys' minds away from worldly allurements. Still others were introduced that were of no small value. The first was the creation of a small library of good and varied books. The reading of those books bore two fruits: the boys did not waste their time idly, especially on Sundays, and they were led along a smooth path to the love of piety and good behavior.⁵³

Before the foundation of Campolide, Rademaker directed a modest school for unprivileged boys in Lisbon (1853–58). The Institute of Charity, as it was named, offered a class in Portuguese and another in elementary Latin. The religious instruction and the administration of sacraments were promoted by a Marian Congregation called Sacred Legion. The congregation was open to external students and, as the future College of Campolide, was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. During these years, Rademaker assembled a modest library with the clear intention of finding a suitable occupation for the boys' idle time with edifying readings. When he moved to Campolide in 1858 to inaugurate the first Jesuit school in modern Portugal, he took the library with him.

Between 1858 and 1910, a steady policy of purchases, along with occasional donations, contributed to the expansion of the library. While the earliest references in the annual and triennial letters sent to the Jesuit curia in Rome are usually vague and generic, from the 1870s they became more precise and often mention the overall expenditure on books. From these letters, we know that the Jesuits spent 250,000 *réis* on books in the triennium 1874–1876, 180,000 *réis* in 1886 alone, and 70,000 *réis* between 1893 and 1896.⁵⁴ To put things into perspective, the disbursement of 50,000 *réis* in 1878, i.e. the smallest sum mentioned in this period, proved sufficient to acquire 1,000 books at a most-anticipated auction. Because the Marquis of Castelo Melhor died without legitimate heirs, his grandiose library was dismantled shortly after his passing in 1878. For the Jesuits, the auction was most fortuitous, because they retrieved many “relics from our old libraries”. As in the parable of the prodigal son, some books “finally returned to the father's house, as

53 Grainha, *História do Colégio de Campolide*, 5. I would like to thank Claude Pavur for his precious help on the translation.

54 *Ibid.*, 65, 95, 114.

long-lost sons".⁵⁵ Together with printed works, the Jesuits also acquired a few codices, including a Portuguese translation of the life of John Berchmans (1599–1621),⁵⁶ a seventeenth-century Jesuit canonized in 1888.⁵⁷ In the following school year, the Jesuits created a literary academy to celebrate the tricentenary of Luís de Camões's death. This time, the students were asked to offer at least a book to start a distinct library dedicated to the poet.⁵⁸

After major renovations in the 1880s, which included the construction of a new façade and the building of a church, the Jesuits undertook smaller improvements to their college until the turn of the century. Alongside the construction of a bathhouse with modern plumbing and hot water, the Jesuits made extensive renovations to the library between 1902 and 1905.⁵⁹ The new library hall was a two-story room with high ceilings, plenty natural light, and an unobscured view to hills around (see Fig. 2).⁶⁰ The most noteworthy ornament—still preserved today—was an allegorical painting in the ceiling depicting the Immaculate Conception surrounded by angels in heaven under the devout gaze of Luís de Camões (c. 1524–80), António Vieira (1608–97),⁶¹ and a schoolboy (see Fig. 3). Because it became the most spacious room in the province, the library also served as venue for the provincial congregation from that moment on.⁶²

In 1910, the College of Campolide and the provincial curia in Lisbon became emblematic sites for the Republican revolution. In Lis-

55 Ibid., 73.

56 John Berchmans, * 13.III.1599 Diest (Belgium), SJ 24.IX.1616 Rome, † 13.VIII.1621 Rome (DHCJ I, 412).

57 Patron of the youth, Berchmans was beatified by Pius IX in 1865 and declared saint in 1888 by Leo XII. In the Portuguese National Library one can find a copy of this codex that was to be found at the Jesuit novitiate in this period, in the outskirts of Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), COD. 9120. The original text is probably: Cepari, *Vita di Giovanni Berchmans*.

58 For a full list, see: Colégio de Campolide, *A Luiz de Camões*, 7–16.

59 Grainha, *História do Colégio de Campolide*, 129–30.

60 Ibid., 133.

61 António Vieira, * 6.II.1608 Lisbon, SJ 5.V.1623 Bahia (Brazil), † 18.VII.1697 Bahia (DHCJ IV, 3948–51).

62 Ibid., 135. The allegorical painting in Fig. 3 depicts the Immaculate Conception surrounded by angels in heaven. She carries an infant Jesus crushing the head of a serpent with a processional cross. Luís de Camões and a schoolboy contemplate the scene from below. While the boy holds a book and the college banner, Camões holds a page with the following inscription: "To the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Sonnet CCXL". At his feet lies a manuscript of the epic poem *The Lusíads*. The Jesuit preacher António Vieira is represented facing Camões and the schoolboy, to whom he is reading his own collection of sermons on *Mary Rosa Mystica*. Below the whole scene one can read the following verses: "Immaculate Beauty, ever inspire your young subject's quill and lyre".

bon, and elsewhere, the uprisings were spearheaded by the paramasonic Carbonária and resulted in “unwarranted wrecks, beatings, prisoners’ parades, and murders as well”.⁶³ Campolide was bombed on October 4 and was raided the following day. According to the Republican press, after seizing the college, an armed mob arrested those who had not fled the campus in the previous days, including the rector, a group of resisting teachers, and lay personnel.⁶⁴ By the Jesuits’ own account, the invasion was devastating. After smashing the statue of the Immaculate Conception at the entrance of the college, the rebels ripped portraits, broke cases in the natural history museum, and stole valuable instruments from the cabinets of physics and the laboratories of chemistry and photography.⁶⁵ For a renowned monarchist, the royal physician Thomaz de Mello Breyner (1866–1933), the assault on the Jesuits’ preeminent school was anything but a powerful allegory of the new regime: “Campolide is over”, he wrote, “It was sacked by a despicable mob. Is this what they call the Republic?”⁶⁶

On October 8, 1910—just three days after the revolution—Minister of Justice Afonso Costa (1871–1937) proscribed all religious orders from Portugal and its territories. Paradoxically, the first articles of the decree reinstated two monarchist laws: the Pombaline decree of 1759 and the more encompassing law of 1834, which banned male religious orders.⁶⁷ Although they were never fully revoked, these bills were largely overlooked after the Regeneration. Turning a monarchist law into a republican one was a powerful rhetorical device that was meant to pave the way for a full-blown agenda of secularization in the following years. In the wake of the expulsion, the provisional government proceed with the arrest of clerical properties across the country. There was, however, an important distinction between the Jesuits and other religious orders. Whereas the general rule stipulated that the assets be registered and evaluated before any confiscation took place, Jesuits’ movable and immovable property were exempted from such classification and ought to be immediately seized.⁶⁸ Concerned with the prospect of converting the college into a prison, some republicans boldly proposed that it be rehabili-

63 Valente, *O Poder e o Povo*, 155.

64 *A Capital* 96 (October 5, 1910), 2.

65 On the description of the Jesuits’ captivity and expulsion, see especially Azevedo, *Proscritos*, 1: 262–326.

66 Breyner, *Diário de um monárquico*, 333.

67 *Diário do Governo* 4 (October 10, 1910), 17–18.

68 *Ibid.*, 18.

tated as a republican school.⁶⁹ The main proponent of this idea argued that the Jesuits had left “magnificent buildings with exquisite collections and superb cabinets of physics”, which, for practical reasons, ought to be reused. Foreseeing the difficulty to accommodate all Jesuit students in public schools, he beseeched his readers to embark on the reformation of the Jesuit colleges. As in the biblical tales, he only sought to find “half a dozen of true liberals” to take on such a venture.⁷⁰ For another republican correspondent, the issue was elementary. After discharging the Jesuits, the first step consisted of opening the windows widely to allow a fresh breeze to “purify the corridors”. The replacement of faculty followed suit. The observation of these two-step program would thus convert Campolide into a college “founded by and for sake of the Republic”.⁷¹

Alas, the pleas were ignored, and the college was dismantled. Some of the assets were transferred to the newly founded Museum of the Revolution. Installed in the former Jesuit provincial curia, the Museum was inaugurated on December 29, 1910.⁷² In the following years, numerous books, manuscripts, statues, retables, paintings, and furniture were shipped from Campolide to the Museum.⁷³ Although most shipments occurred during 1911, the practice was not abandoned until 1917. Meanwhile, the rumors of the Campolide’s books theft and misappropriation were appalling to the journalist and bibliophile Raúl Proença (1884–1941), who publicly accused the director of the Museum and of the adjacent Archive of Religious Congregations, Manuel Borges Grainha (1865–1925), of burglary. In 1921, a quarrel between the two men ensued in the national journal of librarianship. Proença claimed that after cherry-picking hundreds of valuable books for himself, Grainha had replaced them with cheap textbooks to cover his misdemeanors. To substantiate his accusations, Proença disclosed his sources: they were the head of the technical department of the National Library and four eyewitnesses of public renown.⁷⁴ Grainha’s defense was lengthy and included the transcription of legislation and other documents that supported his actions. According to Grainha, Minister Afonso Costa had invested

69 Castro, “O Collegio de Campolide e o carcere modelo”, 1; “O edifício do extinto collegio de Campolide será transformado em prisão”, 1; Castro, “Insistindo”, 1.

70 Castro, “Insistindo II”, 1.

71 Pimenta, “Instrução”, 3.

72 *O Occidente* 1153 (January 10, 1911), 5–6.

73 Although most shipments occurred during 1911, the practice continued intermittently until 1917.

74 Proença, “O património nacional”, 166–7.

him with full authority to dispose everything that he seemed fit. He continued by discrediting the witnesses, whom, he argued, had never been to Campolide during these years. He claimed that their accusations were ludicrous and added that they could only have arisen from private conversations with him, since he was the single source of information regarding the shipments. Finally, Grainha stressed that he had been serving as director of the Archive of Religious Congregations voluntarily. Because this office had taken him so much time (and money), he decided to resume his teaching career. Nevertheless, he signed the article as “gratuitous director of the Archive of Religious Congregations”.⁷⁵ Proença’s rebuttal was short and focused on the accusation of replacing rare books for inexpensive manuals. He claimed that this was the most important issue at hand, because Grainha’s indiscretions were, in the long run, prejudicial to the National Library, whose interests he defended.⁷⁶

The dismantling of the college’s furniture, collections, instruments, and all kind of apparatus was settled shortly after the Republican revolution, and the spoils were divided between four institutions: three public schools and the Museum of the Revolution. The library, however, proved to be a different case. Unsurprisingly, the dismembering of the Jesuits’ most emblematic library started chaotically. In the wake of the assault on the college, the mob stole “several books, including a few rare ones”, according to the Jesuit account of the events.⁷⁷ On October 9, 1910, a squad of 60 soldiers pillaged the college taking, without distinction, devotional objects (crucifixes, rosaries, medallions, and scapularies), common office supplies such as pencils, and all sort of books. One of the college’s rare books appeared in Rio de Janeiro shortly after. Following its removal from the college’s library, the book was offered to a “Brazilian gentleman” who passed it on to the nuns who were educating his daughter.⁷⁸ When the superior saw the ex libris of the Lisbon college, so the story goes, she handed the book over to the exiled Jesuit António de Menezes (1869–1919).⁷⁹ Meanwhile, in Lisbon, the library remained closed to the public for more than a decade, because the case the Jesuits submitted in Hague to reclaim their properties was yet to be resolved.

75 Grainha, “Em legítima defesa”, 339–44.

76 Proença, “[Réplica a Manuel Borges Grainha]”, 344–5.

77 Azevedo, *Proscritos*, 1: 177.

78 *Ibid.*, 1:176.

79 António Correia de Menezes, * 13.IV.1869 Sacorellhe (Portugal), SJ 2.XII.1892 Barro, † 17.II.1919 Pontevedra (Spain) (*DHCJ* III, 2626–7).

In October 1916, the Minister of Justice and Religious Cults, the ubiquitous Afonso Costa, handed the college and all its belongings to a commission of women to “create and establish an autonomous service of medical and surgical assistancy” for injured soldiers and their families.⁸⁰ The reaction of the Bureau of Learned Libraries and Archives to the minister’s action was swift. Appalled by the long neglect of the collections—and possibly offended by the prospect of passing the library to a committee of charitable women—the head of the bureau, the prolific writer and bibliophile Júlio Dantas (1876–1962) requested that it be placed under his auspices, instead. In April 1917, the minister of justice withdrew his recent promise to hand the library to Borges Grainha and granted Dantas’s request. The library was solemnly passed to the Bureau of Learned Libraries and Archives on May 28, 1917. Three months later, the former Jesuit library gained a brand-new name: “The Learned Library of Campolide”.⁸¹ Despite all diligences, the collections were only shipped to the National Library, then at the former convent of Saint Francis, on October 11, 1920. The scenario, however, was utterly disappointing. When he took up office as head of the National Library in 1919, Jaime Cortesão (1884–1960) publicly lambasted the dreadful conditions of the nation’s premier library. He had found “rotten books falling into pieces” and “moths and woodworms” thriving in their “Promised Land”. According to his evaluation, half of the library’s collections were compromised, and at least a quarter of the books were beyond repair. The neglect he witnessed, though, was not something that dated back to the “previous six or seven years”. The precarious conditions of the National Library were celebrating its quinquennial.⁸² The books remained at the convent of Saint Francis for five decades, being dispatched to the new building in 1969.⁸³

The Making of a School Library or Catholic v. Uncatholic Books

In May 1917, Júlio Dantas commissioned librarian António Joaquim Anselmo (1876–1925) to study, catalog, and reorganize the library of the former Jesuit college.⁸⁴ Alas, the task was not completed because the assignment was revoked less than a year later, in February 1918. By Anselmo’s own account, his presence was otherwise

80 *Diário do Governo* 201 (October 3, 1916), 929.

81 *Diário do Governo* 134 (August 15, 1917), 662–3.

82 Ferrão, *Os arquivos e as bibliotecas em Portugal*, 322.

83 For the ruinous state of conservation of the Portuguese National Library at the convent of Saint Francis see: *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*.

84 Júlio Dantas, “Serviço da inspecção”, 17–18.

required at the National Library. Although he did not provide an explanation, Anselmo was not particularly happy with the decision and complained that in 1920 the library remained “utterly abandoned”. Seeking to make amendments, he wrote a short article for the official journal of the National Library describing the library and collections of Campolide. The library was in a large, bright, and breezy two-floor room that had been designed for that purpose. The wooden shelves were solid and the decoration “typically Jesuit”. With an estimated collection of fifteen to eighteen thousand volumes, the library was both “learned and recreational, religious and secular”.⁸⁵ Although there were “some rare and precious books”, their number was not substantial. Most importantly, for Anselmo, was the significant collection of modern works that could supplement the National Library’s collections.⁸⁶

In his outline, Anselmo pinpointed some remarkable titles of the Learned Library of Campolide. As a Catholic school library, the titles of theology, spirituality, canon law, and church history abounded. There were multiple translations of the Bible—including an Arabic version published by a Syrian Jesuit—devotional books by Ignatius of Loyola, Francisco Suárez (1548–1617),⁸⁷ Peter Faber (1506–46),⁸⁸ François de Sales (1567–1622) and Alphonsus Liguori (1696–1787); countless sermons, including those penned by António Vieira; the complete works of Benedict XIV (r. 1740–58); extensive ecclesiastical dictionaries and encyclopedias such as Gaetano Moroni’s *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Eclesiastica* (103 vols.); and Cesare Baronio’s *Annales Ecclesiastici*, to name but a few. The section of philosophy featured modern editions of classical authors, scholastic and neo-scholastic treatises, and—most surprisingly—the works of John Stuart Mill (1806–73) and Paul Janet (1823–99). For Anselmo, however, the most valuable collections in size and relevance were those of history, literature, and journals. The collection of journals comprised Catholic periodicals—most notably the Jesuit *La civiltà cattolica* (199 vols.), *Études* (75 vols.), and *Razón y fé* (21 vols.)—scientific bulletins, including *Le Cosmos: Revue des sciences et de leurs applications* (83 vols.) and *La Nature* (35 vols.); and Victorian magazines such as *The Family Herald: A Domestic Magazine of Useful Information and Amusement*. The history section was wide-ranging and included:

85 Anselmo, “Biblioteca de Campolide”, 36.

86 *Ibid.*, 37.

87 Francisco Suárez, * 5.I.1548 Granada (Spain), SJ 16.VI.1564 Salamanca, † 25.IX.1617 Lisbon (DHCJ IV, 3654–6).

88 Peter Faber, * 13.IV.1506 Villaret (France), † 1.VIII.1546 Rome (DHCJ II, 1369–70).

bulky editions of diplomatic treatises; early modern chronicles; modern national histories; and a fine selection of reference works, such as António Caetano de Sousa's *Historia genealogica da casa real portugueza* (13 vols.), *Biographie uninverselle ancienne et moderne* (52 vols.), and René Rohbacher's *Histoire uninverselle de l'Église Catholique* (16 vols.).

Anselmo praised the literature section for its size and eclectic selection. At first, he was captivated by the numerous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of Greek and Latin classics, including Nicolas-Éloi Lemaire's *Bibliotheca Classica Latina* (143 vols.). While some authors and books were quite common in secular libraries, others were unexpected in a Catholic school. The presence of Dante, Shakespeare (1564–1616), and Camões—and perhaps to a lesser extent Victor Hugo—was unsurprising, mostly because these authors were cherished for their elegant prose and for their ability to inspire the emulation of classical virtues. On the other hand, the presence of Anatole Frances's *Thaïs* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*—not to mention Camilo Castelo Branco's *A corja*—bewildered the Portuguese bibliophile. These works were deemed lustful, useless, or openly anti-clerical and, for those reasons, had no place in a Catholic library. Boccaccio's *Decameron*, for instance, had a long and convoluted history of prohibitions and occasional burnings inaugurated by the infamous bonfire of the vanities in Florence (1497) and perpetuated by its frequent listing in successive editions of the Roman Index from 1559 onward.⁸⁹ The collection of forbidden books was extensive and predominantly French, featuring books by Frédéric Soulié (1800–47), Adolphe Bélot (1829–90), Guy de Maupassant (1850–93), Émile Zola (1840–1902), and Honoré Balzac (1799–1850). What puzzled Anselmo was that these books were shelved in four locked cabinets—following the customary practice in Jesuit libraries—together with books of prayers and booklets of religious propaganda. The paradox was blatant in the shelving of forbidden books, because according to Anselmo, they were “facing the Breviary and the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*”.⁹⁰ Although it is impossible to ascertain if this was the disposition prior to 1910 or if it was staged for propagandist motives, the limited access to the library in the years the followed the republican revolution favors the former.

The identification and study of the extant books from the former College of Campolide at the Portuguese National Library allows to

89 Rozzo, “Italian Literature on the Index”; Gusti, “Giovanni Boccaccio”.

90 Anselmo, “Biblioteca de Campolide”, 39.

revise and supplement Anselmo's brief report, as I will show below. Before making any remarks, however, some preliminary considerations are in order. One hundred years later, the reconstruction of the Learned Library of Campolide remains partial and incomplete for several reasons. First and foremost, the lack of a catalogue is an obstacle difficult to surmount. Without a library catalogue, the tracing of books is now heavily dependent on the information about provenance in the National Library's database. The information is often sparse and incomplete. Sometimes, when the library owns several copies of the same book, it is difficult to ascertain the provenance of each copy, because they are listed together. In such cases, the inconsistency can only be solved by examining each copy. Second, during the long period between Anselmo's visit and our days, the collection was relocated twice, being therefore susceptible to misplacement and losses. Besides, the precarious conditions of the National Library described by Cortesão in 1919 did not make the former convent of Saint Francis a hospitable location for the most recent acquisitions. As an anonymous (and probably commissioned) photo album blatantly shows, these conditions did not improve in the following thirty years. This enduring situation led to substantial losses. Books that were not destroyed were still severely damaged. Finding such books in the National Library's collections is a daily routine for today's researchers. Third, in a sizeable collection it is unlikely that all books carried the college's stamp. Such a time-consuming task was foreseeably imperfect in an educational library because librarians often had more important duties, in and outside the library. Arguably, when books were loaned, they were officially registered and stamped with the college's *ex libris* if they did not carry it before. In some cases—perhaps in most cases, one may argue—books could remain on the shelves without a stamp. Deprived of provenance marks by inconsistent practices or lack of reading, these books are impossible to trace. Finally, common librarianship practices include a knowledgeable selection of duplicates. Trade and exchange are especially frequent in the case of ordinary books such as handbooks and manuals.

Despite these limitations, I was able to trace and examine 381 titles at the Portuguese National Library. This may seem a small sample considering the estimate size of 15,000 to 18,000 volumes. However, as I will show below, the extant titles are representative of the library's 32 sections, according to Anselmo's outline. For the sake of brevity, I will comment only on a selection of titles of theology,

philosophy, history, mathematics, natural and medical sciences, literature, and music. Because this was an educational library, I will also take some time looking at the collection of manuals and handbooks.

As Anselmo duly acknowledged, Bible commentaries abounded in the shelves of theology.⁹¹ The selection of theological treatises was eclectic and included works penned by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Oratorians. Within this group, the most represented were Iberian theologians.⁹² As the Jesuits' main source for the teaching of theology, Aquinas was naturally present.⁹³ But whereas the Angelic Doctor was an undisputed author, others were less orthodox. To the surprise of some Catholic thinkers—and to Protestant glee—the Jesuit library owned a copy of Joachim Ehrenfried Pfeiffer's treatise on hermeneutics.⁹⁴ Some works of Protestant authors were allowed in Catholic libraries, especially if they did not address moral or doctrinal matters. This was usually the case with books of science and medicine, that for the sake of utility were diligently (and sometimes less so) expurgated for pious Catholic readers.⁹⁵ This exception, however, was not extensive to theological works. Similar to vernacular Bibles, the reading of Protestant books was restricted to experienced theologians for the benefit of theological disputations. Given its confessional nature, the Jesuit library was home to some early modern hagiographies.⁹⁶ What is surprising—both in Anselmo's outline and this census—is the apparent lack of Jesuit hagiographies. A considerably smaller library, the library of a lay congregation of students at the Jesuit College of São Fiel, owned 42 hagiographies of Jesuit beati and saints.⁹⁷ Judging by the size of this student library (134 titles), the College of Campolide would certainly house dozens of Jesuit hagiographies. This raises a question about their where-

91 Foreiro, *Iesaiæ Prophetæ Vetus & Noua*; Azambuja, *In Isaiam Prophetam Commentarii*; Pinto, *In Prophetæ Ieremiæ Lamentationes Commentarii*; Arias Montano, *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas*; Arias Montano, *Elucidationes in quatuor Euangelia*.

92 Suárez, *Opus de virtute, et statu religionis*; Vasconcelos, *Tratado do Anjo da Guarda*; Granada, *Compendio de doctrina christiã*; Bernardes, *Estimulo pratico para seguir o bem*.

93 Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*.

94 Pfeiffer, *Elementa Hermeneuticæ*.

95 See especially Marcus, *Forbidden Knowledge*. For the case of Portugal, see Romeiras, "Putting the Indices into Practice".

96 Yepes, *Vida, virtudes, y milagros, de la Bienaventurada Virgem Teresa de Jesus*; Sousa, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolameu dos Martyres*.

97 BNP, COD. 10878, ff. 1v–4v. The most popular hagiographies were those of Ignatius of Loyola (12), Stanislaus Kostka (9), Inácio de Azevedo (9), and Aloysius Gonzaga (7).

abouts. The absence of Jesuit hagiographies in Anselmo's outline may be explained by two reasons. On the one hand, if Jesuit hagiographies still abounded at the library when Anselmo visited it, their presence was unsurprising and, for that reason, he did not feel the need to mention them. If they were preserved to present days in the collections of the National Library, however, they are still to be found. It is more likely, one may argue, that most of these hagiographies were lost in the wake of the 1910 revolution. For Jesuit students and teachers, hagiographies were devotional objects that could be rescued during the revolutionary turmoil. Conversely, for republican ideologues they were compelling evidence of the college's inextricable degeneration. Coveted out of devotion or spite, their fate was sealed.

As in the case of theology, the section of philosophy featured works by early modern Iberian Jesuits, such as Baltasar Teles (1596–1675),⁹⁸ Silvestre Aranha (1689–1768),⁹⁹ Francisco Suárez,¹⁰⁰ and his Portuguese homonym Francisco Soares (1605–59).¹⁰¹ The collection of Jesuit treatises extended well into the nineteenth century and included more than a few neo-scholastic titles.¹⁰² In the best of all possible libraries—to paraphrase Voltaire's celebrated motto—the Jesuits owned an edition of Leibniz's philosophical works.¹⁰³ If they owned *Candide*, however, is something that remains to be determined.

A close examination of the history titles confirms Anselmo's prediction. More striking than the encyclopedias, national histories, and reference works mentioned by the bibliophile is perhaps the vast collection of Latin and Greek histories of the Classical Age. Teachers and students had at their disposal early modern and modern editions of Xenophon, Suetonius, Livy, Plutarch, and Josephus, to name

98 Baltasar Teles, * 11.I.1596 Lisbon, SJ 24.III.1610 Coimbra, † 20.IV.1675 Lisbon (DHCJ IV, 3718). Teles, *Summa philosophiae*, 4 vols.; Teles, *Summa universae philosophiae*, 2 vols.

99 Silvestre Aranha, * 8.I.1689 Lisbon, SJ 14.VIII.1703 Lisbon, † 15.VIII.1768 Rome (DHCJ I, 214–5). Aranha, *Disputationes logicales*; Aranha, *Disputationes metaphysicae*.
100 Suárez, *Tractatus de legibus*.

101 Francisco Soares, * 1605 Torres Vedras (Portugal), SJ 5.II.1619 Lisbon, † 19.I.1659 Juromenha (Portugal) (DHCJ IV, 3593–4). Soares, *Cursus philosophicus*, 4 vols.; Soares, *Cursus philosophicus*, 2 vols. On these authors, see especially Carvalho, "Jesuítas portugueses".

102 Bayma, *Realis philosophiae institutionum*; Pesch, ed., *Institutiones philosophiae naturalis secundum principia S. Thomae Aquinatis ad usum scholasticum*; Pesch, ed., *Institutiones logicales secundum principia S. Thomae Aquinatis ad usum scholasticum*.

103 Leibniz, *Oeuvres philosophiques*.

but a few.¹⁰⁴ Historians of education are aware that the reading of classical books was a customary practice in Jesuit colleges before the universal suppression in 1773. According to the *Ratio studiorum* (1599), the Jesuits' universal plan of studies, students ought to read the works of Julius Caesar, Livy, Quintus Curtius Rufus, and Sallust.¹⁰⁵ What is remarkable is that this practice continued well into the early twentieth century. With the exception of Sallust, all these authors were to be found at the Learned Library of Campolide. Although most of these titles were in Latin, there were a few Greek books as well, including the complete works of Dionysius and Herodian's history of Rome.¹⁰⁶ In contrast with the numerous editions of classical authors, Jesuit histories are scant both in the present census and in Anselmo's summary.¹⁰⁷ As in the case of Jesuit hagiographies discussed above, it is unlikely that the collection of Jesuit histories—mostly penned by Jesuits for apologetic purposes—was that scarce. Celebratory histories from the early modern period, such as the renowned *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640), Luís Fróis's history of Japan, and António Franco's accounts of Jesuit novitiates, are all to be found at the National Library today. Although it is not possible to trace these copies back to the College of Campolide, their absence from the Jesuits' premier library is implausible. Considering that it was during Luis Martín's generalate (in office 1892–1906) that the massive *Monumenta Historica* took form, it is also plausible that at least some volumes of the series found their way to the Library of Campolide.¹⁰⁸ Conscious of their precarious situation prior to the republican revolution, Jesuit educators owned a fine share of polemical books, including two important compilations of anti-Jesuit laws and decrees and Verney's influential critique of the Jesuits' teaching methods.¹⁰⁹

After skimming through Manuel Alvares's and Cipriano Suárez's

104 Livy, *Historiarum ab urbe condita*; Xenophon, *Xenophontis Commentariorum libri quatuor*; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Q. Curtii Rufi Historiarum libri*; Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Historiae Romanae epitomae*; Flavius Josephus, *Flavii Iosephi Iudae Opera omnia*; Plutarch, *Plutarchi Vitae parallelae*; Suetonius, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli XII. Caesares*; Polybius, *Polybii Historiarum*.

105 *Ratio studiorum*, no. 395. For an overview of Jesuit education, see Pavur, "The Historiography of Jesuit Pedagogy"; online.

106 Dionysius, *Dionysii Halicarnassensis Opera omnia*; Herodian, *Herodiani Historiarum Romanarum*.

107 Sommervogel, *Les Jésuites de Rome et de Vienne*; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*.

108 Between 1894 and 1910, the Roman Historical Institute published 38 titles in the series, including the first 10 vols. of the *Monumenta Ignatiana Series Prima*.

109 *Collecção dos breves pontifícios*; *Suplemento à colecção dos breves pontifícios*; Verney. *Verdadeiro método de estudar*.

handbooks of Latin grammar and rhetoric, Jesuit students were prescribed daily readings of Cicero, whose prose they should emulate in their writings and speeches.¹¹⁰ It was for the sake of convenience that the library of Campolide owned a sixteenth-century edition of Orsini's notes on Cicero's complete works.¹¹¹ Cicero's works were accompanied by those of Virgil and Terence.¹¹² The Jesuits owned at least two editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹¹³ One of these editions was Catholic and the other Anglican. Both, however, had been sanctioned for young readers. While Jacob Pontanus's edition had been "expurgated of all obscenities", the version commissioned by Eton College was "a revised edition, better suited to the interests of students and youth". In nineteenth-century Europe, concerns about morality were obviously transconfessional. The teaching of Greek followed the same principles. According to the first edition of *Ratio studiorum* (1599), Jesuit students were instructed to read Hesiod, Isocrates, Plato, Plutarch, and the Cappadocian Fathers.¹¹⁴ In the present census, however, it was only possible to trace a book of Hesiod and another of Theocritus.¹¹⁵ According to a short article published in the first issue of the college's magazine, the Jesuits also owned Lucian's *Dialogue of the Dead* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. These books were probably among the first acquisitions of the Learned Library of Campolide, because they made a special appearance in the college's closing ceremony of 1860. During the ceremony, some students commented on a passage from the *Dialogue of the Dead*, others recited verses from the *Aeneid*, and others still translated a chapter of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.¹¹⁶ Reading Anselmo's words along the grain, it seems that the "numerous editions" of Latin and Greek classics, including Lemaire's monumental collection, are yet to be found. Following the traditional practice of learning oriental and African languages, the Jesuits owned a "treasure trove of grammars and dictionaries".¹¹⁷ The two-volume Sanskrit handbook found today at the National Library was certainly part of this treasure trove.¹¹⁸

110 *Ratio studiorum*, no. 375, 395, 415. See also. Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*; Miranda, "Quando os jesuítas eram mestres da palavra".

111 Orsini, *Fulvii Vrsini in Omnia opera Ciceronis, notae*

112 Terence, *Terentius*, A.M. Antonio Mureto locis prope innumerabilibus emendatus; Virgil, *Virgilius Collatione scriptorium Graecorum illustratus*.

113 Ovid, *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphose libri XV* and *Electa ex Ovidii Metamorphoseos*.

114 *Ratio studiorum*, no. 387.

115 Hesiod, *Ta Sozomena*; Theocritus et al., *Teocrito, Mosco, Bione, Simmia greco-latini*.

116 Almeida, "O nosso collegio".

117 Anselmo, "Biblioteca de Campolide", 39.

Anselmo admired the collection of scientific books and magazines, but his words fell short of the library's stature. Despite mentioning, in passing, that the "elementary treatises of chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, and pure and applied mathematics abounded", he gave very few examples of such books. In his sketch, Anselmo highlighted the "classical works" of Linnaeus (1707–78) and Alfred Brehm (1829–84), a chemistry treatise by Henri Moissan (1857–1907), a dictionary of pure and applied chemistry, and another of gardening.¹¹⁹ Unlike most titles mentioned by Anselmo, Linnaeus's books did find their way to the National Library.¹²⁰ There were, however, a vast number of books that would catch the eye of a trained historian of science, beginning with two natural history bestsellers: Pliny, the Elder's *Historiae mundi* and Rembert Dodoens's *Stirpium Historiae*.¹²¹ These titles were accompanied by more recent works in vernacular, such as Domingos Vandelli's dictionary.¹²² The shelves of natural philosophy were as eclectic as those of theology and included books penned by Iberian authors, regardless of their religious affiliation. Considering that the Oratorians were the Jesuits' most deliberate critics in eighteenth-century Portugal, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the Library of Campolide owned the works of the Oratorian popularizer of science Teodoro de Almeida (1722–1804).¹²³ If the present census is representative, then the section of physics mostly comprehended nineteenth- and twentieth-century treatises on mechanics, electricity, and thermodynamics.¹²⁴ Interestingly, the section of physics also included proceedings of contemporaneous conferences, such as the First International Congress of Radiology, held in Liège in 1905. Considering that there were only two Portuguese attendees at the pioneering event and that both were Jesuits, it comes as no surprise to find such a title at the Learned Library of Campolide.¹²⁵

Following the well-known tradition of promoting mathematics and astronomy in their colleges in the early modern period, the Jesuits of Campolide owned a significant collection of mathematical books.

118 Abreu, *Manual para o Estudo do Sãoskrito*.

119 Anselmo, "Biblioteca de Campolide", 38.

120 Linnaeus, *Systema Vegetabilium*; Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae*.

121 Pliny, the Elder, *Historiae mundi*; Dodoens, *Stirpium Historiae*.

122 Vandelli, *Dicionário*.

123 Almeida, *Cartas Físico-Mathematicas*.

124 Arago, *Oeuvres complètes*; Couaillhac, *La liberté et la conservation de l'Énergie*; Rodet, *Les lampes*; Montpellier, *Les dynamos*; Tyndall, *Le son*.

125 *Premier Congrès International pour l'étude de la Radiologie*. See Romeiras and Leitão, "Jesuítas e ciência em Portugal. I: António Oliveira Pinto".

The collection featured books penned by Jesuit authors, most notably the Portuguese Manuel de Campos (1681–1758)¹²⁶ and Eusébio da Veiga (1718–98)¹²⁷—who taught mathematics at the celebrated “Class on the Sphere” in Lisbon—and the Italian astronomer and director of the Vatican Observatory, Angelo Secchi (1818–78).¹²⁸ Similarly to other sections, the mathematical section was comprehensive and included books of recreational mathematics and books of astrology.¹²⁹ Despite not teaching medicine in their colleges and universities, the Library of Campolide also had a fine collection of medical works.¹³⁰ Alongside a sixteenth-century edition of Dioscorides, the Jesuits owned early modern treatises and compendia by Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), Paolo Zacchia (1584–1659), and Jean-Jacques Manget (1652–1742).¹³¹ The collection also comprised useful books for a boarding school, such as pharmacopeias and titles of hygiene.¹³²

When he visited the Jesuit library, Anselmo had admired the literature section for holding “the finest authors of modern literature”, most notably Dante, Shakespeare, Corneille (1606–84), Walter Scott (1771–1832), and Victor Hugo.¹³³ Dante, however, was not the single representative of the Italian peninsula, for the Jesuits also owned Torquato Tasso’s celebrated *Gerusalemme liberata*.¹³⁴ Tasso’s epic poem was not explicitly recommended in the 1599 version of the *Ratio studiorum*, nor in the revised edition of 1832. In any case, Tasso (1544–95) and Milton (1608–74) were read in Jesuit juniorates in Spain and Ecuador “to give an idea of the epics of different nations”.¹³⁵ Judging

126 Manuel de Campos, * 1681 Évora (Portugal), SJ 26.XI.1698 Évora, † 22.XI.1758 Lisbon (DHCJ II, 619–20). Campos, *Trigonometria plana e esférica*.

127 Eusébio da Veiga, * 1.VI.1718 Revelles (Portugal), SJ 21.IX.1731 Coimbra, † 9.IV.1798 Rome (Trigueiros, “Eusébio da Veiga”). Veiga, *Planetario lusitano*; Secchi, *Le Soleil*. The “Class on the Sphere” was a public class of mathematics taught at the College of Santo Antão between 1590 and 1759. For an overview, see especially Leitão, “Jesuit Mathematical Practice in Portugal”, and Castel-Branco, “Material Piety”.

128 Angelo Secchi, * 28.VI.1818 Reggio Emilia (Italy), SJ 3.XI.1833 Rome, † 26.II.1878 Rome (DHCJ IV, 3542–3). Secchi, *Le Soleil*. For a recent biography, see Chinnici, *Decoding the Stars*.

129 Lucas, *Récreations Mathématiques*; Cortês, *O non plus ultra do Lunário*. On the teaching and practice of astrology in Jesuit colleges in the early modern period, see Ribeiro, “Transgressing Boundaries?”.

130 *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, no. 452.

131 Dioscorides, *De medica materia*; Sennert, *Institutionum medicinae libri V*; Zacchia, *Quaestionum medico-legalium*; Manget, *Theatrum anatomicum*.

132 Tavares, *Pharmacopeia*; Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*.

133 Anselmo, “Biblioteca de Campolide,” 39.

134 Tasso, *O Godfredo*.

135 “The Woodstock Academy: For the Study of the Ratio,” 96.

by the donations students made in 1880, Jules Verne (1828–1905) was their favorite author. Out of the 160 titles donated, 19 were penned by the French novelist, including *Five Weeks in Balloon*, *Journey to the Center of the Earth*, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, and *In Search of the Castaways*.¹³⁶

For the sake of convenience, the Jesuits did not recite the divine office in common nor in choir. This exemption was embodied in the popular aphorism “Jesuita non cantat” (A Jesuit does not sing). Notwithstanding, music was pervasive in Jesuit colleges and missions in the early modern period.¹³⁷ In Portugal, music played a central role in the ministry of Jesuit education. Besides teaching music in their colleges, the teachers at Campolide and São Fiel encouraged the formation of bands and choral groups and promoted public performances in festive days. As Ciceronian rhetorical art, music in Jesuit colleges was meant to teach, delight, and move the audience.¹³⁸ Judging by the present census, the musical collection included counterpoint and solfeggio textbooks, sacred music, Irish and English songs, and Verdi’s operas.¹³⁹ The library also held original scores, especially the college’s anthems by Alfredo Keil (1850–1907) and José P. Saavedra (b. 1862).¹⁴⁰ The former is particularly significant, because Keil’s name became indelibly associated with the national anthem. Composed in the wake of the 1890 British Ultimatum, “A Portuguesa” was adopted by the new regime in 1910. Before his posthumous fame, Keil composed a score for the Jesuit college his children attended. Beginning in 1895, the score was played often at the college festive events.¹⁴¹

Given its primordial function, the College of Campolide owned an important collection of grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks. In this census, I was able to trace official manuals of philosophy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural history. What is striking, however, is not the possession of Portuguese textbooks, but rather the ownership of foreign ones, including some advanced books directed at uni-

136 Colégio de Campolide, *A Luiz de Camões*, 7–16.

137 Filippi, “Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth”.

138 Miranda, “A retórica, chave de leitura do teatro jesuítico”; Gosine and Oland, “Docere, delectare, movere”.

139 Lisboa, BNP, COD. 9346; Solano, *Exame instructivo*; Costa, *Principios de musica*; Estevão [da Ordem de Cristo], *Liber Passiomum*; Lerma, ed., *Colección de canciones sagradas*; Hopwood, *The Irish Musical Repository*; Thomson, *The Seasons*; Verdi, *Ernani*; Verdi, *Nabucodonosor*; Verdi, *I Vespri Siciliani*.

140 Saavedra, *Hymno-Cantata do Collégio de Campolide*. For Keil’s anthem, see: Lisboa, BNP, M.M. 560 and M.M. 1137.

141 Almeida, “Hymnologia campolidense”. On Keil, see Ramos, *O cidadão Keil*.

versity students.¹⁴² A notable example is that of Goodwin's *Elementary Course of Mathematics*, which aimed at preparing students for the first three days of Cambridge Mathematical Tripos. The case of chemistry is also compelling. Whereas the purchase of official manuals was mandatory for public and private schools alike, the acquisition of textbooks on the practical teaching of chemistry was obviously not.¹⁴³ One may argue that the possession of such books is not enough to explain away the differences between public and private education in late nineteenth-century Portugal. However, it bears reminding that the Jesuit College of Campolide had an operating laboratory of chemistry since the 1870s, and that the Jesuit students preformed scientific experiments regularly both in the classroom and in front of a wide audience. To put it simply, books that provided material for a hands-on teaching of chemistry could not be stowed away for a long time. Read by teachers and students, these books were one of the cornerstones of the Jesuits' approach to the teaching of natural sciences. Although it is difficult to ascertain which textbooks were used most frequently in the classroom, it seems that there was a prevalence of French authors.¹⁴⁴

In a few cases, however, it is possible to reconstruct the reading practices of teachers and students. In a series of articles published between 1902 and 1906, Jesuit naturalist Carlos Zimmermann (1871–1950)¹⁴⁵ exhorted high-school teachers to use microscopes in the classroom, because this was the most effective way to learn plant anatomy.¹⁴⁶ In his first article, Zimmermann referred to the former president of the Royal Microscopical Society, Lionel Smith Beale (1828–1906), who penned some important books on microscopy, including *The Microscope, and Its Application to Clinical Medicine* (1854) and *How to Work with the Microscope* (1857).¹⁴⁷ Reprinted until 1880, *How to Work with the Microscope* was the main source of inspiration for Zimmermann, as testified by his lengthy two-page citation.¹⁴⁸ Considering both the nature of Beale's textbook and Zimmermann's expressed admiration, it is unsurprising to find *How to Work with the*

142 Goodwin, *An Elementary Course of Mathematics*; Müntz, *Problèmes de mathématiques*; Mancini, *Corso di matematica elementare*.

143 Jungfleisch, *Manipulations de chimie*; Fontaine, *Électrolyse*.

144 Drion and Fernet, *Traité de physique élémentaire*; Boutan, *Cours élémentaire de physique*; Stallo, *La matière et la physique moderne*; Chauffard, *La vie*; Lapparent, *Traité de géologie*.

145 Carlos Zimmermann, * 28.V.1871 Ehingen (Germany), SJ 7.IX.1890 Lyon, † 21.X.1950 Salvador (Brazil) (Romeiras, "Constituição e percurso").

146 Zimmermann, "Microscopia vegetal".

147 Foster, "Lionel Smith Beale".

148 Zimmermann, "Microscopia vegetal", 55–56.

Microscope at the Learned Library of Campolide.¹⁴⁹ Joaquim da Silva Tavares (1866–1931),¹⁵⁰ in turn, was an enthusiastic and prolific photographer. The founder and first director of the journal *Brotéria* (1902–31) was probably the first Jesuit photographer in nineteenth-century Portugal. During his brief term as the teacher of natural sciences at Campolide (1889–90), he had at his disposal two general treatises of photography.¹⁵¹ These readings provided the theoretical foundation for those who used the college's darkroom.¹⁵²

According to both Anselmo's description and the present census, the Learned Library of Campolide had an outstanding collection of printed books, especially when compared against the backdrop of public high schools at the time. But how did the Library of Campolide compare with other private schools? In 1908, two years before the Jesuits' proscription, the main library of Eton College was renovated to accommodate 24,000 volumes.¹⁵³ What is striking is not the outweighing of the centenary English library, but rather that both libraries had the same magnitude. If we take into account the fact that the Jesuit collections were assembled during fifty years—and not over four centuries—the evaluation of Campolide as a first-tier college library is unavoidable. In the wider network of Jesuit libraries, the Library of Campolide was sizeable. However, its book collections were just a fraction of the Roman College's. In 1870, the library of the Roman College comprehended about 80,000 vols., that is more than four times the holdings of Campolide.¹⁵⁴

Final remarks

Within a century, the former Jesuit College of Campolide served many functions. Its path from hosting the Blood Hospital of the Portuguese Women's Crusade (1917–21) to the Headquarters to an Army Battalion (ca. 1925–78) to the Nova School of Business & Economics (1981–2018) was anything but straightforward. With the opening of a Californian-like campus at Carcavelos in September 2018, the Jesuit building lost its tenants. In the following year, the institutes and re-

149 Beale, *How to Work with the Microscope*.

150 Joaquim da Silva Tavares, * 17.VIII.1866 Casais de S. Bento (Portugal), SJ 13.XI.1880 Barro, † 2.IX.1931 Paris (France) (DHCJ IV, 3706).

151 Monchoven, *Traité général de photographie*.

152 Azevedo, *Proscritos*, 1: 176.

153 Lyte, *A History of Eton College*, 574.

154 Golvers, "Jesuit Libraries in the Old and the New Society of Jesus", 13–14. For comparison, see also Šapro-Ficović and Zegh, "The History of Jesuit Libraries in Croatia".

search centers of the Nova School of Social Sciences and Humanities were transferred to Campolide. To mark the dawn of a new stage, the college was renamed Almada Negreiros in October 2019. Emblematic figure of Portuguese Modernism, José de Almada Negreiros (1893–1970) was arguably the most celebrated alumnus of the Jesuit College of Campolide (1900–10). The decision to honor Almada speaks volumes about the recent acknowledgement of the Jesuits' educational legacy between in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries.

Today, the library of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities is located not on the second floor as in the Jesuits' days, but rather on the ground floor. It comprises a collection of about 48,000 books, 20,000 articles and book chapters, and more than 2,500 journals.¹⁵⁵ Besides, the library also holds two private collections of particular interest to Portuguese historians, namely those of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918–2011) and Samuel Schwarz (1880–1953).¹⁵⁶ According to a recent report, the collection of Almada Negreiros and his wife Sarah Affonso (1899–1983) will be placed under the same roof.¹⁵⁷ The spacious room that used to serve as library is now the School's main hall (*Salão nobre*). Despite being stripped of its books and wooden shelves, the former library still preserves glimpses of its Jesuit past, most notably the panel on the ceiling (Fig. 3). In 1910, Jesuit students studied under the motto "Immaculate Beauty, ever inspire your young subject's quill and lyre". A century later, this motto is a paradox for a secular university. But, whereas the invocation of Virgin Mary for the progress of humanities and fine arts seems off place, the portrayal of Camões and Vieira as the writers whose prose students and teachers should emulate is still indisputable. Obviously, Camões and Vieira are not immune to present-day iconoclastic impulses. Perhaps their high position in the ceiling will prevent—or at least forestall—harbingers of modernity to expurgate them in a near future.

Abstract

Founded in the 1850s, the library of the Jesuit College of Campolide, in Lisbon, was pillaged and scattered in the wake of the country's Republican revolution in 1910. After a decade of litigation over its property, the remnants of the Jesuit library were incorporated in the collections of the Portuguese National Library. Despite being the

155 Catalog of the Library of NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities; online.

156 Catalog of the Library Samuel Schwarz; online.

157 Andrade, "Espólio de Almada Negreiros e Sarah Affonso"; online.

most celebrated boarding school in late nineteenth-century Portugal, the absence of a catalogue prevented historians to study the library until now. The tracking of hundreds of copies at the Portuguese National Library has recently allowed me to sketch a partial reconstruction of its collections and to study them in the broader context of science and education in *A Biblioteca Erudita de Campolide: A história de uma biblioteca jesuíta dispersa pela República* (Cascais, 2022). This article summarizes the main findings of this research and presents it to a wider international audience. Despite its limited scope, I argue that the Jesuit Library of Campolide provides an excellent case-study to understand the practices of Catholic librarianship from mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

Resumo

Fundada na década de 1850, a biblioteca do Colégio de Campolide, em Lisboa, foi pilhada e dispersa no rescaldo da revolução republicana de 1910. Depois de uma década de litígios em torno dos bens dos jesuítas, os livros de Campolide foram finalmente incorporados nas colecções da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Apesar de Campolide ser o colégio interno mais prestigiado no Portugal de oitocentos, a ausência de um catálogo tinha impedido os historiadores de estudarem a sua biblioteca até agora. A identificação recente de centenas de exemplares na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal permitiu a reconstituição parcial da biblioteca de Campolide e o estudo das suas colecções no contexto alargado da história da ciência e da educação em *A Biblioteca Erudita de Campolide: A história de uma biblioteca jesuíta dispersa pela República* (Cascais, 2022). Este artigo resume as principais descobertas desta investigação e apresenta-as a uma audiência internacional mais vasta. Apesar de o âmbito desta investigação ser limitado, este artigo defende que a Biblioteca de Campolide é um caso de estudo excelente para se compreender as práticas de biblioteconomia católicas desde meados do século XIX até às primeiras décadas do século XX.

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Fig. 1 - The Jesuit College of Campolide in 1908. Postcard of the college's quinquennial. © Lisbon, Archive of the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus.



Fig. 2 - The Library of the Jesuit College of Campolide in 1908. Postcard of the college's quinquennial. © Lisbon, Archive of the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus.



Fig. 3 - The Library of the Jesuit College of Campolide: Allegorical painting in the library ceiling. © The author, 2021.