Book Review Essay

“Unus non sufficit liber?": A Consideration of *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

The title of this review article alludes to the famous emblem included in that extraordinary 952-page in-folio monument to the art of printing and engraving, painstakingly assembled by Jesuits of the Flandro-Belgian province, which marked the centenary of the Society of Jesus and was published in Antwerp in 1640: the *Imago primi saeculi*. In book II, on the growth of the Society (*Societas crescens*), one finds the emblem of a young, winged child standing between two globes showing the two hemispheres of the world. This image is found immediately below the words “The Missions to the Indies of the Society” (*Societatis misiones Indicae*) and directly above the motto “One World Is Not Enough” (*Unus non sufficit orbis*). In his brief but exemplary entry on the *Imago* in the book under review (385), Paul Begheyn remarks how this “celebration of celebrations, the triumphal arch in rich, luxuriant scrolls, in bizarre and pompous cartouches,” to borrow the words of the Italian critic and collector Mario Praz (1896–1982), soon attracted the sarcastic attention of the philosopher Blaise Pascal, in the latter’s coruscatingly witty defence of the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld, the *Provincial Letters* (1656–57). The fifth letter, dated March 20, 1656 opens thus:

Sir, I am about to fulfil my promise and to furnish you with some of the leading principles of morality of the Jesuit fathers – “These men, eminent in learning and in wisdom, guided by a wisdom from above, which is more infallible than all the rules of philosophy.” You may suppose I am jesting in using such expressions; [but] I am quite serious, they are their own words, in their work entitled, *Imago primi saeculi*. I am only transcribing from them and from the close of their Elogium. “This is the society of men, or rather of angels, predicted by Isaiah in these words: ‘Go, ye angels, prompt and swift of wing.’” Is not the prophecy, as applicable

to them, clear? “They are eagle-spirits; they are a flock of phoenixes, (a certain author having lately demonstrated that those birds are *numerous* [*italics in the original*]): they have changed the face of Christianity.” Since they assert all this, we are bound to believe them.¹

In this way the French philosopher and philo-Jansenist put his finger on a problem that has not gone away in the intervening centuries: are we bound to believe them? So much of what we know about the history of the Society and the actions of its members has been the product of the latter’s own artful quills, fountain pens, and keyboards matched with boundless industry and prodigious learning; directed, according to its critics, towards the greater glory of the Society (not of God). Not for nothing is “anti-Jesuit polemic” one of the longer entries in the volume under review and one which the general editor has reserved for himself (30–35). Indeed, for Thomas Worcester the battle is apparently far from over, as can be seen by the following, concluding observation:

Though the election of Jorge Bergoglio, S.J., as bishop of Rome in some ways offered an unexpected vindication of the Society of Jesus, it also exposed it more than ever to being used as a scapegoat for anything perceived as wrong with the Catholic Church and beyond. No Jesuit has ever had such a high profile worldwide as Pope Francis, a profile carrying enormous risks and enormous opportunities (34).

Within such a context, the general editor’s decision to dedicate the volume to His Holiness speaks for itself. However, the volume as a whole rises above this sense of embattled defensiveness to offer a remarkably even-handed and wide-ranging conspectus of its subject (in both the thematic and geographical senses of the term). It is one which, furthermore, pays due attention to the Society as restored in 1814. A combination of biographical and thematic entries complicates and enriches the traditional narrative that has tended to view the post-restoration society as merely a conservative hiatus dominated by such “reactionary” superiors general as Jan Roothaan (1785–1853) and Włodzimierz Ledóchowski (1866–1942); an epoch which was sandwiched between the missionary and intellectual “Golden Age” of the pre-suppression period and that associated particularly with the spirit of Vatican II and the tenets of “Liberation

1 *The Provincial Letters of Pascal* (London: Seeley, Burnside & Seeley, 1847), 57–58. For a modern, somewhat pedestrian translation, see that by A. J. Krailsheimer, *Blaise Pascal, The Provincial Letters* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 74.

Theology" (which has its own substantial entry, 464–69), following the election of Pedro Arrupe (1907–91) as superior general in 1965.²

This reappraisal is assisted by the numerous entries by country or region, many of which are able to range over four hundred or so years of Jesuit activity. The entries have also been well- and even imaginatively selected, including, for example, not only a substantial entry on "Art patronage" (54–60) but also those on "Arts, performing" (60–61) and "Arts, visual" (61–63). There is an entry on "Photography" (612–14) as well as "Philosophy" (611–12) together with the pair of entries "Film and Television: screenwriters, consultants" (297–98) and "Film and Television: Themes and Characters" (299–300). In addition, the substantial entry on "Science" (722–28, whose author disputes Joseph Needham's instrumental explanation for the Society's achievement in this area in China, maintaining instead that the Jesuit contribution to science was predicated on the fact that they "were disposed to see 'God in all things' [...] as described in the *Contemplatio ad amorem* of the *Spiritual Exercises*," 728), is followed by one on "Science Fiction" (728–29). This enables its author to mention Mary Doria Russell's remarkable 1996 novel *The Sparrow*, whose account of the misunderstandings and unintended consequences resulting from a Jesuit mission to an inhabited planet in the galaxy of Alpha Centauri, begun in the year 2019, shows not inconsiderable knowledge and understanding of the Society's early missions here on earth. Perhaps the quirkiest entry of all is that on "Vineyards, literal and metaphorical" (831), where we learn that the last remaining, active Jesuit-owned winery in the world is situated not in California, as one might perhaps expect, but at Sevenhill, South Australia, where it was founded as long ago as 1851 (831).

The overwhelming majority of entries are of a high quality and the volume has been edited with care and produced with due attention to detail: the hard-back copy I used for this review had been well bound (so that it stayed open easily on my desk) and the paper is of good quality with wide margins, thus making it much easier to use as a reference tool. In addition, the seventy black and white illustrations have been well chosen, in the main, though there are no maps to help readers locate the Society's more far flung missions. The contributors include some of the most authoritative scholars writing today on the history of Society as well as a healthy sprinkling of earlier career researchers;

2 This is a narrative that still enjoys widespread currency as can be seen in the following, closing sentence of Dale K. Van Kley, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 293: "It would not be until the era of Vatican II that the Society would begin to recover the daring and capacities for innovation that had been its hallmarks throughout most of its prerevolutionary history."

although, of the 110 total no fewer than seventy-three are Jesuits (in addition to its Jesuit general editor, one associate editor, and assistant editor). This is of course testimony to the enduring contribution of the Society to education and is not, in itself, an obstacle to self-criticism (for example, there is even an entry "Sexual Abuse by Jesuits," 737–39, which is unsparing in its criticism of the timidity of successive Jesuit provincials who sought to cover up scandal in the USA). However, the concomitant, combined risk of "insiders" taking certain features of the Society for granted, on the one hand, with residual defensiveness and sensitivity to outside criticism, on the other, might help to explain the several sins of omission in the volume, to which I now turn.

It has been said of the micro-managing monarch, Philip II of Spain (1556–98), that he was "the paper king" (*el rey papelero*) but perhaps this metaphor might be with more justice applied to the Society of Jesus. The duty to write and its centrality to the very identity and integrity of the Society was mandated in the so-called "Formula scribendi," which was first approved in 1565 and incorporated into printed editions of the Society *Rules* from 1580. Although the requirements for weekly letters from provincials to Rome even located in the Italian peninsula was soon abandoned as unworkable, a Jesuit letter-writing manual of 1620 refers to at least sixteen different kinds of documents which provincials were obliged to send on a regular basis.³ In this way, it was reasoned, the Society would nourish and sustain a sense of fellowship between its geographically ever more dispersed membership. In the first century of the Jesuits' existence, the resulting annual letters (*litterae annuae*) generated by the missions outside Europe were carefully edited and published for distribution *not only* for the internal consumption of the members of the Society.⁴ The resulting archive offers scholars the opportunity to gauge the grasp as well as measure the reach of an institution, which is only comparable to the archives

3 George Ganss, ed., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 292–93, paragraphs 673–76; *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 vols. (Florence: Ex Typographia a ss. Conceptione, 1892–93), 3:41–45. Cfr. Markus Friedrich, "Communication and Bureaucracy in the Early Modern Society of Jesus," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 101 (2007): 49–75, at 56. Cfr. Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms?: Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden, 1540–1773* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2011).

4 The author of the *Encyclopedia* entry (461–62) misleadingly makes a hard and fast distinction between the *Litterae annuae*, intended for the Jesuits' eyes only and the "Relations," which she maintains were for distribution outside the Society to encourage financial support for the missions, when the very fact of their printing made all such accounts, to a greater or lesser degree, public documents. See Markus Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae annuae*: Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication," *AHSI* 153 (2008): 3–39. However, the definitive account is now given in Paul Nelles, "Jesuit letters," in Ines Županov, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Jesuits*, forthcoming.

of the papacy itself in its claim to command a genuinely global frame of reference.⁵ The secretary of Ignatius of Loyola (and of his two successors, Diego Laínez and Francisco de Borja), Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517–76), was himself author of the *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*, which provided a detailed year-by-year account of the Society's progress from 1537 to 1556.⁶

This is why it is so important to bear in mind all the time that, notwithstanding the fact that the annual letters “were often filled with ethnographic information not recorded in other forms” that they were also “recorded as apologetic and hagiographic accounts” (461) “for the greater glory of God” (*Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*—abbreviated as AMDG, which we learn from Robert Scully's entry on the acronym (25–26), appeared more than three hundred times in the *Constitutions* including at their very close). To a greater or lesser degree, the same apologetical purpose informs all the literally thousands of volumes of history, hagiography, martyrology, natural history, biography, geography, etc. produced by members of the Society, which already began to be enumerated in Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu catalogus* of 1608.⁷ For this reason, I am mystified by the omission of a specific entry on “history

- 5 Edmond Lamalle, “L'archivio di un grande ordine religioso: L'archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù, *Archiva ecclesiae* 24–25 (1981–82): 89–120, at <http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/Lamalle.pdf> (accessed August 30, 2018). Robert Danieluk, *The Roman Jesuit Archives* (n.p., n.d.), at <http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/documents/ARSI-english%20guide%20Februari%202012.pdf> (accessed August 30, 2018). Cfr. Paul Nelles, “*Cosas y cartas*: Scribal Production and Material Pathways in Jesuit Global Communication (1547–1573),” *The Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 3 (2015): 421–50.
- 6 This was only published at the end of the nineteenth century: Juan Alfonso de Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Iesu historia (Chronicon)*, 6 vols. (Madrid: MHSI, 1894–98). An English translation of extracts is now available as *Year by Year with the Early Jesuits: Selection from the Chronicon of Juan de Polanco*, trans. John P. Donnelly (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004).
- 7 This was revised and expanded by Philippe Algambe, aided by Jean Bolland, and published as *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: I. Meursius, 1643) and may be considered an ancestor to Augustin and Aloys de Backer's *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* that Carlos Sommervogel brought to completion, 3 vols. (1869–76) and went onto edit an expanded edition, 9 vols. (1890–1900). Although passing reference is made to Ribadeneyra's *Catalogus* in the entry on “Bibliographies” (101), it is absent from the entry on Ribadeneyra (680–81), which focuses almost exclusively on the Spanish Jesuit's life of Loyola. His widely read *Historia ecclesiástica del scisma del reino de Inglaterra* (1588–94), which was so important for reorienting the focus of the Society to defence of the “true faith” against Protestant “heresy,” is only mentioned in passing. There is now an excellent critical edition of the *Historia*: Spencer J. Weinreich ed., *Pedro de Ribadeneyra's Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England: A Spanish Jesuit's History of the English Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

writing" (broadly conceived) and believe it was an opportunity missed that not even passing mention has been given to such significant early historians and hagiographers of the Society as Giovanni Pietro Maffei (1533–1603), author of both a life of Loyola and the widely read and oft reprinted *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (1588); Orazio Torsellini (1545–99), hagiographer of Francis Xavier as well as historian of the most important Marian shrine in the Roman Catholic world at Loreto; Niccolò Orlandini (1554–1606), and Francesco Sacchini (1575–1625), authors of the first Latin history of the society published (1614) and especially of Daniello Bartoli (1608–87), author of the officially commissioned, vernacular multi-volume *Istoria della Compagnia di Iesu* (1653–73), which was reprinted down to the nineteenth century and whose ornate, highly wrought style earned for him the sobriquet "the Dante of baroque prose" from no less a literary authority than Giacomo Leopardi.⁸ Also, it would have been thoroughly appropriate, not only in the spirit of self-reflexivity, to include entries on such influential living exemplars of Jesuit history writing as John Padberg (b.1926) and John O'Malley (b.1927). The only entries that might be seen to compensate in part for such glaring omissions are those on ARSI (the Roman Archive of the Society), Bibliographies, the Bollandists, Emblem books, Luís Fróis, Encyclopedias, Athanasius Kircher, Carlos Sommervogel, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Juan [Alfonso] de Polanco, Pietro Tacchi Venturi, and Rubén Vargas Ugarte.

There are, however, useful entries on "Music" and "Theater" by Charles Jurgensmeier and Michael Zambelli, respectively (the former is particularly comprehensive). Also absent is treatment of a field to which the Society made a truly massive contribution: that of neo-Latin poetry, which enjoyed a high profile in their college curriculum from the sixteenth down to the nineteenth centuries. The decision to frame the entry on "poetry" (623–25) almost entirely with reference to the vernacular verse of Robert Southwell (1561–95), Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–89), and Daniel Berrigan (1921–2016), the first two of whom also have their own entries, is positively eccentric.⁹ The composition, parsing and memorisation of Latin verse was central to the Jesuit teaching of rhetoric, as can be seen, for example, from the 5,600 hexameter poem *Quinque*

8 Giacomo Leopardi, *Zibaldone*, entry for March 22, 1821, section 2396. Bartoli's history really began with his *Vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignazio* before continuing with volumes on Jesuit missions in Asia [mainly India] (1653); Japan (1660); China (1663); England (1667), and Italy (1673). A volume on the Americas is conspicuous by its absence. The best introduction to Bartoli still remains Alberto Asor Rosa's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* from 1964.

9 Although, it is of a piece with the entry on "Rhetoric(s) and *Eloquentia perfecta*" (677–78), which makes no reference to poetry whatsoever.

martyres (1591) on the martyrdom of Rodolfo Acquaviva and his four companions in Salcete, India, in 1583 by Francesco Benci (1542–94). Professor of rhetoric at the Roman College, Benci sought (and in the eyes of contemporaries largely succeeded), to do for the recently founded Society of Jesus what Virgil had done in the *Aeneid* for the newly established Roman Principate under Augustus (r.27 BCE–14 CE). As Paul Gwynne has shown in his new translation and commentary, the poem was intended not only to promote the cause for beatification of his five confrères (which did not actually come about until 1893), but also to act as a model for the composition of hexameter verse in a sublime, Virgilian style for his students.¹⁰ The canonical status of *Quinque martyres* enjoyed can be seen from the fact that it inspired such imitations as the epic *Paciecidos* (1640), which was an account by the Portuguese Jesuit, Bartolomeu Pereira (1599–1650) of the martyrdom in Japan of his cousin, the provincial of the Society of Jesus there, Francesco Pacheco (d.1626).¹¹ In addition, *Quinque martyres* was included in the 823-page anthology of Jesuit-composed Latin poetry, *Parnassus Societatis Iesu* (1654), which was a staple text used by (not only Catholic) pupils in Jesuit colleges throughout the Roman Catholic world down to the suppression of the Society in 1773 (and beyond).¹²

It was martyrdom that undoubtedly constituted the Society's single most important claim for missionary pre-eminence as well as functioning as the principal "lieux de memoire" for its collective identity for much of its history. This can be seen from the list of the 146 blessed—almost all of whom were martyred—and fifty-four saints—the majority of whom were also martyred, given in the volume under the respective headings of "blessed" (105–7) and "saints" (708–9).¹³ The most recently martyred members of the Society listed

- 10 Paul Gwynne, *Francesco Benci's Quinque martyres: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). Cfr. Gwynne, "Francesco Benci and the Origins of Jesuit Neo-Latin epic," in Robert A. Maryks, ed., *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 4–23.
- 11 *Paciecidos libri duodecim* (Coimbra: E. de Carvalho, 1640). Cfr. Carlotta Urbano, "The *Paciecidos* by Bartolomeu Pereira, S.J.: An Epic Interpretation of Evangelization and Martyrdom in 17th-Century Japan," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 11 (2005): 61–95.
- 12 *Parnassus Societatis Iesu: Hoc est, poemata Patrum Societatis, quae in Belgio, Gallia, Germania, Hispania, Italia, Polonia, etc. vel hactenus excusa sunt, vel recens elucubrata nunc primum evulgantur quarum I continet Epica seu Heroica, II elegias, III Lyrica, IV Epigrammata, V Comica [et] tragica, VI Symbolica VII Sylvas, seu miscellanea; Opus iam diu desideratum in quo pietas cum ingenio cum eruditione certat iucunditas* (Frankfurt: J. G. Schönwetter, 1654), 703–60.
- 13 Oliver Rafferty, in his entry on "Martyrs, Ideal and History" (506–7) arrives at a higher total of 265 martyrs out of the 350 Jesuits who have been either beatified or canonized or whose cause has been introduced for consideration by Rome.

here were those killed during the Spanish Civil War. Interestingly, both lists in the volume are arranged geographically, which was also the organising principle of the one truly global history of the Society's missionary activity that was completed in the early modern period and published in 1675: *The Society of Jesus militant for [the defence of] God, Faith, Church and Piety prepared to lose their lives and shed their own blood in Europe, Africa, Asia and America against gentiles, mohammedans, Jews, heretics and impious* by Mathias Tanner (1630–92), which listed some 203 Jesuit martyrs for the first 120 years of their apostolate.¹⁴ Tanner is not, unfortunately, accorded one of the circa 230 biographical entries (out of a total of 600) to the *Encyclopedia*. As with the Antwerp-printed *Imago primi saeculi* and the Antwerp-based Bollandists, Tanner's work too was the product not of the Roman Catholic heartlands but of a frontier zone: Prague, which had only been secured from Protestant overlordship as recently as 1620 (just ten years before the author's own birth). Tanner's martyrology also shared with the *Imago* ornate Latin prose as well as extensive illustration, which suggests that its audience were not only the Latinate members of the Society itself, particularly those who were training to go (or fantasizing about going) on dangerous missions to Protestant lands or the Indies and wrote pleading letters to the superior general to that effect.

It is well known that the Roman archives of the Jesuits still possess no fewer than 14,067 such letters from the period of the Old Society (1540–1773), from those who sought to travel “to the Indies” (*litterae indipetae*), where “Indies” not only included the Americas but any destination where there was danger and likelihood of martyrdom (incl. England).¹⁵ Less well known, and unmentioned in the brief entry on the *Indipetae* letters (463), is the fact that many petitioners wrote several such letters; Bartoli, for example, wrote no fewer than five. This is also reflected in the fact that there were just 5,167 different correspondents for the almost three times as many surviving letters. Another fact related to these letters which is poorly understood (and not touched upon in the *Encyclopedia*) is how, notwithstanding that, as has already been mentioned, the Jesuits carefully

14 Mathias Tanner, *Societatis Iesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans in Europa, Africa, Asia et America contra gentiles, mahometanos, Judaeos, Haereticos, impios pro fide ecclesia pietate sive vita et mors eorum qui ex societate Iesu in causa fidei et virtutis propugnatae violentam morte toto orbe sublatis sunt* (Prague: J. N. Hampel, 1675).

15 They have been preserved at ARSI, FG 732–59, which is helpfully described in Edmond Lamalle, “La documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le ‘fondo gesuitico’ aux archives romaines de la Compagnie de Jesus,” *Euntes docete* 21 (1968): 138–76, at 160–62. The classic study remains Gian Carlo Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie: Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani* (Turin: Einaudi, 2001).

curated a prodigious quantity of information—both printed and manuscript—about the overseas missions, understanding of the Indies displayed by the letter writers tended to be geographically vague and framed in terms of spiritual and mystical cliché.¹⁶ Even less well understood are the reasons why, given the recurrent shortage of missionaries available for the extra-European missions, the success rate of applications to go on the missions was not higher. Partly, this is because of the difficulties of tracing the replies from successive superiors general, but, in reality, the Society felt it had need of its best men in the Old World.¹⁷ This is perhaps counterintuitive in light of the prominent, and essentially heroic role Jesuits are seen to have played in accounts of the making of Roman Catholicism as a world religion (a picture that is essentially endorsed in the volume under review). However, as Francis Xavier himself observed in a letter to Ignatius of Loyola from Cochin on the west coast of India dated January 27, 1545, one needed to match the missionaries to the various tasks at hand.¹⁸ For work amongst the humble fisherfolk on the Malabar coast, for example, simply those with the physical strength to undertake such repetitive tasks as the teaching of basic prayers and baptising of infants were required. Those who were physically less robust but who possessed the talent for hearing confessions and preaching should be reserved for Goa and Cochin where they could minister to the mainly Portuguese Christians.

The fact that within five years of the foundation of the Society Xavier was making such clear distinctions and expressing the need to match the talents and capacities of its members to particular tasks at hand is one that goes surprisingly unremarked in the existing literature, so it is excellent to see several entries in the *Encyclopedia* which deal with the different grades within the Society (incl. “Brothers,” 12–21; “Coadjutor, Temporal and Spiritual,” 177; “Grades,” 345; “Novitiate/Novice,” 565–66, and “Scholastic,” 721) since they help us to get beyond viewing the Jesuits as an essentially undifferentiated body. Accounts of the spectacular expansion of the Society during their first century invariably

16 Camilla Russell, “Imagining the ‘Indies’: Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century,” in Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Sabina Pastore, eds., *L’Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi: Per Adriano Prosperi*, 2 vols. (Pisa: Scuola Normale, 2011), 2:179–89.

17 For a fascinating case study where it has been possible to examine both sides of the correspondence see Elisa Frei, “The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo, S.J. (1676–1724?), Petitioner for the Indies: A Jesuit Seen through the *litterae indipetae* and the *epistulae generalium*,” *AHSI* 170 (2016): 365–404.

18 M. Joseph Costelloe, ed., *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources 1992), 113–15.

reinforce this impression. The *Imago*, for example, reproduces a census from 1626 that gives a global membership of just over fourteen thousand (which compares with slightly more than sixteen thousand today, down from a peak of c. thirty thousand in 1965), though typically fails to break down the numbers to identify how many of the total were fully professed priests (i.e. had taken the fourth vow of special obedience to the pope “in regard to missions”); how many spiritual coadjutors (i.e. priested and therefore qualified to preach, teach and hear confession) and, finally, how many were simple lay brothers, or to give them their formal title, temporal coadjutors.¹⁹ Those who belonged to this last grade, who also took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, constituted, together with the spiritual coadjutors, between at least a quarter and a third of those in any single community in the early seventeenth century.²⁰ Temporal coadjutors usually had a particular manual trade, which might also include architects and artists (including Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), who rightly has an entry of his own, 638–40, in addition to the thematic one on baroque art and architecture, 80–87). The status of this last grade, who were sometimes simply referred to as “brothers,” was set out very clearly in the so-called “General Examen” for the evaluation of prospective candidates, where it was stated that such a candidate, once accepted, should not: ‘seek more learning than he had when he entered’.²¹ However, since the 31st General Congregation in 1966 “brothers” have ceased to live parallel lives within the Society—with separate areas for socializing and sometimes even eating—and superiors have been encouraged to assign brothers jobs for which they have a natural talent, unrestricted by any previous ideas about what they should or should not be allowed to do.

Yet, the relatively recent date of such developments is striking. Already by 1565 the Second General Congregation of the Society specified in a single decree concerning “the manner of communicating” not only the frequency with which local superiors should write to their provincials and when both of them should write the superior general, mentioned above, but also that rectors of colleges should annually prepare a catalogue of those resident to send

19 *Imago primi saeculi*, 238–46.

20 Decree 82, para. 3 from the 6th General Congregation (1616), in John Padberg, Martin O’Keefe, and John McCarthy, eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 275.

21 Ganss, ed., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, The General Examen, ch. 6, para [117], p. 114. This was a distinctive feature of the Jesuits: “In the older orders it is clear that everyone, priests, choir brothers and laymen, make solemn profession after their novitiate.” See Antonio M. de Adalma, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions* (St. Louis/Rome: Institute of Jesuit Sources/Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1989), 27.

to their provincials who would then send them on to the superior general.²² These catalogues, which are not referred to in the *Encyclopedia*, are still held in the Jesuit archive in Rome and the more detailed ones, compiled every three years (*catalogi triennales*), enable us to know not only the number, age, origins, education, date of final vows (if applicable), state of health (*vires*), ministries performed by each member of a community.²³ In a further, “secret catalogue” (*catalogus secretus*) the human qualities of each member of the community were set down according to the following instructions:

Skills and qualities of each one should be described in the second catalogue, that is: talent, judgment, practical wisdom, practical experience, advancement in arts, physical appearance, and particular skills for performing the Society’s ministries²⁴

Although catalogues of individual members had been kept by the Benedictines, the Franciscans, and Dominicans (the last of whom are given a sensitively written entry by Megan Armstrong, 237–39, who also contributes the very sensible and fair contextual entry “Reformers, Catholic,” 668–72), such a systematic attempt at personality profiling, based on the assumption that the body and soul were connected, was new. It was also consonant with Ignatian spirituality, since the *Spiritual Exercises* “affirmed the idea of psychosomatic unity as the fundamental lens through which to examine the individual.”²⁵ Although the physician-philosopher Galen (129–c.216 CE) had bequeathed to the West (via Arabic) the doctrine of the four humours—blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile—to explain temperament, it was left to the Spaniard Juan Huarte de San Juan (1529–88), in his 1575 treatise *Examen de ingenios* (Examination of talents), to argue how these humours also determined an individual’s particular skills and to the Jesuits to adopt it wholesale, as reflected not only in their catalogues but also in their rules for study, the famous *Ratio studiorum* (1599), which is concisely treated in an entry by Charles Keenan (666–67). To

22 Decree 54 from the 2nd General Congregation in Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 124.

23 Edmond Lamalle, “Les catalogues des provinces et des domiciles de la Compagnie de Jésus,” *AHSI* 13 (1944): 77–101.

24 “In secundo catalogo dotes et qualitates uniuscuiusque describantur, videlicet: ingenium, iudicium, prudentia, experientia rerum, profectus in litteris, naturalis complexio, et ad quae Societatis ministeria talentum habeat.” *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 vols. (Florence: Ex Typographia a ss. Conceptione, 1892–93), 3:45.

25 For this see now Cristiano Casalini, “Discerning Skills: Psychological Insight at the Core of Jesuit Identity,” in Maryks, ed., *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness*, 189–211.

understand the alacrity with which the Jesuits adopted this personality profiling of its members, one needs to take into consideration the picture of the crisis in vocations that affected the Society in its early years that is not considered in the *Encyclopedia*, but which A. Lynn Martin discussed over thirty years ago.²⁶ According to Martin, of those who entered the Society in Italy between 1540–65, no fewer than 35% subsequently left and 25% of these left (or were dismissed) as novices (i.e. within two years); 46% during the next seven years and 29% after at least ten years in the Society: of those who joined while they were still in their teens, 44% eventually left or were dismissed. This statistical breakdown which gives some idea of the variety of motives and circumstances that came into play.²⁷ A slightly later, particularly striking example of why one candidate decided to leave was the Saxon-born Christian Francken, who entered the Society in Vienna in 1568 at the age of 16. In his *Colloquium iesuiticum* (1579), which was published after he left the Jesuits, Francken explained how his reading about Japanese religious customs led him not to desire martyrdom in the Indies, but to the conclusion that all religions might merely be human constructs and that Christians were no better than idolators and pagans.²⁸

When all is said and done, it is the *Spiritual Exercises* that encapsulate the distinctiveness of the Jesuits and underwrite their legitimate claim, notwithstanding Pascal's sarcasm, to have “changed the face of Christianity.” Memorably described by H. Outram Evennett as “a shock-tactic spiritual gymnastic to be undertaken and performed under guidance,” Philip Endean's masterly and admirably lucid entry (757–62) not only outlines the content of the *Exercises* but considers the text and its history as well as its twentieth-century revival and its relationship with the Jesuits.²⁹ He begins by making the general but important point that the *Spiritual Exercises* “is a collection of resources for people seeking to develop their lives as Christians” (757) and that, although it is presented as a programme for a month-long retreat it was intended, from the beginning, to be adapted and used in other contexts (as it was particularly by and

26 Basing his analysis on the data in Mario Scaduto, *Catalogo dei gesuiti d'Italia, 1540–1565* (Rome: IHSI, 1968).

27 A. Lynn Martin, “Vocational Crises and the Crisis in Vocations among Jesuits in France during the Sixteenth Century,” *Catholic Historical Review* 72 (1986): 201–21, especially 205–6. These figures are then cited in John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 56.

28 Adriano Prosperi, *La vocazione: Storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2016), 231–32. Cfr. Mario Biagioni, *Christian Francken: Opere a stampa* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2014), 19–25, 159–77.

29 Henry Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, ed. with a postscript by John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 45.

for women).³⁰ Endean also notes how the very “dryness and lack of structure deters causal or linear reading” (758). In the words of Silvia Mostaccio: “it is a ‘book’ that continues to be ‘made’ [rather than read] by its practitioners.”³¹ In his outline of the content of the *Exercises*, Endean first of all warns the reader for taking the word “week” too literally. He then proceeds to summarize the four weeks with a clarity that is all the more admirable in light of his insight that “its originality is a matter more of its form and genre than of its content, which echoes many commonplaces of medieval piety” (761). Endean also notes that the text of the *Exercises* makes no direct reference to the foundation of a religious community, while the Formula of the Institute mentions the giving of the *Exercises* as only one activity among others. Yet, the Society’s processes of recruitment, initiation and ongoing formation are impossible to understand without reference to the *Exercises*; as has been the case from the very earliest years, when the contemporary of Ignatius whom the saint most rated as their giver, Pierre Favre, did them with Peter Canisius who became, as a result of the experience, the first Jesuit from German-speaking lands. This brings us to what is undoubtedly central to the “genius” of the Jesuits: the capacity of the Society throughout its existence to recruit and realise the potential of an impressive number of highly accomplished and genuinely gifted young men. Bartoli explicitly referred to the *Exercises* as a “fishing net” for catching vocations.³² Clearly, the *Exercises* were (and continue to be) an integral part of this process.

It is perhaps unfair, even churlish, to end the review of a book which manages to include so much within the covers of a single volume (albeit one 500,000-words long), by drawing attention to another absence, but I will do so nonetheless because it draws attention to the peculiar challenge of writing the history of the Jesuits. To begin with, the highly centralized structure of the order combined with the role of its members as prolific authors mean that scholars have had to negotiate their way through a substantial paper trail that inevitably shapes their perception of the actions and achievements of the Jesuit or Jesuits they are studying. Moreover, they also have to keep reminding themselves that the narratives they are reading are highly wrought constructions which have been invariably written for a particular purpose and so need

30 Silvia Mostaccio, “Shaping the Spiritual Exercises: The Maisons des retraites in Brittany during the Seventeenth Century as a Gendered Pastoral Tool,” *The Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 4 (2015): 659–84.

31 Silvia Mostaccio, “Spiritual Exercises: Obedience, Conscience, Conquest,” in Županov, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Jesuits*, forthcoming.

32 Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesù: L'Asia* (Rome: Stamperia del Varese, 1667), 208.

to be interpreted with particular care: whether they have been generated by the triennial catalogues; the *litterae annuae* and *indipetae* or articulated in fully blown works of history or hagiography. However, if one were to draw up a list of keywords strongly associated with the Jesuits, along with “casuistry” and “probabilism” (which both have entries, at 144–45 and 650–52, respectively) one would reckon on also finding “accommodation.” However, this term has not been assigned its own entry, nor is it even in the index. This is all the more surprising when one considers that the *Encyclopedia* has entries on two of the leading practitioners of cultural accommodation on the missions from the early modern period: Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who adopted the silk-clad persona of a Confucian *literatus* in Peking (683–85) and Roberto de’ Nobili (1577–1656), who wore the dress and followed the lifestyle of a Hindu mendicant (*samnyāsin*) in Madurai (558–60). Only Nicolas Standaert, in his entry on the former, uses the word “accommodation.” Leonardo Fernando, when discussing de’ Nobili, prefers to use the term “adaptation.” Standaert’s authoritative entry on the Chinese Rites Controversy (165–66), by contrast, avoids using the word altogether. Why is this so? Surely it cannot be because, as Ines Županov, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and their collaborators have eloquently shown (on an unprecedentedly comparative scale): by arguing that certain rites performed by non-Christians should be accepted as civic, not religious customs and therefore accommodated by missionaries attempting to make converts, Jesuits such as, but not only, Ricci and de’ Nobili inadvertently created a secular space which brought about the end of sacred history and, in the longer term, enabled the birth of religious anthropology?³³ Then again, perhaps it is simply a question that one book is not enough.

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33 Ines Županov and Pierre Antoine Fabre, eds., *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).