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C O I M B R A

LEWIN BRECHT, MIGUEL VENEGAS,
AND THE SCHOOL DRAMA:
SOME FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

In two articles published some years ago, I attempted to give a brief outline of the life and work of the Castilian Jesuit Miguel Venegas (b. Ávila 1531, entered order Alcalá de Henares 1554, expelled 1567). The purpose of those articles was to shed some light on the very early years of the Jesuit school drama. (1) Venegas, it had become clear, was an able Latinist and a dramatist of distinction. He appeared also to have played some part in shaping both the style and the subject-matter of a whole generation of Jesuit playwrights. It seemed likely at the time of writing that more information about him would come to light in due course, and that more manuscripts of his works would be discovered, especially as he travelled widely in Europe during the 1560s. This has proved to be the case. In addition, a great deal has been written about the Jesuit drama since those two short articles appeared. It would now seem proper to bring the Venegas dossier up to date, and to comment in passing on some of the other recent scholarly work which has a bearing on what I set out to do in the early 1970s. (2)

Except where otherwise indicated, all references in this article to manuscript sources are to the Archivio Romano Societatis Iesu (ARSI). Where a document from that archive has been edited elsewhere, I have in every case followed the original manuscript, noting

(1) 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', *Hymanitas* [Coimbra], XXIII-XXIV (1971-72), 427-34; 'Miguel Venegas and the Sixteenth-Century Jesuit School Drama', *The Modern Language Review* [Cambridge], LXVIII (1973), 796-806.

(2) 48 of the 477 items listed in GRIFFIN, *Jesuit School Drama: A Checklist of Critical Literature* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1976 [Research Bibliographies and Checklists, XII]) were published in the 1970s. A further c. 350 items — books and articles — have appeared since that list was compiled.

for reference purposes the place(s) where edition(s) of it may be found. (3) Any document I have not seen in the original is denoted by an asterisk.

I

Venegas was in Alcalá de Henares for some ten years (c. 1544-54) as both student and teacher. Like any young man with a lively interest in rhetoric, he would have seen plays while he was at University and may even have taken part in them. (4) His first contact with the Jesuit drama as such was, however, not in the university city of Alcalá but rather at Plasencia in south-western Spain. It was his first posting as a member of the order and, during the time he was there (1555-56), the college was still involved in the lengthy process of acquiring a permanent home in the city. (5) Even though a lot of his time would have been taken up with the day-to-day problems of working in an expanding college, and with the menial tasks traditionally allotted to new recruits, Plasencia was an ideal *studium* for a tyro dramatist. (6) For, even at this early period when it had no settled quarters, the school was busily earning for itself a reputation as a centre of dramatic activity.

One reason for this was that its principal paymaster, Gutierre de Vargas y Carvajal, bishop of Plasencia from 1524 until his death in 1559,

(3) I am grateful to Fr Edmond Lamalle S.I. for allowing me access to the vast arsenal of documentation in the ARSI, and also the Fondo Gesuitico (= FG) housed alongside it.

(4) On theatre at Alcalá, see: Justo GARCÍA SORIANO, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España: Estudios sobre el origen de nuestro arte dramático: con documentos, textos inéditos, y un catálogo de antiguas comedias escolares* (Toledo, 1945), 344, 373-74. Venegas was at Alcalá, for example, when a play was staged in 1546 for the installation of Martínez Siliceo as Archbishop of Toledo (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale [= BNP], *Fonds latin 8762*).

(5) The foundation-stone was laid 17 April 1555. The bishop claimed that the college had cost him more than 30,000 *ducados* (FG 1537 [Collegia]/1/[Plasencia]/8, unfol., [1]r; further copies in FG 1537/1).

(6) GRIFFIN, 'Miguel Venegas...', 798. Gutierre was carrying on a family tradition: his uncle Cardinal Bernardino, who had preceded him as bishop of Plasencia, had resided for most of his life in Italy where he held a number of important ecclesiastical offices and where he patronized expatriate Spanish dramatists (Joseph E. Gillet [ed.], *'Propalladia' and Other Works of Torres Naharro*, 4 vols. [Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Banta (I-III); Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press (IV), 1943-61], IV, 406, etc.).

was a keen follower of the fashion for plays. He spent a good deal of his time in the palace he had built on the ruins of a Moorish castle at Jaraicejo in the foothills of the Sierra de Guadalupe, sheltering from the violence which characterised the life of the city. (7) Some of the earliest Jesuit plays were staged there. The Jesuits had originally used the bishop's town house as their temporary headquarters but by the end of 1555 they were in a position to open the doors of their new *studium*. (8). It grew very rapidly indeed and thirty years later could boast some four hundred full-time pupils. Already in the late 1550s it had a large number of extern students (*convictores*) on its books. (9) The diary kept by Baltasar Loarte S.I. (1512-80), a man very much involved in the financial affairs of the college, records several plays and dialogues that were written and performed by teachers and students at the Plasencia *studium*. Others are described at length in the four-monthly and annual reports that were sent from each Jesuit house to the Generalate in Rome. (10) It is obvious that, despite the college's very real financial problems, many of these plays were lavishly staged.

But perhaps the most telling evidence we have for the extent to which the craze for plays took hold of the Plasencia community comes in two lengthy despatches from the *consultor* of college Pedro Rodríguez. The first of these was written at the end of 1564, the other in the summer

(7) Marcos Salinas S.I. from Plasencia, 1 May 1556: 'el Señor obispo vino la semana sancta de xarayzejo en donde a estado este imbierno que es recamara deste obispado' (*Hist. Soc.* 173, 235[395]r-v[n.º 124] at 235r). For details of the bishop and of life at Plasencia, see: GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document: Baltasar Loarte S.I. and the Years 1554-1570', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (= *AHSI*) [Rome], XLV (1976), 56-94; also the unpublished MS history of the college (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia [= RAHM], *Papeles varios de Jesuitas*, vol. 53 [9-3627], item [16], fols 161r-200r).

(8) *Epp. NN.* 70, 141[390]r-142[391]v[n.º 72] at 141r; GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', 67.

(9) Martín Gutiérrez S.I. to Diego Láinez S.I., Plasencia, 29 October 1559 (*Hisp.* 96, 449[118]r-450v at 449r). See also: *Hisp.* 98, 13[346]r-14v, repr. in: *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (= *MHSI*), *Litterae Quadrimestres* (= *LQ*), VII [1932], 15-17, letter 458, at 17; *Annuae litterae Societatis Iesu Anni M.D.LXXXV. Ad Patres et Fratres eiusdem Societatis* (= *AL*, 1585) (Rome, 1587), 142; *FG* 1537/1/9.

(10) *Hisp.* 99, 355[399]r; *Hisp.* 100, 279[35]r; *Hisp.* 101, 113r; *Hisp.* 141, 105[659]v, 207[56]r, 273[67(314)]r-v; GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', 66n.3, 69-70n.15, 80-81nn.50-53, 83n.60.

of 1568. It was part of the task of a *consultor* — an office modelled on the traditions of Habsburg statecraft — to advise the Rector of college on all matters of policy and discipline and also to keep the General abreast of any developments or departures from established practice. Rodríguez, who was not an educated man, having studied only at Belmonte and Yepes and heard the odd lecture at Alcalá, but who was concerned for the spiritual well-being of college, was unhappy about the Plasencia devotion to the drama, and he did not hesitate to say so. (11). It may be that his lack of formal education in rhetoric was a significant factor in shaping his attitude. (12) So, too, may be the fact that he did not arrive in Plasencia until the end of 1563 and was not accustomed to the climate of conspicuous consumption which had surrounded bishop Gutierre wherever he went and which established a tradition his successors would follow. But from what Rodríguez says it is clear that the bishop's death had done nothing to dampen the Plasencia enthusiasm for drama, (13) and his letters contain a great deal of useful information about the ways in which a Jesuit college was affected by preparations for the public performance of a play:

Doc. (i): Pedro Rodríguez S.I. to Diego Láinez S.I. in Rome; 31 December 1564.

Pax christi etc.

lo que de presente se ofrece dar a *Vuestra Paternidad* quenta de lo que por las Reglas de consultor somos obligados es, que gloria a nuestro Señor el padre Rector (14) a proçedido y proçede muy

(11) Born Belmonte 1532; assisted his merchant father as a small boy; SI Alcalá March 1558; at Valladolid (Simancas professed house), Belmonte (which he helped to found), Plasencia, and Toledo where he died 29 May 1596 (*Hist. Soc.* 43, 70r; *Tolet.* 12aI, 32v[p. 40], 142v[p.108(152)], 148v[p.111(158)], 150v[p.159], 152[723]r [p.160], etc.; *Tolet.* 37, 270r; FG 77/IV, 355[486]r-356[487]v; FG 650a/480, unfol., [14(173)]r).

(12) His other correspondence (FG 650a/480, etc.) reveals his concern with the spiritual side of the religious life.

(13) The new bishop, Pedro Ponce de León (translated from Ciudad Rodrigo; bishop until his death in 1573) was less well disposed to the college but appears to have encouraged the maintenance of its dramatic tradition (below, doc. (iv)).

(14) Juan de Castañeda, b. Guadalajara c. 1531; studied Alcalá and Salamanca universities; SI Alcalá 1553 (a Villanueva recruit like so many at the Plasencia college; see: GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', p.77n.37 etc.); posted to Ocaña and, later,

bien en su ofiçio, y de cada dia se conoçe en el el cuydado que tiene de ayudarse de las constituciones, y avisos del padre maestro nadal, (15) ayudando a todos con exemplo y doctrina a la obseruançia de las Reglas.

Vna cosa se me ofreçe que proponer a Vuestra Paternidad y es, que en este collegio se an Representado en los Años pasados Algunas tragedias de las quales se a seguido mucha costa Al collegio y y [sic] a los hermanos gran trabajo y turbaçion, y la causa desto es, que en esta çibdad la yglesia mayor (que tiene siete mill ducados de fabrica) las haze hazer casi todos los Años y Algunas vezes gasta .400. ducados, y mas, porque procuran hazer los adereços (16) muy Al propio, Y para aber de agradar lo que en nuestro collegio se haze al pueblo que esta enseñado a esto no podemos segun nuestra profesion y pobreza satisfazer. de mas desto, los vestidos y otros aparejos, los an de buscar los nuestros, porque los particulares qujeran ganar gracias con nosotros y aun muchas vezes averlos de pedir los confesores a las mugeres que con ellos se confiesan que no es poco indeçente. (17) y lo que peor es que se solia dar de

Plasencia where he was a very popular Rector (Dec. 1563-Nov. 1567) and teacher during the Rectorate of Valderrábano (Nov. 1567-); finally *predicador* to the Valladolid college where he died 12 July 1575 (*Tolet.* 12aI, 84[312]r, 149[158]r, 153v[p.161]; *Hisp.* 106, 197[620]v; *Hisp.* 141, 351[342]r; FG 77/III, 75[135(282)]r-v; *Hisp.* 123, 74r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 41r).

(15) Jerome Nadal, b. Palma de Mallorca 11 Aug. 1507; met Ignatius Paris 1535; SI 29 Nov. 1545; solemn vows Rome 25 March 1552; Vicar General of Jesuits 1554-56 and again 1571-72 (*Ital.* 57, 331r; *Ital.* 3, 11r). One of the most important figures in the early history of the order, he issued several sets of instructions for the Spanish and Portuguese colleges, and visited the Toledo Province as *commissarius* Jan.-Feb. 1554 and again on a special recruiting drive for the Collegio Romano Feb. 1556 (when he twice visited Plasencia). He was again in Spain in 1561 (at Plasencia briefly in the October). Died Rome 3 April 1580 (*Hist. Soc.* 42, 7v). See: M. NICOLAU S.I. *Jerónimo Nadal S.I. (1507-1580): Sus obras y doctrinas espirituales* (Madrid: CSIC, 1949); Guy PHILLIPART S.I., 'Visiteurs, commissaires et inspecteurs dans la Compagnie de Jésus de 1540 à 1615. I: 1540-1572', *AHSI*, XXXVII (1968), 3-60 (with ed. of texts at 61-128); Manuel RUIZ JURADO S.I., 'Cronología de la vida del P. Jerónimo Nadal S.I.', *AHSI*, XLVIII (1979), 248-76.

(16) This term was widely used to refer to the decor and costumes at Jesuit *ludi*; see, e.g., *Hisp.* 141, 384[350]r.

(17) The reference to the high expectations of the Plasencia citizenry is an oblique allusion to the efforts of the rival Dominican foundation (GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', 56-60; *Hisp.* 102, 297[29(414[545])]r; *Hisp.* 115, 111[34]r). In some

comer en *nuestro* Refitorio a todos los Representantes y musicos, y servirles todos los de casa (avnque esto a çessado este Año) (18) y finalmente lo *que* en otros collegios es causa de credito y auctoridad, aqui es de perderles porque muchas personas de prudencia, dizen *que* por vna parte publicamos pobreza y por otra lo gastamos etc. (19) ofreçeseme *que* en este lugar (A lo menos por Algun tiempo hasta *que* se oluidasen los exçesos pasados) se exerçitasen los estudiantes en otros exercicios, como declamaciones colloquios en sus mismas clases, sin mezclar entremeses de bobos en Romance, (20) pues tratando destas cosas los maestros, no pueden dexar de ganar con ellos sus discipulos mucha libertad y perderlos el Respetto. Estas y otras causas e Representado Al padre provincial (21) y su Reuerencia dexo ordenado *que* no se hiziesen sin su

places there was no great difficulty in assembling props and costumes: 'se buscaron uestidos y pieças de oro ocho o diez dias antes, y vuo de todo tanta copia, que nos sobró poco menos de la metad [...] E vuo personas nobles que de ueras se quexauan porque los Padres no les pedieron también cosas suyas para la tragedia, auiéndose ya traydo de sus casas pieças muy buenas' (Baltasar Barreira S.I. to headquarters; Évora, 27 November 1559; *MHSI, LQ*, VI [1925], 390-401, letter 312, at 395, 400).

(18) Musicians and other extras, often loaned for the play by a local patron, expected to be fed after the performance. See, e.g., below, pp. 30-31. Compare the practices sketched by Agustín de ROJAS VILLANDRANO in the first Book of *El viaje entretenido* (1603) — *bululú*, *ñaque*, *gangarilla*, *cambaleo*, etc. — (ed. Jean Pierre Ressor [Madrid: Castalia, 1972], 159-61).

(19) See: Ladislaus LUKACS S.I., 'De origine collegiorum externorum deque controversiis circa eorum paupertatem obortis', *AHSI*, XXIX (1960), 189-245; XXX (1961), 3-89.

(20) While the sole officially countenanced exceptions to the rule which stipulated that Jesuit plays could only be performed in Latin were the occasional dialogues and colloquies in Greek and, still more rarely, Hebrew (*MHSI, Monumenta Paedagogica* [= *MPaed.*], I [1901-2], 65; *Monumenta Ignatiana* [= *MI*], series 3, IV [1948], 505), many plays, both at this period and later, were either wholly or partly in the vernacular (*Congr. 42*, 181v; *MHSI, LQ*, III [1896], 630; VI [1925], 355; VII [1932], 446; GRIFFIN, 'El teatro de los jesuitas: algunas sugerencias para su investigación', *Filología Moderna* [Madrid], LIV [1975], 407-13 at 409-10).

(21) Juan de Valderrábano, b. Palencia 1520; studied theology at Alcalá; priested before entering order at Madrid 14 Aug. 1546. He did a spell of *officios bajos*, working in the kitchen at Alcalá, and later wrote a kind of 'moral' cookery-book, ostensibly based upon his experiences there, which is stylistically similar to certain writings of Santa Teresa of Ávila (see the extract quoted in: Bartolomé ALCÁZAR S.I., *Chrono-historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia de Toledo, y elogios de sus varones illustres, fundadores, bienhechores, fautores, e hijos espirituales*, 2 vols

licencia, (22) pero despues por condeçender con el apetito de alguno de los lectores la torno a dar. *Vuestra Paternidad* vera lo que en el Señor nuestro mas conviene. [...] (23)

Doc. (ii): Pedro Rodríguez S.I. to Francisco Borja S.I. (24) in Rome; Plasencia, 30 June 1568.

pax christi etc

En los Años pasados viuyendo nuestro padre laynez de buena memoria (25) me acuerdo aver escripto açerca de Algunas representaciones que en este collegio se suelen hazer y por ser mayor el daño que el prouecho que dellas se sigue me paresçio dar quenta a *Vuestra Paternidad* dello, y es, que en esta çibdad mas particularmente que en ninguna destos Reynos se toman tan de proposito estas cosas que es muy ordinario gastar la yglesia mayor en vna

[Madrid: Juan García Infançón, 1710], I, 68-69). Prof., 13 Jan. 1560; moved to Valladolid as confessor and *ministro* (later Rector), and thence to the Rectorate at Monterrey. Early in 1562 he was appointed as the first Provincial of Toledo, a task at which he did not excel, partly, no doubt, because of increasing deafness (*Tolet. 12aI*, 31r, 155v; *MHSI, Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal* [= *EN*], II [1899], 332, 483; *MHSI, Lainii Monumenta* [= *LM*], VIII [1917], 249, 309). Already described in 1569 as 'Rector y es para nada', he was eventually removed to become, successively, Rector at Plasencia (1567 and again 1576), Huete (1574), and Caravaca (1575); d. Plasencia 13 Sept. 1585 (*Tolet. 12aI*, 153v[p.161], 155v[p.164]; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 62v; *FG 77/III*, 285[212]r-v[pp. 502-3]).

(22) Even as late as 1574-75, the Toledo Province, to which Plasencia belonged, was making special pleas for a careful regulation of such performances (*Congr. 41*, 194[339(201)]v-195[340(202)]r).

(23) *Hisp. 102*, 62[304]r-63v at 62r, repr. in *MHSI, LM*, VIII (1917), 338-40, letter 2222.

(24) Born Gandia (Valencia) 28 Oct. 1510; Duke of Gandia and Marquis of Lombay; Viceroy of Catalonia (1541); SI 9 October 1546; *commissarius* to Spain 1554-61, to Italy 1562-64; General of the order 1565-72; d. Rome 30 Sept. 1572. See: *MHSI, Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* (= *MFB*), 5 vols (1894-1911), esp. vol. I. There is a mention of a key event in Borja's spiritual life - his rôle in the funeral cortège of the Empress Isabel of Portugal (d. 1539), wife of Charles V — in Geoffrey PARKER, *Philip II* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), 6n.

(25) Diego Láinez, b. Almazán (Soria) 1512; studied Sigüenza, Alcalá and Paris; SI 15 August 1534; at Council of Trent 1546-47, 1551-52, and 1562-63; Provincial of Italy 1552-1556; Vicar General of order 1556-1558; General 1558-1565; d. Rome 19 January 1565. See: *MHSI, LM*, 8 vols [1912-17]; Mario SCADUTO S.I., *L'Epoca di Giacomo Láinez 1556-1565*, 2 vols (Rome: «La Civiltà Cattolica», 1964-74 [Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, III-IV]), I, 123-65.

fiesta destas .300. y .400. ducados por hazer los vestidos y aparejos muy al propio y preciarse como digo tanto dello, aviendo este collegio de hazer algunas so color de aprouechar los estudiantes para que aya de paresçer algo respecto de lo mucho que aqui se vsa a de ser tan trabajoso y costoso, que por edificar desedificamos, y por aprouechar los estudiantes quedan peruertidos y pierden el respecto a sus maestros y la casa profanada de seglares (26) y los padres y hermanos molidos y corridos vn mes antes y ocho dias despues. (27) En otras partes es cosa muy prouechosa y edificatiua hazer la compañia semejantes exerciçios [*sic*], pero en plasencia entiendo por muy çierto que si a vuestra paternidad le constase de lo que pasa no solo no daria licencia para ellas pero pornja perpetuo Silençio en actos semejantes, porque el collegio a de dar imprimis todos los aparejos y bestidos que an de llevar y para esto los padres en los confesionarios y los hermanos por toda la çibdad an de andar pidiendo las sayas, tocas, joyas etc que muchas vezes oyen a sus oydos cosas murmurando de nosotros por que nos ponemos en ello que buelue [*sic*] corridos y avergonçados y despues se desverguençan los discipulos con sus maestros diziendo que si no les dan vestido de brocado o de tal seda que no saldran alla. daseles ansimismo de comer a todos a nuestra costa que aconteçe ser mas de .60. personas y avn .80. y muchos dias de merendar por que se vengan a ensayar, pues lo que se padescçe con la gente prinçipal y la que no lo es sobre pedir que se les señalen asientos en casa para donde lo vean ellos y sus mugeres y las quejas que sobre ello fundan es cosa que espanta finalmente nos tienen por liujanos y profanos y dize [*sic*] que queremos competir con la yglesia mayor etc. (28) Algunas vezes (29) e propuesto que seria

(26) See below, p. 32.

(27) The implication of this seems to be that plays were in rehearsal for at least a month. Many did, indeed, include long speeches that would take time to get by heart. See: GRIFFIN, *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976 [Exeter Hispanic Texts, XIII]), 112 etc. But compare: *MHSI, LM*, VIII, 446-47 and 478, Supplementary letters 26 and 37; also below, p. 69. Some idea of rehearsals at a later period can be gleaned from: Charles PORÉE S.I., *Tragoediae editae opera P. Cl. Griffet...* (Paris: Bordelet, 1745).

(28) Loarte certainly saw the 1561 play (*La transmigración de Babylonia*) in terms of competition with the Cathedral (GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', 80-81).

(29) I have not traced any mention of this matter in letters written by Rodriguez to Rome between Dec. 1564 and June 1568.

mas fructuoso y edificatiuo tener algunas vezes entre Año declamaciones, coloqujos breues en las mesmas escuelas y otros semejantes exerçijos como algunas vezes se a hecho y se a visto claro fructo. *vuestra paternidad* vera lo *que* mas conviene que yo çierto deseo açertar ya *que* no lo açierte a proponer. [...] (30)

These two letters, sent at an interval of three and a half years, are so similar in content and phraseology that one might suppose Rodríguez had a copy of the first beside him when he came to write the second. Be that as it may, it is obvious, if he is to be believed, that not much had changed between 1564 and 1568, even though certain phrases in the earlier letter had been underlined at the Secretariat in Rome, in order to call the General's attention to them ('gasta .400. ducados'; 'lo que en otros collegios es causa de credito y auctoridad'; etc.). (31) While I cannot trace any record of a play in letters of 1565 (perhaps because of the plague that ravaged the city that year (32)), we do know that one was staged in 1566, and several more in 1568 and 1569. There is no sign at all of any attempt being made, in the light of Rodríguez's comments, to tone down the sumptuousness of these public festivities:

Doc. (iii): Annual Letter from the Plasencia college, signed by Jerónimo [? de la Higuera] S.I. (33) and sent to the Roman and Tuscan Provinces; Plasencia, 27 January 1567.

[...] *Studia literarum quae ad huius abeuntis anni principium languerant, foeliciter reuocari incipiunt. nam die ipso diui lucae* (34)

(30) *Hisp. 108*, 285[307]r-286v at 285r, repr. in: *MHSI, MFB*, IV [1910], 615-17, letter 649, at 615-16; also (in part) in Antonio ASTRAIN S.I., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, 7 vols (Madrid, 1902-25), II [2nd ed.: Razón y Fe, 1914], 586, and Ignacio ELIZALDE S.I., 'El antiguo teatro de los colegios de la Compañía de Jesús', *Educadores* [Madrid], IV (1962), 667-84 at 671.

(31) The underlining of important phrases in letters sent to the General was a regular practice of the Secretariat. Polanco was particularly addicted to it.

(32) The plague is mentioned by Juan Legaz S.I. in the Annual Letter for Plasencia; Plasencia, 1 May 1566 (*Hisp. 141*, 51[328(679)]r-52[329]v at 51r-52r).

(33) The Plasencia catalogues only mention one 'Jerónimo' as being at the college throughout this period (1567-69; see documents *iv* and *v*): Jerónimo de la Higuera, b. Toledo c. 1537; S.I. 1563; d. Toledo 13 Sept. 1611 (*Tolet. 12aI*, 14v[p. 24], 152[723(160)]r, 155v[p.164]; *Hist. Soc. 43a*, 23v).

(34) 18 October, one of the two traditional dates in Spain for the beginning of the academic year (the other was St Remigius: 1 October). See: *MHSI, LQ*,

mane habita est elegans oratio: pomeridiano uero tempore non contemnenda comaedia acta est. Scholasticorum numerus indies augescit. [...] (35)

Doc. (iv): Annual Letter from the Plasencia college, signed by Jerónimo [? de la Higuera] S.I. and sent to the Roman and Tuscan Provinces; Plasencia, 1 January 1569.

[...] Venio jam ad exercitationes literarias: quae sane non omnino vertente Anno defuerunt. sub initium quadragesimae quo die dies Sancti Thomae festus agebatur, (36) actus est perfacetus quidam dialogus: vt nihil dicam de Poematijs, versibus, et Rhythmis latinis et vulgaribus, quae decantati sunt in laudem Diui Thomae doctoris prestantissimi. rursus etiam prope tempus intermissionum Annuarum sub celebritatem Diui Joannis (37) quo die foundationis huius Collegij fit Annuum cum celebritate recordatio, habitus est Dialogus hispanus disputationem sanctissimae synaxios continens et ludus diuinatorius, non illepidus: dialogum exceptit, latina tragedia ex sacris litteris accersito argumento: quae ad viuum refferbat mysticum regis Melchisedechi sacrificium. (38) Ad quam agendam confluerunt viri summa nobilitate et doctrina: In quibus Reverendissimus Antistes Placentinus, (39) Miles maximus Narbae caesareae

II [1895], 71, letter 186; *MHSI, Epistolae mixtae (= EM)*, III [1900], 434, letter 651; *Hisp. 107*, 79[601]r-82[604]v at 81[603]r, 109[136]r-110v at 109v; *Hisp. 108*, 37[47 (recte: 46a)]r-38[48]v at 38r. In certain places, other dates were favoured: the Monte Sion college at Palma de Mallorca, for example, normally began the academic year on 8 September (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [= AHNM], *Jesuitas, Libro 747*, 3r). Paul BAHLMANN gives variant dates for term at colleges in the different German Provinces in: 'Das Drama der Jesuiten: Eine theatergeschichtliche Skizze', *Euphorion* [Bamberg], II (1895), 271-94 at 276n.

(35) *Hisp. 141*, 105[659]r-106v at 105v.

(36) Sunday 7 March (Easter Sunday was 18 April).

(37) 24 June.

(38) The choice of subject-matter may well have been dictated by college policy; they may have felt it necessary to remind the citizens of Plasencia of the example of Abraham who, in return for the ministry (*sacrificium*) of the Church, willingly paid his tithes to the priest-king Melchisedech (*Genesis*, XIV, 18-20). A play on this same theme was given at the Lyons college in 1569 as part of a concerted campaign of public prayer (see the Annual Letter from the Lyons college, 13 June 1569, signed by Jacques Commolet S.I.: *Gall. 53*, 120[293(23)]r-122a[296(26)]v at 120v).

(39) Pedro Ponce de León (above, n. 13).

Aloisius Abila stunica, (40) Franciscus Caruauajalus [*sic*] Patronus noster, (41) et alij, quos (ne singula prosequar) prudenter transeo. Distributa sunt inter hos homines Principes quaedam latine et Vernacula AEnigmata quibus quantum recreati sint manifeste satis declararunt. (42) Acta est Tragedia Cum magno totius frequentissimi consessus approbatione: cui *agenda* nec Ornamenta multiplicia, nec apparatus, nec actorum lepos et dexteritas defuit, Vbi simul decertarunt et agentium ipsorum ingenia, et spectantium pariter iuditia.

Postremò non multo post acta fuit etiam latina comædia per vnum ex nostris auditoribus composita non inelegans et faceta, Quam comittatae sunt duæ latinae declamationes habitae a duobus adolescentulis [...]. (43)

Doc. (v): Annual Letter from the Plasencia college, signed by Jerónimo de la Higuera S.I.; Plasencia, 1 January 1570.

[...] esta çibdad la qual en tiempos pasados solia thener [*sic*] muchas pasiones (44) por la bondad del señor goza de mucha paz y sosiego. [...] El año pasado se dio fin a los estudios con vna comedia latina de apaçible estilo y argumento. siguieronse luego dos declamaçiones

(40) Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga. On Don Luis and his immediate family, see: José PELLICER DE OSSAU Y TOVAR, *Ivstificación de la grandeça, y cobertvra de primera clase, en la casa, y persona de don Fernando de Zúñiga, noveno Conde de Miranda...* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1668); on his relations with the Carvajal family, see: GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document ...', esp. 82-83.

(41) The (initially unwilling) benefactor of college, Francisco de Carvajal y Manrique, first Count of Torrejón, and the illegitimate son of bishop Gutierre. He contested bitterly his father's legacy to the college (GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', 57n.3, 77n.39 etc.).

(42) For Jesuit riddles, enigmas, and emblems: RAHM, MS 9/2565 [*Cortes 384*], 197v-199v; 9/2654 [*Cortes 383*], 155v-156r; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional (= BNL), MS 3308, pp. 957, 961-63, 980-82, etc. These, and other examples, will be the subject of a separate study. On the general issues involved, see: Elli Kõngäs MARANDA, 'Structure des énigmes', *L'Homme* [Paris], IX (1969), 5-48. The use of poems, enigmas, and emblems as part of the decor had been prescribed by headquarters: Nadal to the Spanish and Portuguese Provinces, Paris, ?Jan. 1554 (*Instit.* 208, 289[113]v, repr. in *MI*, series 3, IV [1948], 505, doc. 98b).

(43) *Hisp.* 141, 206[55]r-207[56]v at 207r.

(44) See above, n. 17. Higuera had himself referred on at least one previous occasion to what he termed these 'intestinis odijs' (Annual Letter from Plasencia, 1 Jan. 1566: *Hisp.* 141, 49[457]r-50v at 49r).

las quales agrádarón ansi por ser como naçidas de la rrepresenta-
cion / como porque con nueva graçia y açion las dixerón dos niños
quentonçes [*sic*] declamaron [...]. (45)

While the bitter rivalry that existed in Plasencia between the Jesuit *studium* and the Dominican monastery may have helped to sustain these periodic displays (and Rodríguez is firm that Plasencia was in this respect unique), correspondents in other cities also complained not infrequently about the damage done to normal school routine and to the religious life of college by *ludi litterarii* of this kind. (46) Their misgivings are often couched in the same terms as those voiced by Rodríguez. In a postscript to a letter he wrote in 1563 from Salamanca to Láinez who was in Trent attending the Ecumenical Council, the Provincial of Castile Juan Suárez (47) appended a short paper or '*memorial*'. This was in two sections: one entitled 'los inconvenientes que me parece que ay en la fiesta que hazemos del sanctissimo sacramento [...]', and the other 'los convenientes que me parece que ay [...]'. He was not concerned with the drama as such but with certain features that were common to almost all festivals and celebrations. Yet a number of his observations in the first part of the paper are reminiscent of what Rodríguez had to say about the staging of plays in Plasencia:

Doc. (vi): 'Memorial' from Juan Suárez S.I. to Láinez at Trent; Salamanca, 24 November 1563.

[...] los inconvenientes que me parece que ay [...]

1.º andar casi todos los de casa algunos días antes y algunos despues

(45) *Hisp. 141*, 273[67(314)]r-274v at 273r-v.

(46) Examples are legion. See, for example: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (= BNM), MS 2307, 29r, 83r, 237v [three copies]; BNP, *Fonds Latin 10989*/[6], 45[43]r; *Lus. 70*, 42[159]v; *Lus. 71*, 39[280]v (the last two providing examples of the same criticisms being levelled against drama as late as 1587 and 1592).

(47) Born Cuenca c. 1519; studied Salamanca University; SI Salamanca c. 1551; successively Rector at Salamanca, Seville (where he was an active opponent of so-called «Lutheran» cells), and Cordoba (*Epp. NN. 62*, 94r; *Cast. 13*, 39[43(601)]r; FG 77/III, 280[204]r-v[pp.482-83]. On his way to the General Congregation at which Mercurian was elected (1573) he was imprisoned, with other members of the Castilian delegation, in the castle at Cardaillac (GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document...', 73n.25). Freed, he returned safely from Rome to become Provincial once more; d. Valladolid 1599 (*Cast. 14II*, 307v; *Cast. 32I*, 66v, 67r; *Hisp. 141*, 352[343]v; *Hist. Soc. 42*, 44v).

trayendo y llevando, paños, sedas, ymagines, ornamentos, plata y oro etc. (48)

2.º la molestia *que* parece *que* se da, en pedir esto a los *que* lo prestan *que* todavía lo sienten aunque muestran buena voluntad especialmente, *quando* va algo mal tratado como acontece y parece *que* no quedan tan dispuestos *para que* se les pidan e traten otras cosas, ny nosotros tan libres.

3.º y especialmente en los ornamentos ay dificultad porque el provisor a mandado a todas las parrochias *que* no puedan prestar nada, y a los dominicos y franciscos su provincial, y assi la vez pasada fue neccessaria lizençia del provincial de los franciscos, o del *que* tenia sus voces en esto (*que* a dicha acerto a estar aqui) *para que* nos prestasen algunas cosas. en el colegio del arçobispo (49) donde nos suelen prestar los mas ornamentos tambien tienen iuramento de no prestar nada, y de poco aca pienso nos exceptuaron a nosotros en el iuramento y creo *que* es menester *que* entren los colegiales en la villa *para* prestarnoslos. [...]

5. el trabajo *que* todos los de casa traen aquellos días [...]

8. la comida tambien parece inconveniente, *que* comen algunos de fuera y algunos de los cantores, y a los demas les avian de dar de comer en casa segun el uso [...]. (50)

This last point, which is one made by Rodríguez and by others, is better understood when one realises the degree to which the privacy of college was invaded. Firstly, as a letter from Barcelona makes abundantly clear, there would be servants running around all over

(48) For the decor on these occasions, see: GRIFFIN, 'Some Aspects of Jesuit School Drama 1550-1600 with Special Reference to Spain and Portugal', unpubl. doct. diss., 2 vols (University of Oxford, 1975), II, 351-52.

(49) The 'Colegio del Arzobispo', founded (1524) by Archbishop Alonso IV Fonseca of Toledo (d. 1534), was right alongside the Jesuit college (*Hisp. 104*, 297v). Restrictions similar to that alluded to here are recorded, for example, in the 1526 statutes of the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé which were drawn up by the college Visitor, Juan Pereyra, Dean of Salamanca Cathedral (Luis SALA BALUST, *Constituciones, estatutos y ceremonias de los antiguos colegios seculares de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 3 vols [Madrid: CSIC, 1962-64], III, 122-24, doc. XIII, at 123). Spanish Jesuit houses purchased copies of Salamanca statutes, e.g. RAHM, *Papeles varios de Jesuitas*, vol. 109 [9-3681], item 44, fols 192r-242v.

(50) *Hisp. 100*, 399[139]r-400[140]v at 400r.

college: 'pareçe *que* no se deurian hazer combites en casa quanto fuesse posible, llamo *combites* quando los de fuera vienen a comer a casa, y trahen criados y cozinero para *que* guisen la comida en casa toda la mañana [...]'. (51) Secondly (and this was far worse), it meant that members of college would have to wait upon women at table. I have dealt elsewhere with the ambivalent attitude the early Jesuits took towards women (and especially noble women) but it is clear that when Rodríguez talks of 'la casa profanada de seglares' and the fuss that prominent citizens *and their wives* make about being allocated decent vantage-points in college to watch the play from, this is a consideration that weighs heavily with him. (52)

There was, then, a constant undercurrent of hostility to the drama in these early years of Jesuit experimentation; (53) a hostility which closely parallels the attacks which were being made at this same time upon the secular theatre and upon the university drama, both in Spain and elsewhere. (54) But, despite these sporadic outbursts of hostility, school plays were accepted as a feature of the public life of most *studia*.

(51) ?Santa Cruz S.I. to Nadal in Alcalá; Barcelona, 16 November 1561 (FG 620a/506, unfol. [31(45)]r-[32]v at [31]r). Compare: Pedro de Cabrera S.I. to Láinez, Murcia, 30 July 1557: 'El obispo conbido aquel día a comer en nuestro collegio y en su casa mucha gente *que* creo a comer aqui en nuestro collegio fueron mas de ciento y al cenar mas de ciento y cinquenta sin los *que* comieron en casa del obispo y el lo prouejo todo a su costa muy copiosamente' (*Hisp.* 95, 119[358]r-v at 119r).

(52) 'El teatro...', 410-11; *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas*, viii, xxiii-xxiv. See above, n. 26, and below n. 160. The problem of the presence of women in Jesuit houses was alluded to time and again; e.g. at Augsburg in 1566 and at Cordoba in 1567 (*Instit.* 209, 19[24]v; *Hisp.* 105, 173[341]r). There was a move to ban even the mothers of *convictores* from visiting their sons at school, an idea which continued to exercise the minds of legislators for at least a decade (*Congr.* 41, 227[234]v, headquarters to Hanibal [de] Coudret S.I., Acting Provincial of Aquitaine, 1568; *Congr.* 42, 65r [p. 134], 197[35]r[p. 550], deliberations of 1573 and 1576).

(53) See: Mario SCADUTO S.I., 'Il teatro gesuitico', *AHSI*, XXXVI (1967), 194-215 at 194; Jan POPLATEK S.I., *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego w Polsce* (Breslau, 1957), *passim*.

(54) e.g. Salamanca, University Library, *Libro 57*, 32v-33r (Claustro de diputados, Minute of 24 March 1589), cited by: Vicente BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA O.P., *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 6 vols (Salamanca: Univ. de Salamanca, 1970-72 [Acta Salmaticensia, XVII, XIX-XX, XXII-XXIV]), IV [1972], 395-96, doc. 1694. See also the material collected by: Emilio COTARELO Y MORI, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* (Madrid: Rev. de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1904).

The visual component of these performances was vital; as a correspondent from Medina del Campo noted, the spectacle alone was often enough to guarantee the success of these occasions. (55) Indeed, the curriculum developed for Jesuit instructors was permeated with a sense of theatre. (56) Nowhere, in the mid-1550s, was this truer than at Plasencia, where Bishop Gutierre's word was law. Whether or not the situation there was really as unusual as Rodríguez plainly believed it to be some ten years later, it is evident that Venegas, who was to write and direct some highly accomplished plays from the moment he was transferred to the Portuguese Province (1556), benefited from the Plasencian taste for drama and from bishop Gutierre's sponsorship of it. Throughout his life Venegas would attach an importance to such activities that was more readily understood by the citizens of this remote Castilian town near the Portuguese border than it was by most members of his own order. (57) It is interesting to speculate on the identity of the person to whose 'apetito', according to Rodríguez, the Provincial had pandered by granting *carte blanche* to dramatic experimentation. (58)

Venegas may also have left his own mark upon the Plasencia tradition. We cannot be sure that he actually wrote plays while at Plasencia (none seem to survive from this period of his life) but all the indications are that he did. Certainly, the theme chosen for an *auto sacramental* staged a few years after he left (?1563) and normally attributed to Juan Álvarez (59) — that of Nebuchadnezzar — fits in very

(55) 'todos tan al propio uestidos que aunque no hizieran sino pasearse por el tablado agradaran' (Four-monthly letter from Medina, signed by Francisco de Olea S.I., 10 Jan. 1563: *Hisp.* 100, 60[74]r-61v at 60r). Compare the four-monthly letter from Lisbon (São Roque), signed by Pero Lopes S.I. (for the Rector Miguel Torres S.I.), 31 Dec. 1561: 'y vuo persona que aunque no lo entendia dezia que daria quanto tenia por ueria representar' (*Lus.* 51, 245[531]r-248[534]v at 248r). Similar views on Jesuit plays have been voiced by scholars: 'Qu'importe le texte... il n'y a guère à le regretter' (P. LE VERDIER, *Ancien théâtre scolaire normand* (Rouen: Léon Gy, 1904), xii).

(56) For details of the curriculum see the documents edited in: *MHSI, MPAed.*; n.s., 3 vols (1965-74).

(57) GRIFFIN, 'Miguel Venegas...', 798.

(58) Above, p. 25.

(59) Born c. 1527 Granada; SI c. 1546; at Alcalá, Plasencia, Seville (1555), Sanlúcar de Barrameda (1555), and Ávila (August 1556). Took solemn vows 19 Jan. 1560; Rector at Medina del Campo (1560) and Plasencia (from August 1562); d. Plasencia 23 March 1564. He was normally known as Juan Pablo after he entered

well with what we know, from the work he was to do in Portugal, of his tastes and interests as a dramatist and poet.

II

I have argued elsewhere that one should be slow to assume, in the absence of any hard evidence, that the presence of a manuscript in a particular library or in a particular city affords a reliable clue about its provenance or its authorship. (60) The history of the texts of Luís da Cruz S.I. is a cautionary tale in this respect. (61) Yet there does seem to be a close correlation between Venegas's itinerary during the years (1563-67) when he was being sent from town to town and from college to college while his superiors decided whether or not they could afford to keep him in the order, and the places where manuscripts of his works have been identified. This may be an indication that he took with him on his travels copies of his plays and poems. We know that his plays were, on occasion, staged in colleges in Germany and Italy. (62) He was also pestering headquarters in the winter of 1555-56 to grant permission for some «verses» to be published, and enquiring anxiously after some «writings» that had, apparently, gone astray. In both cases, we may well be dealing with material that he had written himself:

Doc. (vii): Minute of a letter of Borja to Venegas; Rome, 26 November 1565.

[...] Acerca del emprimir los uersos de che *Vuestra Reverencia* escriue, lo que pareçe a *Nuestro Padre* es que los uea el Padre emal-

the order (*Hisp.* 96, 504r; *Tolet.* 12aI, 152[723(160)]v; *MHSI, LQ*, III, 309-12). He should not be confused with the Juan Álvarez (?1540-1592) involved in the c. 1590 Seville *San Hermenegildo* play (*Baet.* 8, 60v, 68v; Armando GARZÓN-BLANCO, 'The Inaugural Production of the Spanish Jesuit *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, Seville, 1590', unpubl. doct. diss., Louisiana State University, 1976). See also: J. M. AICARDO, 'Autos anteriores a Lope de Vega', *Razón y Fe* [Madrid], V (1903), 312-36 at 318-19; VI (1903), 20-33, 201-14, 446-58, at 20-22; VII (1903), 163-76; M. CAÑETE, *Teatro español del siglo XVI: Estudios histórico-literarios* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1885), 227-30.

(60) 'Miguel Venegas...', 801 (and see below, p. 77).

(61) GRIFFIN, 'A Portuguese Jesuit Play in Seventeenth-Century Cologne', in: *Studies in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Theatre of the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. Michael J. RUGGERIO (New York, 1980 [Folio, XII]), pp. 46-69.

(62) GRIFFIN, 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', 433n.20, 434n.26; *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas*, xii-xviii.

donado [*sic*] (63) y un otro forastero de buen juicio se ay alguno tal de quien se poda fiar, y el parecer de los tales se embie à Roma, ya *que* pareçe a *Vuestra Reverencia con razon que* embiar el mesmo libro no seria sin peligro. [...] / [...] quanto à los scriptos de *Vuestra Reverencia* el Tramezino (64) nos afirma *que* de Venetia se embiaron en leon, (65) y de nueuo se haze diligencia para entender quien los lleuo, y adonde enderezados, y al *Padre emondo* (66) se le encomienda la diligencia en buscarle, *que* podria ser un dia se hallassen, pues no es cosa *que* facilmente otros podrian robar [...]. (67)

(63) Juan Maldonado, b. Fuente del Maestre (Badajoz) 1533; SI Rome 10 August 1562; prof. Rome 6 July 1568; d. Rome 1 May 1583 (*Hist. Soc.* 31, 65r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 7v; *Rom.* 170, 57r; *Vitae* 101, 629r). See also: Jean-Marie PRAT, *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1856); Camille AYMONIER, 'Un Ami de Montaigne: Le Jésuite Maldonat', *Revue Historique de Bordeaux* [Bordeaux], I (1935), 5-25 at 6-10; Romualdos GALDÓS S.I., *Miscellanea de Maldonado anno ab eius nativitate quater centenario (1534c.-1934)* (Madrid, 1947); and the assessment made by Cogordan (BNP, *Fonds français 15782*, 887r-888v).

(64) Michele Tramezino, the Venetian publisher and bookseller who, while publishing in Venice (1541-71), nevertheless maintained close business contacts in Rome. He undertook commissions for the Curia, a fact which may help to explain why the Jesuits regularly used him as an agent for sending consignments of books and papers all over Europe. See: Polanco for Borja to Peter Canisius S.I., Rome, 3 Nov. 1565: 'Scripta quaedam per Tramezzinum Augustam missa sunt'; and to Cesare Helmi S.I., 8 September 1565: 'Tre fagotti mediocri si mandono per uia del Tramezino con certi scritti' (Otto BRAUNSBERGER S.I., *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. Epistula et Acta*, 8 vols [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896-1923], V [1910], 120-25, letter 1256, at 123; *Ital.* 66, 17[16]r-v at 17v; *Gall.* 80, 125[59(461)]r-127[61]v at 126v); also: Pier Silverio LEICHT, 'L'Editore veneziano Michele Tramezino ed i suoi privilegi', in: Anna SAITTA REVIGNAS (ed.), *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1952), pp. 357-67; Alberto TINTO, *Annali tipografici dei Tramezzino* (Venice and Rome, 1968 [Annali della tipografia veneziana del Cinquecento, I]).

(65) Lyons (France).

(66) Edmond Auger, the «French Canisius»; born Alleman (Aube) 1530; SI Rome 1550; prof. Lyons 24 Jan. 1564; Provincial of Aquitaine 1565-71; d. Como 19 Jan. 1591 (*Germ.* 1, 22r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 86v; *Ital.* 57, 101r; BNP, *Fonds français 25173*). The best account of Auger's activities (about which much that is inaccurate has been written) is: A. Lynn MARTIN, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians* (Geneva: Droz, 1973 [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, CXXXIV]).

(67) *Germ.* 106, 43r-v. Also: *Gall.* 80, 249r (postscript to a letter from Paris, 28 July 1564: '*maestro Vanegaz prega de suoi scritti che ne sta maniconico.*'); *Gall.* 81, 179[439(77)]v (Manare to Borja; Paris, 15 December 1566: mentioning '*molti libri*' borrowed from Venegas).

If we are dealing with Venegas's own work, the last sentiment expressed in this document was not one calculated to smooth his ruffled feathers.

Some more detail about Venegas's frenetic travels in the 1560s has recently come to light. Towards the end of his six very fruitful years at Lisbon and Coimbra, both he and his more famous colleague, the Valencian Pero Perpinyà S.I., (68) who had between them been the mainstays of the teaching of the humanities in the Portuguese Province, repeatedly requested a transfer to teaching posts in Spain. (69) In the event, when Venegas was given leave to travel, it was not to Castile as he had hoped but rather to Rome. He left Portugal on board a ship bound for Cadiz. His travelling-companions did not include Perpinyà who had been called to Rome the previous autumn, but were in the event two far less accomplished humanists, the German Christoph Strobel S.I. and the Fleming Andreas Dawant S.I. *alias* Avantianus. Both had been students at Coimbra for a number of years, and both had been taught by Venegas. (70) Yet, within the year, Venegas and Perpinyà found themselves briefly in tandem once more, this time in Rome. It was not long before they were clamouring to be sent back to Portugal. (71)

(68) Per Joan Perpinyà, b. Elche (Valencia), 1530; SI Coimbra 30 Sept. 1551; priested Évora 1554 (*Lus.* 43I, 10[15]r[p.29]; *MHSI, EM*, III [1900], 646). The author of a number of important writings on the curriculum (*MHSI, MPaed*, n.s., II [1974], *passim*), he was in charge of the Collegio Romano 1561-65. Sent to France in 1565, his name appears in the 1566 catalogues of the Paris college; d. Paris, 28 Oct. 1566 (*Franc.* 22, 1r; *Gall.* 8I, 157r). See also: SCADUTO, *L'Epoca...*, II, 296-304.

(69) 'Quanto al Maestro Venegas *que* lee la primera si lo sacamos de aqui puedese acabar El collegio porque El solo lo sustenta' (*Lus.* 60, 11[362]v); 'Pero perpiñan, y el maestro Venegas [...] Instan tanto *que* los saquen de leer humanidad que me parece, si no fuere mutation de la destra del muy alto, no sera possible detener a ninguno dellos alli' (*Lus.* 60, 167v[p.89]). See also: *Lus.* 6I, 42[515]r. Perpinyà's discontent is apparent from as early as 1559 (*Lus.* 43I, 73v[p.292]).

(70) *Lus.* 6I, 115[457]r, repr. in: *MHSI, EN*, II [1899], 150-53, letter 230, at 152. Dawant (b. Liège 1534; SI Cologne 29 Aug. 1551; d. Tournon 24 Oct. 1573) and Strobel (b. Reitenbuch 1536; studied Ingolstadt and Vienna; SI Rome March 1555; at Genoa and then, before leaving the order 1574 to become a Benedictine monk, at Vienna). Their names appear in Coimbra catalogues from as early as Oct./Nov. 1556, and Strobel was also at Lisbon (FG 77/I, 79r, 80r, 347[563]r-v; *Rom.* 78b, 28v, 156v; *Hist. Soc.* 4I, 153r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 96v; *Germ.* 135, 288r-v, 300r-v, 327v; *Germ.* 148, 1[87(189)]v; *Germ.* 1, 45r; *Hist. Soc.* 54, 2r; *Ital.* 59, 190r; *Lus.* 43I, 19v[p.48], 20v[p.50], 65r, 68[162(271)]r, 136[174(317)]r, 178r[p.81]).

(71) *Lus.* 6I, 227[450]r; *Germ.* 106, 43v. There are myriad references to the mysterious discontent which seems to have regularly affected «foreigners» at Jesuit

Venegas's next posting was, we now know, Paris. As usual, he distinguished himself by his teaching and writing. Yet there were tell-tale signs of personal difficulties. (72) Borja was unhappy about his behaviour but still felt that he should re-assure him: 'alegramos en *domino* con entender la acception y buen fructo de uuestros trabajos, asi en las lecciones, como en las competitiones, y lo de mas'. (73) It was, of course, an unsettling time to be in Paris, with the University mounting the second stage of its attack on the Jesuit college. (74) In fact, Venegas's arrival coincided with the college's move into its new quarters in the Cour de Langres, rue Saint-Jacques, and the play which he describes in the Annual Letter for 1564 as being staged there may well, from what he says, have been one of his own. Certainly, he had been involved in the welcome mounted by the Paris *studium* for the Portuguese ambassador and his retinue in the spring. (75) The 1565 December eclogues were, probably, Venegas's Paris swansong. He would never write anything so substantial again:

Doc. (viii): Annual Letter of the Paris college, signed by Venegas (on behalf of the Rector, Ponce Cogordan S.I. (76)); Paris, 1 September 1564.

[...] Acta praeterea est altero in Collegio comaedia noua illa quidem argumento, sed ueteris in nos habens licentiam comaediae, atque in nostram Societatem [...]. (77)

colleges in Portugal. Whatever its origins, it is clear that the Rome and Paris colleges were even less to Venegas's liking.

(72) GRIFFIN, 'Miguel Venegas...', 799; *MHSI, EN*, V [1962], 739n.21. On his hazardous journey overland to Paris, where he arrived 8 November 1563, see: *Gall. 80*, 144[78(473)]r, 149[31(446)]v, 152[34(444)]v, and 154[37(445)]r.

(73) *Germ. 106*, 68v-69r at 68v.

(74) Pierre DELATTRE S.I., *Les Établissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles*, 5 vols (Enghien and Wetteren: De Meester, 1949-57), III [1955], col. 1108ff; *Gall. 80*, 279[175(37)]v.

(75) *Gall. 53*, 68[164(22)]r-70[166(24)]v at 69[165(23)]r. There is a further original of this letter, in a French hand but also signed by Venegas at: 64[25(169)]r-67[168(*sic*)]v.

(76) b. c. 1502 Aiguines (Provence); SI Paris June 1541; prof. Paris 15 Nov. 1560; Rector at Paris 1563-64; d. Paris 21 March 1582 (*Hist. Soc. 42*, 92v; *Hist. Soc. 147*, 173r).

(77) *Gall. 53*, 70r (above, n. 75).

Doc. (ix): Edmund Hay S.I. (78) to Juan de Polanco S.I. (79) in Rome; Paris, 9 January 1566.

[...] 3 huius mensis (qui Sanctae Genouefae huius urbis patronae sacer fuit) praesentibus aliquot ex amicis nostris praecipuis, exhibuerunt nostri conuictores eglogas 4 de christi Natiuitate a nostro Vanega conscriptas, quae siue carminis elegantiam siue actionis venustatem spectes, tantum placuerunt ut magis placere non [p]otuerint. Ea res aliquot magnos uiros nobis fecit amicos, qui antea parum de nobis magnificè sentiebant. Declamatum est, in Vigilia epyphaniae grece et latine soluta oratione et carmine, magna plurimorum qui aderant satisfactione. [...] (80)

Doc. (x): Annual Letter of the Paris college, signed by Edmund Hay S.I.; Paris, 29 April 1566.

[...] In ferijs Natalitijs christi egerunt Conuictores nostri Eclogam a quodam ex nostris qui primo Gymnasio tunc praeerat, compositam, magis cum gratia quam [? antea] (81) publicè ageretur, quae tum efflagitantibus amicis acta est in Triclinio nostro (82) media luce ardentibus facibus. (83) Aderant plerique Senatorij ordinis et alij uiri graues quibus et actio et compositio tantopere placuit ut uno ore dicerent nihil se vnquam tale in hac Academia

(78) b. Perth (Scotland) 1533; SI Rome 5 Dec. 1562; prof. Paris 18 April 1568; Provincial of France 1571-1574; d. Rome 4 Nov. 1591 (*Franc. 10*, 38r; *Rom. 53*, 152r; *Rom. 170*, 60r; *Hist. Soc. 32*, 35r; *Hist. Soc. 42*, 10r).

(79) b. Burgos 24 Dec. 1517; SI Rome 1541; prof. Rome 25 March 1549; secretary and biographer to Ignatius; Latin translator of the *Constitutions*; d. Rome 20 Dec. 1576 (*Hist. Soc. 42*, 7r; *Ital. 3*, 2r). See: Josef WICKI S.I., 'Acción de Juan Alfonso de Polanco en favor de las misiones', *Misiones extranjerias* [Burgos], LIX (1968), 317-20.

(80) *Gall. 81*, 14[388(2)]r-15[389(3)]v at 14v.

(81) MS damaged here.

(82) The main *Salle des actes* in the south-eastern corner of the Clermont college. See the plan of the college (?1582): BNP, Cabinet des Estampes, *Hd-4b*, 223, described in: Jean VALLÉRY-RADOT (with Edmond LAMALLE S.I.), *Le Recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Rome, 1960 [Bibliotheca Institutii Historici S.I. (= BIHSI), XV]), 161.

(83) An unusual circumstance, as most Jesuit plays were staged during the hours of broad daylight. Compare the observations of: John VAREY, 'The Staging of Night Scenes in the *Comedia*', *The American Hispanist* [Clear Creek, Indiana], II, nr 15 (1976-77), 14-16.

uidisse. Vnus praesertim ex eruditioribus quod ad uenustatem actionis attinet, *Vestri* (inquit) *Juuenes* mihi *Roscij* (84) uisi sunt. Illam *Eclogam* plurimi docti petierunt tanta instantia ut quibusdam concedere fuerit necesse. [...] (85)

Despite this, pressure was mounting for Venegas's transfer elsewhere, and he was himself unhappy at the prospect of an extended stay in Paris:

Doc. (xi): Olivier Manare (Mannaerts) S.I. (86) to Rome; Billom, 17 May 1565.

[...] Il padre Vanegaz è dotto et sodisfarebbe assai, ma gli manca una parte che debbe hauere un'huomo dotto cio è prudenza principalmente nel conuersare, A tal che si non si emendi come penso che non farà presto non è per fare gran frutto, perche per indiscreto et imprudente è tenuto da molti forestieri, et nel leggere gli scapano tal uolta parole che saria meglio con modestia ritener [...] anche in casa la sua conuersatione è dodata et multo meglio staria in qualche Collegio doue conuersasse solamente con huomeni maturi, perche con putti diuente puto etc. il che molto si afflige per tanto sia supplicata vostra reverenda paternità di fare qualche mutatione perche costi non manchamo chi puossino sodisfare con piu edificazione et grauità. [...] (87)

Doc. (xii): Olivier Manare S.I. to Rome; Paris, 18 January 1566.

[...] maestro Vanegaz necessariamente s'ha da mutare anzi come sento et giudico in *Domino* con l'altri la *Compagnia* debbe liberarsene perche suo modo di procedere da estrema sollecitudine et

(84) The name of the celebrated actor and friend of Cicero, Roscius Gallus, had become a byword for good acting (see: *Hamlet*, II, ii; Annual Letter for the Prague college, 23 July 1567: *Germ.*, 140, 56[466(82)]r-57[467(83)]v at 56v).

(85) *Gall.* 53, 71[22(17[385])]r-74[25]v at 71v.

(86) Born Quincy (Douai) 2 Feb. 1523; studied Louvain and Paris; SI Paris 1 November 1551; Provincial of France 1563-71; Assistant to German Provinces 1573-81; Vicar General of the Order 5 Aug. 1580-19 Feb. 1581; Provincial of Belgium 1589-94; d. Tournai 28 November 1614 (*Rom.* 78b, 156r; *Hist. Soc.* 43, 162r; Ferdinand STROBEL S.I. (ed.), *Der Regularklerus: Die Gesellschaft Jesu in der Schweiz* (Berne, 1976 [Helvetia Sacra, VIII]), 83-84).

(87) *Gall.* 81, 1[493(101)]r-4[496(104)]v at 3v.

anxietà alli superiori et ritenirlo mi pare essere un tentar' Iddio. Egli anche cognosce essere ispediente et ha dimandato d'essere liberato, o assoluto de suoi uoti Io gl'ho monstrato essere dimanda impertinente, m'ha detto assolutamente che non puo seruare li suoi uoti farà però quanto puotrà Io penso che non lo teneremo 8 giorni perche cosi expedit in Domino. Et uoglio hauere più l'occhio alla Conscienza per honore di Dio, ch'al credito c'hanno le nostre scole con la sua presenza il che tanto non importa et puo dare Nostro Signore che maestro Nicolao (88) quantumque molto inferiore in quella professione non meno sodisfaccia. [...] (89)

Doc. (xiii): Undated fragment of a letter from Manare to Rome; ?January ?1566.

Vanegaz ha fatto grand'istanza di partirsi perche non uorria si hauesse tanto l'occhio sopra di lui, et pur è più che necessario, gl'ho detto ch'io non lo puoteuo assoluere perche io non uediuo nel suo negotio causa sufficiente ni legittima in lui di ricercare l'assolutione, quantumque egli ben meritasse per molti rispetti di essere mandato fuori della Compagnia ma s'hauea rispetto à l'anima sua. (90) Et di piu si giudicaua ch'egli era atto al seruiggio di Dio et della Compagnia si egli uoleua aiutarsi. Io però non lo

(88) Nicolas Le Clerq (b. Tournai 1538; d. Dôle 29 Sept. 1595) enlisted at Rome in Dec. 1564 (*Franc. 10*, 18r; *Ital. 1*, 265r; *Hist. Soc. 42*, 88v; *Hist. Soc. 43*, 139r). He succeeded Venegas, as envisaged: 'Nicolaus Clerus Tornacensis — Praeceptor 1^{ae} classis — ingressus anno praeterito, et emisit vota — Habet talentum satis magnum praelegendi Rhetoricam et litteras tum graecas tum latinas [...] (1566/67-Catalogue of the Paris college: *Franc. 22*, 1r-2v), was still *en poste* in 1571 (*Franc. 22*, 8r), and, despite Manare's dim view of his abilities, came to be thought of in the 1570s as the ablest Latinist and Grecian in the Province (*Gall. 87*, 93[409(509)]v).

(89) *Gall. 81*, 17[391(6)]r-20[394(9)]v at 18v.

(90) One effect of Trent had been to renew debate about the canonical validity of releasing members of religious orders from their vows. The Jesuits, under attack from more than one quarter for not conforming to the popular conception of a religious order, found this question a delicate one. For discussion of some of the problems it raised see: Charles VAN DE VORST S.I., 'La Compagnie de Jésus et le passage à l'Ordre des Chartreux', *AHSI*, XXIII (1954), 3-34; for instances of dismissal: GRIFFIN, '«Un muro invisible»: Moriscos and Cristianos Viejos in Granada', in: *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P. E. Russell*, ed. F. W. HODCROFT *et al.* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 133-54, at 153.

uoleuo piu per conto alcuno in questo Collegio, anzi che quanto più tosto se n'andasse in Anuersa et de li à portogallo Dimando tempo di far' oratione puoi, et il di seguente pianse meco monstrando gran dolore di sue imperfettioni et uorria restare sin à pasqua D'una banda saria buono per aiutarlo, Et insieme per aiutare con piu tempo maestro Nicolao il quale in' effetto ha bisogno di prepararsi per hauere modo didascalico il che non ha in sue lettioni et quello puotria acquistare con l'aiuto di Vanegaz et lo studio priuato. Dell'altra banda la sua dimora è pericolosa et cusi stiamo in biuio donde non sappiamo uscire. Io assai m'inclino à lassare ordine al Rettore che con la prima cagione lo mandi con Dio. Ho promesso al Vanegaz che vostra reverenda paternità gli mandarà l'assolutione in portogallo si lei giudicarà douergli dare. (91)

At the beginning of February Venegas set out for Antwerp only to discover, when he got there, that orders had arrived for him to report to Rome rather than look for a ship to Lisbon. Although his recall was, as ever, phrased in the most reassuring terms ('de Nuestro Padre y de todos sera receuido, con las entrañas de charidad, con que todos le amamos en Domino' (92)) he responded by bombarding headquarters with conflicting demands: he wished to go back to teaching humanities in Portugal (where, as Borja freely admitted, he would be welcomed with open arms); he was tired of teaching and wished to become a full-time theologian; he would do nothing before he had travelled to Spain to see his ageing parents from whom he had been away for several years. This last ploy, only too familiar to an ex-Viceroy as a stock-in-trade in diplomatic circles, goaded him into an uncharacteristically crisp rejoinder: if every member of the order chose to go off home at regular intervals, there would be no way in which the Society could survive. (93)

(91) *Gall. 81*, 21r-v at 21r.

(92) *Germ. 106*, 84v-85r at 84v (Minute of letter of 23 March 1566).

(93) *Germ. 106*, 69r, 43r-v (Minutes of letters of 18 February 1566 and 26 November 1565). Compare the official «explanation» for Cardinal Granvelle's departure from Brussels in 1564, cited in: Geoffrey PARKER, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 55. It was often years before a Jesuit recruit was given leave to visit his parents: Pierre Pradenc went back to his home town near

Slowly and resentfully, Venegas made his way towards Northern Italy. In June and July 1566 he was in Augsburg, Dillingen, and Munich. (94) Then he turned west and made for Spain via Genoa, Marseilles, and Avignon. (95) By the end of the year he was in Barcelona, still sending conflicting demands to Rome, grumbling that no Jesuit college would put him up or advance him any money for the journey, and unable, in the absence of any licence ("letras que llaman presbiterales"), to finance himself by preaching or saying mass. (96) Eventually, after almost five years of uncertainty, of disenchantment, and of almost ceaseless travel, he drove his superiors into doing what many old hands who were less tolerant than Borja had advocated for some time: he was formally dismissed from the Order: (97)

Doc. (xiv): Diego Carrillo S.I., (98) Provincial of Castile, to Borja in Rome; Medina del Campo, 16 April 1567.

[...] El padre Vanegas aporto ya por aca y aviendome scripto como staua cerca de alcala le screuj *que* vinyesse a Segouia o avila donde

Mauriac in the summer of 1563 only to learn that his father had died some four years previously; Hanibal de Coudret (Codret), who came from Savoy, begged the next year for permission to pay a call on his 'madre secundum carmen per esser 'moltj annj che non l'ha uisto' (*Gall. 80*, 115[88(531)]r-116[93(*sic*)]v at 115r, 226[251(82)]r-229[254(85)]v at 227v: letters from Billom 5 September 1563, and Avignon 21 June 1564). Details of these and other examples are included in two recent studies: A. Lynn MARTIN, 'Jesuits and their Families: The Experience in Sixteenth-Century France', *Sixteenth-Century Journal* [Kirksville, Missouri], XIII (1982), nr 1, 3-23 (especially his references to Francis Xavier), and GRIFFIN, 'Virtue versus Letters': *The Society of Jesus 1550-1580 and the Export of an Idea* (Florence: European University Institute, at press).

(94) *Epp. NN.* 62, 178[324]r-179[325]v at 178v; repr. in *MHSI, EN*, III [1902], 163-68, letter 408, at 165-66. See also below, pp. 68-71.

(95) *Ital. 131*, 107[633]r-v, 202[137]r-203[138]v, 295[525]r-296v: letters from Genoa 11 October and 8 November 1566, and from Avignon 14 December.

(96) *Hisp. 105*, 21[549]r and 23r-v at 21r.

(97) GRIFFIN, 'Miguel Venegas...', 800.

(98) Born Tinajas (Cuenca) c. 1518; at Court as a boy, firstly as a page then as a scribe; SI c. 1549; studied Alcalá but took no degree; Rector at Ocaña, then Provincial of Castile 1565-68 (an office he was adjudged too much of a martinet to discharge satisfactorily); Rector again at Ocaña 1569-71; d. Ávila 1571 (*Tolet. 12aI*, 84[312]r; *FG 77/I*, 387[641]r-389[640(*sic*)]v, partly repr. in *MHSI, EN*, I [1898], 592-93; *MHSI, MFB*, IV [1910], 179ff; *ASTRAIN, Historia...*, II [2nd ed., 1914], 265-66, 455, 486n.).

me hallaria y hablaríamos Vino a su *propria tierra*, (99) y aviendole yo hecho muchas caricias y ofertas de le ayudar etc, *quando* pense estaua mas assentado el día *que* me queria partir me embio a dezir con el rector (100) le diesse *licencia*. Embiele a dezir *que* me diesse por scripto las Causas *que* le moujan y todo vino a parar a honrra y desseos de ser predicador y no gramatico (101) y con tanta desemboltura y poco *spiritu que* njnguna speranza [*sic*] de enmjenda nj de remedio *prometia*. tome el scripto *que* me dio para consultar con mjs consultores y aviendolo hecho nos parescio a todos attento lo dicho y lo *que* de parte de *Vuestra Paternidad* me avia sido scripto, que le deuja de dar *licencia* y *que* nos hazia el Señor *merced*. por presto *que* la embie *que* no tarde cinco dias ya se avia madrugado antes, y se avia partido hospite insalutato. gujele dios *nuestro señor* de modo *que* se salue. nunca mas he sabido del. (102)

III

The assessment made some ten years ago of Venegas's reputation and literary ability still seems quite proper. There is cause for concern, however, about some at least of the material used as evidence of that reputation. I draw attention to it now, not because it in any material way alters our picture of Venegas's career, but because it may serve as a warning to unsuspecting scholars using not only Jesuit sources but also other documents of this period.

Mails were often at risk in the sixteenth century. This was indeed the case with letters sent to and fro between Jesuit houses in Spain and

(99) Ávila.

(100) Presumably the Rector at Ávila, Marcos Valdés, b. Guadalajara c. 1530; SI Perugia 24 Feb. 1556 (18 Jan., according to *Cast. 13*, 190r); returned to Spain 1560-61; prof. 28 Jan. 1571; d. Madrid (?Torrejón de Velasco) 19 (?31) Jan. 1573 (*Cast. 13*, 190[159(566)]r; *Hist. Soc. 42*, 61r; *Hist. Soc. 175*, 108r; *Instit. 117a*, 117r; *Rom. 53*, 4r; *Tolet. 37*, 119v).

(101) Venegas had complained of this often during his travels: *Hisp. 105*, 21[549]r and 23r-v at 21r; *Germ. 106*, 43v.

(102) *Hisp. 105*, 201[473]r-202[474]v at 201r. There is a short postscript to Venegas's dismissal in a letter from Manare to Borja from Paris, 7 July 1571 (*Gall. 83*, 225[227(58)]r-228[230(61)]v at 228r).

Portugal and the Society's headquarters in Rome. The French Wars of Religion and the activity of hostile vessels in the Western Mediterranean meant that time and again important letters were lost or intercepted. (103) As Granvelle pointed out in 1581, 'les François mesmes dient résolument [...] qu'ilz ouvriront tous les paquetz, pour laisser passer seulement les lettres des marchans, après les avoir leu, et retenir celles du Roy et d'aultres, ilz dient que pour les brusler; mais il est apparent que premier ilz voudront veoir le contenu'. Messengers went in fear for their lives. (104) As an insurance against losses, Jesuit letters were regularly sent in duplicate and triplicate and often over separate routes. House-copies were made of all important despatches. Even with these precautions, Jesuit administrators must have felt themselves vulnerable, especially in the early years when their many enemies were eager to amass evidence that could be used against them. Some added measure of security was called for and, from an early date, the Generalate experimented with the use of codes and ciphers. There were at the time several members of the order who had trained themselves in the use of diplomatic ciphers. Borja himself was thoroughly familiar with them. Many surviving Jesuit letters are at least partly encoded, (105) and there are also references in correspondence at the period to the introduction of fresh codes and new ciphers. (106) The most important of these have been admirably studied by Fr Josef Wicki. (107)

(103) *Gall.* 80, 31[8(19)]r-32[9]v at 31r-v, 78[98]r-v at 78r; *Hisp.* 107, 158[443]r, 184[117(806)]r; *Hisp.* 108, 16r; Mario SCADUTO S.I., 'La strada e i primi gesuiti', *AHSI*, XL (1971), 352-89.

(104) Granvelle to Margaret of Parma; Madrid, 7 January 1581 (Naples, Archivio Farnese, *liasse 1735*, repr. in: Edmond POULLET *et al.* [eds], *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle, 1565-1583*, 12 vols [Brussels: F. Hayez, 1877-96], VIII [1890; ed. Charles PIOT], 242-43 at 242). F. RUIZ MARTÍN (ed.), *Lettres marchandes échangées entre Florence et Medina del Campo* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965 [Affaires et gens d'affaires, XXVII]) contains several interesting comments on the shortcomings of the mails, e.g.: 'avisano que no tenían letras de España, y que el hordinario que las traía fué muerto y desvalijado y quemádole las letras' (Baltasar Suárez to Simón Ruiz, Florence, 4 November 1580; p. 65, letter 80).

(105) *Hisp.* 104, 173[38]r, 383[666]r-384v; *Hisp.* 108, 97[297]r, 129[363]r; *Hisp.* 109, 61[141]r; *Hisp.* 112, 126r; *Instit.* 117a, 224r; *Lus.* 63, 119[319]r-120[320]v.

(106) *Epp. NN.* 86, 87[148]r; *Germ.* 142, 103[25]r; *Hisp.* 96, 202r; *Hisp.* 106, 294[524]v, 300[545]r; *Hisp.* 127, 104[99]r-v; *Lus.* 64, 80v; *Gall.* 81, 70[452(148)]r.

(107) Josef WICKI S.I., 'Die Chiffre in der Ordenskorrespondenz der Gesellschaft Jesu von Ignatius bis General Oliva (ca. 1554-1676)', *AHSI*, XXXII (1963) 133-78.

Most letters sent in cipher from Spain and Portugal during the 1560s used one of two systems: that devised by Laínez in 1563 while he was at Trent attending sessions of the Ecumenical Council (Wicki, type V.2), and that introduced by Borja for use in Spain in 1565-66 (Wicki, type I.6). (108) The second of these centred around a series of apparent commonplaces and seemingly innocuous phrases — sometimes single words — each of which had a hidden meaning known only to someone in possession of the «key» ('la universidad' = the Pope; 'el oyente de artes' = the King of France; 'es para rector' = he is unsuitable as a member of the order; etc.). But Laínez's cipher, which was based on that used in Spain and Portugal around 1560 by Miguel de Torres (109) was more complex. It involved the one-for-one substitution of single letters within any word or phrase (two-for-one in the case of vowels: 'd' = c; 'lf' = e; '3' = x; etc.), (110) as well as «key» words and phrases of the kind employed by Borja and his Spanish correspondents in 1565-66. Torres's system (Wicki, type V.1) had even employed a further device: single numbers and letters with an agreed *meaning* ('14' = the Society of Jesus; 'g' = Alonso López; etc.). Now that Fr Wicki has painstakingly edited the «keys», and explained how these and other Jesuit ciphers worked, it is a relatively simple business to decode any documents in which they have been used. At times, even

(108) The «keys» are: FG 678/21/4; examples of their use are in *Hisp. 103*, 293[24]r, and the Spanish material in n. 111 below.

(109) b. Alagón (Zaragoza) c. 1507, Torres was sent by the University of Alcalá to Rome where he met Ignatius and, although he did not officially enter the order until 1547, he was working in close contact with the early Jesuits from c. 1542 (ASTRAIN, *Historia...*, I [2nd ed., 1912], 209-10). Prof. Medina del Campo 1552, and was responsible for organising a number of new foundations, among them Salamanca. He was, successively, Visitor to the Portuguese Province (Jan. 1552), Provincial of Andalusia (1554), and of Portugal (1555). He remained in Portugal for 23 years, acting also from time to time as confessor to Queen Catherine prior to her reclusion in 1562. Mercurian nominated him to the Rectorate of the Madrid college in 1578, but he was by then too old to carry the burdens of administrative responsibility and was sent to the professed house at Toledo where he lived in semi-retirement until his death in October 1593 (*MHSI, EN*, I [1898], 205, 248, 802; II [1899], 25; *MI*, series 4, I [1943], 530n; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 64r; *Lus. 43I*, 256[607]r). The text of this code is: FG 678/21/7.

(110) See also the interpretation of *Germ. 142*, 81[15(17)]r-82[16]v at 81r in: *MHSI, LM*, IV [1915], 620-24, letter 1296, at 620n.

this task has been simplified by the marginal glosses provided by the recipient of the letter or, more usually, his amanuensis.

But there remains the very real problem that the Borja system and others like it have the advantage, denied to any kind of numerical cipher, of concealing from the unsuspecting reader that the letter is in code at all. It is clear that many Jesuit scholars, compiling the first histories and necrologies of the various Provinces, were themselves unaware that the material they were using was in fact encoded.

One «key» phrase common to both the systems outlined above is, unfortunately, one that is of interest to historians of the drama. It is also a phrase that one frequently finds in comments on Venegas: 'es buen poeta'. The «key» to the Borja code gives the real meaning of this as 'es muy libre', and we know only too well that this latter description represents an accurate assessment of Venegas's attitudes and behaviour in the years immediately prior to his expulsion from the order. What is not clear is whether slight variations on the phrase, such as 'es gran poeta' or 'es muy buen Rhetorico y poeta', both of which one finds used of Venegas and of other Spanish and Portuguese dramatists, (111) may on occasion carry the same «hidden» and unfavourable estimate of the person to whom they are applied as does the simple 'es buen poeta'. There is a similar uncertainty about Latin- and Italian-language translations of the phrase: 'eccelente poeta et oratore', 'egregius rhetor'. (112) But, knowing what we do of Venegas, we must surely be cautious about taking at face-value any comment on his undoubted poetic gifts which is couched in these and similar terms. It is a caution we may do well to exercise when looking at appraisals of other sixteenth-century Jesuit dramatists also.

One is left to speculate on how far, if at all, the «key» phrases which Láinez and Borja chose for their cipher systems were, in fact, internally motivated. Venegas was not the only talented man of letters to lead a chequered life within the order.

(111) *Lus.* 43I, 74v[p.294] (Coimbra college catalogue, July 1559); *Epp. NN.* 62, 74[41]r-76v (Nadal to Láinez, Coimbra, 16 June 1561) at 75[42]r, repr. in *MHSI, EN*, I, 489-93, letter 135, at 491-92.

(112) *Germ.* 105, 53v-54r at 53v, Minute of letter of Cristóbal Madrid S.I. to Jean le Pelletier S.I., Provincial of France, Rome, 18 Oct. 1563, repr. in *MHSI, LM*, VIII [1917], 583-84, letter 76, at 583.

IV

Of Venegas's involvement in the staging of several productions of Lewin Brecht's *Euripus sive de inanitate omnium rerum* (1548), there can now be no doubt. (113) It is no coincidence that Venegas's plays are sometimes to be found bound in with copies of Brecht's text. (114) The *Euripus* was hugely popular with Jesuit teachers and their students; particularly, it would seem, in the very early years when an individual *studium* was attempting to impress the local populus. Its clear warnings about the dangers of heresy that lie in wait for all men, (115) as well as its emphasis on the visualisation on stage of the various episodes in a man's spiritual career seemed to them to be similar in inspiration and method to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola, and Venegas's own play on Ahab and Jezebel, *Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Achabus*, is conceived in much the same way. (116) As has been pointed out recently, it is perhaps surprising that most research done up to now on the Jesuit drama has ignored the influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* on the shape and form of these plays. (117) Any study of this kind

(113) First published 1549 (Louvain: I. Bathenius).

(114) e.g., Chantilly, Archives of the Jesuit Paris Province, MS *Fonds Vanège 6500* (the only MS in the 'Fonds Vanège'), contains, alongside Venegas pieces (GRIFFIN, 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', items V.12.vi, V.13.vi), a copy of the *Euripus* ([236]v-[280]v). Most of the other items in the MS were played in the various Jesuit colleges in Rome.

(115) See comments of Jacques HENNEQUIN, 'Vingt-sept «programmes» champenois: Contribution à l'étude du théâtre de collège en province au XVIIe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* [Paris], XVIII (1966), 432-62 at 441.

(116) See the ed. of the play: GRIFFIN, *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas*. The popularity of *Euripus* is remarked on by BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. ...*, II [1898], 877; and by Fidel RÄDLE, 'Die Bühne des *Euripus*', *Maske und Kothurn* [Vienna], XVIII (1972), 197-206; and 'Aus der Frühzeit des Jesuitentheaters: Zur Begleitung einer Edition lateinischer Ordensdramen', *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* [Amsterdam], VII (1978), 403-62. See also: Jean-Marie VALENTIN, 'Aux origines du théâtre néo-latin de la réforme catholique: L'*Euripus* (1549) de Livinus Brechtius', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* [Louvain], XXI (1972), 81-188; and his *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande (1554-1680): Salut des âmes et ordre des cités*, 3 vols (Berne, Frankfurt, and Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1978 [Berner Beiträge zur Barockgermanistik, III]), I, 10, 33, etc.

(117) G. Richard DIMLER S.I., 'A Geographic and Genetic Survey of Jesuit Drama in German-speaking Territories from 1555-1602', *AHSI*, XLIII (1974), 133-46

would have to pay especial attention to the Ignatian concept of an unremitting *bellum spirituale* raging in the minds and souls of men. It would also have in the end to concentrate on such plays as the *Cenodoxus* of Jakob Bidermann S.I. (1578-1639) and their relationship to Jesuit preaching. (118) But close scrutiny of the text of *Euripus* might, as some of the following accounts of that play in performance suggest, prove a suitable place to begin.

Although Jesuit colleges came more and more to stage only plays written by their own teachers (and occasionally by pupils (119)), there was the odd occasion on which a *studium* might produce a drama of non-Jesuit authorship. (120) In the seventeenth century such occasions are rare, but in the 1550s and 1560s one does come across evidence of them. Brecht's *Euripus*, above all. Some scholars who have written recently about performances of *Euripus* have referred to a tentative list of Jesuit stagings of it which I published in a short note written in 1975. (121) I now offer the evidence *in extenso* upon which that list

at 137. Dimler leans heavily for the statistical side of his study on: Johannes MÜLLER S.I., *Das Jesuitendrama in der Ländern Deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)*, 2 vols (Augsburg: Filser, 1930), who is not always entirely reliable.

(118) See: Joseph de GUIBERT S.I., *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse historique*, ed. Edmond LAMALLE S.I. (Rome, 1953 [BIHSI, IV]), 292n.54bis; Hermann Joseph NACHTWEY, *Die Exerzitien des Ignatius von Loyola in den Dramen Jakob Bidermanns S.I.* (Bochum: Pöppinghaus, 1937); D. G. DYER (ed. & transl.), *Jacob Bidermann: Cenodoxus* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1975 [Edinburgh Bilingual Library, IX]), esp. 12-23; and (most comprehensively) Günter HESS, 'Spectator — Lector — Actor: Zum Publikum von Jacob Bidermanns *Cenodoxus*: Mit Materialien zum literarischen und sozialgeschichtlichen Kontext der Handschriften von Ursula Hess', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Deutschen Literatur* [Tübingen], I (1976), 30-106, esp. 53-54, 64-66. For elements common to plays and sermons: R. J. W. EVANS, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), e.g. 188.

(119) *Hisp. 141*, 362[174(489)]r, Annual Letter for the Toledo Province, signed by Jerónimo Rodríguez S.I., Madrid, 1 Feb. 1579: 'comoediae [...] ab ipsis pueris actae et compositae'.

(120) e.g. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, MS *Raccolta Malvezzi de' Medici*, Cart. 71/1; Foligno, Biblioteca Jacobilli, MS 426 (C. IV. 11)/1. See also: Juan de Arguijo's collaboration on the 1590 Seville *San Hermenegildo* (GARZÓN-BLANCO, 'The Inaugural Production ...', 41, 44-49).

(121) 'El teatro de los jesuitas...', 407-8n.3. Dr RÄDLE provides another: 'Aus der Frühzeit...', 429-30.

was compiled, in the hope that it will enable those who have not until now been able to do so to study these stagings in detail. Those looking for a more complete assessment of the text of *Euripus* and its history in the early Jesuit colleges should consult the excellent studies of Dr Fidel Rädle. (122)

The geographical proximity of many of these venues in the ten years or so that follow the Cologne printing of *Euripus* (1555) make these productions a matter of particular interest for students of the mid-sixteenth century. Bavaria and its cadet states constituted, after all, one of the main theatres of political, theological, and artistic activity in the 1550s and 1560s. The Papacy, the Jesuits, and Philip II all determined to subject the whole region to Habsburg Catholic domination. Scholars have described in some detail the unique intellectual and artistic 'micro-climats' of these Bavarian *studia*. (123) It will also be clear that, in several colleges, the play was repeated two or three times (a common feature of Renaissance University theatricals, although one not entirely in keeping with Jesuit legislation on *ludi literarii* (124)).

A. VIENNA 1555.

Vienna was a natural base for Jesuit operations. As Evans has illustrated, Viennese humanism rested on conventional principles: a firm Aristotelian base, and an emphasis on the primacy of Latin as a vehicle for elegant expression and for recreating the virtues of classical civilization. Its administration was dominated by creatures and agents of the Habsburg dynasty.

(122) Above, n. 116; also: *Lateinische Ordensdramen des XVI Jahrhunderts, mit deutschen Übersetzungen...* (Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 1979 [Ausgaben Deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts: Reihe Drama, VI]). See also: Elida Maria SZAROTA, *Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft im Drama des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berne and Munich: Francke, 1976), esp. 7-10.

(123) VALENTIN, *Le Théâtre ...*, I, xi; Bohdan CHUDOBA, *Spain and the Empire* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1952), 150-52; Karl SCHELLHASS, *Der Dominikaner Felician Ninguarda und die Gegenreformation in Süddeutschland und Österreich 1560-1582*, 2 vols (Rome: Regenberg, 1930-39 [Bibliothek des Preussischen Historischen Instituts in Rom, XVII-XVIII]), I, *passim*.

(124) *Congr.* 42, 181v; *Congr.* 41, 194[339(201)]v-195[340(202)]r; *Instit.* 209, 246r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (= ONBV), MS 11977, 44v, 64r; Cracow, Archiwum Prowincji Małopolskiej T.J., MS 35, 55r.

There are three separate references to a 1555 production of *Euripus* (although no mention of it in Lanoy's letter to Ignatius of 3 November): (125)

Doc. (xv): Four-monthly letter from the Vienna college, signed by Erardus Dawant S.I. (126) and sent to Ignatius in Rome; Vienna, 26 December 1555.

[...] In primis quod ad scholas spectat, nihil ad ea adijciendum existimauj, quae proximis litteris (127) sunt ad *vestram paternitatem* fusius perlata. Nam pergunt more consueto studiosi *nostri* singulis mensibus confiteri, sacro quotidie interesse missae officio, in pietate ac *litteris* iuxta promouere. Vnum tantum me remoratur, quominus ad reliqua me statim conferam. Hi enim *piam* quandam *tragediam*, nuper in atrio huius monasterij (128) exhibuerunt, Tum vt *studiorum suorum* aliquod ederent specimen, tum vt a saeculi vanitate *spectatorum* animos auocarent. (129) Idque tanto cum applausu effectum est vt rumor per totam ciuitatem peruagatus *multorum animos*, eò quod non interfuisent actionj, dolore afficeret, ac desiderio spectandi incenderet. Vnde ob *quorundam* preces, vtilitate rei perpensa non paulo accuratius alio quodam festo die, *eadem* *tragedia* iterum est exhibitata. Adfuerunt tunc [*sic*] *praecipue* viri nobilitate ac dignitate illustres, tum ex aulis regijs, tum ex ciuitate et academia *viennensi*. (130) Adfuit

(125) *The Making...*, 20-21, 41, 191; J. A. BRADISH, 'Dichterkrönungen im Wien des Humanismus', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* [Urbana, Illinois], XXXVI (1937), 367-83; *Epp. NN.* 70, 114[271(56)]r-115[272]v.

(126) *Alias* Avantianus, b. c. 1525 Bruges (Belgium); SI Cologne 1549; prof. Cologne 17 Feb. 1549; at Vienna 1551-56; d. Rome 4 Aug. 1557 (*MHSI, LQ*, I, 145; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 2r; *Ital.* 57, 100r).

(127) Sent 28 August 1555; see: *MHSI, LQ*, III [1896], 561-67, letter 408.

(128) The old Carmelite convent («Am Hof») where the Jesuits were established from 1554.

(129) Justification of plays in these terms is so frequent as to be almost formulaic; compare: *AL, 1590-91* (Rome, 1594), 788-89 [Coimbra]; Annual Letter for Peru, 1598 (Francisco MATEOS S.I. [ed.], *Obras del P. José de Acosta de la Compañía de Jesús* [Madrid, 1954 (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXXIII)], 292).

(130) The Vienna *studium*, as is clear from previous letters sent to Rome, enjoyed the patronage of the many Spaniards attached to the Habsburg court. Several of its pupils were recruited from among their children (*Hist. Soc.* 172, 140[263]r-141[264]v[n.º 75] at 140v; 142[267]r-145v[n.º 76] at 143[268]r).

et ad hoc spectaculum maxima hominum vtriusque sexus multitudo, quos miserandae vociferationes animae damnatae, cuiusdam Euripij, et horrenda ac terrifica imago inferni ficticij, vsque adeo commouit, vt hinc propositum melioris vitae nonnulli conceperint. Id testati sunt et ipsi, quin et lachrymae erumpentes et gemitus huius rej haud obscuram fecerunt fidem. Neque defuerunt ex ijs spectatoribus etiam praecipu[ae] notae, qui ex commiseratione animarum quae igne purgatorio cruciantur missas fieri curauerunt. Haec ideo narrare collibuit, quoniam praeter causam modo dictam, non parum laudis atque commodi attulit nostris scholis ea puerilis actio. [...] (131)

*Doc. (xvi): *Annual Letter from Vienna for 1555.*

Mense Septembri Comoedia (132) Euripi magno Auditorium, et solatio et emolumento prima omnium publice sub dio acta fuit. (133)

*Doc. (xvii): *Nicolas Lanoy S.I., Rector at Vienna, (134) to Adrian Adriaenssens S.I. (135) in Louvain; Vienna, 27 May 1556.*

Tragoediam euripi a Patre leuino brechtano aeditam nuper duo-

(131) *Hist. Soc.* 173, 372[190]r-373[191]v [n.º 205] at 372r; repr. in: *MHSI, LQ*, III [1896], 710-14, letter 441, at 710-11.

(132) Such looseness in the use of genre labels is common: *Annual Letter from Peru (Lima college) 1578*: 'representación' / 'comedia' / 'coloquio' (MATEOS, *Obras...*, 292); *THE / IESVITES / COMEDIE.* / Acted at Lyons in France, the / seauenth and eight [sic] dayes of Au- / gust last past 1067 [sic.] / To the great amazement of the Actors themselues, / and the whole Auditorie. / ... (London: E. Allde, 1607 [issued along with a French-language version: London: [Allde], 1607]), 3: 'Comedie' / 'Playe' / 'pompous representation' / 'Tragedie'; Suzanne GOSSETT, 'Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591-1660', *English Literary Renaissance* [Amherst, Mass.], III (1973), 61-93 at 69. Genre-terminology is discussed by: Karl FISCHER-NEUMANN, 'Die Dramentheorie der Jesuiten im Zeitalter des Barock', unpubl. doct. diss. (University of Vienna, 1937), 45-48.

(133) Letter cited by BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I....*, II [1898], 877-78 (now in Vienna Jesuit archives; see: BRAUNSBERGER, I [1896], lviii). See also: ONBV, MS 8367, 4r.

(134) b. c. 1508 Blandain (Belgium); studied Louvain; SI Nov. 1548 Rome; prof. Vienna 15 Jan. 1553; Rector at Vienna 1551-58, and at Ingolstadt 1558-63; Provincial of Austria 1563-66; later Rector at Innsbruck and Ingolstadt; d. Rome 6 Sept. 1581 (*Aust.* 122, 1r; *Epp. NN.* 50, 219v; *Germ.* 1, 3r; *Germ.* 131, 148r, 176r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 7v; *Germ. Sup.* 44, 24r). See also: *MHSI, Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, I [1969], 14*-15*; ONBV, MS 8367, 108r.

(135) b. 1520 Antwerp; studied Louvain; SI Louvain 1545; at Rome 1548-March 1549; prof. Louvain 30 May 1551; Rector at Louvain; d. there 18

decim pueri (136) cum magno applausu et aedificatione exhibuerunt. similes comoedias seu tragoedias sacras expetunt nostri. (137)

[B. COLOGNE 1555.]

Dr Rädle has suggested to me privately that Fr Müller, who refers in his long study to a Cologne performance of *Euripus* (and on whose authority I included Cologne among the colleges in which the Jesuits staged the play), (138) may well have been misled by the Cologne printing of the text, which took place in 1555. Although Müller also refers to the printing, I am inclined to believe that Dr Rädle's suggestion is correct. Certainly, there seems to be no documentary evidence for a Cologne staging of the play. (139)

C. PRAGUE 1557 etc.

(a) Brecht's play was performed for the first time in the Prague college (called the «Clementinum» after the old Dominican house of St Clement given to the Jesuits by Emperor Ferdinand I) on 28 September 1557, the feast of St Wenceslas. It was, as so often (compare Ingolstadt 1559, Munich 1560), one of the very first plays seen at the

Oct. 1580 (BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I.*, I, 140; *MHSI, LQ*, I, 150; *Germ.* 1, 8r; *Germ.* 131, 158r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 122r; *Ital.* 59, 352r; Alfred PONCELET S.I., *Nécrologe des Jésuites de la province flandro-belge* [Wetteren: De Meester, 1931], 6n.).

(136) For the cast-list, see RÄDLE, 'Die Bühne...', 201.

(137) Letter cited by BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. ...*, II [1898], 877-78. There is a mention of this Vienna performance in Kurt ADEL, *Das Wiener Jesuitentheater und die europäische Barockdramatik* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1960), 17.

(138) MÜLLER, *Das Jesuitendrama ...*, I, 43-44; Felicitas REISINGER, 'Die dramatischen Dichtungen des Michael Denis', doct. diss. (University of Vienna, 1962), 46.

(139) The title-page of the Cologne Gennep edition of *Euripus* is reproduced in: Bernhard DÜHR S.I., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, 4 vols (6 parts) (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder [I-II] & Munich and Regensburg: Manz [III-IV], 1907-28), I, 331. It was dedicated to Prince George of Austria who had worn the Liège mitre from 1541 to 1544. There is certainly no mention of *Euripus* in the best of the studies on the Jesuit drama in Cologne: Josef KUCKHOFF, 'Das erste Jahrhundert des Jesuitenschauspiels am Tricoronatum in Köln', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichts-Vereins* [Cologne], X (1928), 25-49 (esp. index of plays at 43-49).

new Jesuit *studium*, which had opened its doors in the summer of 1556. (140) Although no account of the play in performance has come to light, we know that rehearsals were in progress in late July:

Doc. (xviii): Ursmar Goisson S.I., Rector at Prague, (141) to Juan Polanco S.I. in Rome; Prague, 28 July 1557.

[...] *Comediam Euripi perdiscunt, quam circa festum Sancti Veneslay agent.* [...] (142)

(b) Other occasions on which *Euripus* is known to have been staged in Prague are recorded in a manuscript diary now in the Strahov library. (143) Entitled 'Diarium collegii I. ab Anno 1560 ad Annum 1575 et ab Anno 1580 usque ad Annum 1583', it was clearly composed from the college's annual and four-monthly despatches. The first performance of *Euripus* which it mentions took place on Monday 18 February 1560, and, given the size of the original college buildings (the custom-built college was not started until six years later), the estimate of the number of people who crammed into the college to watch it seems distinctly exaggerated, even if we allow that some of them may have climbed up on to the roof, as did some of the spectators at the 1569 performance (below, p. 58). In fact, the problem of huge audiences was to dog Jesuit administrators for many years; when Cardinal Gran-

(140) On the opening of the Prague college and the role played by St Peter Canisius S.I. in it, see: Alois KROESS S.I., *Geschichte der Böhmisches Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, 2 vols [3 parts] (Vienna: A. Opitz [I], Mayer [II/1-2], 1910-38 [Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte, Literatur und Sprache Österreichs und Seiner Kronländer, XI, XIII]), I, 1-30, esp. 20-30; also the many documents in: BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I....*, I-II.

(141) *Alias* Goissonius, b. Beaumont (Belgium) 1524; SI 20 July 1552; took M.A. and solemn vows Rome Feb. 1556; Superintendent of the Seminario Romano 1565; Rector of Prague 1566-68; at Rome 1568; d. Louvain 7 August 1578 (*Hist. Soc.* 42, 122r; *Instit.* 187, 168 [40(136)]r; *Ital.* 105III, 474v; *Rom.* 53, 2r; *MI*, series 1, IV [1906], 331, letter 2742; BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I....*, I, 620n; PONCELET, *Nécrologe...*, 6).

(142) *Germ.* 185, 157[425]r-158[426]v at 157v; repr. in: *MHSI, LQ*, V [1921], 309-16, letter 75, at 314.

(143) Prague, Strahov [Památník Náred Pisemniotw], MS *D.C.III.20 [olim: MST.Oo.No.21]*. The MS was used by KROESS, *Geschichte...* (see: I, 94). I am grateful to Dr P. Kniedl of the Strahov for providing me with a microfilm of this document.

velle attended a play at the Madrid college in 1581, for example, the members of Philip II's court who turned up to watch were, as the Toledo Province Annual Letter makes plain, among the very few who managed to get to see anything at all. (144) But at Prague in 1560, the estimate of «six to eight thousand» was surely simply a way of conveying vividly that the audience was impressively numerous:

Doc. (xix): Prague college «diary».

[...] Acta est comoedia Euripi ante scholas coram tanto populo ut aliqui putarent sex aliqui 8 milia fuisse: sed pro nimia multitudine magna fuit incommoditas spectantium. Adfuit enim Reverendissimus Viennensis. (145) [...]

The production was financed, as was often the case in Jesuit colleges, by money collected by the pupils during the three or four weeks before it was due to take place, and many notables were invited to show their support in this way. (146) There were those on the staff of the Clementinum who, like Rodríguez in Plasencia, were not at all convinced that this was the best way to promote the *studium* or to spend hard-earned funds. They seem to have felt that some at least of the citizens of Prague might well react adversely to these overtures made by junior members of a new college in the city run by an unfamiliar order. The problem was exacerbated by the perennial need to borrow costumes and props as well as money. (147)

(144) *Hisp. 141*, 389[434]v. A similar estimate (of some six to seven thousand spectators in the Évora college at the 5 November 1559 performance of Simão Vieira's *El-Rei Saul*) is given by J. VAZ DE CARVALHO, 'A Antiga Universidade de Évora: Fundação e organização', *Economia e Sociologia* [Lisbon], XXIX-XXX (1980), 101-46 (111).

(145) Fol. 9r. This performance is referred to by Johannes SCHMIDL S.I. *Historiae Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae ...*, 5 vols (4 parts) (Prague: J. Schweiger, 1747-60), I, c.1, 146-47; and by [Carl] Oscar TEUBER, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters: Von den Anfängen des Schauspielwesens bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 3 vols (Prague: A. Haase, 1883-88), I, 17-18. The bishop of Vienna (from 17 July 1560) was the Jesuit patron Anton Brus von Muglitz [Antonín Brus z Mohelnice] who acted as Ferdinand's agent in Bohemia and was elected to the Prague see in 1561 (EVANS, *The Making...*, 18n.).

(146) Fols 2v, 3r-v.

(147) Fols 6r, 9r. Some allowance for the difficulties referred to here and in Rodríguez's letters was made in the various regulations on the theatre issued during

A further performance was given on 20 February before a smaller invited audience, in the hope of erasing the memory of the discomfort which some of the more important and influential members of the audience had experienced on the Monday:

Doc. (xx): Prague college «diary».

[...] *Inuitamus* amicos et *Dominos* multos ut postridie melius spectarent eandem comoediam. [...] Iterum exhibita est comoedia: omnes autem spectarunt rectissimè: Iterum enim adfuit *Dominus* *Viennensis*. [...] (148)

The bishop showed his appreciation of this gesture by a gift of three thalers; (149) he even tried to persuade the Rector of college to allow one of the actors, the comely young boy ('*paruus sigismundus*') who had taken the part of Venus, to enter his personal service. (150)

A third performance was given a week later, again on the Wednesday; this time at the behest of Archduke Ferdinand. It took place in the palace courtyard. After it had passed off without a hitch, there were several requests that it be played yet again, the Archduke himself even asking that a translation be made into German so that it might be given as part of the celebrations to mark the end of Lent. He was keen that the wooden stage which had been built for the February performance, and which was, according to eye-witnesses, an ingenious complex of multiple inner stages such as one may still find at Oberammergau, (151) should not be dismantled but left in place so that it could be used when Carnival came round. (152) The translation commissioned

the 1560s and 1570s. See, for example, Claude Matthieu's visit of the Bordeaux college in 1574 (*Gall. 58I, 125r*).

(148) Fol. 9v.

(149) A generous gift, equivalent to five times the annual per capita student text-allowance.

(150) Fol. 11r.

(151) Willi FLEMMING, *Geschichte des Jesuitentheaters in den Landen Deutscher Zunge* (Berlin, 1923 [Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, XXXII]), 17-20. Compare: Expeditus SCHMIDT O.F.M., *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schul-dramas und seiner volkstümlichen Ableger im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin: A. Duncker, 1903 [Forschungen zur Neueren Literaturgeschichte, XXIV]; repr. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1977), plates at 189-93.

(152) Fols 9r, 10r, 11r. On the domination of the Prague college by German culture at the expense of Bohemian elements, see: Stanisław KOT, 'Un gesuita boemo,

by Ferdinand was eventually done (albeit rather reluctantly) by the new Rector of college Paul Hoffer S.I. *alias* Hoffaeus, (153) much of whose time was taken up with the business of translating out of Latin, and occasionally Hebrew, but the play was probably not given in its German version until the summer. (154) Hoffer had spent some time at Vienna in 1558 before going on as Rector to Prague later that same year. He was to be Rector at three other colleges — Vienna (1 Jan. 1562-), Ingolstadt (1563-64), and Munich (1564-68) — each of which was familiar with the Brecht play. (155) His initial reluctance to take the responsibility for a performance in the vernacular may have been motivated by Jesuit regulations on the drama. (156) The better-known German-language translation of *Euripus* is, however, that completed in 1582 by Cleophas Distelmayer, Vicar of Augsburg

patronatore delle lingue nazionali slave, e la sua attività in Polonia e Lituania (1563-1572)', *Ricerche Slavistiche* [Rome], III (1954), 139-61 (especially documents repr. at 157 and 159). Plays in Polish and Czech continued to be banned (*MHSI, MPaed.*, n.s. IV [1981], 456n.).

(153) Born Münster c. 1523-30; studied Emmerich, Cologne, and Rome; SI Rome 18 Nov. 1554; prof. 16 March 1561; Provincial of Upper German Province 1568-81; of all Germany 5 March 1581 — March 1591 (*Germ. Sup.* 44, 39r; *Germ.* I, 13r; *Germ. Sup.* 20, 323r; *Hist. Soc.* 43, 184r; Andreas STEINHUBER S.I., *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 2 vols [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1895; repr. 1906], I, 39, 44); Bernhard DUHR S.I., 'Paulus Hoffaeus: Ein Charakterbild aus der Geschichte der deutschen Jesuiten', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* [Innsbruck], XXIII (1899), 605-31 (esp. 608 on *Euripus*). See also: Burkhart SCHNEIDER S.I., 'Einer aus der ersten Germanikergeneration: Paul Hoffaeus', *Korrespondenzblatt für die Alumnen des Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum* [Rome], (1956), 77-89; SCHNEIDER, 'Der Konflikt zwischen Claudius Aquaviva und Paul Hoffaeus', *AHSI*, XXVI (1957), 3-56, especially 53-56.

(154) Fol. [18]v. See also: DUHR, *Geschichte...*, I, 331-33.

(155) *Germ.* 131, 83v, 137r, 166r; *Germ. Sup.* 44, 8r; Carlos SOMMERVOGEL S.I., *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus. Première partie: Bibliographie, par les Pères Augustin et Alois DE BACKER; Seconde partie, par le Père Auguste CARAYON*, 9 vols (Brussels: Schepens & Paris: Picard, 1890-1900), together with: vol. X: *Tables...*, ed. Pierre BLIARD S.I. (Paris: Picard, 1909); vol. XI: *Histoire...*, ed. BLIARD (Paris: Picard, 1932); and vol. XII: *Supplément...* (Toulouse, 1911-28); repr. Héverlé-Louvain, 1960; IV [1893/1960], col. 422-23.

(156) GRIFFIN, 'El teatro...', 409-10; *Stud.* I/a, 70r-71r, 152r, repr. in: *MHSI, MPaed.*, n.s., II [1974], 486, 552-53, docs 70, 76; *Instit.* 224, 274r-v [pp.533-34], etc. But compare: *Congr.* 42, 181v; Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im Ossolińskich, MS PAWL 204, 234r.

cathedral, and printed that same year at Dillingen by Johann Mayer. (157)

(c) There are other references in the manuscript diary to plays at the Prague college: 'Comoedia Vitiorum et Virtutum' (15 October 1565); 'Comaedia(m) Sancti Ioannis Baptistae' (6 October 1566); 'Tragoedia Bohaemica de Sancto Venceslao' (12 October 1567); but only one more mention of *Euripus*. (158) It was staged, now in the college's new buildings, on 25 September 1569, two days before the beginning of the new academic year. Despite the fact that it was once again in Latin, it proved as popular as ever:

Doc. (xxi): Prague college «diary».

[...] exhibita est Comaedia Euripi maximo cum apparatu in praesentia Domini Burgrauij (159) [...] tantaque multitudo hominum

(157) RÄDLE, 'Die Bühne...', 198; id. (ed.), *Lateinische Ordensdramen des XVI Jahrhunderts mit deutschen Übersetzungen* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1979 [Ausgaben Deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts: Reihe Drama, VI]), 33.

(158) Fols 70v, 80r, 95v. See also: *Germ. 140*, 41[81(187)]r-42[82(188)]v at 41r (unsigned Annual Letter from the Prague college, 12 September 1566: play on Vices and Virtues), and 111[92(98)]r[p.1]-112[93(100)]v[p.4] at 111v (Annual Letter signed by Michael Tolmainer S.I., Prague, 1 August 1568: vernacular play on St Wenceslas). Many Prague plays were staged on Sundays. Further plays and poems at Prague in honour of Wenceslas (compare Champion's sermons) are recorded in: *Knihopis českých a slovenských, tisků*, edited Z. TOBOLKA and F. HORÁK part II: 1501-1800 (Prague, 1939-), nos 67, 4186, 13891, and 16062-64; there was a Latin play on the saint's life at Olomouc (Olmütz) in 1614 to honour Dietrichstein (*S. Wenceslaus martyr, Boemiae Moraviaeque patronus, tragoedia quinque actuum versibus concinnata et a iuventute academiae Olomouensis S.J. a. 1614 repraesentata*: ONBV, MS 19542 [Ser. n. 71 (Suppl. 2851)]); and the respective roles of Rudolf II and Borja in obtaining and fêting Wenceslas relics are described in: *Acta Sanctorum: Septembris*, compiled by Jan STILTINCK S.I. et al., 8 vols (Antwerp: Van der Plattsche, 1746-62), VII [1760], 812, para. 248. Milena CESNAKOVÁ-MICHALCOVÁ wrongly assigns the last of the Prague *Euripus* performances to 1568: 'První Jezuitská Představení v Českých Zemích', in: Adolf SCHERL (ed.), *Dejiny Českého Divadla, I: Od počátků do sklonku osmnáctého století* (Prague: Československá Akademie věd Kabinet Pro Studium Českého Divadla, 1968), pp. 134-39 at 135.

(159) The Grand Burgrave (*Oberstburggraf*) of Prague (the King's chief lieutenant in Bohemia) was the Catholic Jan IV Popel z Lobkovic na Tachove [Johann IV Popel von Lobkowitz auf Tachau], otherwise Jan Lobkovic 'the Younger' (8 Nov. 1510 — 12 April 1570; Burgrave from 1554). On his role in the Catholic response to reform in Bohemia, on Jesuit reliance on the great traditional Catholic

in Collegio fuit quanta antea vix vnquam visa fuit, nam cum multi non haberent vn̄de apparatus comediae videre possint, muros templi summo cum periculo conscenderunt. (160)

When writing his history of the Bohemian Province, Fr Schmidl must have had to hand another account of the three days of festival which led up to the performance of *Euripus*, as he felt able to provide more detail: on the last day (27 September) prizes of beautifully-bound books were distributed to the best students in each class, and, finally:

[...] organorum & musici cantūs melodia saepius interposita totam actionem sic exornavit, ut studiis Collegii splendorem, fervorem 'que addidisse videretur. [...]. (161)

families (Rožmberk [Rosenberg], Pernstein, Hradec, Dietrichstein, Lobkovic), and on the Lobkovic family itself (especially the Tachau branch), see: R. J. W. EVANS, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 34, 65n., 294; id., *The Making...*, 62, 205; and the very clear survey by Kenneth J. DILLON, *King and Estates in Bohemian Lands* (Brussels: Éd. Libraire Encyclopédique, 1976 [Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, LVII]), 159. A detailed family tree is provided by: Constant von WURZBACH, *Biographisches Lexicon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, 60 vols (Vienna, 1856-91), XV [1866], between pp. 314-15.

(160) Fol. 109v. The implication is that the play was staged in the college courtyard. In 1559, the Évora college in Portugal was also to suffer from townfolk (including women) who scrambled on to the rooftops of nearby buildings in order to get a sight of the play (*MHSI, LQ*, VI, 390-401, letter 312, at 396); eight years later, the Chambéry college had to post guards at the doors to college to prevent the rabble from taking the whole place over on the occasion of the annual play (*Gall. 53*, 114[373(288)]r-117[291]v at 114r]. Compare the situation at Seville in 1590 (Granada, University Library, MS *Caja A-40*, 322r-323v, repr. in: GARZÓN-BLANCO, 'The Inaugural Production...', 176-77), and the remarks of Orlando E. SAA ('El teatro escolar de los jesuitas: La obra dramática de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo (1522-1573)', unpubl. doct. diss. (Tulane University, 1973), p. 270 etc.). The seventeenth century was to witness an increase in both the size and the indiscipline of audiences: [Baron] J[ean] de BÉTHUNE, 'Contribution à l'histoire du théâtre dans les anciens collèges de Belgique, spécialement à Courtrai', *Handelingen van den Geschied- en Oudheidkundigen Kring te Kortrijk* [Kortrijk (Courtrai)], III (1919), 1-98 at 9n.5.

(161) SCHMIDL, *Historiae...*, I, sig. Nn³r; the occasion is mentioned in the college Annual Letter, signed by Udalric Muschkay and dated 28 August 1570, but no further details are given about performance (*Germ. 140*, 187[26(33)]r[p.1]-190[29(36)]v at 188r). On *Euripus* at Prague, see also: Leo BLASS, *Das Theater und Drama in Böhmen bis zum Anfange des XIX Jahrhunderts* (Prague, 1877).

D. INGOLSTADT 1559.

The Ingolstadt *studium* was another to gain strength, in the 1560s and 1570s, from the intense interest taken by the Curia and by the Catholic authorities of the region in the fortification of the city and the surrounding countryside against the encroachments of the «heretics». It is not altogether surprising that, when some of the money they poured into Jesuit activities was earmarked for the staging of full-length plays by the boys at the college, the plays chosen often took as their theme the rewards of virtue and the punishments that awaited the enemies of the true Church. (162) Brecht's *Euripus* was just such a play, and the burghers of Ingolstadt warmed to it:

Doc. (xxii): Dominic Menghen S.I., (163) four-monthly letter from Ingolstadt, written on behalf of the Rector Nicolas Lanoy S.I.; Ingolstadt, 1 September 1559.

[...] Elapsis diebus, Euripi populo exhibuere Tragaediam, quae si ulla alia hace sanè totam uitae humanae rationem pulchrè et eleganter exprimit. haec actio primo quidem summo cum omnium applausu et laude peracta est. Secundo (164) exhibita est tanta

(162) See the remarks of Carl Max HAAS, *Das Theater der Jesuiten in Ingolstadt: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistlichen Theaters in Süddeutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1958), esp. 18-26; for an example of these same criteria at a later date, GRIFFIN, 'A Portuguese Jesuit Play...'. On the early years at Ingolstadt: Gerhard WILCZEK, 'Die Jesuiten in Ingolstadt (1549-1575)', *Ingolstädter Heimatblätter* [Ingolstadt], XXXVI-XXXVII (1973-74); Julius DENK, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuiten-Gymnasiums in Ingolstadt', *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Ingolstadt* [Ingolstadt], XXIII (1898), 1-23, esp. 1-4; and unpublished material in Munich, Staatsbibliothek (*Cod. Lat. 25182* [ZZ. 2182], *Cod. Lat. 26469* [Moll. 101], *Cod. Lat. 26473* [Moll. 108], etc.).

(163) Born Rembercourt-aux-Pots (Meuse, France) c. 1530; SI Cologne 18 June 1550; prof. Munich 27 Aug. 1570; at Vienna 1551-58, and Munich 1559-78 (Rector 1566-78); d. Munich 3 April 1595 (*Germ. I.*, 331r; *Germ. Sup.* 19, 97r; *Germ. Sup.* 44, 18r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 101v; *Hist. Soc.* 43, 183r; *Ital.* 2, 559r). It was Menghen again who reported on a play (*Esther*) staged three times in as many days at Munich in 1567 (letter to Borja, 17 April 1567, *Germ.* 148, 36[223(373)]r-37[226(*sic*)]v at 36v, 82[238(440)]r-83[239]v at 82r, partly repr. in: BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. ...*, V [1910], 438-40, doc. 1426, at 439-40).

(164) Repl.: 'secunda autem uice'.

cum omnium admiratione, ut permulti apertè dicerent se non posse satis tum actionem tum actores ipsos commendare: Placuit enim magis quam antea, et supra quam dici potest. hinc non pauci ad pietatem permoti, alij ad poenitentiam et uitae emendationem, maximè propter illam teterrimorum daemonum cateruam illuc introductorum, quj animam Euripi factitiam è faucibus ereptam (165) crudeliter dilaniarunt, et flammis tradiderunt. Intelleximus autem nonnullos in huiusmodj piis contemplationibus dies aliquot transe- gisse. hanc nostram actionem sua praesentia decorauit in primis Rector uniuersitatis, vir apprime (166) nobilis (167) una cum cuiusuis facultatis doctoribus, et artium liberalium magistris, studiosis quamplurimis, ac magna parte uulgi: qui omnes per quatuor continuas horas et eò diutius, summa cum attentione iucunditateque, licet aestu infestarentur, nostros actores audie- runt. (168) / Qua re peracta, eandem tragaediam a nobis petierunt multj. (169) Alij uerò ab actoribus partes colligerunt, ut inde uitae rectius instituendae remedium aliquod habere possent. faxit

(165) The words 'è faucibus ereptam' have been scored through at the Secretariat.

(166) The words 'in primis' and 'apprime' have been scored through at the Secretariat.

(167) Ernfried, Graf von Ortenburg. See: Franz Xaver FRENINGER, *Das Matrikelbuch der Universität Ingolstadt-Landschut-München...* (Munich: Friedburg, A. Eichleiter, 1872), 15; Valentin ROTHMAR and Johann ENGERD, *Annales Ingolsta- diensis Academiae...*, ed. Johann Nepomuck MEDERER, 4 vols (Ingolstadt, 1782), I, 256.

(168) Evidence about the length of Jesuit plays in performance is patchy, especially for the early period. But compare: *MHSI, LQ*, VI, 390-401, letter 312, at 395 (Évora, 1559: over three hours); Fronton le Duc's massive *L'Histoire tragique de la Pucelle d'Orléans* (Pont-à-Mousson, 1580: over 7000 lines long!); Sister Loyola María COFFEY S.S.J (ed.), *Adrien Jourdan's «Susanna» (1653)* ... (Baltimore, 1942 [The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, XLI]), 14. There were repeated rulings fixing the maximum length at three to four hours.

(169) A recognised way of showing appreciation; see *Lus. 51*, 21r[p.105]-22v at 21v-22r[pp.106-7], repr. in *MHSI, LQ*, V, 15-18, letter 4, at 17-18; *Lus. 51*, 192[43]r-194[45]v at 193[44]v (Spanish-lang. copy at 195[50]r-197[52]v, repr. in *MHSI, LQ*, VII, 441-42, letter 558); RAHM, MS 9/2624 [*Cortes 443*], unfol., item [6], [57]r (further copy: MS 9/2566 [*Cortes 385*], unfol., [175]r-v) [Felipe II at Alcalá]; P. DE LETURIA S.I., 'El abrazo de Felipe II a los seminaristas ingleses de Valladolid', *Razón y Fe* [Madrid], CXVII (1939), 282-98 at 290-91; Américo DA COSTA RAMALHO, 'Um manuscrito de teatro humanístico conimbricense', in his: *Estudos sobre a época do Renascimento* (Coimbra: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1969), pp. 333-45 at 338-42.

Deus ut inde conceptum timoris spiritum conseruare possint.
[...](170)

E. MUNICH 1560.

As at Innsbruck three years later, *Euripus* was not staged in the Munich college itself — the one-time Augustinian monastery of St Michael which served as the Jesuit quarters until 1591 — but rather in the city. Once again, it had to be repeated:

Doc. (xxiii): Theodoricus (Dieter) Kanijs (alias Canisius) S.I. (171)
Rector at Munich to Láinez in Rome; Munich, 4 December 1560.

[...] post omnium Sanctorum, (172) studiorum facta est innouatio, exhibita prius à discipulis nostris magno cum applausu Euripi tragoedia. [...] (173)

Doc. (xxiv): Unsigned four-monthly letter written on behalf of the Rector Dieter Kanijs (alias Canisius) S.I.; Munich, 29 December 1560.

[...] Tragoediam Euripi cum applausu frequentissimi populi in publico proscenio exhibuimus, sicque placuit ut de integro coram illustrissimo Principe, Reverendissimo piae memoriae Praesule salisburgense, (174) multisque alijs principibus uiris, optimè sit acta. [...] (175)

(170) *Germ. 187*, 162r[p.12]-163v[p.15] at 162r-v, repr. in: *MHSI, LQ*, VI [1925], 313-18, letter 294, at 314-15.

(171) Born Nijmegen (Holland) 1532; SI Cologne 9 March 1554; sent to Rome Aug. 1554; priested Rome 13 March 1557; taught Vienna 1558-60; Rector Munich 1560-64; prof. 14 Oct. 1561 Augsburg; d. Ingolstadt 27 Sept. 1606 (*Germ. 1*, 16r; *Germ. Sup. 19*, 8r, 42r; *Hist. Soc. 43*, 184r; *MHSI, Polanci complementa*, II [1917], 596).

(172) 1 November.

(173) *Germ. 142*, 205[121(154)]r-206[159]v at 205v.

(174) Michael von Kuenburg, bishop from 1554 (d. 17 Nov. 1560).

(175) *Germ. 142*, 221[149(116)]r-v at 221r. Further copy: *Germ. 139*, 47[147(115)]r-48[148]v at 47r, partly repr. in: *MHSI, LQ*, V, [1925], 973-76, letter 451, at 974, and in: BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I....*, II [1898], 877, doc. 193.

This occasion, and others on which plays were performed, were also referred to briefly in an account written in 1563 by Dieter Kanijs (Rector at Munich 1560-64) and sent to Láñez in Rome. (176)

F. INNSBRUCK 1563.

As at Vienna in 1555 and Prague in 1557, *Euripus* was among the very first dramatic offerings from the new *studium* at Innsbruck. Yet the College of the Holy Trinity, where the small Jesuit community was based, was being totally refurbished at this time (by Fr Grim and Paul Uschall), and the play had to be staged initially in the Rathaus. Emperor Ferdinand's daughter Magdalena (b. 1532) resided at Innsbruck until the terrible plague of 1564 forced her and her sisters to seek refuge in Augsburg, and her role in supporting the Innsbruck college was vital. When, a few years later, she prepared to move, on the advice of her physicians, to nearby Hall im Tirol, Lanoy and his colleagues were extremely concerned. (177) As at Munich, *Euripus* was the subject of a royal command performance:

Doc. (xxv): Unsigned four-monthly letter from the Innsbruck college; Innsbruck, 1 September 1563.

[...] De Scholis, *quam antea scripta sunt*, (178) *eadem etiam nunc dicere possumus pro huius loci ratione frequens ea satis est, in quo multos uidere licet nobilitatis genere claros, amoreque ad honesta studia atque animi ornamenta consequenda praeditos: saepe sui profectus et eruditionis specimen edunt publicè declamando coram doctis grauibusque uiris. paucis ante mensibus in domo ciuium publica Euripi tragoediam exhibuerunt, praesentibus ferè omnibus huius oppidi magnatibus, magnoque aliorum hominum spectante copia: Et quoniam egregiè successit scitio, iterata est*

(176) Repr. in: BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I....*, II [1898], 870-75, doc. 192, at 873.

(177) BNP, Cabinet des Estampes, *Hd-4d, 16*; VALLÉRY-RADOT, *Le Recueil ...*, 252; BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I....*, V [1910], 2n.1, 25, etc.; Lanoy to Borja, 19 February 1567 (*Germ. 148*, 31[169(300)]r-32[170(301)]v at 32r).

(178) The school and the work on the college are mentioned in a letter to headquarters, written 1 May 1563 (*Germ. 144*, 109[296(103)]r-110[297(104)]v at 109r; further original: *Germ. 139*, 192[298(105)]r-193[106]v at 192r).

illa coram Serenissimis Reginis in earum aula magna: Ad utramque actionem amici uestimenta aliaque praeciosa ornamenta libentissimè comodarunt. [...] (179)

G. TRIER 1565.

The Trier *studium* had an even more unpredictable time in the mid-1560s than many of its neighbours in the vanguard of the Catholic assault on the Protestant princes of Bavaria. Firstly, it became involved in a protracted series of disputes with Archbishop Johann II von der Leyen, the very man who had invited the Jesuits to take over all teaching in the city after Caspar Olevian's attempt at reformation had proved abortive. These disputes adversely affected its recruitment of pupils as well as its general standing within the Trier community. And, secondly, the city (and with it the college) was badly affected by the pandemic of 1563-66. Even the guarded optimism expressed in the following account to the effect that the plague was finally on the wane was to prove misplaced: (180)

Doc. (xxvi): Six-monthly account for the Rhine Province, signed by Leonard Kessel S.I., (181) and sent to Borja in Rome; Cologne, 13 August 1565.

[...] Discipuli, qui anno superiori metu pestis fugerunt, nunc prope omnes reuersi sunt, quin et multi alij nouitij se se in eorum disciplinam tradiderunt, vt iam ad 400 & 50 peruentum sit, quorum magnam partem eos catalogos euocasse opinor, quos expetente eorum archiepiscopo in festo Paschae euulgarunt. Prompti omnes cum ad literarum, tum pietatis studia, graece atque latine, nec non carmine atque prosa declamant. In innouatione studiorum sole-

(179) *Germ. 139*, 219[294(99)]r-220[100]v at 219r, letter referred to by DUHR (*Geschichte...*, I, 339) as 'Germ. Epp. IV. 99'. The performance is mentioned in Alfons KRENN, 'Die Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Innsbruck (Von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1665)', unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Vienna, 1938), p. 46.

(180) See Anton Vinck S.I. to Borja from Mainz, 20 Jan. and 13 Feb. 1567 (*Germ. 148*, 18[303(517)]r-19[306(*sic*)]v at 18r; 22[311(528)]r-23[318(*sic*)]v at 22r).

(181) Born Louvain c. 1519; SI Louvain Dec. 1543; prof. Cologne 27 Jan. 1553; d. Cologne 26 Oct. 1574 (*Germ. 1*, 1r; *Rhen. Inf. 37*, 1r; *Ital. 59*, 286r; *Hist. Soc. 42*, 116v).

mne sacrum fecerunt, quo absoluto distributa sunt classibus singulis munuscula, adhibito ad cuiusque classis innouationem nouo musices instrumento. Quae omnia admodum grata fuerunt. Huc accedit Euripi (182) tragoedia quam illorum studiosi tanta dexteritate egerunt, vt maxima hominum corona pauci reperti sint, qui commoti non fuerint, praesertim cum ob uersus germanicos insertos omnibus actio accommodata esset. [...] (183)

A number of manuscripts of plays performed in the sixteenth century in Jesuit colleges contain just the kind of «vernacular verses» referred to here. (184)

There is a brief allusion to this performance of *Euripus* in a letter of St Peter Canisius to Lafnez, written at the end of May. (185)

H. DILLINGEN 1566.

Although a copy of his *Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Saul Gelboaeus* (first staged at the Colégio das Artes at Coimbra in Portugal on 9 July 1559 (186)) has been found in the Dillingen Studienbibliothek (in a manuscript that was once part of the private collection of Jakob Gretser S.I. (187)), it was to assist at a performance of the non-Jesuit *Euripus* that Venegas made the short journey in the summer of 1566 from Augsburg. Dillingen University, established by the bishop of Augsburg and recognised by Pope Julius III in 1551, was the only new

(182) Rep.: 'Euripidi'.

(183) *Germ. 139*, 304[154(147)]r-307[157(150)]v at 305[155(148)]r-v, a letter referred to by DUHR (*Geschichte...*, I, 337) as 'Germ. Epp. VI. 147'. The importance of the vernacular interludes is noted by MAX WITWER, 'Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Länder deutsche Zunge', doct. diss. (Greifswald University, 1934 [1935]), 90.

(184) See also: *Hisp. 97*, 43[135]r (Medina del Campo, 1559); *Hisp. 98*, 1[160]v (Cordoba, 1561); *Hisp. 100*, 301[257]v (Seville, 1563); 315[62]r (Montilla, 1563); *Gall. 53*, 180[381(119)]r (Billom, 1568); etc.

(185) 'tragoedia exhibita scholam nostram commendauit' (*Germ. 182*, 251[305]r-252[306]v at 251v, repr. in BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I.*, IV [1905], 225-31, letter 873, at 228).

(186) GRIFFIN, 'Miguel Venegas...', 801-803.

(187) GRIFFIN, 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', 443 (V. 12. vii); Anton DÜRRWÄCHTER, 'Aus der Frühzeit des Jesuitendramas nach Dillinger Manuskripten', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* [Dillingen], IX (1897), 1-54 at 4.

University founded at this period in Southern Germany, and the strategic importance of the Dillingen college (re-opened 1563), close to the main trade routes with Italy and Bohemia, was not lost on the Generalate. (188) Canisius continually stressed that a prosperous Jesuit community in Dillingen was essential to long-term Papal strategy. The student population was large, and it was growing all the time. It was also refreshingly cosmopolitan. (190) From 1563 onwards, with the arrival of Cristóbal Herrera S.I. and Jerónimo Torres S.I. fresh from the Collegio Romano, the Dillingen college's intellectual life took on a more intense Salamancan orientation. (191) The fortunes of the Habsburg princelings became a central concern of the college authorities. In addition, the protracted negotiations of the 1560s between the Papacy, the German bishops, and the various independent Princes added enormously to the significance of the college. It also ensured that every month, every week almost, was marked by the passage through the city of important political and ecclesiastical emissaries.

(188) The Jesuits were independently entitled to award degrees by Pius IV in 1561.

(189) On the role of Peter Canisius S.I., see: BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. ...*, *passim*; also: Engelbert Maximilian BUXBAUM, *Petrus Canisius und die Kirchliche Erneuerung des Herzogtums Bayern 1549-1556* (Rome, 1973 (BIHSI, XXXV)).

(190) See the figures (esp. for 1550-60) in: FRANZ EULENBERG, 'Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart', *Abhandlung der Philosophisch-historische Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* [Leipzig], XXIV (1904), 55, 102-3.

(191) See: Thomas SPECHT, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Universität Dillingen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902), 10, 43, 56-58. Two important recent studies are: Laetitia BÖHM, '«Usus Dilingae» — Modell oder Ärgernis?: Eine Besinnung auf die Bedeutung der ehemaligen Universität Dillingen als Glückwunsch zum ersten Jubiläum der Universität Augsburg', in: Pankraz FRIED (ed.), *Probleme der Integration Ostschwabens in den bayerischen Staat: Bayern und Wittelsbach in Ostschwaben: Referate und Beiträge der Tagung auf der Reisenburg am 21./22. März 1980* (Sigmaringen, 1982) [Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, series 7: Augsburger Beiträge zur Landesgeschichte Bayerisch-Schwabens, 2], pp. 245-68; and Karl HENGST, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten: Zur Geschichte der Universitäten in der Oberdeutschen und Rheinischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im Zeitalter der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung* (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zurich, 1981) [Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, n.s., 2].

In its attempts to establish itself fully in the consciousness of the townspeople, the new Jesuit *studium* went to great lengths to mark the presence of important and well-disposed visitors. The four-monthly letters for 1564, for example, are full of references to festivals of various kinds staged in honour of distinguished guests in the city. A lengthy account dated 1 July 1565 describes some of these in detail. All these despatches reveal a community revelling in its new-found importance and practised in the whole business of staging a literary festival. There seems, for instance, to have been a standing arrangement with those who were prepared to loan ornaments and costumes for these occasions. (192)

In 1566, the guest of honour fêted at one of these *ludi litterarii* was Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone, a man with a close personal interest in the whole question of the Imperial succession as it affected Poland and Bohemia. With his friend Cardinal Hosius (Hozyusz) he was instrumental in strengthening the Catholic cause by helping to set up the Jesuit mission to Poland. That mission had been undertaken some two years previously. (193) He had also repeatedly warned the Papacy of the importance of supporting Jesuit efforts in Southern Germany. (194) This area was now at the centre of Commen-

(192) Unsigned letter from the Upper German Province to Rome, Dillingen, 1 July 1565 (*Germ. 139*, 293a[158]r-293h v at 293a v-293b[159]v); four-monthly letter signed by 'Erasmus', Dillingen, 22 Jan. 1565 (*Germ. 139*, 286[113(4)]r-288[121 (*sic*)]v at 287v). The first of these has a very full description of the use of poetry (Greek, Latin, and Hebrew) as part of the decor at the festival. See also the comments of Nadal on the University student population in a letter sent from Vienna on 8 May 1555: 'Son los scholares 200 mas o menos y lo que paresce mucho quasi todos son estrangeros [...]' (*Epp. NN. 59*, 138[259]r-141[262]v[n.º 73(31)] at 139[260]v, repr. in *MHSI, EN*, I [1898], 299-306, letter 77, at 303).

(193) Stanisław ROSTOWSKI S.I., *Lituanicarum Societatis Iesu historiarum libri decem*, ed. IVAN MARTYNOV S.I. (Paris and Brussels: V. Palmé, 1877), 11, 12, 409; Stanisław ZAŁĘSKI S.I., *Jezuicki w Polsce*, 5 vols [11 parts] (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa [I-III] and Cracow: W.L. Anczyc [IV-V], 1900-6), I (1/2), *passim*; SCADUTO, *L'Epoca...*, II, 310-11; Paulus RABIKAIUSKAS S.I., 'Die Gründungsbulle der Universität Vilnius (30. Oktober 1579): Vorgeschichte, Ausstellung und Bedeutung', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* [Rome], XVI (1978), 113-70 at 121ff; Jan KOREWA S.I., 'Les Débuts de la Compagnie de Jésus en Pologne 1549-1564', *AHSI*, XXXIV (1965), 3-35 (ignoring the role of Commendone).

(194) See, for example, his letter to Pius IV Medici (1562) lauding Jesuit efforts as 'gran servitio di questa santa sede' (Rome, Vatican Library [= BAV], *MS Barb. Lat. 5798*, repr. in: Adam WANDRUSZKA [ed.], *Nuntius Commendone, 1560*

done's activities, and he spent the winter of 1565-66 travelling the busy roads between Trent, Augsburg, and Dillingen. On March 13 he received specific instructions from Rome. His was to be a holding brief: he was to proceed to Augsburg, there to oppose by every means at his disposal any attempt on the part of the Diet to deal with «religious» (i.e. doctrinal) questions. He was also under a strict injunction to ensure that the Archbishop of Cologne, Count Friedrich von Wied (who still persisted in the hope of coming to some accommodation with the heretics) was persuaded to take the oath and profession laid down by Trent. Further, it was to be Commendone's overall responsibility to prevent at all costs any episcopal sees, should they fall vacant, from getting into the hands of those proscribed by Trent. (195)

In many of these enterprises he was to fail. Von Wied, for one, resigned his see, unrepentant, the following year. In 1568, the Protestants succeeded in persuading Maximilian to allow the free observance of the Lutheran faith. But, in 1566, Commendone's course of action was clear. Pius V's detailed briefing reminded him that his natural allies were Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, the Spanish ambassador, and the fledgling Jesuit communities. Indeed, Nadal, Ledesma, and Peter Canisius were all on hand to lend their support, as was Count Melchior Biglia, nuncio to the Imperial Court. As soon as he arrived in Dillingen for consultations at the beginning of June, (196) Commendone hastened

(*Dezember*) — 1562 (*März*) (Graz and Cologne: H. Böhlaus, 1953 [Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland (= ND), part II (1560-72), vol. II]), 50-66, doc. 66, at 52).

(195) See the instructions sent to Commendone from Rome, 27 February 1566 (Città di Castello, Archivio Graziani-Magherini, MS 15, 162r-v, repr. in: Ignaz Philipp DENGEL [ed.], *Nuntius Biglia, 1565-1566 (Juni)*; *Commendone als Legat auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg 1566* (Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1926 [ND, part II, vol. V], 56-71, doc. 18). A perennial concern of Commendone in the colleges, monasteries, and dioceses he visited was the level of Latin learning: Michael MAYR, 'Cardinal Commendones Kloster- und Kirchen-Visitation von 1569 in den Diöcesen Passau und Salzburg', *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Cisterzienserorden* [Würzburg], XIV (1893), 385-98, 567-89.

(196) 'In Dilinga io venni la notte di sabbato passato; et sono stato un di et mezzo con li Elettori' (Commendone to Cardinal Alessandrino; Dillingen, 8 June 1566: London, British Library, MS *Egerton 1078*, 107r[p.215]). On the 1560s and 1570s in Austria: Grete MECENSEFFY, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* (Graz and Cologne: Hermann Böhlaus, 1956), 50-70; and on Jesuit relations with Papal nuncios: B. SCHNEIDER, 'Die Jesuiten als Gehilfen der päpstlichen Nuntien und Legaten in Deutschland zur Zeit der Gegenreformation', *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* [Rome], XXI (1959), 269-303.

to make common cause with the faithful in the most public way possible. He and his retinue attended a performance of *Euripus* in the college Nadal had christened some ten years earlier 'vn propugnaculo de la fe': (197)

Doc. (xxvii): Jerome Nadal S.I. to Francisco Borja S.I. in Rome; Augsburg, 11 May 1566.

[...] Il *Patre* Vanegas è arriuato qua sono quatro o cinco giorni, et hier' l'altro l'habbiamo mandato a Dilinga, accioche li possi aspettare al *Patre* ledesma (198) et andar' insieme con lui a Roma come sara finita la Dieta che sara presto. (199) in questo mezzo puotra aiutar' a far' alchuni uersi per la representatione dell'*Euripo* che si fara la dinanzi all *Reverendissimj* legato, (200) Augustano, (201) et Nuncio, (202) etc. Il giorno stesso che arriuò là,

(197) *Epp. NN. 59* (above, n. 192), 139v (*MHSI, EN, I*, 303). At a much later date, many of the plays of Nicola Avancini S.I. (1611-86) concluded with a glorification of the Habsburgs (Henry SCHNITZLER, 'The School Theatre of the Jesuits', *The Theatre Annual* [New York], unnumbered vol. (1943), 46-58 at 53; Umberto GANDINI, 'Il teatro barocco di Nicola de Avancini, gesuita trentino alla corte degli Absburgo', *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche* [Trent], LI (1972), 421-41, LII (1973), 30-69; Eugen THURNER, 'Nikolaus Avancinus: Die Vollendung des Jesuitentheaters in Wien', *Südtirolischer Kulturinstitut Jahrbuch* [Bozen], II (1962), 250-69 at 269).

(198) Diego Ledesma, b. Villa Cuellar (Burgos) 1524; SI 30 Sept. 1556 Louvain; prof. 3 Nov. 1560 Rome; d. Rome 18 Nov. 1575 (*Ital. 3*, 56r; *Ital. 59*, 468r; *Rom. 78b*, 27r; *MHSI, MPaed.*, 1st series, I [1901], 859-63). On Ledesma's journey to Rome: GRIFFIN, 'Miguel Venegas...', 799.

(199) The second so-called «Diet» of Augsburg was called by Emperor Maximilian (1564-76), who was a close friend of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and was known to be a secret sympathiser with Protestantism, in an attempt to simplify the religious and political battle-lines and thereby, or so he hoped, to obtain a further measure of tolerance for Lutheranism. His purpose — to obtain the proscription of the Calvinistic Count Palatine — was as much political as it was religious. In the event, the Diet broke up on 30 May 1566 without having achieved all that it set out to do.

(200) Commendone.

(201) Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, the founder of the Dillingen college, who set out from Rome on 23 February specifically to attend the Diet where his activities were directly subvented by the Papacy (BAV, *MS Cod. Urb. Lat. 1040*, 188r-v [1040/11, 3r-v]). The 1566/67 Annual Letter of the Dillingen college (signed 'Antonius Flander' and dated 1 October 1567) remarks on Cardinal Truchsess's pride in his college's plays and dialogues: 'nulla vnquam actione publica abesse solet' (*Germ. 140*, 85[8(245)]r-88[11(248)]v at 85v). The Truchsess family had a tradition

fece alchunj Epigrami all'Imperatore, (203) al *Reverendissimo* de Augusta, all *Illustrissimo* legato et al ducca de Bauiera, (204) et hoggi li hauemo mostrato al Augustano, et li contentano molto. [...] (205)

These epigrams that Venegas wrote while at Dillingen (quite possibly his last compositions, at least as a member of the order) have not come to light, although Nadal refers to them once again a fortnight later, and they figure also in the college Annual Letter:

Doc. (xxviii): Jerome Nadal S.I. to Francisco Borja S.I. in Rome; Augsburg, 25 May 1566.

[...] Il *Reverendissimo* legato partira dimanè l'altro à una villa del *Reverendissimo* Augustano quà appresso, per rifittiar' un poco, et procurarsi un poco la sanità imperoche alchunj giorni fà si ritroua indisposto. Il *Padre* ledesma andara con luj et uerrano a far' la pentecoste (206) in Dilinga doue si recitarà la tragedia d'Euripo et parechi epigrami à questi *Reverendissimi* Cardinali, et al Nuncio, et a *monsignor* lancilloto (207) etc et forse anchora uerra il *Reverendissimo* Cameracense; (208) Doppo la festa del

of service to the houses of Württemberg and Habsburg (Georg GRUPP, *Oettingische Geschichte der Reformationszeit* (Nördlingen, 1894)), and close connections with the episcopal court at Dillingen (Virginia M. E. DEMARCE, 'The Official Career of Georg III Truchsess von Waldburg: A Study in the Administration of Religious Policy by a Catholic Government during the First Years of the Reformation', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1966), 13).

(202) Biglia, appointed nuncio by Pius IV, 31 Aug. 1565; confirmed by Pius V.

(203) Maximilian.

(204) Archduke Albrecht, who was to prove one of the most assiduous enthusiasts for Jesuit drama; see F. SCHMIDT, 'Ein Festspiel der Münchener Jesuitenschule im XVI. Jahrhundert', *Forschungen zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte Bayerns* [Ansbach and Leipzig], III (1895), 12-32.

(205) *Epp. NN.* 62, 156[90]r-157v at 156r (one of a number of letters signed that day by Nadal), repr. in *MHSI, EN*, III [1902], 122-24, letter 391, at 123.

(206) 5-8 June (see confirmation in n. 198).

(207) Scipione Lancillotti, sent by Pius V to the Duke of Bavaria and to Emperor Maximilian; canonist to Commendone; later created Cardinal by Gregory XIII.

(208) Maximilian de Walhain, bishop of Cambrai.

corpus *dominj* partirà l'Illustrissimo legato la uolta de Venetia (209) et con sua *Signoria Reverendissima* il *Padre* ledesma per andar à Milano come la *Paternita Vostra* hà ordinato. procuraremo anchora che il *Padre* Vanegas uadi insieme àlle spesse del *Cardinale* co'l *padre* ledesma se si puotrà ottener'. spero che li sara grato come habbia intesso li epigrammj che hà fatto in Dilinga etc. [...] (210)

Doc. (xxix): Annual Letter from the Dillingen college, signed by Christoph Ziegler S.I. (211) on behalf of the Rector, and sent to the Lombardy Province and Sardinia; Dillingen, 31 August 1566.

[...] Cum Dilingae est [Otto Truchsess], nullus ad eum Princeps accedit (accedunt autem plurimi) quem ad Collegium nostrum non adducat, ut hac ratione nostra rectius studia exteri intellegant [...]. Vno e[st] eodem tempore Cardinalem Commendonum Sedis Apostolicae à latere Legatum, Archiepiscopos Moguntinum et Treuerensem, (212) qui Romani Imperij sunt electores *praecipuj*, unà cum Archiepiscopo Cameracensi, alijsque uiris primarijs ad templum nostrum adduxit, quos diuinis peractis officijs, quae integrè illi audierunt, *generatim primum omnes*, et Praesules deinde singulos Haebraicis, Graecis et latinis carminibus [*sic*] à quodam ex societate compositis et per selectos pueros recitatis, excipiendos

(209) Commendone's journeys are outlined in: Valentin Esprit FLECHIER, *La Vie du Cardinal Jean François Commendon ...* (Paris: Veuve Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1694), 261-68 etc.

(210) *Epp. NN. 62*, 165[96]r-166[97]v at 165r; repr. in *MHSA, EN*, III [1902], 140-44, letter 398, at 140-41.

(211) Born c. 1542 at Stuttgart; SI Rome 20 October 1558; d. Hall im Tirol 1 May 1588 (FG 77/I, 349r-350r; *Hist. Soc.* 42, 101r; *Rom.* 170, 22r).

(212) Although the Jesuits later became disenchanted with Von der Leyen (archbishop of Trier from 9 March 1556 until his death 9 Feb. 1567; above p. 63), both he and his Mainz colleague Daniel von Brendel (elected 23 August 1555, d. 22 March 1582) were established allies of Commendone. Both had been urged by Pius V to give the nuncio's mission their full support, as they had done to his predecessor Canisius in November 1565. Brendel had even obtained a pontifical decree in 1564 to endow the Jesuit college at Mainz from his private income and, as imperial arch-chancellor, fought a rearguard action against his own advisers most of whom had Lutheran leanings (BRAUNSBERGER, *Beati Petri Canisii S.I. ...*, IV [1905], 493-94, doc. 1046³, and elsewhere).

curavit, quibus etiam Tragedia non minus pia quam docta eiusdem Reverendissimi nostri sumptibus instructa, per discipulos scholae nostrae exhibita fuit. [...] (213)

J. CORDOBA 1566.

The author of the following description of *Euripus* in performance in Southern Spain was himself a considerable dramatist, and the man of whom Ribadeneira said appreciatively that «he turned the theatre into a pulpit». (214) He had adapted the *Acolastus* (publ. 1529) of Willem de Volder (known humanistically as Fullonius or Gnapheus) for the Cordoba *studium* the previous summer (a Prodigal Son play which was similar in several respects to *Euripus* (215)), and his many original treatments of the theme of sin and repentance in his own plays bear the clear imprint of the *Spiritual Exercises*. (216) It is certain

(213) *Germ. 140*, 25[312(75[214(115)])]r-26[313(76[215(116)])]v at 26r. There is a further original of this letter, intended for the Roman and Tuscan Provinces, at: 32[212(113)]r-33[213(114)]v (material cited at 33r).

(214) Cited in: ASTRAIN, *Historia...*, 2nd ed., II [1914], 587 (original in: *Hisp. 94*). On the involvement of Jesuit dramatists (Bonifacio, Céspedes, etc.) in preaching and on the relationship between theatre and pulpit, see: Richard A. PRETO-RODAS, 'Anchieta and Vieira: Drama as Sermon, Sermon as Drama', *Luso-Brazilian Review* [Madison, Wisconsin], VII, nr 2 (1971), 96-103; Félix G. OLMEDO S.I., *Juan Bonifacio 1538-1606 y la cultura literaria del siglo de oro* (Madrid and Santander, 1937), 187 etc.; L. LÓPEZ SANTOS, 'La oratoria sagrada en el seiscientos', *Revista de Filología Española* [Madrid], XXX (1946), 353-68; Agustín DE LA GRANJA, 'Hacia una revalorización del teatro jesuítico en la edad de oro: Notas sobre el P. Valentín de Céspedes', in: *Estudios sobre literatura y arte dedicados al Profesor Emilio Orozco Díaz*, edited A. GALLEGO MORELL et al., 3 vols (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979), II, 145-59.

(215) RÄDLE, 'Aus der Frühzeit...', 422-25; W.E.D. ATKINSON (ed. & transl.), *Acolastus: A Latin Play of the Sixteenth Century by Gulielmus Gnapheus* (London, Ontario, 1964 [Univ. of W. Ontario Studies in the Humanities, III]). See also: Wolfgang Schmaeltzl's *Comœdia des verlorren Sons* (Vienna, 1545), cited in: VALENTIN, *Le Théâtre ...*, III, 971n.43.

(216) GRIFFIN, 'Some Aspects ...', I, 148-92; II, 402-409; Victor R. YANITELLI S.J., 'Heir of the Renaissance: The Jesuit Theatre', *The Jesuit Educational Quarterly* [New York], XIV (1952), 133-47 at 133-34; Orlando E. SAA, 'El teatro...'; *Hisp. 100*, 36[246]r-37[247]v at 36v; 301[257]r-303[259]v at 301v; 449[96]r-v at 449v. Acevedo was born Toledo 1522; SI 1554; prof. 27 Dec. 1571; d. Madrid Jan. 1573 (*Baet.* 28, p. 9; «31 Jan.»; *Hisp. 118*, 93r; «12 Jan.». *Examen* at: FG 77/IV, 248[508]r-

that he was responsible for arranging this staging of the Brecht text, and interesting that, like Menghen in Ingolstadt and Dawant in Vienna, he singled out for especial attention the final awe-inspiring scenes of the play:

Doc. (xxx): Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I., on behalf of the Rector of college, Alfonso López S.I., (217) to Rome; Cordoba, 31 December 1566.

[...] De schola breuiter, praeter auditorum numerum qui indies augetur non sine profectu et spiritali, et literario, Die beatissimi luciae ex fratribus unus publice orationem habuit in commendationem scientiarum, (218) placuit supramodum. Orationem sequutae sunt disputationes dialecticae, quae praelo mandatae uarijs in locis affixae sunt. perstant in disputandi exertitatione iuxta praescriptam in regulis formam (219) Qui uero latinè student dicendo et componendo se exercent. cedunt omnia feliciter Christo auspice cui sit glorià.

Tragoedia acta est, nec defuere qui ad confessionem confugerint commoti miserando Euripi exitu, nam id erat tragediae nomen, quae mortis atque inferni imaginem adumbrabat. [...] (220)

249[509]v). Compare his description of a 1561 play: 'el argumento de la comedia fue de penitencia [...] rematose con vn alma de los impenitentes en el infierno y otra en el çielo pasando primero por purgatorio' (*Hisp. 98*, 1[160]v).

(217) One-time Rector at Cuenca, transferred to Cordoba 1556; d. Belmonte 5 July 1584 (*Hist. Soc. 42*, 62v; *MHSI, Polanci Chronicon [= Chron.]*, VI [1898], 672, para. 2890-91).

(218) Untraced, although there is a 'Dialogus initio studiorum Ante orationem in commendatione scientiarum' written by Acevedo for the Seville *studium* in 1569 (RAHM, MS 9/2564 [Cortes 383], 247r-261v); see: GRIFFIN, 'Some Aspects...', I, 163-64.

(219) See: *Instit. 117I*, 47r-v; *Instit. 178*, 22r-v; Munich, Archive of the Upper German Province, MS *Msc. E. 10 [XIII B I]*, pp. 398-409 at 405-406, repr. in: *MHSI, MPaed.*, n.s., II [1974], 88-106, doc. 13, at 100-102.

(220) *Hist. Soc. 173*, 168[502(90)]r-v at 168r; repr. in *MHSI, LQ*, IV (1897), 628-30, letter 565, at 629. There are further copies of this letter (same date, same details) at: 169[91]r-v (in Latin); 170[504]r-v, and 171[505]r-v (both in Spanish).

The occasion was enough of a success to warrant a brief mention in the college's Annual Letter:

Doc. (xxxix): Annual Letter from the Cordoba college, signed by Diego de Baena S.I.; (221) Cordoba, 31 January 1567.

[...] *Artium curriculum post festum Beati lucæ coeptum est [...] Dialogi tres hoc tempore acti sunt, vnus in studiorum digressu, quo scholastici instituebantur quibus exercitijs feriarum tempus recte insummerent. Alius in festo Divi Petri (222) [...] In festo Beati lucæ pro studijs denuo reficiendis duæ declamationes mane sunt recitatae: Vesperi autem comaedia quaedam miro puerorum lepore, et uenustate fuit acta; [...]. (223)*

K. COMO 1568.

Some of the performances alluded to above (A-J) and mentioned in the short note of 1975 have now been studied in detail. The literature on *Euripus* grows apace. (224) To the list of known Jesuit performances of it should be added three more: one at Como in 1568, and two more in Southern France (another area of bitter religious strife) in 1569 and 1576.

Doc. (xxxii): Annual Letter for the Como college, signed by Bernardino Merenda (225), and sent to the Roman and Tuscan Provinces; Como, 1 December 1568.

[...] *Il carnouale si fece recitare dalli nostri scolari la tragedia di eurippo tradutta in uersi uulgari in una gran corte di certi gentilhomeni con si bello apparato che essendo andata la fama a*

(221) Died Peru, April 1587 (*Hist. Soc.* 42, 23r).

(222) 29 June.

(223) *Hisp. 141*, 92[325]r-93[326]v at 92v. There is a further copy of this letter (same details, same date, in Spanish) at: 94[327]r-95[328]v (material cited at: 94v).

(224) See: KROESS, *Geschichte ...*, I, 95-96; MÜLLER, *Das Jesuitendrama ...*, II, 43-45; Kurt ADEL, *Das Wiener Jesuitentheater...*, 9, 13-17, 68; BAHLMANN, 'Das Drama...', 281n.; RÄDLE, 'Die Bühne ...', 197-206; VALENTIN, 'Aux origines ...', *passim*.

(225) Born Forlì 1545; SI Rome 19 October 1560; d. Imola 3 October 1612 (*Hist. Soc.* 43, 38r; *Hist. Soc.* 175, 27r; *Rom.* 170, 42r).

Milano, et altre terre lontane di qui 100 miglia ui concorsero da ogni parte signori et gentilhomeni, et talmente piacque á tutti si per la bellezza del apparato si per la grazia de recitanti, si anchora per il soggetto che fu infinitamente lodata, talche non essendouesi ritrouato il gouernatore della cittá perche molto auanti era andato a Milano et hauendo udito per lettere di molti gentilhomeni, et per relatione di quelli che si erano trouati presenti quanto era bella, spirituale, et ben recitata, comise che si mettese in ordine che uoleua che di nuouo si recitasse in casa sua come tornaua [...]. (226)

The letter does not record whether or not this repeat performance took place.

L. AVIGNON 1569.

The Avignon college, founded in 1564/5 by Alessandro Farnese, nephew of Pope Paul III and bishop of Avignon, was housed from January 1569 in the fourteenth-century Cardinals' building known as the Maison de la Motte. It was another of Venegas' ports of call in 1566, and also the place where the famous diplomat Antonio Possevino (an able humanist and a man whom Venegas once referred to sourly as 'olim grande mi amico') was Rector. (227) 1569 was a difficult year, with Huguenot rumours crediting the Jesuits with the intention of setting up a «Spanish Inquisition» in the city. For a while, they were confined to quarters, too fearful to venture on to the streets. Yet, with Auger's intervention, and continued Papal support, it seemed by the end of the summer that all would be well. (228) The *Euripus*,

(226) *Mediol.* 75, 76[89]r-79[91]v at 77v.

(227) Avignon, Musée Calvet (= MCA), MS 2816; Marcel CHOSSAT S.I., *Les Jésuites et leurs oeuvres à Avignon, 1553-1768* (Avignon: F. Seguin, 1896), 1-25; Henri FOUQUERAY S.I., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des origines à la suppression (1528-1762)*, 5 vols (Paris: A. Picard, 1910-25), I, 434-40; Venegas to Borja, Barcelona, 7 Jan. 1567 (*Hisp.* 105, 21[549]r-v and 23r-v at 21r).

(228) MCA, MS 2397, 135r-v; MS 2490, 64r-69v. On Papal concern about Avignon and the decision to send an extraordinary nuncio, see BAV, MS *Urb. Lat.* 1041, 338v, 345v, 346v-347v, 358r, 471r, 484v, 493r (*Avvisi di Roma*, 2, 9, 13, 16, 22, 30 Sept., 21 Oct.). Also the despatch of the Venetian ambassador Contarini, 4 August 1570 (BNP, *Fonds italien 1727*, 184r-v); Frangipani to Rusticucci, Paris, 19 and 30 August, 24 and 30 Sept. (ASV, *Nunziatura di Francia*, 4, 26r-28r, 38r-39r, 58r-59v, 63r-66r). On the rumour that Possevino had persuaded the Pope to intro-

so often the vehicle of Catholic propaganda, was staged not only as a warning against heresy but also, in its way, as a modest paean of triumph:

Doc. (xxxiii): Annual Letter from the Avignon college, signed by Pietro Gambacorta S.I. (229) on behalf of the Rector, Antonio Possevino S.I., (230) and sent to the Roman and Sicilian Provinces; Avignon, 4 May 1570.

[...] *Studiorum instaurationem praecessit Tragoedia Euryppus nomine, coram Cardinale Archiepiscopo, (231) Magistra[tibus],*

duce the Inquisition in the city: Louis de Coudret (Codret) to Borja, Avignon, 22 June 1569; Auger to Borja, Lyons, 22 June; Mercurian's comments in Coudret to Borja, Avignon, 26 June (*Gall.* 82, 76[347(89)]r-77[348(90)]v at 76r; 78[308(43)]r-79[311(44)]v at 78r; 80[282(91)]r-81[92]v at 80r).

(229) Born Palermo c. 1546; SI Sept. 1560; left order July 1566 (*Ital.* 67, 113v; *Ital.* 130, 151r; *Sic.* 59, 98a v, 144v); re-joined Rome 19 July 1568; prof. Messina 4 March 1590; d. Palermo 1 Sept. 1605 (*Hist. Soc.* 43, 13r; *Ital.* 4, 170r-171r; *Rom.* 170, 97v).

(230) Born Mantua 12 July 1533; SI Rome 29 September 1559; prof. Rome 1 May 1569; d. Ferrara 26 February 1611 (*Hist. Soc.* 43, 37v; *Ital.* 3, 126r; *Rom.* 170, 34v). See also: FOUQUERAY, *Histoire ...*, I, 440-51; Mario SCADUTO S.I., 'Le missioni di A. Possevino in Piemonte: Propaganda calvinista e restaurazione cattolica, 1560-1563', *AHSI*, XXVIII (1959), 51-191; id., 'La missione del nunzio: Due memoriali di Possevino ambasciatore, 1581, 1582', *AHSI*, XLIX (1980) [Miscellanea Edmundo Lamalle nuncvata, XIV Octobri MCMLXXX], 135-60; Camillo CRIVELLI S.I., 'La disputa di Antonio Possevino con i Valdesi (26 luglio 1560)', *AHSI*, VII (1938), 79-91, esp. 82n.6; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque...*, VI [1895] col. 1061-93; IX [1900], 781-82; XII [1911-30], 262-64, 714-15, 1197-98; Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Secreta: Materie miste notabili / filza 43*, unfol.

(231) Georges d'Armagnac, b. ?La Lanne (Gers) c. 1500; a pupil of the humanist scholar and friend of Erasmus, Pierre Gilles; in the household, as a young man, of Marguerite d'Angoulême sister to François I; bishop of Rodez (Aveyron) from 1529; ambassador to Venice (1536-38) and to Holy See (1539-); named Cardinal 19 Dec. 1544; a friend in Rome of French scholars such as Du Bellay, Rabelais, and Baif; Lieutenant-Governor of Languedoc (1552-); Archbishop of Avignon 31 August 1562 (appointed perhaps because of his Farnese contacts); d. 10 July 1585 (Léonce COUTURE, 'Le Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac', *Revue de Gascogne* [Auch], XVI [1875], 341-78; J. de CARSALADE DU PONT, 'La Famille du cardinal d'Armagnac', *Revue de Gascogne*, XXXIV [1893], 447-57; R. REY, 'Le Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac, coléat à Avignon (1566-1585)', *Annales du Midi* [Toulouse], X [1898], 129-54, 273-306). He was a regular attender at Jesuit plays (*Gall.* 83, 238[243(239)]r-239[244(240)]v; *Gall.* 85, 182[139(414)]r-183[140(415)]v at 182v; letters of 1 August 1571 and 2 October 1573).

atque alijs nobilibus viris exhibita, quam omni commendatione dignam reddidit cum splendidus scenae apparatus, et res ipsa de qua agebatur tum iuuenum in recitando industria et venustas, singuli eius personae cuius erant actores, non mentes modo ac voluntates, sed pene vultus ac gestas apprime conabantur / effingere. [...] (232)

M. LYONS 1576.

Doc. (xxxiv): William Creighton (Crichton) S.I. (233) to Mercurian in Rome; Lyons, 16 October 1576.

[...] Exhibuimus in principio Renouationis Tragaediam Eurippi gallicè quae tantopere placuit, vt bis cogereamus illam exhibere [...]. (234)

In addition to the performances recorded here, scholars have suggested that there were three more: at Olomouc (Olmütz) in 1574, at Braniewo (Braunsberg) in 1585, and at Graz in 1592. I have been unable to trace documentary evidence for these. None of them is mentioned in the Annual Letters for the years in question. (235)

V

(a) In his indispensable guide to uncatalogued material in Italian libraries, Professor Kristeller mentions a manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta at Perugia. Following the title added in a seven-

(232) *Gall.* 53, 109[446(199)]r-110[447(202[sic])]v at 109r-v.

(233) Born in Scotland c. 1534; SI Rome 5 December 1562; Vice-Provincial of Aquitaine 1574-80; d. Lyons 9 June 1617 (*Lugd.* 14, 95r; *Rom.* 78b, 27r; *Rom.* 170, 60r).

(234) *Gall.* 88, 279[95(484)]r-280[96]v at 279r.

(235) CESKANOVÁ-MICHALCOVÁ, 'První...', 135 (Olomouc); Jan OKOŃ, 'Poetyka Sarbiewskiego i niektóre problemy baroku w dramacie szkolnym jezuitów w Polsce wieku XVII', *Prace Historycznoliterackie* [Krakow], XIV (1968), 41-66 at 51 (Braniewo; following POPLATEK, *Studia...*); Hermann F. WAGNER, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Salzburger Schulwesens, X: Das Schuldrama in Salzburg', *Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrer-Vereines* [Salzburg], XX (1890), nr 2, 13-16 and 29-31 (at 13 n.1: Graz).

teenth-century hand to the manuscript itself, he describes it as an 'Historia sacri Veteris Testamenti ex primo libri regum collecta & in modum tragedie per doctissimum quendam religiosum virum ex Societate Iesu traducta'. (236) The Director of the Perugia library, Dott. Mario Roncetti, kindly granted permission for a microfilm to be made of the complete play. It proved to be yet another manuscript of Venegas's play on the events leading up to King Saul's death at Gilboa, the *Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Saul Gelboaeus* (1559), and should be classified, in the list of Venegas manuscripts proposed in 1971-72, as V. 13. ix. (237)

With the exception of the last item in the manuscript (a grammatical treatise entitled *De figuris*), the miscellany containing the *Saul Gelboaeus* is a collection of pieces dealing with biblical and historical topics, principally Homer and the Trojan War. It also contains a copy of Antonio Borromeo's letter to Doge Leonardo Loredano: 'Cogitanti mihi suscipias [...]'. Except for this letter, the material in the manuscript can be dated to the 1560s and 1570s. (238) Little is known about the provenance of the miscellany. It was in the library of Prospero Podiani, the nucleus around which the Biblioteca Augusta was created, but Podiani is known to have bought from far and wide for his collection. (239) The only clue would appear to be the signature on the back of the manuscript which reads 'Petrus Crinitus', but it has not proved possible from this to identify the individual concerned. (240)

(236) Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, 2 vols (London: Warburg Institute, and Leiden: Brill, 1963-67), II, 59; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS I. 61, 123r-154v.

(237) GRIFFIN, 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', 433-34. See also the correction by RÄDLE in his review of VALENTIN, *Le Théâtre ... (Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* [Berlin], XXI [1980], 394).

(238) Giuseppe MAZZATINTI (ed.), *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, (to date) (Forlì: L. Bordandi, and Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1890-), V (Perugia, ed. A. BELLUCCI [1895]), 173-74, entry 666.

(239) I am grateful to Dott. Roncetti for this and other information about MS I. 61. The Podiani stamp ('August. Perus. Prosp. Podian.') is at fol. 2r.

(240) The only candidate I have identified is a certain Petrus Crinitus S.I (d. Douai 1 Feb. 1582: *Hist. Soc.* 42, 122v), said by PONCELET (*Nécrologe ...*, p. 9) to have gone to Douai from the 'collège dispersé de Cambrai'. More likely, I suspect, is the notion that the volume contains (or once contained) poems attributed to the late-fifteenth-century poet Pietro Crinito.

Most of the versions of the *Saul Gelboaeus* are identical save in such small matters as spelling and punctuation. Only one manuscript of the eight discussed in work on Venegas is seriously deficient, lacking a number of lines, notably in Acts I and III. (241) The Perugia manuscript, however, is significantly different. It is itself, in certain respects, deficient, lacking quite a number of individual lines in each Act; omissions (49 lines in all) which are clearly the product of the copyist's inattention. (242) However, in the final Act, it does have three lines (2056-57, 2305) which are to be found only in one other copy, (243) and eleven more which are entirely new (2255-64, 2268).

The real differences, though, are not to be found here but rather at the beginning of Act IV. Gone is the opening speech of Abner which is there in all the other known manuscripts. In its place (104r-105v) we have a 91-line speech from Jonathas. A hundred and fifty lines later (109r-110v), the Perugia manuscript provides yet another lengthy speech not to be found in any other known version of the play: seventy-one lines delivered by Samuel. There is no question of the Perugia manuscript's being the original Venegas text. It is a copy, and far too defective a copy at that. Nor is there any suggestion that it is holograph. The Portuguese manuscripts of the play, two in Lisbon and two in Évora, probably give us a better idea of the play as Venegas originally conceived of it. But these long speeches, unknown except in the Perugia version, employ all the rhetorical devices that are typical of Venegas's writing, and it is very likely that they were written into the text by him, perhaps in the mid-1560s. They may have been a response to the particular demands of an individual college which wished to give the boy-actors playing Jonathas and Samuel a better vehicle for their histrionic talents. Like the German-language intercalations into surviving neo-Latin texts of Italian or Spanish authorship, and like the adaptations of da Cruz plays for performance in Cologne, these new

(241) Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital (= BPADE), MS *CXVIII/1-21*, 122v-159r (V. 12. iv), which lacks the following: I, 54-115; II, 800, 809, 885-88; III, 1176, 1221-48, 1268-71; IV, 1726; V, 2039, 2232, 2274, 2311. Other copies lack the occasional line.

(242) Missing are: I, 195, 249, 262, 432-34; II, 590, 597, 809, 943; III, 1023, 1109, 1166, 1219-20, 1249-67, 1336, 1343, 1346; IV, 1754, 1873, 1890; V, 1904, 2008, 2129, 2141-42, 2158, 2232, 2265-66. In addition, fols 80 and 81 have been reversed.

(243) BPADE, MS *CXVIII/1-21*.

speeches testify to the willingness of Jesuit colleges to modify successful dramas to meet specific sets of local circumstances. (244)

(b) As well as this hitherto unknown manuscript of *Saul Gelboaeus* there is at least one new poem by Venegas in a manuscript miscellany now in the Biblioteca Comunale in Bologna (MS A. 642). The date of the other poems and dialogues in this collection — pieces by Ignatius's secretary André des Freux S.I. (c. 1510-1556) and several directly anti-Lutheran verses — would seem to indicate that these are early Venegas efforts. (III. 8bis in the 1971-72 list). (244bis)

VI

Professor Claude-Henri Frèches, to whose valuable studies of Venegas's plays one returns time and again, dates the first performance of the *Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Achabus* to the period 1560-64, and hazards that it may have been staged as early as 1560. (245) In 1973, I tentatively ascribed it to the year 1561, a date retained two years later in the introduction to an edition of the play itself. (246) It now seems that its premiere can be fixed with confidence in the late summer of 1562; not long, in fact, before Venegas was to leave Coimbra (and Portugal) for good. He may have been increasingly unhappy at the Colégio das Artes, and some of his less savoury personal traits may have begun to worry his colleagues and superiors. But of his poetic gifts there could never be a moment's doubt, and in the four-monthly letter describing his latest triumph in detail his talents as both playwright and director were warmly applauded. The presence in the audience of many officials of the University affords further evidence of the degree to which the bitter battles of the 1550s between the University and the college had been forgotten. Much of the credit for this must go to the energetic

(244) GRIFFIN, 'A Portuguese Jesuit Play...'

(244bis) Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, MS A.642, 240r-294v, 318r-334v. The poem beginning 'Quid nouus ignotae...' ([277]r-v) is certainly by Venegas; some or all of the eight which follow ([277]v-[283]v) may well be. On Des Freux see: GRIFFIN, 'A Portuguese Jesuit Play...', 63-64 n.15.

(245) *Le Théâtre néo-latin au Portugal (1550-1745)* (Paris: Nizet & Lisbon: Bertrand, 1964), 191.

(246) 'Miguel Venegas...', 803; *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas*, viii.

and diplomatic protégé of Cardinal Enrique, Jorge de Almeida. (247) But a little of it at least must be given to the teaching-staff at the college, and to the Spanish-born humanist whose dramatic essays on the perils of heresy could always be counted on to draw large and distinguished audiences prepared to forget their differences for a day:

Doc. (xxxv): Four-monthly letter from the Coimbra college, signed by Francisco Álvarez S.I. (248) and sent to Rome; Coimbra, 1 September 1562.

[...] Este año acabaron el curso y se hizieron maestros en artes .9. hermanos de casa, muy prouechos en la facultad de las artes. tuuieronse tambien las conclusiones generales de logica y *philosophia*, hallandose à ellas muchos maestros de la Vniversidad y algunos doctores y leyentes della, esto con mucho [*sic*] satisfacion, no solamente de los discipulos *que* respondian, mas aun de la doctrina y erudicion de los maestros de casa, *que* a ellas asistian y *presidian*. / hizose asy mismo una tragedia *que* compuso el padre Venegas muy elegante y artificiosa, de la *persecution* de helias, y muerte del Rey Acab, la qual se represento con grandissimo fausto y aparato, no solamente de muchos y diversos instrumentos de musica, *que* causauan grande gusto a los oyentes, y ornauan mucho la misma tragedia, (249) mas aun con uestidos muy ricos y de

(247) Mário BRANDÃO, *O Colégio das Artes*, 2 vols (Coimbra: Univ. of Coimbra, 1924-33), II, 141, etc.

(248) There was an 'Irmão francisco alvarez' at Coimbra in Aug. 1558 and Jan. 1559 (*Lus. 43I*, 65r, 68[162(271)]r). Another, admitted Évora 24 Nov. 1561, was at Coimbra from 1563 (*Lus. 43I*, 187[180(323)]r, 192[182(325)]r, 211[486(190 [333])]r, *Lus. 43II*, 333r[p. 435]). See also: FG 77/II, 70[130(254)]r-v.

(249) The use of music as an integral part of the Jesuit *ludi literarii* has begun, in recent years, to receive scholarly attention. See: GOSSETT, 'Drama...', 62, 78-80; Thomas CULLEY S.J., 'The Influence of the German College in Rome on Music in German-Speaking Countries during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Analecta Musicologica: Veröffentlichungen der Musikabteilung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* [Rome], VII (1969), 1-35; CULLEY, *Jesuits and Music. I: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome and St Louis, 1970 [Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, II]); CULLEY and Clement J. McNASPY S.J., 'Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565)', *AHSI*, XL (1971), 231-245; CULLEY, 'Musical Activity in some Sixteenth-Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589', *Studien zur Italienisch-*

gran pretio y sobre todo las figuras eran tam *propias y naturales* cada una en lo *que representaua que causauan grande admiracion* en todos, y asy quedaron muy satishechos y contentos, *specialmente* el Rector (250) y doctores de la Universidad. tambien se dieron los premios, segun la costumbre de cada año, *con un dialogo muy lepidoy gracioso*. (251) asy mismo se hizo la fiesta de la Reyna *sancta que es la del collegio* (252) armandose la yglesia *con muchos paños y cartas de los studiantes, y muchos enigmas muy buenos y bien pintados, con la oracion que se tuuo* (253) *con mucha satisfacion de todos*. [...] (254)

deutsch Musikgeschichte [Cologne and Graz], XII (1979), 1-29; Graham DIXON, 'Musical Activity in the Church of the Gesù in Rome during the Early Baroque', *AHSI*, XLIX (1980), 323-37, which affords parallels with Jesuit theatre music. The most systematic study, however, is still WITTMER, 'Die Musikpflege...', esp. pp. 77-112 ('Die Musik beim Theaterspiel').

(250) This was one of the last official acts of Almeida as Rector of the University, although there ensued a squabble between the University and Cardinal Henry (regent in succession to Queen Catherine) over his successor (BRANDÃO, *O Colégio ...*, II, 200-204).

(251) Possibly one of the pieces, variously described as 'dialogus' and 'actiuncula', listed as items IV. 10 and IV. 11 in GRIFFIN, 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', 431-32. These were certainly intended for performance at a prize-day ceremony and, in one manuscript at least (BNL, MS 3308), are linked to the text of the *Achabus*.

(252) For the importance of this date (variously 4 and 8 July) in the calendar of Portuguese Jesuit colleges (although there was a move — in Coimbra, at least — to hold the celebrations at a cooler time of year), see: BNL, MS 3308, pp. 131-61, 173-203, 255-80, etc.; BPADE, MS *CXIV/1-40*, 173r-181r; Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MSS 993 and 994; RAHM, MS 9/2532 [*Cortes 349*], pp. 1-[116]; *Lus.* 68, 238[435]r-240[437]v (letter of 31 August 1579) at 239[436]v; Francisco de BRITTO DE MENEZES, *Sanctissimae Reginae Elisabethae poeticvm carmen ...* (Coimbra: Días Gómez de Louveyro, 1626). Also: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS *Conventi soppressi B. 10. 1522*, item [1] ('Historia rerum gestarum à Sancta Elisabetha Lusitaniae Regina', a seventeenth-century miscellany from the Servite house of the SS. Annunziata), and the papers assembled in Rome for her canonization (ASV, *Archivum Congregationis SS. Riti: Processus*, MSS 501, 502, 4218, etc.). The devotion to Queen Elisabeth (canonized 1626), widow of Dinis, sprang from the express wish (1556) of João III, later endorsed (1565) by his son Sebastião (FG: 1048/19; Rome, Archivio di Stato, MS 302).

(253) Possibly: BNL, MS 3308, pp. 401-12 (GRIFFIN, 'Some Jesuit Theatre Manuscripts', 430, item: I. 1).

(254) *Lus.* 51, 226[545]r-229v at 227[546]r-v.

VII

Frêches it was also who suggested that another play, *Tobias*, a copy of which appears in a Lisbon miscellany alongside plays by Venegas, (255) might just possibly be from his pen also. In 1973, I advanced some reasons for reserving judgement on this. (256) We can now go further, as evidence has come to light which shows that Venegas did not write the play. Yet, when Frêches claimed to see close parallels between *Tobias* and the three known Venegas dramas, he was not so wide of the mark. The similarities are there, and their presence is perhaps accounted for when one realises that the author of the play was one of Venegas's own pupils:

Doc. (xxxvi): Four-monthly letter from the Évora college, signed by Hernando Navarro S.I., (257) and sent to Laínez in Rome; Évora, 31 August 1563.

[...] Juntose la vniuersidad dia del spiritu santo, (258) confessando y comulgando los studiantes, y auiendo sermon como se acostumbra. El dia siguiente se pusieron muchas y muy ricas cartas,

(255) BNL, *Cód. 3092*, [122]v-[147]v; FRÊCHES, *Le Théâtre ...*, 225-37; also, following him: Mário MARTINS S.I., 'Teatro sagrado nas Crisandades da Índia Portuguesa, Séc. XVI', *Didaskalia* [Lisbon], V (1975), 156 and 173. There is an eighteenth-century copy of *Tobias*: BPADE, MS *CXIV/1-5d*, n.º 5, [1]r-[31]v.

(256) 'Miguel Venegas ...', 801. Similar reservations had already been expressed by Ermelinda Emília BARBOSA COUTO, '*Saul Gelboaeus* de Miguel Venegas', unpubl. doct. diss. (University of Coimbra, 1968), 34.

(257) Born Trasmiera (Vizcaya, Spain); like Carrillo (n. 98, above), in service as a young boy as page and scribe (to the Duke of Nájera and the Count of San Esteban del Puerto in Seville); *comprador* of the Évora college 1563 (another of the menial tasks traditionally allotted to recent entrants), and also a student of humanities and, therefore, probably an actor in the play. He had gone to America, an experience which had, in his own words, «terrified» him into taking up the religious life; SI Lisbon, c. 1562. He expressed a desire to go to the Indies, which was required when he perished of fever on board the *Chagas* in 1571 (*Lus. 43I*, 203[478]r; FG 77/II, 339[65(148)]r-v at 339r, item 29; Josef WICKI S.I., 'Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758', Sonderdruck aus *Portugiesische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* [Münster], VII (1967), 274, 343; WICKI, 'Die Todesfälle und ihre Ursachen in der Indischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu, 1541-1574', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* [Beckenried, Switzerland], XVII (1961), 257-79 at 270).

(258) Sunday 30 May.

cercado todo el patio de las classes con paños de armar. Pusieronse cinco Enygmas, de los quales se adiuinaron dos. hizosse esto este día, y tuuieronse las conclusiones *que* en el principio del año se solian tener, por parecer assy mas conueniente para authoridad desta vniuersidad. Al otro día se represento una Comedia de la historia de Tobias *que* compuso el maestro de la primera classe, *que* no causo poca admiracion y deuocion a los oyentes, por ser muy sentenciosa, y las figuras hazerlo tam bien *que* no se podia mas esperar. Mouieronse a lagrimas muchos hombres nobles y religiosos. Hallosse presente grande copia de gente assi Ecclesiasticos como seglares, y religiosos de todas las ordenes *que* ay en esta ciudad, los quales todos mostraron contentarse en estremo. [...] (259)

The letter goes on to furnish details of an eclogue given as part of the ceremonies, 'la qual era una traça y figura de los premios *que* se auian de dar', and also mentions several 'oraciones' especially written for the occasion (one of which was in Greek and probably the work of one of the Province's leading Grecians: Diogo Fernandes or Melchor Lobato (260)). But it is from the extract above that we can track down the author of *Tobias*, for the Évora college catalogue for 1 September 1563 identifies as teacher of the most advanced class one 'Magister Franciscus Gomes [...] Lusitanus'. (261)

Gomes had entered the order around the age of fifteen in the summer of 1555, and had studied Latin, Greek, and theology at Coimbra. Described in one of the early catalogues as 'de muyto boa abelidade', he was, apparently, a model pupil. Principal among his teachers was Venegas, and he took over Venegas's classes when the latter left for Rome. He transferred to Évora in 1563, this performance of *Tobias* being possibly the first taste the Évora public had had of their new teacher of rhetoric. (262) It proved als too be his swansong: he was already seriously ill of the disease (perhaps tuberculosis) to which

(259) *Lus.* 52, 55[447]r-57[449]v at 55v.

(260) See, e.g.: BNL, MS 3308, pp. 387, 437, 454, 467.

(261) *Lus.* 43I, 202[249]r[p. 476].

(262) Born Viana de Alvito (Alemtejo) c. 1540; SI 16 July 1555 (*Lus.* 43I, 14v[p. 38], entry 118; 26v[p. 8]; FG 77/II, 99[85(104)]r-v[pp. 162-63]. On his understudying Venegas: *Lus.* 43II, 292r[p. 363] (Coimbra catalogue, ?Easter 1561) 'A dias *que* el padre francisco anda para desocuparle [Venegas] de leer letras'.

he was to succumb the following August. Indeed, his transfer from Coimbra to the «drier» climate of the Alemtejo may have been part of a vain attempt to prevent any further deterioration in his condition. (263)

* * *

Francisco Gomes's *Tobias* is an example of a «second generation» Jesuit play. Despite the growth of studies on Jesuit drama, we are still a long way from understanding just how individual dramatists came to write the kind of plays they did. It is at least clear that their youthful experiences as actors and as spectators played some part in forming their conceptions of theatre and of spectacle. Subtler men than the Plasencia *consultor* Pedro Rodríguez elected to adapt popular festivals and entertainments to their own propagandistic purposes rather than indulge in futile essays in suppressing them altogether. (264) If we are to talk at all meaningfully of a «Jesuit style» we shall have to look much more closely at the ways in which such festivals were adopted and adapted, and also at the influence of one generation of teacher-dramatists upon the next. (265)

(263) *Lus.* 52, 118[496]r. It is not easy to identify Francisco Gomes with any certainty, as there were at least three Jesuits of this name alive in the 1560s. It would seem, however, that it is the Évora playwright whose illness and death are recorded in the Lisbon (São Roque) four-monthly letter dated 1 Sept. 1564 (*Lus.* 52, 140[455]r-142[457]v at 140r). Another was the author of a Lisbon dialogue in 1565 (GARZÓN-BLANCO, 'The Inaugural Production...', 17), and a third taught at Cordoba in southern Spain (AL for the Cordoba college signed (on behalf of rector Zárate) by Diego de Vaena (Baena), 14 December 1567: *Hisp.* 141, 137[329]r-138v at 137v). For examples of the transfer of personnel to «cure» diseases attributed to unfamiliar climatic conditions, see: GRIFFIN, 'A Curious Document ...', 72n.21; *Hisp.* 100, 165[286]r, 351[220]r; *Hisp.* 106, 220[576]r; *Hisp.* 107, 151[159]v.

(264) e.g. Acosta's suggestion that one should 'borrar unas ceremonias con otras' (MATEOS, *Obras...*, 565); and Johann Adler's advice that, as with the spiritual direction of individuals, a low-key approach of «accommodation» was more likely to prove successful than one of evangelical reforming zeal (letter to Láinez, Prague, 24 October 1556; *MHSI, Epistolae Mixtae* (Madrid, 1898-1901), V [1901], 471-77, letter 1197, at 471-72).

(265) See the material collected in: Rudolf WITTKOWER and Irma B. JAFFE (eds), *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972).

Venegas inherited a tradition which had its roots in the neo-Latin university pieces of the turn of the century. He and his contemporaries delighted in performances of Brecht's *Euripus* that foreshadowed so much of what they were themselves to attempt. Venegas's own plays were in turn performed, like *Euripus*, in different parts of Europe, and pieces such as *Tobias*, the work of his pupil and immediate successor, reflect these influences, as do Luís da Cruz's dramas, published at Lyons and performed in such distant cities as Munich and Cologne. (266) Da Cruz had himself been a Venegas pupil in the early 1560s. (267) A similar «pedigree» remains to be traced through Gnapheus and Acevedo to some of the Medina and Salamanca plays of the 1570s and 1580s. (268)

The sixteenth-century world of letters exemplifies perfectly Sebastian Munster's observation of 1552 that 'formerly regions were bound by mountains and rivers [...] but today [...] the limits of a region are the limits of its language'. Like the fifteenth-century humanists before them, the Jesuits conducted their operations, wherever possible, in Latin. They may have studied local ideas and attitudes with a view to turning them to their own purposes, but theirs was an international community of scholars operating in a language that was understood throughout Europe and even beyond, and for them political and linguistic frontiers were of limited importance. (269) A Spanish-born dramatist could compose plays and poems for his pupils in Portugal, obtain a transfer to France and, after abandoning his teaching-post in Paris, find himself asked to supervise new performances of them in a

(266) GRIFFIN, 'A Portuguese Jesuit Play...'

(267) *Lus.* 43II, 292r[p. 363], 295v[p. 370]: Coimbra catalogue, probably of Easter 1561.

(268) See the RAHM material studied by GRIFFIN, 'Some Aspects...', esp. I, 193-225; *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas*, ix-x, 119-70; and by GARCÍA SORIANO, *El teatro ...*, *passim*. The *Acolastus* was purchased by Jesuit librarians at Mons, Antwerp, and elsewhere (see the dissolution sale-catalogues: Mons, 6 July 1778 [Brussels: J.B. Jorez, and Mons: Henri Bottin]; Antwerp, 26 May 1779 [Louvain: J.P.G. Michel]); it was performed in colleges as far apart as Lisbon, Innsbruck, Cochim (S. India), and Lima (Peru) (Lisbon, Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, MS *Cartas do Japão III*, 233v-234r; GRIFFIN, 'Some Aspects...', II, 404).

(269) Cited in: PARKER, *The Dutch Revolt*, 35; a similar point is made by EVANS, *The Making...*, 114.

German college and with a largely Bohemian cast. And Venegas's case is by no means unique. (270)

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POSTSCRIPT

Since I completed this article, the first volume of Jean-Marie Valentin's long-awaited list of Jesuit play performances in the German-speaking lands of Europe has appeared. Entitled *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande: Répertoire des pièces représentées et des documents conservés (1555-1773), I: 1555-1728* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983) [Hiersemanns Bibliographische Handbücher, 3.1], it provides the most exhaustive list of productions ever published on the Jesuit drama of any part of Europe.

It has not proved possible to take full account of Professor Valentin's study, but I note with reference to the Brecht performances of *Euripus* listed above:

- p. 1: 'Selon MÜLLER, II, p. 44, il y aurait eu une représentation la même année [1555] à Cologne. Il s'agit d'une confusion avec l'édition de la pièce parue là cette même année.' (Compare p. 52, above);
- p. 3: There is no mention of the 28 September 1557 Prague staging (above, pp. 52-53). The play is recorded as having been played over three days in 1560 (compare the three performances noted on pp. 54-55);
- p. 2: The 1559 Ingolstadt staging is listed, but without the repeat performance recorded in Menghen's letter (above pp. 59-60). This is also the case with the entry for the 1560 Munich production (p. 3; compare above, p. 61); 'Olomouc 1574' and 'Graz 1592' (see above, p. 76) are not listed.

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