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LEXICA MALVAGIA ET PERNICIOSA
THE CASE OF ESTIENNE'S
THESAURUS GRAECAE LINGVAE

ABSTRACT: The paper aims to investigate – on the basis of materials preserved in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith – the censorship case of Henri Estienne's *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, printed in Geneva in 1572 and forbidden in 1596 with the formula *donec corrigatur*. Since 1559 other diffused and esteemed Greek and Latin dictionaries were put on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, e.g. the *Latinae linguae thesaurus* of Robert Estienne and the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* of Jean Crespin, and the Catholics were kept from possessing and reading them. The paper will analyse the principal arguments for the ban and the proposed amendments in order to revise Estienne's lexicon, and beyond that explore the general impact of the censorship proceedings against the 'dangerous' lexicography both on the book production and on the development of philological studies in the Catholic area.

SOMMARIO: Il saggio vuole ricostruire – sulla base della documentazione conservata presso l'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede – il caso censorio che vide protagonista il *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* di Henri Estienne, stampato a Ginevra nel 1572 e proibito nel 1596 con la formula *donec corrigatur*. Una condanna che si aggiungeva a quelle di altri diffusi strumenti lessicografici, quali il *Latinae linguae thesaurus* di Robert Estienne e il *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* di Jean Crespin, posti all'indice già nel 1559. Attraverso il caso del *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* e l'analisi delle espurgazioni proposte per la sua revisione è quindi possibile evidenziare le conseguenze che i procedimenti censori contro la lessicografia 'pericolosa' ebbero sia sulla produzione libraria sia, più in generale, sullo sviluppo degli studi filologici.

KEYWORDS: Henri Estienne; Censorship; Lexicography; Philology; Erasmus of Rotterdam; Index of Forbidden Books

Past historical research on Roman censorship has mainly focused on particular areas or disciplines, such as theology, sciences, philosophy or literature. The first *Index librorum prohibitorum* issued by the Roman Church in 1559 – and compiled directly by the Holy Office under the pontificate of Paulus IV Carafa – was of a harsh severity, a reply to the Protestant world in its entirety;¹ but the target of the Roman thunder was not only the theological and religious production in a narrow or broad sense, but lexica and grammars as well could now be considered *libri malvagi et perniciosi* in the censors' eyes, works only apparently harmless, if published in Countries now openly against the policy of the Roman Church. The first class of the *Index*, i.e. the class including the authors whose works were totally prohibited, lists indeed the names of several 'heretic' philologists: for example Etienne Dolet, implying that his *Commentarii linguae Latinae* should be considered banned;² and the *typographus regius* Robert Estienne, who converted to Calvinism and moved to Geneva in 1550.³ The press led by Estienne not only issued in 1546 the Greek *Novum Testamentum*, but also in 1531/32 such a masterpiece of lexicography as the *Dictionarium, seu Linguae Latinae Thesaurus*, likewise by now proscribed.⁴ Among the *Auctores primae classis* other distinguished philologists from Protestant Countries are included, e.g. Hadrianus Junius, Janus Cornarius, Joachim Camerarius, Simon Grynaeus, Vincentius Obsopaeus, all of them editors of accurate editions of classics, until then praised and widely used by scholars. Above all, what

¹ *Index Auctorum, et Librorum, qui ab Officio Sanctae Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus et singulis in universa Christiana Republica mandantur, sub censuris contra legentes, vel tenentes libros prohibitos in Bulla, quae lecta est in Coena Domini expressis, et sub alijs poenis in Decreto eiusdem Sacri Officij contentis*, Romae, apud Antonium Bladum, 1559. mense Ian. (henceforth *Index 1559*). Each one of the alphabetical listings is divided in three classes: *Auctores quorum libri & scripta omnia prohibentur; Certorum auctorum Libri prohibiti; Incertorum auct. Libri prohibiti*.

² *Index 1559, sub lit. S, Auctores quorum libri & scripta omnia prohibentur*, "Stephanus Doletus". On the *Commentarii linguae Latinae* (Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium, 1536-1538) see G. Tonelli, *A Short-title List of Subjects Dictionaries of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Extended Edition Revised and Annotated by E. Canone and M. Palumbo, Firenze, Olschki, 2006, p. 37-38.

³ *Index 1559, sub lit. R, Auctores quorum libri & scripta omnia prohibentur*, "Robertus Stephanus".

⁴ *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae Thesaurus... Cum Gallica interpretatione*, Parisiis, ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1531-1532. See Tonelli, *A Short-title List of Subjects Dictionaries*, p. 48-49.

stands out in this first *Index* is the name of the great and problematic enemy of the Roman Church, Erasmus of Rotterdam. The enemy *par excellence*: beyond Luther, it was only for Erasmus that the Holy Office needed to specify the extent and dramatic nature of the condemnation, which was related to all his comments, annotations, glosses, letters, censures, translations, therefore to all books and writings, even if they contain no attack against religion or no reference to religion.⁵ The prohibition refers not only to his exegetical writings – such as the *Novum Testamentum*, the *Paraphrasis in Evangelium Matthaei* or his editions of Church Fathers – but also to his pedagogical, rhetorical and philological works, whose reading was immensely popular in European universities.⁶

The blind intransigence of the *Index* of 1559 reached its peak in its last leaves, an appendix with a list of sixty-one *Typographi e quorum officinis diversorum Haereticorum opera prodire*.⁷ Among these ‘infamous printers’ we find the names of leading protagonists of the re-discovery of the Greek culture – for instance Johann Oporinus, Andreas Cratander, Johann Herwagen, Johann Bebel, Michael Isegrin –, whose production is *in toto* forbidden:

⁵ *Index 1559, sub lit. D, Auctores quorum libri & scripta omnia prohibentur*, “Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus cum universis Commentarijs, Annotationibus, Scholijs, Dialogis, Epistolis, Censuris, Versionibus, Libris, & scriptis suis, etiam si nil penitus contra Religionem, vel de Religione contineant”; and, to avoid misunderstanding, *sub lit. E*, “Erasmus Roterodamus”. On this point see at first S. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia 1520-1580*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1987.

⁶ But also in the ecclesiastical *milieu*. See for instance the letter written by the Bishop of Sessa to Cardinal Michele Ghislieri – the future pope Pius V – on 21 June 1559, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (henceforth ACDF), *SO. St.St.*, Q3a, “Quando la S.V. R^{ma} fu promossa à questa à Lei debita et meritatissima dignità Io me n’allegrai piu col Cuore, che con la penna, parendomi che la gravità, et religiosa dottrina di quella si diletasse piu d’una buona intentione, che delle cortesi parole, della quale mia affettione verso lei, son sicuro, che ella non dubita [...] et con questa fede la supp.^{co} si faccia gratia di farmi sapere, se la licentia, che mi diede Papa Clemente per mezo del Cardinale di Mantova, di tener Libri d’Autori Eretici, è guasta per questa nuova prohibitione, si, o no. Appresso La supplico mi dica, s’io posso haver speranza, col mezo di V.S. R^{ma} d’impetrar detta licentia da sua S.^{ta}, non mi valendo quella di Papa Clemente. Et se pur son costretto à torli via, La priego mi dica dove li hò da mandare, perche non so dove sia questo inquisitore, o Inquisitione, o substituto. [...] se la S.V. mi dice ch’io li abrugi, lo farò volentierji [...] Quella Paraphrasi del Campense mi era molto cara per la sua chiarezza, et cosi alcun’opere d’Erasmus [...]”.

⁷ *Index 1559, f. I2v-I3r*.

Libri, Tractatus, et opera omnia, cuiuscunque auctoris, artis, idiomatis, et argumenti sint, quaecunque typis, arte, vel industria praedictorum, et similium impressorum, libros haereticorum imprimendum posthac excusa fuerint, inter prohibita habeantur.⁸

After the publication of this first *Index*, discontent grew on the part of booksellers, printers, and above all scholars, and the remonstrance against its excesses persuaded Pius IV to moderate the intransigent list issued under the pontificate of his predecessor. In 1561 the new Pope invited Cardinal Michele Ghislieri, at the time Prefect of the Holy Office, to draw up a *Moderatio Indicis librorum prohibitorum*, introducing a fundamental distinction between heretical books and works to be corrected, and consequently the practice of expurgation, only in reference to non-religious books, considered useful to the scholars.⁹ The following, and milder *Index* of 1564 – published three months after the closure of the Council of Trent, and authorized by the Conciliar fathers¹⁰ – contains ten rules which were supposed to regulate the activities both of censors and printers; among them the *regula quinta* refers to the expurgation of works “qui haereticorum auctorum opera interdum prodeunt, in quibus nulla, aut pauca de suo apponunt” – *lexica, concordantiae, apophthegmata, similitudines* and *indices*¹¹ –, whereas the *regula octava* regards works “quorum principale argumentum bonum est, in quibus tamen obiter aliqua inserta sunt, quae ad haeresim, seu impietatem, divinationem aut superstitionem spectant”, such as works of classical and Christian authors edited or translated by Protestants.¹²

⁸ Ibid., f. I3r.

⁹ *Moderatio indicis librorum prohibitorum*, ACDF, SO. St.St., N4 f. 858r-859r, now in *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index*, vol. I: *Sixteenth-Century Documents*, Ed. by U. Baldini and L. Spruit, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009 (henceforth Baldini-Spruit), p. 138-140.

¹⁰ *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum Regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctis., D.N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus*, Romae, apud Paulum Manutium, 1564 (henceforth *Index 1564*).

¹¹ See *Index 1564*, p. 16, “REGULA QUINTA. Libri illi, qui haereticorum auctorum opera interdum prodeunt, in quibus nulla, aut pauca de suo apponunt, sed aliorum dicta colligunt, cuiusmodi sunt Lexica, Concordantiae, Apophthegmata, Similitudines, Indices, & huiusmodi, si quae habeant admixta, quae expurgatione indigeant, illis, Episcopi, & Inquisitoris, una cum Theologorum catholicorum consilio sublatis, aut emendatis, permittantur”.

¹² Ibid., p. 17-18. See for example *De librorum expurgatione facienda et quis ordo observandus videtur*, ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, B (2), f. 203v-204r, “In opera Marci Tullij Ciceronis, expurganda sunt scripta, Philippi Melanctoni, Erasmi, Christophori Hengendorphij,

Furthermore, in the *Tridentine Index* the list of forbidden printers was not repeated, but nevertheless the names of the aforementioned philologists – Robert Estienne, Etienne Dolet, Hadrianus Junius, Joachim Camerarius, etc. – continued to be listed among the *Auctores primae classis*.¹³ However, the trouble for philologists and students in humanities was not over: in the following years Catholic censorship dealt a death-blow to philology, particularly to lexicography, adding another dramatic prohibition to the proscriptions already included in the previous *Indices* of 1559 and 1564, and related to a useful and universally praised instrument, the five-volume *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* compiled and printed in Geneva by Henri Estienne in 1572, his greatest philological accomplishment.¹⁴

Catholic censorship began to deal with Henri Estienne – the oldest son of the printer Robert Estienne – in 1570, when his name was included, among the *Auctores primae classis*, in the enlarged edition of the Council's

Stephani Doleti, Coelij Curionis, Joachimi Camerarij, Xisti Betulij [...] In Plinium Roberti Stephani, Erasmi, Jacobi Micilli. In Suetonium Erasmi. In Xenophontem Erasmi, Joannis Ribitti, Laurentij Hufredi. In Isocratem Hieronimi Vuolphij, Erasmi. In Homerum Sebastiani Castaleonis, Joachimi Camerarij, Henrici Pantaleonis, Heobani Hessi [...] In Eschili Prometheum Matthei Mirici, Matthei Garbitij. In graecorum epigrammata, Vincentij Obsopaei”.

¹³ S. Seidel Menchi rightly remarks, “Whether to Remove Erasmus from the Index of Prohibited Books: Debates in the Roman Curia, 1570-1610”, *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, 20, 2000, p. 20: “in formal terms, the milder Index of 1564 did not supply the intransigent Index of 1559 – a point not made clearly in studies on censorship. The Index of 1564 was presented not as an abrogation but rather as an updating of the previous Index, continuity with which was emphasized. Without question, the Council fathers and Pius IV saw the need to moderate the ferocious Index of Paul IV. Yet because they did not openly declare their intention to mitigate, and therefore to rectify, the previous disposition, both the 1559 and 1564 Indexes remained in force. The contradictions between them resulted from the presence of opposing tendencies in the Church”.

¹⁴ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΗΣ. *Thesaurus Graecae linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus. In quo praeter alia plurima quae primus praestitit, (paternae in Thesauro Latino diligentiae aemulus) vocabula in certas classes distribuit, multiplici derivatorum serie ad primigenia, tanquam ad radices unde pullulant, revocata...*, Genevae, excudebat Henr. Stephanus, 1572. On this lexicon see Tonelli, *A Short-title List of Subjects Dictionaries*, p. 46-47, and J. Considine, *Dictionary in Early Modern Europe. Lexicography and the Making of Heritage*, Cambridge, University Press, 2008, p. 72-86; more generally, on Estienne's immense production see J. Kecskeméti-B. Boudou-H. Cazes, *La France des humanistes. Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain*, avec un étude introductive par H. Cazes, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003.

Index issued from the Plantin Press.¹⁵ In 1571 some of his philological editions were declared permitted – “nihil contra religionem aut pios mores continent” – by the Theological Faculty in Louvain, or deemed fit to be corrected according to the Tridentine rules.¹⁶ In 1579 the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* came for the first time under the scrutiny of a censor, the Jesuit Juan de Mariana:

Henrico Stephano hijo de Roberto Stephano es grande hereje. Reside en Geneva; ha escrito algunas obras y traducido otras del Griego; no sé que ellas aya cosa perjudicial; salió cierto librito que dicen aver hecho de pratrañas en lengua francesa; ultimamente ha escrito el *Thesauro de la lengua griega* y anda en quatro tomos tiense por obra muy provechosa. Será bien mandalle examinar porque entiendo mezcla dissimuladamende algunas cosas no buenas.¹⁷

This ‘obra muy provechosa’ was indeed carefully examined by the Spanish Inquisition, and in the *Index expurgatorius* published in 1584, at

¹⁵ *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Santiss. D.N. Pii IIII. Pont. Max. comprobatus. Cum Appendice in Belgio, ex mandato regiae Cathol. Maiestatis confecta*, Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1570, sub lit. H, *Primae classis auctores*, p. 62, “Henricus Stephanus”.

¹⁶ *Index expurgatorius librorum, qui hoc seculo prodierunt, vel doctrinae non sanae erroribus inspersit, vel inutilis & offensivae maledicentiae fellibus permixtis, iuxta Tridentini Decretum; Philippi II. Regis Catholici iussu & auctoritate, atque Albani Ducis consilio ac ministerio in Belgia concinnatus, Anno M.D.LXXI.*, Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1571, p. 52-53, “Observationes HENRICI Stephani in odas Anacreontis, nihil contra religionem aut pios mores continent, impress. Parisiis in 4°, & 8°. Apologia Henrici Stephani, pro Herodoto, quam à se editam Latinè, Herodoto proposuerat, valde intolerabilem locum habet. deleatur, vbi de Romanis nonnihil dicit. Annotamenta in margine adscripta, & adiunctae Herodoto translationes de Cresiae Persicis & Indicis Historiis, admittantur. Praefationes Henrici Stephani, in excerpta fragmenta, ex Ctesiae Agatharchidis Memnonis historiis Graecis: & eiusdem annotationes, nihil continent, quod reiici opus esse videatur”. On the contrary, the *Index* issued in Munich in 1582 condemned unconditionally Estienne’s writings; see *Index librorum authorumque S. Sedis Apostolicae, Sacrique Concilij Tridentini auctoritate prohibitorum, insertis suo loco nonnullis in Tridentino Indice non comprehensi, quorum tamen lectione omnibus Christi fidelibus in Bavaria existentibus interdixit Reverendissimus in Christo Pater ac Dominus, Dominus Felicianus, Episcopus Scalensis, et Sanctissimi Domini nostri Gregorii XIII, ad Bavariae & alias partes Germaniae superioris Nuncius...*, Monachii, excudebat Adamus Berg, 1582, sub lit. H, *Autores primae Classis*, “Henricus Stephanus”.

¹⁷ *Avisos de Juan de Mariana de la Compañia de Jesús sobre el catálogo de los libros vedados que por orden del Santo Oficio de nuevo se ordena, y Reglas que para él están hechas*, en Toledo 26 de julio 1579, in *Index des livres interdits*. VI. *L’Index de l’Inquisition Espagnole 1583, 1584*, par J. M. De Bujanda, Sherbrooke, Centre d’Étude de la Renaissance / Genève, Librairie Droz, 1993, p. 57.

instigation of the General Inquisitor Gaspar Quiroga, the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* was allowed to circulate.¹⁸

In Rome, the case of the monumental *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* falls right in the middle phases of intense and conflicting discussions on the Index rules, and on the method and extent of expurgation, well documented in the papers and folders nowadays preserved in the historical Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. In fact, since 1570 a number of letters came from individual ecclesiastical authorities, as well as from European universities, about the opportunity to permit useful works, such as dictionaries, under the provision of a careful expurgation, “propter utilitatem studiosorum Graecae linguae”.¹⁹ These pressing requests and scholarly needs were taken into serious consideration by the Roman authority, and in particular by the Congregation for the Index, newly founded in 1571. In 1587 a commission of cardinals was named in order to select the works which could be corrected and made available again for the learned community. Starting from this year, authoritative theologians dwelt on the complex question “an haeticorum libri qui ex professo de religione non tractant expurgati sint retinendi”,²⁰ and were entrusted with the redaction of guidelines for the planned expurgation

¹⁸ *Index librorum expurgatorum, Illustrissimi ac Reverendiss. D.D. Gasparis Quiroga, Cardinalis & Archiep. Toletani Hispan. generalis Inquisitori iussu editus...*, Madrid, apud Alfonso Gomezium, 1584, f. 123r-v, “HENRICUS Stephanus. Ex Henrici Stephani scriptis Thesaurus linguae Graecae, *permittitur*. Dictionarium historicum, & poeticum, *tametsi hoc opus Carolo Stephano potius tribui debet, permittitur*. Ex Apologia Henrici Stephani pro Herodoto, *ipsis Herodoti libris praeposita, deleantur quae de Romanis dicit*. Annotationes in Herodotum, & *adiuncta Herodoto* Translationes fragmentorum de Ctesiae, Persicis, & Indicis historijs, *permittantur*. *Item eiusd.* Observationes in Odas Anacreontis, *permit*. *Item eiusdem* Praefationes in fragmenta ex Ctesiae, Agatharchidis, Memnonis historijs Graecis, *cum eiusdem annotationibus, permittuntur*. *Item eiusd.* De Latinitate suspecta, & Nizoliodidasalus, *permittitur*. *Praeterea permittuntur* Annotationes eiusdem in Hypotyposes Pyrrhonianas Sexti philosophi. *Permittitur etiam* Thesaurus linguae Latinae, *quem Henrici pater Robertus Stephanus composuit*. The previous Spanish *Index* of 1583 had condemned Estienne's *opera omnia* with the stipulation *donec corrigatur*.

¹⁹ ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, B (2), *Dubia circa Indicem librorum prohibitorum*, f. 551v. See also in a later note dated at 23 July 1595, “In litera H. Hadriani Iunij translatio Eunapij. Quid nobis cum Eunapio gentili scriptore et Christiane religionis hoste? a quocunque translatus?” (ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, M, f. 286v, now in Baldini-Spruit, p. 225).

²⁰ ACDF, *Index*. Diarii, I, f. 18r.

activity.²¹ The censors were divided into different classes, to which were assigned the books to be corrected, and finally the expurgations were to be published, on the model of the *Index librorum expurgatorum* issued in Louvain in 1571, and later in Madrid in 1584.

On 12 March 1587 the *consultores* presented a pronouncement on the fifth Tridentine rule:

Ad quintam regulam

Nihil desiderari videtur praeter executionem. Nam duo incommoda nascuntur ex eo, quod non mandantur haec regulae executioni. Primum enim aliqua dictionaria inemendata passim habentur et leguntur, ut Graeca Crispini et Henrici Stephani, et Hebraica Pagnini Catholici [...] Nihil in eis est mali praeter encomia quorundam auctorum haereticorum.²²

Similar proposals were expressed by other theologians, and adopting the influential pronouncements expressed by the future Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino the commission decided to include Estienne's dictionary in the class of the *Labores literarii ab Haereticis confectis* to be corrected, alongside the *Sylva vocabulorum et phrasium* by Heinrich Decimator, the *Lexicon Graecumlatinum* by Johannes Scapula, the *Commentarii linguae Latinae* of Etienne Dolet and the polyglot *Nomenclator* of Hadrianus Junius.²³

Subsequently, in the *Sixtine Index*, published in the spring 1590, Estienne's name appears twice: first under the letter H, among the *Auctores, quorum libri, & scripta omnia prohibentur*,²⁴ whereas the second occurrence of his name is in the class *Certorum Auctorum libri prohibiti*, i.e. single works written by authors who only occasionally fell into error or attacks against the Roman doctrines. Only an individual work is placed in this section, the "Henrici Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Graecae", and the

²¹ See for example the *Modus et ratio expurgandi vel corrigendi libros*, composed by the secretary of the Congregation Vincenzo Bonardi, ACDF, *Index. Protocolli*, B (2), f. 192r-193r (now in P. Godman, *The Saint as Censor. Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000, p. 446-448).

²² ACDF, *Index. Protocolli*, B (2), f. 324v (now in Baldini-Spruit, p. 159-160).

²³ See *Secundum dubium, quorum librorum potissimum necessaria vel utilis sit expurgatio*, ACDF, *Index. Protocolli*, K (9), f. 134v (now in Godman, *The Saint as Censor*, p. 275).

²⁴ *Bulla S.^{mi} D.N. Sixti Papae V. Emendationis Indicis cum suis regulis super librorum prohibitionem, expurgationem, & revisionem, necnon cum abrogatione caeterorum indicum hactenus editorum, & revocatione facultatis edendorum, nisi ad praescriptam harum regularum normam*, Romae, apud Paulum Bladum, 1590, sub lit. H., *Auctores, quorum libri, & scripta omnia prohibentur*, "Henricus Stephanus".

condemnation comes with the essential formula “Quamdiu ex earundem regularum norma correctus non fuerit”.²⁵ With the death of Sixtus V in August 1590, the distribution of the *Sixtine Index* was suspended. A new list – the so-called *Sixto-Clementine Index* – saw the light in 1593, under the pontificate of Clemens VIII,²⁶ but this Index also never went to effect. In 1596 followed the definitive *Clementine Index*, and here again, on one hand, Estienne is condemned unconditionally; on the other hand, one, and only one, of his works – the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* – is in some way absolved, or saved from completely disappearing from the cultural scene:²⁷ a partial rescue well legitimated by the Tridentine rules.

In the years immediately following the publication of the new *Index*, the expurgation campaign was reorganized, and according to the Tridentine rules and the detailed *Instructio eorum, qui libris tum prohibendis, tum expurgandis, tum etiam imprimendis operam sunt daturi* appended to the *Index* of 1596,²⁸ the correction of the monumental *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, containing over 4,000 pages *in folio* and about 64,000 words, could also start. Whereas, for example, only one censor – Henri de Sponde, the future editor of Baronio's *Annales* – was in charge of the correction of the *Lexicon Graecolatinum* by Johannes Scapula,²⁹ the

²⁵ Ibid., in the second class, *sub lit. H, Certorum Auctorum libri prohibiti*; and *sub lit. T*, “Theophrasti Paracelsi libri tres Chirurgiae [...] Thesaurus linguae Graecae Henrici Stephani. Quamdiu ex sopradictarum regularum ratione non corrigantur”.

²⁶ *Index librorum prohibitorum Cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos auctoritate Pii. IIII. primum editus. Postea vero a Sixto. V. & nunc demum a Sanctissimo D.N. Clementis Papa. VIII. recognitus & auctus*, Romae, apud Paulum Bladum, Impressorem Cameralem, 1593, *sub lit. H, Auctores primae classis*, “Henricus Stephanus”, and *sub lit. T, Certorum Auctorum libri prohibiti*, “Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Henrici Stephani. Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae Sanctis Pagnini, auctus Opera Ioannis Mercerij & Antonij Cevallerij [...] Quamdiu non corrigantur”.

²⁷ *Index librorum prohibitorum cum regulis confectis Per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos Auctoritate Pii IIII. primum editus postea vero a Sixto V. auctus et nunc demum S.D.N. Clementis p. VIII. iussu, recognitus, & publicatus. Instructione adiecta. De exequenda prohibitionis, deque sincere emendandi, & imprimendi libros, ratione*, Romae, apud Impressores Camerales, 1596 (henceforth: *Index 1596*). See *sub lit. H, Auctores primae classis*, “Henricus Stephanus”, and *sub lit. T, Certorum Auctorum Libri prohibiti*, “Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, Henrici Stephani. Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae, Sanctis Pagnini [...] donec expurgentur”.

²⁸ *Index 1596*, f. c4r-d4v.

²⁹ J. Scapula, *Lexicon Graecolatinum novum in quo ex primitivorum & simplicium fontibus derivata atque composita ordine non minus naturali, quam alphabetico, breviter & dilucide deducuntur*, Basileae, ex Officina Hervagiana per Eusebium Episcopium, 1580.

correction of Estienne's dictionary would be regarded as a collective enterprise. On the assignment of its *expurgatio* the sources at our disposal are somewhat confusing, and additional difficulties are due to the fact that some volumes containing expurgations are apparently lost.³⁰ A first distribution of suspended books is dated 13 March 1593, and the Jesuits were entrusted with the correction of the philological works, including the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*.³¹ After the promulgation of the *Clementine Index* in 1596, the Congregation for the Index possibly decided to assign this expurgation to peripheral seats, as could be proved by a correction related to the fourth volume of Estienne's *Thesaurus*, made by the local Congregation in Bologna:

Censura sup. 4.^m Tomum thesauri Linguae Graecae Henr. Steph. In hoc tomo autor, quemadmodum et in tribus prioribus versat in explicando usu graecarum dictionum, tum quancum ad earum significatione, tum etiam quantum ad modum, quo cum alijs construuntur, et quantum ad composita et derivata, cum ipsius, ab ipsis, et si quae sunt huius generis alia: idque praestat afferendo loca tum ex authoribus prophanis, tum ex Ecclesiasticis, nec non ex ipso Testamento veteri ac novo. Quae ex profanis scriptoribus desumuntur, ea ad religionem nihil prorsus pertinet. Quae vero ex Ecclesiasticis deprompta sunt, ea sunt triplicia, vel pertinent ad solam interpretationem, et usu vocum, nihil immutando, nec sensa, nec verba editionis vulgatae, et Summorum Pont. auctoritate confirmatur, vel mutant aliqua damnanda aliquando veterem ac vulgatam editionem: vel 3. praeter voces habent admixtum aliquid, sumpta ex voce occasione pertinens ad ritus vel dogmata. [...] Col.^a 362 in dictione εὐχάριστος legenda sunt quae dicit de sacro mysterio Eucharistiae praesertim cum dicta sint ab homine damnat. [...] Sequuntur ea, quae sunt tertijs generis; col.^a 30 tota refert varias sententias de solemnitate dicta Epiphanioui, quam ipse refert ad baptismum, possunt omnia legi, ut perspectum fiat numquid aliquid sit minus sane dictu. [...] Col.^a 584 in dictione κατάχρεως citans

This dictionary is not an original work, but rather an *epitome*, in a folio volume, of the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, as acknowledged by Scapula himself, “at vero ne thesauri illius Herculeo sane labore compositi autorem bene de literis meritum debita laude fraudare, aut me alienis plumi venditare videar: quid illi acceptum feram, fateri non gravabor” (ibid., f. a4v). For the expurgation of this lexicon see ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, CC (25), f. 148r-v. The censors used the later edition printed in Geneva in 1598.

³⁰ For a recent discussion on this point and previous bibliography see Baldini-Spruit, p. 4-10.

³¹ ACDF, *Index*. Diarii, I, f. 66r, “Societati Jesu. Commentario linguae latinae Stephani Doleti. Thesaurus linguae graecae et latinae. Calepinus. Roberti Stephani Dictionarium Graecolatinum. Joannis Crispini et Roberti Constantini”.

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locum sapientiae uti cur his verbis, qui adscribitur Salomoni, quare revocatur in dubium num sit Salomonis. [...].³²

Most likely this rather concise correction, followed by only few examples of erroneous places, was deemed unsatisfactory in view of the preparation of the first *Expurgatorius Romanus*, and documents give evidence of a later assignment to the Collegium Romanum of the Jesuit Order.³³

Presented to the Congregation for the Index on 20 November 1602,³⁴ the entire and definitive *expurgatio* carried out by the Collegium Romanum is no longer preserved,³⁵ and as far as is known only a partial draft, relating to a large section of the third volume, has survived. On these sheets, an anonymous hand had painstakingly annotated the reference to columns and lines, and listed more than forty places to be expurgated, mostly related to Estienne's erroneous translations and interpretations of biblical passages, as well as his mentioning of Erasmus:

Colum. 18. lit. c. falsa verum legere, neque bene interpretari locum S. Paul. in Ep. ad Hebr. [...] Stephanus autem legit et interpretat longe alio modo [...]

Col. 75 lit. g. [...] Erasmus similiter affecti [...]

Col. 77. lit. g. locum hunc S. Paul. Ep. ad Hebr. c. 10 [...] libentius inquit vertere periphrasi Erasmica [...]

³² ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, O (13), f. 444r-445v. Possibly related to this *censura* is the note sent from Bologna, "ex multis libris quos tanquam utiliores censuit expurgandos, infrascriptos, uti maxime necessarios Ill.^{mae} Congregationi Romanae prius proponendos delegit. qui sunt [...] Lexicon Henrici Stephani [...]" (ibid., f. 517r; now in Baldini-Spruit, p. 279).

³³ See e.g. *Nota Librorum omnium cum clausula expurgatoria in Indice contentorum, cum applicatione censorum*, ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, Z (22), f. 516r, "Flores Epigrammatum. Farrago Poetarum Leodeg. Poemata varia Doctorum. Institutiones Grammaticae. Henricus Decimatoris, Silva. Ioannis Forsterij Dictionarium. Lexsichon [sic] Simonis Scardij. Jo: Scapulae lex: graeco Latinum. Thesaurus linguae graecae Henr. Steph. "

³⁴ ACDF, *Index*. Diarii, I, f. 161r, "Dominus Sponde retulit quaedam loca censura digna in Lexicon graeco lat.^m Joannis Scapulae [...] Joannes Mattheus Carophilus retulit quaedam loca censura digna in Lexicon graeco Lat.^o Joannis Crespini [...] Jacobus Candidus retulit censuram in Com.¹⁰⁵ Doleti alterum tomum [...] et Collegio Rom.^o Societatis Jesu thesaurus linguae graecae Henrici Stephani".

³⁵ The *Commentariolum Vniversorum quae in Archivio sacrae Congregationis Indicis asservantur apud secretarium* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat.lat.* 6861) contains an index of the *censurae* preserved in the 1590s in the archive of the Congregation for the Index; on f. 61r is listed "Thesaurus linguae grece Rom^a, H. 546". Unfortunately, in the volume signed H of the *Protocolli* exactly the f. 545-549 are missing.

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Col. 90. lit. g. Delendum videtur totum [...] ubi quaedam habet falsa de Episcoporum et Archiepiscoporum Nominibus vel titulis [...]

Col. 91. lit. q. citat Erasmi locum [...]

Col. 141. lit. B. [...] Debit tam Steph. fideliter scripturae verba enumerare, et deinde [...] subdere suam interpretationem. [...]

Col. 250. lit. f. [...] Ubi reddit inquit Stephanus a Doctissimo Interprete. Nescio quid nam sit tam celebrer Interpres, quemdam ignotum esse voluit Stephanus. Sed ita recipit Stephanos eos Interpretes, quos Catholica Ecclesia repudiat, ut repudiat quod ipsa recipit [...].³⁶

These extensive corrections were never printed, and never became available to the public. More generally speaking, the entire project of an *Index* of expurgations failed. The first and sole volume of an *Index librorum expurgandorum* issued by the Roman Church was published in 1607, under the name of the Master of the Sacred Palace Giovanni Maria Guanzelli,³⁷ and contained the expurgatory *censurae* of just fifty-three suspended works. The correction of Estienne's lexicon was not included: this work – like many others lexica – became a victim of an immobility, which characterized Roman censorship for a long time. The Expurgatory Index was not officially approved; a second volume never followed, nor was there as well ever printed an emended edition of the *Thesaurus* – or at least an edition accompanied, as projected in January 1603, by a preface including the approved expurgation.³⁸ Apparently Estienne's dictionary was destined to disappear from the libraries and from the market.

The Congregation for the Index could not, however, ignore the fact that the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* was a work whose correction was most frequently asked for. Starting from the first decades of the seventeenth

³⁶ *Animadversiones in 3.m Tom. Thesauri Henr. Steph.*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat.lat.* 6207, f. 52r-53v (related to the col. 1-311 of the third tome). The Vatican codex could be identified with the volume signed E of the *Protocolli*, and lacking in ACDF; see P. Simoncelli, "Documenti interni alla Congregazione dell'Indice, 1571-1599. Logica e ideologia dell'intervento censorio", *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea*, 35-36, 1983-1984, p. 190, "il codice rappresenta essenzialmente quanto finora noto dei lavori preparatori per l'Indice sistino"; for a different opinion see Baldini-Spruit, p. 131-132 note.

³⁷ *Indicis librorum expurgandorum in studiosorum gratiam confecti. Tomus Primus. In quo quinquaginta auctorum Libri prae ceteris desiderati emendantur. Per Fr. Io. Mariam Brasichellen. Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magistrum in unum corpus redactus, & publicae commoditati aeditus*, Romae, ex typographia R. Cam. Apost., 1607.

³⁸ See ACDF, *Index*. Diarii, I, f. 163r.

century requests for licenses to own and read it multiplied,³⁹ and the Roman congregation granted most of them, on condition that the work was expurgated. Consequently, the owners had to struggle to have the volumes corrected by the ecclesiastical authority, or a theological faculty. To avoid unskilled corrections of the names, words or individual passages, the Congregation for the Index would have to send to bishops and local inquisitors the *expurgatio authentica Romae facta*,⁴⁰ fact that apparently did not happen, despite the numerous requests made not only by bishops and inquisitors, but also by private owners and librarians.⁴¹ At the beginning of

³⁹ In August 1596 the Florentine priest Giovanni Battista Salvucci sent to the Congregation a request regarding the following titles, "Platone greco con la versione latina del Serrano et scolie dello Stefano. Emendato in f.° 3 volumi. Il Tesoro della lingua greca dello Stefano. Ditionario greco latino del Crispino. 2 volumi in f.° emendato in alcun luogo. Ditionario greco latino in 4.° stampato da Gug[liel]mo Leimario. 1588. Tesoro della lingua latina dello Stefano [...] Diodoro sicul. In f[olio] stampato in Basilea per Henrico [di] Pietro 1559, con trattato dello Stefano [...] Horatio in f[olio] Stampato In Parigi. 1579 col commento del Lambino. Con alcune [cose] di Henrico Stephano [cum] scholijs Henrici vel Roberti Stefani [...] Grammatica graeca in [8°] 1555 edita ab Henrico [vel] [Roberto] ijsdem impressoribus. Horatio con Scolie e altro dello Stefano, e altri autori Adriano Tur[n]ebo. In 8°. stampato dallo Stefano e da [Mar]tino Iuvene. Le lettere familiari di Cicerone, con scholie e trattati dello Stefano e altri. Stampato in 8.° 1537. dallo Stefano. Vergilius cum scholijs et emendationibus Roberti stephani eodem impressore [...] Fragmenta veterum poetarum impressa à Stefano [cum] scholijs Henrici vel Roberti Stephani [...] Grammatica gallica latinè conscripta ab Henrico Stefano eodem impressore" (ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, T (18), f. 517r-518v; now in Baldini-Spruit, p. 2677-2682).

⁴⁰ See *Dubitationes aliquot circa Indicem librorum prohibitorum S.^{mi} D.N. iussu recognitum, et publicatum, occurrentes, quarum declaratio, et decisio à Cong.^{ne} Ill.^{vm} D.D. Card.^{ium} super eodem Indice deputatorum ab Inq.^{ne} generali Lusitaniae petitur*, sent to Rome by the Portuguese Inquisition after the publication of the *Clementine Index*, "Cum plerique libri in novo hoc Catalogo veniant suspensi donec expurgentur, scire cupit illud Tribunal, an illorum expurgatio authentica Romae facta sit aut fiat ut in partibus expectari possit. Quod si forte eius expurgationis negotio incubitur, et aliqui iam libri expurgati sunt illorum Indicem interim dum reliqui expectantur, cum convenienti instructione sibi communicari petit" (ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, Z (22), f. 210v).

⁴¹ This is the view of Antonio Bergamucci, referring to the suspended books in the library of the Duke of Urbino, "[...] se ci fosse fuori qualche correptione approvata di opere prohibite, si contenti farcine parte, si saranno in stampa si pagaranno e si saranno à penna, pagaremo il copiatore. Se ci fosse nota autentica di tutti li Heresiarchi dichiarati per tali dal S.^{to} Off.^o, ne desiderassimo parimente copia. Nelle Traduttioni di diversi opere di auttori antichi, ò moderni, come sono Plutarco, Xenofonte ec. fatte da Heretici della prima Classe, alli quali hanno alle volte aggiunto prefationi, epistolae, argomenti, postille, annotationi ò scholij, si desidera sapere, se si possono tenere sicuramente cancellato solamente il nome del Traduttore, lasciando stare quello che di suo vi aggiunge (se basti levare da i libri di questa sorte il nome dell'Auttore dannato dalla prima facciata solamente opur si è necessario levarlo per tutto dove di trova)" (ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, Z (22), f.

1609 the Congregation for the Index received a petition from Pavia to undertake the expurgation of Estienne's work:

Beatissime Pater

Ex thesauro linguae Graecae cuius autor [est] Henricus Stephanus, eius linguae studiosus, omnem dicendi scribendique facultatem et copiam hauriri notissimum est. Sed quia in illo deprehensa sunt, quae ab orthodoxa religione abhorrentia, maculam haereseos imprudenti adspargere lectori possent, visum est patribus hierarchis pro salute publica excubantibus, lectione, eius suspendere dum quis in eo genere exercitatus, bona fide colligeret, quae mores corrumpere, christianique hominis animum impia fraude obligare possent. Cum autem nemo adhuc (quod quidem palam sit) opus suspectum et suspensum attingere voluerit: Bartholomaeus Regius Ticini habitans, Graece mediocriter doctus, publica utilitatis studiosus de cuius ingenio, moribus, totiusque vitae rationibus, ab inquisitore atque Theologi Ticini, ab omnibus disciplinarum, in academia Ticinensis professoribus; denique ab ipso episcopo cognosci facillime poterit; rem litterariam pro ingenij sui viribus adiuvaré volens, in medium prodiit: suam defert operam: pollicetur se, adhibitis in consilium quos patres adhibendos censuerint, summa fide ac diligentia opus emaculaturum, sublaturumque ea quae impietatem ac haeresim olere videantur. Si V. B. voluntate ac decreto id se facere, sibi ac filio suo Marco Aurelio clerico iurisprudentiae candidato, sacrosanctae sedis apostolicae gratiam eo labore promeriturum esse intelligat.⁴²

About the request the Congregation asked the Pavia Inquisitor Desiderio Scaglia, who wrote as follows on 5 May 1609:

Hò ricevuto la lettera di V.S. Ill.^{ma} delli 20 di Marzo, intorno al memoriale di Bartolomeo Regio, quale si offerisce con Marco Aurelio suo figliuolo, censurare, et espurgare il Thesoro della lingua Greca, insieme con Theologi, et altri dotti che in questa Città si fossero perciò deputati. Sopra di che desiderando V.S. Ill.^{ma} informazione da mè della qualità, et suffitienza delle persone, per dargliela più compita, hò differito fin hora il risponderle, et dico, che quanto alla qualità della persone delli detti Barthol.^o e Marc'Aurelio, mi rimetto a quello, che già si mandò da me alla Sac. Congreg.^{ne} del S.^{to} Uff.^o costi, contro dell'un' e dell'altro. Circa poi la sua suffitienza nella professione di lettere, il Padre è huomo di valore, et in lingua Greca

365r). See also the letter sent on 12 July 1596 by the Inquisitor of Rimini Cipriano Crescentino da Lugo, "Henricus Stephanus, Gulielmo Xilandro, Giovanni Leunclai, e simili, quali hanno tradotto molte historie d'Autori Greci antichi, et poi vi hanno fatto, prefationi, annotationi, scogli o, argomenti, le quali se ben fosse per le regole dell'Indice pare, che si possono concedere deletio nomine tantum auctoris si desidera non di meno sapere, qual tanto che si deve fare per non errare" (ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, Q (15), f. 79v; now in Baldini-Spruit, p. 190).

⁴² ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, Q (15), f. 114r-v. The letter is undated. I am grateful to Jyri Hasecker for bringing to my attention this document.

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spetialmente è stimato delli più periti, c'hoggi si trovino, mà però qui in Pavia non vi sono Theologi tanto versati in Greco, e di tale peritia, che se li possa confidare con sicurezza la censura del libro dal Sig.^r Dottor Paolo Belloni in poi, Letor publico di leggi in questo Studio, et Consultore del S.^{to} Off.^o il quale in detta lingua è molto erudito. Ne occorrendomi altro, à V.S. Ill.^{ma} prego dà Dio vero bene, e bacio humilm.te le vesti.

Di Pavia à 5 maggio 1609

Humiliss.^{mo} Ser.^{re} F. Desid.^o Inq.^{re} di Pavia⁴³

These documents reflect the weakness of the expurgatory policy and the substantial failure of this undertaking on the part of the central seat. Lacking the official expurgation from Rome, and in case of Greek books often deprived of skilled censors, the local authorities decided on their own, adopting as the only guiding principle the Tridentine rules and the *Instructio* of 1596, or sometimes using – in the specific case of Estienne's lexicon – the corrections printed in the *Expurgatorius Hispanus* of 1614.⁴⁴ Copies of the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* are recorded in various public Italian libraries, and as far as I could see, the volumes are corrected in considerably variegated ways. Certain copies show light censorship, with only few passages or individual words deleted. In other cases the censors have focused only on the occurrences of Estienne's name, *Auctor damnatus*, and inked its occurrences on the title page.⁴⁵ In the Vatican Library, the Barberini copy shows a different and radical solution: in the first volume the title page and the liminary leaves are missing – probably cut away – whereas the lexicographical compilation is untouched.⁴⁶ On the contrary, there are copies amply corrected, testifying the fact that the censors went through each line and word of the volumes, given that a lexicon can prove to be a tricky case, even more dangerous than a theological tract: bad

⁴³ Ibid., f. 115r.

⁴⁴ For the Spanish expurgation see *Index librorum expurgandorum*, Matriti, excudebat Ludovicus Sancius, 1614, p. 394-398.

⁴⁵ See for example in the first volume of the Vatican copy signed *R.G. Class. II.123* the deletions of Estienne's name from the title page, the *Admonitio de Thesauri sui Epitome* and dedicatory epistle, whereas the other leaves are completely untouched; and the copy owned by the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna (F.A.022.003), in which the expurgation merely regards Estienne's name (for this notice I am grateful to Barbara Gentile).

⁴⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Barb.* Y.IV.8-12. These quires are also missing from the copy owned by the Roman convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and nowadays in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Rome (37.43.G.11).

statements could hide anywhere.⁴⁷ Of course, it would be of particular interest to explore in detail the provenance of the volumes, analysing their early ownership – for example copies from religious libraries, or from private collections. For the time being, there is enough material to shed further light on the substantial variety and variability of the expurgatory activity, and to confirm the scenario dreaded in 1587 by the secretary of the Congregation for the Index Vincenzo Bonardi, related to the discussions about a possible decentralization of the *expurgatio opus*, and the question:

[...] se questa espurgatione si dee far per un collegio di Theologi deputati in Roma à questo, il che sarebbe assai conforme alla grandezza della Sedia Apostolica, overo commetterlo all'Università, ò pur lasciar come stà nelle regole dell'Indice, cosa che facilmente potrà partorire confusione, conciosiache un medesimo libro, s'espurgherà in un vescovato, et da una Inquisitione in un modo, et diversamente da altri.⁴⁸

In the Casanatense – the historical library of the Dominican Order in Rome – I recently came across a copy of the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*,⁴⁹ which provides the most extended evidence of the required expurgation, and allows us to view the practice of a censor. On the title page of this copy, the name of Henri Estienne is inked and altered, and it is deleted –

⁴⁷ For example the copy of the Biblioteca Universitaria Genova, with the early ownership inscription of the Jesuit College of Genoa (Sala 3.A.8.21-24). I am grateful to Daniele Cianchi who gave me this information.

⁴⁸ ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, B (2), f. 500v.

⁴⁹ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΗΣ. *Thesaurus Graecae linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus. In quo praeter alia plurima quae primus praestitit, (paternae in Thesauro Latino diligentiae aemulus) vocabula in certas classes distribuit, multiplici derivatorum serie ad primigenia, tanquam ad radices unde pullulant, revocata. Thesaurus lectori, de ea quam fecit quidam eius epitome*, Henr. Stefani Oliva [Genève, after 1580] (Biblioteca Casanatense, P.III.27-31; henceforth *Thesaurus*). As stated on the title page, the Casanatense copy corresponds to the *Epitome*. In some bibliographies and catalogues, such as Opac-Sbn, it is erroneously dated 1572; more likely it was issued in 1580, without indication of where it was printed, whether Geneva or elsewhere. Possibly it was issued as a competitor to the *Lexicon Graecumlatinum* of Johannes Scapula, Estienne's former corrector (see above note 29). On this point see F. Schreiber, *The Estiennes. An annotated Catalogue of 300 Highlights of the various Presses*. Introduction by N. Barker, New York, E. K. Schreiber 1982, p. 159, "at least two other states [...] I believe were issued later. One of these bears no date on the title, and instead of the words 'excudebat Henr. Stephanus' beneath the device, reads 'Henr. Stephani Oliva'. [...] The other variant copy, although dated 1572 and with the statement 'excudebat Henr. Stephanus' beneath the device, exhibits striking differences in the setting of the title-page as well as of the other leaves. This set is furthermore printed on poorer, thinner paper, and is considerably shorter".

together with his father's name, Robert – also from the table of the Greek authors used as sources for the lexicographic compilation: besides the classical authors printed by Aldus Manutius and the Florentine Giunta Press, Estienne employed in fact the standard editions of Greek writers and *Sacra Scripta* issued from the heretical *Domus Stephaniana*, edited or annotated by himself or by his father Robert, *libri non damnati* but edited *a damnatis authoribus*.⁵⁰ The name of Henri is deleted on the other preliminary leaves, the *Admonitio de Thesauri sui Epitome* and the *Epistola ad Lectorem*, and the orderliness of the censors spared not even the half titles and the headings.⁵¹

After the removal of both Calvinist Estiennes, son and father, the second stage was to cross out diligently all the occurrences of names of the other heretical authors, all listed in the first class of the *Index*, and selected by Estienne as sources for the Greek words. Whereas the names of other philologists employed, such as Guillaume Budé, Adrien Turnèbe and Pietro Vittori, are completely untouched, inked are all occurrences of the names of Théodore de Bèze, Joachim Camerarius, Conrad Gesner, or phrases such as *ut docet Beza, à Gesn. vocatur, ut Camerarius interpretatur*. According to the *Instructio* of 1596 are censored also the “epitheta honorifica, & omnia in laudem haeticorum”⁵² – for example the epithet *doctissimus interpres* – in order to punish, as Juan Bautista Cardona wrote in 1576, their “propagandi nominis flagitiosa et perdita libido”.⁵³

Systematically erased by ink is of course the name of Erasmus. Estienne, indeed, repeatedly refers to the Dutch Humanist, citing ample passages from his works, the *Adagia*, the editions of the Fathers, and the

⁵⁰ *Thesaurus* I, f. a4r-v, *Autorum Graecorum Catalogus, ex quorum scriptis vocabula & loquendi genera, eorum item unde expositione vocabulorum aut loquendi generum petita sunt in hoc Thesaurus Graecae linguae*; and f. a4v, *Sacra scripta, aut Qui scripserunt quae ad ea pertinent*.

⁵¹ See the 1596 *Instructio*, “qui negotium susceperit corrigendi, atque expurgandi, circumspicere omnia, & attente notare debet, non solum quae in cursu operis, manifeste se offerunt, sed, si quae in scholijs, in summarijs, in marginibus, in indicibus librorum, in praefationibus, aut epistolis dedicatorijs, tanquam in insidijs, delitescunt” (*Index 1596*, f. d2r).

⁵² *Index 1596*, f. d2v.

⁵³ J. B. Cardona, *De expungendis haeticorum propriis nominibus etiam de libris, qui de religione ex professo non tractant*, Romae, apud Josephum de Angelis, 1576, p. 21. On this point see A. Prosperi, “*Damnatio memoriae*. Nomi e libri in una proposta della Controriforma”, in Id., *L'Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003, p. 385-411.

Novum Testamentum, to the extent that we could consider the expurgated version of *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* almost a new, or eighth way – paraphrasing the title of an essay of Seidel Menchi – of censoring Erasmus.⁵⁴ The censors go deep into the content, inking not only his name, but also phrases and passages taken from his works, crossed out with heavy pen strokes or diagonal lines. The censor focused attention on potentially ‘dangerous’ words – for example ἐκκλησία, εὐαγγέλιον, πίστις, συναγωγή, Χριστός –, and furthermore, noteworthy here is the fact that the deletions visible in the third volume match more or less with the places listed in the Vatican expurgation, a fact that leads to different conjectures. The most natural explanation is that it is possibly a copy used for the discussion on the expurgation, if we consider that the Casanatense Library had very close, almost ‘official’ relationship with Roman censorship offices, and, during its Dominican phase in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, received many books directly from the Congregation for the Index.⁵⁵

However that may be, the Casanatense copy can be actually taken into account as an exceptional case, but even if other copies located in the Italian libraries could reveal a different, or rather milder use of the expurgatory practice, the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* was never returned to philologists, students of Greek, or theologians. Moreover, the prescribed expurgations, consisting of inked names, words, phrases and passages, would have turned the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* into a mutilated book, actually making it a useless tool, despite the many requests to keep and read

⁵⁴ See S. Seidel Menchi, “Sette modi di censurare Erasmo”, in *La censura libraria nell’Europa del XVI secolo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Cividale del Friuli, 9-10 Novembre 1995), a cura di U. Rozzo, Udine, Forum, 1997, p. 177-206. For the *Adagia* see for example the deletions in the second volume of the Casanatense copy, *s.v.* Λαας, col. 540, “[...] quem locum affert & Erasmus in proverbio εἰς λαπίδας”, and *s.v.* Λέγω, col. 616, “Vide & Erasm. in prouerbio Apologus Alcinoi”; in the fourth volume, *s.v.* Χορδή, col. 563-564, “Vnde apud Erasmum in proverb. Chordas non mouendas mouere [...]”, *s.v.* Χορός, col. 566, “De quibus Erasm. in suis Chiliad., vni habes & alia”.

⁵⁵ There is no way to be sure of the Casanatense copy’s provenance, as the relevant acquisitions records have been lost. A possible trace in ACDF, *Inventario delli libri che si ritrovano nella Biblioteca del S. Off.º di Roma quest’anno 1710, sub lit. T*, “Thesauri linguae Graecae Tomi 5.”. On the contrary, the title is no more listed in the later inventory of the Holy Office library, dated at 1825. On the history of the Casanatense and its relationship with the Roman censorship see M. Palumbo, “La Casanatense, una biblioteca al servizio della ‘sana dottrina’”, in *A dieci anni dall’apertura dell’Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede. Storia e archivi dell’Inquisizione*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2011, p. 455-479.

the *Thesaurus* for professional reasons, even in the following centuries. In 1764, during his stay in Rome, the physician Domenico Cotugno held a conversation with a bookseller:

Cum eum petissem num graecae linguae thesaurum Henrici Stephani haberet sic habuit non quidem possidere se sed emturum animum advertere oportere ut videat num ille thesaurus praefationes omnes integras habeat, et in vocabulo *Eucharistia* oblitus textus non sit. Etenim inibi habentur quae calvinismi infectus Auctor habet ab Ecclesia damnanda.⁵⁶

For centuries Henri Estienne was, in the Catholic area, and in particular within the Italian borders, an *Auctor damnatus*, and great and dramatic was the impact of the censorship proceedings, against the 'dangerous' lexicography, on the development of philological and exegetical studies.⁵⁷ It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century, thanks to the reform ordered by Benedict XIV, that a new discussion within the Roman Curia was opened about Estienne's lexicon and other philological instruments. In 1754 the Secretary of the Congregation for the Index, Tommaso Maria Ricchini, proposed the permission of *Henrici Stephani Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, no more considered by the Roman censorship a lexicon *malvagium* and *perniciosum*, but rather a useful work, essential – together with the *Lexicon Graecolatinum* by Johannes Scapula and the *Lexicon Hebraicum, et Chaldaicum* by Johann Buxtorf – to the biblical exegesis.⁵⁸ The proposal

⁵⁶ D. Cotugno, *Iter italicum anni MDCCLXV*, edito da L. Bellono, Milano, Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, 1960, p. 87. On this point see R. Savelli, "Il censore in biblioteca", in Id., *Censori e giuristi. Storie di libri, di idee e di costumi (secoli XVI-XVII)*, Milano, Giuffrè, 2011, p. 361 note.

⁵⁷ For this long-lasting impact on the classical studies see for example the request send in 1690s to the Congregation for the Index by the brothers Michelangelo, Simone and Filippo Buonarroti, for "retinere, et legere Boccalinum in Tacitum, Diodorum Siculum cum Henrico Stephano de eod., et interpretationes Gulielmi Xilandri, Homerum cum notis Sebastiani Carbalis, Martialem cum Scholijs Junij, Lexicon Scapulae, Loca Communia Stobei translata à Gesnero, Pomponium Melam cum Commentarijs Joachimi Vadiani cum opusculis de Vadiana Familia, Pindarum editum ab Henrico Stephano cum Annotationibus Martini Claudij, Suetonium cum annotationibus, Erasmi Roterodami opera, quae ad humaniores litteras attinent" (ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, VVV (67), f. 24r-v).

⁵⁸ *Memorie, e Riflessioni del P. Seg^{rio} dell'Indice sù la produzione d'un nuovo Indice de' Libri proibiti, ed un Ind.^e espurgatorio de' medesimi*, ACDF, *Index*. Protocolli, Ricchini II (84), f. 376v-377v. See M. Palumbo, "D'alcuni libri che potrebbero permettersi corretti, ed espurgati". La censura romana e l'espurgazione dei lessici", in *Lessici filosofici dell'età moderna. Linee di ricerca*, a cura di E. Canone, Firenze, Olschki, 2012, p. 1-27.

was accepted by the Congregation and the Pope, and in the new edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, issued in 1758, its prohibition – even as moderated in 1596 with the formula *donec expurgetur* – was removed.⁵⁹ The rehabilitated *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* could eventually enter with full rights also in the Italian culture as well, with a delay of almost two centuries from its publication in the Calvinist Geneva.

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⁵⁹ *Index librorum prohibitorum SS^{mi} D.N. Benedicti XIV. Pontificis Maximi jussu recognitus, atque editus*, Romae, ex typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1758. See H. Wolf-B. Schmidt, *Benedikt XIV. und die Reform des Buchzensurverfahrens. Zur Geschichte und Rezeption von “Sollicita ac provida”*, Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011.

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