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## SOME JESUIT THEATRE MANUSCRIPTS

The intense literary and artistic activity of the Jesuit *studia* in the sixteenth century, both within the Iberian peninsula and beyond, has exercised a perennial fascination over students of that order's early history. Twentieth-century scholars in particular, who have had at their disposal so many of the documents which are vital to an understanding of the intimate workings of the Society (1), have worked increasingly on this aspect of its growth and development (2). Father Rodrigues and Father Astraín, with their authoritative accounts of these formative years in the latter part of the sixteenth century, have given us a searching analysis of the daily routine of Jesuit schools and colleges in Spain and Portugal (3) and we no longer need to look far for a detailed account of the duties and activities of the many *magistri* who taught in them.

All this, then, has given us a far clearer picture than hitherto of the nature of the curriculum, the main aim of which is 'que salgan hombres muy insignes y rraros en letras... [y que] se enseñen los oyentes

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(1) The continued publication of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, 105 vols (to date) (Madrid, later Rome, 1894- ), hereafter referred to as *MHSJ*, has placed at the student's disposal a whole mass of historical evidence of the highest value.

(2) On music, for example, see Thomas D. Culley, S.J. and Clement J. McNaspy, S.J., 'Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 40(1971), 213-45, and Culley, *Jesuits and Music, I: A study of the musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th century and of their activities in Northern Europe* (Rome & St Louis, 1970, Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, 2); for theatre, see Jan Okón, *Dramat i teatr szkolny. Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1970). These are just a few of many.

(3) Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal*, 6 vols (Porto, 1931-1944); Antonio Astraín, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, 6 vols (Madrid, 1912-1920).

biuir pía y christianamente', (4) — as part of the general *instituto* 'que es, no solamente seruir á Dios por vosotros mismos, pero attrayendo otros muchos al seruicio suyo y honra; porque de los tales dize la scriptura, quod, qui alios ad iustitiam erudiunt, fulgebunt sicut stellae firmamenti in perpetuas aeternitates' (5) — and we can begin to formulate a fairly accurate idea of the work of the man who was 'the life and soul of the whole method' (6), the *magister rhetoricus*. Yet many scholars, such as Frèches, who has studied a number of these pieces composed to sow 'much a edificación y reputación á la Conpañia' (7) and which 'animus ad agendas Deo gratias excitarent' (8) while at the same time providing an exercise in memory and *pronuntiatio*, have refused to consider the output of the *rheticus* as a whole. (Frèches, for example, deliberately chooses to consider the drama outside the context of the *ludus litterarius* of which it is an integral part. (9)). It is, therefore, only in such articles as those of Professor Américo da Costa Ramalho or in the work (unfortunately as yet unpublished) of some of his pupils at Coimbra (10) that we can build up a balanced picture

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(4) *MHSJ, Monumenta Paedagogica*, I(1901), 25. Monumentum 2, 'Modus in fundatione collegiorum servandus'.

(5) *MHSJ, Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series I, vol I, 501, Ignatius to the Fathers and Brothers at Coimbra, Epistola 169, Rome, 7 May 1547.

(6) Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion, a biography* (London, 1867), 76. This brief work has one of the best descriptions of the duties of the Professor of Rhetoric (pages 75-77).

(7). *MHSJ, Epistolae P. Salmeronis*, II, 181, to Borja, Epistola 314, Naples, 24 October 1568.

(8) *MHSJ, Litterae Quadrimestres*, III, 129, Marco Jorge for Father Miguel Bairros to Ignatius, Epistola 321, Évora, 3 September 1554.

(9) Claude-Henri Frèches, *Le Théâtre Néo-Latin au Portugal (1550-1745)* (Paris and Lisbon, 1964), p.xii. Others adopt the same attitude; see, for example, A.D. Stender-Petersen, *Tragoediae sacrae. Materialen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Polnisch-Lateinischen Jesuitendramatik der Frühzeit* (Tartu [Dorpat], 1931), p. 6. For fuller descriptions of *ludi litterarii* see Pero Dias's letter of October 1559 written from Coimbra in *MHSJ, Litterae Quadrimestres*, VI, 361, Epistola 304, and Balthasar Barreira's account of the opening ceremony at Évora University in *MHSJ, Litterae Quadrimestres*, VI, 390-401, Epistola 312, Évora, 27 November 1559. Also, for example, Father Balthasar Costa's letter to the Brothers in Europe, dated Goa, 4 December 1562, which is Documentum 88 in *MHSJ, Monumenta Indica*, V, 593-5.

(10) Américo da Costa Ramalho, 'Um Manuscrito de Teatro Humanístico Conimbricense' in his *Estudos sobre a Época do Renascimento* (Coimbra, 1969), 333-45

of the varied literary and artistic activity that was displayed by the Jesuits' pupils on the large public occasion (11).

Accordingly, I have thought it useful to collect together in one article some brief notes on all the material I have been able to find from the pen of one such *magister rhetoricus*, (and one who was among the most famous Jesuit humanists in the 1550s and 60s), Miguel Venegas (12). I do not pretend that this list is definitive and, indeed, I fully expect that many more copies of the pieces mentioned below—and, most probably, of entirely new works by Venegas — lie unrecognised among the huge Jesuit miscellanies that abound in the libraries of Europe (after all, copies of conclusions, sermons and literary efforts were constantly being sent around Europe (13)). The list is, however, considerably more complete than any compiled to date and it does offer examples right across the whole gamut of Jesuit literary composition. I have appended to the bibliographical information a few notes which the reader will instantly recognise as informative rather than critical. It is hoped to publish some samples of the texts themselves, in the belief that selection from among Venegas's writings would do much to supplement the historical accounts already mentioned; notes of a critical nature will be more in place in such an anthology than in an article such as this.

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(an earlier version of which appeared in *Humanitas*, 13-14 (1960-1), I-VIIb); 'Eborae et Novi Eboraci', *Humanitas*, 15-16 (1963-4), 434-5; and his review of Frêches in *Humanitas*, 17-18 (1965-6), 361-3. Ermelinda Emilia Barbosa Couto, 'Saul Gelboaeus de Miguel Venegas' (unpublished dissertation, University of Coimbra, 1968).

(11) By c. 1560 it was not only the more important festivals of the academic calendar that were celebrated with a *festspiel* of this kind, but also significant political events, both within the college (the consecration of a new building, the visit of a civic dignitary or an eminent ecclesiastic) and outside it (a royal marriage, a military victory & c.).

(12) For details of Venegas's life see my forthcoming article, 'Miguel Venegas and the Sixteenth-Century Jesuit School Drama', *Modern Language Review* 68 (1973).

(13) See, for example, *MHSJ, Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series I, V, 659-60 to the Brothers in Spain, Epistola 3884, Rome, 4 November 1553; *ibid.*, IX, 635 to Father Jean le Pelletier, rector at Ferrara, Epistola 5745, Rome, 21 September, 1555.

I. *Sermons*

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| 1. | Oratio de laudibus Regis /<br>Ioannis tertij habita a P <sup>e</sup> /<br>Michaelae Vanegas / Z [sic]<br>die Octobris / anno dñi 1559 | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,<br>Códice 3308, pp. 363 ff. (14) |
| 2. | DE D. ELISABETHAE LAV/<br>DIBUS ORATIO. / A Patre<br>Michaelae Venegas  | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,<br>Códice 3308, pp. 401-12.      |

II. *Epigrams and Enigmas*

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| 3. | EPigrammata P. Michaelis<br>Vanegas/De Diuae Isabellae<br>Reginae laudibus / Anno 1561 | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,<br>Códice 3308, pp. 430-6.      |
| 4. | AEnigmata [by, among<br>others]-pr Vanegas   | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,<br>Códice 3308, pp. 957-8, 961. |

III. *Songs and Poems*

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| 5. | Ad Mondam de sepulchro/<br>reginae   | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,<br>Códice 3308, p. 380.                                      |
| 6. | i. Ad D. Isabellam Reginam /<br>De nuptijs Isabellae et Philip/<br>pi Baeticae Regum. /<br>Anno 1560 / a p <sup>e</sup> Vanegas                                  | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,<br>Códice 3308, pp. 381 ff.                                  |
|    | ii. AD D. ELIS. REGINAM / de<br>nuptijs Isabellae et Philippi /<br>Boeticae regū ab eodem p <sup>e</sup><br>[i. e. Venegas] / anno 1560<br>[some are dated 1561] | Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo<br>Distrital, Códice CXIV/1-40, fls. 181r.-<br>-187r. |

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(14) This codex, entitled *IESVS/ Rerū scholastica — / rum, quae à patribus, ac / fratribus huius Conim — / bricensis Collegij scrip — / tae sunt. / Tomus primus*, contains not only the many Venegas pieces listed below, but also works by his illustrious colleague Manoel Álvares, by Marcello Vaz, by Gaspar Gonzales and by others. For the importance of the figure of Álvares see Emilio Springhetti, S.J., 'Storia e fortuna della Grammatica di Emmanuele Alvarez, S.J.', *Humanitas*, 13-14 (1960-1), 283-304.

7. VARIA ADDIVĀ [sic] / elisabetem ca'mina [sic] / a uarijsq: composita [among them:] MICHA/ële Vanegas [The first of these is dated: 1559] Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Códice CXIV/1-40, fls. 176r.-180v.
8. [Poem, beginning:] 'Quos Arabes Persaeque legunt Oriente lapillos, / ...' Frontispiece to first edition of Cipriano Suárez's *De Arte Rhetorica...* (15)

IV. *Dialogues and small dramatised pieces*

9. i. EOdem año 1561 mense Julio in aduētū reuerē/dissimi Episcopi Risamensis de sancta cruce / à Pio Quarto Pontifice maximo legati / Gratulatio à P. Michaele Vanegas (16). Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Códice 3308, pp. 457-466.
- ii. In aduentu Reuerendissi:/mi Episcopi Risamensis / de sãcta cruce à Pio 4º / Pontifice Maxº legati / Gratulatio. New York, Hispanic Society of America, Ms. HC: 411/53, fls. 137r.-147v.
- iii. Grãmaticae ad eundē Prosperū / oratio à Patre Mich. Va/nega. Anapaesti. Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Códice CXIV/1-40, fls. 168v.-171v.
10. i. IN Die Praemiorum actiuncula Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Códice 3308, pp. 413-423.
- ii. In diem praemi/orum dialogus a pº Mi. / Uan. [this is in fact two dialogues, the first of which corresponds to 10i.] Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Códice CXIV/1-40, fls. 134r.-143r.

(15) *DE ARTE RHETORICA* / *Libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone & Quintiliano praecipue / deprompti. [...Authore Cypriano Soarez/...CONIMBRICAE / Cum facultate inquisitoris, & ordinarij, quam sequens pagina indicat. / Apud Ioannem Barrerium. / 1562.* It appears in later editions also.

(16) This consists of a series of *orationes*, spoken in turn by Grammaticus, Rhetoricus, Dialecticus and Philosophus. For a discussion of the visit of the papal legate, Próspero de Santa Cruz see A. Costa Ramalho, *Estudos...*, 338-42.

11. i. Dialogus in praemiari[um]      Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,  
Código 3308, pp. 559 ff.
- ii. In diem praemi/orum dia-  
logus a p<sup>o</sup> Mi. /Uan. [the  
second of the two dialogues  
above (10. ii.)]

#### V. *Plays*

12. i. TRAGOEDIA, CVI NO-  
MEN / inditum Saul Gel/  
boaeus. a patre ~~Va~~ [sic] Mi/  
chaele Venegas cōposita (17)
- ii. Tragaedia cui nomen inditū  
/ Saul Gelboeus      Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional,  
Código 3092, fs. [53]v.-[91]v. (18)
- iii. IHS. / TRAGOEDIA / CVI  
NOMEN / inditum Saul/  
Gelboaeus: A/P. MICHAELE  
VANE: /Composita / Conim-  
bricae anno do/mini nos-  
tri 15 [sic]      Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo  
Distrital, Código CXIV/1-40, fs. 81r.-  
-132r.
- iv. ~~Tragico~~ [sic]/Tragoedia cui  
Nomē / Inditū [sic] Saul / Gel-  
boaeus/Acta anno domini 1559  
/ Nono die Iulij / Conībricae      Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo  
Distrital, Código CXVIII/1-21,  
fs. 122v.-159r. (19)
- v. Tragoedia cui nomen indi-  
tum / Saul Gelboaeus      New York, Hispanic Society of America,  
MS. HC. 411/53, fs. 58r.-101r. (20)

(17) There are, in fact, many Jesuit plays on this theme; see, among others, the piece in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13.280 [suppl. 798], fs. Vr. ff. The famous *Saul* of Simão Vieira was performed at Évora, also in 1559 (see *MHSJ, Litterae Quadrimestres*, VI, 390-401, from Balthasar Barreira, Epistola 312, Évora, 27 November 1559) and, of course, Edmund Campion's treatment of the Saul and David story was given at Prague in 1577 and 1591.

(18) *Bibliotragicon / seu Biblia Historica Tragica octodecim [sic!] / sacrae...*

(This MS contains, in fact, only the three Venegas pieces and the anonymous *Tobias*).

(19) This MS contains the one defective copy of *Saul Gelboaeus*.

(20) For a full description of this MS, *LIBER TRAGAE/diarum: & aliorum / carminum/ Operâ, et studio variorum Poe — / tarum Societatis Iesu in Regno/ Lusitaniae...*, see A. Costa Ramalho, *Estudos...*, 333 ff.



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| vi. SAVL TRAGOEDIA  | Chantilly, Archives des Jésuites de la Province de Paris, fonds Vanège, MS. 6500, fs. [120]v.-[160]r. (21) |
| vii. Tragoedia, cui nomen inditum Saul Gelboaeus anno 1559  | Dillingen, Studienbibliothek, Hs. 219, fs. 101v.-186v.   |
| viii. TRAGEODIA CVI NOMEN / inditum Saul Gelboaeus / Anno 1559.   | Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 521, fs. 32r.-75r. (22)  |
| 13. i. Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Achabus (23)   | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Códice 3092, fs. [3]v.-[53]v.   |
| ii. TRAGEDIA CVI /NOMen inditum/ [sic] composita / à patre Michaele Venegas [this is the <i>Achabus</i> ]                         | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Códice 3308, pp. 491-567.   |
| iii. [Untitled play with each verso fol. bearing legend:] TRAGOEDIA ACHABI [and each recto fol.:] A P <sup>e</sup> MIC. VA. COMP. | Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Códice CXIV/1-40, fs. 17v.-80r.                             |
| iv. Ihūs / Tragoedia cui nomen inditum/Achabus.   | New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS. HC 411/53, fs. [A]r.-58r. (24)                                  |

(21) This is the only MS in the 'fonds Vanège'. The left-hand margin of fol. 120v. reads 'Vanegae / Habita año 1566. / in collegio Germ.<sup>co</sup>'. So at least two separate performances of the piece are attested (and there were probably many more). I would like to thank my colleague Mr. Paul Donnelly and also Father Joseph Dehergne, the archivist at Chantilly, for their help in tracking down both this and number 13. vi. below.

(22) I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. G. Schott, the Director of the Munich University Library, for his assistance in identifying the pieces in this MS, which comes originally from the Jesuit college at Ingolstadt. Perhaps *Saul Gelboaeus* was performed there also.

(23) The Ahab and Jezabel story was another very popular one with college dramatists. A piece on this theme was given in Rome in 1565 and copies of Ahab and Jezabel plays are legion. See, for example, Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, Abt. 117 Nr. 737 (performed at Mainz in 1592); Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Hs. Univ. 1058, fs. 416r. ff.; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Colección de Cortes, Códice 384, fs. 32r.-45; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 13.266 [suppl. 833]. Another was performed in 1578 (see Załęski, *Wiadomość o rekopiśmie XVI wieku, znalezionym na kościele niegdyś jezuickim, a teraz benedyktyńskim w Pułtusk* [Biblioteka starożytna pisarzy polskich. VI], (Warszawa, 1854) p. 304), and there are doubtless many more.

(24) The name 'Ioão Alz' appears in the right-hand corner of fl. 1r. Is this the name of the erstwhile owner of the MS?

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| v. Tagaedia [ <i>sic</i> ] quae inscribitur Achabus. | Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Miscelânea 1235, fs. 160r.-217r. (25)                      |
| vi. ACHAB [in left hand margin, we read:] Vanege     | Chantilly, Archives des Jésuites de la Province de Paris, fonds Vanège, MS. 6500, fs. [162]v.-[213]v. |
| vii. [Untitled copy of the <i>Achabus</i> ]          | Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Hs. Univ. 1058, fs. Bv. ff. (26)                              |
| viii. Acab. Tragaedia. Ignoti. Authoris.             | Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Vecchio, MS 113, pp. 193-261.                                |
| 14. i. Tragoedia cui nomen inditum / Absalon (27).   | Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Códice 3092, fs. [91]v.-[122]r.  |
| ii. TRAGOEDIAE ABSA—/lon prologus                    | Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Códice CXIV/1-40, fs. 202r.-241v.                      |
| iii. Tragoedia, cui nomen inditū Absalon.            | New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS HC 411/53, fs. 101r.-137r.                                  |

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Oxford.

(25) *Tragédias e tragicomédias latinas*.

(26) This copy bears the legend, 'Probabile existimo sequens Drama exhibitum / Moguntiae aut Herbipoli eo tempore quo Philip:pus & ferdinandus (postea Elector Coloniae) / fratres Bauariae Ducis Moguntiam & Herbi: / polim visitarunt cum ambo iuuenes essent / (? puto) inter Annum 16 [*sic*] 1590 & 1600 — '(fol. Bv.). — further evidence for these pieces having been played throughout Europe. Perhaps the 1592 Mainz performance of the Koblenz MS (see note 22 above) is in some way connected with this performance of the Venegas piece? This Cologne collection also contains a *Manasse* [*sic*] *Restitutus* (fs. 260r. ff.) — a copy of the piece by Luis da Cruz — and a version of another Cruz play, that published as *Sedecias*. This version is substantially different (corresponding mainly to Acts IV and V of the published play) and is entitled *TRAGOEDIA SACRA / HIEROSOLYMA EVERSA PER NA-/BVCHODONOSOREM* (fs. 150r. ff.). I would like to thank Dr. Bogumil of the Cologne archive who has patiently answered my many enquiries about this MS.

(27) Yet another popular theme. Indeed, Venegas may himself have been partly responsible for the popularity of these themes taken from early Hebrew history. A play on this theme is to be found in Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, Hs. Abt. 117 Nr. 710 (formerly 593 I; 11) and there is also the play *Absalon et David* mentioned by Father Juan Bonifacio in *Epistolae Hispanicae* IV, 336 as having been played in Medina del Campo in 1562.