The limits of erudition: Daniello Bartoli SJ (1608-85) and the mission of writing history

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John O'Malley, by insisting in his influential study *The First Jesuits* (1993) that the actions and ministry of the early Jesuits shared a common foundational 'rhetorical' dimension centred on the idea of 'accommodation', recovered for our attention the Renaissance humanist, rather than simply 'Counter-Reformation' or 'Tridentine' cultural origins of the Society of Jesus.[1] This chapter takes this story into the seventeenth century by investigating what happened to this 'rhetorical preference for the particular, local and timely' when the Society was faced with the challenge of writing a history of its missions more than a century after its foundation that was both global in geographical scope and universal in aspiration.[2]

Although art historians might have finally acknowledged 'the folly of identifying a specifically Jesuit manner of painting, sculpting and, especially, building', in the wider world of cultural history, the image of the Society as perhaps the world's

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[1] S. Schloesser, 'Accommodation as a rhetorical principle. Twenty years after John O'Malley's *The First Jesuits* (1993)', *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014), 347-72 (at 348). Cfr. J. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, (Cambridge MASS, Harvard University Press, 1993). Entries on 'accommodation', 'Bartoli' or even 'history writing' are conspicuous by their absence in T. Worcester ed., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[2] The phrase 'rhetorical preference for the particular, local and timely' is Schloesser's who, following Stephen Toumlin's revisionist account of the origins of modernity (*Cosmopolis: the hidden agenda of modernity*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1993), contrasts the rhetorical, particularist and inductive mindset of the sixteenth century of Erasmus and Montaigne with a seventeenth-century 'quest for certainty' based on universals and deductive reasoning as championed by Descartes. As will become evident from the following pages, my case study neither confirms nor endorses this contrastive characterization of intellectual enquiry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

first global corporation has been more resilient.[3] This is despite the fact that as early as 1902 the German Jesuit, Joseph Braun remarked that: 'Jesuit-style is a mere phantom'.[4] The very different work of Markus Friedrich on Jesuit information networks and Luke Clossey on the soteriological core of their global mission – both valuable and pioneering in their own right – have actually given no little grist to the mill of those who still prefer to identify the Society with a unifying, common brand or 'way of proceeding'.[5] Indicative here is the choice of the noun 'management' (*Verwaltung*) in the title to Friedrich's volume, (with its decidedly anachronistic connotations of modern bureaucratic administration).[6] Ironically, Clossey's laudable effort to de-centre the story of the Jesuit missions – by emphasising the peripheral links between mission zones thereby bypassing Rome – has ended up supporting those who believe in emphasising common conversion strategies and even common outcomes over the cacophony of conversations now being patiently chronicled by scholars such as Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile and Guillermo Wilde for Latin America; Ronnie Hsia and Eugenio Menegon in China and Ines Županov and Alexander Henn in India: with messages more often than not misunderstood even where they were not miscommunicated.[7]

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[3] Bailey, 'Le style jésuite', p. 39.

[4] 'Jesuitenstil [ist] in Wirklichkeit ein bloβes Phantom' from J.Braun, *Die kirchenbauten der deutschen jesuiten: ein beitrag zur kultur- und kunstgeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau etc, Herder, 1908), vol. I, p. v.

[5] M. Friedrich, *Der lange arm Roms? Global Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenordern*, (Frankfurt, Campus, 2011); Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit missions*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[6] However, see now Friedrich's more nuanced treatment in: 'Ignatius's governing and administrating the Society of Jesus' in R. Maryks (ed), *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola. Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence*, (Leiden, Brill, 2014), pp. 123-40. Cfr. the same author's successful integration of information management into his superbly comprehensive history of the Society: *Die Jesuiten: Aufsteig, Neidergang*, *Neubeginn*, (Munich: Piper, 2016), ch. 4. An English translation is forthcoming from Princeton University Press.

[7] For studies of the Jesuits in Latin America see: C de Castelnau- l'Estoile**,** *Les Ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: Les Jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil 1580–1620*, (Paris: Gulbenkian, 2000); G. Wilde ed., *Saberes de la Conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad,* (Buenas Aires: Editorial SB, 2011). For China see: R. Po-chia Hsia, 'The Catholic

In the preface 'to the reader' of Bartoli's compendious (724-page) life of Ignatius Loyola of 1650 there is a striking passage in which the author refers to the double nature of his project, which is not only history but also 'apologia'. Bartoli continued:

> … there is no shortage of pens and tongues [belonging not only] to innumerable heretics but also to a great number of Catholics, who in a thousand ways, in both writing and speech, attempt to make the Society despised by the world and held in public contempt...[8]

This volume should be considered the first part of his unfinished history of the Society – *Istoria della compagnia di Gesu* (1653-73) that occupies the centre of my attention in this chapter.[9] As the recent work on Jesuit (dis)obedience by Silvia Mostaccio and others as well as that of Michela Catto on tensions within the Society at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has demonstrated, Bartoli's concern was not

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mission and translations in China 1583-1700' in P. Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 39-51; Po-chia Hsia, 'Language acquisition and missionary strategies in China, 1580-1760' in C. De Castelnau-L'Estoile, M.-L. Copete, A. Maldavsky and I. Županov (eds), *Missions d'évangélisation e circulation des savoirs (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, (Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2011), pp. 211-29; E. Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins and Friars: Christianity as a local religion in late imperial China*, (Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press, 2009). For India: I. Županov, *Missionary tropics. The Catholic frontier in India (16th-17th centuries),* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2006); A. Amaladass and I. Županov (eds), *Intercultural encounter and the Jesuit mission in S. Asia (16th-18th centuries),* (Bangalore, Asian Trading Corporation, 2014); Alexander Henn, *Hindu-Catholic encounters in Goa: religion, colonialism and modernity*, (Bloomington & Indianopolis, Indiana University Press, 2014). Cfr. for the wider picture see, in particular, the essays by S.. Ditchfield and J.-P. Rubiés in: S. Ditchfield, C. Methuen & A. Spicer eds., *Translating Christianity*, Studies in Church History, 53, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2017) pp. 164-95 and 272-310.

[8] 'Impercioche penne, e lingue non mancano, e d'Heretici oltrenumero, e a gran numero di Catolici, che in mille forme, scrivendo, e favellando, s'adoperan, secondo lor talento, per mettere in dispetto al mondo, e in publico vitupero la Compagnia…', D. Bartoli, *Della Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignazio fondatore della compagnia di Giesù libri cinque*, (Rome: Domenico Manelfi, 1650), 'A' lettori.'

[9] He also went on to write lives of other famous Jesuits, all of whom were at various stages of being considered for canonisation, beginning with Vincenzo Carafa (1585-1649), who was seventh General of the Society (1646-49) in 1651and continuing with lives of the putative martyr, Rodolfo Acquaviva (1653); the Polish novice, Stanislaus Kostka (1670); the third General of the Society, Francisco Borgia (1671); the controversialist, Roberto Bellarmino (1682) and the preacher and astronomer, Nicola Zucchi (1682).

without foundation.[10] So it can come as no surprise to discover that the Jesuit writer devoted the entirety of book III of his *Vita* of St Ignatius to an extended elucidation of what the founder had to say about obedience, its importance and how the founder-saint imparted it not only through his personal example but also by means of such devices as the *Constitutions*.[11] As Bartoli put it in the opening of book III:

> In as much as the Society of Jesus took the form of a religious order, it also began to need a rule. While for those sharing the habit in Rome, they could be taught by the living rule and example of St Ignatius, once they began to spread through various parts of the world, it was necessary to prescribe a fixed, living spiritual model suited to each person as well as a structured order of governance for the communal regulation of all.[12]

The still commonly accepted narrative of Bartoli's changing approach to his subject matter over the course of the more than two decades he spent writing the history of his religious order traces the Jesuit historian's steady move away from focusing on the lives of the founder saints of the Society, such as Loyola in the first volume and Francis Xavier in that on Asia, until in those on Japan, and especially China, Bartoli

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[10] S. Mostaccio, *Early modern Jesuits between obedience and conscience during the generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615),* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2014); F. Alfieri & C. Ferlan (eds), *Avventure dell'obbedienza nella Compagnia di Gesù: teoria e prassi fra XVI e XIX secolo*, (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2012); M. Catto, *La Compagnia divisa: il dissenso nell'ordine gesuitico tra '500 e '600*, (Brescia, Morcelliana, 2009). As Jean-Pascal Gay has shown, the situation during the generalate of Tirso González became, if anything, worse than under that of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615). See J-P. Gay, *Jesuit Civil Wars: theology, politics and government under Tirso González (1687-1705*), (Farnham, Ashgate, 2012).

[11] *Della Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignazio*, pp. 312-469. Here the two-part title of Bartoli's volume – consisting of 'vita' and 'Istituto' - is indicative.

[12] 'Poiche la Compagnia di Giesù hebbe forma di Religione, cominciò anche ad haver bisogno di regola. Che se bene per fino a tanta, che quegli, che ne vestivano l'habito, stettero in Roma, bastò loro la regola via de gli ammaestramenti, e dell'esempio di S. Ignatio, poiche però s'hebbero a spargere in varie parti del mondo, fu necessario di prescrivere una stabile forma di spirito al vivere particolare d'ognuno, e un regolato ordine di governo al commune reggimento di tutti.' Bartoli, *Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignazio*, p. 312.

broadened his range of reference to include extensive accounts of the customs and peoples of those distant lands.[13] Such a progression from hagiography and history to embrace topics concerning geography, flora and fauna (for which the portmanteau term 'cosmography' was used) has precedent in the famous letter dated 24 February 1554 by Loyola to Gaspar Berze, who had been appointed Superior of the Jesuit mission in India by Francis Xavier:

> Some leading figures who in this city [of Rome] read much to their edification the letters from India, are wont to desire, and repeatedly request, that something should be written regarding the cosmography of those regions where ours [i.e. members of the Society of Jesus] live (*algo de la cosmographia de las regiones donde andan los nuestros*). They want to know, for instance, the length of the days in summer and in winter; when summer begins; whether the shadows move toward the left or towards the right. Finally, if there are other things that may seem extraordinary, let them be noted, for instance, details about animals and plants that are either not known at all, or not of such a size, etc. And this news - sauce for the taste of a certain curiosity, that is not evil, and is wont to be found among men (*y esta salsa, para el gusto de alguna curiosidad que suele haver en los hombres*) - may be sent in the same letters or in other letters separately.[14]

Although this appears to insert Bartoli neatly into another narrative: that of the emergence of ethnography out of missionary writings, as best represented in the Jesuit

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[13] Bartoli's *Historia* was divide into five volumes: Asia, 1653; Japan, 1660; China, 1663, England, 1667 and Italy, 1673. Cfr. John Renaldo, *Daniello Bartoli. A letterato of the seicento*, (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1979), pp. 73-75.

[14] *Monumenta Ignatiana. Epistolae et instructiones*, VI, (Madrid: G. Lopez de Horno, 1907), pp. 357-59 (at 358). The English translation is by John Correia-Afonso and may be found in J. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History. A study of the nature and development of the Jesuit letters from India (1542-1773) and of their value for Indian historiography*, (Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1955), p. 14.

context by the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses,* which were published in thirty-four volumes between 1702 and 1776 and admired and mined by, among others, Leibniz, Voltaire and Montesquieu, one would be mistaken to draw this apparently logical conclusion. To begin with, as we shall see, the rigorously annalistic structure of the penultimate volume of the *Istoria* – that dedicated to the English mission – together with the prominence in the narrative of the deeds and suffering of a succession of martyrs, most notably Edmund Campion, but also those of other holy heroes such Thomas Pounde and Henry Garnet, suggest that things are not so straightforward.

We know from Bartoli's own working notes to his history of the Society, the *Selva per l'Historia*, he himself felt there to be a special challenge in writing history. To begin with, there were the four alternative ways one could approach the topic: either via subject, person, time or place.[15] But, above all, there were Bartoli's profound reservations about the limitations of trying to order a narrative chronologically, which had the effect, he reasoned, of breaking up the subject being treated into 'numerous fragments' (*tante particelle*).[16] However, Bartoli was temperamentally alert to the tension between unity and diversity; underlying structure and apparently multitudinous confusion. In his *Dell'uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato* [The Man of Letters defended

[15] 'Le cose di che si vuole scrivere Historia conviene che habbiano qualche unione con che insieme si leghino. *Questa suol prendersi dalla Materia, dale Persone, dal Tempo e dai Luogh*i' (emphasis added). 'Selva per l'Historia' (ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 115-116) foliation unspecified but transcribed in M. Brutto Barone Adesi, 'Daniello Bartoli storico', *Rivista di storia della storiografia moderna*, 1 (1980), 77-102 (at 100).

[16] A letter from Bartoli to Vincenzo Carafa in which he observes: 'Ma questi [Jesuit historians such as Orlandini] scrivendo Chronologia anzi che Historia, e facendo servire all'unione de'tempi la disunione delle cose, le hanno sminuzzate in tante particelle, quanti anni; onde quelle che da sé, come grandi ch'erano, potevano comparire, abboccanate in questo modo, e frammezzate con moltissime altre, sono in gran parte sparite.' Brutto Barone Adesi, 'Daniello Bartoli storico', pp. 87-88.

and amended], the Jesuit cited the following lines from the first-century AD author Marcus Manilius' didactic poem on astrology, *Astronomica*:

> Nothing in this mighty edifice is more wonderful than its design
> And the obedience of all to immutable law.
> Nowhere does confusion do harm;
> nothing in any of its parts moves randomly.[17]

Furthermore, we have it on Bartoli's own account that he was a reluctant historian, referring to his *Istoria* as a 'long and utterly boring chore'.[18] It was his occasional treatises which appear to have been closer to his heart, several of which were most probably based on material that Bartoli had written when he was a teacher of rhetoric in Parma and elsewhere in Northern Italy (1637-41) and after that as a preacher who was much in demand throughout the Italian peninsula, Sicily and Malta until 1648 (when the superior general forced him retire from duties in the pulpit for reasons of health and charged him with writing the *Istoria*).

The most popular of Bartoli's occasional works, which had Queen Cristina of Sweden amongst its many admirers, was the aforementioned *L'uomo di lettere difeso e emendato,* (which was printed no fewer than eight times in 1645 alone and translated into French, German, Latin, Dutch and English).[19] This treatise argued for the virtues

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[17] 'Haud [nec] quicquam in tanta magis est mirabile mole,/quam ratio et certis quod legibus omnia parent./Nusquam turba nocet, nihil his [ullis] in partibus errat [errans].'*Astronomica* I, 478-80. Cfr. Bartoli, *Dell'uomo di lettere difeso et emendato*, (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1645), p. 283. The English translation is taken from G.P. Goold's Loeb edition (Manilius, *Astronomica*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1977). Goold's variant readings are given in square brackets (p. 42).

[18] 'Quando piacerà a Dio ch'io la [Istoria] vegga finita, applicherà l'animo e la penna a qualche libretto come soglio, per sollevamento dell'animo da *mia lunga e incredibilmente noiosa fatíca*' (emphasis added). See G. Boero (ed), *Lettere edite ed inedite del padre Daniello Bartoli e di uomini illustri scritte al medesimo,* (Bologna, Alessandro Mareggiani, 1865), letter XXVII from Bartoli to his Oratorian friend in Brescia, Giovanni Girolamo Brunelli dated 15 July 1662 (at p. 31).

[19] Renaldo, *Daniello Bartoli: a letterato of the Seicento*, p. 41.

of solitude and the need for the true man of letters to retreat from the life of the court. Like those avatars of heroic freedom, the ancient philosophers of antiquity such as Diogenes and Crates, who are presented by Bartoli in intensely visual language as 'astounding curiosities' who 'still live, still talk, still teach' by means of their sayings and actions, the man of letters should scorn earthly possessions and liberate himself from ambition and fear.[20] Throughout the period when he was composing his global *Istoria* of the Society, Bartoli, who shared with the painter Salvator Rosa, whom he knew and to whom the Florentine edition of *L'uomo di lettere* was dedicated by its printer, a love of the world as a theatre of marvels, with particular emphasis on its terrible or wild beauty (*orrida bellezza*), continued to publish a series of occasional works, including: *La povertà contenta descritta e dedicata a' ricchi non mai contenti* [Contented poverty described and dedicated to the discontented rich] (1650), *La ricreazione del savio in discorso con la natura e con Dio* [The recreation of the wise man dicoursing with Nature and God] (1659) and *La geografia trasportata al morale* [Geography as a moral guide] (1664). As Helen Langdon has compellingly suggested, in their use of striking paradox and arresting visual language, they were intended to unsettle the reader's perception of the world; thereby provoking an awareness of its deeper, underlying unity.[21]

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[20] H. Langdon, 'Philosophy and Magic' in H. Langdon with X. Salomon and C. Volpi, *Salvator Rosa*, (London, Dulwich Picture Gallery and Kimbell Art Museum with Paul Holberton, 2010), pp. 194-201 (at 195-96).

[21] H. Langdon, 'A theatre of marvels: the poetics of Salvator Rosa', *Kunsthistorisk tidskrift*, 73 (2004), 179-92. Cfr. ibid., 'The representation of philosophers in the work of Salvator Rosa', *Kunsttexte.de*, 2 (2011) which can be downloaded at: http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/2011-2/langdon-helen-4/PDF/langdon.pdf (last accessed 8 August 2014). On the dedication of Bartoli's work to Rosa: Floriana Conte, 'Salvator Rosa tra Roma e Firenze: vecchie questioni e nuovi materiali' in B. Vetere (ed), *Metodo di ricerca e ricerca del metodo: storia, art, musica in confronto,* (Lecce, Congedo, 2009), pp. 247-69 (at 247). Cfr a letter from Rosa to Giovanni Battista Ricciardi of 2 February 1650 where the painter says he had rushed out to buy Bartoli's *La povertà contenta*, which had just been published and whose stoic treatment of its subject matter Rosa much admired, for which see G. G. Borrelli (ed), *Salvatore Rosa. Le lettere*, (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2003), p. 58.

Even Bartoli's more 'scientific' works, such as his late treatise which celebrates experimental method: *La Tensione e la Pressione disputanti qual di loro sostenga l'argento vivo ne canelli dopo fattone il vuoto* [A debate on whether tension or pressure maintains a column of mercury after the creation of a vacuum] (1677), began, as Langdon points out, with a detailed description of Salvator Rosa's painting from c. 1663-64 of the first meeting of the pre-socratic Greek philosophers Democritus with Protagoras, whose literary source was Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* (V, iii).[22] What most impressed Democritus about Protagoras, if Gellius is to be believed, was the way his younger contemporary had managed to rearrange the sticks he was carrying to market to sell into such a compact bundle, notwithstanding the fact that they were all knotted and gnarled, misshapen and irregular. To borrow from Bartoli's own description, they had:

> with such skill [been] combined and ordered, so tightly bound together, and stowed, so that the defects of one became the excesses of the other, and all obeyed one another in welcoming and adapting to the harmonious creation of the whole.[23]

It is this vision of harmony and unity underlying the sometimes sublimely terrifying and mystifying variety of the world that links Bartoli the historian to Bartoli the rhetorician, preacher and natural philosopher.

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[22] This painting is now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg and is reproduced in colour in Langdon, Soloman & Volpi, *Salvator Rosa*, p. 200 (fig. 76). Cfr. Bartoli, *La Tensione e la Pressione disputanti qual di loro sostenga l'argentovivo ne'cannelli dopo fattone il vuoto*, (Venice, Giovanni Francesco Valvasense, 1678), pp. 5-7. To my knowledge, Langdon is the first to have identified Rosa's painting as the source of Bartoli's description. See her article: 'The representation of philosophers', 5-6.

[23] '…ma con tanto maestria d'ingegno accoppiati e commessi, così strettamente raggiunti e stivati col fare che nel difetti dell'uno entrasser gli eccessi dell'altro, e tutti scambievolmente si ubbidissero al riceversi, all'adattarsi a ben formare un tutto.' Bartoli, *La Tensione e la Pressione*, p. 6. The English translation is Langdon's ('The representation of philosophers', 6). According to Langdon: 'The bundle of varied sticks becomes… a metaphor for the universe and its many qualities, whose complex harmonies are to be explored by the scientist'. Langdon, 'Philosophy and Magic', p. 199.

However, the task which faces a twenty-first century reader of such a writer – whom Giacomo Leopardi famously referred to in his commonplace book, the *Zibaldone*, as: 'il Dante della prosa barocca'– should not be underestimated. [24] Here is a modern description of the contents of Bartoli's *La recreazione del savio*:

> … a scholarly meditative work of philosophical and astronomical interest, with curious notes on a diversity of topics – flowers, Pisa Cathedral, atheists, the dome of S. Maria del Fiore [Florence], hunting, quicklime, snails, demons, dissonance in music, geometrical proof, Leonardo, Michelangelo, the microscope, navigation, clouds, the eye, the cathedral floor of Siena decorated by Beccafumi, the doors of the baptistry at Florence, the rulers of Mexico, China and Persia, chess, sleep etc.[25]

However, what distinguished Bartoli in particular, was that he matched the heterogeneity of the subject matter of his works with deployment of a variety of styles which so impressed Leopardi:

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[24] 'Father Daniello Bartoli is the Dante of Italian prose. His style with respect to matters of language is all flights and heights'. *Zibaldone*, entry for 22 March 1821, section 2396. The English translation is from: M. Caesar and F. D'Intino (eds), K. Baldwin, R Dixon, D. Gibbons, A. Goldstein, G. Slowey, M. Thom, P. Williams (trans), *Zibaldone*, (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), p. 1016.

[25] D. Auvermann and A. Payne (eds), *The Society of Jesus, 1548-1773. A catalogue of books by Jesuit authors and works relating to the society of Jesus published between 1648, with the first printing of Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, and the suppression of the Society in 1773*, Catalogue 1226, (London, Quaritch, 2006). unpaginated. *La ricreazione del Savio* is the only work of Bartoli's which enjoys a modern critical edition: B. Mortara Garavelli (ed), *Daniello Bartoli, La ricreazione del Savio*, (Milan, Fondazione Bembo and Ugo Guanda, 1992). Although there is a new edition of the first volume on Asia from Bartoli's *Istoria* planned by Einaudi to be edited by Elisa Frei and Umberto Grassi. In addition, there is S. Scioli ed., *Daniello Bartoli. Il Giappone: edizione critica*, (Unpublished Ph.D, University of Bologna, 2013).

> Anyone wishing to be convinced of the huge multiplicity of styles and almost distinct languages contained within the Italian language should consider the works of Daniello Bartoli… [26]

In addition to all these printed works, there were a considerable number of manuscript sermons, dating from the first half of his career, when (as has been noted) he was most famous and sought-after as a teacher and preacher. Indeed, it was the experience of losing most of these manuscripts and almost his life in a shipwreck off the coast of Capri en route to Palermo in 1643 (where he was to have delivered a cycle of Lenten sermons), which was to lead five years later to a fundamental change in lifestyle – from wandering, trouble-shooting, star preacher to sedentary author.[27] For the remaining four decades or so of his life, he never left Rome again, except for brief visits to Loreto (and possibly Venice).

Of course, the breadth of intellectual interests displayed by members of the Society is well known. One need not go as far as consult the multi-volume bibliography of Jesuit authors begun by the Belgian Jesuit Augustin de Backer (1809-73) and continued by his Alsatian confrère Carlo Sommervogel (1834-1902) to appreciate this.[28] For the

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[26] 'Chi vuole persuadersi dell'immensa moltiplicità di stile e quasi lingue diverse, rinchiuse nella lingua italiana, consideri le opere di Daniello Bartoli…' G. Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, 13 July 1821, section 1313.

[27] Bartoli recounts his shipwreck and its consequences with the utmost dispassion and clinical brevity in a letter to the Superior General, Vincenzo Carafa dated 27 January 1646. See. Boero, *Lettere edite ed inedite*, letter XXXII, p. 36.

[28] I am referring to *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus.* The first edition is by Backer alone, in 7 volumes 1853-61, but it is more frequently consulted in the 12-volume one co-edited with Sommervogel whose name has become synonymous with the work. This revised edition was published in Brussels by O. Schepens and in Paris by A. Picard, (1890-1932). Cfr. R. Danieluk, *La 'Bibliothèque' de Carlos Sommervogel: le sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932),* (Rome: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006), pp. 203-32. But see now the New Sommervogel Online (NSO) under the editorship of Robert Maryrks of Boston College which is currently available on open access at: http://www.brill.com/products/online-resources/new-sommervogel (last accessed 30 November 2016).

description of *La recreazione del Savio* comes from an antiquarian book catalogue that lists 237 books by Jesuit authors and works relating to the Society of Jesus published between 1548, when the first edition of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* was printed, and the Society's suppression in 1773. Near the close of the introduction to this catalogue, the following point is made:

> The Jesuits made their contribution as individuals rather than as members of a group, and they were absorbed by the various movements of the time. We thus find them on all sides of the great scholarly debates, opposing and supporting Descartes, Galileo and Newton, attacking or espousing the ideas of the Enlightenment, traditionalist and progressive, but nearly always remarkably adaptable.[29]

In support of this contention, the books listed include works on subjects as diverse as optics (cat. 3), the use of plane mirrors in surveying (cat. 11), geometry (cat. 16 and 210), atomic theory (cat. 17), the ruins of Troy (cat. 19), conchology (cat. 26), the art of laquer (27), hydrostatics and mechanics (cat. 34 and 35), the Gregorian calendar (cat. 42), emblems (cat. 61), perspective (cat. 65), horticulture (cat. 70 and 71), bookkeeping (cat. 73), astronomy (cat. 78 and 208), magnetism (cat. 106 and 111), dance (cat. 141), the law of contracts (cat. 153), art criticism (cat. 154 and 195), mathematics (cat. 15, 16, 40, 43, and 216), political theory cat. 200), and hydraulics (cat. 206). These topics are, of course, over and above the more mainstream works of hagiography, martyrology, theology, history, catechesis, spirituality, and geographical description, which make up the bulk of the catalogue.

[29] Alastair Hamilton, 'Introduction', *A catalogue of books by Jesuit authors,* unpaginated.

If Bartoli's literary and 'scientific' works may be seen as having in common a celebration of the underlying unity of nature in all its awesome variety and mystery, then how might his hagiographical and historical works be characterised? As has already been said, I believe that recognition of unity in variety is also central to this part of Bartoli's *oeuvre*. This was accompanied by a commonly used rhetorical figure of speech (the *synecdoche*), which involved using the particular – whether it be an emblematic life or even (miraculous) feature of nature – to illuminate universal themes. One is dealing here with *ekphrasis*, the type of speech or writing that is specifically designed to appeal to the audience's visual imagination.[30]

But which audience did Bartoli envisage for his *Istoria*? This is a question which no one seems to have addressed. It seems simply to have been assumed that this major work, possibly the most famous history of the Society ever published, and commissioned by the Superior General himself, was addressed to an audience as broad as its scope was wide. But not to the English monarch or his advisors, surely, since despite his years of teaching Latin rhetoric in Jesuit colleges Bartoli chose to publish his history in Italian rather than the *lingua franca* of the seventeenth-century republic of letters: Latin.[31] It is striking that in one of the two autograph letters addressed to Bartoli we have from the compiler of the material concerning the history of the English Mission, the Anglo-Irish Jesuit Christopher Grene (1629-97) dated from October 1663

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[30] Ruth Webb has made the important point that: 'Though the modern definition treats subject matter [descriptions of art] as the defining characteristic of ekphrasis… the ancient definition emphasises the effect of language on its audience, in particular, the power of words to transport the reader or listner. ' In my view, Bartoli is working in this original, ancient tradition. See her entry *ecphrasis* (sic) in A. Grafton, G. Most & S. Settis eds., *The Classical Tradition*, (Cambridge MA/London: the Belknap press, 2010), pp. 291-92.

[31] Robert Maryks has calculated that students in the Jesuit colleges spent some five hours a day, 270 days of the year in the company of classical, almost exclusively Latin authors, pre-eminently Cicero. See Maryks, *St Cicero and the Jesuits. The influence of the liberal arts on the adoption of moral probabilism*, (Rome/Aldershot, Institutum historicum societatis Iesu/Ashgate, 2008), passim.

(which is to say just four years before the publication of the relevant volume of Bartoli's history: *Dell'Istoria della compagnia di Giesu. L'Inghilterra parte dell'Europa*, 1667), Grene apologises for not having translated the Latin letters of English Jesuit missionaries from 1614 which he encloses 'in volgare' (which given that Grene's letter is written in Italian), it can safely be assumed is not the English vernacular.[32] In support of such an interpretation is the fact that on Bartoli's own admission, at the close of *L'Inghilterra*, he does not appear to have understood English very well (if at all).[33] There is one further, interesting detail which, to the best of my knowledge, seems to have been overlooked in this letter. Grene notes that he had 'read over two hundred letters to find the little which I have found to send you'.[34]

This confirms the impression that, out of choice, Bartoli preferred to deal with narrative sources or at least those that had been pre-selected by his confrères: whether it be Juan de Polanco, Loyola's secretary, whose several-thousand page Chronicon remained a vital source for the Jesuits who sought to write about the Society in its earliest years (down to 1556); Niccolò Orlandini and his continuators, whose Latin history of the Society down to 1590 was published in five volumes between 1614-1661; or Christopher Grene, whose miscellany consists substantially of transcriptions by others, including notably Richard Verstegan, of material from the English College in

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[32] Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, London (hereafter ABPSI), *Grene* MS, AE/7. I am most grateful to the former archivist, Tom McCoog and his then assistant, Anna Edwards for facilitating my access to the *Collectanea* at an inconvenient time. For a contextual discussion of this source see now Liesbeth Corens, 'Dislocation and record-keeping: the counter-archives of the Catholic Diaspora', in Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *The Social History of the Archive: Record Keeping in Early Modern Europe,* Past & Present Supplement 11 (2016), pp. 269-87 (at 276-77).

[33] 'Anzi questo medesimo poco che fin hora ne ho scritto, tra le cagioni accennate nel primo foglio, e *per la troppa gran parte delle contezze che v'ha null'altra lingua che la natia Inglese*, m'è convenuto per non poter meglio, tenerlo in parecchi luoghi asciutto e povero più di quel che alla materia, pur dovitiosa e piena si conveniva. (emphasis added)' *L'Inghilterra*, bk. VI, cap. 16, p. 644.

[34] 'ho letto piu di duecento lettere per trovare questo poco che li mando adesso'. ABPSI, *Grene* MS, AE/7.

Rome, particularly that either written by or at the behest of Robert Parsons.[35] Indeed Parsons seems to have been regarded by Bartoli as the English Loyola to Campion's English Xavier and with his death in 1610 Bartoli brings his volume on the English mission to a close.[36]

Whereas Josef Wicki clearly felt he had to defend Bartoli for his reliance on such narrative accounts, I feel that his defensiveness is essentially misplaced. This is because, like a good baroque sermon – which has two clear but connected parts – I believe that Bartoli's modus operandi, both before and after he was ordered to make what was effectively a career-change from preacher to historian, had but a single guiding thread or underlying logic. This was the desire to persuade by appealing above all to the emotions. For all the extraordinary diversity of his interests and the correspondingly comprehensive and vigorously variegated linguistic palette he mastered to do them justice, Bartoli remained the master rhetorician for whom historical narratives in all their forms were essentially supplying a reservoir of inventio – inspiring examples with which to make his prose more vivid and effective. These were chiefly printed saints' vitae and Annual Letters sent to Rome from provinces all

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[35] This multi-volume collection of documents consists of mostly 17th-century transcriptions of material relating to the Elizabethan persecution and, in particular, the fate of the Catholic martyrs for whose canonization the *Collectanea* appears to have been assembled at the English College, Rome. At some unspecified time it was removed from the English College and ended up at Stonyhurst and Oscott in the nineteenth century. It was recently deposited at the APBSI. There are five volumes extant: B, C, M, N and P (out of an original ten) with two volumes, N & P, subdivided into two parts. Volumes B and C contain transcriptions of primary sources, N consists of miscellaneous notes, M is devoted exclusively to the Elizabethan martyrs and volume P to Robert Parsons. These extant volumes amount to over 1,500 pages of material. Its inclusion of references to Bartoli would appear to gainsay the probability that the miscellany had been assembled specifically for Bartoli's convenience. Cfr. ARSI, *Prov. Angliae* 38, I-II 1568-1664 (Suppl. II ms D. Bartoli). My understanding of the *Collectanea* is indebted to Andrew Czaja, 'Catholic history and memory in Christopher Grene's *Collectanea*', Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Cambridge 2013. My sincere thanks to Mr Czaja for sending me a copy of his thesis and to Tom McCoog for drawing my attention to it.

[36] Even if it had been Bartoli's original intention, if he had had the time – he mentions needing between four and six years - and language skills (see above n.59) to continue the narrative down to his own day. See *L'Inghilterra*, bk. VI, cap. 16, p. 644.

over the known world, but also, less frequently, manuscript chronicles and witness testimony at canonization trials (which he used extensively in his life of the as yet unbeatified Roberto Bellarmino, but not in the case of Xavier, Loyola, Francisco Borja or Stanislaus Kostka all of whom had been at least beatified by the time Bartoli came to write their lives).[37]

The role played by explicit appeal to the emotions by Jesuit artists and authors is only now beginning to be acknowledged by scholars. This is perhaps unsurprising in light of the enduring effect of the 'black legend' of the Society: a narrative which reserved special disdain (or rather, more often self-righteous delight), in elucidating the capacity of the Jesuits to twist truth and manipulate motivation in the service of their veiled agenda.[38] The story of the composition and long afterlife of the Pseudo-Jesuit *Monita Secreta*, consisting of secret advice allegedly sent out by the fifth general of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva in order to advance the Society's interests but actually written in the second decade of the seventeenth century by a disgruntled ex-Jesuit from Pinsk in modern-day Belarus, has been well told by Sabina Pavone, although the longevity of its circulation is worth emphasising: the work was reprinted in Moscow as late as 1996.[39] Moreover, thanks to the persuasive polemic of Evonne Levy, we are now in a better position to acknowledge and thus overcome what might be called a 'Cold War' prejudice which identifies propaganda so closely with the horrific excesses

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[37] For material Bartoli had collected to write his lives of Zucchi, Kostka and Bellarmino see ARSI, *Vitae* 150, 'Note e selve di cose spirituali vite del P. Zucchi, di S. Stanislao, di S. R. Bellarmino – note e materiali, frammenti e miscellanea'. On history as philosophy teaching by examples, still relevant is M. Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists: six studies in the Renaissance* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 1-35.

[38] Peter Burke, 'The Black Legend of the Jesuits: an essay in the history of social stereotypes', in S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: essays for John Bossy* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2001), pp. 165-82.

[39] S. Pavone, *The Wiley Jesuits and the Monita secreta: the forged secret instructions of the Jesuits – myth and reality* (St Louis, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005).

of twentieth-century totalitarian regimes that we have been unable to take it seriously as a category deserving of critical study.[40]

As Peter Mack has reminded us, Loyola and his earliest companions were studying at the University of Paris just when Bartholomaeus Latomus and Johannes Sturm were spreading the posthumous influence of Rudolph Agricola by bringing logic and rhetoric closer together in order to amplify emotional persuasion.[41] Later in the sixteenth century, Jesuit manuals of rhetoric such as Cyprian Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* (1562) championed 'St Cicero', while Francisco Borgia's *Ratio concionandi* (1579), which was reprinted nineteen times down to 1620 – and as such was the most popular Roman Catholic preaching treatise in print – emphasised the importance of the preacher's preparation, of theatrical gestures, and of the care needed to avoid difficult and potentially controversial theology.[42] Borgia also argued that sermons should not only contain passages from scripture but also commonplaces, metaphors, exempla and narratives from a wide range of appropriate sources.[43] To borrow a phrase used by the Franciscan preacher, Francesco Panigarola (1548-94), whose own treatise on ecclesiastical rhetoric was issued together with those by Borgia and Juan de Jesús de María three times between 1612 and 1653: 'in the end [Panigarola is speaking in the third person in his autobiography] he decided to obey [the instructions given by his Franciscan teachers] to 'deliver sermons studied more with the knee than with the

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[40] E. Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit baroque* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004), especially pp. 6-7, 15-41. Cfr. Levy, 'Propaganda', *Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften*: *kritische Berichte*, 35/3, 2007, pp. 35-37; ibid., 'Early modern Jesuit arts and Jesuit visual culture: a view from the 21st century', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 66-87.

[41] P. Mack, *A history of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 74, 122-24

[42] Mack, *A history*, pp. 31 (table 2.2), 177-82, 267.

[43] Mack, *A history*, p. 267. By way of comparison, the Dominican Luis de Granada's *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae libri VI* first printed in 1576 had just ten editions over the same period (ibid., p. 269).

eyes.'[44] In the following century, perhaps the most influential (and at 685 folio pages, the largest) Jesuit preaching manual, Nicolas Caussin's *Eloquentiae sacrae et humanae parallela*, which was printed sixteen times between 1619 and 1650 drew extensively on Greek material (Cicero was good, but Chrysostom was better) and concluded that the best style was that which pleased a particular audience most.[45]

But what of the role played by history in the Jesuit curriculum? In what context would Bartoli have encountered history during his training as a Jesuit? Until relatively recently the scholarly consensus here was that history played a very limited part in the teaching programme of the Society.[46] However, Paul Nelles has taught us that by focusing on the Society's printed programme of study, the *Ratio studiorum* [Method of Study] which was finally published in 1599 after extensive consultation and trialling on the ground, we have been looking in the wrong place.[47] The *Ratio* clearly valued history above all for what it could do to contribute to the well-stocked preacher and controversialist's arsenal.[48] This was primarily in two forms; both for the exempla its

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[44] 'far prediche più studiate con le ginnochie che con gli occhi'. Francesco Panigarola (F. Giunta ed.), *Vita scritta da lui medesimo*, (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2008), p. 74. The work in question was: *Rhetoricae ecclesiasticae sive de ratione componendae concionis libri 3 R. D. Francisci Panigarolae… R.P. Francisci Borgiae… R.P. Ioannis a Iesus Maria*, (Cologne, J. Crithium, 1612). This edition was reprinted in Mainz (1627) and Lyon (1653). Cfr. F. Palomo, 'Mover a los otros movido y, encendido, abrasarlo. Francisco de Borja, la predicación e el ejercicio de la misión en la compañía de Jesús' in E. García Hernán & M. Del Pilar Ryan (eds), *Francisco de Borja y su tiempo: política, religión y cultura en la edad moderna*, (Valencia/Rome, Albatros Ediciones/Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2011), pp. 523-42 (at 529 n.23).

[45] Mack, *A history*, pp. 198-206. Cfr. M. Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, 2nd edn, Paris, Albin Michel, 1994), pp. 286-98.

[46] C. Pavur S.J. (ed. & tr.), *The Ratio studiorum. The official plan for Jesuit education*, (St Louis, Institute of Jesuit sources, 2005), *ad indicem*. Cfr. L. Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica societatis Iesu*, 7 vols., (Rome, Intitutum historicum societatis Iesu, 1965-92), V, pp. 349-54 and P. Leturia, 'Contributo della Compagnia di Gesù alla formazione delle scienze storiche', *Analecta Gregoriana*, Series Theologica, vol. XXIX – sectio A (n. 3), 161-202 (at 191-202).

[47] P. Nelles, 'Cicero and Jesuit history teaching', *Renaissance studies*, 13 (1999), 130-72.

[48] When discussing the method and order of teaching carried out by the Society, the *Constitutions* remarked that they: 'ought to be adapted to places, times and persons…'. G. Ganss (ed. & tr.), *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, (St Louis, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), part IV, ch. 13, para. 455 (pp. 215-16). Jesuits from every province submitted no fewer than 597 comments to Rome. Lukács' superb *Monumenta paedagogica*, VI & VII collect the opinions and comments written

content furnished of great and nefarious deeds as well as for the stylistic models provided by classical historians. There is but a single reference to the importance of 'ecclesiastical erudition' to those reviewing theology in private study: '… [such students] should make sure that they become thoroughly competent (docti ac prompti) – not only in theology, but in all the Church-related learning that theologians especially ought to have'.[49] This learning probably included much that we would today include under such labels as liturgics, patristics and canon law. This sense of the limited and subordinate role accorded history in the Jesuit education programme might appear to be reinforced by what was undoubtedly the most popular history textbook ever written by a Jesuit, Orazio Torsellini's *Epitome Historiarum ab origine mundi* [Epitome of histories from the beginning of the world] which easily outsold its nearest Jesuit competitor Denys Petau's slightly later *Rationarium temporum* [Methods of [measuring] time] (1633) by a factor of between four and five-to-one with no fewer than 135 editions (thereby even outselling similar works by Carion and Spondanus). First published in 1598, Torsellini's book was appreciated, above all, for the excellence of its Latinity which was such that there was even an edition – I believe the last – that was printed in Eton in 1845: 'approved for the use of the Royal scholars of Eton'.[50] However, Nelles brilliantly re-routes our attention by drawing attention to the teaching of Cicero in Jesuit colleges. It was precisely because the 1599 edition of the *Ratio* had been so filleted of specific injunctions by the process of exhaustive consultation that

between 1582 and 1616. Cfr. for the late antique roots to this project see H-I Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. G. Lamb (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956; Paris, 1948), in particular pp. 217-228; 314-29. I thank John O'Malley for drawing the relevance of this work to my argument.

[49] 'sed in omni etiam ecclesiastica eruditione, quae theologum maxime decet', Pavur, *Ratio studiorum*, section 455, pp. 195-96.

[50] 'ad usum Regiae scholae Etonensis recognita'. U. Neddermeyer, 'Das katholische Geschichtslehrbuch des 17. Jahrhunderts: Orazio Torsellinis "Epitome historiarum,"' *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 108 (1988), 469-83 (at 473).

the Colleges had a need for textbooks that provided material for students to work with. One of these was the Antwerp Jesuit André Schott's book on how to study Roman history using the works of Cicero.[51] In the words of Nelles, Schott's textbook: 'offers nothing less than a survey of ancient history as viewed through the prism of Cicero's life and writings.'[52] Of direct relevance to Bartoli is the following passage from book IV of Schott's work:

> There are, as I have said, two kinds of interpretation, the first of which translates something into another language… The second illustrates by means of amplification ambiguous or insufficiently explored passages of a writer. This the Greeks called *paraphrasis*, which produces the greatest benefits both in reading and in writing. In writing *paraphrasis* instils a habit of full and clear diction (for concise speech rarely escapes obscurity); in reading it easily disentangles knotty points, and when, as it is said, you are gasping for air, it makes the mind of the author fully understood.[53]

However, history did not serve only a Ciceronian, rhetorical purpose in Jesuit education, as Kristine Haugen has shown in her study of Jacques Sirmond's lectures on books 3 and 12 of Virgil's *Aeneid* as delivered at the Jesuit college of Pont-à-Mousson in 1582-83.[54] Sirmond (1559-1651) was at the time but a young, twenty-something on the cusp of what would be very long and brilliant career that would take him from

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[51] A. Schott, *Tullianarum quaestionum de instauranda Ciceronis libri III*, (Antwerp: Plantin, 1610). 'It constitutes a commentary on aspects of classroom teaching not found in the *Ratio studiorum*, which, though a unique document, sheds little light on teaching.' Nelles, 'Cicero and Jesuit history teaching', 139. Schott also translated Ribadeneira's lives of Lainez and Borgia out of Spanish into Latin as well as letters from the Society's Japanese missions for the years 1609-10 out of Italian (Nelles, 141).

[52] Nelles, 'Cicero and Jesuit history teaching', 142.

[53] Schott, *Tullianarum quaestionum*, pp. 270-71 (the translation is taken from Nelles, 149).

[54] K. Haugen, 'A French Jesuit's lectures on Vergil, 1582-1583: Jacques Sirmond between literature, history and myth', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999), pp. 967-85. My thanks to Nick Hardy for drawing this article to my attention.

collaboration with no less a scholar than Cesare Baronio, when assisting the latter's research for the *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588-1607), to his notorious debunking of the pious identification of St Denis of Paris with St Denys the Areopagite, published in 1641.[55] For Sirmond, history could shed light not only on Aeneas' progress across the Mediterranean from Troy to Carthage in book 3, but also on the religious ceremonies the Trojan Hero witnessed or took part in. In book 12, Sirmond's focus turned to the explanation of siege engines together with military tactics and formation. Such a heterogeneous range of topics corresponded well to the breadth of subjects that Bartoli had to dead with.

The most thoroughgoing analysis of Bartoli's *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu* yet attempted is that conducted by Josef Wicki SJ, preparatory to the planned edition of the volume on Asia, which never came to fruition.[56] It focused on a single book (VII) from the first part of Bartoli's coverage of the continent, which was devoted to India. Wicki took advantage of the fact that in the Jesuit archive in Rome there exists a manuscript for this book as well as notes relevant for this part of Bartoli's text.[57] Wicki showed the extent to which Bartoli relied upon published narrative sources. This included not only the lives of St Francis Xavier by João de Lucena (which Bartoli consulted in the Italian translation published of 1613), and Orazio Torsellino (whose second, corrected edition of 1596 was used), but also material that had been collected

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55 J. Sirmond, *Dissertatio in qva Dionysii Parisiensis et Dionysii Areopagitae discrimen ostenditur*, (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1641).

56 J. Wicki, 'Vorarbeiten für eine geplante kritische Ausgabe der Asia des P. D. Bartoli SJ', *Aufsatze zur portugiesischen Kullturgeschichte*, 18 (1983), 202-43. Ezio Raimondi was made responsible for the text while Wicki provided the historical commentary. Wicki gave a summary of this article in: 'Daniello Bartoli, L'Asia, I, libro 7 sull'India' in AAVV, *Daniello Bartoli storico e letterato*, (Ferrara, Tipografia artigiana, 1986), pp. 17-28. Raimondi has edited what is the best available selction of Bartoli's works: *Daniello Bartoli: Scritti*, (Turin, Einaudi, 1977). This first appeared in *La letteratura italiana. Storia e Testi*, vol. 36, (Milan/Naples, Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 317-469.

57 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 123a; *Selva per l'historia* 116, ff. 100v-121v.

for the canonization trial of Francis Xavier, which had reached its successful conclusion in 1622 and had been brought together by his fellow Jesuit, Giacomo Fuligatti and published in Rome in 1637.[58] In addition, unremarked by Wicki, is Bartoli's heavy reliance on Nicola Orlandini's official (Latin) history of the Society for the chronological armature of his notes.[59] Orlandini, in turn, depended heavily on the exhaustive, unpublished chronicle – the *Chronicon* – which had been begun in 1573-74 by Juan Alfonso de Polanco, secretary to St Ignatius and his two successors as Generals of the Society: Diego Laínez and Francisco Borja.[60] The annalistic template used by Orlandini also had its origins in the fact that he had been charged to edit the Annual Letters (*Litterae annuae*) sent by the Society's provincials from missions around the world for the years 1583-85.[61] Of course, Bartoli himself also made extensive use of the annual letters, in their uncensored manuscript form (as opposed to the printed versions which were designed for public edification).[62] Nevertheless,

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[58] J. Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier*, (Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600); O. Torsellino, *De Vita Francisci Xaverii qui primus e societate Iesu in India et Iaponium Evangelium promulgavit libri sex,* (Rome, Gabiana, 1594); G. Fuligatti, *Compendio della vita dell'apostolo dell India, San Francesco Saverio della Compagnia: raccolta da varie & approvate istorie e dalli processi fatti per la sua canonizatione,* (Rome, Bernardino Tani, 1637).

[59] ARSI, *Hist. Soc*, 116, fols.110v ff. The work in question is: *Historiae Societatis Iesu prima pars*, which was published posthumously in Rome, 1614.

[60] This was eventually published as *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum societatis Iesu historia auctore Joanne Alphonso Polanco eiusdem societatis sacerdote*, 6 vols, (Madrid, Augustinus Avriel, 1894-98). Selections from it have now been translated into English by John Donnelly as *Year by Year with the early Jesuits (1536-1557): selections from the 'Chronicon' of Juan Alfonso de Polanco*, (St Louis, Institute of Jesuit sources, 2004), although this only constitutes ca.8% of the 4,500 pages of the 19th-century edition. Donnelly, for example, excludes any references Polanco made to the East Indies on the grounds that the secretary's most important source was Francis Xavier's letters which have already been published. Cfr. Carlo Coupeau, 'Juan de Polanco's role as secretary of Ignatius de Loyola' in T. McCoog (ed), *Ite infiammate omnia*, (Rome, AHSI, 2010), pp. 109-27.

[61] These were then published as *Annuae litterae societatis Iesu anni 1583-85. Ad patres et fratres eiusdem societatis*, 3 vols., (Rome, Roman College. 1585-87).

[62] See, for example, the same volume of the 'Selva per l'Historia' relating to notes he made for part II of Asia (on Japan): ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 116, fols., 202r-204v, 243v-278r, 355r-v, 357r, 357v, 358v-359r, 359v, 360v-362v and 386v. Cfr. ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 115, fols. 38r-51v: notes taken from Orlandini arranged chronologically 1537-1556; ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 29, fols. 57-80: 'Notes, taken from the Annual letters, from sketches of chapters for the History of the Society.' Notwithstanding Friedrich's recent contribution (see above n. 9), particularly pp. 230-389, on the role played by letters for information gathering in day-to-day administration in the Society, there exists no substantial study of internal censorship of the manuscript letters prior to their publication. However, still useful, and of wider

Wicki's conclusion, which my own research to date confirms, is that Bartoli displayed a preference for printed over manuscript material; narrative over archival sources. Moreover, wherever possible, he worked with Italian translations of Portuguese, Spanish, English and even Latin accounts.

This is no less true when one comes to Bartoli's treatment of 'Europe's Japan', the term used by him to refer to England, which was published in 1667 as the first volume (of two) which he dedicated to Europe.[63] Two years earlier, in a letter to his old Oratorian friend Brunelli he wrote:

> …of late I find myself overwhelmed by this relentless chore of writing. Now I have arrived from the Indies to Europe and I am dealing with England on its own, which was in a most difficult [predicament] for it also [suffered from] the cruelty and malice of heretics; a Japan in Europe.[64]

Whether or not Bartoli was expressly charged to bring forward the writing and publication of this volume on England in the hope that the new King Charles II – as son of one Catholic princess (Henrietta Maria of France) and now husband of another (Catherine of Braganza of Portugal), both of whom maintained their chapels with

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relevance than its title suggests, is J. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit letters and Indian History: a study of the nature and development of the Jesuit letters from India (1542-1773) and of their value for Indian historiography*, (Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute, 1955). Although restricted to S and SE Asia, the most substantial survey of the printed annual letters is to be found in D. Lach & E. J. Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe,* 3 vols 9 parts, (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1965-93), I/1, pp. 314-31, 427-67; III/1, pp. 368-79, 510-15 and III/4, pp. 1983-99. These last sixteen pages contain: 'A tentative list of the principal editions of seventeenth-century published Jesuit letterbooks'.

[63] *Dell'historia della compagnia di Giesù. L'Inghilterra parte dell'Europa*, (Rome, Stamperia del Varese, 1667) (hereafter *L'Inghilterra*). It offered a detailed, chronological narrative of the persecution of Catholics in Elizabethan England from Henry VIII's break with Rome to the death of Robert Parsons in 1610. An autograph manuscript of this text, with frequent interpolations that made it into the printed version, may be found at ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 122.

[64] '… a poco più non mi troverà che sotterra; tanto mi va consumando questa fatica mai non interotta dello scrivere. Ora sono venuto dall'Indie in Europa, e ho preso tutta da sè l'Inghilterra, difficilissima, e anch'essa nella crudeltà e nella malizia degli Eretici, un Giappone in Europa'. Boero (ed), *Lettere edite e inedite*, letter XXVIII, 9 June 1665, pp. 32-33.

attached priests, monks and friars, respectively in Somerset House and St James's Palace, between 1662 and 1669 – might bring his realm back to Rome is still a moot point for all its plausibility (at least as seen from Rome).[65] However, it is undeniable that Bartoli emphasised right from the outset the obedience of the Jesuit missionary priests to their monarch except in matters of faith and thus (by implication) the especially outrageous injustice of their gruesome punishment as traitors.[66] An indication of the importance Bartoli placed on this theme can also be seen in his treatment of the life and martyrdom of Edmund Campion. A comparison of Bartoli's autograph manuscript and its inserted additions on scraps of loose paper with the final published version suggests that this is the most reworked part of the whole volume.[67] This is to be explained by the need to counter the Protestant account that justified the putting to death of a treacherous heretic with a narrative that simultaneously emphasised Campion's nobility of soul as well as his realistic assessment of the degree to which Pius V's bull excommunicating Elizabeth I in 1570 had made her policy towards her Catholic subjects much harsher.[68]

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[65] John Renaldo is of a similar opinion (*A letterato of the Seicento*, pp. 50-51), though Von Pastor, for example, is silent on the matter in his *History of the Popes*. On the number of Catholics at Charles's Court see J. Miller, *Popery and politics in England 1660-1688,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 21. Miller also writes: 'At times strange dreams of the reconversion of England sprang up in this exotic atmosphere [of Court Catholicism comprising foreigners and Irish rather than English, seigneurial Catholics who like their Elizabethan predecessors were more concerned to keep their heads down], which would soon have withered had any attempt been made to put them into practice.' (ibid., p. 26).

[66] E.g. 'Peroche certissimo è, sino all'evidenza de gli occhi, se fedeltà, se amore, se suggettione, e ubbidienza al suo Principe, se giusto partimento nel dare quel ch'è di Cesare a Cesare, e quel ch'è di Dio a Dio, si è mai veduto in verun altro Regno, l'Inghilterra (a dirne il meno che sia) ben haverlo mostrato ne'Cattolici Inglesi.' *L'Inghilterra,* Preface, unpaginated. Cfr. '…provide opportunamente il Santo Padre Gregorio XIII… col mandare, ordinando a' Cattolici dell'Inghilterra, che come sudditi, debbono ubbidissero a Lisabetta in quanto è convenevole a Principe temporale.' *Inghilterra*, bk I, cap. 9, p. 35.

[67] ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 122, fols 26v-27r; cfr. *L'Inghilterra*, pp. 132-40.

[68] 'Quella bolla haver ben forte inasprito la Reina, e condottala a gran rigori contra i Cattolici.' The inserted passage, from which this quotation is taken, is marked as 'carta A' and comprises the last paragraph of page 90 together with the first nine lines of page 91 of *L'Inghilterra*, bk. 2, cap. 4. Cfr. ARSI, *Hist. Soc*. 122, loose sheet 'A' to be found between fol. 20 and the previous one (which is unnumbered). For a convenient English translation of Pius' bull see now: G. Crosignani, T. M.

Another, related theme which Bartoli introduced right from the start of his account was that of England as 'fecund mother of martyrs' (*madre si feconda di martiri*) – which Bartoli measured in thousands (*li conta a migliaia*).[69] In the opening pages of book one, chapter one, citing William of Malmesbury, Bartoli painted the picture of England as having born witness to a continuous tradition of holiness, of at least eight hundred years; in which there was scarcely a hamlet which did not boast some Holy bones or relics of the innumerable bishops of 'most holy life and apostolic zeal' (*santissima vita e apostolico zelo*) and priests, nuns, monks and anchorites 'of consummate perfection' (*di consumata perfettione*) whose zeal had made England a favoured daughter of the True Faith.[70] Having painted this picture of the island's Roman heritage Bartoli's description of the 'furious passions' (*furiose passioni*) of Henry VIII, his love for the 'shameless' (*impudica*) Anne Boleyn and the king's irrational hatred of the Roman pontiff is depicted as all the more shocking and unnatural. The Jesuit historian emphasised again and again the violence of Henry's behaviour, which was symbolised, above all, by his destruction of the tomb of St Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral: 'he sentenced the bones to be burned; the ashes to the wind and their memory into exile'.[71] However, Bartoli then cranked up the reader's trepidation by remarking: 'if the last thirteen years of Henry's reign seemed to be of iron, compared to just the seven years of Edward, they appear Golden.'[72] The

McCoog & M. Questier eds., *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: manuscript and printed sources in translation*, MHSI n.s VII (Rome: IHSI, 2010), pp. 86-87

[69] *L'Inghilterra*, 'Premunitione all'Istoria', sig + 3r.

[70] *L'Inghilterra*, bk I, cap. 1, p. 4.

[71] 'ne sententiò le osse al fuoco, le ceneri al vento, e la memoria al esilio.' *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap. 1, p. 5.

[72] 'E nondimeno per il ferro che fossero gli ultimi tredici anni d'Arrigo, paragonati con soli sette d'Eduardo, parvero un oro', *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap 1, p. 7.

England of Edward was described as: 'a universal market of all faiths' (and none) which Mary purged by expelling in a few days up to 30,000 people of various sects.[73]

During Edward's reign, the inhabitants were preyed upon by such preacher immigrants as Bucer and Vermigli whom Bartoli described as arrogant drunks who were intoxicated by the sound of their own voices.[74] Under Elizabeth (whom Bartoli characterised from the outset as 'having no faith in her heart'[75]), this unhappy and unnatural state of affairs developed according to what he emphasised as merely a political and worldly logic. Bartoli wrote: 'The new religion was simply a mixture of Calvinist and Lutheran [elements]'[76] before developing the idea a few pages further on as follows:

> As far as its teaching and its so-called ceremonies and rituals were concerned, the new religion [of Elizabeth] was a mixture of Calvinism and Lutheranism. All that issued from these two halves was reduced to a tasty political dish.[77]

Following a precedent that goes right back to the early Church, Bartoli also depicted the Protestant heretics of Elizabethan England as divided amongst themselves and

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[73] 'universale mercato di tutte le Religione.' *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap. 3, p. 14.

[74] '… uomini disperati, chi fracido nella disonestà, chi perduto nell'arroganza di bel dicitore, e sol vago d'essere udito, chi ogni dì ubbriaco, e pure meno spropositante ubbriaco che sobbrio…' *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap. 2, p. 11. Cfr. Bartoli inserted the following characterisation of Miles Coverdale into the manuscript: 'più famoso bevitore che letterato' which then made it into the final printed version. See ARSI *Hist. Soc*. 122, fol. 4v; cfr. *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap. 2, p. 8.

[75] 'di niuna fede nel cuore', *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap. 4, p. 16.

[76] 'Se Luterana pura, qual fu la Bolena sua madre, se mista di più che poco del Calvinismo, come poi diede a conoscersi.' *L'Inghilterra*, bk 1, cap. 4, p. 16.

[77] 'Era la nuova religione, quanto gli insegnamenti, e a quel che chiamiamo cerimonie e riti sacri un mischiato di Calvinista e di Luterano: delle quale due metà, il tutto che ne proveniva, riducevasi a un composto isquisatemente politico…' *L'Inghilterra,* bk. 1, cap. 7, p. 29.

constantly shifting according to factional politics.[78] The Puritan hard-liners were depicted as making things increasingly hard for the Roman Catholic minority who found themselves between a rock and a hard place since the conjoining of the headship of the church and the head of state in the same person had created an unnatural situation given Pope Gregory XIII's instruction to his English faithful which ordered them to obey the monarch in temporal matters, notwithstanding Elizabeth's excommunicate status.

The stage was thus set for the arrival of the Jesuit mission, which Bartoli described as having been: 'born in prison, raised in chains and tried by torture'.[79] From the outset, in deference to the volume's place in his *Istoria*, the Jesuit historian framed the English mission in global terms. He effected this by contrasting the careers of two Thomases: Stephens and Pounde. The former became the first English Jesuit to be sent on mission to India, where he heroically tended the vineyards of the Lord until his death in 1619.[80] Pounde (1539-1615), a Jesuit lay brother, died four years earlier, having spent no fewer than thirty years in various jails (1574-1604) for his recusancy.[81] The link between the English and Indian missions was also underlined by the device of having Pounde declare that he was moved (and sustained in adversity) by reading

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[78] The chapter's title runs: 'Divisioni e contese fra Protestanti molli e rigidi nell'Inghilterra. Istituto e qualità del Calvinismo puro. Le nuove sette farsi e disfarsi come vuol[e] l'interesse', *L'Inghilterra*, bk I, cap. 8, pp. 30-33.

[79] 'Così la Compagnia, con un bel pronostico dell'avvenire fedelmente avverato, si trovò *quivi nata in carcere, cresciuta fra le catene, esercitata in vari tormenti*, e in brieve spatio abile a comparire in publico fu i carri della giustizia, sotto le torche, dove col calpestro al collo, innanzi a innumerabil moltitudine d'uditori insieme, e spettatori, predicare con la voce e testificar col sangue la verità della Fede cattolica (emphasis added). ' *L'Inghilterra*, bk. I, cap. 14, p. 54.

[80] On Thomas Stephens, (1549-1619), author, *inter alia*, of the epic poem *Purâna Christão* (1616) and a catechism in the Goan language Konkani, see the entry by Philip Caraman in: C. O'Neill & J. Domínguez (eds), *Diccionario histórico de la compañía de Jesús*, 4 vols., (Roma/Madrid, AHSI & Universitad Pontificia Camillas, 2001), IV, p. 3637 as well as the entry by Charles Borges in the *ODNB* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26393?docPos=1 (accessed 15 August 2014).

[81] See the entry by T. McCoog in the *ODNB* at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69038 (accessed 15 August 2014).

accounts of Jesuit missions to the Indies.[82] Bartoli's treatment of Pounde also entailed the rare deployment of manuscript evidence: in this case a letter sent by Robert Parsons in London to General Acquaviva dated 16 June 1581 describing the harsh conditions under which Pounde was being held in custody. [83]

The missionaries of the Society were thus seen as having not only brought the true faith to distant Indies but also 'to the miserable [souls] of the [far] North' which was a more dangerous enterprise; in both cases they had not been afraid of dedicating decades of their lives to the project.[84] Furthermore, Bartoli was careful to note, making a further rare reference to an unprinted source (in this case a summary of a letter sent to Rome by William Allen), that those two pre-eminent heroes of the English mission – Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons – were warmly welcomed in England by recusants who, he maintains, were willing to run considerable risks by giving them shelter.[85] By this stage in the narrative the Elizabethan state had strengthened its punitive regime and Bartoli lost no opportunity in emphasising the suffering undergone by his Jesuit heroes in the Tower of London. To this end, for example, he took time out of his narrative to explain in gruesome and extended detail how the rack worked.[86] This

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[82] 'In tanto avvenne di capitargli avanti non so quali lettere delle scritte da' Padri della Compagnia nelle Indie, contenenti la narratione delle fatiche, e de' patimenti di que'nostri Operai e le numerose conversioni di que' barbari idolatri alla Fede, che la Dio merce ne traevano; e in finirle di leggere, si sentì mirabilmente nata in cuore la Compagnia…' *L'Inghilterra*, bk I, cap. 14, p. 57.

[83] Indicated with a marginal reference in *L'Inghilterra*, bk I, cap. 17, p. 70. Cfr ARSI, *Hist. Soc*, 122, fol. 16v.

[84] 'han [the Society of Jesus] portata con incredibile celerità, e industria, non solamente fino a gli estremi Indiani, e ad altri lontanissimi Re e popolo (che nel fare, come che pur la fatica vi s'incontri maggiore, non però v'è sì grande il pericolo) *ma altresì a'miseri del Settentrione, sedotti da'maestri dell'eresia…*' (emphasis added), *L'Inghilterra*, bk II, cap. 1, p. 75.

[85] 'Rimane tuttavia una particella di questa lettera appresso alcuni scrittori, degnissima di recitarsi, e *in testimonianza del zelo che la dettò all'Alano, e in altrettanto rimprovero di quegli che più avanti dicemmo, haver publicato, il Personio, e'l Campiano, primi fondatori di questa missioni esser tutto da sè venuti nella loro Inghilterra, non chiamati, non desiderati, non voluti da niuno* (emphasis added).' *L'Inghilterra*, bk II, cap. 4, p. 92. Cfr. *L'Inghilterra*, bk II, cap. 10, p. 122-23.

[86] *L'Inghilterra*, bk. III, cap. 2, p. 173. The chillingly direct manner of the description is very different from that found in Antonio Gallonio: *Il Trattato degli instrumenti di martirio e delle varie maniere di*

unsparing visualisation included a precise account of its construction, how the victim was tied to it and the effect of the mechanism on the latter's limbs and muscles so that the torture inflicted felt like 'an extended agony of death' (*continuata agonia di morte*). Campion was subjected to this torture not once but twice, but notwithstanding the pain, when he was taken down to be carried back to prison, as reported in a letter by Robert Parsons, Campion sang the entire *Te Deum*:

> [which was] sung with such sweetness of spirit and a firm voice that Norton himself, the hardest of the men who had subjected Campion to torture, who had never witnessed such a miracle of generosity, was dumbstruck.[87]

Bartoli concluded his account of Campion's martyrdom by observing that, in comparison with the punishments inflicted upon the Jesuit martyrs by their English jailors, those meted by the Spanish Inquisition were but 'roses and flowers'.[88]

The direct involvement of Roman Catholics in conspiracies to overthrow the monarch was either explained in terms of trickery – in the case of Babington, who is depicted as falling victim to that 'cleverest inventor of plots', Francis Walsingham[89] –

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martoriare usate da' gentili contro i cristiani, descritta e intagliata in rame, (Rome, Ascanio e Girolamo Donangeli, 1591), pp. 34-39. Unlike Gallonio's dispassionate (almost disembodied) account, which drew on both Classical literature and early Christian martyrologies, Bartoli's depended on the direct testimony of an eyewitness to Edmund Campion's torture which is simply described in the margin of the relevant page as: 'Diario della Torre sotto il 31 d'Agosto'. Although on the next page (174) this was supplemented by marginal reference made to an entry from the same source for 31 October as well as to two letters [sent to Rome or Douai?]: one from Parsons dated 22 November 1581 and another from Allan sent from Rheims on 14 December of the same year. Cfr. J. Touber, *Law, Medicine and Engineering in the Cult of the Saints in Counter-Reformation Rome: the hagiographical works of Antonio Gallonio, 1665-1605*, (Leiden, Brill, 2014), ch. 5 'Martyrological technology', pp. 193-249.

87 'cantato con tanta soavità di spirito, e fermezza di voce, che il Nortono stesso, cioè il più rigido humo di quanti soprastessero alla tortura, come a miracolo di generosità mai simile non veduta, stordì.' *L'Inghileterra*, bk. III, cap. 5, p. 196.

88 'I tormenti dell'Inquisizione di Spagna, de' quali (per renderla odiosa) i Protestanti Inglesi facevano tanto romore, ingrandendoli oltre al vero, rispetto a quel ch'essi usavano co'sacerdoti cattolici, erano dice egli [Henricus Spondanus] Rose e Fiori'. *L'Inghilterra*, bk. III, cap. 5, p. 197

89 'astutissimo fingitor di congiuri', *L'Inghilterra*, bk. I, cap. 9, p. 36. Cfr. ibid., p. 328. The marginal source on this last page is given as 'Roberto Johnston nell Historia di Brettagna lib 4 anno 26' which is

or in the case of the Gunpowder plotter, Robert Catesby, in terms of irrational behaviour brought on by exceptional times.[90] Moreover, there was no equivocation displayed by Bartoli in his account of Henry Garnet's saintly heroism in the face of his execution for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot; a heroism that was immortalised by a wondrous miracle after his death when a drop of Garnet's blood fell on a husk of straw that had been strewn at the scene of his martyrdom. According to contemporary accounts, given careful credence and a full, thorough account in Bartoli's narrative, a recognisable image of Garnet's face then miraculously appeared as the blood dried on the husk which became a prized relic until it was lost at the French Revolution.[91] As is well known, Garnet had received advance warning about the Plot, but since this was vouchsafed to him by a penitent in the confessional he felt he could not break the seal of confidentiality – or at least not directly. So, instead, Garnet wrote to his superiors in Rome urging them to warn English Catholics against the use of force. Bartoli went to some length to show the extent to which Rome sought to discourage such behaviour. Pope Clement VIII himself expressly enjoined the English Catholics to 'live in peace, awaiting the merciful hand of God for the remedy of their misfortune'.[92] So whether or not there is explicit evidence that Bartoli was charged by his superiors specifically

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a reference to Robert Johnston, *Historia rerum Britannicarum: ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum et Germanicarum… ab anno 1572 ad annum 1628*, (Amsterdam: J. Ravesteynii, 1655).

[90] *L'Inghilterra,* bk VI, cap. 3, p. 509. Bartoli compared Catesby with his fellow conspirators, Thomas Percy and John Wright, all of whom, he suggested, were of undoubted personal bravery and nobility of soul even if their judgement was found wanting on this occasion. Bartoli also conceded that Catesby deluded himself when seeking to justify the killing of innocent bystanders, including Catholic friends who were members of both houses of parliament (ibid., p. 515). Later in the same chapter, (p. 520), Bartoli refered to Catesby's 'fiery spirit' (*focoso spirito*).

[91] *L'Inghilterra*, bk. VI, cap. 12, p. 616. Cfr. L. McClain, *Lest we be damned: practical innovation and lived experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642*, (London/New York, Routledge, 2003), pp. 165-67.

[92] '… havean da Clemente VIII espresso comandamento, di far sapere a tutti i Cattolici Inglesi, sua volontà essere, che si viva in pace, aspettando dalla pietosa mano di Dio l'opportuno rimedio della loro sciagure.' *L'Inghilterra*, bk. VI, cap. 4 p. 521. On the same page Bartoli gives marginal references to no fewer than six letters sent by Garnet to Acquaviva in 1603 and 1605.

to emphasise the loyalty of Jesuits to their temporal ruler, it is undeniable that his narrative account did deliver this message unambiguously.

To bring these reflections to a close, I would like to turn briefly to the figure of the Counter-Reformation preacher. The Capuchin scholar and eminent student of mysticism and vernacular preaching and prayer, Giovanni Pozzi (1923-2002) once observed that we should not imagine that preaching became a literary genre simply because it was associated with classical rhetoric:

> the vogue for printed sermons [he wrote] is due, in the main, not to matters of style but to the fascination with [the preacher's] verbal and physical performance (dell'actio verbale and gestuale) [that is, however, accompanied] by profound disappointment when one sees it reduced to a written form.[93]

This observation captures my own sense of the difficulties when approaching Bartoli's *Istoria della compagni di Gesù*. Here I have found particularly helpful Françoise Waquet's important reminder that we forget the oral dimension to learned discourse at our peril.[94] While wrestling with the Jesuit's interminable Ciceronian periods, which with their inventive cascades of subordinate clauses bring to the mind of this reader, at least, Handelian *da capo* arias, I found myself speculating that perhaps we should imagine that they were not only read aloud – in refectory or quoted in the pulpit – as well as quite possibly being declaimed not only in the Roman College, but perhaps they were also performed at the same fashionable Roman salons held by leading

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[93] G. Pozzi, *La Grammatica e retorica dei santi*, (Milan, Vita & Pensiero, 1997), p. 7.

[94] F. Waquet, *Parler comme un livre: l'oralité et le savoir (XVI-XXe siècle)*, (Paris, Albin Michel, 2003).

Cardinals who barely a quarter century later were to commission the endlessly inventive 'Italian cantatas' by the young, prodigiously talented G.F. Händel. In support of this speculation we know from a letter addressed to his Oratorian friend from Brescia, Giovanni Girolamo Brunelli, dated 30 December 1651 that Bartoli derived pleasure from knowing that his colleagues had done him the honour (at the Casa professa or possibly even the Roman College) of reading his *Vita* of St Ignatius out aloud.[95]

If the precise role and significance of the 'sound' or resonance of Ignatius and the Society has perhaps been underplayed in assessments of Jesuit history writing, the same cannot be said, surely, of the centrality of the senses as a whole to Ignatian spirituality? In the meditation on Hell contained in the fifth exercise of the first week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Loyola famously required of exercitants that they see, hear, smell, taste and feel the suffering of those damned souls who languished in Hell.[96] And yet, although some scholars of Italian literature have certainly drawn attention to this very fact, and how it shaped the prose not only of Bartoli but also the sermons of his near contemporary, that Billy Graham of the Baroque, Paolo Segneri Sr SJ (1624-94),[97] the tendency of those few who have attempted to take Bartoli seriously as a historian, such as Renaldo and particularly Wicki, have largely kept Bartoli the *letterato* and Bartoli the preacher and historian separate. The challenge for a rounded and non-anachronistic appreciation of the achievement of this pioneer global historian must lie therefore in integrating not only Bartoli's style to his content but also his very sound.

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[95] 'E ben spero, che se la vita di Sant'Ignazio, *che mi hanno onorato di leggere in pubblico*, è piaciuta, più anco piacerà questa prima parte dell'Asia che ora compongo, ancorché l'argomento sia molto diverso (emphasis added).' Boero, *Lettere edite e inedite*, lettere XI, pp. 12-13 (at 13).

[96] *Spiritual exercises*, sections 65-70 in St Ignatius of Loyola (ed. & tr. J. Munitz and P. Endean), *Personal writings* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1996), pp. 298-99.

[97] E.g. F. Angelini & A. Asor Rosa, *Daniello Bartoli e i prosatori barocchi* (Rome/Bari, Laterza, 1975), p. 113.

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