The Vineyard of Verse

*The State of Scholarship on Latin Poetry of the Old Society of Jesus*

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Abstract

This review of scholarship on Jesuit humanistic literature and theater is Latin-oriented because the Society’s sixteenth-century code of studies, the *Ratio Studiorum*, in force for nearly two centuries, enjoined the study and imitation in Latin of the best classical authors. Notwithstanding this well-known fact, co-ordinated modern scholarship on the Latin poetry, poetics, and drama of the Old Society is patchy. We begin with questions of sources, reception, and style. Then recent work on epic, didactic, and dramatic poetry is considered, and finally, on a handful of “minor” genres. Some genres and regions are well studied (drama in the German-speaking lands), others less so. There is a general scarcity of bilingual editions and commentaries of many “classic” Jesuit authors which would, in the first instance, bring them to the attention of mainstream modern philologists and literary historians, and, in the longer term, provide a firmer basis for more synoptic and synthetic studies of Jesuit intertextuality and style(s). Along with the interest and value of this poetry as world literature, I suspect that the extent to which the Jesuits’ Latin labors in the vineyard of the classroom formed the hearts and minds of their pupils, including those who went on to become Jesuits, is underestimated.

Keywords

Jesuit humanism – neo-Latin poetry – neo-Latin poetics – neo-Latin drama – neo-Latin epic – neo-Latin didactic poetry – neo-Latin elegy – neo-Latin emblem verse – classical reception
Sources, Language, Reception, Style

This review of scholarship on Jesuit humanistic literature and theater is performe Latin-oriented because the Society's sixteenth-century code of studies, the *Ratio Studiorum*, in force for nearly two centuries, enjoined the study and imitation in Latin of the best classical authors. Indeed, the literary productions of the early modern Jesuits probably have as much relevance for the student of neo-Latin philology or classical reception studies as they do for the historian of the early modern Society of Jesus. Some Jesuit Latin authors have

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1 While Jesuit education is not the focus of this article, the subject cannot be avoided since so much Jesuit literature was produced in the context of the classroom (by or for students and seminarians). On the *Ratio Studiorum* see the volume of Manfred Hinz, Roberto Righi, Danilo Zardin (eds.), *I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), with contributions (relevant to this chapter) on subjects ranging from theater (Giovanna Zanlonthi), baroque style and "wit" (Bernhard Teuber, Christian Wehr, Manfred Hinz) to the reception of Dante (Luca Curti). See also The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400 Anniversary Perspectives, edited by Vincent J. Duminuco (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), and Part I of Jesuit Education and the Classics, ed. Edmund P. Cueva, Shannon N. Byrne, and Frederick Benda, S.J. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009). Surprisingly, the index of *A Jesuit Education Reader: Contemporary Writings on the Jesuit Mission in Education, Principles, the Issue of Catholic Identity, Practical Applications of the Ignatian Way, and More*, ed. Georg W. Traub, S.J. (Chicago, Ill: Loyola Press, 2008) contains no entries for "Latin," "poetry," or "rhetoric," the cornerstones of early modern Jesuit education.

2 The issue of the Latin language as a vehicle for Jesuit drama has been discussed by, inter alios, Fidel Rädle, most recently in Das Jesuitentheater—ein Medium der Frühen Neuzeit (Trier: Paulinus, 2004), and Barbara Bauer, "Deutsch und Latein in den Schulen der Jesuiten," in *Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 227-257. The deficiencies of many of the young Latinists of Louis-le-Grand are exposed by Marie-Madeleine Compère and Dolorès Pralon-Julia (eds.), *Performances scolaires de collégiens sous l'Ancien Régime: Étude de six séries d'exercices latins rédigés au collège Louis-le-Grand vers 1720* (Paris: INRP, 1992).

3 It is artificial to separate Jesuit *res literaria* into "poetry" and "rhetoric" as the very title of Jacob Masen's famous poetic textbook, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae* ("Gymnasium of bound eloquence [i.e. in meter]") (Cologne: Busaeus, 1652-1657), makes clear. For reasons of space, however, I pass over the secondary literature on *oratio soluta*, preaching, and prose genres, except to note the foundational and magisterial studies by Marc Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva: Droz, 1980) and Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskampfes* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986), and the recent book of Robert Aleksander Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism* (Aldershot: Ashgate and Rome: IHSI, 2008), which advances the bold hypothesis that Jesuit literary education of the later sixteenth century,
had a truly profound cultural significance for their regions of birth or flourishing. Such is the case of Rafael Landívar, whose *Rusticatio Mexicana* has been edited with illuminating introductory essays by Andrew Laird, as *The Epic of America: An Introduction to Rafael Landívar and the Rusticatio Mexicana* (London: Duckworth, 2006). If we were to inscribe in the Society’s roll of literary honor not only the names of professed Jesuits but of some of their more brilliant, mostly vernacular-writing, alumni (Quevedo, Calderón, Corneille, Molière), this review would be many times longer than it is. In any event, a great deal of first-rate Latin poetry by Jesuit authors continues to fall between the cracks of mainstream modern language philology. Even the feast of interdisciplinary scholarship that is the two volumes of the Boston College conferences, *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999 and vol. 2, 2006), ed. John W. O’Malley, S.J., et al., offers rather meager fare when it comes to Jesuit Latin poetry.

For one thing, modern editions, commentaries, anthologies, and translations of Jesuit verse are relatively rare. James J. Mertz, S.J. and John P. Murphy S.J., *Jesuit Latin Poets of the 17th and 18th Centuries. An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poets* (Waucuta, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1989) provides a broad sample with free English translation but limited commentary; Andrée Thill and Gilles Banderier’s *La lyre jésuite: anthologie de poèmes latins (1620-1730)* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), with introduction by Marc Fumaroli, provides more substantial commentary and bibliography, but for a smaller sample of poets, mostly in particular the reverence for Cicero, was connected with the counterintuitive rise of probabilistic casuistry in the Society. I have reviewed the latter for *Renaissance Quarterly* (2009).

4 “Landívar’s work is introduced, presented and analysed here in order to highlight paradigmatically the appeal and the historical importance of Latin writing from Spanish America in general” (4).

5 Of course some, like Voltaire and John Barclay, famously bit the Jesuit humanist hand that fed them. Barclay satirized the Jesuits in his Latin roman-à-clef, *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon. Euphormia’s Satyricon, 1605-1607. Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes* by David A. Fleming (Nieuwkoop: Hes & de Graaf, 1973). His more accomplished and successful *Argenis* has been edited by Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004) for the series “Bibliotheca Latinitatis Nova.”

6 Contrast so many pre-modern collections, e.g. *Selectae Patrum Soc. Jesu tragoediae, 2 vols.* (Antwerp: Joa. Cnobbarus, 1634); *Parnassus Societatis Jesu* (Frankfurt: Schönwetter, 1654; only the first “classis,” the “heroica,” was published); J. B. Lertius (ed.), *Selecta Patrum Soc. Jesu Orationes* (Genoa: Lerzi, 1747) and *Selecta Patrum Soc. Jesu Carmina* (Genoa: Lerzi, 1747; 1754); Pierre-Josephe Thouiller d’Olivet/François Oudin, S.J. (ed.), *Poemata didascalica* (Paris: Le Mercier, 1749; 1813).
French, and none beyond the grand siècle (Denis Petau, Herman Hugo, Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, Sidron de Hossche, Jacob Balde, François Vavasssuer, Pierre-Juste Sautel, René Rapin, Jean Commire, and Jacques Vanière). A volume such as Krzysztof Fordoński and Piotr Urbański’s *Casimir Britannicus: English Translations, Paraphrases, and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski* (revised and expanded edition, London: MHRA, 2012) should, however, hit a sweet spot in English literary studies, as we find here diverse renderings of the Christian Horace by poets of the stature of Richard Lovelace, Abraham Cowley, Henry Vaughan, Robert Burns, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, not to mention fashionable ladies of letters such as Lady Mary Chudleigh, Lucy Hutchison, Anne Steele, and Mary Masters. As the editors point out: “The country where Sarbiewski enjoyed the greatest popularity outside his native Poland, as measured by the number of known translations, was, rather surprisingly, England. [...] The range of English authors whose interest in Sarbiewski’s works resulted in translations or emulations is truly amazing; we have managed to locate forty-three authors of one hundred and fifty-one translations, and twenty-five anonymous translations” (26).

Jacob Balde, the Alsatian Horace, may not have enjoyed quite the same level of international éclat as his Polish mentor, but a recent volume, *Jacob Balde im kulturellen Kontext seiner Epoche. Zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, has chapters on his reception in the Netherlands (Guillaume van Gemert) and Hungary (Gábor Tüskes/Eva Knapp) as well as a fascinating contribution by Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer on the translation by Johann Gottfried Herder, on his return journey from Italy, of 200 of Balde’s odes, commending the then nearly forgotten Jesuit poet to modern German readers “als genialen Dichter aller Deutschen” (409). Balde was assuredly a most versatile and experimental poet—in addition to lyric verse he produced, *inter alia*, drama, medical satire,
and metrical epistles—and has long attracted scholarly attention from German-language scholars. A useful resource for the student of German baroque neo-Latin literature is the “Camena” website, sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The collection of poets here includes many Jesuits. No comparably reliable virtual library seems to exist for students of Jesuit Latin literature in Italy, Spain, France, Portugal, the Low Countries, Hungary, or Latin America. Some fine (and fine-grained) studies of Jesuit literary (sub-)cultures have emerged in recent years from Central Europe, especially in the context of local institutions and genres. Unfortunately much

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9 See also Heidrun Führer, Studien zu Jacob Baldes Jephtias. Ein jesuitisches Meditationsdrama aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation (Lund: Klass. und semit. Inst. der Univ. Lund, 2003). For the fascinating epistolary exchange of the five senses and the human soul, in elegiac verse, see Urania Victrix. Liber I-II. Die Siegreiche Urania. Erstes und zweites Buch, ed. Claren Lutz, Wilhelm Kühlmann, Wolfgang Schibel, Robert Seidel, and Hermann Wiegand (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2003). Indeed the German publisher of Jacob Balde im kulturellen Kontext seiner Epoche, Schnell and Steiner, hosts an important series of “Jesuitica” (nineteen titles to date), of which the following may be of particular interest to readers of this review: Jakob Bidermann und sein “Cenodoxus”: Der bedeutendste Dramatiker aus dem Jesuitenorden und sein erfolgreichstes Stück, ed. Helmut Gier (2005); Ulrich Schlegelmilch, Descriptio Templi: Architektur und Fest in der lateinischen Dichtung des konfessionellen Zeitalters (2003); Günter Hess, Der Tod des Seneca: Studien zur Kunst der Imagination in Texten und Bildern des 17. und i8. Jahrhunderts (2009); Veronika Lukas, Wilfried Stroh, Claudia Wiener, and Günter Hess (eds.), Christus und Cupido: Embleme aus Jacob Baldes Poetenklasse von 1628 (2013). Ruprecht Wimmer and Adrian Hsia (eds.), Mission und Theater: China und Japan auf den deutschen Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu (2005) is discussed in detail below.

10 See http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenapoem_e.html.

11 Reference should be made, however, to a more modest project, CroALa, documenting Croatian neo-Latin writers, many of whom were Jesuits: http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala.

12 See Ladislav Kačic and Svorad Zavarský (eds.), Aurora Musas nutrit. Die Jesuiten und die Kultur Mitteleuropas im 16.-18. Jahrhundert: acta conventus Bratislavae, 25.–29. September 2007 (Bratislava: Slavistický Ústav Jana Stansilava, 2008). See, e.g., on the genre of “Promotionsschriften,” Elisabeth Klecker, “Neulatein an der Universität Wien. Ein Forschungsdesiderat,” in Christian Gastgeber, Elisabeth Klecker, and Franz Römer (eds.), Neulatein an der Universität Wien: Ein literarischer Streifzug. Franz Römer zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2008), 11-88. See Daniel Škoviera, “Die prosimetrische Promotionsschrift Stoa vetus et nova,” in Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Uppsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala, 2009), ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1027–1037. The proceedings of the quadrennial conferences of the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies are an indispensable source for students of early modern Jesuit literature.
primary Central and East European (or for that matter, Portuguese, and Latin American) Jesuit literature is not yet available on-line through the Google books project, so we must be grateful for such modern bilingual editions, usually resulting from doctoral dissertations, as come to our notice. In many cases, Western European scholars will be pleased to find themselves furnished with a Latin translation of Hungarian/Slovakian/Croatian introductions and commentary.\(^{13}\) As in the early modern period, Latin remains the indispensable *lingua franca* for navigating the *Res publica Jesuitica*. I am informed, for example, that many relatively new books on Jesuit poetry and drama have appeared in Poland but, unfortunately for this reviewer, in Polish, and in the main without English summary.\(^{14}\)

It is understandable that literary historians should concentrate their attentions on the rich cultures and “five-star” Jesuit writers who hailed from or operated within their respective native regions,\(^{15}\) especially where these in turn influenced “national” literary traditions. A case in point is the seventeenth-century poet and playwright, Jacob Bidermann, whose drama on the legend of St. Bruno, *Cenodoxus*, is claimed as a source of inspiration for Goethe’s *Faust*.\(^{16}\) But Bidermann’s lesser-known epic, *Herodias*, on the massacre of the innocents, raises interesting questions about the reach and reception of Jesuit literary style(s) across regional boundaries. The *Ratio Studiorum* laid down the literary law in 1599, prescribing the preferred classical authors in their proper doses, and the Jesuit diplomat and censor, Antonio Possevino, taught cautious Catholics, in his *Bibliotheca selecta*, how to read their Virgil, even their Lucretius.\(^{17}\) Nonetheless, creative receptions of the ancient texts in different parts of Europe, to say nothing of the Americas, were far from monolithic. The gruesomeness of Bidermann’s poem and its sensational style has been

\(^{13}\) E.g. Jozef Kordoš’s edition of Stephanus Csiba’s *Tyrnavia nascens* (Tyrnau: Filozofická fakulta TU, 2011).

\(^{14}\) From Lithuania, E. Ulčinaite’s *Vilniaus pasveikinimas: XVI-XVIII amžiaus tekstų rinkinys / Gratulatio Vilneae: Textus electi XVI-XVIII seculi* (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2001) does include English summaries.

\(^{15}\) The two fat volumes of M. Korenjak, F. Schaffenrath, Lav Subaric, and Karlheiz Töchterle (eds.), *Tyrolis Latina: Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur in Tirol* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012) are full of Jesuitica.

\(^{16}\) While Bidermann has been the subject of two English-language monographs and his famous play translated into English, his epigrammatic and other poetry has roused considerably less interest beyond Germany.

\(^{17}\) See most recently chapter 6, “La censura e i gesuiti,” of Mariantonietta Paladini’s *Lucrezio e l’Epicureismo tra Riforma e Controriforma* (Naples: Liguori, 2011), 176-190.
remarked upon more than once. The German poet’s imitation of his Virgilian model is as far removed as can be imagined from the French neo-classicism of a younger confrère, René Rapin, in his well-trimmed Virgilian Horti. Surprisingly perhaps, the closest stylistic parallel for Bidermann’s epic is a contemporary Italian poem, La Strage degli’innocenti, by Giambattista Marino, a writer whose lack of taste Rapin decried more than once in the context of the decadence of modern Italian literature. A century later, as the researches of Arnold Kerson and Andrew Laird have shown, Iberian Jesuits who took refuge in Italy in the wake of their expulsion from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies became embroiled in something of a turf war with Italian Jesuit writers, notably Bologna-based poet and literary critic, Giambattista Roberti, who scoffed at their purportedly inferior American Latin.

Yet, at the same time, a Jesuit corporate consciousness seems to cut across this campanilismo, so that Rapin, for example, could praise the Latin style of a contemporary Neapolitan Jesuit poet, Niccolò Giannettasio. Certainly the plots (at least) of Jesuit plays spread like wildfire through the various regional branches of the Society: Nicolas Caussin’s Latin tragedy on Hermenegild, performed at La Flèche in 1615, inspired many imitations in the German and Italian colleges; it was pre-dated by a play on this subject by Pedro de Acevedo, S.J., performed in Seville in 1580. Much new light is shed on the infra-peninsular perception of “Jesuit style” in Settecento Italy by Marco Leone’s Geminae Voces: Poesie in latino tra Barocco e Arcadia (Lecce: M. Congedo, 2007). The eighteenth-century literary critic, Giuseppe Marc’Antonio Baretti, railed against the Venetian publisher of an Italian Lenten sermon by the Lombard Jesuit, Iacopo Antonio Rossi: “Has there ever been in Italy a single Jesuit, commencing with Loyola of Pamplona right down to the most reverend Ricci of Civitavecchia their current provincial, has there ever been one single Jesuit

18 See my “Child Murder and Child’s Play: The Emotions of Children in Jakob Bidermann’s epic on the Massacre of the Innocents (Herodiados libri iii, 1622),” International Journal of the Classical Tradition (published online 9 August 2013): http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12138-013-0323-x#page-1, citing the most recent secondary literature.
19 A. Kerson, “Diego José Abad, Dissertatio Ludicro-Seria,” Humanistica Lovaniensia 40 (1991): 357-422; A. Laird, “Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit construction of a Mexican legacy,” in Renaissance Forum 8 (2012): 231-261.
20 For Giannettasio’s “Southern Baroque” style, see Yasmin Haskell, Loyola’s Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry (Oxford: British Academy and Oxford University Press, 2003), 75-82.
21 Giovanna Zanlonghi, “The Jesuit Stage and Theater in Milan during the Eighteenth Century,” in O’Malley et al., The Jesuits II, 530-549, at 536.
who has ever known how to put together in Christian fashion four lines of Italian?  

This anti-baroque and anti-Jesuit animus found an increasingly strident outlet in the course of the nineteenth century, in the voices of Ugo Foscoli and Luigi Settembrini. Leone, in a chapter, “Milano chiama Napoli: Tommaso Ceva, Nicola Giannettasio e il latino gesuitico tra Sei e Settecento” (71-94), traces it back to the seventeenth century, when the Jesuit Sforza Pallavicino had to defend his confratelli against charges of perverting good taste.

Publication history can tell a tantalizing (and tangled) tale about the reception of Jesuit literature, if not perception of Jesuit style(s), in different regions and times. Tommaso Ceva’s comic-heroic, nine-book Latin poem on the boyhood of Christ, Jesus Puer—it took its bearings from Marco Girolamo Vida’s Renaissance Christiad, among others—was evidently much appreciated in its day. Translated into French once, German twice, and Italian at least six times, down to the nineteenth century, it was dismissed by a late eighteenth-century English reviewer for the Critical Review (1798) as “tasteless and uninteresting.”

He singled out for criticism a passage at the beginning of the third book in which the “devil is compared to a mastiff, who when he was a puppy, had been fondled by his mistress, but was afterwards supplanted in his affections by a young canine rival [Jesus] who was therefore the object of his hatred” (557). It was the lack of religious decorum which the Englishman found distasteful, where it is perhaps the pervasive sentimentality of Ceva’s poem that will cloy for some twenty-first-century readers.

Ludwig Braun, however, has recently teased out evidence of its considerable sophistication (readily observable, for that matter, in Ceva’s other verse works and literary criticism) and the

22 My translation from the original Italian reproduced in Leone, 7. Note, though, that Baretti was based in England for most of his career, which may go some way to explaining the colorful vehemence of his anticlerical outburst. The Italian of the Jesuit fathers is “abbindolato e spicciolato qui e quinci e costinci di vocabolini tanto piccini, che non possono non isvegliare l’idea della rogna”; it is tarted up by “una tanto indiscreta pilottatura di latino, che fa spalancare tanto d’occhi a chi non l’intende,” using “quei tanti tropi truffaldineschi [...] si frequenti pulcinellesche figure, che abbellano l’eloquenza gesuitica al mo’ che un ricamo di paglia abbellarebbe una toga di panno canapino” (ibid., 7-8).

23 Ceva also received a bad rap from late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Italian critics, notably Giosuè Carducci, who dismissed the Jesus Puer as “eroicomica scimmunitaggine” [comic-heroic silliness], as quoted by an equally underwhelmed Benedetto Croce. See “Poesia latina del Seicento,” La Critica. Rivista di Letteratura, Storia e Filosofia diretta da B. Croce 28 (1930): 143-156, at 153.

24 See the aforementioned chapter by Leone and Yasmin Haskell, “Sleeping with the Enemy: Tommaso Ceva’s Use and Abuse of Lucretius in the Philosophia novo-antiqua
author’s fondness for “allowing the narrative (which he has for the most part himself invented) to control him rather than he it.”25 The effect is playful, almost meta-theatrical. The comico-heroic mode had already been deployed by Bidermann in his epic Herodias and most spectacularly, of course, in his “comico-tragoedia,” Cenodoxus. Such playfulness, indeed play-fulness, is one important key to Jesuit baroque Latin literature—although the “playing” was usually in deadly earnest. At any rate, some of this literature certainly did manage to secure a foothold outside the Society, in both Catholic and Protestant worlds.

Nicholas J. Crowe’s introduction to his new English translation of Jeremias Drexel’s Zodiacus Christianus, bills that work as a “seventeenth-century publishing sensation.”26 The third in a trio of superstar Jesuit writers of the Maximilian era, he was the only one to have distinguished himself in prose rather than verse, but his published sermons—promptly translated into nearly every European language, including Welsh and, by the eighteenth century, even Russian27—share with the works of Bidermann and

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25 "Aber Ceva hat auf dem Feld des Humors noch mehr zu bieten. Er liebt es, gelegentlich seine Erzählung, die zum größten Teil doch er selber erfunden hat, so aufzufassen, als beherrsche nicht er sie, sondern sie ihn. Mehrmals klagt er etwa darüber, daß nun plötzlich Abend werde, wo er, der Dichter, doch gerade so viel Freude habe, die Erlebnisse Marias und Jesu zu verfolgen" (unpublished paper from Ludwig Boltzmann Institute conference on Habsburg epic, Vienna, 2012). This technique is also practiced in Ceva’s didactic poem, Philosophia novo-antiqua. Braun does not hesitate to count Ceva’s among the most significant works of neo-Latin epic (“Ich zögere nicht, den Jesus Puer zu den bedeutenden Werken der neulateinischen Epik zu zählen”).

26 Jeremias Drexel’s ‘Christian Zodiac’: Seventeenth-Century Publishing Sensation. A Critical Edition, Translated and with an Introduction & Notes (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). The title is somewhat misleading as a critical edition of the Latin text is not included, only translation from the Munich 1622 editio princeps.

27 The reception of his works in England by mainly Anglicans and Non-Conformists is noted by J.M. Blom, “A German Jesuit and his Anglican Readers. The case of Jeremias Drexelius (1581-1638),” in Gerardus Antonius Maria Janssens, Florent Gérard Antoine Marie Aarts, and Thomas Anthony Birrell (eds.), Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 41-52. See now also the chapter by Alan R. Young, “English Translations of the Works of Jeremias Drexel 1632-1700,” in Pedro F. Campa and Peter M. Daly, Emblematic Images and Religious Texts: Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimler, S.J. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2010), 183-201.
Balde a distinctly theatrical dimension.\(^{28}\) Crowe suggests, moreover, that Drexel’s collaboration with the artist Raphael Sadeler “was a major part of [his] success as an author, and [...] a central element in the vertiginous rise of his career in Munich” (8). No doubt, but one suspects it was not just the pictures that made him an instant and cross-confessional spiritual “hit,” but also (as Crowe neatly details in his introduction) his extension of “metaphorical exempla into self-contained fabulistic tales,” his “quasi-catechetical” use of the rhetorical question, his deployment of analogies, comparisons, similes, anaphora, and the devastating peroration. He clearly spoke to the general gloom of the times.

As for poems, in addition to those of the aforementioned Sarbiewski, we might point to the publishing sensation that was Herman Hugo’s *Pia desideria emblemati elegiis et affectibus SS. Patrum illustrata* (Antwerp: Typis Henrici Aertssenii, 1624), with forty-two editions of the Latin text alone up to 1757, and translations into Dutch, French, German, English, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, and Portuguese.\(^{29}\) It is perhaps not surprising that Rapin’s “Gardens” found its English translators, and that they were less interested in its moral or spiritual than its aesthetic dimensions. The ever-expanding georgic poem of Rapin’s successor, Jacques Vanière, on the management of a country estate, *Praedium rusticum* (sixteen books by 1730), enjoyed even greater success during the eighteenth century: nearly thirty complete or partial Latin editions as well as translations into French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, and Polish. What can explain the international vogue for these Jesuit poems? Who was reading them, in which contexts, for what purpose? In the case of Vanière’s *Praedium rusticum*, I would venture that the Frenchman was riding a rising tide of mainly Jesuit Latin poetry on the sciences and arts, *viz.* didactic poetry, which caught the imagination of the times. This was an imagination that was slowly but surely extricating itself from the fraught and phantasmagoric imagery of a Drexel or a Hugo, but when, where and why is a story that still awaits many tellers.

\(^{28}\) See Karl Pörnbacher, “Unser Leben ist ein Comedi.’ Elemente des Theaters im Werk von Jeremias Drexel,” in Guillaume Van Gemert and Manfred Knedlik (eds.), *Museion Boicum oder-bajuwarische Musengabe: Beiträge zur bayerischen Kultur und Geschichte* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 2009), 56-71, cited by Crowe with other relevant materials at 15n53.

\(^{29}\) See, e.g., Lynette C. Black, “Une doctrine sans estude’: Herman Hugo’s *Pia Desideria as Les Pieux Désirs,*” in John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 233-244.
Epic and Didactic Poetry

The didactic genre was arguably as much a specialty, if not a monopoly, of the poets of the Society of Jesus as was the emblem book or even the school drama. When he was not dreaming up pious fantasies about the Virgin and Child, mathematics professor Tommaso Ceva turned his hand to a hard-hitting anti-Lucretian poem against modern materialism, the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*. Though not a Jesuit, Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, author of the much-anticipated and posthumously published *Anti-Lucretius sive de Deo et Natura* (Paris: H.-L. Guérin et J. Guérin, 1747), likely derived his penchant for didactic poetry from his education at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont. Yasmin Haskell’s *Loyola’s Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: British Academy and Oxford University Press, 2003) charts the popularity of the genre among French and Italian Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it would be interesting to expand the focus and explore the extent to which it was cultivated further afield, for example in Latin America and Central/Eastern Europe. Complete modern editions and commentaries of even well-known poems are a desideratum, both from the perspective of the history of Jesuit literature and of early modern science. It is hoped that Diane Bitzel’s published doctoral dissertation on Bernardo Zamagna’s “Airship,” *Navis aeria: eine Metamorphose des Lehrgedichts im Zeichen des technischen Fortschritts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), will blaze a trail. Happily one can download Luca Guzzardi’s introduction for the Edizione Nazionale to the Latin poem on eclipses by Jesuit physicist Roger Boscovich, Zamagna’s Croatian compatriot and teacher in mathematics, though arguably not his equal as poet (the early modern French translation is reproduced, with Latin en face; the modern introduction is in Italian). A translation and commentary of one or both of the poems of Carlo Noceti, Boscovich’s teacher at the Collegio Romano, on the rainbow and the northern lights—the 1747 edition with Boscovich’s annotations is available online—would make a wonderful doctoral project.

Modern editions or book-length studies of Jesuit epic (hexameter) poetry are also few and far between. Jesuit epics were produced on biblical and early Christian subjects, on the spiritual experiences of Ignatius, and of course on

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30 Ceva’s memorable definition of poetry is that it is “a dream that one makes in the presence of reason.”
31 I hope to publish an anthology of Jesuit Latin didactic poetry.
32 See http://www.edizioniennazionaleboscovich.it/index.php/biblioteca-digitale/viewdown load/3-opere-a-stampa/10-volume-132.html.
the Jesuit missions. Ludwig Braun's monumental *Ancilla Calliopeae: ein Repertorium der neulateinischen Epik Frankreichs 1500-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) documents more than four score neo-Latin epics composed in France before 1700, on historical, biblical, and hagiographic themes. From the pages of this thick volume—one must physically leaf through it as there is no index entry for “Jesuits”—fall helpful descriptions of the contents and composition of poems by Louis Cellot (*Mauritius*), Antoine Millieu (*Moyses viator*), Jean-Henri Aubery (*Leucata triumphans*), Jacques Damien [Damianus] (*Bellum Germanicum*), Jean de Bussières (*Rhea liberata, Scanderbergus, Clodovei*), Pierre Mambrun (*Constantinus*), Laurent Lebrun (*Ignatius*), Pierre L'Abbé (*Eustachius*), René Rapin (*Christus patiens*), Jacques Mayre (*Carolus Quintus, Liladamus, Recaredus*). We await with interest an imminent companion piece on Italian neo-Latin epic. In an appendix, Braun notes the *Xaverius thaumaturgus* (Bourdeaux: Apud J. Mongironem Millangium et Simonem Boé, 1684) by Léonard Frizon—not an epic, in fact, but a panegyric poem describing paintings of the life of the saint in the eponymous Jesuit church in Paderborn. Ulrich Schlegelmilch, *Descriptio Templi: Architektur und Fest in der lateinischen Dichtung des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), recovers and surveys in breathtaking detail the genre of Latin verse *ekphraseis*, panegyric descriptions of church architecture and paintings, widely practiced by the Jesuits, and a rich and largely untapped source for art as well as religious historians.33

It is no surprise that Francis Xavier features in both Jesuit didactic and epic poetry, for example in an unfinished epic by Niccolò Giannettasio. But the voyage of Columbus, a popular theme in neo-Latin poetry more widely, was not neglected by poets of the Society.34 In Giannettasio’s *Nautica*, Columbus is transported to heaven by his “mother,” the muse Urania, and instructed in the harmony of the spheres and the geography of the New World below. He is praised, together with Copernicus, in the aforementioned poem on the airship by Bernardo Zamagna. At least one Jesuit dedicated an entire epic to Columbus, for which see Florian Schaffenrath’s edition, German translation and commentary: Ubertino Carrara SJ, *Columbus. Carmen epicum* (1715) (Berlin: Weidler,}

33 The sub-chapter, Erster Teil, E. III, “Emotionale Kunstbetrachtung und compassio: Die Descriptio templi als Spiegel zeitgenössischer Andachts- und Meditationspraktiken,” relates the genre to the Ignatian techniques of “application of the senses” and “composition of place” (147-149).

34 Heinz Hofmann’s “Columbus in Neo-Latin Poetry,” in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, part 1. “European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition,” edited by Wolfgang Haase, Meyer Reinhold (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1993), 420-656.
2006).\textsuperscript{35} Schaffenrath furnishes a useful line-by-line synopsis of this twelve-book blockbuster, and appendices listing its hundreds of speeches and similes. It is surprising, though, that Xavier only merits a brief mention in the first book; Ignatius none. Marvels abound: unicorns, cannibals, and the wondrous technology of telescopes and hot chocolate.\textsuperscript{36} More than a century earlier, Francesco Benci, Carrara’s predecessor as professor of rhetoric at the Roman College, was keeping his eye on the missionary ball in \textit{Quinque martyres}, a six-book epic on the Jesuit martyrs in India. Paul Gwynne informs me, \textit{per litteras}, that he is preparing an edition of this important text. And while passing over the subcontinent at altitude we should not neglect to point out the epic on the life of St. Joseph, “Thembavani,” considered a classic in High Tamil, by Constantino Beschi, seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary in southern India. I have not found any recent monograph on the life and works of this talented linguist (who also translated into Latin the ethical ballad of an ancient Tamil poet, Tiruvalluvar). However, the Marathi/Konkani \textit{Krista purana} by sixteenth-century English Jesuit, Thomas Stephens (1549–1619), on the life of Christ, has been intensively studied by Nelson M. Falcao: \textit{Kristapurāṇa, a Christian-Hindu Encounter: A Study of Inculturation in the Kristapūṇā of Thomas Stephens, S.J. (1549-1619)} (Gujarat: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 2003).

\textbf{Drama}

The Latin school drama of the Jesuits has been the subject of two book-length bibliographies by Nigel Griffin, who informed me in 2011 of his plans to publish a much-expanded update online.\textsuperscript{37} The German world has been particularly well served by the sweeping older histories and surveys of J. M. Valentin and Elida Maria Szarota, each running to several thousand pages, which provide a solid foundation for detailed studies of local authors and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} See also Francisca Torres Martínez’s \textit{Ubertino Carrara: Columbus} (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2000).
\item \textsuperscript{36} A topic for occasional poetry among Carrara’s contemporaries in the Accademia degliArcadi, but also one celebrated at length in a New World Latin didactic poem by Neapolitan Jesuit Tommaso Strazzi, \textit{De mentis potu sive de cocolatis opificio} (in his \textit{Poemata varia}, Naples: Ex nova officina D.A. Parranto & M.A. Mutii, 1689). See Haskell, \textit{Loyola’s Bees}, 82-101.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{Jesuit School Drama: A Checklist of Critical Literature. Supplement no. 1} (London: Grant and Cutler, 1986). See also his \textit{“Jesuit Drama: A Guide to the Literature,”} in \textit{I Gesuiti e i primordi del teatro barocco in Europa}, ed. F. Doglio & M. Chiabò (Viterbo: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 1995), 465-496.
\end{itemize}
plays. Ruprecht Wimmer, author of *Jesuitentheater—Didaktik und Fest: Das Exemplum des Ägypten Joseph auf den deutschen Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Klostermann, 1982), returns to center stage with a collection, edited with the late Adrian Hsia, *Mission und Theater: China und Japan auf den deutschen Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005). Hundreds of plays on Japanese and Chinese subjects were produced by Jesuits from the seventeenth century onwards, mostly in Latin and mostly (or so it would seem from this volume) in the German-speaking lands. *Mission und Theater* brings together multidisciplinary expertise from “Japanologists and Sinologists, missionary and literary scholars from seven nations,” to conduct research first into the historical circumstances in East Asia which gave rise to these plays (to the extent that they may be recovered); the “mediation processes,” including Latinization and missionary historiography, which conveyed the stories back to Europe; and finally, to their dramatic representations and transformations on German Jesuit stages, “of the theological, pedagogical, poetological, political sort” (14).

Though a substantial volume of more than 500 pages, *Mission und Theater* is in fact more of a *vademecum* indicating possible directions for future scholarship than a definitive treatment of its vast and fascinating subject. As the languages of the volume are German and English, we must assume that it is aimed, in the first instance, at European scholars. Several chapters thus provide background information on the history of the Chinese and Japanese missions (by Barbara Guber-Dorsch and Arcadio Schwade), Chinese chronology and lists of emperors (by Claudia von Collani), original and transcribed names in Jesuit dramas (by John Witek), and, of course, the historical Jesuit sources for the plots of the plays (by Claudia von Collani). Wu Boya gives us, as it were, the view from the other side in his chapter on legal prosecutions of Christians in the late-Ming/early-Qing using Chinese sources (as does Guber-Dorsch). From a dramaturgical point of view, the most relevant chapters begin with Wimmer’s, which offers a preliminary typology of the plays on China and Japan and usefully relates them to those on biblical and early Christian themes. Anna Bujatti

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38 *Les jésuites et le théâtre* (1554–1680): *contribution à l’histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978; Paris: Desjonquières, 2001); idem, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande: Répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés* (1555–1773), 2 vols. (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1983 and 1984); Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Eine Periochen-Edition* (Munich: Fink, 1979; 1980; 1983). The last two are usefully reviewed by Nigel Griffin and Peter Skrine in *The Modern Language Review* 80/4 (1985): 981–986.
draws a distinction between the plots of the plays that relate to the Christianization of China and the involvement of the Jesuits and those which portray events from the archaic Chinese past. In the latter, the Christian message and the innate receptivity of the Chinese to that message are prefigured. In the light of Adrian Hsia’s observation that “among the Europeans, only the Jesuits saw the necessity to include the Chinese within humankind so that they could be converted” (235-236) we might infer that these pre-Christian plays were, in their own way, quite radical.

Hsia’s chapter compares Jesuit dramatic treatments of the Chinese material with those by profane authors such as Joost van den Vondel and English playwright, Elkanah Settle, a contemporary of Dryden. Vondel’s Zungchin, of de ondergang der Sineesche Heersappije (1667) includes a speaking part for Jesuits Adam Schall von Bell and (the ghost of) Francis Xavier, and a chorus of Jesuits which functions as in Greek tragedy. The two contributions of Thomas Immoos are rather telegraphic as the author died before the volume’s publication. Only in the last paragraph of his chapter, “Gratia Hosokawa, Heroine of an Opera in Vienna 1698,” are we apprised of a modern edition of the Latin play in question, Mulier fortis, by Viennese Jesuit, Johann Baptist Adolph (1657-1708), with accompanying music by Johann Bernhardt Staudt, published in the series “Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich” (Graz: Akademische Druck-u Verlagsanstalt, 2000), vol. 152 (not 151 as printed here). Immoos had also contributed a short introductory essay to that edition. Likewise, Masahiro Takenaka reprises much material from the introduction to his Jesuit Plays on Japan and English Recusancy (Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1995) in his “Jesuit Plays on Japan in the Baroque Age,” although here he expatiates on the Titus plays (also discussed in Wimmer’s chapter). Titus is a Japanese nobleman who endures the apparent murder of his wife and children rather than renounce his Christian faith, only to have them restored to him alive and well by the king of Bongo. Takenaka’s collaborator in the Tokyo volume, Charles Burnett, provides as an appendix the Latin text and English translation of the Freising Titus play, which was, however, produced under the auspices of a Benedictine foundation. For complete texts of two Jesuit Latin

39 My graduate student, Makoto Harris Takao, informs me that there was a production of selections of the Mulier fortis by the Teatro dell’Opera Giappone last year. Another play by Adolph and Staudt was produced for the second Boston College Jesuits conference under the directorship of T. Frank Kennedy and included as a DVD in the published proceedings. See T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., “Jesuit Opera in Seventeenth-Century Vienna: Patientis Christi memoria by Johann Bernhard Staudt (1654-1712)” and “Appendix: Patientis Christi memoria,” in The Jesuits II, 787-801.
He forgoes reproduction of their principal non-Jesuit model, by Netherlands playwright, Gregorius Holonius, which exists in print.

Compared to the martyrs of the Far East, the story of the Egyptian Joseph (see Wimmer, 1982, above), or even of the Eastern Roman Emperor “Mauritius,” the subject of the Latin plays edited and explored in Stefan Tilg’s, Die Hl. Katharina von Alexandria auf der Bühne des Jesuitentheaters: Drei Innsbrucker Dramen aus den Jahren 1576, 1577 und 1606 (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2005), was a relatively minor one on Jesuit stages of the German Sprachgebiet. However, the lost Catherine drama produced in Vienna in 1563 was probably the earliest example of a Jesuit martyr tragedy, and the three pieces presented to us in Tilg’s book, a reworking of his 2003 Innsbruck doctoral dissertation, include the earliest for which a play text survives. Tilg has wisely concentrated his efforts on the manuscript plays which, though historically the pieces most frequently alluded to in the Tyrolean Jesuit repertoire, might otherwise have escaped the attention of international scholars. The volume contains a critical edition of the plays with German translation en face, brief indications of classical sources at the foot of the page, and a thorough-going commentary at the back. Introductory sections detail inter alia the history of the St. Catherine legend and its place in Jesuit literature, the reception of the plays in early modern times, and the contemporary historical circumstances which gave rise to them. Catherine, patron of students and orators, embodies Christian eloquence against the pagan philosophers, but she also proves a perfect mouthpiece for the Jesuits to advertise their superior educational wares at what Tilg reveals was a critical moment for their order in the Tyrol; they had fallen out of favor with the archduke and his wife and were losing ground—both spiritual and physical—to the Franciscans. Indeed, “the historical background of all three Catherine dramas edited here is the lengthy struggle of the Innsbruck Jesuits for their own college building” (21, my translation). With his philologist’s hat on, Tilg notes the marked presence, notwithstanding the Senecan model, of Roman comic diction and meter.

Over the past decade there have been important advances in our understanding of Jesuit school drama south of the Alps, in the Milanese, Roman, and Sicilian micro-histories of Giovanna Zanlonghi, Teatri di formazione: Actio, parola e immagine nella scena gesuitica del Sei-Sei-seicento a Milano (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2002), Bruna Filippi, Il teatro degli argomenti. Gli scenari seicenteschi del teatro gesuitico romano, Catalogo analitico (Rome: IHSI, 2001), and Mirella Saulini, Il teatro di un gesuita siciliano. Stefano Tuccio S.J. (Rome: 40
Bulzoni, 2002). See eadem (ed.), Stefano Tucci, S.J., Christus nascens; Christus patiens; Christus iudex: tragoediae (Rome: IHSI, 2011).41 “Catholic school drama of the Enlightenment” is one of six research projects in progress at the recently established Ludwig Boltzmann Institute in Innsbruck, where Valerio Sanzotta, for example, is preparing a study and partial edition of the eighteenth-century plays of Giuseppe Enrico Carpani, S.J.42 Jesuit drama may and must be studied from multiple perspectives: as community festival embedded in political realities and civic spaces extending beyond the college walls (amply documented in Zanlonghi’s book); as Gesamtkunstwerk comprising literature, music, dance, and art, in each aspect calibrated with the secular drama of its time and place; and as pedagogical tool and “school of virtue.”43 Indeed, Jesuit “theater” extends beyond the school drama, stricto sensu. Our old friend, Ceva, returns as the subject of a chapter in Zanlonghi’s book, as master of ceremonies (poetic, epigraphic, symbolic) for the obsequies of Marianna of Austria in 1696.44

In almost all respects France remains surprisingly under-represented in the scholarship.45 Ironically, it was a German team that launched the project, “Lateinisches Jesuitentheater in Frankreich,” with an edition of the Latin tragedies of Pierre Mousson (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000). Rudolf Rieks and Klaus Geus announce here their laudable intention to produce critical editions of the plays of four authors from the period of the “first efflorescence” (1600-1630) of the Latin Jesuit theater in France—in addition to Mousson:

41 See also P. Frare’s Retorica e verità. Le tragedie di Emanuele Tesauro (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998). Further bibliography on Italian Jesuit drama is usefully summarized in Zanloghi’s chapter for I gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum (see above, n. 1), “Il teatro nella pedagogia gesuitica: una ‘scuola di virtù,’” 159-190. See also the chapters by Filippi and Zanlonghi in O’Malley et al., The Jesuits II.

42 I am grateful to Camilla Russell of the University of Newcastle (Australia) for obtaining for me a copy from the author of Camilla Brunori’s tesi di laurea (Rome: Università di Roma-3, 2002), “La formazione dell’allievo-attore nel teatro dei gesuiti.”

43 This last aspect is foregrounded in Zanloghi’s chapter, “Il teatro nella pedagogia gesuitica” (see note above), via the tragedy Hermenegildus by Emmanuele Tesauro (first performed at the Collegio Braidense in 1621).

44 See also her chapter, “The Jesuit Stage and Theater in Milan,” in The Jesuits II, 530-549.

45 See also A. Piejus (ed.), Plaire et instruire. Le spectacle dans les collèges de l’Ancien Régime (Rennes: PUR, 2007) Gérard Sabatier, Claude-François Menestrier: les jésuites et le monde des images (Grenoble, 2009), and Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles, Alison Saunders, A bibliography of Claude-François Menestrier: printed editions, 1655-1765 (Geneva: Droz, 2012). On music at the Jesuit college in Paris in the sixteenth century, see David Crook, “A Certain Indulgence: Music at the Jesuit College in Paris, 1575-1590,” in Jesuits II, 454-478.
Denis Petau, Nicolas Caussin, and Louis Cellot—and three authors—Charles de La Rue, Gabriel François Le Jay, and Charles Porée, from its “Golden Age” (1668-1725). Supposed reasons for the general lack of scholarly attention to these plays include a preconception of their rule-bound uniformity and conformity over two centuries to Senecan models, and “the prejudice operating above all in France of the unoriginality and, basically, inferiority of the Jesuit with respect to the French Classical Theater” (10, my translation). Rieks claims that, in fact, the Jesuit drama in France enjoyed an “intense interrelationship” with French Classicism, and that “the impressive series of ‘Christian tragedies’ by French secular authors between the years 1640 and 1645 alone cannot be understood without the material, conceptual and structural impetus of the Jesuit martyr tragedies” (11).46

Hilaire Kallendorf’s Conscience on Stage: The Comedia as Casuistry in Early Modern Spain (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007) draws attention to a rich and continuous tradition of Jesuit school drama in Spain, several examples of which pre-date better known Italian models, and for which a glorious fund of manuscript material is still extant.47 In addition to the seminal study of Juan 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: R. Gómez, 1945), Kallendorf cites the publications of many active scholars in the field (Cayo González Gutiérrez, Jesús Menéndez Peláez, Melchior Bajén Español, Agustín de Granja, V. Picón, and Julio Alonso Asenjo) and informs us that the plays in Spain were written in a combination of prose and verse, Latin and Spanish—the linguistic “salad” announced by the comic character, Valencia, in the prologue of Juan Bonifacio’s Comedia Margarita (15). The author also points out that “comedias were performed in the New World as well as the Old. Some of the dramatists discussed in this book […] were either born outside of Spain or spent significant portions of their careers in the colonies” (200). One is left wondering whether a lost Atlantis of Jesuit drama, if not recent studies on Jesuit drama, awaits discovery in the Americas.

Kallendorf flips the familiar comparison of Catholic ritual and theater, made by, among others, new historicists such as Stephen Greenblatt, to suggest that “theater resembles religious ritual,” and that “[l]ike casuistry, theater frames and orders conscience if spectators allow it to do so” (181). In fact, the

46 In the context of discussion of the Jesuit drama’s influence on Corneille a surprising lacuna in the bibliography is Marc Fumaroli’s Héros et orateurs: rhétorique et dramaturgie coréénne (Geneva: Droz, 1990).

47 In the Cortes Collection of the Real Academia del la Historia in Madrid.
spiritual agendas of the Jesuit theater are as multifarious as its authors, sources, settings, and productions, so that Bidermann's *Cenodoxus* or Adolph's *Mulier fortis* function quite differently for audiences (and actors) from Franz Lang's (1654-1725) dramatic Lenten meditations, accompanied by music, for the Great Marian Congregation in Munich.\(^4^8\) Barbara Münch-Kienast's study and edition of Johannes Paullin's celebrated Munich musical drama, *Philothea*, gives an admirably multifaceted account of this much performed text, not least its relation to the *Spiritual Exercises: Philothea von Johannes Paullin. Das Jesuitendrama und die Geistliche Übungen des Ignatius von Loyola* (Aachen: Shaker, 2000). Finally, we note in passing a handful of monographs and collections that touch on Jesuit theater necessarily but not exclusively: Philip J. Ford and Andrew Taylor (eds.), *The Early Modern Cultures of Neo-Latin Drama* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013); Reinhold Glei and Robert Seidel (eds.), *Das lateinische Drama der Frühen Neuzeit. Exemplarische Einsichten in Praxis und Theorie* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2008); Christel Meier-Staubach and Angelika Kemper (eds.), *Europäische Schauplätze des frühneuzeitlichen Theaters: Normierungskräfte und regionale Diversität* (Münster: Rhema, 2011) (chapter by Stefan Tilg on Innsbruck Jesuit theater); Jennifer A. Herdt, *Putting on Virtue: The Legacy of the Splendid Vices* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) (chapter 5 on Bidermann).

**Elegy, Epigram, Heroides, Sylvae, Miscellanea**

A great deal of Jesuit literature was, of course, produced on a much smaller scale than that of the full-blown epic or philosophical didactic poem in multiple books or classical drama in five acts. The 1654 *Parnassus Societatis Jesu* divides the poetic production of the Society into classes of “heroic,” “elegiac,” “lyric,” “epigrammatic,” “comic and tragic,” “symbolic,” and “miscellaneous.”\(^4^9\)

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\(^{48}\) *Theatrum solitudinis asceticae, sive doctrinae morales per considerationes melodicas ad normam S. Exercitiorum S. P. Ignatii compositae; Theatrum affectuum humanorum, sive considerationes morales ad scenam accomodatae; and Theatrum doloris et amoris, sive considerationes mysteriis Christi patientis, et Mariae matris dolorosa sub cruce condolentis filio pius affectibus conceptae* (Munich: M. Riedl, 1717). Useful biographical and bibliographical data on Lang are given by Thomas Erlach via the “Bayerisches Musiker Lexicon Online” at <http://www.bmlo.lmu.de/lo001/>. See the author’s revised doctoral dissertation: *Unterhaltung und Belehrung im Jesuitentheater um 1700: Untersuchungen zu Musik, Text und Kontext ausgewählter Stücke* (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 2006).

\(^{49}\) The didactic genre had not yet taken off, and relatively few examples are included in the two tomes (the only ones published) devoted to the “heroic” poetry.
Many of the long-form poets mentioned in this review (Bidermann, Balde, Rapin, Vanière, Ceva, and Giannettasio) were also practitioners of the “minor” genres of eclogue, elegy, epigram, and epistle. Mention must be made of the shorter poetry contained in emblem books, which is sometimes of a very high quality, e.g. Herman Hugo’s *Pia desideria* and Sidron de Hossche’s contributions to the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1640).^50^ The handsome volume edited by Pedro F. Campa and Peter M. Daly, *Emblematic Images and Religious Texts: Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimler, S.J.* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2010), offers relatively little on the poetry *per se* of emblems.^51^ A short but useful chapter on student verse from the Brussels college by neo-Latinist, Dirk Sacré, may be found in Karel Porteman (ed.), *Emblematic Exhibitions of the Brussels Jesuit College (1630-1685)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 47-53. Sacré points to the often recherché meters employed by budding poets, some of which are traced back not to the usual classical suspects but to late antique writers including Boethius. As for content, the verses in these manuscripts point to, and elucidate pointedly, the accompanying pictures, but in several published collections of “emblem” verse the illustration functions as the starting rather than end point of the meditation, and poetry gets the upper hand. Such is surely the case in Hugo’s *Pia desideria*, and for so many elegiac epistles from sacred heroines and heroes, ultimately inspired by Ovid’s *Heroides*. This genre has been thoroughly explored in Jost Eickmeyer, *Der jesuitische Heroidenbrief: Zur Christianisierung und Kontextualisierung einer antiken Gattung in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012) from its pre-Jesuit roots (notably Helius Eobanus) through its flourishing in the hands of German Jesuits Pontanus, Bidermann, Balde, and Belgian Jean Vincart and Bauduoin Cabilleau, and beyond, at least up to 1663.^52^

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^50^ E.g. Gabriele Dorothea Rödter, *Via piae animae. Grundlagenuntersuchung zur emblematischen Verknüpfung von Bild und Wort in den “Pia Desideria”* (1624) der Hermann Hugo S.J. (1588-1629) (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992). On the latter, see Marc Fumaroli, “Baroque et classicisme. L’*Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* et ses adversaires,” in *Questionnement du baroque*, ed. Alphonse Vermeylen (Louvain-la-Neuve: College Erasme, 1986), 75-111.

^51^ Peter Davidson’s very short chapter on the motif of the flaming heart in Southwell and Crashaw, Johannes Kandler’s on Carlo Bovio’s hundred epigrams, *Ignatius Insignium* (1655), Sabine Mödersheim’s on Charles de la Rue’s *Symbolica Heroica*, and finally, Peter Daly’s “Some Reflections on Religious Poetry and Emblematics (1540-1600)” may be singled out. See also Anna Maranini, *Emblemi d’amore dal Petrarcha ai gesuiti* (Bologna: Libreria Bonomo, 2005).

^52^ It should be noted that the genre continued to be practiced deep into the eighteenth century, for example by Bara Boscovich, S.J., brother of the physicist and didactic poet.
A section is devoted to its relationship, among Jesuit poets, with other genres (lyric, epic, and drama). An appendix provides a representative sample of these texts with translation.

In conclusion, the recurrence in this review of so many of the same names across so many genres is confirmation that the Parnassus of Jesuit poets was a much more permeable space than its ancient equivalent, where, for example, writers of prose or drama rarely wrote epic, didactic, or lyric verse. Jesuit men of letters were usually adaptable, prolific, even compulsive practitioners of the poetic skills imbued in them in the Jesuit classroom—which they, in turn, through their labor in the schools, were obliged to imbue in others. To that extent it is legitimate to call all Jesuit poetry if not didactic, then fundamentally “ludic,” if we may be permitted to endow the English word with the additional senses of the Latin ludus, “a place of exercise or practice,” and ludi, “public games, plays, shows, exhibitions.” This is not to say that Jesuit Latin poetry was puerile, perfunctory, or “just for show,” a publicity exercise for the Society’s humanist schools. It was, indeed, frequently political and sometimes propagandistic, but above all assiduous in its processing of the latest events, ideas, and cultural developments both within the Society and without. I suggest that one of the most exciting tasks that lie ahead for students of Jesuit Latin poetry and drama is that of exposing in detail how it was “networked” across the different regions of Europe, its colonies, and missions; how plots, themes, styles, news, and even science spread synchronically and diachronically in Latin verse. Unraveling this dense intertextual web will need to be a global and yet carefully co-ordinated research enterprise. Daunting as it may seem, it is one that advancing digital technologies render now, for the first time, a real possibility. In addition to producing critical editions and commentaries of printed texts, scholars on the ground should be exploring local archives and libraries and digitizing manuscripts, not neglecting precious pedagogical ephemera where they exist. Perhaps it is not vain to aspire to an online, up-dated, and annotated Parnassus Societatis Jesu for the twenty-first century.