

The Emergence of the Independent Prologue and Chorus in Jesuit School Theatre
c.1550–c.1700,
Derived from a Comparative Analysis of
Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit School Theatre, Lay Youth Confraternity Theatre
and the *Oratorio Vespertina* of the Congregation of the Oratory

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Volume I

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Abstract

An examination of the developments in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals the Jesuits as leaders in both dramatic and musical innovations. The emergence of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre innovations in eighteenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions validates this conclusion and reveals a conduit of influence not previously articulated.

While previous comparisons of Jesuit theatre main title dramas and Oratorian oratorios do not reveal a relationship, a comparative examination of the musical prologues and choruses performed within Jesuit theatrical productions and the musical works performed in the services of the Congregation of the Oratory over the period c.1550–c.1660 shows a parallel progression of development; the development of the oratorio in the oratories of the Congregation is a further demonstration of Jesuit influence during this time period.

The friendship of Ignatius Loyola and Filippo Neri matured into a close relationship between the musical activities of the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The simultaneous development of the Jesuit school theatre independent prologue and chorus and the Congregation of the Oratory oratorio is one of the results of this relationship. The sacred musical works in Jesuit school theatrical productions and the services of the Congregation follow the same pathway of development and exhibit equivalent characteristics. A formal declaration restricting performance language in the Oratorian services caused the two repertoires to diverge c.1620–c.1630. A comparison of independent Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses and the oratorios performed during the services of the Congregation of the Oratory c.1640–c.1660 reveals that these two bodies of work are distinguishable from each other only by the language of the text.

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Accompanying Materials

DVD (1)

Daphnis, Pastorale (1728): University of York, 27 November, 2008

CD (2)

1. *Daphnis, Pastorale* (1728), MS.357.c
2. Catholic School Theatre Database 1500–1797 (CSTD). This application requires Access 2000 from the Microsoft Professional Office Suite bundle of applications for operation. This database is an active and therefore researchers are encouraged to contact the author (elizabeth_dyer@hotmail.com) to obtain the most recent version of the CSTD.

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Declaration

Aspects of this investigation have been presented in four conference papers in addition to a lecture presentation delivered early in the research process. Most recently, the results of this study were presented in the paper ‘An Examination of the Role of Jesuit Theatre in the Emergence of the Oratorio,’ delivered during the June-July 2010 14th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music in Belfast, Northern Ireland. An earlier version of this paper was read at the RMA Student Conference at the University of York in January, 2010. The paper ‘Voices in the Jesuit Theatre, c.1660–c.1730,’ given at the International Early Music Association Conference at the University of York in July 2009, examines performance practices revealed during the course of this investigation. Works from the eighteenth-century were the focus of ‘A Proposed Continuum of Musical Development: From Jesuit Drama to Oratorio,’ presented at the April 2009 Spring Conference of the Capital Chapter of the American Musicological Society, held at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. Finally, ‘Music in Religious School Dramas in Europe,’ was given as a post-graduate lecture in September 2006 at St. Patrick’s College in Dublin, Ireland.

Two essays within appendix 3 appear in forthcoming publications: ‘Reconstructing Jesuit Theatre for the Modern Stage: *Daphnis, Pastorale*, an Eighteenth-Century Belgian Jesuit College Music-Drama,’ in *Music and the Jesuits III: Rituals of Persuasion, The Jesuits and Musical Communities*, edited by John W. O’Malley, S.J. (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, projected publication date autumn 2011) and ‘Implications of Linguistic Strata in a Rare Jesuit Drama,’ *Ars Lyrica* 19 (projected publication date spring 2011).

Additionally, five papers on topics related to *Daphnis* have been presented at conferences: ‘The Surprising Preservation of Pagan Chimera in Belgian *Daphnis* Plays,’ *International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts* (Orlando, Florida, March, 2010); ‘Practicing What You Preach: Portraying the Ideal in Jesuit College Stage Productions, 1551–1773,’ *Image, Music, Identity: Constructing and Experiencing Identities through Music within Visual Culture* (University of Nottingham, Nottingham, June, 2009); ‘Christ, Minerva, and *la Noblesse Oblige* in a Unique Eighteenth-Century Franco-Belgian Jesuit Music Drama,’ *Music and Morality* (The Institute of Musical Research & Institute of Philosophy, University of London,

London, June, 2009); ‘A Unique Eighteenth-Century Walloonian Music-Drama Re-discovered,’ *The Harvard Dialogues/American Comparative Literature Association Annual Conference/The Lyrica Society for Word-Music Relations International Conference* (Harvard University, Massachusetts, March, 2009); and ‘From Page to Stage: Reviving a Rare Jesuit Drama,’ *RMA Research Students Conference* (King’s College London, London, January, 2009).

Chapter 1

Overview

During the seventeenth century, the independent prologue and chorus emerged within Jesuit school theatre as a result of interactions with the Congregation of the Oratory beginning in the sixteenth century. When these developments manifest in the repertoire of Benedictine and Augustine school theatres during the eighteenth century, a conduit of influence not previously articulated is revealed. Based upon available literature and data, it is proposed that the Jesuits were the agents of change in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as demonstrated by the development of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit theatre, an innovation that did not appear in Benedictine and Augustinian productions until 50 or more years later. Furthermore, the development of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit theatre occurred simultaneously with identical developments, established in previously published literature, in the musical works performed in the oratories of the Congregation of the Oratory over the period c.1550–c.1660.

The sung independent prologues and choruses within theatrical productions by Jesuit, Benedictine and Augustinian schools during the eighteenth century are similar in their performance, structure, and subject. Likewise, the oratorios performed in the oratories of the Congregation of the Oratory and others during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are analogous to the independent prologues and choruses in Jesuit theatre from the same period. In order to find the conduit of influence between the prologues and choruses in these three school theatre systems and the oratorios performed in oratories, an examination of the developments in the works of these four religious communities begins in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Organisation

The proof of this proposal is provided in twelve chapters with supporting materials in eight appendices and three electronic resources.¹ The twelve chapters of the main body of the document are in two formal divisions: Part I, which consists of chapters 2 to 5, and Part II, composed of chapters 6 to 11. The final chapter, chapter 12, contains the conclusions and future directions of the study.

Part I is a comparative analysis of aspects of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatre. The purpose of this analysis is not only to provide a context for Jesuit theatre and an understanding of the characteristics of the religious school theatre medium but also to reveal the pattern of innovation and development through a detailed examination of available literature and data. Following the conclusions from the analyses in Part I, Part II contracts the scale

¹ Appendix 1 contains the list of the consulted institutions and archives in alphabetical order by country and city and the abbreviations for those institutions as used in this study. Appendix 2 is the user manual for the Catholic School Theatre Database (CSTD); the database itself is found on the enclosed CD and requires the application Access from the Microsoft Office suite. The *drama musicum Daphnis, Pastorale* (Jesuit, Namur, 19 May, 1728) is the subject of appendix 3, which includes two essays and a modern critical edition of the score with accompanying notes; the photo facsimile of the original manuscript is located on the attached CD, and the modern premiere performance of the pastorale in 2008 is found on the enclosed DVD. Appendices 4 to 8 contain facsimile reproductions of theatrical programmes from Augustinian and Jesuit school theatre and from performances by Jesuit Marian congregations. Appendices 4 and 5 contain programmes from the Augustinian colleges in Antwerp and Gent, respectively. The Antwerp programmes cover a period of 105 years, 1671–1776. However, there are a significant number of productions yet to be located for the years 1671–1714. The programmes from the Augustinian college at Gent range in performance year from 1630 to 1790, covering 160 years of performances. Within this span, though, there are two periods of time a century apart that currently lack examples of theatrical programmes: 1640–1668 and 1740–1768. The Gent Augustinian school theatre programme facsimiles also include three examples of post-suppression performances. The programmes from a variety of Jesuit colleges, presented in order of modern nation, school city, and year of performance, are found in appendix 6. Appendix 6 is an important addition to Jesuit theatre research, as heretofore all collections of programme facsimiles are of productions from German-speaking regions. Appendix 6 includes one programme from the Jesuit college in Argentina, the first programme from that college to be located to date. There are also 15 examples from Belgian colleges: one each from Gent and Namur, two examples from the colleges in Antwerp, Bruges, Audenarde, Liège and Ypres, and five from Brussels. Five of the programmes are from French Jesuit colleges: one from Arras, Douai and Paris, and two from Rheims. Except for one production from the Kilkenny Jesuit college in Ireland, the remainder of the facsimiles are of eighteenth-century productions from German Jesuit colleges: one from Ingolstadt and Munich, and 51 from the college in Regensburg over the period 1718–1768. As noted, the Munich programme and three of the Regensburg programmes are second surviving copies of programmes reproduced in Szarota's study. Appendix 7 contains eight examples of consecutive performances by the Olomouc/Olmütz Alma Congregation Latina Major Beatissimae Mariae Virginis over the period 1725–1732 in addition to a ninth programme from 1738. A total of eight programmes from non-consecutive performances over the period 1728 to 1769 from the Congregatio Minor Beatissimae Virginis Mariae, sponsored by the Jesuit college in Regensburg are reproduced in appendix 8.

of the study to focus upon the relationship between the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory during the period c.1550–c.1660.

Procedures

Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit schools are an appropriate choice for Part I of this study because of their aggregate size in terms of geographic spread and number of educational institutions as well as the amount of primary materials available for study. Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit schools were not the only Catholic schools with active theatrical traditions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Schools under the direction of other religious organisations such as the Capuchins, Cistercians, Piarists, and Somascans regularly staged dramatic performances during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, in contrast to the 1,029 Jesuit, 633 Benedictine and 260 Augustinian productions examined in this study, only two examples of Cistercian school theatre productions are known and the two studies of Piarist school theatre, Ágnes Gupcsó's article and István Killán's book on Jesuit and Piarist school theatre, focus primarily upon productions from the eighteenth-century.² Previously published Somascan school theatrical studies concern the productions of only a single school, the Collegio Clementino in Rome, out of the organisation's 119 schools.³ Moreover, unlike the Benedictines, Augustinians and

² Johann Haider, *Die Geschichte Des Theaterwesens Im Benediktinerstift Seitenstetten in Barock und Aufklärung*, *Theatregeschichte Österreichs* IV:1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973). Ágnes Gupcsó, 'Musiktheater-Aufführungen an Jesuiten- und Piaristenschulen im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts,' *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38:3–4 (1997): 315–344. István Killán, *A piarista dráma és színjáték a XVII – XVIII században: iskolai színjátékaink témarendje egy reprezentatív jezsuita minta és a teljes piarista felmérés alapján* (Budapest: Universitas, 2002). The Piarists are briefly mentioned in Christopher Carlsmith, 'Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540–1600,' *History of Education Quarterly*, 42:2 (Summer, 2002): 245. The two Capuchin and three Oratorian theatrical productions located to date are: *Ste. Aldegonde Comedie* (Capuchin, Douai, 4 April, 1645), BE–Tst Music I.4 no.1, CSTD ID 2902; *Per Crucem Jesu fit desperanti vitae restitutio* (Capuchin, Dumuk, 1726), UK–Lbl T.1857 no. 4, CSTD ID 1653; *Alexander Pontifex Martyr* (Oratorian, Mechelen, 1643), BE–Bbr II.91.153 no. 7, CSTD ID 108; *Viator Jerichuntius Persanatis Vulneribus Hierosolymam Comitante Samaritano Redux Seu Peccator Poenitens a Purgativa ad Viam Illum* (Oratorian, Munich, 1737), DE–Aua O2/III.7.4.55–8 no. 12, CSTD ID 1821; and *Vocatio Ad Nuptias Filii Regis, Seu Supremus Finis Hominis, Ad quem a Deo est Creatus & vocatus Meditatio Dominica prima* (Oratorian, Munich, 1737), DE–Aua O2/III.7.4.55–8 no. 13, CSTD ID 1822.

³ Stefano Lorenzetti, "'Con ottima musica e sommo applauso": per una storia degli oratori dell'Assunta al Collegio Clementino,' in *Percorsi dell'oratorio romano: da "historia sacra" a melodramma spirituale: atti della giornata di studi*, Saverio Franchi, ed. (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002): 99–110. Gloria Staffieri, 'L'Athalie di Racine e l'oratorio romano alla fine del XVII secolo,' *Revue De Musicologie* 77:2 (1991): 291–310, especially 295–296. A short comparison history of the Somascans and the Jesuits appears in Christopher Carlsmith, 'Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540–

Jesuits, the educational activity of the Somascans, Barnabites and Theatines were chiefly limited to the Italian states.⁴ Therefore, the information currently available for other Catholic orders and communities with an educational vocation is either insufficient in volume or falls outside of the stated time scope of the study.

While Part I includes Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical productions performed from c.1500 to c.1700, the scope of Part II focuses upon the period c.1550 to c.1660. The mid-sixteenth century starting point for Part II reflects the period of time in which Jesuits' primary vocation changed from one of evangelism to education beginning with the founding of their first college for lay students in Messina, Sicily in 1548.⁵ As scholars generally agree that the oratorio emerged as a recognised genre by 1640, selecting 1660 as the endpoint for Part II encompasses twenty years following the appearance of the earliest known self-identified oratorio.

As previous scholars have established, the oratorio developed in Italy, but there are three reasons why theatrical productions from Jesuit colleges located in countries other than Italy are appropriate for inclusion in the analyses of Part II.⁶ First, the students of the Jesuit colleges in Rome, such as the Collegio Germanico, the Collegio Inglese, the Collegio Romano and the Seminario Romano, assisted in the dissemination of contemporary Italian musical styles and genres to Jesuit colleges in other regions.⁷ Second, the movement of *maestri* amongst Jesuit institutions ensured a

1600,' *History of Education Quarterly*, 42:2 (Summer, 2002): 244–245. Lorenzetti studies oratorios performed at the Collegio Clementino from 1666 to 1763 while Staffieri shows that during the period c.1697–c.1711, a major source for the Carnival theatrical productions at both the Collegio Clementino and the Seminario Romano is the Jesuit Collège de Clermont/Louis-le-Grand, thereby revealing a Jesuit influence upon the Collegio Clementino theatre by the end of the seventeenth-century at least.

⁴ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993): 51. See also Maurizio Sangalli, 'Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI–XVII Centuries),' *The Catholic Historical Review*, 93:4 (2007): 815–844 and Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 57:1 (Spring, 2004): 1–42.

⁵ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993): 204–205.

⁶ In order to redress as much as possible the prominent Austrian-German bias of previously published studies of Benedictine and Jesuit school theatre, a conscious effort was made to collect primary materials from not only as many schools as possible but also from as many countries as possible. The following investigation is based upon the dramatic productions of 169 schools located in 17 countries (table 1.1). Twenty-three Belgian and 19 French schools are present in the data, in addition to 33 Austrian and 63 German schools. There are also 12 other countries with schools in the study: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain and Switzerland.

⁷ See Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music, vol. 1: A study of the musicians connected with the Collegio Germanico in Rome during the 17th century and of their activities in Northern Europe* (St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1970). Culley's research reveals the influence of two Roman Jesuit institutions, the Collegio Germanico and the Seminario Romano, upon music in Rome. Culley's *Jesuits and Music* is also notable for his examination of the role the Seminario Romano and the Collegio Germanico played in the spread of Italian musical style throughout Europe. The most recent research in this area is chiefly concerned with the Jesuit missions in the New World and the mutual influence of

continuous exchange of musical and theatrical styles among *maestri*, their students and the college theatres.⁸ Lastly, the enforcement of the guidelines found in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, issued in 1599 by the General of the Society and the Jesuit council in Rome, resulted in demonstrably uniform performance practices within the Jesuit school network, regardless of the country of origin.

This study not only extends the amount of available school theatre data but is also the first comparative analysis of Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 analyse sixteenth and seventeenth-century theatrical productions by Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit schools, respectively; this study presents the first analysis of Augustinian school theatre. Chapter 5, the conclusion to Part I, summarises the findings in chapters 2, 3 and 4 and presents conclusions drawn from these results.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are in two formal divisions, sixteenth-century productions or seventeenth-century productions, and the same process of analysis is performed for each division. The exception to this procedure is chapter 3, which is comprised of only a seventeenth-century section due to the fact that a sixteenth-century example of an Augustinian school theatrical production has yet to be identified. Also, while the sixteenth-century section of chapter 2 is brief due to the limited number of available sixteenth-century examples of Benedictine theatrical productions, the length of chapter 4, which concerns sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre, reflects the large volume of available data.

The data in each century division within chapters 2, 3 and 4 is subjected to the same process of examination, in as much as the extant materials permit. Following a brief history of the relevant religious organisation, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century sections in each chapter present the number and relevant details of the available dataset for that century, noting any biases. The performance, production

each culture upon the other, such as Rogério Budasz, 'Of Cannibals and the Recycling of Otherness,' *Music & Letters*, 87:1 (2005): 1–15; Renata Wasserman, 'The Theatre of José de Anchieta and the Definition of Brazilian Literature,' *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 36:1 (Summer 1999): 71–85; Geoffrey Baker, 'Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial Cuzco,' *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 24:1 (Spring-Summer, 2003): 1–41; and Beth K. Aracena, 'Viewing the Ethnomusicological Past: Jesuit Influences on Araucanian Music in Colonial Chile,' *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 19:1 (Spring-Summer, 1997): 1–29.

⁸ Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów (The Music Courts of the Polish Vasas),' trans. Zofia Weaver, *De Musica XIV* 3 (2007): 1–14. For example, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, S.J., the prefect of music of the Collegio Romano from 1611 to 1621, was requested by Sigismund III, the first Jesuit-educated king of Poland, to be *maestro di cappella* for the Warsaw court and the Jesuit college there. In 1628, Anerio started from Warsaw back to the Gesù, the Jesuit church in Rome, but died in Graz, Austria, presumably at the Jesuit college there.

structure, dramatic genres, dramatic subjects, authors and composers are analysed for each century dataset. The performance subtopics include the identification of trends in performance date and occasion, repetition of productions by the school and within the religious organisation, and the format and contents of the printed theatrical programmes. Production structure examines the theatrical components comprising productions, models of production structure, and production performance forces. The dramatic genres section includes analyses of the characteristics of main title dramas, prologues and epilogues, choruses, and *interludia*. The section concerning dramatic subjects likewise examines the sources of dramatic subjects in main title dramas, prologues and epilogues, choruses, and *interludia*. For the author and composer topics, similar aspects of their respective data is studied: the means of identification, the religious organisation affiliation and type of official position of the author/composer, the author/composer's educational background, evidence of collaboration with colleagues, evidence of writing for the theatres of other religious organisations, composition of multiple works, and which dramatic genres, if any, received contemporary publication.

The sixteenth and seventeenth-century sections of chapters 2, 3 and 4 each conclude with a summary of the observed characteristics and developments in addition to a comparative analysis of the sixteenth and seventeenth century productions. The analyses within the main body of the chapters are compared to the characteristics and developments found in the theatrical productions in preceding chapters. For example, the Augustinian school theatrical components examined in chapter three are compared to those found in Benedictine theatre in chapter two, and so forth. This arrangement permits the dramatic activity of each organisation to be compared to itself between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well being compared with the productions of the other order(s) or society.

Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, which with a summary and conclusions chapter comprise Part II of the study, are each divided into three main sections. The first section concerns the Society of Jesus, the second the Congregation of the Oratory, and the third compares the findings of the first two sections over the c.1550–c.1660 period. Each of the three sections follow a procedure of analysis similar to that used in Part I. The first part of each section examines the Jesuit or Oratorian organisations and their respective relevant activities in their socio-political context, while the second part analyses the changes and developments in Jesuit theatre or the musical

activities of the Congregation of the Oratory. The third section of the chapter is composed of the comparative analysis of the first and second sections. Similar to chapter 5, chapter 11 summarises the findings of chapters 6 to 10, and puts forward conclusions from the results of the analyses in Part II. Chapter 12, the final chapter of the study, presents the conclusions of the study, the investigation's contributions to scholarship and plans for future research.

Terms and Definitions

Much has been written upon the subject of musical genre and terminology; the problems of genre designation in studies of the period c. 1500–c.1700 are legion. Therefore, in order to create a stable basis for comparison, the genres in this study as far as possible reflect the genre classifications and definitions found within the most recent detailed study of the oratorio, Howard E. Smither's *A History of the Oratorio*.⁹ Also, in order to reduce ambiguity and in keeping with the proposals of modern scholars such as Parr, Sparti, Hampton, *et al.*, this investigation eschews traditional periodic labels such as Renaissance and Baroque, choosing instead to identify all periods, materials and innovations by century.¹⁰

The labels for the educational institutions of the Benedictines, Augustinians and Jesuits are another area requiring clarification. In the literature, the generic term for Benedictine institutions is 'school,' while 'college' is the preferred collective term for Jesuit institutions; due to the absence of previously published research regarding Augustinian institutions, there is no typical label associated with Augustinian institutions. However, the terms 'school' and 'college' in the respective bodies of publications refer to all places offering a higher education: colleges, universities and seminaries. Therefore, 'school' and 'college' are treated as interchangeable terms in this study.

In this investigation, the label *main title drama* signifies the dramatic work whose title appears on the front page of the printed programme. Tragedies and

⁹ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 4 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977–2000).

¹⁰ James A. Parr, 'A Modest Proposal: That We Use Alternatives to Borrowing (Renaissance, Baroque, Golden Age) and Leveling (Early Modern) in Periodization,' *Hispania* 84:3 (September, 2001): 406–416. Barbara Sparti, 'Breaking down Barriers in the Study of Renaissance and Baroque Dance,' *Dance Chronicle* 19:3 (1996): 256. Timothy Hampton, 'Baroques,' in *Yale French Studies*, Baroque Topographies: Literature/History/Philosophy 80 (1991): 1–9.

comedies, together with their hybrid sub-genres of tragi-comedy and comi-tragedy, make up the majority of the main title dramas in religious school theatre; *dramae musica*, dialogues, ballets and pastorales make up a significant minority. All dramatic works are classified according to the descriptive words found in the work's original title, such as *tragoedia* and *comoedia*. If the main title work is without such a descriptive title, the sung works are classified under the general term *drama musicum*, while the spoken works are considered tragedies if the subject matter is related to hagiography or history or comedies if the subject matter concerns the life of a non-saint or is based upon allegorical or mythological characters.

The term *dependent* as applied to components of theatrical productions, such as *interludia*, prologues, epilogues and choruses, signifies that the dramatic subject and characters are the same as those of the main title drama. In the same context, the adjective *independent* is used to identify any theatrical production component whose dramatic subject and characters are completely distinct from those of the main title drama. The study data sample also contains examples of *interludia*, prologues, epilogues and choruses that occupy a middle territory between dependence and independence, labelled here as *transitional*. Transitional *interludia*, prologues, epilogues and choruses share at least one character role and to some degree the dramatic subject of the main title drama. A common characteristic of transitional components is the use of *figurae*, or spirits of deceased persons, in a symbolic mute tableau of saints or Biblical characters or in a brief play-within-a-play in which the allegorical figure of *Divine Providence* acts as compère to the *genius*, or spirit, of the hero of the main title drama.¹¹

The musical works in Catholic school theatrical productions have become associated with a bewildering variety of labels in previously published literature.¹² Due to the plethora of terms and the resulting terminological confusion, the term

¹¹ For example, *Constantinople oder Constantinus der Achte Griechische Kanser Tragoediweiss* (Jesuit, Graz, 1 September, 1649), CSTD ID 142; *Chrysophorus Ein Jungling von Lübeck* (Jesuit, Mindelheim, 3, 6 September, 1666), CSTD ID 245; and *Amnestia Regia* (Jesuit, Feldkirch, 4, 5 September, 1720), CSTD ID 1543.

¹² Labels most commonly associated with sung main title dramatic works in school theatre include *azione sacra*, *azione teatrale*, *ballet d'action*, *ballet-héroïque*, *canticum sacrum*, *drama musicum*, *drama per musica*, *dramate cantico*, *drama sacro*, *drame lyrique*, *drama tragicum*, *histoire sacrée*, *opera*, *oratorio*, *passion*, *pastorale*, *pastorale-héroïque*, *sacre rappresentazione*, *singspiel* and *tragédie en musique*. Transitional and independent choruses might be identified as a *canon*, *cantata*, *canticum sacrum*, *canzone*, *componimento sacro*, *dialogus*, *histoire sacrée*, *frottola*, *laude*, *motet* or *oratorio*. Typical labels for school theatre musical *interludia* include *ballet de cour*, *comédie-ballet*, *divertissement*, *entrée*, *episodium*, *festa teatrale*, *intermède/intermedio/intermezzo/interludium*, *madrigale comoedi*, *pantomime* and *pastorale*.

drama musicum is used as the generic expression for all types of entirely sung main title dramas in school theatrical productions. In the rare instances in which a sixteenth or seventeenth-century *drama musicum* has a specific genre label provided in the primary source materials, this fact is acknowledged. Sung dramatic works other than main title dramas are identified by their functional position within the production, for example, prologue, chorus or *interludia*.

A system of nomenclature developed by Heiner Boberski to indicate the structure of non-main-title musical components of productions performed by the Benedictine University of Salzburg is adopted for this study in order to create a uniform basis for comparison among the musical theatrical components within Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit productions.¹³ The prefixes *dependent*, *transitional* and *independent* are combined with Boberski's abbreviations to convey not only the structural elements within these composite musical works but also their degree of attachment to dramatic subject and characters of the main title drama. A similarly consistent system of production structure model taxonomy for Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatre, PMCHIE, is created for this study by a classification method of structural components analogous to Boberski's theatrical production component nomenclature.¹⁴

The titles of the dramatic works cited in this study, due to their extreme length, are presented in an abbreviated form in the text and accompanying tables and figures. However, the title as it appears on the frontispiece of the primary source or within a secondary source is always provided in its entirety in the footnote citations. The majority of the titles of the works cited may be easily abbreviated to one or two key words, usually the name of the main character, while the relatively few titles composed of interlocking complex grammatical constructions are shortened to a grammatically correct phrase including the key word(s) necessary to identify the work.

¹³ Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)*, *Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978). Boberski's nomenclature is based upon combinations of three abbreviations: CH to indicate a chorus, P for a prologue and E for an epilogue. For example, PCHE signifies a collection of sung theatrical components that includes the prologue, all of the choruses and the epilogue. The other possibilities under Boberski's system include the two common variants, PCH and CHE, as well as a more rare construction, PE.

¹⁴ The production structure model components consist of: P, the prologue; M, the main title drama; CH, the choruses; I, the *interludia*; and E, the epilogue. Structural component in brackets indicate an optional portion of the model structure. For example, [P]MCH signifies a group of productions that all contain a main title drama and choruses, while at least one of the productions also includes a prologue.

Sources and Materials

The sources for 705 primary documents and collections of primary materials are provided in table 1.2; the names in italics indicate archives in which all of the relevant documents have been examined.¹⁵ These materials include 224 dramatic texts,¹⁶ 1,184 theatrical programmes, and 75 scores (table 1.3).¹⁷ The list of the schools with one or more theatrical productions analysed in this investigation is displayed in table 1.4, organised by in alphabetical order by country and city; in all instances, modern country and city names are used. As shown in the table, several cities had schools administered by more than one religious organisation.¹⁸

Augustinian school theatre has never been examined until now, and is represented in the study by productions from eight schools (table 1.5). A sample of

¹⁵ Most of the theatrical materials from the Augustijnklooster Archief are now in the collections of the University of Gent. Similarly, the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er} in Brussels holds most of the materials from the Collège Notre Dame.

¹⁶ In recognition that theatrical texts were typically published some time after their premiere, the date of the first performance, if known, is used to place the work in the appropriate period rather than the date of publication.

¹⁷ The 75 musical works associated with school theatre located during the course of this investigation include two copies of one Benedictine sixteenth-century concluding chorus, 62 works composed during the seventeenth century, and 11 eighteenth-century compositions. Thirty-nine of the 62 seventeenth-century compositions are found in Volume II of *Airs Spirituels Nouveaux à 1, 2, 3 Voix* (Valenciennes: Gabriel François Henry, 1696) by Louis le Quoynte, S.J. (1652 Ypres–1717 Saint-Omer), currently reported as a lost work by José Quitin in ‘Le Quoynte, Louis,’ in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/16453> (accessed August 12, 2010); Volume II is located in the Maurits Sabbebibliotheek of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium. Another seventeenth-century drama, *David Cadens et Resurgens* (Anon., *David Cadens et Resurgens*, (1663), BE–Asa 1465 no. 4, CSTD ID 219) lacks a crucial piece of information necessary to be considered in this study. *David Cadens*, an anonymous work, includes the full text in addition to the music to two duets, but from the information available it cannot be determined which order or school staged the drama. Although the eighteenth-century compositions fall outside of the focus of the study, three of the 11 finds are of interest. One manuscript is a Latin contrafactum of the oratorio *Esther* (1786, BE–Aua MS Sj607) by Antonio Sacchini (1730–1786). As indicated by a note on the bottom of the first page of the score, the Italian text was translated into Latin by Fr. G. G. Kennis and sung in 1791 by the Dominicans of Antwerp. Another set of eighteenth-century manuscripts include the complete vocal and orchestral parts for *Iephthe canticum sacrum*, composed by Ferdinando Paër (1771–1839) for the post-suppression Jesuit college of Antwerp (n.d., BE–Aua MS Sj266); this piece does not appear amongst the previously published list of Paër’s works in Scott L. Balthazar and Julian Budden, ‘Paer, Ferdinando,’ in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/20691> (accessed August 12, 2010). Finally, *Daphnis, Pastorale* (Anon., Jesuit College of Namur, 19 May, 1728, BE – Lul MS 357.c, CSTD ID 1693), is not only the one recovered musical score from the Gallo-Belgian Jesuit province, but it is also the first example of a non-prize-day Jesuit music-drama to receive a modern performance. A critical modern edition of *Daphnis, Pastorale* appears in appendix 3 in addition to the attached DVD of the 27 November 2008 premiere at the University of York.

¹⁸ The city of Andech, Austria, for example, had both Benedictine and Jesuit schools, while the city of Gent in Belgium had a total of three institutions directed by the Benedictines, Augustinians and Jesuits, respectively.

theatrical productions from 30 Benedictine schools, of which only the University of Salzburg school theatre has been previously examined in detail, is examined in the study (table 1.6). On the other hand, the Jesuits, whose theatrical traditions have received more attention from scholars than any other subset of Catholic school theatre, are represented by 131 schools (table 1.7).¹⁹ Table 1.8 presents in summary the 169 schools in the study by the total number of schools directed by the Augustinians, Benedictines and Jesuits, respectively.

¹⁹ Over 70 books and at least six dissertations on Jesuit theatre have appeared since c.1900 in addition to numerous articles. With a few exceptions, such as Judith Rock's 1996 *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: Baroque Dance on the Jesuit Stage* and *Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540 – 1773*, edited by John W. O'Malley, S.J., and the forthcoming *Jesuits III*, these previous publications are comparative literature, linguistic or religious studies.

Chapter 2

Benedictine School Theatre, c.1500–c.1700

Of the Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit religious communities, the Benedictine order is not only the first to be established but is also the first to have founded a tradition of dramatic performance in their educational institutions. The Order of St. Benedict, founded by the Italian priest Benedict of Nursia (Nursia, c. 480–Monte Cassino, c. 547–550, canonised 1220), is open to all men and women, and, during the early centuries, children.²⁰ Each Benedictine abbey is fully autonomous, although it is common practice to refer to the Benedictines as a religious order, a term that implies a hierarchical structure of governance. The Benedictine monasteries successfully avoided restructuring efforts that would have created a centralised authority until the sixteenth century.²¹ However, following edicts issued by the Council of Trent, monasteries formed loosely-knit groups, called congregations, that met every three or four years to discuss matters common to all.²² The locations of the monasteries within each congregation reflected a unity of practices and beliefs rather than a specific geographic region. For example, the Benedictine Congregation of Monte Cassino includes monasteries located in Italy, Austria, Salzburg and France. In contrast, both the Augustinians and Jesuits created their respective provinces according to geographic boundaries.²³

Following a summary history of the Benedictine order from its establishment to the modern day, the chapter is divided into two sections. The focus of the first section is sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions, while the

²⁰ Laura Swan, ed. *The Benedictine Tradition: Spirituality in History* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2007); Bernard Green, O.S.B., 'Benedict of Nursia,' in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, William M. Johnson, ed., Vol. 1 (New York: Routledge, 2000), 128–132; Marek Derwich, 'Benedictines,' in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, William M. Johnson, ed., Vol. 1, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 138–143; Charles Warren Currier, *History of Religious Orders*, 2nd ed. (New York: P. Murphy & Son, 1914; Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 88–100. Citations are to the P. Murphy & Sons edition.

²¹ Derwich, 140.

²² Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trüner & Co., 1930), 19:552. Currier, 92. The alternative to forming congregations offered the Benedictines was the appointment of a bishop by the Pope to oversee the abbeys.

²³ Paul Türks, C.O., *Philip Neri: the Fire of Joy*, trans. Daniel Utrecht (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 87–94. The de-centralised structure of the Benedictines is similar to the initial organisation of Congregation of the Oratory.

second section examines Benedictine school theatrical productions during the seventeenth century. Each of these two sections opens with a presentation of the available information, hereafter referred to as the data sample or dataset, and the identification of biases among the collected examples. The sixteenth and seventeenth-century sections present analyses of their respective datasets according to aspects of performance, production structure, dramatic genres, dramatic subjects, authors and composers. The sixteenth century section concludes with a summary of the characteristics of sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre revealed in the preceding analyses. The conclusion of the seventeenth century section is a comparative summary of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions.

A Brief History of the Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)

Benedict of Nursia did not intend to found a religious movement; his Rule for a balanced life of worship and labour was composed only for the monks under his immediate authority.²⁴ However, by c.1050 all European monasteries followed *The Rule of St. Benedict*, although most monasteries adhered only nominally. Therefore, the abbot of the Abbey of Cluny, William of Aquitaine, instigated a movement to return to a strict observance of *The Rule*. The movement, which became known as the Cluniac Reform, led to the first major schism amongst the Benedictines between those monasteries who rejected the reformation and those who agreed to jurisdiction by the Order of Cluny. Other reforms during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries resulted in more schisms, but none were as pervasive as the Cluniac Reform.

Recent research by Barry Collett into the Benedictine abbeys in Italy during the sixteenth-century provides information about the general state of the Order of St. Benedict at that time.²⁵ Collett states that the Benedictines operated 45 monasteries in 37 towns in the Italian states, Sicily and France in addition to 145 smaller establishments. Collett, by calculating the average annual number of professions and the life expectancy of the monks, estimates there to have been between 2,000 and

²⁴ Derwich, 138.

²⁵ Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and The Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

2,500 Benedictine monks by 1521.²⁶ Collett's evidence of an increasing number of new professions and monasterial property during this period indicates that the Benedictine order was in a state of rapid growth during the first half of the sixteenth century.

The Benedictines did not fare as well during the second half of the sixteenth century. Their monasteries in England were suppressed by Henry VIII starting in 1536, and, except for a short-lived revival under Queen Mary, remained closed. In Ireland, many Benedictine monasteries had been given to other orders, such as the Cistercians, by the end of sixteenth century.²⁷ The Benedictines also faced increasing competition for resources and recruitment from newly established Catholic religious organisations such as the Jesuits, Theatines and Barnabites.²⁸ And, in spite of the efforts of William of Aquitaine's successors, the observance of St. Benedict's Rule had again lapsed in many monasteries by the seventeenth century. With the support of the Pope, Cardinal de Richelieu of France, elected Abbot of Cluny in 1629, introduced a series of reforms to return the Cluniac-Benedictine monasteries to a strict observance of St. Benedict's Rule. These reforms, together with the expulsion and suppression of the Jesuits over the period 1762 to 1773, resulted in a brief period of growth for the Benedictines.²⁹

However, the governments of France and Germany suppressed the Benedictines during the 1790s.³⁰ All of the Bavarian Benedictine monasteries, except for *Die irische Benediktinerklosterkirche St. Jakob und St. Gertrud*, or *Jakobskirche*, at Regensburg, were likewise forcibly closed during the 1790s.³¹ But the Benedictines experienced a revival beginning in the 1830s, establishing new monasteries in France, England and the United States. The increase in the Benedictine presence continued until the Vatican Council II (1962–1965). After Vatican II, the number of monasteries

²⁶ Collett, 9. n.21

²⁷ The English Benedictine Congregation and the Scots Benedictine Congregation re-grouped in Europe, similar to the English Augustinians and Jesuits. For the history of the Benedictines in England, see: David Lunn, ed. *The English Benedictines, 1540–1688: From Reformation to Revolution* (New York: Hyperion, 1994); Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2007); Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1963). Currier, 95.

²⁸ Currier, 91.

²⁹ Derwich, 141. Currier, 93–94.

³⁰ Swan, 2. Derwich, 140. Currier, 94.

³¹ Currier, 97. Some monasteries were permitted to re-open in 1827.

in Europe and the United States declined, although new growth is reported in third-world regions in recent sources.³²

Benedictine School Theatrical Productions, c.1500–c.1599

The educational vocation of the Benedictines was coeval with the founding of the order, for Benedictine monasteries began establishing cloister schools as early as the sixth century. By the tenth century, the order administered schools and universities in Italy, France, Spain, England, Ireland, Germany and Switzerland.³³ Although several studies of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Benedictine school theatre have been published, it appears that little research has been conducted concerning Benedictine theatrical productions from the sixteenth century. The exceptions are Maria Di Venuta's modern critical edition of the text of *Rappresentazione della creazione del mondo* by Teofilio Folengo, O.S.B., and a reproduction of a sixteenth-century sketch in Jan Bloemendal's monograph *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven?: Latijnse school en toneel in de noordelijke Nederlanden in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw. Atto della Pinta*, an example of a sixteenth-century *sacra rappresentazione*, was commissioned by the government of Palermo and is not a school drama and therefore it is not appropriate to include Folengo's *Rappresentazione della creazione del mondo* in the sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre dataset.³⁴

Bloemendal's survey of Latin theatre in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries includes a detail from a sketch by Pieter Brueghel the Elder (c.1525–1569) of a performance by Benedictines in a town square around the year 1560 (fig. 2.1).³⁵ The Benedictine religious affiliation of the musicians can be

³² Derwich, 142–143.

³³ Levi Seeley, *History of Education* (New York: American Book Co., 1899; repr. Charleston, South Carolina: BiblioLife, LLC, 2009), 118. Seeley includes the following twelve examples of Benedictine schools: in Italy, Monte Cassino, (529); in England, Canterbury (586) and Oxford (ninth century); in Switzerland, St. Gall (613); in Germany, Fulda (744) and Constance, Hamburg, and Cologne (tenth century); in Lyons, Tours, Paris, Rouen (tenth century); Austria, Salzburg (696).

³⁴ Folengo Teofilo, *Atto della Pinta. Sacra rappresentazione*, Maria Di Venuta, ed. (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1994). The text, written in a series of scenes, is in Latin prose with interpolated passages of Latin and Italian poetry. The drama was completed in 1538 and first performed in 1539. In 1581, a Benedictine monk-composer, Mauro Chiaula, was commissioned to set Folengo's text to music; however, the location of Chiaula's setting is unknown.

³⁵ Jan Bloemendal, *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven?: Latijnse school en toneel in de noordelijke Nederlanden in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw* [A mirror of daily life?: Latin school and drama in the northern Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth century] (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003).

identified by means of the habits worn by the vocalists, several of whom are also tonsured. The information available in the sketch does not specify whether the performance shown is a Benedictine school theatre production performed in a town square or a liturgical drama for which Benedictines provided the music. If the performance is by a Benedictine school, Brueghel's sketch reveals details of performance practices in sixteenth-century Netherland Benedictine school theatre. If, however, the performance shown is a town play or a liturgical drama with hired vocalists, its chief import to musicological study is as an example of the variety of instruments available for sixteenth-century theatrical performances and the size of the musical ensemble. As there is equal credence for both possibilities, the sketch is included in the data sample for sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre.

Data Sample

Three complete plays by Belgian Benedictines in the archives of the University of Liège provide new evidence of dramatic activity in Belgian Benedictine schools during the sixteenth century.³⁶ As the sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre materials available for study are currently limited to two plays from the Sint-Truiden Benedictine monasterial school in the Limburg province of Belgium, a play performed by both Sint-Truiden and the Benedictine monasterial school in Gent and a sketch from a related geographic region, the unavoidable institutional and regional bias should be taken into account in the following discussion.

All three of the sixteenth-century Benedictine plays are manuscripts, and there is no evidence that they were ever published. Two of the plays, *Sancti Trudonis* (1565) and *Stephani* (1565), are by Pietro Cruls, O.S.B., while the third play, *Grisellis*, is a copy by Cruls of a comedy by fellow Belgian Benedictine monk Eligius Eustachius (table 2.1).³⁷ The frontispiece of *Grisellis* confirms that Benedictine theatre in Belgium was not limited to the Sint-Truiden abbey during the sixteenth

³⁶ Pietro Cruls, O.S.B., *Comedia una Vitam Sancti Trudonis Confessoris*, BE–Lul Ms.78B (1565) and Ms.19B (1566); CSTD ID 2286. Ibid., *Vita seu Comoedia divi Stephani Proto Martyris* (1565), BE–Lul Ms.56.999B no. 265; CSTD ID 3. Eligius Eucharis, O.S.B., *Grisellis Comedia, Speculum seu Exemplar Patientiae* (1516, copy by Pietro Cruls, 1600) BE–Lul Ms.325; CSTD ID 1.

³⁷ Also, Petrus Crullus or Pieter Cruels; his biographical dates are not known.

century, for Eligius Eucharius (1488–1544) is identified as the master of entertainment for the Benedictine school in Gent (fig 2.2).³⁸

Performance

Pietro Cruls provides the original 1516 performance date for *Grisellis* in his 1600 manuscript copy of the comedy. However, Cruls did not provide the year of performance for either of his own plays, although the frontispiece of the 1565 copy of *Sancti Trudonis* indicates that the play was probably performed in 1565 or shortly before as part of a fête in honour of St. Trudo (fig. 2.3, indicated by an arrow).³⁹ Due to the absence of performance details in the manuscripts, the date which the dramas were performed, the number of performances these dramas received and whether the entire school participated in the performance cannot be determined.

The purpose associated with the performance of these three sixteenth-century Benedictine school comedies similarly cannot be verified from the available information, although similar plays in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre functioned as the main title drama in productions performed in celebration of the annual distribution of academic class prizes. Also, the fact that Cruls made a copy of Eustachius's *Grisellis* raises the possibility that during the sixteenth century dramas performed by one school were repeated by other Benedictine schools.

Production Structure

The available sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions conform to an MCH model of production structure, that is, they consist of a main title drama and a chorus (fig 2.4).⁴⁰ The presence of *interludia* is not indicated in the texts of these three dramas, but it is possible that *interludia* were added to the production in

³⁸ 'Iudimagistro Gandensi.' Eligius Eucharius, *Grisellis Comedia, Speculum seu Exemplar Patientiae*, 1516, copy by Pietro Cruls, 1600, BE-Lul Ms.325, frontispiece; CSTD ID 1.

³⁹ 'fete Trudonis.' Pietro Cruls, O.S.B., *Comedia una Vitam Sancti Trudonis Confessoris*, BE-Lul Ms.78B (1565); CSTD ID 2286. St. Trudo Abbey was founded in 657, and therefore the sixteenth-century production of *Sancti Trudonis* was probably part of the festivities celebrating the abbey's 900th anniversary.

⁴⁰ The abbreviation M signifies the main title drama and CH the chorus. See chapter 1, Terms and Definitions, for a brief explanation of this classification method.

performance.⁴¹ As indicated in the structural model in fig. 2.4, the chorus in *Grisellis*, *Stephani* and *Sancti Trudonis* appears only after the conclusion of the final act. Unlike *Stephani* and *Sancti Trudonis*, the concluding poem of *Grisellis* is not labelled as a chorus, although it is an ensemble piece performed by the character Kinta and his men (fig.2.5) whose text fulfils the function of the chorus in sixteenth-century productions in providing a moralising summary of the preceding dramatic action.⁴² Similar to conclusion of *Grisellis*, the chorus in *Sancti Trudonis* is also composed of eight lines of Latin poetry. The inclusion of the musical setting for the concluding chorus of *Sancti Trudonis* provides evidence that final choruses in sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions were sung rather than recited (fig 2.6 (text, Ms.78B, Ms.19B), fig. 2.7 (music, Ms.78B), fig. 2.8 (music, Ms.19B)).⁴³

The minimum required production performance forces are similar amongst *Grisellis*, *Stephani* and *Sancti Trudonis*, as shown by the number of speaking parts (table 2.2). The earliest play, *Grisellis*, contains speaking parts for 19 actors. Cruls' two plays have fewer characters in *Grisellis*, for *Sancti Trudonis* has 14 characters roles and *Stephani* requires only 12 twelve performers. Without an accompanying programme, etc., the number of students in non-speaking supporting roles and the chorus in the actual performance cannot be determined, and therefore the performance forces for these plays are probably larger than the number of dramatic roles indicates.

The wealth of instrumentalists and vocalists in the sketch by Brueghel reveals that the musical components of a sixteenth-century theatrical production might be performed by sizable ensembles of instruments and voices. The choral ensemble in Brueghel's sketch is composed of five boys and six monks singing from a single choir book elevated on a stand (fig. 2.9).⁴⁴ The instruments present in Brueghel's drawing

⁴¹ Folengo Teofilo, *Atto della Pinta. Sacra rappresentazione*, Maria Di Venuta, ed. (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1994). The 1539 premiere in the Chiesa S Maria della Pinta in Palermo of *Atto della Pinta* included dependent musical *interludia*.

⁴² 'Kinta audaculus cum suis adoniis.' *Grisellis Comedia Speculum seu Exemplar Patientiae*, (Eligius Eucharius, Gent, 1516), Pietro Cruls, 1600, BE-Lul Ms.325: 49; CSTD ID 1.

⁴³ 'Musices author [e] D. Jões. S[oramtren?].' *Comedia una Vitam Sancti Trudonis Confessoris* (Pietro Cruls, Sint-Truiden), 1565, BE-Lul Ms.78B:174; 1566, BE-Lul Ms.19B:160; CSTD ID 2286. A comparison of the pages in figs. 2.6 to 2.8 reveals that each manuscript is in a different hand. In Ms.19B, red ink is used throughout the play for the character names, the final chorus label and the decorative underscores. Ms.78B is written entirely in black ink. It appears, however, that the Ms.19B copyist deliberately imitated the handwriting of Ms.78B when transcribing the musical canon, as the handwriting for the text underlay is markedly similar between the two manuscripts.

⁴⁴ Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *De Matigheid*, c.1559, http://www.chrisdenengelsman.nl/Kunst_kolom/Breughel_Pieter/Tekeningen/De_zeven_deugden/De_Matigheid_1560.jpg (accessed 10 September, 2010). Jan Bloemendal, *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven?: Latijnse school en toneel in de noordelijke Nederlanden in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), 40. Brueghel's

are both numerous and varied, the immediately obvious instrument being the single keyboard portative organ with an assistant pumping the bellows. In addition to the organist and his assistant, the faces of nine instrumentalists can be seen within the marquee, although instruments are not visible for the three musicians at the rear of the tent. From left to right the identifiable instruments include a large lute, a cornetto, a large pale circular instrument at the back of the marquee that might be a drum, two long trumpets or possibly horns or shawms, a bagpipe with three drones, and a sackbut.⁴⁵ There are also four instruments not being played that are visible in the foreground of the excerpt from the sketch. From left to right there is first a viol, possibly broken and with its bow underneath it, which is lying on top of an open part-book. The second instrument is a harp, which is resting on part of the viol and has a second part-book lying open on top of it. There is also an indistinct instrument beside the organist that might be a type of hand-drum and, lastly, a lute rests beneath the organ. Thus, the musical forces used in the production sketched by Brueghel include an instrumental and vocal ensemble of at least 20 musicians.

Dramatic Genres and Dramatic Subjects

The sixteenth-century Benedictine theatre dataset is homogenous in terms of dramatic genre and dramatic subject, for all three dramas are comedies whose dramatic subjects are taken from the life and death of saints, a type of dramatic subject known as hagiography. All three comedies are written entirely in Latin poetry and presumably were likewise performed in Latin. The dramatic texts are divided into acts with internal scenes and are without prologues or epilogues. The earliest example, *Grisellis*, is written in three acts, while *Stephani* and *Sancti Trudonis* are five-act comedies. The dependent chorus in each comedy is in one formal part.

sketch also yields information about the audience and the stage. The audience, apparently all men, stand directly below the wooden stage and between the ornate marquee and the stage with its fully enclosed backstage area. Brueghel drew the choral ensemble facing away from the stage with the instrumentalists placed at a right angle to the singers and with their backs also to the stage, leaving only the organist in a position to watch the action and lead the music. Whether this represents actual practice or is merely artistic license is unknown. The names of their allegorical characters are affixed to the costumes of the two actors, and the back cloth is similarly labelled. A jester, complete with a jester's stick, is about to enter from the wings on the left-hand side. There is also evidence of the possible use of two-level staging, as a man is visible in the flies.

⁴⁵ The detail from *De Matigheid* reproduced in Bloemendal's study does not include the musician playing the large lute.

Authors

The identity of the authors of the three sixteenth-century Benedictine school dramas, Eligius Eucharius and Pietro Cruls, are provided by Pietro Cruls in his manuscripts. As Eucharius and Cruls were both Benedictine monks, it appears that theatrical works for Benedictine schools staged during the sixteenth century were written by Benedictine monks who taught or were otherwise connected with the school. While there is no evidence of collaboration with other authors, the two plays by Cruls provide evidence of multiple school dramas by a single author. As none of the three plays are known to have been published, it appears that printing the texts of Benedictine school plays was not an established custom during the sixteenth century.

Composers

Two complete copies of the musical setting for the concluding chorus of *Sancti Trudonis* survive, both of which identify the composer. The inclusion of the name of the composer is an extremely rare occurrence among all Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical productions until the mid-seventeenth century, and for this reason, *Sancti Trudonis* is a particularly important example of sixteenth-century Benedictine drama. The written name is difficult to decipher, however, and may be either D. Jões. Soramtren or D. Jões. Tramken. While no biographical or educational details are known about the composer, it is known that he was a Benedictine monk, probably a colleague of Pietro Cruls at the Sint-Truiden abbey. He is only known to have composed this single piece of music for Benedictine school theatre.

Benedictine School Theatre, c.1500–c.1599: Summary and Conclusions

Due to the demonstrated scarcity of confirmed examples, it is more appropriate to summarise the characteristics of sixteenth-century Benedictine school drama in a series of observations upon the works examined rather to formalise a set of conclusions. The available sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre dramas are comedies written in Latin verse on hagiographic dramatic subjects whose formal structure is either three or five acts with internal scenic divisions. A brief summarising

poem, sung by a choral ensemble or solo vocalists, provides a moral summary to conclude the theatrical production. The use of the MCH structural model in sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions is consistent among the works examined; there are no examples or indications of *interludia* in the available source materials. At least one play was performed to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the abbey, but the specific performance occasion is not known for the other two dramas. There is evidence indicating that dramas were shared and repeated among Benedictine schools, although there is no evidence of an institution staging repeat performances of the same play. The minimum production cast requirement for sixteenth-century Benedictine school main title dramas ranges between 12 and 19 actors, but these numbers do not include student-actors in non-speaking roles and the vocal ensemble for the concluding chorus probably added to the production in performance. The authors of the dramas not only identify themselves and their sources, but in one instance also include the name of the composer of the concluding chorus.

Benedictine School Theatrical Productions, c.1600–c.1700

Thirty Benedictine educational institutions are known to have engaged in dramatic activity during the seventeenth century (table 2.3). However, for the 15 colleges, universities and seminaries indicated in italics in table 2.3, there are no known primary source materials, and production details, such as the year of performance and the title of the main drama, are not available in previously published literature. Without specific information, these 15 schools are by necessity excluded from the following analyses.

On the other hand, as the total number of seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions examined in this study is 327 and all but 14 are from a single institution, it is clear that the dramatic output of the University of Salzburg dominates the dataset. Therefore, this institutional bias should be taken into account for any conclusions regarding the characteristics of seventeenth-century Benedictine drama. Similarly, it should be noted that the focus of previously published studies of Benedictine theatre is limited to Austrian and German Benedictine schools.

Data Sample

The available primary materials consist of a single printed programme for nine of the Benedictine institutions in table 2.3: Göttwig, Michaelbeuren, Ossiach, Huy, Maastricht, Celle, Kempten, Munich and Ottobeuren. The performance details are also known for two of the seventeenth-century theatrical productions staged by the Benedictine school in Rayserl, Austria. However, two previously published studies of Benedictine theatre have between them identified and catalogued 313 seventeenth-century productions by the students at the University of Salzburg in Austria. Of the 313 identified productions, the performance date(s) are known for 282 and the performance year and title for 187 productions. All of the University of Salzburg productions except two are in Heiner Boberski's catalogue in *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)*.⁴⁶ Boberski lists the productions in order by performance date, including those works whose title, performance month and day(s) are unknown. In addition to the expected primary source and secondary reference information, Boberski also identifies, where known, the author of the text, the name of the composer, the performers (i.e., a single class or the college), and performance occasion. Unique to Boberski's catalogue is the inclusion of the title of the *interludia* inserted within the main title tragedy or comedy.⁴⁷

Tantalizingly, reproductions of the frontispieces from 29 productions appear throughout the text and catalogue of Boberski's study, although no complete programmes are reproduced.⁴⁸ Thus, while useful as an illustration of the changes in programme design during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these programme excerpts do not provide any information not already present in the catalogue. Also not addressed in Boberski's study are the cast, musicians and formal structure of the

⁴⁶ Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* *Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 13–174, 219–259 (catalogue of seventeenth-century productions).

⁴⁷ Other useful resources found within Boberski's study are two appendices listing the authors and the composers identified within the catalogue of productions, respectively. If known, the full name and dates of each author or composer are provided, followed by the total number of works and/or fragments of works appearing in the catalogue, the range of years during which the works were written, and reference information. Boberski does not provide corresponding catalogue numbers for any of these works, which would significantly facilitate locating works by a specific author or composer within the main body of the catalogue. Boberski, 323–332 (count of works by author), 333–336 (count of works by composer).

⁴⁸ Boberski, 39, 67, 81, 93, 103, 109, 117, 129, 137, 141, 149, 155, 163, 169, 179, 187, 192, 199, 203, 209, 211, 239, 245, 251, 263, 271, 279, 295, 309.

dramatic works within each production. Nevertheless, Boberski's thorough and meticulous research together with a clear presentation of results makes this work an important reference source for studies of Benedictine school drama. The dramatic genre and subject, and thereby the dramatic subject source, can be determined from the title provided by Boberski for the majority of the titled dramatic works. Similarly, the identification of the composers indicates the presence of music in the productions, although main title *dramae musica* are not distinguished from spoken tragedies and comedies. The provision of performance information allows the 282 productions with performance dates to be grouped by date for the purpose of analysing trends within the seventeenth-century repertoire.

The other resource whose catalogue includes several Benedictine school theatrical productions is Johann Haider's *Die Geschichte Des Theaterwesens Im Benediktinerstift Seitenstetten in Barock und Aufklärung*.⁴⁹ Although chiefly a comparative literature study of seventeenth and eighteenth-century school drama by geographic region, Haider includes a brief investigation of the use of music in school plays.⁵⁰ Within Haider's 'Seitenstettener Periochenkatalog' are 13 seventeenth-century productions from five Benedictine educational institutions.⁵¹ Notable among these productions are two ballets, *Die Triumphirende Liebe* (Celle, 1653) and *De la Concorde* (Tübingen, 1667), the only known examples of this genre within the Benedictine school theatre repertoire.⁵² Haider also includes among the University of Salzburg productions in his catalogue two tragedies that are not found in Boberski's catalogue, namely *Rudolff Stadler* (1688) and *Maria Stuarta* (1689).⁵³ The remainder of the University Salzburg productions identified by Haider are cross-referenced in Boberski with Haider's catalogue numbers. Haider's catalogue provides the complete text from the printed programme title page for each production, ordered by city and year. However, the religious affiliation is not provided for the mixture of Jesuit,

⁴⁹ Johann Haider, *Die Geschichte Des Theaterwesens Im Benediktinerstift Seitenstetten in Barock und Aufklärung*, *Theatregeschichte Österreichs IV:1* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), 21–82.

⁵⁰ Haider, 35–52.

⁵¹ Haider, 187 (Celle, 1 production), 196 (Michaelbeuren, 1), 197 (Ossiach, 1), 198–201 (Salzburg, 10), 207 (Tübingen, 1).

⁵² *Die Triumphirende Liebe* (Celle, 1653), Haider no.1, CSTD ID 2906. *De la Concorde* (Tübingen, 1667), Haider no.73, CSTD ID 2905.

⁵³ *Uhrwerck Christlicher Beständigkeit Oder Rudolff Stadler, Der beständiges Uhrmacher Dem Hochwürdigsten* (University of Salzburg, 1688), Haider no. 47, CSTD ID 2907. *Engelland nicht allzeit Engel=Land Oder Die in Engelland unschuldig enthauptete Schottländische Königin Maria Stuarta* (University of Salzburg, 1689), Haider no. 48, CSTD ID 2908.

Benedictine and Cistercian theatrical productions listed in Haider's catalogue, necessitating a close reading of each entry in order to identify those works performed by a particular religious community.

Similar in focus to Haider, Willi Flemming's *Das Ordensdrama* is a literary study of select Benedictine and Jesuit school plays and their authors. Flemming's Benedictine school theatre section examines the dramatic output of Simon Rettenpacher in comparison with works by four Jesuit theatre authors, Jacob Bidermann, Jacob Balde, Nicolaus von Avancini, and Masen.⁵⁴ In addition to two Jesuit plays, Flemming's study concludes with a modern edition of the text of Rettenpacher's *Demetrius* (1672), including the prologue, choruses and *dramatis personae*.⁵⁵

Table 2.4 displays the total number of productions per century quarter for the 327 productions comprising the seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre data sample. The information reveals the number of productions performed during the third and fourth quarters of the century to be similar in the sample, with 100 and 121 productions, respectively, while the second quarter, with 67 productions, is also well represented. For the first quarter of the seventeenth century, however, only ten Benedictine school theatrical productions are known.

Performance

The following three subsections, Performance Date, Production Repetition and Theatrical Programmes, examine developments and trends in areas relating to the performance of seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre.

Performance: Performance Date

The performance of plays was a year-round activity in Benedictine schools during the seventeenth century (table 2.5) Most were performed in conjunction with the distribution of academic prizes or celebrated Christ's birth, death or resurrection (*drama nativitiium, sepulchrum* or *drama paschale*). Other theatrical productions were

⁵⁴ Willi Flemming, *Das Ordensdrama* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1930), 28–36.

⁵⁵ *Innocentia dolo circumventa, seu Demetrius Philippi Macedonum regis filius, insidiis fratris Persei crudeliter peremptus* (University of Salzburg, 10 October, 1672), Flemming, 304–362, Boberski no. 188, CSTD ID 285.

annual productions by single academic class or performances staged for a special occasion, such as the anniversary of an institution or a visit by an important patron.⁵⁶

The theatrical productions associated with the distribution of class prizes were performed in October, November or September, and involved students from every academic class. An examination of the evidence indicates that for the months with the fewest number of theatrical productions in table 2.5, namely February, May, June, July and August, these productions were frequently given for a specific special occasion. The majority of the March and April productions were annual *sepulchri* productions in which, similar to the prize-day productions, the entire school was involved. However, the December and January theatrical productions, linked to the Advent, Christmas and Epiphany seasons, were annual single-class productions by the Rhetoric and Poetry classes; towards the end of the century, the Syntax class also began staging plays during these months. Based on the information regarding the University of Salzburg and corroborated by the months of performance among the non-Salzburg Benedictine school materials, it appears that Benedictine schools staged at least 4 theatrical productions annually: two by the entire school, with one for the prize-day and one during Holy Week, and two by individual academic classes during Advent, Christmas or Epiphany.

An analysis of the selected data in table 2.6 reveals a change in the performance month of Benedictine school prize-day productions during the seventeenth century. For the first three quarters of the century, prize-day productions were rarely performed in September. October and November alternate in commonality in the excerpted data sample displayed in table 2.6, with the greatest number of examples in October performed during the period 1600–1624 and 1650–1674, while productions were more frequently staged in November within the period 1625–1649. However, during the final quarter of the century, the typical performance month for Benedictine school theatrical prize-day productions changed to September; as an examination of the performance month in eighteenth-century Benedictine school productions shows, this change in production performance traditions was

⁵⁶ Boberski identifies 64 examples of productions by poetry classes, 92 examples by rhetoric classes, and four productions by syntax classes that were performed at the University of Salzburg during the seventeenth-century. However, for most of these examples, only the performance year and performing academic class is known.

permanent.⁵⁷ Moreover, although September productions before c.1675 usually took place during the final week of the month, Benedictine school theatrical productions performed after 1675 were performed during the first week of September. These performance date changes during the seventeenth century placed Benedictine theatrical productions in direct competition with the productions of Jesuit schools, as the first week of September was the traditional prize-day production performance period for Jesuit theatre beginning c.1600.

Performance: Production Repetition

Multiple performances of Benedictine school theatrical productions appear to be a rarity during the seventeenth century. Of the 30 productions in the seventeenth-century Benedictine data sample that received more than one performance, 21 are prize-day productions and five are single-class productions (table 2.7) The incidence of multiple performances in Benedictine theatre appears to be consistent throughout the seventeenth century, as exactly half of the examples in table 2.7 were performed before 1650 and half were performed after 1650. As the data in the table shows, if a production was performed more than once, it was typically performed only twice. However, three Benedictine school theatrical productions received three, four and five performances, respectively.⁵⁸

The multiple performances of seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions took place on non-consecutive days until after mid-century. By the 1640s, the earlier custom of two to three-week intervals between repeat

⁵⁷ For example, 93 out of 111 examples of eighteenth-century Benedictine school prize-day productions in the CSTD took place during September, while 5 were in November and 3 were in October.

⁵⁸ *Iephte, Ductor Hebraeorum, Victor Ammonitarum, Victimarius Filiae Coram Serenissimis Utriusque Bavariae Ducibus* (University of Salzburg, 8, 12 October, 6 November 1629 and April (2 perf.), 1630), Boberski nos. 24–26, CSTD ID nos. 2628, 2629. *Saul Rex Israel* (University of Salzburg, 30 August, 22 September, 2 November 1626), Boberski nos. 13–16, CSTD ID 2622. The production of *Iephte*, written by Thomas Weiss and with choruses composed by Steffano Bernardi, was performed three times during the autumn of 1629 and twice in the spring of 1630, receiving a total of five performances. The public performances in autumn were not given on successive days, but rather spread over an approximate four week period: 8 October, 12 October and 6 November. The two spring performances of *Iephte*, both of which occurred in April 1630, were special performances for visiting guests. The 7 April performance, for example, was given in honour of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Kremsmünster. The second performance on an unknown day in April was performed before an audience of cardinals (Boberski, 221). Similarly, the second performance of *Saul Rex Israel*, a production performed 4 times during 1626, was given in honour of a visit from Leopold and Claudia von Medici on 3 September. Just as in the case of *Iephte*, the three public performances of *Saul* took place over a period of four weeks, with performances on 30 August, 22 September and 2 November.

performances was replaced by production repetitions over a period of a week or less. For example, the two performances of *Doctor Lupus* (3, 10 November 1645) were given seven days apart, while the performances of *Longobardius XIII* (9, 12 November, 1643) were separated by only three days.⁵⁹

Performance: Theatrical Programmes

Prior to the mid-1640s, a separate set of programmes was printed for each performance of a production, a practice that continued until the end of the seventeenth century. However, as productions with performances on consecutive days superseded the earlier tradition of widely spaced performances, programmes began to be printed for each production rather than for each performance. Two of the earliest known examples of a single programme including more than one performance date are *Quirino* (University of Salzburg, 1644) and *S. Henricus* (University of Salzburg, 1647).⁶⁰

The format and contents of printed programmes for seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions underwent several important changes during the century. The first of these changes concerns the linguistic format of the printed programmes. Two runs of programmes, one in Latin and the other in the vernacular, were typically printed for Benedictine school theatre performances during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶¹ Figure 2.10, the frontispiece of the programme for *Doctore Scientiae* (University of Salzburg, 1623), is a typical example of a seventeenth-century programme in the vernacular.⁶² Similarly, the title page from the programme for *Metamorphosis Bucephali* (University of Salzburg, 1685), is a typical example of a Latin-language programme. (fig. 2.11).⁶³

⁵⁹ *Partharis rex Longobardius XIII* (9, 12 November, 1643), Boberski nos. 61–62, CSTD 2655. *Doctor Lupus* (3, 10 November 1645), Boberski nos. 72–73, CSTD ID 2665.

⁶⁰ *Tragoedia de sancto martyre Quirino Philippi I. imperatoris filio* (University of Salzburg, 11, 13 November 1644), Boberski no. 68, CSTD ID 2661. This production includes the *interludium Pantomimicus Choreuta et olea*. *S. Henricus ex duce Boiariae trigesimo primo imperator semper augustus Caesar* (University of Salzburg, 29, 30 November, 1647), Boberski no. 83, CSTD ID 2673.

⁶¹ The rarity of printed programmes in the vernacular for single-class Benedictine school theatrical productions suggests that when programmes were printed for single-class productions, which, as the 18 known examples show was not a common practice, the preferred language was Latin.

⁶² *Tragoedia de doctore scientiae suae nimium confidente, disputante eum diabolo de fide, sed victo* (University of Salzburg, October, 1623), Boberski, 39, 220. Boberski no. 9, CSTD ID 2617.

⁶³ *Metamorphosis Bucephali in Acephalum Vitellio primum, inde Famiana imperantibus* (University of Salzburg, February, 1685), Boberski, 67, 248. Boberski no. 240, CSTD ID 2814.

Benedictine school theatrical programmes in which Latin and the vernacular appeared together developed around the middle of the century. In these bilingual programmes, the Latin always preceded the vernacular. The available evidence indicates that bilingual programmes became the format of choice for programmes printed after c.1650. For example, the text of the title page from a typical late seventeenth-century bilingual programme is reproduced in fig. 2.12.⁶⁴

Regardless of its linguistic format, certain information is consistently present in seventeenth-century Benedictine programmes: the title of the main dramatic work, the name of the school and its Benedictine affiliation, the year of performance, the city and name of the publisher and the year of publication. The performance month and day(s) of performance are also frequently provided, as can be seen in the theatrical programme excerpts in fig. 2.10 (Octobris) and fig. 2.12 (30 Augusti, 30 Augstmonat). Less commonly found within seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre programmes is the identification of the performance occasion and/or the person(s) to whom the performance is dedicated. For example, the programmes for *Doctore Scientiae* and *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* do not include this information (figs. 2.10 and 2.12). However, the production of *Metamorphosis Bucephali* is a ‘Saturnalitio Dramate,’ that is, a drama in celebration of the winter solstice (fig. 2.11).⁶⁵ As the absence of a cast list in the programme for the 1699 performance of *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* in fig. 2.12 shows, the identification of the student-actors is an inconsistent practice among Benedictine printed programmes up to the end of the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ The genre of the main title drama, the name of the author and the name of the composer, though, are rarely identified in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre programmes until after c.1650.

⁶⁴ *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Raysersl, 30 August, 1699). GB–Lbl RB.23.a.25997, CSTD ID 486.

⁶⁵ Saturnalia, a five to seven day festival of excess in honour of the god Saturn, was the most important annual Roman holiday. Saturnalia was celebrated at the winter solstice, around 17 December. However, the performance of *Metamorphosis Bucephali* took place in February, and therefore the reference to Saturnalia probably indicates a particular school tradition rather than the celebration of a non-Christian holiday at a Catholic educational institution.

⁶⁶ *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Villingen, 30 August, 1699). GB–Lbl RB.23.a.25997; CSTD ID 486.

Production Structure

The following discussion of the components and structures found within seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions references three examples of typical productions; all three are prize-day theatrical productions from Benedictine schools other than the University of Salzburg (figs. 2.13, 2.14 and 2.15).⁶⁷ These productions illustrate consistent practices while also revealing the three chief models of production structure found within seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions.⁶⁸

Figure 2.13 contains the Latin synopses and the first portion of the *nomina actorum*, or cast list, from the printed programme for *SS. Felicitatis* (Munich, 5 September, 1661).⁶⁹ The dramatic structure and excerpts from the Latin synopses in the printed programme for *Pax Europae* (Rayserl, 3, 5, September, 1698) is presented in fig. 2.14.⁷⁰ Finally, fig. 2.15 includes the Latin text as well as excerpts of the German text from the printed programme for *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Villingen, 30 August, 1699).⁷¹

Production Structure: Theatrical Production Components

The theatrical production components consistently present within seventeenth-century Benedictine school prize-day productions are main title dramas, prologues and choruses. Single-class Benedictine school theatrical productions are similarly composed of title dramas, prologues and choruses with the occasional

⁶⁷ Two of the three productions are specifically identified on the final page as theatrical performances associated with the distribution of academic prizes; ‘Distributio Proemiorum,’ which is found before the final fête in *SS. Felicitatis*, and ‘pro labore annuo Praemia,’ located in the concluding sentence of *Pax Europae*.

⁶⁸ The original capitalisation, spelling and period character substitutions have been preserved, as has the disposition of the descriptions in relation to the labels. All three programmes are examples of bilingual programmes, with the Latin presented first, as traditional. Each scene/exhibition, prologue, epilogue, chorus and *interludium* in all three programmes has its own synopsis. For the two productions performed at the turn of the century, an additional brief descriptive title, in Latin only, is given to each act or part. Also, an argument summarizing the main dramatic work is present in *SS. Felicitatis* and *Pax Europae* but absent in *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum*. Because it is a singularity at this time, the lack of an argument in this programme might have been an error in printing or the loss of that page, although the programme appears to be complete.

⁶⁹ *Tragico-Comica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (S. Francis, Munich, 5 September, 1661). GB–Lbl RB. 23. a. 25998, 2–7; CSTD ID 209.

⁷⁰ *Pax Europae* (Rayserl, 3, 5, September, 1698). GB–Lbl RB.23.a.25999, 2–8; CSTD ID 469.

⁷¹ *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Villingen, 30 August, 1699). GB–Lbl RB.23.a.25997; CSTD ID 486.

inclusion of an epilogue, but there is no evidence during the seventeenth century of the insertion of *interludia* into the theatrical productions performed by a single academic class.

In contrast to the single-class productions, the majority of seventeenth-century Benedictine school prize-day production programmes after c.1650 indicate the presence of one or more *interludia* inserted into the productions. Insertions of dances and music within the main title drama are also found within seventeenth-century Benedictine school productions, such as the *saltus*, or dance, in Act I.ii of *Pax Europae* and the debate on the moral properties of music in Act II.iv of *SS. Felicitatis* (fig. 2.14 and fig. 2.13, respectively).⁷² However, epilogues appear to be rare in the prize-day repertoire until the end of the century. For example, although *SS. Felicitatis*, *Pax Europae* and *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* open with a prologue, only *Pax Europae* concludes with an epilogue.

Production Structure: Models

The seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions *SS. Felicitatis* (Munich, 5 September, 1661), *Pax Europae* (Raysert, 3, 5, September, 1698), and *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Villingen, 30 August, 1699) are examples of the three types of production structures typical of the repertoire: P5MCH, P3MCHIE and P3PtMCH (fig. 2.16).⁷³

The central architecture of these productions is the main title drama, the ‘M’ in model taxonomy, in five acts, ‘5M,’ three acts, ‘3M,’ or three parts, ‘3Pt.’ Common to all three productions is the inclusion of a prologue, ‘P’ and the appearance of the chorus, ‘CH,’ at the conclusion of every act. In *Pax Europae*, the final chorus is replaced by an epilogue, ‘E’, also a sung theatrical component; the practice of substituting epilogues for final choruses is common in Benedictine school theatre

⁷² ‘Saltu Pyrrhicô velitationem armorum exercent,’ I.ii, *Pax Europae* (Raysert, 3, 5, September, 1698). GB–Lbl RB.23.a.25999, 2–8; CSTD ID 469. ‘Mufica nihil fuavius, nil deterius,’ II.iv, *Tragico-Comica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (Munich, 5 September, 1661). GB–Lbl RB. 23. a. 25998; CSTD ID 209.

⁷³ The structural model nomenclature first identifies the presence of a prologue, ‘P’, followed by the number of acts or parts of the main title drama, such as three or five. Productions in parts rather than acts are differentiated by the abbreviation ‘Pt;’ a main title in three parts is therefore notated ‘3Pt.’ Following the identification of the formal divisions of the main title drama, the M signifies the presence of a main title drama, CH the choruses, I for *interludia*, and E an epilogue. See chapter 1, Terms and Definitions, for a brief explanation of this classification method.

repertoire from the turn of the eighteenth-century forward.⁷⁴ *Pax Europae* is also an example of seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical production with multiple *interludia* inserted within the production. The two types of *interludia* placement found in *Pax Europae* are typical of Benedictine productions of the period, for *interludia* in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions are located either at the end of an act of the main drama before the chorus, as in *Murillus*, or between scenes within an act of the main drama, as seen in *Hansus* (fig 2.14).

Production Structure: Production Forces

The seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical programmes that included a list of the cast followed one of two standard formats, as illustrated by the cast lists in the programmes *SS. Felicitatis* and *Pax Europae* (fig. 2.13 and 2.14, respectively). In the programme for *SS. Felicitatis*, the *nomina actorum* appears on the final page of the programme, while the cast in *Pax Europae* is supplied within the body of the programme throughout the production as each new character joins in the action. Both programmes provide the name of the character, the name of the student actor and the actor's class in school. Also, as the school in Raysertl included a college and a seminary, the academic titles of the seminary student-actors are provided in *Pax Europae* to distinguish them from the college students. The names of actors from the seminary are prefixed with a 'D,' such as D. Dominicus Herbert and D. Christianus Schmucker in the cast of the *interludia* *Murillus*. The cast list in *SS. Felicitatis* includes the titles of any noble students in the cast, such as Praenobilis Matthaues à Pfumern in the grammar class. *SS. Felicitatis* also contains an example of the practice of students performing multiple roles within a single production, for a humanities student played the roles of both *Perdidius* and *Filiology*.

The production forces in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre range from the 20 characters in *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* to a cast of 130 in *Pax Europae*, the largest known ensemble among seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions. The cast list of *SS. Felicitatis* is also large, with 79 students in named roles in addition to an unspecified number of 'Soldiers, Servants &

⁷⁴ There are 66 examples eighteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions within the CSTD that conclude with an epilogue.

Crowd.’ (table 2.8)⁷⁵ A rarity amongst seventeenth-century programmes from any body of Catholic school theatre, the programme for *SS. Felicitatis* also includes the names of 6 instrumentalists and their class in school, although not the name of the instruments they played in performance (table 2.9). The size of the choral ensemble for the 1698 production of *Pax Europae* is 31 vocalists, equivalent to the 32-member chorus used in the production of *SS. Felicitatis*; the chorus members are not identified in the *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* programme.

Tables 2.9 and 2.10 reveal that the composition of chorus in both *SS. Felicitatis* and *Pax Europae*, respectively, includes students from every class in the school. In general, the numbers of students from each class are evenly distributed within the school, except for the lowest class. For example, the grammar class is represented in the chorus ensembles of both productions by two or three students in comparison to the average of six students from the other academic class. Notable, however, is the large number of students from the minor syntax class involved in the music for *SS. Felicitatis*: ten choral members out of an ensemble of 32 and two instrumentalists. An academic class is not provided in the programme for the vocalists performing the roles of *Narcissus* and *Choridon* in *SS. Felicitatis*, which raises the issue whether outside musicians were hired for Benedictine school productions. As these are minor roles in the production, it is less likely that these were hired professional and more likely that the vocalists’ academic class was left out of the programme in error. It therefore appears that the music in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions was provided by students.

Dramatic Genres

The independent dramatic works in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions are the main title dramas and any inserted *interludia*, while the prologues, epilogues and choruses without exception are dependent works and inseparable from the main title drama. The dramatic genres for 187 of the main title dramas have been identified out of the 327 productions in the seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre data sample (table 2.11). The dramatic genres of the remaining 140 main title dramas cannot be determined from the information available.

⁷⁵ ‘Milites, Famuli & turma reliqua,’ *Tragico-Comica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (Munich, 5 September, 1661). GB-Lbl RB. 23. a. 25998, 8; CSTD ID 209.

Also, 23 examples of independent *interludia* from seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions are known, and these appear in chronological order by performance year in table 2.13.

Dramatic Genres: Main Title Drama

An examination of the main title dramas in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions reveals that tragedies account for the largest proportion of the repertoire, represented by 119 examples in the data sample (table 2.11). The second most common dramatic genre among Benedictine main title dramas is the comedy, of which there are 35 in the dataset. The least common dramatic genres for main title dramas appear to be the hybrid dramatic forms tragi-comedy and comi-tragedy, with two and one works in the sample, respectively, and *dramae musica*, of which there are only two examples within the dataset: first, the allegorical *Filia Hierusalum* (Anonymous, University of Salzburg, 21 April, 1658), and, second, an example based upon Greco-Roman mythology, *Plutone* (Georg Muffat, University of Salzburg, 29 December, 1687).⁷⁶

Another rare type of genre among main title dramas is a ballet. Two examples of main title ballets have been identified amongst all known seventeenth-century Benedictine productions: *Die Triumphirende Liebe*, performed in Celle in 1653, and *De la Concorde*, performed by the school in Tübingen in 1667.⁷⁷ However, beyond the title and performance dates reported in Haider, nothing more is known about the dramatic structure, performance language, or casts of these ballets.

The seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre data sample also includes 26 works associated with church calendar festivals; from the available information, it appears that these works are more similar to liturgical church dramas of earlier centuries than the classical humanist genres tragedy and comedy. An example of one of the main title dramas of this type is *Dialogus inter S. M. Magdalenam et S. Petrum de resurrectione Christi* by Alexander Hueber, first performed in 1647 and

⁷⁶ *Filia Hierusalum quaerens Dilectum, respondente angelo musico* (Anonymous, University of Salzburg, 21 April, 1658), Boberski no.129; CSTD 2712. *Le Fatali Felicità di Plutone* (Georg Muffat, University of Salzburg, 29 December, 1687), Boberski no. 259; CSTD ID 2829.

⁷⁷ *Die Triumphirende Liebe umgeben Mit den Seighaffien Tugenden in einem Ballet* (Celle, 12 October, 1653), Haider, 187. Haider no. 1, CSTD ID 2906. *Ballet de la Concorde, Dansé a l'honneur du Serenissime Prince, Guillaume Louys* (Tübingen, May, 1667), Haider, 207. Haider no. 73, CSTD ID 2905.

again in 1651.⁷⁸ A second example is *Dialogus de cunabulis pueri Jesu*, a *drama nativitiuum* by Petrus Hacker which was performed by the University of Salzburg Rhetoric class on 26 December, 1652.⁷⁹ Similar to the ballets above, information regarding the internal structure and other performance details of these works is not available.

The formal structural divisions in main title dramas performed by Benedictine schools during the seventeenth century, whether performed by the entire school or a single academic class, are typically three acts, three parts or five acts, as exemplified by the selected productions listed in table 2.12. As shown by the information in the table, main dramas in five acts are the most common, followed by dramas in three acts. Less frequently found in the repertoire are main title tragedies and comedies in three parts, such as *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum*. The acts and parts are subdivided into scenes, and the number of scenes in each act or part appears to be relatively uniform within the work, precisely so in the case of the dramas *SS. Felicitatis* (5:5:5:5:5) and *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (4:4:4).⁸⁰

Dramatic Genres: Prologue and Epilogue

The prologues and epilogues in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions were typically sung or recited to music rather than spoken. For example, not only is the prologue to *SS. Felicitatis* identified as a musical work in the synopsis, ‘The Spirit of Christianity enquires by means of music,’ but also the prologue’s main character, *Anima Christiana*, is listed among the vocalists in the cast list.⁸¹ The prologue and epilogue *Pax Europae* were likewise sung. This is indicated in the cast list, for the characters from the prologue, ‘Europe, who was in the prologue above,’ are added to additional characters and a chorus of thirteen musicians for

⁷⁸ *Dialogus inter S. M. Magdalenam et S. Petrum de resurrectione Christi* (Salzburg, 29, 30 November, 1647, ? 1651), Boberski nos. 83, 106. Interestingly, this Easter *drama paschale* was performed in November; the month of the second performance is not known.

⁷⁹ ‘Declamatio Rhetorum, in qua rusticus ad praesepe ductus,’ in *Dialogus de cunabulis pueri Iesu* (Salzburg, 26 December, 1652), Boberski no. 110. Boberski notes that the Christmas and Easter plays were typically performed by the Rhetoric and Poetry classes and that these single-class productions comprise approximately 15% of the total University of Salzburg theatrical oeuvre. Boberski, 41–43.

⁸⁰ The scenes of *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* are labelled ‘Exhibitio,’ a term that might indicate a series of tableaux or tableaux vivant rather than a scene as found in classical drama. The data sample does not include any other examples of productions whose scenes are similarly identified.

⁸¹ ‘Anima Christiana per muficam inquirat,’ in: Prologue, *Tragico-Comica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (S. Francis, Munich, 5 September, 1661). GB–Lbl RB. 23. a. 25998; CSTD ID 209.

epilogue (fig 2.14).⁸² And, although the prologue synopsis for *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* does not mention music, the prologue's characters perform in third chorus of the productions, a practice also seen in *SS. Felicitatis* (fig. 2.15 and 2.13, respectively).

Benedictine school theatrical prologues and epilogues are dependent works during the seventeenth century, that is, inseparable from the main title drama in both their dramatic subject and characters. For example, an examination of the synopsis for the prologue of *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* reveals characters who are also important characters in the main drama, indicated by italics in fig 2.17: the spirit of S. Georg, the spirit of the city of Villingen, and the spirit of Christian virtue, et al.⁸³ The third line of the prologue's synopsis even includes the title of the main drama.

Dramatic Genres: Chorus

Similar to the prologues and epilogues, seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical choruses are sung dialogues among multiple characters, frequently with a supporting choral ensemble. The transition in Benedictine school theatre choruses from a brief work for ensemble to a dialogue among characters was completed by c.1650, as all of the known Benedictine school theatre choruses after 1650 are comprised of roles for soloists. Choruses in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre, similar to the prologues and epilogues, are without any known exceptions dependent dramatic works during the seventeenth century, indivisible from the main title drama in dramatic subject and character roles (fig. 2.17)

While sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions contained only one chorus, which served as the moral summary of the production, choruses are found at the conclusion of every act of the main title. There are exceptions to this practice in addition to the chorus-epilogue substitution practice discussed above, for some seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical texts do not conclude with a chorus. For example, the dramatic structure and choral synopses for *Demetrius* by Simon Rettenpacher, O.S.B., displayed in fig. 2.18 show that Act V was not followed by a

⁸² 'Europa. qui fuprae in Prologo,' in *Pax Europae* (Raysersl, 3, 5, September, 1698). GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25999, 8; CSTD ID 469.

⁸³ 'Genius Sanct-Georgianus,' prologue and chorus III; 'Genius urbis Villinganae,' Prologue and Chorus III; 'Virtutis Christianae Genius,' chorus II, in *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Villingen, 30 August, 1699). GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25997; CSTD ID 486.

concluding chorus (Simon Rettenpacher, University of Salzburg, 1672).⁸⁴ There is also an instance among the examined productions in which the chorus is integrated into the action of the main drama, such as the Chorus of Innocents in Act II.vii of *Pax Europae* (fig. 2.14)

Dramatic Genres: *Interludia*

Table 2.13 lists 23 examples of *interludia* identified by Boberski that were inserted in theatrical productions staged by the University of Salzburg during the seventeenth century; note that several productions include more than one *interludium*, indicated in boldface in the table.⁸⁵ A survey of the available data shows that *interludia* are found only in prize-day productions in Benedictine school theatre during the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ The production *Pax Europae* (Rayslerl, 3, 5, September, 1698) is an example of a production with multiple *interludia*, for *Pax Europae* contains two *interludia*. An examination of these reveals that not only are they independent dramatic works but also that they are distinct from each other, as is typical of seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre *interludia* (fig. 2.14). The first *interludium*, *Murillus*, is inserted before the concluding chorus of Act I, while the second *interludium*, *Hansus*, is placed between scenes iii and iv in the final act of the tragedy, Act III. Similar to *Murillus* and *Hansus*, seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre *interludia* are in one formal part without internal scenes.

The *interludia* in some seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions were sung or included some other form of music, as shown by the seven *interludia* in table 2.13 with identified composers. One of these, *Potinus*, with music by Wolfgang Alexander Fellner, was so well received that not only was the premiere

⁸⁴ Simon Rettenpacher, O.S.B., *Innocentia dolo circumventa, seu Demetrius Philippi Macedonum regis filius, insidiis fratris Persei crudeliter peremptus* (University of Salzburg, 10 October, 1672), Flemming, 304–362; Boberski, 242. Boberski no. 188, CSTD ID 285.

⁸⁵ As all but one of these *interludia* were performed during the second half of the seventeenth-century (the exception is dated 1644), the question as to whether the genre was newly introduced to the Salzburg University theatre tradition around the middle of the century or if the practice of identifying productions' *interludia* did not become customary until after 1650 cannot be answered from the available evidence.

⁸⁶ The pantomime completely replaced the *interludium* in prize-day productions in the second half of the eighteenth century. The 1763 production *Bela Hungaria Princeps* is the last prize-day Benedictine school production known to have an *interludium*, *Schlaupkopf und Mademoiselle Hohdaran*. It is also the earliest known Benedictine school production to include a pantomime, *Hannswurst, Harlequin die Baren*. *Bela Hungaria Princeps* (University of Salzburg, 30 August, 1 September, 1763), Boberski nos. 602–603, CSTD ID 2561.

production repeated, but also this *interludium* was inserted in a second separate theatrical production.⁸⁷

As exemplified by the *interludia* in *Pax Europae*, the *interludia* in Benedictine school theatrical productions during the seventeenth-century might be inserted between scenes within an act of the main drama or at the conclusion of an act, and might even precede the concluding chorus of an act. Also evident in the example of *Pax Europae* is the typical avoidance of inserting *interludia* within the choruses, prologues, or epilogues.

Dramatic Subjects

The dramatic subjects are known for 184 dramatic works within the seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre data sample. These dramatic subjects are taken from nine of ten examined sources of dramatic subjects. These nine sources are, in order of commonality within the productions examined, hagiography (54 productions), allegory (36), fiction (23), New Testament (17), history of the Roman Catholic Church (17), mythology (16), Old Testament (14), ancient Roman history (five), ancient Greek history (two) (table 2.14). There are no examples of dramatic subjects based on regional history within the examined data sample.

Dramatic Subjects: Main Title Drama

Of all of the dramatic genres within seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions, the tragedies employ the most diverse assortment of sources for their plots, drawing their subjects from all the sources listed except for regional history. Hagiographic subjects are the most common type of plot amongst the tragedies examined, with a total of 47 tragedies in this category (table 2.15). The five most common hagiographic subjects in Benedictine theatrical tragedies are listed in table 2.16; together, these five subjects account for only 18 of the 47 examined

⁸⁷ Wolfgang Alexander Fellner, *Potinus*. In: *Exemplar misericordiae in S. Paulino episcopo Nolano* (University of Salzburg, April, 2nd performance of unknown date, 1697), Boberski nos. 303, 304; CSTD 2871, 2869; and *Gratiae divina de potestate tenebrarum triumphans* (University of Salzburg, 2 September, 1699), Boberski no. 311, CSTD ID 2880.

hagiographic tragedies, revealing that the repetition of plots is not common in the repertoire.⁸⁸

After hagiography, the second most common dramatic subjects in seventeenth-century Benedictine school tragedies are from the Old and New Testament, represented in the dataset by 23 examples. Of these, the subjects of 13 tragedies are from the Old Testament, while the plots of the other 10 tragedies are found within the New Testament (table 2.15). As can be seen from the New Testament plot subjects listed in table 2.16, events concerning the birth and death of Jesus Christ appear the most frequently; eight New Testament tragedies in the seventeenth-century data sample are *drama nativitiuum* or *drama paschale*, while the remaining two tragedies are re-enactments of the parable of the Prodigal Son. Amongst the tragedies based on Old Testament topics, the most commonly repeated subjects are Jephthe's vow, represented in the sample by four tragedies, and the beheading of Nebuchadnezzar's general, Holofernes, by Judith, a Jewish widow, represented by three seventeenth-century Benedictine school tragedies.⁸⁹

Allegorical, mythological and historical subject sources together account for the plots of 35 seventeenth-century Benedictine school tragedies (table 2.15). The ten allegorical dramas are chiefly built around metaphysical virtues or re-enactments of political events within and between geographical regions. Notably, there is little repetition of topics among the allegorical tragedies except for the generic character *Virtus* and character *Germania*, which last is not surprising considering the geographic source of the data sample. The seventeenth-century tragedies in the Benedictine school sample include five works on subjects from classical mythology and four from classical literature. The 15 historical tragedies derive their subjects from either ancient Roman or Greek history or the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

As the data in table 2.15 shows, the subjects of seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical comedies are primarily allegorical, with a significant subset of comedies portraying mythological or other fictional dramatic subjects. Of the

⁸⁸ The exceptions to this rule are two German saints venerated by the University of Salzburg. Six plays are about St. Conrad, a bishop of Constance during in the 900s who was canonised in 1123, while 5 tragedies concern St. Rupert, an eighth-century saint and also the traditional founder of the city of Salzburg. These works are placed in the hagiographic category rather than the regional history category, which is used for local persons who have not been canonised.

⁸⁹ For the story of Jephthe, see Judges chapters 11–12. For the tale of Holofernes and Judith, see Judith 13: 1–10.

dramatic genres grouped together under the heading ‘Other,’ the plots of both ballets are allegorical, while the dialogues and festival plays are typically either allegorical or use Christ’s nativity and resurrection for their subjects. The main title dramas in the form of *dramae musica*, tragi-comedy, and comi-tragedy are too few in number within the sample to render any observations significant to seventeenth-century Benedictine school repertoire.

Dramatic Subjects: *Interludia*

The dramatic subjects of seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre *interludia* are found in all of the following sources: fiction (14 examples), allegory (five), mythology (two), history of the Roman Catholic Church (one), and history of ancient Rome (one), and hagiography (one). There no known examples of seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre *interludia* using biblical subjects. As the information in table 2.17 shows, the majority of seventeenth-century Benedictine *interludia* dramatic subjects are fictional, chiefly making use of stock comedic plots, such as those involving doctors, soldiers, and rustic characters. As revealed by the titles in table 2.13, a number of *interludia* have to do with drinking scenes, such as ‘Soldiers in the wine cellar’ (1676), ‘Parasites in the wine cellar’ (1679) or ‘The seven planets in the wine cellar’ (1681), or the late seventeenth-century favourite, the drunkard *Potinus* (1697, 1697, 1699).⁹⁰

Authors

The authors of 241 seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre dramas have been identified.⁹¹ Table 2.18, ordered by total number of dramatic works, provides the names of these authors, their biographical dates, or, if these are not known, the performance year(s) of their works. The data in the table includes the results of Heiner

⁹⁰ *Milites in cella vinaria* (1676), Boberski no. 204, CSTD ID 2782; *Parasiti in cella vinaria* (1679), Boberski no. 216, CSTD ID 2791; *Septem planetae in cella vinaria* (1681), Boberski no. 226, CSTD ID 2801; *Potinus* (1697, 1697, 1699), Boberski no. 302, 304, 311, CSTD 2869, 2870, 2880. In addition to these, Boberski lists the Devil, vagrants and Jews among the most frequently found characters in *interludia*. See ‘Intermedien,’ Boberski, 139–143; stock characters, 133; *Plodrius*, 139.

⁹¹ Pirmin Lindner, O.S.B., *Professbuch der Benediktiner-Abtei St. Peter in Salzburg 1419–1856* (Salzburg: Ringischwendtner & Rathermayr, 1906). This reference contains a brief religious biography for a number of the authors of table 2.18.

Boberski's study in addition to the authors of seven dramas identified in the course of this research.⁹² One hundred and seven, or 45%, of the dramas in table 2.18 are the work of only five authors. Wolfgang Rinswenger, O.S.B. (1658–1721) wrote 32 dramas for Benedictine schools, while Otto Aicher, O.S.B. (1628–1705) and Otto von Guzinger, O.S.B. (1641–1672) each composed 26 dramas.⁹³ Vitus Kaltenkrauter, whose biographical details are not known, wrote 13 dramas, and Thomas Weiss, O.S.B. (?–1651) penned ten dramas.

Thomas Weiss is only seventeenth-century author of Benedictine plays known to have collaborated with other writers. In 1629, Weiss wrote *Doctore Lupo* with Aegidius Ranbeck, who himself later wrote two other plays for the University of Salzburg.⁹⁴ In 1647, Weiss collaborated with another member of the Ranbeck family, Melchior Ranbeck, to write *Rupertus Tuitiensis* a work possibly intended for the University of Salzburg Benedictine Marian Congregation.⁹⁵

As the information in table 2.18 shows, most authors of seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre wrote multiple dramas for their institution; only 11 out the 46 authors contributed a single theatrical work. Also, the authors in table 2.18 are Benedictine monks, usually professors of the rhetoric or poetry classes. This finding indicates that Benedictine schools typically did not perform plays written by members of other orders or religious communities. However, one of these monk-dramatists, Placidus Seiz (1671–1736), is known to have been educated at a Jesuit college. Seiz, who composed one drama for the University of Salzburg, attended the Jesuit college in Landsberg. His complete dramatic output, which includes the single tragedy during the seventeenth century in addition to 12 tragedies and three *interludia* during the eighteenth century, follows the traditions of the other Benedictine plays with no obvious signs of influence from Jesuit theatrical traditions. In particular, the choruses

⁹² Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* (Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978). Authors receiving special attention from Boberski are Thomas Weiss, 160–161; Otto Guzinger, 161–162; Simon Rettenpacher, 162–164; Otto Aicher, 164–165; Wolfgang Rinswenger, 166–167; and Placidus Seiz, 168. For Simon Rettenpacher, see also Willi Flemming, *Das Ordensdrama* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1930), 28–34.

⁹³ A recent modern critical edition of a play by Simon Rettenpacher (Rettenbacher) is Veronika Oberparleiter's *Simon Rettenpachers Komödie Judicium Phoebi, de nostri saeculi Vatibus Einleitung*, MBS – Musae Benedictine Salisburgenses 2 (Horn: Vienna, 2004).

⁹⁴ Thomas Weiss and Aegidius Ranbeck, *Comoedia de doctore Lupo* (Salzburg, 1629), Boberski no. 72, 73; CSTD ID 2665.

⁹⁵ Thomas Weiss and Melchior Ranbeck, *Rupertus Tuitiensis a B. V. Maria celebri ingenio dotatus* (Salzburg, 1647), Boberski no. 22; CSTD ID 2626.

in Seiz's plays are dependent works rather than the fully independent choruses found in contemporary Jesuit school theatrical productions.

Composers

In the Benedictine school theatre, composers began to be identified in printed programmes around the mid-point of the seventeenth century, but it was not until the eighteenth century that the practice became general.⁹⁶ For example, there is an absence of composer information for the University of Salzburg's theatrical productions between 1631 and 1661, except for Alphonsus Stadlmayr's *Erinophilo* (University of Salzburg, 1648).⁹⁷ Table 2.19 lists 14 composers of 56 seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre *dramae musica*, choruses and *interludia* performed in order by last name.⁹⁸ The table also includes the composers' biographical dates or the dates of their compositions as well as their religious affiliation, where known. As can be seen, approximately half of the composers in table 2.19 are Benedictine monks, indicating that it was common practice in the seventeenth century for Benedictine educational institutions to engage fellow monks not only as authors but also as composers.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Boberski cites the programme for the 1661 production of *Ira & clementia Dianae*. In *Agememnone & Iphigenia demonstrata* as the first example from the University of Salzburg to identify the composer, Benjamin Ludwig Ramhaufski. Benjamin Ludwig Ramhaufski, *Ira & clementia Dianae*. In *Agememnone & Iphigenia demonstrata*(chorus), *Unknown interludium (interludium)* (14 October, 1661), Boberski no.145, Haider no. 42, CSTD ID 2726. Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 176. Currently, the earliest known example outside of the University of Salzburg is the production of *S. Venantius Martyr Christi* in 1694 with music by Thomas Eisenhuet. Thomas Eisenhuet, *S. Venantius Martyr Christi* (Kempten, 13, 16 September, 1694). AU–Aua 02/III.7.4.55-4/33, CSTD 436.

⁹⁷ Alphonsus Stadlmayr, *Tellus seo Erinophilo reconciliata* (University of Salzburg, 12, 15 October, 1648), Boberski no.87–88, CSTD ID 2677.

⁹⁸ Thomas Eisenhuet is the only composer among those listed never to have written music for the University of Salzburg's theatrical productions.

⁹⁹ In the eighteenth century, however, among all of the known theatrical productions from all Benedictine institutions, only four of the composers are known to be Benedictine monks: Cajetan Kolberer, O.S.B. (Composer ID 66), Georg Pinzger, O.S.B. (173), Placidus Cajetan von Camerloher, O.S.B. (145) and Raphael Weiss, O.S.B. (154). The non-Benedictine composers for eighteenth-century Benedictine school dramas include Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (Composer ID 172), Joseph Anton Camerloher (22), Johann Ernst Eberlin (29), Joannes Baptista Erehner (33), Michael Haydn (182), Nicolaus Maichelbeck (82), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (160), Leopold Mozart (180), Georg Schnevogl (115), Franciscus Schnitzer (118), Augustin Ullinger (141), and Hugo Franz Alexander Karl von Kerpen (148). Eighteenth-century composers of Benedictine dramas whose religious order affiliation, if any, is unknown include: Matthias Sigismund Biechteler (Composer ID 15), Johann Paul Karl Bischoffsky (175), Maurus Braun (18), Josef Prosper Feser (39), Joseph Griner (176), Joseph Hölzl (177), Joseph Jezt (178), Joseph Meissner (179), Joseph W. Michl (92), Placidus Scharl (183),

The Benedictine monks that appear in table 2.19 include four authors who also composed the music for the choruses in their dramas: Friederich Plank (1598–1634), Simon Rettenpacher (1634–1706), Andreas Vogt (?–1633) and Ferdinand Wezl (unknown).¹⁰⁰ The dramas by Vogt, Plank and Wezl were performed consecutively within the first three decades of seventeenth century (1618–1631).¹⁰¹ Simon Rettenpacher's contributions to the genre, however, occur towards the end of the century, in 1672 and 1673. Therefore, it appears that the commonality author-as-composer diminished during the seventeenth century as the custom of commissioning composers who were not members of the Benedictine order gained acceptance. By the 1670s, Rettenpacher's dual role is a rarity; in fact, only two authors are known to have also composed the music for their dramas during the eighteenth century.¹⁰²

The available information reveals that the preferred practice at the University of Salzburg during the seventeenth century was to engage a composer for consecutive theatrical productions, as seen by Hofer's eight consecutively-performed contributions and especially at the end of the century by von Biber's ten-year domination of the University of Salzburg theatre.¹⁰³

The educational background is known for four of the composers listed in table 2.19, namely, Andreas Hofer, Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, Thomas Eisenhuet and Georg Muffat.¹⁰⁴ Andreas Hofer, O.S.B. (1629–1684), completed his training at the

who was also a prolific author of Benedictine school dramas, Magnus Schleyer (181) and Johannes Georg Zechner (174).

¹⁰⁰ Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* (Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 219–220. Boberski expresses in his catalogue some doubts about Vogt's composition of the choruses for *Triumphus Laboris* (1618); *Mariae magni Dei gloriosae parenti* (1619); *Drama Palledem captivam et redemptam exhibens* (1620) and *Adplausus comicus S. Ruperto Wormatia* (1621).

¹⁰¹ At the University of Salzburg, Steffano Bernardi's *Iephthe, ductor Hebraeorum* (8, 12 October, 6 November, 1629; 7 April 1630), Boberski nos. 24–28, CSTD 2628, 2629, was performed between Plank's *Comico-Tragaedien von Baccho* (5 March, 1628), Boberski no.20, CSTD ID 2624, and Wezl's *Comoedia de rege, de quo Barlaam apud Ioannem Damascen* (6 November, 1631), Boberski no. 30, CSTD ID 2633.

¹⁰² These include a single work in 1715 by Magnus Schleyer, CSTD Composer ID 181, and 12 dramas by Placidus Scharl, CSTD Composer ID 183, in the 1760s.

¹⁰³ This practice continues into the eighteenth-century at other Benedictine institutions as well as the University of Salzburg. Beginning in 1700, Mattias Biechteler composed the music for 38 productions for the University of Salzburg, while Placidus Cajetan von Camerloher wrote the music for 19 productions for the Benedictine College at Freising and Johann Ernst Eberlin contributed 56 compositions to the theatrical repertoire of the University of Salzburg. Mattias Sigismund Biechteler, CSTD Composer ID 15; Placidus Cajetan von Camerloher, CSTD Composer ID 145; Johann Ernst Eberlin, CSTD Composer ID 29.

¹⁰⁴ Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* (Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978). Boberski briefly mentions the following composers: Andreas Hofer, 176; Steffano Bernardi, 176; Alphonsus Stadlmayr, 176; Georg Muffat, 176–177; Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, 177; Wolfgang

University of Salzburg, the institution for which he later composed the choruses and *interludia* for three theatrical productions. Nothing is known of Hofer's education prior to University of Salzburg, but Biber, Eisenhuet and Muffat all received their education at Jesuit colleges. Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber (1644–1704), it is believed, attended a Jesuit college in Bohemia. Thomas Eisenhuet (1644–1702) was educated at the Augsburg Jesuit college, where both Johann Ernst Eberlin, the most prolific of the composers associated with the University of Salzburg theatre, and Leopold Mozart later received their education. Finally, Georg Muffat (1653–1704) attended three Jesuit-directed institutions including the college at Séléstat in Alsace, the college at Molsheim, and the University of Innsbruck.¹⁰⁵

Of the three composers educated in Jesuit-directed institutions, only Muffat's compositions depart from the established Benedictine theatrical tradition of a spoken drama with dependent sung choruses between the acts and a single *interludium* with music. For example, Eisenhuet composed music for the choruses in a single hagiographic drama, *S. Venantius* (1694)¹⁰⁶ while Biber composed the choruses to eleven dramas and eight *interludia* for the University of Salzburg over the period 1684–1698.¹⁰⁷ Muffat was involved in writing the music for at least two productions, *Constantini VI* (1679)¹⁰⁸ and *Plutone*, which was performed in 1687 to celebrate the inauguration of Muffat's new patron, Prince Archbishop Johann Ernst Graf von Thun (fig. 2.19).¹⁰⁹ For the *Constantini VI* production, Muffat composed the music to the

Alexander Fellner, 178; and Matthias Sigismund Biechteler, 178. Boberski does not mention Biber or Muffat's Jesuit education.

¹⁰⁵ Georg Muffat also studied in Italy with Bernardo Pasquini. Pasquini (1637–1710) was active as an organist and composer in the oratories of the Oratorians, the oratory of S Marcello and the Roman Jesuit and Somascan school theatres. He composed nineteen works for various oratories, one *drama musicum* for the Somascan-directed Collegio Clementino and two *dramae musicae* for the Jesuit Roman Seminary. A recent study of the oratorios of Bernardo Pasquini is Arnaldo Morelli, 'Gli oratori di Bernardo Pasquini: problemi di datazione e di committenza,' in *Percorsi dell'oratorio romano: da "historia sacra" a melodramma spirituale: atti della giornata di studi*, Saverio Franchi, ed. (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002): 67–94. See also Egils Ozolins, 'The Oratorios of Bernardo Pasquini' (PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1983) and John Harper and Lowell Lindgren, 'Pasquini, Bernardo,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/21020> (accessed August 27, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Eisenhuet, *S. Venantius Martyr Christi* (Kempten, 13, 16 September, 1694). AU–Aua 02/III.7.4.55-4/33, CSTD 436.

¹⁰⁷ Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, CSTD Composer ID 14.

¹⁰⁸ Georg Muffat, *Marina Armena Constantini VI* (University of Salzburg, 5 September, 1679), Boberski no. 216, CSTD Production ID 2791.

¹⁰⁹ Georg Muffat, *Le Fatali Felicità di Plutone*, complete printed libretto, A-Sfr (Music Archives of the Franciscan Monastery), Institut für Tiroler Musikforschung Innsbruck, Salzburg. Boberski no.259, CSTD ID 2829. In 2008, the RISM Head Office Tyrol-South Tyrol & OFM Austria mounted an exhibition at the Salzburg Museum of Georg Muffat's works, 'Georg Muffat (1653–1704): A Musical Cosmopolitan at the Salzburg Court.' Also, Susan Wollenberg mentions a third University of Salzburg

dependent choruses as well as three independent *interludia*, *Parmeno*, *Moriones Praeparant Sellas* and *Parasiti in Cella Vinaria*. This production is notable in that it is the first Benedictine school production with multiple *interludium* whose composer is known.

Benedictine School Theatre, c. 1500–c.1700: Observations and Conclusions

Performance

Although specific performance information is not known for any of the sixteenth-century examples, the dramatic activity in Benedictine schools during the seventeenth century is found in all twelve calendar months. However, there are four types of performance occasions among the examined seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions: annual productions associated with the distribution of academic prizes, productions associated with Roman Catholic Church festivals, including Holy Week and Christmas, dramas performed by a single academic class or productions performed for a special occasion. Beginning c.1675, the performance date of the autumn prize-day production changed from October or November to the first week of September.

Of all the types of productions, prize-productions were the most likely to be performed more than once, although multiple performances are rare until the end of the seventeenth century, at which time two performances of autumn prize-day productions became customary. There is no available information regarding multiple performances of productions in Benedictine schools during the sixteenth century. The multiple performances of Benedictine school theatrical productions took place on non-consecutive days during the early part of the seventeenth century, but, by the 1640s, the interval between performances had diminished from two to six months to less than a week. By the turn of the eighteenth century, multiple performances of Benedictine school theatrical productions were typically given on consecutive days.

drama with music by Muffat, *Königin Mariamne* (1680), which is not found in Boberski's catalogue. Susan Wollenberg, 'Muffat, Georg,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/19294> (accessed August 27, 2010).

The progression towards consecutive performance dates correlates with changes in programme printing practices during the seventeenth century; there are no known examples of Benedictine school theatre programmes from the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century, programmes were customarily printed only for prize-day productions. Prior to the mid-1640s, a separate set of programmes was printed for each performance of a production, a practice that continued to the end of the seventeenth century. However, as multi-performance productions with performances on consecutive days superseded the previous tradition of multiple performances spread over weeks and months, programmes were printed for each production rather than for each performance.

The programmes were printed wholly in either Latin or the vernacular until the mid-century, when the custom of printing a programme in both Latin and the vernacular for prize-day productions became the preferred format. However, some colleges, notably the University of Salzburg, continued the previous tradition of printing single-language programmes well into the eighteenth century.

Seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical programmes consistently identify the title of the main drama, the school, the year of performance, the city and name of the publisher, the year of publication, and the specific performance date(s). The identification of the patron of the production and the performance occasion is inconsistent among the productions examined. The name of the composer was not included in printed Benedictine school programmes until after the middle of the century, and the author, too, was usually not identified in the programmes. Seventeenth-century printed programmes also occasionally included a cast list with the names and school class of the actors and sometimes the musicians. This list might appear on the last page of the programme or, more rarely, was incorporated into the synopses within the programme.

Production Structure

The model of production structure in sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions is uniformly MCH, with variants 5MCH and 3MCH among the examined productions. The chorus in these productions is limited to one, which is located at the conclusion of the production, and there are no known examples of sixteenth-century Benedictine productions including a prologue, epilogue or

interludia. In contrast, there are three distinct models of production structure found amongst the Benedictine school theatrical productions from the seventeenth century: P5MCH and P3MCHIE, which are the two most common production structures in the repertoire, and P3PtMCH, a more rarely found production structure.

As the taxonomy indicates, prologues (P), epilogues (E) and *interludia* (I) are typical components of seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions in addition to the main title drama (M) and chorus (CH) also found in sixteenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions. Also, the number and placement of the choruses changes from the single concluding chorus to choruses at the conclusion of every act of the main title drama. Late in the seventeenth century, the chorus concluding the final act of the main title drama is replaced or relabelled as the epilogue.

The available sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical materials do not include performance cast lists, but during the seventeenth century the inclusion of a cast list became common, although not found consistently in all programmes. The cast lists typically provided the name of the student performer and the student's academic class; several included the titles of any noble-born students. The examined seventeenth-century productions contain examples of students playing multiple roles within a single production.

The usual cast size for sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre main title dramas appears to be fewer than 20 performers. However, a cast size of 20 appears to be the minimum for seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre main title dramas, which require as many as 130 actors in addition to unspecified numbers of students in non-speaking parts. As the available evidence shows, every academic class in the respective institution contributed at least one actor or musician to the cast of prize-day productions during the seventeenth century. The dramatic productions and the music within them were entirely performed by students, including seminary students; there is no evidence of the use of hired professional actors or musicians. The information regarding musical forces in sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre is limited to a sketch showing approximately 20 vocalists and instrumentalists performing on a wide variety of instruments. Amongst the printed Benedictine school theatre programmes from the seventeenth century are several identifying choral ensembles of 32 and 31 members, while one programme provides the names and class in school for six instrumentalists.

Dramatic Genres

The independent dramatic works in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions are the main title dramas, most of which are spoken tragedies and comedies in three or five acts, and any *interludia* inserted into the production. All known prologues, epilogues and choruses are dependent works in Benedictine school theatrical productions throughout both centuries.

The majority of the examined seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre main title dramas are tragedies, but all of the sixteenth-century examples and a significant number of seventeenth-century main title dramas are comedies. There are also dramatic works similar in content and purpose to thirteenth-century liturgical dramas, but the performance of these is restricted to the major festivals of the Roman Catholic Church. Less common genres of main title dramas found within the seventeenth-century data sample include tragi-comedy, comi-tragedy, *drama musicum*, and ballet.

Music was an important component of Benedictine school theatrical productions beginning from the earliest known sixteenth-century examples. During the sixteenth-century, the main musical work within Benedictine school theatre production is the chorus that follows the final act of the main title drama. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the role of music in Benedictine theatre expanded to include sung prologues and epilogues in addition to multiple choruses and *interludia* and a few instances of main title *dramae musica* as well. During the seventeenth century, the single concluding chorus characteristic of the sixteenth century became augmented by choruses appearing at the conclusion of every act of the main title drama. The performance of choruses also changed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for whereas sixteenth-century Benedictine theatre choruses were performed by a choral ensemble, by c.1650, all prologues, epilogues and choruses were musical dialogues among multiple soloists in character roles, often supported by a choral ensemble of 24 to 32 students.

The earliest Benedictine school theatrical productions specifying the inclusion of at least one *interludium* are found beginning around 1640, and therefore there are no known examples from sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions. *Interludia* are found only within prize-day productions during the seventeenth century, and several of the productions examined contain two or more *interludia*.

There are several *interludia* with identified composers among those examined, indicating the presence of music in some form. The most common locations of *interludia* within seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions are at the conclusion of an act of the main title drama before the chorus or inserted between scenes within an act of the main title drama. There are known instances in which an *interludium* was placed within a prologue, epilogue or chorus.

Dramatic Subjects

The dramatic subjects of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Benedictine school dramas are found within nine of the ten examined sources. Presented in order by the total number of examples within the Benedictine school theatre data sample from both centuries, greatest to least, these categories are: hagiography, allegory, fiction, the New Testament, history of the Roman Catholic Church, mythology, the Old Testament, ancient Roman history and ancient Greek history. There are no examples of dramatic subjects based on regional history within the examined data sample. The dramatic subjects of Benedictine school main title dramas from the sixteenth century are all from hagiographic sources, as are the majority of the examined seventeenth-century main title tragedies. Tragedies on biblical subjects are also common during the seventeenth century, particularly the Old Testament stories of Jephthe and Judith. In contrast, the plots for the majority of seventeenth-century comedies and all of the ballets are allegorical constructs, while the majority of the inserted *interludia* employ traditional folk comedy routines or are taken from ancient Greco-Roman classical literature.

Authors

The known sixteenth and seventeenth-century authors of Benedictine school dramas are, almost without exception, Benedictine monks; these men were also typically the professor of the Rhetoric or Poetry class in their respective institutions. It appears that most received their education and training at Benedictine schools. As there was no custom of rotating teachers amongst institutions, professors in Benedictine institutions were able to continue in their posts for long periods of time, and therefore many authors wrote multiple dramas for a single school. While the

examined data contains a few instances of collaboration amongst authors during the seventeenth century, the practice appears to be rare. In the early seventeenth century, some authors also provided the music for the choruses in their dramas, but this occurrence is rare among the works examined and disappears after c.1670. There are no known instances in which an author wrote a drama intended for performance in a non-Benedictine school, nor are there any known examples in which a previously published drama by a Benedictine monk was performed by a school directed by a different religious community.

Composers

Many of the composers of Benedictine school theatre music during sixteenth and seventeenth century are Benedictine monks, including the single known composer from the sixteenth century. The evidence indicates that the custom of identifying the composer in the printed theatrical programmes began c.1650. Similar to the authors, composers usually provided the music to multiple theatrical productions over periods of time as long as ten years, at least during the seventeenth century. The seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre dataset includes several examples of authors setting their own texts, but none in which a composer wrote music for productions staged by non-Benedictine educational institutions.

Nothing is known of the educational background of the one composer identified among the examples of sixteenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions studied, and for only four of the 14 known seventeenth-century composers. Of these four, one received his education in Benedictine institutions, while three were educated at various Jesuit schools. However, it appears from their collective musical works that the education of Benedictine theatre composers by other Catholic orders had no obvious effect upon their creative output; the changes occurring in Jesuit theatre music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not reflected in their works. In the case of the *drama musicum Plutone*, composer Georg Muffat was able to depart from Benedictine theatre music traditions not because of his Jesuit college education but because the Benedictine monk-author wrote the libretto expressly for the purpose of being set to music.

Chapter 3

Augustinian School Theatre, c.1500–c.1700

Similar to the Benedictines, the Austin Friars, or Augustinians, are a Catholic organisation with an active teaching vocation and a significant number of educational institutions distributed over a large geographic area.¹¹⁰ During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Augustinians administered schools across much of continental Europe and the regions of modern Central and South America. Augustinian schools, like those of the Benedictines, engaged in staging multiple theatrical productions during the year. At least once a year these productions were part of a larger public ceremony for the distribution of class prizes, a practice also found among Benedictine-directed educational institutions. The only known example of a seventeenth-century distribution list of class prizes from an Augustinian college is displayed in fig. 3.1.¹¹¹ Although the dramatic genres found within Augustinian school theatrical productions are analogous in function, structure and subject to those in contemporary theatrical productions by Benedictine schools, the dramatic genre preferences and the models of production structure in Augustinian school theatre reveal the presence of theatrical traditions distinct from those of contemporary Benedictine educational institutions.

Following a summary history of the Augustinian organisation from its establishment to the modern day, the structure of the chapter is the same as that of chapter 2 in order to preserve a standard basis for comparison. Chapter 3 is divided into two main sections, the first of which concerns sixteenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions, while the second section examines seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions. Each section begins with an examination of the available data from the relevant century, identifying any biases among the dataset. Just as in chapter 2, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sections in chapter 3 contain analyses of the relevant data sample according to aspects of performance,

¹¹⁰ However, unlike the Benedictines, the Augustinians are friars rather than monks. Both monks and friars take vows of poverty, but whereas monks live away from the world in cloistered monasteries, priories of friars live and work in the community. Friars are members of the larger organisation rather than identifying themselves with a particular priory, unlike monks, who belong to a specific monastery.

¹¹¹ Academic prize distribution list, Augustinian college of Antwerp, 1631. BE–Gaa Antwerp 7.7.

production structure, dramatic genres, dramatic subjects, authors and composers; the findings in each sub-section are compared with the findings of the same sub-section from chapter 2, thus providing a comparative analysis of Augustinian and Benedictine school theatre. Due to an absence of available information, the sixteenth-century section of this chapter does not conclude with a summary, while the conclusion of the seventeenth-century section summarises the findings from preceding analyses of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions.

A Brief History of the Austin Friars or Hermits of St. Augustine (Augustinians)¹¹²

In c.1254–1256, Pope Alexander IV combined three congregations of hermits following the Rule of St. Augustine into one organisation, thereby creating the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine or Austin Friars, commonly referred to as Augustinians.¹¹³ The Rule of St. Augustine, which is used by the Augustinians, the Austin Canons, the Dominicans, et al., is a series of regulations intended for religious communities, and was purportedly written by St. Augustine.¹¹⁴ The Order of St.

¹¹² The Augustinians are not to be confused with the Austin Canons, a separate religious community whose vocation is pastoral care; unlike the Augustinians, the Austin Canons are not involved with education. The Austin Canons originated c.1039 in France as a reformation movement, returning to full communal living in imitation of the early church. Originally, the Augustin Canons did not follow the Rule of St. Augustine but rather followed the teachings of both St. Augustine and St. Jerome. For more detailed information about the history and practices of the Austin Canons, see Michel Parisse, ed., *Les chanoines réguliers: émergence et expansion (XIe-XIIIe siècles): actes du sixième colloque international du CERCOR, Le Puy en Velay, 29 juin-1er juillet 2006* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2009); Allison D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Boston: Brill, 2008); Dave Postle, 'Austin Canons,' in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, William M. Johnson, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1: 101–103; and J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1950).

¹¹³ Charles Warren Currier, *History of Religious Orders*, 2nd ed. (New York: P. Murphy & Son, 1914), 305–307. Philip E. McWilliams, 'Augustinian Friars/Hermits,' in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, William M. Johnson, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1:103–105. Pope Alexander VI also awarded the Augustinians the honour of the office of sacristan to the Pope's chapel. For more detailed information about the Augustinians, see: Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, 2006); Eric Leland Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292–1524* (Boston: Brill, 2002); Hellmut Zschoch, *Klosterreform und monastische Spiritualität im 15. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr, 1988); Diego Basalenque, *Historia de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michocán*, Heriberto Moreno Garcia, ed. (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1985); and Antonio de la Calancha and Bernardo de Torres, *Crónicas augustinianas del Perú*, Manuel Merino, ed., Biblioteca 'Misionalia hispanica,' vol. 17 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1972).

¹¹⁴ Jerald C. Brauer, ed., 'Augustine' and 'Augustine, Rule of St.' in *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), 72–74; Currier, 305. Aurelius Augustine (354–430) created a monastic community in his home city of Tagaste in Roman Africa before he was appointed in 396 as the Bishop of Hippo, which is the modern city of Annaba in north-eastern Algeria. The exact date of his canonisation is unknown, but his sainthood was generally accepted by c.1100.

Augustine has a teaching vocation in addition to its work as a charitable organisation, establishing institutions of learning in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, and England.¹¹⁵

Unlike the Benedictine monasteries, who strove to maintain their autonomy, the Augustinian friars had a constitution from the beginning as well as organised provinces and a centralised government led by a Vicar-General.¹¹⁶ A series of internal reformations during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries resulted in the creation of four chief congregations within the organisation: the Congregation of Saint John de Carbonara, Naples, founded in 1419 by friars Simon of Cremona and Christian Franco; the Congregation of Perugia, founded by Augustine of Rome, also in 1419; the Congregation of Lombardy, the largest congregation within the community, which was founded in 1430 or 1438 by a friar whose name is not known; and the Congregation of Saxony, founded in 1493 by another unknown friar.¹¹⁷ The smaller Irish and English congregations, which were established during the fifteenth century, experienced severe oppression due to the anti-Catholic legislation enacted during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though the English congregation failed during the seventeenth century, the Irish Augustinian congregation remained active until the Penal Laws, passed in 1701–1702, began to be repealed during the 1780s.¹¹⁸ Similar to the Irish Jesuits, the Irish Augustinians survived as a congregation by exporting their novices to Continental seminaries in order to continue their training.¹¹⁹

The Rule of St. Augustine refers to several documents, namely, Augustine's Letter 211, the *Regula Secunda* and the *Regula Tertia*; scholars agree that only Letter 211 is definitely written by St. Augustine. Three recent studies of St. Augustine are Henry Chadwick, *Augustine of Hippo: a life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); François Decret, *Early Christianity in North Africa*, trans. Edward Smither (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2009); Brian Dobell, *Augustine's intellectual conversion: the journey from Platonism to Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁵ Prosper Claey's, *Histoire Théâtre a Gand* (Gand: J. Vuylsteke, 1892), I:32; McWilliams, 103; Currier, 305.

¹¹⁶ McWilliams, 103; Currier, 305–307. In the literature, the Vicar-General is also known as the Prior-General. The first four Augustinian provinces to be established were France, Germany, Spain and Italy.

¹¹⁷ Currier, 308. A number of smaller congregations were established in Spain, Italy and Sicily.

¹¹⁸ Thomas E. Hachey, Joseph M. Hennon, Jr., and Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *The Irish Experience: A Concise History*, rev. ed. (New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1996), 31–70. Louis McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory: A History of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin: Gill and Mac Millan, 1991), 97–108. Gustave de Beaumont, *Ireland*, trans. William Cooke Taylor (1863; repr., Boston: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 56–99. The Penal Laws were not fully repealed in Ireland until 1832.

¹¹⁹ McWilliams, 105.

In 1517, an Augustinian friar in Germany named Martin Luther (1483–1546) requested a debate concerning the sale of indulgences and was denied.¹²⁰ Luther circumvented the Church's suppression of the issue by publishing in German his *Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgence*, better known as *The 95 Theses*.¹²¹ By publishing his writings in the vernacular rather than Latin, Luther made his cause accessible to both clerics and lay persons; he continued to write and publish in German on other Church reform topics while the Church continued to dismiss Luther's writings as a minor quarrel among academics. The matter came to a head when, in response to the alarming growth in the number of Lutheran sympathisers, Pope Leo X in 1520 and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1521, demanded that Luther retract *The 95 Theses* and his other publications. Luther refused. He was subsequently excommunicated by the pope and labelled a *persona non grata* in the Holy Roman Empire by Charles V.¹²² Consequently, as most of the friars from the Augustinian Congregation of Saxony elected to follow their colleague Martin Luther into exile, the membership of the Augustinian Congregation of Saxony rapidly declined.¹²³

The remaining Augustinian congregations directed their energies towards two main activities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First, they embarked upon missionary work in the New World, the Philippines, Goa and the countries in regions then known as the Near and Far East. Second, the Augustinians followed the lead of the Jesuits and established a number of colleges for male lay pupils during the

¹²⁰ Recent studies of Martin Luther and his writings include: Timothy F. Lull, ed., *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis; Augsburg Fortress, 2005); Donald K. McKim, *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1994); Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1994). Research by these and other scholars has called into question the veracity of the traditional anecdote of Luther nailing his manuscript to the door of the Schlosskirche (Castle Church) in Wittenberg, Germany on All Hallows Eve (October 31), 1517, although this date is traditionally accepted as the starting point of the Reformation. Paul F. Grendler suggests that, had Luther been permitted to give his dissertation as he requested and air his views, the matter would probably have ended there and that therefore it was the inflexibility of the authorities that precipitated the Reformation. See Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 57:1 (Spring, 2004): 17–18.

¹²¹ Martin Luther, *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*, in *Martin Luther, 95 Theses, with the pertinent documents from the history of the Reformation*, Kurt Aland, ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967); Martin Luther, *Thesenanschlag und dessen Vorgeschichte*, Hans Volz, ed. (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachf., 1959).

¹²² McWilliams, 103.

¹²³ Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 57:1 (Spring, 2004): 10. Currier, 308. The University of Wittenburg, previously directed by the Augustinians, became the first Lutheran university.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, often choosing locations with a pre-existing Jesuit educational institution.¹²⁴ The Augustinian schools grew rapidly and competed with the previously established Jesuit colleges for students and resources; so bitter was the dispute between the two organisations during the 1610s and early 1620s over a proposed expansion of the Augustinian school in Gent that Pope Gregory XV was called upon to intervene.¹²⁵

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the size of the Augustinian organisation had grown to 42 provinces, but, just as in the case of the Benedictines, the French Revolution and Napoleon's subsequent suppression of religious communities resulted in the closure of most of the Augustinian schools and priories in Europe. The Irish Augustinian province, however, sent missionaries to the United States, and in 1796 the Pope formally approved of a United States province for the Augustinians; the first United States congregation was founded in Philadelphia in 1800.¹²⁶ While the Augustinian establishments in Ireland, the Americas and Asia were not affected by Napoleon's actions, the European Augustinian priories were re-established after the Revolution of 1830.¹²⁷ Today, in company with the Benedictines, the Augustinians are represented world-wide.

¹²⁴ McWilliams, 105; Currier, 307; Edward Dohan, 'St. Thomas of Villanova,' *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14696a.htm> (accessed 3 April, 2010.); Prosper Claeys, *Histoire Théâtre a Gand* (Gand: J. Vuylsteke, 1892), 1:32. Hereafter, referred to as Claeys.

¹²⁵ Claeys, 33. «Le nombre de leurs élèves s'accroit d'une façon si rapide qu'en 1612 les Augustins furent obligés de reconstruire les bâtiments de leur collège. Les Jésuites, de leur côté, mettaient tout en oeuvre pour augmenter la faveur dont jouissait leur collège au détriment de celui de leurs rivaux. Les Augustins se plainquirent des procédés des Jésuites au pape Grégoire XV qui, pour les apaiser, défendit par sa bulle du 14 janvier 1623, d'entraver ou de contrarier en quoi que ce soit l'enseignement donné dans les collèges dirigés par les Augustins. Cette bulle, conçue en termes vagues et généraux, donnait satisfaction aux Augustins tout en ne froissant pas les Jésuites dont le nom n'était pas même prononcé.» 'The number of their pupils grew so rapidly that it was necessary by 1612 for the Augustinians to rebuild their college. The Jesuits, however, through patronage and all other available means, attempted to bring these activities of their rivals to a halt. The Augustinians complained about the actions of the Jesuits to Pope Gregory XV who, to alleviate the Augustinians, issued a papal bull on January 14, 1623 forbidding any persons to block or oppose in any way the teaching given in the colleges directed by the Augustinians. This bull, couched in vague and general terms, gave satisfaction to the Augustinians, although the document did not mention the Society of Jesus by name.'

¹²⁶ Currier, 307. The Irish Augustinians also founded the provinces of Australia and Nigeria during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively.

¹²⁷ Claeys, 39. Also referred to as the July Revolution.

Augustinian School Theatrical Productions, c.1500–c.1599

The Catholic School Theatre Database (CSTD) provides the first catalogue of theatrical productions by Augustinian schools, including 35 theatrical productions from the seventeenth century, 227 eighteenth-century productions, and three nineteenth-century post-Napoleonic performances; there are no known examples of Augustinian school theatrical productions from the sixteenth century. In contrast to the theatrical activities of Benedictine and Jesuit schools, Augustinian school drama is an unstudied repertoire. Except for a brief history of the Augustinian school in Gent in the first volume of Prosper Claeys' 1892 *Histoire du Théâtre a Gand* and eight works listed within a four-volume bibliography of Italian Augustinians published during the 1930s, it does not appear that Augustinian school theatre has received scholarly attention until now.¹²⁸ Geoffrey Baker's 2003 examination of the religious music in Cuzco, Peru during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries does mention in passing that the Cuzco Augustinian priory was established in c. 1540.¹²⁹ However, beyond providing evidence of the presence of Augustinians in the New World, Augustinian school theatre lies outside the scope of Baker's article, and this essay is of value to this study chiefly for the information Baker presents about the music performed by the Jesuit schools and Jesuit Marian congregations.

Augustinian School Theatrical Productions, c.1600–c.1700

There are 35 known seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions (table 3.1).¹³⁰ Of these 35 examples, 23 are theatrical productions by two Belgian Augustinian colleges: the college in Antwerp (1607), represented in the data sample by nine productions,¹³¹ and the college in Gent (1609), with 14 known

¹²⁸ Ibid., 1:32–39. David Aurelius Perini, O.S.A., ed., *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis: Scriptores Itali*, 4 vols. (Firenze: Tipografia Sordomuti, 1929–1937).

¹²⁹ Geoffrey Baker, 'Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial Cuzco,' *Latin American Music Review/Revisita de Música Latinoamericana* 24 no.1 (Spring-Summer 2003): 1–41.

¹³⁰ Claeys, 1:32. At this time, documents pertaining to the dramatic productions of the Brussels Augustinian college, founded in 1601, have not been located.

¹³¹ BE–Bbr II.25.982. The printed programmes for eight of the nine known seventeenth-century theatrical productions and 130 eighteenth-century productions from the Augustinian college in Antwerp are reproduced in facsimile in appendix 4.

seventeenth-century theatrical productions.¹³² The seventeenth century Augustinian school theatre materials available for study data also includes three examples of theatrical productions from the Augustinian college in Leuven, Belgium and a single example of a theatrical production from the Augustinian College in Prague. In addition, eight dramatic works by Italian Augustinian friars are listed in David Aurelius Perini's *Bibliographia Augustiniana*.¹³³ None of the music associated with these 35 Augustinian college theatrical productions has been found.

Data Sample

Two of the dramatic works found in the *Bibliographia Augustiniana*, *Il mortorio di Cristo* by Joannes Maria Benassai, O.S.A., and *Il Manasse Re di Giuda* by Thomas Cervioni, O.S.A., were performed by Italian Augustinian schools, but the precise dates of performances are not known.¹³⁴ However, whether the other six works listed in *Bibliographia Augustiniana* were similarly part of Augustinian school theatrical productions cannot be determined from existing information.¹³⁵ Therefore, a significant Belgian regional bias is present within the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre dataset, as 26 of the 35 productions were staged by Belgian Augustinian colleges. Furthermore, the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre sample is concentrated in the final quarter of the seventeenth century, with nearly 75% of the identified productions occurring during the period 1675–1700 (table 3.2).

¹³² BE–Gug B.G. 6597. The seventeenth-century theatrical materials from the Augustinian college in Gent include two playbills, eight printed programmes and five complete autograph texts. The eight seventeenth-century printed programmes and playbills together with 55 eighteenth-century and three nineteenth-century examples are reproduced in facsimile in appendix 5. Due to the condition of the documents, the manuscript texts are not included among the reproductions in appendix 5.

¹³³ David Aurelius Perini, O.S.A., ed., *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis: Scriptores Itali* (Firenze: Tipografia Sordomuti, 1929–1937): I:115, no. 1; I:222, no. 2; II:107, no. 2; II:111, no. 1. The *Bibliographia Augustiniana* provides a brief biography for each author. The publications, and in some cases also the manuscripts, are presented in order of year of publication/composition with cross-references to previously published secondary sources in addition to the usual bibliographic information.

¹³⁴ Joannes Maria Benassai, O.S.A., *Il mortorio di Cristo* (Foligno, Italy, c. 1601), Perini I:115, no. 1: CSTD ID 2896. Thomas Cervioni, O.S.A., *Il Manasse Re di Giuda* (Bologna, c. 1698), Perini I:222, no. 2; CSTD ID 2898. Benassai taught theology in multiple Augustinian schools and was also the Vicar-General of the Augustinian Congregation of Peru, as indicated by his title ‘Vicarii Generalis Congregationis Perusinae.’

¹³⁵ Fr. Sebastian Giacona, *L'Eustachio. Drama per musica* (Venice: Stefano Curti, 1669): Perini II:111, no. 1; CSTD ID 2888. Fr. Hippolytus Ghezzi, *Sacri dialoghi, o vero Motetti a 2 v. con violini and Oratori sacri a 3 v. cavati dalla Sacra Scrittura: L'Abele, L'Adamo, L'Abramo, Il David trionfante* (Bologna: Silvani, 1700): Perini II:107, no. 1, 2; CSTD ID 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895.

Performance

Following an examination of seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical productions, it appears that Augustinian colleges typically staged two theatrical productions per year during the seventeenth century, approximately half the number of theatrical productions performed annually by contemporary Benedictine institutions. However, seventeenth-century Augustinian and Benedictine school theatrical productions share several performance characteristics in common. The performance language is Latin and a theatrical production involving the entire school is associated with the annual distribution of academic prizes. However, as the remaining productions with a known date of performance take place in February, July or December; these do not appear to be part of academic prize ceremonies.

Performance: Performance Date

Just as in seen in the Benedictine theatre dataset, the majority of available Augustinian theatre examples with a known date of performance are prize-day productions. An examination of the performance month of the productions in the seventeenth-century Augustinian data sample reveals that 14 of the productions with known dates of performance took place in September as part of prize-day festivities. The available information indicates that Augustinian theatrical prize-day productions took place in September during the seventeenth century, rather than in October or November like seventeenth-century Benedictine prize-day productions. Although already performing their prize-day productions in the month traditionally used by the Jesuits for their prize-day ceremonies, the Jesuit productions typically took place during the first week of the month while the Augustinian September theatrical productions occurred within the second week. However, the performance dates of seventeenth-century Augustinian school prize-day productions changed c.1690 from the second week in September to the first week in September; thus, the Augustinian colleges placed their theatrical productions in direct competition with those of the

Jesuit college at the end of the seventeenth century.¹³⁶ For example, the city of Antwerp had both an Augustinian and a Jesuit college, as did Bologna. The city of Gent not only had an Augustinian college and Jesuit college but also a Benedictine school (chapter one, table 1.4).

Five of the productions in the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre data sample took place during the months of February, June, July, and December (table 3.3) Two of these are theatrical productions by a single academic class, *Jonah propheta* (Gent, 16 February, 1688) by the grammar class at Gent and *Controversia inter Diem et Noctem* (Gent, 6 December, 1688?), performed by the poetry class at the Gent Augustinian college (figs. 3.2 and 3.3, respectively).¹³⁷ The performance occasion for the other two non-September theatrical productions is not known.

The performance month and date are not known for the other 16 seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre productions in the dataset. One of these, *Convivium Philofsogirûm* (Gent, 1683), is another single-class production from the Gent Augustinian college, performed by the humanities class (fig. 3.4).¹³⁸ The evidence of productions by a single school class is similar to the observed traditions of the Benedictine schools, where the Rhetoric and Poetry classes each gave an annual performance. However, the Augustinian school productions indicate that not only the top classes of the school but also the lower academic classes staged theatrical performances. The presence of the manuscript texts for *Jonah propheta*, *Controversia inter Diem et Noctem* and *Convivium Philofsogirûm* and absence of any examples of printed programmes for single-class productions suggest that, just as seen in the Benedictine schools, Augustinian colleges typically printed programmes only for prize-day productions during the seventeenth century.

¹³⁶ The evidence in appendices 4 and 5 shows that by c.1722 both the Gent and Antwerp colleges typically staged five productions per year: February, April, May, June/July and September for Antwerp; February, March/April, June/July, August and September for Gent. The annual production for the college at Gent changed for unknown reasons from the first week of September to the third or fourth week in August beginning in 1771. The September prize-day performance date of the Antwerp college remained the same until 1776 at least.

¹³⁷ *Controversia inter Diem et Noctem* (Gent, Poetry, 6 December, 1688?). BE–Gug B.G. 6597/8, CSTD ID 383. *Jonah propheta* (Gent, Grammar, 16 February, 1688). BE–Gug B.G. 6597/9, CSTD ID 382.

¹³⁸ *Convivium Philofsogirûm* (Gent, Humanities, 1683). BE–Gug B.G. 6597/7, CSTD ID 355.

Performance: Performance Repetition

There is no evidence that Augustinian colleges repeated entire theatrical productions in subsequent years, nor are there any signs that individual dramatic works were repeated. This practice indicates that all dramatic works were newly composed for each production. According to the programme and manuscript evidence, most seventeenth-century Augustinian college productions were similarly performed only once.¹³⁹

However, seven of the 12 the Augustinian school theatrical productions performed after c.1670 in the data sample received two performances (table 3.4).¹⁴⁰ Unlike the Benedictine school data, which contains example of multiple performances in productions performed before 1650, all of the known pre-1650 Augustinian productions were performed once. There are no examples in the seventeenth century Augustinian school theatre dataset of productions receiving more than two performances, although there are several examples of contemporary Benedictine productions with a run of three, four and even five performances.

Repeat performances of Augustinian school theatrical productions were given on consecutive days or no more than a single day between performances by at least the 1670s. This is a significantly different practice from that observed in seventeenth century Benedictine school theatre, where performance repetitions were not given on consecutive days until the eighteenth century.

¹³⁹ Seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions performed only once are CSTD IDs 64, 76, 97, 259, 318, 354, 355, 382, 383, 406, 413, 422, 447 and 466. See programme facsimiles in appendix 4 nos. 6–8 and appendix 5 nos. 139–143, 146–148, and 150. Seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions performed twice are CSTD IDs 273, 294, 356, 368, 393 and 485. See programme facsimiles in appendix 4 nos. 1–5 and appendix 5 no. 151.

¹⁴⁰ The Augustinian colleges at Gent and Antwerp display diametrically opposed trends in the number of performances a production typically received; unfortunately, no performance information is available for comparison from the Leuven, Prague or Bologna seventeenth-century productions. While the Antwerp college performed annual productions twice until 1689, all of the Gent college productions received only a single performance until 1699. After 1699 until c. 1776, the majority of annual productions at the Gent college received two performances, although the non-annual productions continued to be performed only once. The Antwerp Augustinian college theatrical productions after 1689 received only a single performance; the first exception occurs in 1743. All post-1690 productions by the Augustinian college in Antwerp, on the other hand, typically received one performance. The reason behind these markedly different performance trends in two colleges located in a single geographic region is not known.

Performance: Theatrical Programmes

Regardless of the number of performances a seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical prize-day production received, one programme was printed, unlike contemporary Benedictine school theatre practices in which a separate programme was printed for each performance until c.1640. All known examples of seventeenth-century Augustinian programmes and playbills available for study are printed in a single language: six in Latin, eight in Dutch and one in French.¹⁴¹ It therefore appears that bilingual programmes did not develop in Augustinian theatre printing practices during the seventeenth century; similarly, there is no evidence among the available examples of printing a Latin programme in addition to a separate programme in the vernacular.¹⁴² The text in several programmes, however, is a mixture of Latin and the vernacular, such as seen in the text of the title to the main drama in the production *Artabanus* (Gent, 21 February, 1632).¹⁴³

The available seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical programmes exhibit a consistency in the type of information provided which is identical to that found among the contemporary Benedictine school programmes. This information includes the title of the main dramatic work, the name of the school and its Augustinian affiliation, the year of performance, the city and name of the publisher and, in the case of the Gent programmes, also the year of publication. Approximately half of the productions in the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre dataset also include the month and day(s) of performance while 12 of the prize-day production programmes include a dedication statement; these numbers are consistent with observed practices in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre.

All except three of the available printed programmes include an opening argument or synopsis presenting a brief background of the main title drama; however,

¹⁴¹ The single document in French is the playbill for *Andronicus Comnenus: Empereur de Constantinople* (11 September, 1630), appendix 5 no. 1. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/1; CSTD ID 64.

¹⁴² As may be seen by examining the programmes in appendices 4 and 5, these printing practices changed in the eighteenth century, when most programmes were either in Latin only or sets of programmes in Latin and the vernacular were printed for each production. Not until after the 1750s did Augustinian colleges customarily print a single document in both languages. For an early example of the latter, see *Jephthe* (Antwerp, 1 September, 1760), appendix 4 no. 117.

¹⁴³ *Tragoedia Artabanvs Ghetrocken Ex Ivstino* (Gent, 21 February, 1632), appendix 5 no. 140. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/2; CSTD ID 76.

this feature is not found in any of the four drama manuscripts.¹⁴⁴ The argument is given several different names among the printed programmes and playbills, the most common of which is the Dutch equivalent, ‘Cort Begryp.’¹⁴⁵ The terms ‘Epitome’ and ‘Bedryf–Reden’ are also used.¹⁴⁶ At the end of the seventeenth century the Augustinian college of Antwerp began to give the title ‘Oeconomia Historiae’ for the opening argument in their printed programmes.¹⁴⁷

Dramatic synopses are also provided for each scene in all of the seventeenth-century Augustinian college programmes and playbills currently available. Similarly, all of the *interludia* in the Gent college programmes have a brief synopsis except for those in the final example from the seventeenth century, *Octavianus Augustus* (4, 5 September, 1699).¹⁴⁸ However, the *interludia* in the Antwerp college programmes do not have printed synopses except for the 1693 production *Ortus in Occasu* (11, September, 1693), and this synopsis consists of only the three words, ‘Lingua...universites iniquitatis.’¹⁴⁹

The chorus in *Andronicus* (Gent, 11 September, 1630) is labelled only as ‘Coevr Mvsical’ until the chorus concluding Act III.¹⁵⁰ Synopses are provided for both of the choruses in *Artabanus* (Gent, 21 February, 1632) in the same manner as

¹⁴⁴ Three examples of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical programmes do not include an opening argument for their respective productions: *Tragoedia Artabanvs Ghetrocken Ex Ivstino* (Gent, 21 February, 1632), appendix 5, no. 140. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/2; CSTD ID 76. *Langh-Ghewensten Vrede Met Omhelsinghe der Rechtveerdigheyt in het Ghemoeten der Bermhertigheyt ende Waerheyt* (Gent, 6 September, 1698), appendix 5, no. 150. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/11; CSTD ID 466. *De Al-verblijdende Victorie, Becomen door de wapenen der Christene Princen Teghen den Al-ghemeynen Vyandt Mahomet Den IV, Turckfchen Keyfer* (Antwerp, 11, 12 September, 1686), appendix 4, no. 4. BE–Bbr II.25.982/161; CSTD ID 369.

¹⁴⁵ The term ‘Cort Begryp’ or its variant, ‘Cort Begrijp,’ is found only among the programmes 1671–1689 from the Antwerp Augustinian college.

¹⁴⁶ The term ‘Epitome’ is found in the programme *Horatiorum Curatiorumque Conflictus sub Tullo Hostilio Romanorum Rege ac Metio Suffetio Albanorum Duce* (Gent, 7 September, 1696), appendix 5, no. 148. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/10; CSTD ID 449. ‘Bedryf–Reden’ is used in *Tonneel-spel Wraeck-lust in Octavianus Augustus Teghen de Moordt-Daet van Cajus Julius Caesar* (Gent, 4, 5 September, 1699), appendix 5, no. 151. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/13; CSTD ID 485.

¹⁴⁷ Found only in Augustinian theatrical programmes, the use of the term ‘Oeconomia Historiae’ in the theatrical programmes of Antwerp Augustinian college continues into the eighteenth century, for example *Impii Facinoris Vindex Victoriosus Carolus V* (6 September, 1715), appendix 4, no. 14, BE–Bbr II.25.982/151; CSTD ID 1469, and *Zelus Joiadae Pontificis Pro Gloria Dei, Et legitimo Davidis haerede Joa. Contra Tyrannidem Athaliae Servato et Sublimato* (5 September, 1716), appendix 4, no. 16, BE–Bbr II.25.982/150; CSTD ID 1483.

¹⁴⁸ *Tonneel-spel Wraeck-lust in Octavianus Augustus Teghen de Moordt-Daet van Cajus Julius Caesar* (Gent, 4, 5 September, 1699), appendix 5 no. 151. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/13; CSTD ID 485.

¹⁴⁹ *Ortus in Occasu, sive Semiramidis Ad Solium Affyriae per Interitum Nini Ascensus* (Antwerp, 11 September, 1693), appendix 4, no. 8. BE–Bbr II.25.982/157; CSTD ID 422.

¹⁵⁰ The descriptive synopsis for the act III chorus shows that the chorus is dependent, as they are called upon to mourn the death of the young emperor Alexius. «Le coeur Muficale plaint & faicê les regretz de la morte du Ieune Empereur Alexius.» *Andronicvs Comnenvs Emperevr Constantinople Tragedie* (Gent, 11 September, 1630), appendix 5, no. 139. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/1; CSTD ID 64.

seen in seventeenth-century Benedictine printed programmes; however, without an accompanying list of musicians, the composition of the ensemble cannot be determined.¹⁵¹ Similar to the choruses in *Andronicus*, the choruses in *Artabanus* are likewise examples of dependent choruses, fully integrated into the action of the main drama.

Following an examination of the data sample, it appears that seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical productions are as commonly dedicated to heads of their respective city governments as they are to patrons. Claeys provides a probable reason for this custom, writing: ‘As well as subsidies and favours of all kinds given them by the city [of Gent], the Augustinians and the Jesuits received every year a special subsidy to help them cover the expenses of their prize distributions.’¹⁵² The dramatic genre of the main title drama is only rarely included on the programme title page; among the available productions, there are only four examples among the Gent college programmes and a single instance among the Antwerp college programmes, the tragedy *Susanna Belgica* (13, 14 September, 1683) that identify the main title drama genre.¹⁵³ One of the Gent college programmes, *Artabanus* (Gent, 21 February, 1632), includes the time of the performance, 2:30 p.m.¹⁵⁴ Two other programmes, both late-century examples from the Augustinian college in Gent, specify the performance occasion as the distribution of prizes.¹⁵⁵

None of the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical programmes located to date include a cast list or identify the author or composer. This finding marks a significant difference between the printed programmes of the Augustinian and Benedictine school theatres, as the Benedictines schools started to identify the student

¹⁵¹ *Tragoedia Artabanvs Ghetrocken Ex Ivstino* (Gent, 21 February, 1632), appendix 5, no. 140. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/2; CSTD ID 76.

¹⁵² «Indépendamment des subsides et des faveurs de toutes sortes dont la ville les gratifiait, les Augustins et les Jésuites recevaient tous les ans un subside spécial pour les aider à couvrir les frais de leurs distributions des prix.». Prosper Claeys, *Histoire du Théâtre a Gand* (Gand: J. Vuylsteke, 1892), I:20–21. My translation.

¹⁵³ *Susanna Belgica Bly-eyndigh Treur-fpel* (Antwerp 13, 14 September, 1683), appendix 4 no. 3. BE–Br II.25.982/162; CSTD ID 356.

¹⁵⁴ ‘...ten twee hueren en half naer den noene.’ *Tragoedia Artabanvs Ghetrocken Ex Ivstino* (Gent, 21 February, 1632), appendix 5 no. 140. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/2; CSTD ID 76.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Door wiens Mildtheyt de jaerlyckfche Pryszen, aende Jonckheydt zullen uytghedeylt worden’ in *Langh-Ghewensten Vrede Met Omhelsinghe der Rechtveerdigheyt in het Ghemoeten der Bermhertigheyt ende Waerheyt* (Gent, 6 September, 1698), appendix 5 no. 150. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/11; CSTD ID 466. ‘...welcke de Jaerlijckfche Prijfen door de Miltheyt wande Selve Haeren fullen uytgedeylt worden,’ in *Tonneel-spel Wraeck-lust in Octavianus Augustus Teghen de Moordt-Daet van Cajus Julius Caesar* (4, 5 September, 1699), appendix 5 no. 151. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/13, CSTD ID 485.

actors around the midpoint of the century.¹⁵⁶ However, the manuscript for a 1677 production comprised of the tragedy *Adrianus* and the comedy *Sales* does conclude with a list of the cast, including the names of the students playing the parts and their year in school (fig. 3.5).¹⁵⁷

Production Structure

Similar to contemporary Benedictine school productions, seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre productions are comprised of multiple independent and dependent dramatic components. The arrangement of these components within the productions results in the formation of several distinct identifiable and classifiable structural models. The following discussion presents the dramatic components found within the available examples of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions, the organisation and structure of these productions and the forces required to perform them.

Production Structure: Theatrical Production Components

The independent theatrical production component consistently found in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions is the main title drama, as there are examples of single-class and prize-day productions that consist of only the main title drama; several of these productions are augmented by the addition of a dependent prologue or epilogue. Productions that include dependent choruses frequently also include a dependent prologue and/or epilogue beginning c.1660, but rarely contain *interludia*. In contrast, many late-century Augustinian theatrical productions with *interludia* also open and close with dependent prologues and epilogue but do not include choruses. The productions with *interludia* typically only contain a single work, as *interludia* in seventeenth-century Augustinian school are usually in multiple formal divisions rather than the one-part *interludia* common in contemporary Benedictine theatre.

¹⁵⁶ The earliest known Augustinian college theatrical programmes that include a cast list are *Supernae Gratiae Triumphus, in Admirabili Augustini Conversione* (Antwerp, 6 September, 1714), appendix 4 no. 13, BE–Bbr II.25.982/152, CSTD ID 1458, and *Avaritia sive Avarbolus Comoedia* (Gent, 19 June, 1716), appendix 5 no. 159, BE–Gug B.G. 6597/21, CSTD ID 1476.

¹⁵⁷ *Glorievse Doodt...Adrianus Judex du Maximus* and *Sales* (Gent, 1 September, 1677), BE–Gug B.G. 6597/5, CSTD ID 318. The cast of *Glorievse Doodt* is comprised of 19 characters; *Sales*, 3.

Production Structure: Models

The productions within the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre dataset exhibit 14 distinct production structures. With so much variety within the examined repertoire, a more general approach is appropriate in order to formulate meaningful production structural models. Once the identification of the formal divisions of the main title dramas is discarded from the modelling process, four generic models of production structure emerge from the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre data sample. In order of increasing complexity, these four structural models are signified by the notations [P]M[E], [P]MCH[E], [P]MI[E] and [P]MCHI[E]. Figure 3.6 provides an illustration for each of the four structural models; the components in brackets indicate items not found in all the productions so classified. The information in table 3.5, a count of the number of productions per model within the seventeenth-century Augustinian data sample, is organised to complement the illustrations found in fig. 3.6.

There are three seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions with a relatively simple internal architecture similar to that of the single-class productions by Benedictine schools; that is, theatrical productions without identified choruses or *interludia* within or between the acts, signified by the structural model [P]M[E] (fig. 3.6(a)) The examples with this structure within the seventeenth-century Augustinian college data are *Exilium Tarquinii* (Gent, 1639), *De Al-verblijdende Victorie* (Antwerp 11, 12 September, 1686), and *Vrede* (Gent, 6 September, 1698) (table 3.5).¹⁵⁸ However, there are several differences among these productions, as *De Al-verblijdende Victorie* and *Vrede* each have a dependent prologue and epilogue delivered by mythological and allegorical characters. Only the production of *Exilium Tarquinii* appears to consist of only the main title drama.

Two productions within the seventeenth-century Augustinian dataset display an internal architecture similar to contemporary Benedictine productions, in which dependent choruses conclude the acts of the main title drama and might also include a

¹⁵⁸ *Exilium Tarquinii, Regis Romani, et Mirandam Lucre* (Gent, n.d., 1639), appendix 5, no. 141. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/3; CSTD ID 97. *De Al-verblijdende Victorie becomen door de wapenen der Christene Princen Teghen Den Al-ghemeynen Vyandt Mahomet Den IV; Turckschen Keyser* (Antwerp 11, 12 September, 1686), appendix 4, no. 4. BE–Bbr II.25.982/161; CSTD ID 369. *Langh-Ghewensten Vrede Met Omhelsinghe Der Rechtveerdigheyt in het Ghemoeten Der Bermhertigheyt ende* (Gent, 6 September, 1698), appendix 5, no. 150. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/11; CSTD ID 466.

prologue or epilogue (fig 3.6(b) and table 3.5). The available evidence indicates that this production structure model, [P]MCH[E], ceased to be used by the Gent and Antwerp college theatres by the end of the 1630s (fig. 3.6(c)).¹⁵⁹ Therefore, this model of production structure, one of the three chief structures in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre, is rarely found among the known contemporary Augustinian productions.

However, the most common form of production structure in seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre is not found in Benedictine school productions. This is the structural model [P]MI[E], in which one or more *interludia* are inserted in the main title drama, but there are no choruses within the production (fig 3.6(b)). Similar to the other Augustinian production structure models, the [P]MI[E] productions might include dependent prologues and/or epilogues. There are 12 examples of this structural model amongst the productions in the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre data sample, the largest number of productions associated with a single model within the data sample (table 3.5, (c))

However, there is a later production with multiple dependent choruses and *interludia*, *Doorluchtigste Huys* (Antwerp, 12, 13 September, 1689).¹⁶⁰ This production includes not only the greatest number of spectacular elements of any of the Augustinian theatrical productions examined, but also displays the most complex internal structure, identified by the model [P]MCHI[E]. *Doorluchtigste Huys*, in addition to a two-act main title drama, includes four ballets, four *interludia*, four dependent choruses and a dependent prologue and epilogue. Until scene vii in Act I and scene vi in Act II, every scene or pair of scenes is followed by one or more spectacles. For example, the concluding ballet to the first scene in Act I is followed by an unspecified *interludium*, while the second and third scenes feature a concluding chorus.

Another example of a seventeenth-century Augustinian dramatic performance with a [P]MCHI[E] production structure is *Boecxken* (Gent, n.d., 1698) The content and format of *Boecxken* is unique among the known Augustinian and Benedictine

¹⁵⁹ *Andronicus Comnenus: Empereur de Constantinople* (Gent, 11 September, 1630), appendix 5, no. 1. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/1; CSTD ID 64. *Artabanus: Ghetrocken ex Iustino Tragi* (Gent, 21 February, 1632), appendix 5, no. 2. BE–Gug B.G. 6597/2; CSTD ID 76.

¹⁶⁰ *Weder-strydt Tusschen Het Doorluchtighe Huys van Oostenryck Befiert door de Goddelijcke Voorsightigheydt, ende Het ramp-faligh Huys van Otthoman Opgehihtfl door de Ongheoovigheydt, Helfsche Furien &c.* (Antwerp, 12, 13 September, 1689), appendix 4 no. 5. BE–Bbr II.25.982/160; CSTD ID 393.

school theatrical repertoire.¹⁶¹ This production is a special festival rather than a typical school theatrical production, although the celebration is hosted and performed by the fathers and students from the Gent Augustinian college. *Boecxken* is a series of sacred recitations, processions and tableaux with frequent choruses sung in Dutch, the full texts of which are provided in the printed programme. The dramatic element is limited to three scenes enacted during the second half of the production.

Production Structure: Production Forces

The single surviving cast list from the manuscript of an Augustinian school theatrical production, *Adrianus* (Gent, 1 September, 1677), hereafter referred to as *Adrianus*, includes the cast for the main title drama *Adrianus* and the production's inserted *interludium*, *Sales* (fig 3.5).¹⁶² The *nomina actorum* for the *Adrianus* production is comparable in format to that of the Benedictine production *SS. Felicitatis* (Munich, 1661), for the *Adrianus* cast list includes the name of the character, the name of student actor together with any noble titles and the student's class in the school.¹⁶³ As shown in table 3.6, the *Adrianus* production involved select students from each of the academic classes of the school, all of whom played only one role in the production. The cast for *Sales* is small, requiring only three students from the middle classes in the school (fig 3.5).

A count of the characters identified in 21 seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre printed programmes and manuscript texts reveals that the minimum cast requirements range between three and 40 major roles (table 3.7). Five of the productions examined have more than 20 speaking roles, such as *Andronicus* (1630), which requires at least 29 actors in addition to the chorus and any instrumentalists. But two productions are even larger; *Cardinaele Deughden* (1671) has at least 39 characters, while *Doorluchtighste Huys* (1689) has 40 speaking parts in the main title drama in addition to an unknown number of actors in three *interludia*, dancers and instrumentalists for four ballets and vocalists for six choruses. However, the evidence presented in table 3.7 suggests that the performance forces in seventeenth-century

¹⁶¹ *Eer-Offen...Boecxken/Vanden Oorspronck En Inhout Van Heel Den Ghendtschen Ommeganck* (Gent, n.d., 1698), appendix 5 no. 149. BE-Gug B.G. 6597/12; CSTD ID 467.

¹⁶² *Glorievse Doodt...Adrianus...Judex du...Maximus* (Gent, 1 September, 1677), BE-Gug B.G. 6597/5, CSTD 318.

¹⁶³ *Tragico-Comica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (5 September, 1661), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25998, CSTD ID 209.

Augustinian theatrical production are significantly smaller than contemporary Benedictine school productions, but the Augustinian cast data cannot take into account the number of students in non-speaking and musical roles in the productions.

Dramatic Genres

Amongst the main title dramas in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions are six dramatic genres: tragedy, comedy, *drama musicum*, dialogue, oratorio and passion settings (table 3.8). All of the prologues, epilogues and choruses are inseparable from the main title dramas in subject matter and characters. There are examples of both dependent and independent *interludia* within the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre data sample, but regardless of their degree of connection to the main title drama, most of these *interludia* are in the form of ballets or spoken comedies.

Dramatic Genres: Main Title Drama

There are five types of formal divisions found among seventeenth-century Augustinian main title dramas (table 3.9). Just as seen in contemporary Benedictine school theatre, the majority of Augustinian theatrical main title dramas are in three or five acts; there is no known example of a seventeenth-century Augustinian production in three parts such as found among seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions. As the information in table 3.9 shows, ten of the 35 examined productions are three acts, while five other productions are in five acts. The main title drama in one act listed in table 3.9 is the single-class production *Convivium Philofsogirûm* (Gent, 1683).¹⁶⁴ However, while the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre data sample contains two examples each of main title dramas in two acts and two parts, there are no known main title dramas in one or two acts/parts among the examined Benedictine school theatrical productions.

¹⁶⁴ *Convivium Philofsogirûm* (Gent, Humanities, 1683). BE–Gug B.G. 6597/7, CSTD ID 355.

Dramatic Genres: Prologue and Epilogue

Just as in Benedictine school theatrical productions, the chief purpose of the prologues in Augustinian college theatre is to set the scene for the action in the first act. This is usually accomplished by means of dialogues between allegorical or mythological beings concerning the chief characters in the main drama; by at least c.1630, the prologues and epilogues in Augustinian theatre are performed by multiple characters rather than an ensemble. All of the known prologues in the seventeenth-century Augustinian productions are dependent works and in one structural part without internal scenic divisions. The epilogues, too, are in one structural part without scenic divisions, and never occur without an accompanying prologue. The function of the epilogue, as might be expected, is similar to that of the concluding chorus. However, the epilogue is usually delivered by characters in dialogue, typically the same characters that performed the prologue, rather than an ensemble. There is no evidence available to confirm whether the performance medium for prologues and epilogues in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions was speech or song.

Dramatic Genres: Chorus

The choruses in seventeenth-century Augustinian dramatic productions are, like the prologues and epilogues, dependent upon main title drama. The function of the chorus in all seventeenth-century Augustinian productions appears to be to summarise and moralise upon the action of the immediately preceding act or scene of the main title drama. Although choruses concluded each act of the main title drama except for the final act in the few known examples performed before c.1640, concluding choruses are not indicated in the programmes of Augustinian school prize-day productions performed after 1640.

Dramatic Genres: *Interludia*

The dramatic structure is known for nine examples of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre *interludia*, all but two of which were performed after 1675 (table 3.10). This finding suggests that, like the Benedictines, the custom of indicating

interludia in theatrical programmes became common in Augustinian schools only during the final quarter of the seventeenth century. As the data in table 3.10 shows, the majority of Augustinian theatre *interludia* are dramatic works in one formal part, the same dramatic structure of all of the examined examples of Benedictine theatrical *interludia* from this period. The exceptions are two *interludia* in four parts inserted between the acts of five-act tragedies in the 1690s and a two-part *interludia* inserted in a three-act tragedy performed in 1674. Also, the two-part spoken comedy *Sales* was inserted between the acts of the 1677 three-act tragedy *Adrianus*.¹⁶⁵

Table 3.10 also reveals that four seventeenth-century Augustinian productions included multiple *interludia*, a rarity in seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre. For example, the 1689 production *Doorluchtigste Huys* includes four *interludia*, the largest number of *interludia* in a single production found within the entire Benedictine and Augustinian repertoire examined in this investigation. The *Sthenoboea* (1691) and *Horatiorum* (1696) productions each contain three separate *interludia*. The last production in the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre dataset with multiple *interludia* also had the fewest number of *interludia*, as the 1699 production *Octavianus Augustus* contains only two *interludia*. Just as seen in the Benedictine production *Pax Europae*, Augustinian *interludia* appear as frequently within the acts of the main title drama as between them.

Dramatic Subjects

The dramatic subjects are known for 37 dramatic works within the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre data sample. The sources of these dramatic subjects include, in order commonality in the examined sample, the Old Testament (ten dramatic works), hagiography (eight), ancient Roman history (three), ancient Greek history (two) history of the Roman Catholic Church (two), mythology (two), New Testament (two), allegory (one) and local regional history (one); the dramatic subjects for four production cannot be determined from available materials (table 3.11). None of the examined Augustinian dramas employ subjects from secular literature, unlike the Benedictine theatre, although neither the Augustinian or

¹⁶⁵ *Sales* is the only known spoken comedy to have been inserted in an Augustinian production during the seventeenth-century, although the practice is common in the eighteenth century

Benedictine seventeenth-century school theatre dataset include examples of drama whose subjects concern the history of the region.

Dramatic Subjects: Main Title Drama

As the contents of table 3.12 show, main title tragedies are approximately equally distributed among the various dramatic subject sources except for a slightly greater number of dramatic subjects from the Old Testament and hagiography sources.¹⁶⁶ However, the dramatic subjects of the comedies and *dramae musica* in the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre data sample are hagiographic, while the dialogues, oratorios and passions are based upon the Bible, primarily the Old Testament. When the dramatic subject sources of main title dramas are examined as a group, two preferred sources of dramatic subjects are revealed. Main title dramas about topics from the Old Testament are the most common of all dramatic subjects in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre, closely followed by dramas on hagiographic subjects (table 3.12). This dual preference of dramatic subjects from the Old Testament and hagiography in Augustinian school theatre is different from that observed in contemporary Benedictine school theatre main title dramas, where plays on hagiographic subjects are significantly more numerous than any other sources of dramatic subjects.

Table 3.13 presents the most frequently repeated subjects or characters in seventeenth-century Augustinian main title dramas for each of the ten sources of dramatic subjects found in table 3.12.¹⁶⁷ When the plots of seventeenth-century Augustinian and Benedictine tragedies and comedies are compared, there are only three dramatic subjects common to both repertoires: Julius Caesar from Roman

¹⁶⁶ An example of one of the four Augustinian hagiographic plays is *De Ghecroode Memorie des Doodts inden Heylighen Henricus: De Verlofte Onnoofelheyt Inde Heylighe Chunegundes Zijn Huyfvrauwe* (Gent, 12 September, 1668), BE–Gug B.G. 6597/4, CSTD 259, whose plot concerns the life and death of a celebrated Poor Clare, St. Cunegundes. St. Cunegundes, the widow of St. Henry, Duke of Bavaria, died a Poor Clare in 1292. Her cult was approved by Pope Alexander VIII in 1690 and her status as the patron saint of Poland and Lithuania was confirmed in 1695 by Pope Clement XI. Stephen Donovan, 'Blessed Cunegundes,' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908). Accessed August 2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04569a.htm>>.

¹⁶⁷ Although the information displayed in table 3.13 seems to show that Augustinian colleges did not repeat dramatic plots during the seventeenth century, unlike seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre productions, this is most likely a result of the limited number of Augustinian dramas currently available for study.

history, David from the Old Testament and the crucifixion of Christ from the New Testament.¹⁶⁸

Dramatic Subjects: *Interludia*

Just as seen in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical programmes, titles and dramatic synopses, and thereby the dramatic subjects and main characters, are not provided for most of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre *interludia*. The only examples among Augustinian seventeenth-century *interludia* are the two comedies, *Sales* and *Convivium Philofsogirûm*, whose subjects are Pomphilius, whose dramatic source cannot be determined from the available information, and Xanthus, from Greco-Roman mythology. There are no known examples of Augustinian school *interludia* on fictional subjects, the most common source for Benedictine school *interludia* dramatic subjects during the seventeenth century.

Authors

Four authors, who together contributed nine dramatic works, have been identified amongst all of the known seventeenth-century Augustinian college theatre productions. None of the four authors wrote for the theatrical productions of the Gent or Antwerp Augustinian colleges (table 3.14). The source for these four authors is Perini's bibliography of works by Italian Augustinians. The name of a fifth author is inscribed in the manuscript text for *Adrianus* and its accompanying comedic *interludium Sales*, but even after considerable study remains undecipherable. Nothing is known concerning the education of the four known authors except that all were Augustinian friars. There is no evidence of collaboration among these authors. The multiple works by Hippolytus Ghezzi, O.S.A. and the illegible author provide

¹⁶⁸ The Benedictine play on Julius Caesar is *Invidia gloriae umbra in C. Iulio Caesare* (1697), Boberski no. 305, Haider no. 50, CSTD ID 2873, and the related Augustinian drama is *Tonneelspel Wraeck-lust in Octavianus Augustus Teghen de Moordt-Daet van Cajus Julius Caesar Synen Oom Manet alia mente repostum &c.* (1699), BE-Gug B.G. 6597/13, CSTD ID 485. The Augustinian setting of Christ's passion is *Il mortorio di Cristo* (1601), referenced in David Aurelius Perini, *P. Biblioteca Agostiniana* (Firenze: Tipografia Sordomuti, 1929), I:115, no. 1, CSTD 2896, and the corresponding Benedictine passion, performed by a Benedictine Marian Congregation, is *Crucifigio Christi* (1647), Boberski no. 81, CSTD ID 2671.

evidence that seventeenth-century Augustinian authors, similar to contemporary Benedictine theatre authors, wrote more than one work. Although there are no known examples of authors who also taught the poetry or rhetoric classes, one of the authors, Thomas Cervioni, O.S.A (?–1672), taught the logic class at S. Jacopo Maggiore, the Augustinian school in Bologna, Italy.¹⁶⁹

Composers

None of the available seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical production materials identifies the composer of any music associated with the production, nor does the published literature include the names of the composers of Augustinian school theatre music.¹⁷⁰

Augustinian School Theatre, c. 1600–c.1700: Observations and Conclusions

Performance

During the seventeenth century, Augustinian colleges typically performed at least two theatrical productions per year. The productions whose performance occasion is known include productions performed during the first two weeks of September in association with the annual distribution of prizes and productions performed in other calendar months by a single academic class. Seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre productions were performed in Latin, and most were performed only once; in the rare instances in which a production was performed twice, the repetition was always performed within two days of the premiere. There is no evidence that productions or their individual dramatic works were repeated within or between Augustinian colleges, leading to the conclusion that Augustinian main title dramas, choruses, *interludia*, etc. were newly composed for each theatrical production.

¹⁶⁹ David Aurelius Perini, O.S.A, *Biblioteca Agostiniana* (Firenze: Tipografia Sordomuti, 1929), I:222, no. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1977), I:166. However, an Augustinian friar, Agostino Diruta, O.S.A., published a collection of cantatas or dialogues for use in Roman oratories, *Poesie heroiche morali e sacre* (Rome, 1646).

From the available evidence, it appears that programmes were typically printed only for prize-day productions in Augustinian school theatre during the seventeenth century, with one set of programmes for each production regardless of the number of performances the production received. All of the examined programmes are printed in a single language, either Latin or the vernacular; it does not appear that bilingual programmes developed in Augustinian school theatre during the seventeenth century.

The religious affiliation, main drama title, performance date and publisher information is consistently included in Augustinian college theatrical programmes and playbills throughout the seventeenth century. While the performance occasion, dedication, and main title dramatic genre are sometimes included in seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical programmes, none of the available examples identify the authors or composers or include a list of the cast.

Production Structure

The central dramatic work in all seventeenth-century Augustinian college productions is the main title drama, a tragedy or comedy in two, three or five acts that might also include a prologue or an epilogue. The structural model [P]M[E] describes those Augustinian theatrical productions consisting only of a main title drama. In prize-day productions performed before c.1640, dependent choruses provide a moral summary for each act except the final act of the main title drama, where an epilogue sometimes replaces the final chorus. These productions are identified by the taxonomy [P]MCH[E].

After c.1640, Augustinian annual productions do not make use of concluding choruses, thus precluding the development of the independent chorus in Augustinian college theatre during the seventeenth century. Instead of the chorus, dependent ballets and other forms of independent *interludia* are inserted between and within the acts of the main title drama, resulting in the production structure [P]MI[E]. There are several examples of productions with as many as four ballets and four separate *interludia* within the data sample.

Although only one of the productions in the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre data sample includes a cast list, a count of the characters in dramatic synopses indicates that the minimum cast requirements for seventeenth-century Augustinian

main title dramas range between three and 20 actors, with the exception of three larger productions with as many as 40 speaking roles.

Dramatic Genres

The genres of main title dramas in the seventeenth-century Augustinian data sample include tragedy, comedy, *drama musicum*, dialogue, oratorio and passion settings. Although most of the *interludia* are, like the main title dramas, independent dramatic works, the prologues, epilogues and choruses are inseparable from the main dramatic action. Therefore, *interludia* and the main title dramas are the only known independent dramatic works in seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical productions.

While the formal structure of the dialogues, oratorios and passions cannot be determined from the available materials, the seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre tragedies and comedies are in two, three or five acts, each act of which is divided into two or more scenes. The prologues, epilogues and choruses are in one structural part and are without internal scenic divisions. By c.1630, the prologues, epilogues and choruses are dialogues among multiple characters rather than works for ensemble. The examined *interludia*, which include ballet and spoken comedies in addition to other works whose genre cannot be determined with the available information, are chiefly in one structural part, although there are examples of *interludia* with up to four formal divisions. The number of *interludia* inserted in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions varies from one to as many as three within a single production.

Dramatic Subjects

The subject matter of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre main title dramas are chiefly stories from the Old Testament or hagiographic topics, although the other dramatic subject sources, namely, history of the Roman Catholic Church, allegory, mythology, ancient Roman history, the New Testament and ancient Greek history, are represented among the productions in the data sample. There are, however, no examples of a seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre main title drama whose subject is taken from a literary source. Among the available productions, there

is no evidence of the repetition of dramatic subjects. These observations indicate that seventeenth-century Augustinian college theatres chose to perform a rich variety of dramatic subjects rather than limiting themselves to a standard repertoire. Due the custom of not including synopses for *interludia* in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre printed programmes, an examination of the dramatic sources and subjects cannot be performed at this time.

Authors

The authors of Augustinian theatre during the seventeenth century are themselves Augustinian friars, and several wrote multiple theatrical works. Several main title dramas received contemporary publication, although most of the known dramatic works remain in manuscript. The education of these authors is not known, although one of the identified authors is known to have been a professor in the college which performed his dramatic work. There is no evidence of collaboration amongst authors, nor is there evidence that these authors wrote for the theatres of any educational institutions other than those directed by Augustinians.

Chapter 4

Jesuit School Theatre, c.1535–c.1700

The Compañía di Gesù, a title customarily translated into English as the Society of Jesus, is the most recently established of the three religious communities examined in this study, yet more has been written about the history of the Jesuits than any other Catholic organisation.¹⁷¹ The Society of Jesus was founded in 1535 by the

¹⁷¹ The most recently published general histories of the Society of Jesus include: Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths, and Histories* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004); Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: kings, courts, and confessors* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993); William V. Bangert, S. J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (2nd ed., St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986); Jesus Menéndez Peláez, *Los Jesuitas y el Teatro en el Siglo de Oro* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995). The most recently published regional histories are as follows, in alphabetical order by region: **Argentina**: Gustavo Martínez Zuviría, gen. ed., *Biblioteca Nacional Argentina: Catálogo de documentos referentes a jesuitas (1584–1805)* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1940). **Asia**: Charles Leclerc, *Bibliothèque de M. l'abbé Favre: Malaisie, Philippines, Australie et Polynésie, 1888; et Bibliothèque de MM. Léon Pagès et Dr Mourier: Japon, Chine, Indo-Chine, Corée, relations des anciennes missions religieuses d'Asie, Afrique, Levant, Amérique, 1889* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1974). **Belgium**: Alfred Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas. Établissement de la Compagnie de Jésus en Belgique et ses développements jusqu'à la fin du règne d'Albert et d'Isabelle* (Bruxelles, M. Lamertin, 1927). **Brazil**: João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Os jesuítas no Grão-Pará: suas missões e a colonização: bosquejo historico com varios documentos ineditos* (1901; repr., Belem: SECULT, 1999); Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 vols. (Lisboa: Livraria Portugalia, 1938–50). **Chile**: Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, *Misiones en Chile austral: los Jesuitas en Chiloé, 1608–1768* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007). **Czech Republic**: Paul J. Shore, *The eagle and the cross: Jesuits in late Baroque Prague* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2002). **Estonia**: Vello Helk, *Die Jesuiten in Dorpat, 1583–1625: ein Vorposten der Gegenreformation in Nordosteuropa* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1977). **Ethiopia**: Philip Caraman, *The lost empire: the story of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, 1555–1634* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985). **French Guiana**: Pierre Pelleprat, *Relation des missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Îles et dans la Terre Ferme de l'Amérique méridionale: édition critique*, Réal Ouelle et al., ed. (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2009). **India**: John Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India, 1542–1773: a short history* (Anand, Gujarat, India: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1997); Teotónio R. de Souza and Charles J. Borges, ed., *Jesuits in India: in historical perspective* (Panaji, Goa: Xavier Center of Historical Research, 1992). **Italy**: Society of Jesus, *L'apostolato sociale della Compagnia di Gesù: documenti di un secolo di storia* (Milano: San Fedele, 1998); Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, eds., *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino: dagli anni di Emanuele Filiberto a quelli di Carlo Alberto* (Torino: Società piemontese di archeologia e belle arti, 1998); Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, eds., *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese: le fondazioni del Piemonte orientale: atti del convegno, Vercelli, 16 ottobre 1993* (Vercelli: Archivio di Stato, 1995); Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma* (Roma: Società grafica romana, 1952); Pietro Tacchi Venturi and Mario Scaduto, eds., *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, 5 vols. (Roma: Civiltà cattolica, 1950–1992). **Ireland**: Louis McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory: A history of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991). **Japan**: John Francis Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan* (New York: Routledge, 1993). **Central and South America**: Jeffrey L. Klaiber, *Los jesuitas en América Latina, 1549–2000: 450 años de inculturación, defensa de los derechos humanos y testimonio profético* (Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 2007). **Mexico**: Agustín Churrucá Peláez, *Primeras fundaciones jesuitas en Nueva España, 1572–1580* (México:

former soldier Iñigo López de Loyola (1491–1556, canonised 1622), whose name usually appears in its Latinised form, Ignatius Loyola, and six fellow priests.¹⁷² However, the Society was not officially recognised until 1540, when Pope Paul III issued the papal bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* on 27 September, 1540. Ignatius Loyola was subsequently appointed the first General of the Society in 1541.¹⁷³

The hierarchical internal structure of the Society of Jesus reflects Loyola's previous career in the military. As the use of the words 'compañía' in the name of the organisation and the 'regimini militantis' in the 1540 papal bull implies, the design of the administration of the Society of Jesus is similar to that of a military company. All of the units of the Society of Jesus, whether residence, college, university or seminary, are under the authority of a centralised government in Rome, at the head of

Editorial Porrúa, 1980); Herman W. Konrad, *A Jesuit hacienda in colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576–1767* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1980). **North America:** Rolf Decot, ed., *Expansion und Gefährdung: amerikanische Mission und europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2004). **Paraguay:** Beatriz Vasconcelos Franzen, *Jesuítas portuguesas e espanhóis no sul do Brasil e Paraguai coloniais: novos estudos* (São Leopoldo, Brasil: Editora UNISINOS, 2003). **Philippines:** Horatio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961). **Portugal and the Portuguese colonies:** Dauril Alden, *The making of an enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996). **Russia (Belarus):** *Society of Jesus, La Compagnie de Jésus conservée en Russie après la suppression de 1772* (1872; repr., The Hague: Mouton, 1970). **United Kingdom:** Thomas M. McCoog, S. J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588* (New York: E. S. Brill, 1996); Francis Edwards, *The Jesuits in England: from 1580 to the present day* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1985); T. G. Holt, *English Jesuits: A Biographical Dictionary: 1650–1829*, No. 70 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1984).

¹⁷² Iñigo López de Loyola was first a page and then a soldier in the army of Ferdinand V of Spain. After recovering from severe injuries received in battle, Loyola pledged to serve God the rest of his life, formally dedicating himself at the Benedictine abbey of Montserrat before travelling for several years as a pilgrim. It was during these travels that Loyola composed his *Spiritual Exercises*, a series of prayers and meditations. In 1524, Loyola began his formal education, attending various institutions in preparation for entering the University of Paris, where he completed his degree in 1528. He then studied theology with the Dominicans. Recent biographies of Ignatius Loyola include Helmut Feld, *Ignatius von Loyola: Gründer der Jesuitenordens* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2006); James Brodrick, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: the pilgrim years, 1491–1538* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1998); Ignatius de Loyola, *A pilgrim's testament: the memoirs of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, Jesuit primary sources in English translations I:13, trans., Parmananda R. Divarkar, ed., Luis Gonçalves da Camara (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995); José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Ignatius of Loyola: the pilgrim saint*, trans. and ed., Cornelius Michael Buckley (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994). Two recent English translations of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* with commentaries are Javier Melloni, *Ejercicios en la tradición de occidente* [The exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola in the western tradition], trans. Michael Ivens (Leominster: Gracewing, 2000) and Ignatius de Loyola, *The spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. and ed., George E. Ganss (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992).

¹⁷³ Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths, and Histories* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004), 24. William V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986), 24. David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 46, 67–73. Hereafter, these three sources are referred to as Wright, Bangert and Mitchell, respectively. In 1545, Loyola sent two Jesuits as representatives to the Council of Trent at the request of Pope Paul III. The two attending Jesuits were Laynez and Salmerón; a third, Pierre Favre, was invited but contracted an illness and died in Rome in 1546.

which is the General of the Society; unlike Benedictine monasteries, Jesuit institutions are not autonomous. The residences and schools of the Society of Jesus are organised into geographically defined provinces, similar to the provincial organisation of the Augustinians.

Loyola's original vision for the *Compañía di Gesù* was one of mission and social work and not education.¹⁷⁵ However, after responding to requests to admit lay students to the school he established to educate future Jesuits, the Jesuit educational network developed rapidly.¹⁷⁶ McCabe's research indicates that approximately 300 Jesuit schools were established by 1600, 500 schools by 1650 and over 700 schools by 1700, with enrolments ranging from an average of 400 students per institution to individual schools with as many as 2,500 students.¹⁷⁷ The locations of these schools during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included not only Europe and North, Central and South America, where contemporary Augustinian and Benedictine institutions were located, but also throughout Asia, including the islands of Goa, Japan and the Philippines.

Beginning with first known theatrical production of a tragedy in 1551 by the Messina Jesuit college in Sicily, Jesuit schools, like those of the Benedictines and Augustinians, exhibit an active school theatre tradition.¹⁷⁸ Similar to the Benedictine and Augustinian schools, the Jesuit school academic calendar included an annual

¹⁷⁵ Wright, 24. John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 204–205. Hereafter, referred to as O'Malley. William H. McCabe, S.J., *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983), 5. Hereafter, referred to as McCabe. Wright lists the proposed duties of the Society as 'caring for syphilis patients, burying bodies..., prisoners, prostitutes, orphans, counselling female religious communities, and responding...to outbreaks of plague.'

¹⁷⁶ Maurizio Sangalli, 'Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI–XVII Centuries),' *The Catholic Historical Review* 93:4 (2007): 819. Regarding the overexpansion of the Jesuit educational network c.1540–c.1600, see Christopher Carlsmith, 'Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540–1600,' *History of Education Quarterly* 42:2 (Summer, 2002): 233–235, 238. Hereafter, referred to as Carlsmith.

¹⁷⁷ McCabe, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Jonathan Levy, 'Theatre and Moral Education,' *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 31:3 (Autumn, 1997): 65–75. Levy estimates 100,000 theatrical productions were staged by 500 Jesuit schools between 1551 and the suppression of 1773; a survey of the theatrical productions included in *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus: nouvelle édition* indicates that the actual figure over the same time period may exceed 500,000. Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., Augustin de Backer, S.J., Auguste Carayon. S.J., and Pierre Bliard, S.J., ed., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus: nouvelle édition*, 10 vols. (Bruxelles: Oscar Schepens, 1890–1919).

ceremony for the distribution of academic prizes. In addition to prize-day productions, many colleges regularly performed six or more additional theatrical productions per year. The chief reason cited by the Jesuits for the large amount of theatrical activity in their schools is that involvement in theatre polished the students' rhetoric and declamation skills, while the theatrical productions also provided a means of acquiring donations and patronage to support individual colleges and the Society generally.¹⁷⁹

The organisation of this chapter is similar to that of chapters 2 and 3. First, a summary history of the Society of Jesus starting from the date of its foundation to the modern day is presented, followed by the main body of the chapter, which is divided into two sections. Just as in chapters 2 and 3, the focus of the first section is upon sixteenth-century theatrical productions, while the second section examines theatrical productions during the seventeenth-century. Each section begins with an examination of the selected theatrical productions, or data sample, and any biases among the studied examples are recognised. The data sample from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, respectively, are analysed regarding aspects of performance, production structure, dramatic genres, dramatic subjects, authors and composers and compared to the relevant findings in Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions from chapters 2 and 3. The sixteenth-century section concludes with a summary of sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre characteristics as revealed in the preceding analyses. The conclusion of the seventeenth-century section is a comparative summary of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatre characteristics and developments.

A Brief History of the *Compañía di Gesù* (Society of Jesus, Jesuits)

The Society of Jesus is an apostolic organisation similar to the Augustinians rather than a monastic order such as the Benedictines. While monastic orders are cloistered, retreating from the world, apostolic societies bring their vocations directly

¹⁷⁹ Francesco Cesareo, 'The Quest for Identity: The Ideals of Jesuit Education in the Sixteenth Century,' in *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-year perspective*, ed. Christopher Chapple (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 1993): 21. 'Libellus Quo Initia Scholarum Collegii Messanensis Annuntiantur,' in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, ed. László Lukács, *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1992), 92: 386.

to the people and the community.¹⁸⁰ In the Society of Jesus, this is evident by the central importance of mission and education work in the Society.¹⁸¹ At first, Loyola intended to offer instruction only to those preparing to enter the Society, establishing the first college in Gandía, Spain in 1546.¹⁸² However, in response to the growing number of lay pupils in the colleges, the Jesuits founded the Collegio di San Nicolò, the first Jesuit-directed institution specifically intended for lay students, in Messina, Sicily in 1548.¹⁸³ The Collegio Romano opened in 1551 and was followed by the Collegio Germanico in 1552; these colleges were intended by Loyola to be models for all other Jesuit educational institutions.¹⁸⁴

The Jesuit's initial efforts in the field of education rapidly developed into the first inter-continental educational system. By the time of Loyola's death in 1556, there were approximately 50 Jesuit schools in operation throughout Europe in addition to three schools in Goa and India. By 1600, over 150 Jesuit colleges were operating throughout Europe in addition to mission schools in Goa, India, Japan, Peru and Mexico.¹⁸⁵ The Jesuit schools differed from monastery schools in that they were

¹⁸⁰ Maurizio Sangalli, 'Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI–XVII Centuries),' *Catholic Historical Review* 93/4 (October 2007): 832. Wright, 6–7. T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years,' *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 72.

¹⁸¹ Bangert, 37. Mitchell, 74–86. The first mission of the Society of Jesus, led by Francis Xavier (1502–1552, canonised 1622) on April 1541, was to Goa, India and Japan. The first Jesuit mission in Brazil was established in 1549, followed by similar missions in Florida, Peru, and Mexico during the 1560s and 1570s.

¹⁸² John C. Olin, *Catholic reform: from Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495–1563* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1990). Bangert, 26–28.

¹⁸³ Carlsmith, 220–221. McCabe, 5. McCabe identifies three types of Jesuit school: those restricted to Jesuits; those with a mixture of lay and Jesuit students; and those comprised only of lay pupils. Carlsmith further refines McCabe's classifications, which results in six categories: 1) in university towns, a residence for Jesuit scholastics attending the university; 2) a residence for students attending the university who did not intend to join the Society 3) a school run by the Jesuits for those intending to enter the Society, corresponding to McCabe's first type; 4) the mixture of lay and Jesuit students, usually supported by patronage, or McCabe's second type; 5) the colleges for students not intending to become priests, typically supported by the community, or McCabe's third type; and 6) a school for priests not intending to become Jesuits. Of Carlsmith's six categories of schools, the third through the sixth were involved in theatrical productions and are those included in this study.

¹⁸⁴ Carlsmith, 215–246. Bangert, 28. Mitchell, 59–60. Francesco C. Cesario, 'The Collegium Germanicum and the Ignatian Vision of Education,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24:4 (Winter, 1993): 829–841. The principles of the Society of Jesus, which include Loyola's theories on education, were published in 1558 in the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*. For a recent English translation, see *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, ed., John W. Padberg (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).

¹⁸⁵ Bangert, 25, 46, 69. Mitchell, 93–93. McCabe, 6. Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 57:1 (Spring, 2004): 24. Alan P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1938), 365. The size of the Society grew from 10 Jesuits in 1540 to an estimated 1,000 by 1556; however, Mitchell points out that only 42 were professed Jesuits, that is, Jesuits who had completed their 16 years' training. By 1580, the Society's membership was over 5,000 Jesuits (including non-professed) and included 144 colleges. McCabe's estimate of the

free,¹⁸⁶ open to all social classes and welcomed non-Catholic pupils.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, beginning in 1561 all Jesuit schools were authorised to confer doctorate degrees in theology and philosophy.¹⁸⁸ The effects of this privilege may be clearly seen in the Holy Roman Empire, as, except for the Benedictine-directed University of Salzburg, all Catholic universities within the Holy Roman Empire were Jesuit institutions by c.1600.¹⁸⁹ In order to regulate this rapidly growing network of colleges, the Society published an official collection of rules and guidelines entitled *Ratio atque Institutio*

total number of Jesuit schools is 300 by 1600; 500 by 1650; and over 650 by 1700. Grendler cites Alan P. Farrell, S.J.'s figures: 245 schools by 1599; 444 by 1626 and 578 by 1679. In comparison to the 45 Benedictine schools in Italy, Sicily and France, 26 Jesuit colleges had been established in the same regions by 1600. Several Jesuit colleges, such as the Collège de Clermont (Paris, est. 1564) had an enrolment of over 1,000 students by 1570. In comparison, Collège Henri IV, referred to in the literature as La Flèche, had 1,200–1,400 students by the 1620s, one of whom was René Descartes (1596–1650).

¹⁸⁶ Louis McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory: A history of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), 160–163. Gian Paolo Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento: I seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centrosettentrionale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1976), 26, 150–151. Boarding at Jesuit schools was offered to noble students; the tuition remained free for all regardless of social class, and the noble students paid only for food and lodging for themselves and their attendants. Poor day pupils were always accepted at institutions with boarding noble students. Not until the *Ordinatio de Mineverali*, written in 1833 by John Roothaan, then the General of the Society, were Jesuit schools officially permitted to charge tuition rates, and these were required to not exceed those charged by other day schools. However, the finances supporting Jesuit schools during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were sometimes obtained through levied taxes, such as the controversial salt tax in Chambery; see A. Lynn Martin, 'Jesuits and Their Families: The Experience in Sixteenth Century France,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 13:1 (1982): 3–24. Regarding funding of Jesuit schools, see also Olwen Hufton, 'The Widow's Mite and Other Strategies: Funding the Catholic Reformation "The Prothero Lecture,"' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6:8 (1998): 117–137.

¹⁸⁷ O'Malley, 207. J. H. Pollen, S.J., 'A Jesuit "Free School" in London 1688,' *Month*, CXXVIII (1916): 264–267. André Schimberg, *L'Éducation morale dans les collèges de la Compagnie de Jésus en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: H. Champion, 1913), 271, n. 273. Leopold Ranke, *The History of the Popes, their Church and State, and especially of their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. E. Foster (New York: Colonial Press, 1901), I:416. Johannes Janssen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1896), XIII:130–133. In Paris, students with Jansenist parents attended the Jesuit Collège de Clermont/Louis-le-Grand. The college in Prague, established in 1560, accepted pupils from the Catholic, Lutheran, and Hussite religious sects. The Jesuit college that opened in the Savoy in London in 1685 included some 200 Protestant students, while the rules of a second London Jesuit college, located in Fenchurch Street, included the following: 'III. And altho' Youths of different Professions, whether *Catholics* or *Protestants* come to these Schools; yet in Teaching all, there shall be no distinction made, but all shall be Taught with equal Diligence and Care, and every one shall be promoted according to his Deserts....V. None shall upbraid or reproach any on the account of Religion; and when any Exercise of Religion shall be practiced, as hearing *Mass*, *Catechising*, or *Preaching*, or any other; it shall be lawful for any *Protestant*, without any molestation or trouble, to absent himself from such Exercise, if he please' (Pollen, 264–267). Both the Savoy and Fenchurch colleges closed in 1688 as a result of the Glorious Revolution.

¹⁸⁸ Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 57:1 (Spring, 2004): 27.

¹⁸⁹ Bangert, 72. McCabe, 6. Mitchell, 55, 101. Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours* (Paris: A. Picard, 1933), I:345, 356. Bernhard Duhr, S.J. *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Manz, 1921), I:92–166.

Studiorum Societatis Iesu in 1599.¹⁹⁰ The *Ratio Studiorum* ensured that all Jesuit schools offered an identical curriculum and upheld the same standards of practice.¹⁹¹ One of the activities the *Ratio Studiorum* specifically addresses is the college theatre.¹⁹²

Theatrical productions became the public face of Jesuit schools, and therefore great care was taken to regulate their performance practices, including the required submission of a quarterly, later annual, report from each school. Ideally intended to promote the growth of the students into Christian leaders, Jesuit theatre adopted, adapted and created a multitude of dramatic forms and genres to serve its purpose.¹⁹³ The *Ratio Studiorum* states that at all times the purpose of the plays was to be one of spiritual education: the Jesuit college theatre was to provide a spiritually healthy alternative to the productions of secular universities and town entertainments such as Carnival.¹⁹⁴ The school dramas were to be written and performed in Latin on moral subjects from the Old and New Testaments or from the lives of Catholic saints and martyrs; the presence of female characters on the stage was prohibited.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ The *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* is referred to as the *Ratio Studiorum* or simply as the *Ratio* in the literature. The most recent English translation is by Claude Pavor, S.J., trans. and ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005). Other studies of the *Ratio Studiorum* include John Atteberry and John Russell, ed., *Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1540–1773* (Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts: Boston College, 1999); Daniel L. Schafly, Jr., ‘True to the Ratio Studiorum? Jesuit Colleges in St. Petersburg,’ *History of Education Quarterly* 37:4 (Winter, 1997): 421–434; Gian Paolo Brizzi, ed., *La ‘Ratio Studiorum’: modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981); John W. Donohue, S.J., *Jesuit Education: An Essay on the Foundations of Its Idea* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963); and Allan P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938). The *Ratio Studiorum* received its first official revision since 1599 in 1832.

¹⁹¹ Carlsmith, 215–246.

¹⁹² Carlsmith, 225. O’Malley, 217, 223. Loyola’s 1558 *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* encouraged frequent public debates by the students as well as recitations of memorised dialogues and sermons, sometimes with songs inserted between the sections of the debates or sermons.

¹⁹³ Mitchell, 164. Louis J. Oldani, S.J. and Victor R. Yanitelli, S. J., ‘Jesuit Theatre in Italy: Its Entrances and Exit,’ *Italica* 76:1 (Spring 1999): 18–19. For a summary of the theatre as a tool of morality, see Jonathan Levy, ‘Theatre and Moral Education,’ *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 31:3 (Autumn, 1997): 68–69, and Francesco Cesario, ‘The Quest for Identity: The Ideals of Jesuit Education in the Sixteenth Century,’ in *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-year perspective*, ed. Christopher Chapple (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 1993), 21.

¹⁹⁴ David Gentilcore, ‘Methods and Approaches in the Social History of the Counter-Reformation in Italy,’ *Social History* 17:1 (January, 1992): 80. The Forty Hours’ service is an example of the Jesuits’ substitution of a devotional drama for Carnival festivities. For examples of and essays concerning stages, machines and scenery in Jesuit school theatre, see David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (London: Macdonald Futura Publishers, 1980), 140–142; McCabe, 32–46; Ohio State University, ed., *The Ohio State University Theatre Collection Bulletin*, OSU Theatre Collection Bulletin 16 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Theatre Collection, 1969); Ernest Boyssse, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites* (1880: repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 63–68; 69–78.

¹⁹⁵ Claude Pavor, S.J., trans. and ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), 35. ‘Tragoediarum et comoediarum, quas non nisi latinus

The successes and failures of the Society of Jesus during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflect those of the nations in which they were active, and therefore Jesuit history is inextricably bound up with the history of nations and kings. Major factors adversely affecting the Society of Jesus during the seventeenth century include the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the Glorious Revolution in England, the propagation of Jansenism in France and Belgium, a series of plagues throughout Europe and the empire-building activities of Philip IV of Spain.¹⁹⁶ However, while the Benedictine numbers declined during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Society of Jesus increased by more than 2,500 members between 1710 and 1740. The Augustinian and Jesuit geographic presence in Europe is nearly similar by 1740, as the Augustinians administered 42 provinces and the Jesuits directed 41 provinces.¹⁹⁷

Beginning around 1740, the Jesuits entered a period of slow decline. This was in part a result of stagnation within the Society, manifested in areas such as repeated refusals to revise the *Ratio Studiorum* in order to address contemporary changes in educational practices, such as the use of the vernacular in the classroom. Also, unlike the Benedictines and Augustinians, the Jesuits were frequently exiled from nations, sometimes more than once.¹⁹⁸ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the usual reason offered by the heads of state for banishing the Jesuits was the accusation that the Jesuits were agents of Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV of Spain, citing Ignatius Loyola's Spanish heritage: for example, the provinces of the Netherlands, in response to the Spanish attack on Gent, exiled the Society until 1585.¹⁹⁹ In the late seventeenth century, however, the Society became entangled in allegations of political

ac rarissimas esse oportet, argumentum sacrum sit ac pium; neque quicquam actibus interponatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum, nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introductor.' 'The subject matter of the tragedies and comedies, which ought to be only in Latin and extremely rare, should be holy and devotional. And nothing that is not in Latin and proper should be inserted into the action, nor should any female character or clothing be introduced.' However, the German and French Jesuit colleges requested and received a special dispensation from Claudius Aquaviva, S.J., then the General of the Society, to include female characters 'as long as the practice was limited and the characters were of solemn and modest bearing.' George Michael Pachtler, S.J., 'Ratio studiorum et Institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigens,' in: *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, ed. Karl Kehrbach (repr., Osnabrück: Biblio, 1986), II:488. '...dummodo id rarius et parcius fiat, gravesque et modestae sint personae quae producentur.' See also Henri Fouqueray, S.J. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des origines à la suppression (1528–1762)* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1913), II:717; and McCabe, 178–197.

¹⁹⁶ Bangert, 193–194.

¹⁹⁷ Bangert, 364. Mitchell, 163. There were approximately 23,000 Jesuits in service by 1770; it is not known what percentage of these were professed Jesuits.

¹⁹⁸ Bangert, 431–498. Mitchell, 216, 218–219, 229–230.

¹⁹⁹ Bangert, 78. Mitchell, 61.

manipulation, resulting in the Jesuits' expulsion from Portugal in 1759.²⁰⁰ France followed suit in 1764, as did Spain, Paraguay, Peru, Parma, and Naples in 1767.²⁰¹ Finally, the Society of Jesus was formally suppressed on 16 August, 1773 by the papal bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*. A second bull, *Gravissimis ex causis*, established a committee of five cardinals to supervise the suppression proceedings.²⁰²

However, Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia refused to publish *Dominus ac Redemptor*, thereby preventing its enactment in their respective realms. Instead, Catherine the Great successfully sought papal sanction for the Jesuit colleges, which she had acquired through the Triple Partition of Poland in 1772, to continue their operations.²⁰³ She also managed to secure permission in 1778 to found a Jesuit noviciate, which was duly established in Polotsk/Połock in Belarus. Pope Pius VII acknowledged the Society of Jesus in Russia and their General, Franciszek Kareu, in his 1801 brief *Catholicae Fidei*.²⁰⁴ The following year, Pius VII granted permission for the Russian, English and Irish Jesuits to unite and recognised the Society of Jesus in Ireland and England in 1803.²⁰⁵

Pope Pius VII formally re-instated the Society of Jesus in 7 August, 1814 with the bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* and the Jesuits quickly reclaimed their previous prowess as an educational order.²⁰⁶ Clongowes Wood College, the first of the post-suppression Jesuit colleges to be founded, was established in Ireland almost immediately in 1814, followed by several hundred other colleges and universities such as Loyola University in Chicago, Illinois, founded in 1870.²⁰⁷ However, the century after the official papal restoration of the Society was turbulent, with Jesuits continually expelled from regions and then later re-admitted as nations changed

²⁰⁰ Bangert, 397. Romeo de Maio, 'Maria Teresa e i Gesuiti,' *Rivista storica italiana* 94 (1982): 435–454. In 1760, Empress Maria Teresa of Austria reportedly stated that Jesuit professors of theology should be replaced by Augustinians or Dominicans in all of the universities within the Austro-Hungarian, citing the political corruption of the Jesuits.

²⁰¹ Bangert, 366. Mitchell, 177–179, 182–186. Maurizio Sangalli, 'Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI – XVII Centuries),' *The Catholic Historical Review* 93:4 (2007): 844. In Savoy in 1729, Vittorio Amedeo II closed all of the schools directed by Catholic religious organisations, including those directed by the Jesuits, and instead established a network of state-run schools.

²⁰² Bangert, 398. Signed by Pope Clement XIV on 8 June.

²⁰³ Bangert, 404. McRedmond, 131–132.

²⁰⁴ Bangert, 406, 413–419. McRedmond, 132–133. Mitchell, 186, 210–213

²⁰⁵ Bangert, 424. McRedmond, 133–136; 145. Mitchell, 212. Stonyhurst College in Lancashire in the United Kingdom was also officially accepted by Pius VII in 1803 as a Jesuit college; the school continues as a Jesuit-run institution today.

²⁰⁶ Mitchell, 214.

²⁰⁷ McRedmond, 141–156. Mitchell, 221.

leaders.²⁰⁸ In Rome, Pope Leo XIII returned the Collegio Romano to the Society in 1824, but the institution was appropriated by the government in 1870 and re-opened as a secular school.²⁰⁹

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been a considerably less chaotic period for the Jesuits than the nineteenth century, although the Society was expelled from Burma in 1966 and from Iraq in 1969.²¹⁰ The following year, in 1970, the Society reported that 11,594 of the 31,861 Jesuits were teachers in 4,672 schools located world-wide. However, after 1970, the numbers of the Society began to decline. At the 1983 General Congregation, the tally of the Society of Jesus stood at just over 25,500 Jesuits, while as of September 2010 there are only an estimated 19,500 Jesuits engaged in active service within the Society.²¹¹

Jesuit School Theatrical Productions, c.1535–c.1599

The sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatre primary source materials are supplemented by two previously published indices in addition to facsimiles of Jesuit college theatrical programmes published within a comparative literature study of Austrian and German Jesuit theatre.²¹² Carlos Sommervogel, S.J.’s

²⁰⁸ Bangert, 431–498. Mitchell, 216, 218–219, 229–230. For example, the Society of Jesus was expelled from Spain and Russia in 1820 and again from Spain in 1835; in 1834, Don Pedro IV barred the Society from Brazil. In Naples in 1848, the Jesuits were told to leave the city immediately or be killed, while the Austro-Hungarian government suppressed the Society in its domains that same year. The Jesuits were expelled from Mexico by its presidents in 1856 and 1868. They were expelled from Sicily in 1860. In 1871, the Society was exiled from Guatemala, while in 1880 their colleges and residences were closed by the French Parliament. The Society was expelled from the Republic of Nicaragua in 1881.

²⁰⁹ Bangert, 444. Before re-opening, the Jesuit insignia was removed from the main entrance to the Collegio Romano.

²¹⁰ Bangert, 506, 514.

²¹¹ The source of the current membership information is the official website of the Society of Jesus, <http://www.sjweb.info> (accessed September 10, 2010).

²¹² The most recent and significant studies of sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth-century Jesuit school theatre, organised by publication language, are: **Dutch**: Goran Proot, ‘Het schooltoneel van de jezuiteten in de “Provincia Flandro-Belgica” tijdens het ancien régime (1575–1773)’ (PhD diss., Universiteit Antwerpen, 2008); L. Van Den Boogerd, *Het jezuietendrama in de Nederlanden* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1961). **English**: John O’Malley, ed. *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: baroque dance on a Jesuit stage in Paris* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996); Lorena B. Ellis, *Brecht’s reception in Brazil*. Wor(l)ds of Change, vol. 7. (New York: P. Lang, 1995); Jakob Masen, *The Jesuit theater of Jacob Masen: three plays in translation with an introduction*, Michael C. Halbig, ed. and trans. American University Studies, vol. 1. (New York: P. Lang, 1987); Nigel Griffin, *Jesuit school drama: a checklist of critical literature. Supplement no. 1* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1986); William H. McCabe, *An introduction to the Jesuit theater: a posthumous work*, Louis J. Oldani, ed. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983). **French**: Jean-Marie Valentin, *L’école, la ville, la cour: Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l’empire au XVIIe siècle*

index in ten volumes, the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, is a valuable resource for Jesuit theatre authors, colleges, and main title dramas.²¹³ However, the entries in the *Bibliothèque* rarely identify composers and do not provide information about the structure and contents of the production, thus limiting the *Bibliothèque*'s usefulness in this investigation. The second major index of Jesuit theatre, whose focus is upon productions from German-speaking regions, is Jean-Marie Valentin's two-volume work *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de Langue Allemande*.²¹⁴ In this work, Valentin augments, updates and corrects the relevant entries in Sommervogel, and therefore *Le Théâtre des Jésuites* replaces the *Bibliothèque* for theatrical

(Paris: Klincksieck, 2004); Ibid., *Les Jésuites et le théâtre (1554–1680): contribution à l'histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2001); Ibid., *Theatrum catholicum: les jésuites et la scène en Allemagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles=Die Jesuiten und die Bühne im Deutschland des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1990). **German** (due to volume, only 2000–present): Thomas Erlach, Franz Lang and Joseph Pogatschnigg, *Unterhaltung und Belehrung im Jesuitentheater um 1700: Untersuchungen zu Musik, Text und Kontext ausgewählter Stücke*, Musikwissenschaft/ Musikpädagogik in der Blauen Eule, Bd. 73. (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 2006); Adrian Hsia and Ruprecht Wimmer, *Mission und Theater: Japan und China auf den Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Jesuitica, Bd. 7 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005); Fidel Rädle, *Das Jesuitentheater: ein Medium der frühen Neuzeit* (Trier: Paulinus, 2004); Nicolaus von Avancini, *Pietas victrix=Der Sieg der Pietas*, Lothar Mundt and Ulrich Seelbach, ed., Frühe Neuzeit, Bd. 73 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002); Stefan Tilg, *Spes aurei saeculi=Hoffnung auf ein goldenes Zeitalter, oder, Tyrolis pacifica: ein Innsbrucker Jesuitenschauspiel zur Hochzeit Erzherzog Ferdinand Karls mit Anna von Medici, 1646*, Commentationes Aenipontanae, 34 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2002); Jakob Bidermann, *Cosmarchia sive mundi respublica: desumpta ex parabolâ Barlaami, quam Josaphato dedit in exemplum de bonis in caelum praemittendis, ex S. Ioanne Damasceno in vitâ Barlaami et Iosaphati, c. 14*, ed. Christian Sinn, Bibliotheca Suevica 1 (Conzanz: Eggingen Isele, 2002); Jakob Gretser, *Augustinus Conversus: ein Drama*, Dorothea Weber, ed. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000); Johannes Paullin, *Philothea von Johannes Paullin: das Jesuitendrama und die Geistlichen Übungen des Ignatius von Loyola*, ed., Barbara Münch-Kienast, Studien zur Literatur und Kunst, 7 (Aachen: Shaker, 2000). **Italian**: Mirella Saulini, *Padre Stefano Tuccio S.I.: un gesuita tra la Sicilia e Roma nell'epoca della Controriforma* (Pellegrino: Associazione Culturale Noialtri, 2008); Giovanna Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione: actio, parola e immagine nella scena gesuitica del Sei-Settecento a Milano* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 2002); Bruna Filippi, *Il teatro degli argomenti: gli scenari seicenteschi del teatro gesuitico romano: catalogo analitico*, Bibliotheca instituti storici S.I. 54. (Roma: Institutum historicum S.I., 2001); Maria Chiabò and Federico Doglio, *I gesuiti e i primordi del teatro barocco in Europa: convegno di studi, Roma 26-29 ottobre 1994, Anagni 30 ottobre 1994* (Roma: Centro studi sul teatro medioevale e rinascimentale, 1995). **Polish**: Irena Kadulska, *Teatr jezuicki XVIII i XIX wieku w Polsce: z antologią dramatu* (Gdańsk: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1997); Ibid., *Komedia w polskim teatrze jezuickim XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1993). **Spanish**: Diego Calleja and Ignacio Arellano, *San Francisco Javier, El sol en oriente: comedia jesuítica* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006); Cayo González Gutiérrez, *El teatro escolar de los jesuitas, 1555-1640: su influencia en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1997); Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, *Teatro escolar latino del s. XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*, V. Picón, and Antonio Cascón Dorado, ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1997); Hernando de Avila, *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio*, Julio Alonso Asenjo, ed. and commentary (Madrid, Spain: UNED, 1995).

²¹³ Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., Augustin de Backer, S.J., Auguste Carayon, S.J., and Pierre Bliard, S.J., ed., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus: nouvelle édition*, 10 vols. (Bruxelles: Oscar Schepens, 1890–1919). Hereafter, referred to as Sommervogel.

²¹⁴ Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de Langue Allemande*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983, 1984). Hereafter, referred to as Valentin.

productions by Jesuit colleges located in German-speaking regions. The Jesuit school theatrical productions are presented in Valentin's study in chronological order by year and school city, rather than by college, as in Sommervogel. For a significant number of the productions, in addition to adding full titles of main title dramas and production performance date information not found in Sommervogel, Valentin identifies the author and relevant literature for the main title drama. *Le Théâtre des Jésuites* also provides a bibliography of the research published before c.1983 in which the production is referenced. However, like Sommervogel, the primary focus of Valentin's study is literature, and therefore information regarding the production structure, inserted works and musical information is not included in this index.

Similar to *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, the focus of Elida Maria Szarota's thematic index and literature study is upon Jesuit theatre in German-speaking regions.²¹⁵ His study in seven volumes, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, is organised according to the subject of the main title drama. Szarota's commentaries concern the literary history and content of main title dramas only, but a facsimile of the complete theatrical programme is provided for each of the production main title dramas he discusses. While the literary commentaries concern aspects of Jesuit theatre outside of the scope of this investigation, the facsimiles of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes reproduced in Szarota are a valuable resource for analysis, and are a major source for this study.

Data Sample

The majority of sixteenth-century Catholic school theatrical productions identified by scholars to date are Jesuit college theatrical productions, although even the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data is limited. The 35 sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions analysed in this study were selected according to two criteria that validate the data by removing source, geographical and chronological biases. First, out of the known sixteenth-century productions, those with primary source materials in the form of printed programmes, dramatic texts and musical scores available for study were chosen, a total of 22 productions. This restriction is necessary because, although the respective indices of Jean Marie Valentin and Carlos

²¹⁵ Elida Maria Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: e. Periochen-Edition: Texte und Kommentare*, 7 vols. (Munich: Fink, 1979–1987). Hereafter, referred to as Szarota.

Sommervogel, S. J., list between them approximately 100 other sixteenth-century productions, these sources typically provide only the title of the main drama, the name of the college and the year of performance; moreover, the focus of Valentin's study is limited to Jesuit colleges in German-speaking regions. Without supplementation, these three pieces of information are insufficient for the type of analyses conducted within this study and are therefore excluded. As shown in table 4.1, the source documentation includes modern transcriptions of excerpts from two Jesuit theatrical choral scores, seven printed theatrical programmes, and 13 complete dramatic texts, of which four are contemporary publications and nine are modern critical editions.

The second criterion seeks to remove regional and chronological biases in the data by examining the productions whose complete date of performance as well as additional information regarding the occasion, production structure and contents, author or composer can be collated from references in multiple secondary sources. These productions are filtered further with regard to country and performance year in order to achieve the balance of data as presented in tables 4.2 and 4.3. Thus, 13 'secondary reference' productions supplement the 22 'primary reference' productions in the data sample, a total of 35 sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions (table 4.1). Table 4.2 displays the geographic distributions of the entire data sample, in which 8 countries are represented: 11 productions from Germany, four productions from Austria, seven productions from Spain, five productions each from Italy and Belgium and one production each from France, Romania and Switzerland. These 35 Jesuit school theatrical productions were performed by 18 schools (table 4.3). The performance dates of the 35 productions are divided nearly equally between the final two quarters of the sixteenth century, with 17 productions taking place over the period 1550–1574 and 18 productions occurring during the period 1575–1599 (table 4.4).

Performance

Unlike the examples of sixteenth-century Benedictine school productions, the performance date information is known for ten productions out of the 35 examples in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset (table 4.5). These ten productions are too few in number to result in a meaningful analysis, and therefore 124 examples with complete performance dates and 66 productions with an identified month of

performance from Valentin's *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de Langue Allemande* supplement the ten examples in the dataset (table 4.6).²¹⁶

Performance: Performance Date

As shown in tables 4.5 and 4.6, the performance of plays in Jesuit colleges during the sixteenth century was a year-round activity. Primary amongst the sixteenth-century Jesuit productions are the autumnal productions staged by the entire school, a tradition also practiced by Benedictine and Augustinian schools. Sixty-five percent of the sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions in the data sample with a known month of performance are associated with the annual distribution of academic prizes. Table 4.6 reveals that Jesuit school prize-day productions during the sixteenth century were most commonly held in October, with 26%, or 52 productions, or in November, with 21%, or 42 productions. Additionally, 18% of the performances in table 4.6, or 35 productions, took place in September. The presence of prize-day productions within three months indicates that a uniform academic calendar had not yet been established; the first drafts of the *Ratio Studiorum* were not issued until the 1580s. During the sixteenth century, Jesuit colleges also staged a second all-school theatrical production in June or July.²¹⁷ The practice of autumn and spring prize-day theatrical productions in the Jesuit colleges during the sixteenth century mirrors that of Benedictine schools during the seventeenth century; the evidence presented in chapter 2 revealed that Benedictine colleges performed their autumn prize-day production in October or November and their spring prize-day production in June, just as seen in the Jesuit college data in tables 4.6.

The fact that the performance month is known for a greater number of prize-day productions than the productions performed at other times of year, that is, 149 out of the 200 productions in table 4.6, indicates that programmes were typically printed only for the prize-day productions. This printing practice is the same as that observed in the Benedictine and Augustinian schools in the seventeenth century. The available

²¹⁶ Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de Langue Allemande* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983), I:1–48.

²¹⁷ In the final quarter of the sixteenth century, the performance month of the second prize-day production gradually changed from June/July to February, where it remained for the duration of the seventeenth century. This change is probably the result of the circulation of early drafts of the rules in the *Ratio Studiorum*, which did not officially take effect until 1599.

evidence does not indicate whether Jesuit college non-prize-day theatrical productions were performed by a single class or group of classes or by the entire school.

Performance: Performance Repetition

Unlike the Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions examined in this study from either century, there is ample evidence in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical repertoire that main title dramas were repeated. However, this repetition appears to occur among the colleges and not within a single institution. An early example of this practice found among the productions listed in Valentin is *Euripus* by Livinus Brechtus, which was performed by Jesuit colleges five times within a period of ten years: Vienna in 1555, Ingolstadt in 1559, Munich in 1560, Innsbruck in 1562, and Trèves in 1565.²¹⁸ The Jesuit college theatrical productions were performed exclusively in Latin, just as seen in all of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century examples from both Benedictine and Augustinian institutions.

Multiple consecutive performances of Jesuit theatrical productions during the sixteenth century seem to be, like the printed programmes, primarily the province of prize-day productions. However, Jesuit college productions receiving more than one performance are not common in the sixteenth century; in fact, the only examples identified thus far are 12 productions found in Valentin (table 4.6). Most of the performances in table 4.6 take place on consecutive or nearly consecutive days, the two exceptions being *Ratio parandi veram gloriam* (Cologne, April and November, 1576) and *Regnum Humanitatis* (Ingolstadt, 19 October, 3 November, 1590). While the practice of consecutive performances in Jesuit college is most similar to that found in mid-seventeenth-century Augustinian college theatrical productions, the performances of *Ratio parandi veram gloriam* and *Regnum Humanitatis* more closely resemble seventeenth-century Benedictine productions, which occurred over weeks and months. Nine of the productions in table 4.6 were performed twice, while the other three productions received three performances.

²¹⁸ Livinus Brechtus, *Euripus Tragoedia Christiana* (Louvain, 1549). The Viennese Jesuit college repeated *Euripus* in 1566. See Valentin I:1–7 nos. 1, 7, 12, 13, 26, 41, 45, 56.

Performance: Theatrical Programmes

The Jesuit colleges established their custom of printing theatrical programmes during the sixteenth century. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 are two late-century examples, 1597 and 1598, respectively. Figure 4.1, the prize-day production *Michaelis Archangeli* (Munich, 7 July, 1597) reveals that, similar to the Augustinian and Benedictine schools in the seventeenth century, Jesuit colleges printed a separate set of programmes in Latin and the vernacular for prize-day productions beginning in the sixteenth century.²¹⁹ The second programme in fig 4.2, *S. Benno* is also for a production by the Jesuit college in Munich, performed 14 October, 1598 and is an autumn prize-day production.²²⁰ Although only the German-language programme has been found for *S. Benno*, the tradition of printing two sets of programmes leads to the supposition that a Latin programme was printed but an example has not yet been found. From the available evidence, it appears that during the sixteenth century the Jesuits printed a single programme including all of the performance dates just as seen in seventeenth-century Augustinian colleges rather than printing a set of programmes for each performance, as was customary among the Benedictine schools.

The information in these and other sixteenth-century printed programmes from Jesuit colleges include the title of the main dramatic work, the name of the school, the performance occasion and/or patron, the year of performance with perhaps also the month and day(s) of the performance, the Jesuit affiliation of the college, and the city and name of the publisher and the year of publication. Just as seen in the examples in figs. 4.1 and 4.2, most sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes include a list of the *dramatis personae* but not the names of the students playing the parts. An opening Argument with a summary of the plot background is provided, as are synopses for each scene or act. Rather unusually, an argument is given for each act of *Michaelis Archangeli* in addition to the lengthy opening argument; *S. Benno*, with only one argument presented at the beginning of the programme, is a more typical sixteenth-

²¹⁹ Jakob Gretser and Matthaëus Rader, *Triumphus Divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici* (Munich, 7 July, 1597). Programmes reproduced from Szarota 3:1, 393–438, 3:2, 2093–2095; see also Valentin I:44, no. 386. Valentin expresses some doubt as to Rader's authorship. The Jesuit college in Munich repeated this drama in 1697 (3, 8, and 12 July) for the centenary celebration of the completion of the church at the college; the printed programmes in Latin and German for the 1697 performances are reproduced in Szarota 3:1, 439–466 and the performances are also referenced in Valentin I:432, no. 3316.

²²⁰ Anonymous, *Der Comedi von S. Benno* (Munich, 14 October, 1598). Programme reproduced from Szarota 3:2, 1193–1208, 2211–2213; see also Valentin I:46, no. 401.

century example. The dramatic genre of the main title drama is identified in approximately half of the known sixteenth-century Jesuit programmes, including those referenced in Valentin, Szarota and Sommervogel. The inconsistency of this practice is observed even between figs. 4.1 and 4.2, as the dramatic genre of *Michaelis Archangeli* is not provided in either the Latin or German versions of the programme, but *S. Benno* is identified as a comedy. None of the sixteenth-century printed programmes examined in this study include the time of performance, and neither are the authors or composers identified.

Production Structure

Sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions demonstrably employ a single model of production structure. The chief dramatic components within sixteenth-century Jesuit college productions include the main title drama and choruses whose dramatic subject is dependent upon that of the main title drama. A few productions opened with a prologue and/or closed with an epilogue, but examples of this practice appear to be rare during the sixteenth century. Similar to the choruses, the prologues in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre are inseparable from the main title drama. Productions with various dance genres inserted in the action appear throughout the entire Jesuit school network, although these appear to become increasingly concentrated in theatrical productions from Jesuit colleges located in French-speaking geographic regions.

Production Structure: Theatrical Production Components

The main title dramas in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions are chiefly spoken tragedies or comedies.²²¹ However, Jesuit colleges began staging main title dramas that were mostly or entirely set to music by the final years of the sixteenth century. It cannot be determined from the extant information whether these late sixteenth-century music-dramas used the newly developing recitative or employed the older reciting style, for the earliest score of a Jesuit college main title

²²¹ A. Robert Lauer, 'The "Comedia" and its Modes,' *Hispanic Review*, 63:2 (Spring, 1995): 157–178. Regarding comedies in Spanish Jesuit colleges, see A. Robert Lauer's discussion on the history of comedy in Spain, the plethora of alternative contemporary labels, and an attempt to define the genre.

music-drama found to date is Agostino Agazzari's pastorale *Eumelio*, performed by the students of the Jesuit Roman Seminary in 1606 during Carnival.²²² However, as indicated by the contents of the surviving Latin and German programmes, *Michaelis Archangeli* (Munich, July, 1597) appears to be entirely sung; if further research is able to confirm this, *Michaelis Archangeli* will be the earliest example of a sixteenth-century Jesuit college main title music-drama to be identified (fig. 4.1).

Main title dramas with a prologue and/or an epilogue appear to be rare among Jesuit college theatrical productions during the sixteenth century. Only three of the productions in the sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre sample include a prologue and one of these also concludes with an epilogue. There is no basis of comparison between the prologues from sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre and sixteenth-century Benedictine college theatre because there are no known sixteenth-century Benedictine dramatic productions with a prologue.

Choruses in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions are not limited to a single brief appearance at the conclusion of the production, as is found in sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre. Although choruses at the end of multiple acts are not found in Benedictine theatrical productions until the seventeenth century, the practice is found in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions as early as the 1560s. Furthermore, towards the end of the century, the chorus appears in some productions not only at the end of the act but also within the act as an integral part of the dramatic action. In order to demonstrate these two uses of the chorus within sixteenth-century Jesuit dramas, the results of an analysis of ten examples are displayed in table 4.8 and 4.9. Table 4.8 indicates for each drama those acts with a concluding chorus; as the prologue to *S. Elesbaani* concludes with a chorus, the prologue is also indicated in the table. The final example in the table, *S. Benno* (Munich, 1598), might appear to only use a chorus at the conclusion of the drama, but the chorus actually appears within the final two scenes of Act V. The results in table 4.9 display those acts employing one or more choruses within the action for each of the ten dramas.

²²² Agostino Agazzari, *Eumelio, dramma pastorale recitato in Roma nel Seminario Romano del carnevale* (Venice: R. Amadino, 1606). T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years,' *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 73. Margaret F. Johnson, 'Agazzari's "Eumelio," a "dramma pastorale,"' *Musical Quarterly* 57:3 (1971): 491–505.

Table 4.8 reveals three distinct traditions regarding concluding choruses in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre. In the first and earliest tradition, the authors of the main title dramas did not provide choruses, and therefore motets were inserted between the acts in performance. As shown in table 4.8, the dramatic texts of *Lucifer Furens* (Seville, 1563) and *Philautus* (Cluj, 1583) do not include any choruses, but there is a custom that motets were sung in performance at the conclusion of one or more acts.²²³ This practice was employed in one of the other dramas in the data sample, *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (Fribourg en Suisse, 17 December, 1584). Jesuit theatre scholars Franz Körndle and Max Wittwer note that the author of the *Lazarus Resuscitatus*, Jakob Gretser, S. J. (1562–1625), requested that Orlando di Lasso’s six-voice polyphonic motet ‘Fremuit Jesus’ be used for the concluding chorus for Act IV.²²⁴

The second tradition found in sixteenth-century Jesuit college main title dramas is exemplified in table 4.8 by the choruses in *Occasio* (1564), *Samson* (1583) and *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (1584). For dramas such as these, the author wrote the text for a chorus at the conclusion of one or more acts with the intention that the text be set to music for the performance.²²⁵ Dramas such as *Occasio*, *Samson* and *Lazarus Resuscitatus* appear to be a transitory phase between dramas without any written choruses and dramas with choruses provided for every act except the final, for not every act in *Occasio*, *Samson* and *Lazarus Resuscitatus* is provided with a concluding chorus. As the data in table 4.8 shows, concluding choruses are provided in *Occasio*

²²³ Pédro Pablo de Acevedo, *Lucifer Furens*, Esperanza Torrego, ed., in *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio*, Vol 1 (Seville: Spain, 1995), no. 1, CSTD ID 1304. Ibid., *Philautus*, SalcedoVicente Picón García, ed., in *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio*, vol 1 (Seville: Spain, 1995), no. 1, CSTD ID 1306.

²²⁴ Franz Körndle, ‘Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,’ Marian Lampe, trans., in: *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540 – 1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 481. Valentin I:24. Wittwer, 79. Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke: Supplement, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken, 1555–1687*, ed. Horst Leuchtman and Bernhold Schmid (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2001), I:49–50, 126–128. Jacob Gretser, *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (Fribourg, 17 December, 1584), DE–Dsb Cod. XV 223, ff. 1–64; CSTD 1316. ‘Finito hoc actu canitur in lymbo cantio suavis ac iucundus quae laetitiam indicet...His cantetur cantio Orlandi Fremuit spiritus Jesus quae est in Thesauro 6 uocum, vel Praenestini [Palestrina], qui de eadem materia cantionen composuit...Post istam scenam cantetur cantio qua convivium fit diuturnius.’ ‘Here should be sung the motet by Orlando *Fremuit spiritus Jesus* which is in the *Theausaurus* for six voices or [a piece] by Palestrina, who upon the same subject composed motets...After that [final] scene should be sung the motet by which means the entertainment will be lasting a long time.’ My translation. ‘Fremuit spiritus Jesus’ was first published in Orlandi di Lasso’s *Il primo libro de mottetti a cinque et a sei voci* (Antwerp: Ioanne Latio, 1556), also known as the Antwerp Motet Book, and later in *Thesaurus musicus tomus tertius* (Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuberus, 1564).

²²⁵ Franz Körndle, ‘Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,’ trans. Marian Lampe, in *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 482–483. Hereafter, referred to as Körndle.

for acts I, IV, and V and in *Lazarus Resuscitatus* for acts II and IV, while *Samson* has only a single chorus, which is found at the end of act IV.²²⁶ It appears that, just as in the earlier tradition, a motet was sung in the performance at the conclusion of any act without a chorus text provided by the author. For example, the Act II chorus in *Lazarus Resuscitatus* appears in the dramatic text, while di Lasso's motet 'Fremuit Jesus' is requested by the author to function as the concluding chorus to Act IV.²²⁷

The third and final tradition for concluding choruses observed in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical traditions is that exemplified in Pédro Pablo de Acevedo's *Charopus* (Seville, 1565) and Bernadino Stefonio's *Crispus* (Rome, 1597) (table 4.8).²²⁸ In dramas written in this tradition, the author provides a chorus for every act except the final; thus, the five-act main title dramas *Charopus* and *Crispus* each contain four choruses. This third tradition from the sixteenth-century became typical of Jesuit college theatrical productions throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²²⁹ However, as can be seen by the information presented in table 4.8, all three approaches to concluding choruses are found among Jesuit college theatrical productions throughout the sixteenth century, even though each subsequent tradition appears to be a further development of its predecessor. The simultaneous presence of all three traditions is most likely the result of staging previously published dramas from other Jesuit colleges as well as performing newly written works. Some authors even display all three approaches in works published within a short span of time, such as the three dramas by Pédro Pablo de Acevedo in table 4.8. These three works seem to follow the proposed continuum of development, however: *Lucifer Furens* (Seville, 1563) with no choruses; *Occasio* (Seville, 1564) with concluding choruses for I, IV, and V but none for act II and III; and *Charopus* (Seville, 1565) with a chorus for each act except the final.

The use of the chorus in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions is not limited to providing a brief moral summary of an act, for in some dramas the chorus is fully integrated into the action. The practice of placing the chorus in dialogue with

²²⁶ Wittwer, 78, 96.

²²⁷ Gretser makes no specific requests for the conclusions to acts I and III.

²²⁸ Pédro Pablo de Acevedo, *Charopus*, Primitiva Flores Santamaría, Carmen Gallardo Mediavilla, ed., in *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio*, vol 1 (Seville: Spain, 1995), no. 4; CSTD ID 1304. Bernardino Stefonio, *Bernardinus Stephonius S.J. Crispus: tragoedia*, ed. Alessio Torino (Rome: Bardi, 2008); CSTD ID 12; Sommervogel VII:45, no. 37.

²²⁹ The exceptions are the Jesuit colleges located in francophone geographic region, the reasons for which are presented as part of the subsequent section examining seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions.

one or more characters within the drama appears to be relatively rare amongst sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions; there are only four examples within the sixteenth-century data sample (table 4.9). As discussed above, the prologue of *S. Elesbaani* (Augsburg, 8 December, 1567) makes extensive use of the chorus both within and at the conclusion of the prologue, but the chorus also enters the action in the sixth scene of the first act.²³⁰ Similarly, a choir of angels takes part in the fourth scene of Act V in *S. Benno* (Munich, 1598) in addition to providing the concluding chorus at the end of the fifth and final scene of Act V.²³¹

The third example in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample with incorporated choruses is the five-act tragedy *Crispus* (Rome, 1597) by Bernadino Stefonio. This main title drama not only has concluding choruses for acts I – IV but also involves the chorus in eight scenes (fig. 4.3).²³² Like *Crispus*, the music-drama *Michaelis Archangeli* (Munich, July, 1597) also integrates the chorus into the dramatic action, but to an even greater degree (fig. 4.1).²³³ The internal choruses in *Crispus* are found within three of its five acts, namely acts II, IV and V, while the chorus in *Michaelis Archangeli* appears within all five acts. The text incipits from *Crispus* in fig 4.4 show that the chorus engages in dialogue with one or more main characters, such as the dialogue between Nuntius and the Chorus in the first scene of Act IV; the single exception is the chorus at the end of Act II.iii, which is a moral summary similar to a chorus concluding an act. However, the chorus used in *Crispus* is an ensemble and not a group of characters, unlike the ‘Chorus Angelorum,’ ‘Chorus Christianorum exulum,’ ‘Chorus Christianorum lugentium’ and ‘Chorus Beatorum’ in *Michaelis Archangeli*. The characters in these choruses enter into dialogue among themselves as well as with characters from other choruses.

The data sample used in this study for sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre includes only one example of an *interludium*. This is primarily due to the fact that the majority of the sixteenth-century primary sources in the data sample are dramatic texts rather than printed programmes, and the texts do not usually indicate the

²³⁰ *Amphitheatrum Basilicae Virtutis et Malitiae, In quo S. Elesbaani, Aethiopum Regis Candorem* (Augsburg, 8 December, 1567), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25995; CSTD ID 4.

²³¹ Chorus of angels, V.iv, V.v, *Argumentum oder Inhalter der Comedi von S. Benno* (Munich, 1598), Szarota 3:2, 1193–1208; CSTD 16.

²³² Bernardino Stefonio, *Bernardinus Stephonius S.J.: Crispus: tragoedia*, ed. Alessio Torino (Rome: Bardi, 2008); CSTD ID 12. The chorus appears in II.i, II.iii, II.iv, IV.i, IV.v, V.i, V.ii, V.iv.

²³³ Anonymous, *Triumphus Divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici* (Munich, July, 1597), Szarota 3:1, 393–438; CSTD ID 13, 14.

presence of other dramatic works added in performance. However, a few passing comments in previously published research indicate that *interludia* were inserted between one or more acts in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions, although there is insufficient data to make any conclusions regarding frequency of occurrence, genre, specialties of particular geographic regions, etc.

The presence of musical genre in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions is not limited to prologues, choruses and sung main title dramas but also in the form of dances inserted in the action. One example identified by Wittwer is a *saltatio dramatica* in *Gottfried von Bouillon* (Graz, 1592).²³⁴ McCabe mentions a ballet inserted as an *interludium* in a production by the Jesuit college in Ocaña, Spain in 1558. Another example is a ballet of demons in the second act of *Manasses* (Coimbra, 1570).²³⁵ These three examples reveal that staged dances in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre is not only found in French Jesuit colleges, but also performed within Austrian, Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit college theatrical productions. The ballets and other types of staged dances in sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions all appear to be dependent works; there are no known examples of ballets independent of the main title drama or instances in which a ballet is used as the main title drama. The available information shows Jesuit theatre to be unique in including dances within its productions during this century, as there are no examples among the identified sixteenth century Benedictine school theatrical productions.

Production Structure: Models

The production structure of sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions is constructed upon a single general model even though the productions from this period reflect a greater variety of types of internal organisation than at any other time (fig. 4.4). The observed variety of production structures within the sixteenth-century data sample is the result of the significant number of production components that were treated as optional, indicated by brackets in fig. 4.4. However, the backbone of all sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions is the main

²³⁴ *Gottfried von Bouillon* (Graz, 1592). Wittwer, 79–80. McCabe, 204–205. Wittwer does not specify the location of the dance within the production. Also, unless *Priscianus vapulans* (Valentin 1:37, no. 319) is the Latin title for *Gottfried von Bouillon*, this production is not referenced in Valentin.

²³⁵ McCabe, 204–205. Luís da Cruz, *Tragicarum, comicarumque actionum, à Regio Artium Collegio Societatis Iesu, datae Conimbricæ in publicum theatrum* (Lugduni: Horatium Cardon, 1605).

title drama, which might be in four or five acts. The exact placement of the chorus within the production varies within the repertoire, as demonstrated in tables 4.8 and 4.9, all known examples of sixteenth-century productions include at least one chorus or an inserted motet functioning as the chorus. Therefore, although its placement within the production is not codified, the presence of at least one chorus is the second essential element of sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions. On the other hand, the prologue, epilogue and *interludia* appear to be the truly optional components within the model of sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical production structure.

The most common types of production structure within the sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre data sample are those five-act main title dramas without any written choruses, represented by three examples in the sample, and five-act main title dramas with at least one written chorus and perhaps also a prologue, represented by four examples in the sample (table 4.10). The least common structural model found within the sample is 5MCHI, that is, productions with a five-act main title drama and at least one written chorus and at least one inserted *interludium*. Productions with a main title drama in four acts are present within the sample, but are less common than productions with a [P]5MCH structure.

Production Structure: Production Forces

An examination of the programmes from sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions that identify the actors reveal that the dances, choruses, tragedies and comedies in the theatrical productions were typically danced, sung and acted by students. Similar to contemporary Benedictine dramatic texts, the average number of characters in Jesuit dramatic texts is between 15 and 25. However, as the cast lists in *S. Elesbaani* (1567), *Michaelis Archangeli* (1597) and *S. Benno* (1598) show, the size of the cast in performance appears to be considerably larger than the minimum requirements of the main title drama (*Michaelis Archangeli*, fig. 4.1 and *S. Benno*, fig. 4.2.). *S. Benno* is the smallest production of the three with 30 students in the cast, while the programme for *S. Elesbaani* contains 42 names. As might be expected from its spectacular nature, the cast of the music-drama *Michaelis Archangeli* is large; the names of 89 characters are printed in the programme to which are added the unknown number of instrumentalists and the members of the ‘Chorus Militum.’ The observed

difference between the average number of required actors in the dramatic texts and the number of personnel in these sample performances is the result of the addition of the chorus(es) and minor roles.

Dramatic Genres

An examination of the contents of sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions reveals the presence of a rich variety of dramatic and musical genres. For example, five distinct genres are represented within the 39 examples of main title dramas in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample (table 4.11). The *interludia* inserted in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions include spectacles and short dramatic works in addition to songs and dances.²³⁶ Musical works in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions also take the form of the brief sung choruses found at the conclusion of the acts of the main title drama. The following discussion presents an overview of the characteristics of the typical dramatic genres in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions.

Dramatic Genres: Main Title Drama

All of the sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre main title dramas in the dataset are from productions involving the entire school. While the contemporary productions by Benedictine schools include two single-class productions, there are no examples of single-class productions among the Jesuit theatre primary sources examined in this study. The sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre main title dramas include seven comedies, a dialogue, a production believed to be a drama musicum, an Easter play in the medieval tradition, and 29 tragedies (table 4.12); there are no known examples of the use of a ballet as a main title drama in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre.²³⁷ Twenty-two, or 56%, of the dramatic works in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample were performed during the period 1650 – 1674, while 17, or 44%, were performed during the final quarter of the sixteenth century (table 4.13). The data

²³⁶ For the history of the types of spectacles and difficulty in distinguishing between theatre and spectacle, see William O. Beeman, 'The Anthropology of Theater and Spectacle,' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 369–393.

²³⁷ Ernest Boyssse, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites* (1880: repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 24. Hereafter, referred to as Boyssse. The first publication of a Jesuit-authored tragedy was in Rome in 1587.

in tables 4.12 and 4.13 indicates that the great majority of main title dramas in sixteenth-century Jesuit college productions are tragedies, accounting for 77% of the dataset. The preference for tragedy over comedy as a main title drama in Jesuit theatre is characteristic of Jesuit theatre in general; the preference for tragedy continues demonstrably in Jesuit theatrical productions up to the 1773 suppression.²³⁸ In contrast, the identified sixteenth-century Benedictine school main title dramas are comedies; while comedies make up the second greatest contribution to the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre main title drama genre dataset, the comedies comprise just over a fifth, or 18%, of the Jesuit school sixteenth-century data sample.

There appears to be no significant difference, however, between the number of tragedies or comedies performed during third quarter of the century and the number of tragedies or comedies performed during the fourth quarter of the century. The dramatic genres with only a single representative work, while a minority amongst sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre main title dramas compared to the tragedies and comedies, are probably under-represented in the current dataset, due to the necessarily small size of the data sample.²³⁹ Notably, there are no known examples of the use of a ballet as a main title drama in Jesuit college theatre during the sixteenth century.

The texts of the examined main title dramas from Jesuit colleges are all formally subdivided into acts and scenes. From the evidence in printed programmes, it appears that a synopsis was provided for every scene in each act during the sixteenth century. The number of acts varies, as demonstrated by the ten representative examples in table 4.13. Unlike contemporary Benedictine school theatre, there are no examples of three-act main title dramas within the sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre dataset. There are, however, two examples of four-act Jesuit college dramas in table 4.13, a structure not found among sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatre main title dramas available for study. However, the greater majority of both Jesuit and Benedictine theatrical main title dramas during the sixteenth century are in five

²³⁸ For example, 86%, or 410 out of the 486 seventeenth-century Jesuit school main title dramas in the CSTD are tragedies. Amongst Jesuit school eighteenth-century productions, 88%, or 380 out of the 433 main title dramas in the CSTD are tragedies.

²³⁹ Valentin, I:2; Müller, II:44; Duhr, I:332. Research by Valentin, Müller and Duhr reveals that a small but significant number of passion and resurrection plays derived from the medieval liturgical drama tradition were performed by Jesuit colleges in German-speaking regions during the sixteenth century. The *drama paschale* in table 4.11 is one such example, *Repraesentatio Dominicae Resurrectionis* (Vienna, 26 March (Easter), 1559), CSTD ID 1329.

acts.²⁴⁰ Eight examples of five-act plays from Jesuit college theatre are included among the examples in table 4.13, ranging in performance date from 1555, four years after the first known Jesuit school theatrical production, to 1598.

Main title dramas in Jesuit college theatres were typically performed in Latin during the sixteenth century, just as seen in contemporary Benedictine comedies and tragedies. There are, however, exceptions among the Jesuit repertoire in which parts of the drama, such as the concluding choruses or even a particular character or group of characters, were written and performed in the vernacular.²⁴¹ There are even a handful of tragedies and comedies from Jesuit colleges in New World colonies during the sixteenth century that were performed wholly in the vernacular or a mixture of vernacular languages.²⁴² The use of the vernacular in school theatre performances is not found in any known Benedictine and Augustinian productions from either the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

A possible reason for use of vernacular in sixteenth-century Jesuit drama may reflect the mission aspect of the Society of Jesus, for a significant part of their vocation was the conversion of non-Catholic indigenous peoples in the New Worlds, Asia, the Far East, and Arabia. In order to better reach their audience, some Jesuit colleges, therefore, used the vernacular for part or all of the dramas staged during the century. Regardless of performance language, main title dramas are typically written in poetry patterned after the dramas of ancient classical authors. The texts of the plays in Latin vary significantly as to quality and complexity, but in the main the language and constructions used are simple and straightforward. A possible reason for the passages in simple language found within sixteenth-century main title dramas was to render the plays more accessible to the lower form students and the less-educated general public.

²⁴⁰ Kevin Croxson, 'Thematic and Generic Medievalism in the Polish Neo-Latin Drama of the Renaissance and Baroque,' *The Slavic and East European Journal* 43:2 (Summer, 1999): 268. Croxson notes that all of the Polish Jesuit plays examined in his study are in five acts, modelled upon Seneca's works.

²⁴¹ Peter Costello, *Clongowes Wood: A History of Clongowes Wood College 1814-1989* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd, 1989), 153. For example, *Charopus* (Seville, 1565) by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, the professor of Rhetoric at the Jesuit college in Córdoba, contains four choruses written in both Latin and Spanish. Similarly, Stephano Tucci's drama *Christus Iudex* was performed in the local Italian dialect at the Bari Jesuit college in 1569.

²⁴² Renata Wasserman, 'The Theater of José Anchieta and the Definition of Brazilian Literature,' *Luso-Brazilian Review* 36:1 (Summer, 1999): 71-85. For example, Anchieta's *Na festa de São Lourenço*, the roles of the devils are performed in the indigenous language, Tupi; the speeches of the Roman emperors are written in Tupi and Spanish, while those of St. Lawrence and St. Sebastian are in the colonial languages of Spanish or Portuguese. Wasserman believes the variety of languages to demonstrate 'a transcendence of language' to the moral truths presented in the play.

The forces required for sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical main title dramas appear to be 30 actors or more. The number of actors range from 30 in *S. Benno* (Munich, 1598) to 99 in the believed *drama musicum* example, *Michaelis Archangeli* (Munich, July, 1597). From the available evidence, it appears as though the number of actors in main title dramas in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions is larger than the typical number of actors required for contemporary Benedictine school main title dramas.

Dramatic Genres: Prologue and Epilogue

The three theatrical components within sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions inseparable from the main title drama are the prologue, epilogue and chorus. The productions in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample include three prologues, ten examples of choruses and a single epilogue (table 4.14). The prologues, choruses and epilogue are found within ten productions; the dramatic texts and other sources for the remaining 29 main title dramas either do not include prologues, choruses or epilogues, or the source does not provide this information. The characteristics of the prologue and epilogue are presented first, followed by a separate section examining the properties of the chorus in sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre.

The prologue and epilogue in *S. Elesbaani* (S. Salvator, Augsburg, 8 December, 1567) is notable because it is the first known example of a prologue/epilogue in Jesuit theatre performed by individual characters in dialogue rather than an ensemble.²⁴³ The prologue and epilogue in *S. Elesbaani* have no dramatic development of their own, but are instead commentaries upon the action in the main title drama. As only the theatrical programme from this production is available for study, it is not known whether the text of the prologue and epilogue is in poetry or prose. The prologue is continuous without formal internal divisions of acts and scenes, but no information is provided in the programme regarding the structure or subject of the epilogue.

²⁴³ *Amphitheatrum Basilicae Virtutis, et Malitiae in quo S. Elesbaani, Aethiopum Regis Candorem, et Sanctimoniam, ac Dunaani, Arabiael Foelicis, Tyranni perfidiam, horrendumque* (S. Salvator, Augsburg, 8 December, 1567), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25995, CSTD ID 4.

Perhaps the prologue for *S. Elesbaani* is vouchsafed a synopsis due to its sophisticated internal structure. Within the prologue, choruses alternate with dialogues amongst the characters *Amor*, *Concordia*, and *Corde*.²⁴⁴ The dialogues are in turn expounded by two Jesuit fathers.²⁴⁵ The prologue synopsis indicates that a chorus concludes the prologue and provides a transition from the allegorical prologue to the historical tragedy. Neither the size nor composition of the chorus is provided in the programme. Similarly, the programme does not specify whether the choruses were sung or spoken or alternate between singing and speaking.

From the information available, the prologue for *S. Elesbaani* appears to be nearly an independent work, that is, a work that could preface other theatrical productions without any changes. However, it remains a dependent work because of the final chorus of the prologue linking the preceding allegorical representations with the characters and plot of the main title drama. Without this concluding chorus, this prologue would be the earliest known example of an independent prologue; as it stands, the prologue to *S. Elesbaani* must be considered a dependent theatrical component.

The Jesuit college theatrical production *S. Benno* (Munich, 1598) provides a second, more typical example of a sixteenth-century prologue.²⁴⁶ The prologue to this production is much less complex in internal structure than that of *S. Elesbaani* and is similarly indivisible from the main title comedy. From the available evidence in the cast list and the printed synopsis, this prologue is recited, not in Latin, but in German by a single actor representing the city of Monachus, the Latinised name for Munich. The final sentence of the prologue synopsis excuses the use of German for the prologue ‘because not all understand Latin.’²⁴⁷ The synopsis printed in the programme

²⁴⁴ Prologus: Amor a Concordia ex Corde innumeris cordibus provocatus, cum alternante Choro inter incendium egreditur, atque Reverendissimi Dn. Dn. Abbatis in Conventum suum, hujusque in Reverendiss. Dn. Dn. Abbatem Amorem, & Concordiam explicat, optatissimisq; Natalibus congratulatur. Choro finito editoque tonitru, Prologus de bello Elesbanaanum inter, & Dunaanum Reges inito, totaque Actione futura feriem pandit.’ *Amphitheatrum Basilicae Virtutis, et Malitiae in quo S. Elesbaani, Aethiopum Regis Candorem, et Sanctimoniam, ac Dunaanum, Arabiael Foelicis, Tyranni perfidiam, horrendumque* (S. Salvator, Augsburg, 8 December, 1567), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25995, CSTD ID 4.

²⁴⁵ The appearance of Jesuits upon the college theatre stage is exceedingly rare in Jesuit college theatre repertoire, and thus this prologue is a curio within the Jesuit college theatre oeuvre. Presumably, the portions of the prologue performed by the Jesuit fathers were spoken, but there is no evidence of a specific performance medium.

²⁴⁶ *Der Comedi von S. Benno* (Munich, 1598), Szarota 3:2, 1193–1208; CSTD 16.

²⁴⁷ Prologue synopsis, *Der Comedi von S. Benno* (Munich, 1598), Szarota 3:2, 1193–1208; CSTD 16. ‘Lasset derhalben durch einen andern den inhalt in Tuetscher Sprach anzaigen weil *nit alle Latein verstehen.*’ Italics, my emphasis. If the interpretation of the passage from the synopsis text is correct,

indicates that the primary purpose of the prologue is to provide the historical background for the comedy.

Dramatic Genres: Chorus

The chief function of the sixteenth-century Jesuit drama chorus, just as in contemporary Benedictine theatre, is to provide a moral conclusion or summary to the preceding act of the main title drama. Similar to the main title dramas in both Jesuit and Benedictine school theatre, the choruses in Jesuit college dramas are typically in Latin poetic verse. There are exceptions to the exclusive use of Latin, such as in the dramatic text of *Charopus* (Seville, 1565) by Pédro Pablo de Acevedo, S.J., in which the four chorus texts include passages in Spanish as well as Latin.²⁴⁸

The chorus in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions before c.1580 is a brief work for ensemble placed at the conclusion of the final act of the main title drama and perhaps also at the end of one or more of the other acts. The members of the musical ensemble are not typically endowed with a role, but instead appear under the general labels of ‘choreuta,’ ‘choro’ or similar. The exception is *Michaelis Archangeli* (Munich, 1597), in which every member of the four chorus ensembles is a character in the drama; only the ‘Chorus Militum’ is merely listed as an ensemble (fig 4.1, indicated by an arrow).²⁴⁹

The printed programmes, author instructions and surviving scores indicate that choruses concluding the acts of main title dramas were sung in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre. Just as seen in contemporary Benedictine theatrical productions, the musical style of the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre chorus is indistinguishable from that of a contemporary motet. In fact, as many main title dramas were written without chorus texts, it was the typical performance practice in Jesuit theatre to use

and the prologue was indeed delivered in German in performance, then this is currently the earliest Jesuit college theatrical programme to specify the use of the vernacular in performance outside of inserted secular songs. If, however, the multiple archaic lingual forms present in the passage have resulted in a mistranslation, the italicised sentence might only refer to the use of the vernacular language for the printed programme.

²⁴⁸ Pédro Pablo de Acevedo, *Charopus*, Primitiva Flores Santamaría, Carmen Gallardo Mediavilla, ed., in *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio*, vol 1 (Seville: Spain, 1995), no. 4; CSTD ID 1307.

²⁴⁹ Barbara Bauer-Mahlmann and Jürgen Leonhardt, *Triumphus divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici=Triumph des heiligen Michael, Patron Bayerns, München 1597: Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung, Kommentar Jesuitica Bd. 2.* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2000).

²⁵¹ Körndle, 481.

previously and newly composed motets as choruses.²⁵¹ The most frequent cited example of this practice within the literature is author Jakob Gretser's notation requesting that Orlando di Lasso's motet 'Fremuit spiritus Jesus' be used as the Act IV chorus for his play *Lazarus Resuscitatus*, first performed by the Jesuit college in Fribourg on 17 December, 1584. Gretser also requested a work by Palestrina but did not specify the title of the motet.²⁵²

As seen by the late date of Gretser's play, the practice of inserting motets for at least one of the choruses in a Jesuit theatrical production continued into the late sixteenth century. However, it appears that from its beginnings in the 1550s, Jesuit theatre dramatic texts frequently provided chorus texts for at least one chorus, including the final chorus. For example, Gretser provided the text for the Act II chorus, 'Aetheris regem socii,' for which the manuscript of the setting for the 1584 Fribourg performance still survives.²⁵³ As the sixteenth century progressed, the number of acts without a chorus text written by the author gradually diminished; by the turn of the century, authors customarily wrote choruses for all of the acts in their dramas.²⁵⁴

Whether a previously-composed motet or a setting of the author's text is used in performance, the typical chorus in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre is not a dramatic work in its own right, being devoid of characters, plot, and dramatic action; the rare exceptions to this rule, such as *Michaelis Archangeli*, are duly noted. The descriptive titles given to sixteenth-century chorus ensembles, such as 'angels', suggest that the members of the chorus appeared in costume and perhaps even on the stage. The presence of the chorus ensemble within an act of the main title drama, as found in examples of late sixteenth-century theatrical productions, lends further support to the proposal that sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre chorus ensembles performed in costume and on the stage.

The vocal forces for sixteenth-century chorus ensembles are not known for a majority of sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical performances. Most of the programmes and all of the dramatic texts do not identify the individuals performing in

²⁵² Jacob Gretser, *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (Fribourg, 17 December, 1584), DE–Dsb Cod. XV 223 fols 29v, 52r, 58; CSTD 1316.

²⁵³ 'Aetheris regum socii,' DE–Dsb, Cod. XV 245 fols. 20v–21r. Körndle, 486. Wittwer, 79.

²⁵⁴ For example, the dramatic text for the five-act *Tragico-Comoedia: Prodigus Appellata* (1605) by Luís da Cruz, S.J., provides chorus text for every act including the final. Luís da Cruz, S.J., *Tragico-Comoedia: Prodigus Appellata* (1605) US–Buh Houghton *PC 5 C8894 605t; Sommervogel II:1710; CSTD ID 1275.

the ensemble, merely referring to the ensemble by a single group label. The surviving manuscript scores suggest only the minimum performance forces, such as the six voices required for di Lasso's motet "Fremuit spiritus Jesus" or the chorus 'Plute tu solus' from *Timon* (Fribourg, 1584), written for a dessus-dessus-tenor-bass ensemble (DDTB), or the DDDD setting of 'Chor der Engel' concluding Act II of Gretser's *Lazarus Resuscitatus*.²⁵⁵ Therefore, a comparative examination of the musical forces in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre chorus ensembles cannot be conducted at this time.

Dramatic Genres: *Interludia*

Specific information regarding the dramatic structure, cast size, performance language, etc., of *interludia* in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre is scarce, as are primary materials available for study. There is only one example in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, an independent three-part comedy in Spanish, *Hercules*. *Hercules* is inserted in the tragedy *San Hermenegildo* by Hernando de Avila.²⁵⁶ As well as comedies, sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre *interludia* also take the form of ballets, such as the ballet mentioned by McCabe from the Jesuit college in Ocaña, Spain in 1558.²⁵⁷ Similarly, Körndle's research has shown that the practice of inserting songs or a short farce based upon a song in the dramatic action was not uncommon.²⁵⁸

Dramatic Subjects

The dramatic subjects are known for 34 dramatic works within the sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre data sample; of these, 33 are main title dramas while one is an *interludium*. A discussion of the dramatic subjects in the prologues, epilogues and choruses in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre would be redundant, as before c.1580

²⁵⁵ 'Plute tu solus' *Timon* (Fribourg, 1584), Dillingen, Studienbibliothek, Cod. XV 223 fols 73v–74r, Wittwer, 79, Körndle, 484; CSTD 301. 'Chor der Engel', *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (Fribourg, 17 December, 1584), Dillingen, Studienbibliothek, Cod. XV 245 fols. 20v–21r, Wittwer, 79, Körndle, 486; CSTD ID 1316.

²⁵⁶ Hernando de Avila, 'Tragedia de San Hermenegildo' and 'Hercules vencedor de la ignorancia,' in *Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, Jesús Menéndez Peláez, ed., *Los Jesuitas y el Teatro en el Siglo de Oro* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 175–431; 521–534. According to Peláez, these two items were written during 1580s; neither item appears in Sommervogel.

²⁵⁷ McCabe, 204–205.

²⁵⁸ Körndle, 480–489, especially 480–482.

they are non-dramatic works, and after c.1580 they are dependent upon the main title drama for their characters and subject matter.

The sources for the dramatic subjects of sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre main title dramas and *interludia* may be classified according to the same ten categories applied to contemporary Benedictine theatrical productions (table 4.15). However, while the dramatic subjects of the available sixteenth-century Benedictine drama are limited to hagiography, nine of the ten sources are represented among the dramas in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset. The ten sources of dramatic subjects are: allegory (11 works), hagiography (six), history of ancient Greece (one), history of ancient Rome (three), history of the Roman Catholic Church (one), local history (none), Greco-Roman mythology (one), the New Testament (three), the Old Testament (seven) and fiction (one). The fiction sources appear to be restricted to ancient Greco-Roman literature such as Virgil's *Aeneid* in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre.

Dramatic Subjects: Main Title Drama

The degree of dramatic development varies amongst the texts, but in general sixteenth-century Jesuit college main title dramas, both spoken and sung, are plays on biblical or hagiographic topics, the latter of which was also common among the examined examples of sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions. It also appears that a significant percentage of Jesuit college tragedies, dialogues, *dramae musica* and comedies are allegorical constructs. For example, there are 11 main title dramas on allegorical subjects among the 34 dramas in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre sample (table 4.16). When the dramas on subjects from the Old Testament and New Testament are totalled, with seven and three dramas in the sample, respectively, they nearly equal the allegorical plays in number. Dramas on hagiographic themes are also well-represented in the data sample, although outnumbered almost 2:1 by allegorical plays. Similarly, subjects from fictional tales and the histories of Greece, Rome and the Catholic Church appear to be less common in sixteenth-century Jesuit college dramas than plots employing allegorical, biblical and hagiographic themes. Although the sample for this general study is small, the

apparent preference for allegorical, biblical and hagiographic dramatic subjects in Jesuit theatre during the sixteenth century is corroborated by previous scholars.²⁵⁹

Table 4.17 presents the most common dramatic subjects for each dramatic subject source within the sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre drama dataset. As can be seen, the majority of the specific subjects are represented only once in the sample. Due to the larger number of dramatic works available for examination, a study of the dramatic subjects within the allegory subject source reveal that the personification of the Catholic church, usually represented by the character *Ecclesia*, and various virtues are the most common dramatic subjects among allegorical Jesuit theatre main title dramas during the sixteenth century. The two productions on the subject of *Saul* are indicative of the popularity in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre of dramatic works based upon events from the reign of David of Israel.

Dramatic Subjects: *Interludia*

The single example of the use of a plot from Greco-Roman mythology in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample is the *interludium Hercules*; there are no instances of a mythological main title drama within the sample.

Authors

The authors of the dramas performed in Jesuit college theatres during the sixteenth century are not identified in the accompanying printed souvenir programmes; such a practice is not found until the seventeenth century, and then only rarely. The authorship of sixteenth-century dramas is, therefore, chiefly known through the contemporary publications of their works by presses directed by the Society of Jesus and through the examination of Jesuit theatre manuscripts or published scholarly modern editions.

Major contributors to Jesuit theatre author research include Jean-Marie Valentin, whose speciality lies in Jesuit theatre in German-speaking regions, Nigel Griffin, whose focus is chiefly upon Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit authors, and

²⁵⁹ Nigel Griffin, ed. *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas: Miguel Venegas, Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Achabus and Anonymous, Tragoedia Jezebelis* Exeter Hispanic Texts 13 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976), v–vi. McCabe, 22–29. Boysse, 30.

Ernest Boyse, whose interest is in French Jesuit theatre.²⁶⁰ The dramatic works of many of the authors listed in table 4.18, such as the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Pablo de Avecedo, S.J., the German Jesuit Jakob Gretser and the Italian Jesuit Bernadino Stefonio, have also received individual attention by scholars.²⁶¹

The theatrical productions in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset include 25 works whose authors have been identified. The names of the 12 authors of these 25 works and the total number of their dramatic works within the sample are presented in table 4.18. As can be seen by the information in the table, the authors of sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dramas are themselves Jesuits except for the authors of the earliest dramas performed in Jesuit college theatre, such as Georgius Macropedius and Livinus Brecht [Brechtus]. The ten Jesuit authors in table 4.18, therefore, all experienced a Jesuit education at the college and/or seminary level and Jesuit school theatrical traditions before being permitted to write for the medium themselves. A comparative literature study of these works examining the degree of conservatism or innovation found within this closed system is beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, the data indicates that, except in its nascent period, Jesuit schools rarely performed dramas by non-members, a practice similarly observed in contemporary Benedictine school theatre.

The available examples indicate that sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dramas are the creation of a single author; there is no evidence of collaboration among the

²⁶⁰ Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande: répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés (1555–1773)*, Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher, Bd. 3. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983): II:1181–1211. Nigel Griffin, ed. *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas: Miguel Venegas, Tragoedia cui nomen inditum Achabus and Anonymous, Tragaedia Jezebelis* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976). Boyse, 335–366. An important bibliographic resource is the ‘Dramaturges’ appendix in the second volume of Valentin’s *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande*. Valentin’s appendix provides a list of contemporary and modern publications up to 1983 for sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth Jesuit theatre authors. The author bibliographic entries in this resource do not include biographical information or identify the religious affiliation of the author. Griffin’s introduction to *Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas* is an informative essay upon Ahab dramas in Jesuit theatre and concludes with a list of 32 sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuit Ahab dramas. The date, the title, the author (if known), the Jesuit college, the manuscript(s), relevant details, and references to the work in secondary sources is provided for each main title drama. Boyse’s appendix is an essay analysing the works of various Jesuit authors.

²⁶¹ For example, Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, S. J., *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*, ed. Antonio Cascón Dorado and V. Picón, vol 1 (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas: UAM Ediciones, 1997); Hernando de Avila, S.J., *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, ed. Julio Alonso Asenjo, in *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio* (Madrid, Spain: UNED, 1995); Jakob Bidermann, S.J., *Cosmarchia sive mundi respublica: desumpta ex parabolâ Barlaami, quam Josaphato dedit in exemplum de bonis in caelum praemittendis, ex S. Ioanne Damasceno in vitâ Barlaami et Iosaphati, c. 14*, ed., Christian Sinn (Constanz: Eggingen Isele, 2002); Jakob Gretser, *Augustinus Conversus: ein Drama*, ed. Dorothea Weber (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000).

examples analysed. This may be because the authorship and production of public theatrical productions was the primary responsibility of the professor of rhetoric or poetry within the college, rather than a committee. The identified examples of sixteenth-century Benedictine school dramas are likewise not collaborative works, probably for the same reason. At this time, there are no known instances of the performance of a Jesuit-authored work on a Benedictine school stage or vice-versa during the sixteenth century.²⁶² Jesuit theatre authors, per the requirements of their academic position in the schools, often wrote more than one work for the Jesuit college stage. For example, the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset includes eight main title dramas by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, S.J.; the majority of the other Jesuit authors in the sample are represented by two dramatic works.

Table 4.19 displays the 25 dramatic works with known authors in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample by author and year of performance or publication, whichever is the earliest date.²⁶³ With the exception of the publication of Hernando de Avila's *interludium Hercules* in a modern critical edition by Jesús Menéndez Peláez, the dramatic works in table 4.19 are main title dramas.²⁶⁴ It therefore appears that the Jesuits did not usually publish the *interludia* inserted in the performance with the associated main title drama during the sixteenth century.

Composers

Jesuit theatre programmes from the sixteenth century do not identify the composers of the choruses or musical *interludia* included in the theatrical production; similarly, the composer's name does not appear in the programme for the single example of a *drama musicum* in the sixteenth-century dataset. There is no evidence that the scores for these works were published with the text of the main title drama or in a separate publication. The reason for the lack of interest in publishing the music in contrast to the demonstrated practice of printing Jesuit theatre drama texts is probably

²⁶² At this time, a study has yet to examine the incidence of cross-organisation performances of dramatic works among Benedictine, Augustinian, Jesuit or any other Catholic religious order or organisation engaging in school theatre.

²⁶³ The standard form, where known, of the author's name and the title of the drama is used in both tables 4.18 and 4.19; variants of the authors' names may be found in the CSTD, in addition to any known biographical details. The author's identification number and identification number of the dramatic production in the CSTD database are provided in table 4.19.

²⁶⁴ Hernando de Avila, '*Hercules vencedor de la ignorancia*,' in *Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, Jesús Menéndez Peláez, ed. (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 521–534.

not only due to considerations of expense but also because choruses (although evidently not the chorus texts) and *interludia* were viewed as consumable goods rather than as significant creations worthy of preservation.²⁶⁵

There is evidence, however, of composers publishing their compositions for Jesuit school theatre in collections of motets and madrigals without reference to the music's theatrical origin; published in this manner, the works became wholly separated from their source Jesuit college theatrical production and their place in the history of the Jesuit theatre itself. As described in the previous section on dramatic genres, the musical characteristics of sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses and *interludia* are indistinguishable from motets, madrigals, etc., and therefore these works cannot be identified among the works published in collections such as these based upon musical style. A similar case probably exists for sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions, but research revealing the presence of Benedictine school theatrical choruses in contemporary published motet or madrigal collections has yet to be published. Therefore, text incipits of choruses from dramatic texts appear to be the chief means of identifying theatrical music published in such collections. Given the view of these theatrical components as passing events, many of the music manuscripts for sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses and *interludia* located to date are unsigned. Therefore, the limited number of re-associated composers and Jesuit theatrical productions from the sixteenth century is the result of manuscripts or other primary sources which identify the composer, similar to the Benedictine theatre instance of the composer of the chorus for *Sancti Trudonis*, or the research of modern scholars.

The sixteenth-century practices for the selection of composers, i.e. *maestri* of the Jesuit college church or outside musicians from the courts and churches, cannot be determined due to the limited amount of information. However, the available data does suggest that composers of choruses and *interludia* for Jesuit theatrical productions in the sixteenth century wrote for multiple Jesuit school theatrical productions. For example, Orlando di Lasso, then a composer at the Munich court, is believed to have composed the music for at least 6 theatrical productions by the Jesuit

²⁶⁵ Jane A. Bernstein, 'Publish or perish? Palestrina and print culture in 16th-century Italy,' *Early Music* 35:2 (May, 2007): 225–235. See also Emily S. Hauze, 'Who Can Write An Opera? F.C. Bressand and the Baroque Opera Libretto,' *Monatshefte* 99:4 (2007): 441–453.

college in Munich.²⁶⁶ Although di Lasso was not the *maestro* for the Munich Jesuit college, Thomas D. Culley's research shows that it was common practice during the sixteenth century for the *maestro* of the church attached to a Jesuit seminary, university or college to be responsible for the composition of music for the school's theatrical productions.²⁶⁸ R. G. Villoslada, for example, revealed that the professor of rhetoric Alessandro Donati (1584 – 1640) wrote the completely-sung *David musicus* for the Jesuit Collegio Romano in 1613 and that the music for the production was provided by the college *maestro* Ottavio Catalani.²⁶⁹

The custom of author-as-composer is either not present or remains hidden in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre research. Similarly, there are no known instances of collaboration among composers. However, the tradition of inserting previously composed motets as choruses during the sixteenth century raises the possibility that Jesuit theatrical productions included the work of more than one composer; apparently, it was not considered important for the musical portions to be the creation of a single individual. There is also no evidence one way or the other regarding the musical settings of *drama musicum* and whether the same composer customarily also composed the choruses and any music required for the *interludia*.

Jesuit School Theatre, c.1535–c.1599: Summary and Conclusions

Every college staged at least one annual autumn production, usually in October, that involved the entire school and was part of the festivities celebrating the distribution of class prizes. Many colleges also performed additional theatrical productions throughout the calendar year. However, the prize-day productions were the likely sub-group within Jesuit school theatre to receive multiple performances,

²⁶⁶ Franz Körndle, 'Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,' Marian Lampe, trans., in: *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). Philip Weller, 'Lasso, Man of the Theatre,' in: *Orlando Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerp 24–26.08.1994*, Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs and Annelies Wouters, ed. (Peer: Alamire Foundation, 1995), 89–127. The manuscripts for two of the choruses for one of these productions, *Lazarus Resuscitatus*, have been identified and located. Orlando di Lasso was commissioned to compose the choruses and other music for theatrical productions by the Jesuit school in Munich in 1568 and 1589. A letter from the author of the 1568 production of *Samson*, Andreas Fabricius to Chancellor Simon Eck includes a request for the texts for the chorus to be given to Orlando di Lasso to be set to music.

²⁶⁸ Culley, 123.

²⁶⁹ Ricardo García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)* (Rome: Universitatis Gregorianae, 1954), 285. Sommervogel 7: 49, no. 75.

typically on consecutive days. Souvenir programmes also appear to be most commonly printed for prize-day productions rather than other productions during the sixteenth century. Often these were printed in a set of two programmes, with one set printed in Latin and the other printed in the vernacular; these programmes served for all the performances of the theatrical productions.

The typical frontispiece of a sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre programme includes at least the year but often the complete performance date, the title of the main drama, the name of the school, association with the Society of Jesus, the performance occasion and/or patron, and publication information; synopses for each act, sometimes for every scene, were provided within the programme. A list of the characters in the main title drama might also appear, but sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes do not customarily include the names of the performers, author or composer.

The contents of a typical sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre production always include a main title spoken tragedy or comedy in four or five acts, most typically the latter; other forms of drama, such as *drama musicum*, dialogue, etc. appear to be less common. To provide contrast to the spoken main title drama, a brief summarising or moralising chorus was usually sung at the conclusion of each act and some productions opened or concluded with a sung prologue or epilogue. These choruses, prologues and epilogues were works for choral ensemble until the final decades of the century, when sung dialogues among allegorical characters progressively replace the previous choral practice. *Interludia* in the form of staged dances or formal ballet or, more rarely, a spoken farce or comedy, might be inserted between one or more acts of the main title drama to add increased spectacle to the theatrical exhibition.

Of these dramatic genres, only the main title drama is consistently an independent dramatic work, although *interludia* comedies and farces might also be independent. However, the prologues, epilogues and choruses are integral parts of the main title drama, as are many of the staged dances and ballets. These works, with some exceptions, were performed in Latin by casts of 30 students for main title dramas, choral ensembles of between four and six singers and two to 12 students to perform any *interludia*. The most common subjects in these dramas are allegorical, hagiographic or biblical. The dramatic plots of prize-day productions are most frequently allegorical constructs, while productions for other occasions most

commonly re-enact stories from the Old and New Testament. The data indicates that Greco-Roman mythology was a source for *interludia* dramatic subjects.

The authors of, but not the composers for, sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre were primarily members of the Society of Jesus; the exceptions to this practice are found among the authors of Jesuit school dramas performed during the 1550s and 1560s. As their names were not included in the printed programmes, the authorship of Jesuit school dramas during the sixteenth-century is known chiefly through contemporary publications of collections of dramas and modern scholarship. The composers appear to be either Jesuit college *maestri* or musicians from local courts and churches. The limited number of *interludia* and choruses whose authors and composers have been identified are entirely results of scholarly study, as not only were these works rarely published, but also the names of the authors and composers of these works were rarely recorded.

Jesuit School Theatrical Productions, c.1600–c.1700

Data Sample

The composition of the seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre data sample is 486 productions from 11 countries (table 4.20). Table 4.21 presents 460 productions by country and school city; the other 26 examples in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset are contemporary published dramatic texts whose specific school association is not known. The primary source materials for these 486 productions include 11 scores in manuscript, six printed scores, 426 printed programmes, 13 complete dramatic texts in manuscript, and 40 printed dramatic texts (table 4.22). Unlike the sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre data, primary source materials are available for all of the productions in the seventeenth-century data sample.

Table 4.23 displays the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions in the data sample counted by performance year within periods of 25 years. Nearly three-quarters of the productions examined are from the second half of the seventeenth century, while significantly fewer productions date from the first fifty years of the century. There are 48 examples from the first quarter of the seventeenth-century, 84 from the second quarter, and nearly double that number for the third quarter, 151

productions. But the greatest number of examples in the sample date from the final quarter of the seventeenth century, with 185 Jesuit college theatrical productions. Eighteen productions are undated. This steady rise in the numbers of productions per quarter in the dataset as the century progresses reflects a corresponding increase in surviving primary documents related to Jesuit theatrical productions necessary to the following detailed examination of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions.

Performance

The complete performance date details are known for 373 productions out of the total 486 productions in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample. Theatrical activity in Jesuit colleges during the seventeenth century is present in all twelve months of the year, just as seen during the sixteenth century and similar to seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical activity (table 4.24). Also continuing from the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century in Jesuit college theatre is the practice of performing productions involving students from the entire school twice a year. Thus religious school theatrical activity during the seventeenth century is remarkably similar among Jesuit, Augustinian and Benedictine schools, all of which typically performed two theatrical productions per year, one in the autumn, associated with distribution of class prizes, and a second production in the spring or summer.²⁷⁰ All of the printed programmes from seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions reproduced in appendix 6 are for productions staged by the entire school. Although performances by single classes, such as those seen in contemporary Benedictine school theatre, are known to have taken place, the available primary source materials do not include any single-class productions and reference indices such as Valentin and Sommervogel do not include this information.

Performance: Performance Date

The autumn productions associated with the distribution of class prizes in Jesuit colleges, performed in September or October, account for 61% of the

²⁷⁰ The Augustinian productions in February, July or December do not appear to involve the entire school as do the spring and summer productions of the Jesuit and Benedictine colleges.

seventeenth-century Jesuit dataset (table 4.24). The domination of autumnal productions in the performance data shows that, of all the theatrical productions performed by a Jesuit college during the seventeenth century, the autumn prize-day production is the most likely to have a programme printed for the occasion. This finding is a continuation of the programme printing practices observed in Jesuit colleges during the sixteenth century. However, the information in table 4.24 reveals that the 54% of the autumn prize-day productions in Jesuit colleges during the seventeenth century occur in September rather than in October, as seen in the sixteenth century. Thus, Jesuit and Augustinian college prize-day autumn theatrical productions were performed in September during the seventeenth century, whereas the Benedictine schools mounted this type of production in October until the beginning of the eighteenth century when they, too, changed to September.

Performance: Performance Repetition

Just as Jesuit college theatrical programmes were typically printed only for the autumn prize-day productions during the seventeenth century, so also it appears from available evidence that these productions were the most likely to receive more than one performance (table 4.25). Multiple consecutive performances of Jesuit college theatrical productions, rare during the sixteenth century, were given for 74% of the total 265 September prize-day productions, while 21% of the prize-day productions performed in October were also performed more than once. The large percentage of theatrical productions receiving multiple performances displayed in table 4.25 have no corresponding tradition in either contemporary Benedictine or Augustinian school theatres, where multiple performances remain atypical during the seventeenth century. The multiple performances of Jesuit college theatrical productions in the seventeenth century usually occur on consecutive or nearly consecutive days, just as seen in Jesuit productions in the sixteenth century and Augustinian colleges in the seventeenth century.

However, while the available data shows that Augustinian college theatrical productions received at most two performances, table 4.26 reveals that, similar to examples from Benedictine school theatre presented in chapter 2, three of the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions in the data sample received three performances and one production, *S. Francis Xaverius* (Lucerne, 26, 29, 30 August, 1

September, 1677) was repeated four times.²⁷¹ Moreover, 207 productions, or 42%, of the total sample of 486 seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions, received two performances. The custom of performing the autumn prize-day productions two or more times appears to have become popular after the mid-point of the century, as table 4.26 shows, for productions with multiple performances outnumber single-performance productions after 1650.

The repetition of main title dramas found among Jesuit colleges during the sixteenth century continues to occur in even greater numbers in the seventeenth century. Table 4.27 displays five examples of dramatic repetition among Germanic Jesuit colleges during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. There are two chief reasons facilitating this practice in Jesuit colleges. First, papal permission was given for every Jesuit institution to establish or acquire its own printing press, a privilege not granted to the Augustinians or the Benedictines.²⁷² The second factor contributing to the amount of dramatic repetition is the three-year teaching rotation required by the *Ratio Studiorum*; when professors moved to their new colleges, their libraries travelled with them. Benedictine and Augustinian schools had neither a uniform guidebook nor an established rotation of teachers. The absence of both factors perhaps explains why the repetition of dramatic works between colleges is rare in Augustinian and Benedictine school theatre.

Performance: Theatrical Programmes

Amongst the Jesuit college theatrical programmes reproduced in appendix 6 are twelve seventeenth-century examples from Jesuit colleges in Argentina, Belgium and France. There are also 360 examples of seventeenth-century programmes replicated in Szarota from Swiss, Austrian and German Jesuit colleges. An

²⁷¹ *S. Francis Xaverius Societatis Jesu, Indiae et Japoniae Apostolus* (Lucerne, 26, 29, 30 August, 1 September, 1677), Szarota 3:1, 315–320; CSTD ID 324. Examples from Benedictine school theatre receiving more than two performances are *Iephte*, *Ductor Hebraeorum*, *Victor Ammonitarum*, *Victimarius Filiae Coram Serenissimis Utriusque Bavariae Ducibus* (University of Salzburg, 8, 12 October, 6 November 1629 and April (2 perf.), 1630), Boberski nos. 24–26; CSTD ID nos. 2628, 2629 and *Saul Rex Israel* (University of Salzburg, 30 August, 22 September, 2 November, 1626), Boberski nos. 13–16; CSTD ID 2622.

²⁷² Valentin II:1181–1211; *Index des Noms Propres*, Valentin II:1015–1133. An important reference resource for published dramatic texts performed by Germanic Jesuit colleges is found in *Bibliographie secondaire VIII.2* in Valentin; at this time, there is no similar publication available for Jesuit colleges in other regions. Valentin's research not only includes contemporary publications of dramatic texts but also modern critical editions, studies devoted to the author's works, and, in an earlier index, a brief bibliography of the author.

examination of these programmes reveals that the custom of printing separate programmes in Latin and the vernacular established in the sixteenth century dominates the seventeenth century; however, beginning around the mid-point of the century, programmes began to be printed in both German and Latin.²⁷³ This finding reveals that bilingual programmes developed in both Jesuit and Benedictine schools at approximately the same time; moreover, both Jesuit and Benedictine bilingual programmes use a similar format in which the Latin title and synopses precede the vernacular. Unlike Benedictine schools, however, Jesuit and Augustinian schools during the seventeenth century printed a single set of programmes for each production regardless of how many performances the production received. These practices are the same as those of contemporary Augustinian colleges, but not those observed in Benedictine schools during the seventeenth century, who continued to print a separate set of programmes for each performance.

Jesuit college theatrical programmes from the seventeenth century, similar to contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical programmes, consistently include the title of the main dramatic work, the name of the school, the year of performance with perhaps also the month and day(s) of the performance, and the address, city and name of the publisher and the year of publication. Seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes also continue the custom of identifying the performance occasion and/or patron begun in the sixteenth century. Although Benedictine schools similarly follow this custom in their seventeenth-century programmes, the practice is less consistent among contemporary Augustinian theatrical programmes. However, both the Augustinians and the Jesuits identify their respective religious organisations on the title pages of the printed programmes, but the Benedictines, while usually providing the name of the school, frequently do not identify the school's association with the Benedictine order.

²⁷³ Three representative examples of seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions printed in both Latin and the vernacular are from the school in Regensburg: *S. Sigismundus Rex Burgundionum Tragoedia* (Regensburg, 1648), GB-Lbl 840.e.4, no. 2; CSTD ID 135; *Achates Comes Pessimi Magistri Malus Discipulus* (Regensburg, 1660), GB-Lbl 840.e.4, no. 8; CSTD ID 201; and *Dei Admiranda Clementis Erga Peccatricium Animam In Parabola Demonstrata* (Regensburg, 1661), GB-Lbl 840.e.4, no. 9; CSTD ID 208. By the eighteenth century, printing a single programme in both Latin and the vernacular appears to be an eighteenth-century innovation in Jesuit college theatre. Laurie Nussdorfer's study of the printing practices for commemorative descriptions of ceremonies, festivities and pageants in Rome c.1623–c.1555, despite its significant number of Jesuit source documents, does not include an examination of Jesuit school play programmes, but contains relevant information regarding format and cost. See also Ernest Boyssse's description of the programmes printed for the Collège de Clermont/Louis-le-Grand during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in *Le Théâtre des Jésuites* (1880: repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 88, 90.

However, the names of the student cast, not found in any of the examined sixteenth-century programmes, are included in the majority of Jesuit college seventeenth-century programmes after 1630. In contrast to the Jesuit colleges, none of the contemporary Augustinian theatrical programmes include the names of the students and Benedictine schools do not identify the students until the end of the seventeenth century. Therefore, the current data indicates the Jesuits were the first of these three religious organisations to publish the names of the students in school theatre programmes. As well as the full names and noble titles of the students, the student's home town is also usually included in the programme. The student's class in school, though, is found only among the Swiss, Austrian, and German programmes in the data sample.

Seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes typically include an opening argument that provides a summary of the background of the story and also synopses for each scene or act. While only half of the known sixteenth-century programmes identify the dramatic genre of the main title drama, nearly all seventeenth-century programmes do so. In contrast, only four of the seventeenth-century Augustinian college theatrical programmes examined include a genre label. Not only does the dramatic genre appear in seventeenth-century Jesuit college programmes, but 132 programmes in the sample include the name of the composer, a practice not found in the sixteenth-century Jesuit or the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical data and only rarely in the Benedictine school theatrical programmes examined in this study. Furthermore, 22 of the programmes in the Jesuit college data sample include the names of the musicians and their instruments; there are no equivalent contemporary examples from either Augustinian or Benedictine schools. However, there are no instances among the seventeenth-century Jesuit college programmes studied that print the name of the author of either the main title drama or inserted dramatic works.

Production Structure

The structure of Jesuit college theatrical productions underwent several significant changes during the seventeenth century. First, the dramatic works within the productions increased in number and variety: whereas sixteenth-century Jesuit college productions typically consisted of a spoken main title drama with one or more inserted dependent choruses, seventeenth-century Jesuit college productions might

include independent prologues, epilogue, choruses, or *interludia* in the form of comedies or ballets. Second, several distinct production structural models emerged during the early decades of the seventeenth century, models which continued to be used in Jesuit theatre until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Third, the increase in the number of programmes that included a list of the performers not only reveals the presence of inserted dances and *interludia* not reflected in the provided synopses, but also permits analyses of the changes in production ensemble size over the course of the century. These cast lists are also important to a study of the frequency of non-student performers in Jesuit college productions and the influence of student social class upon theatrical role assignments.

Just as seen in the sixteenth century, the majority of Jesuit theatrical productions performed between 1600 and 1624 in the sample are composed of a single dramatic work, the main title drama, with dependent choruses (table 4.28). The prologues, epilogues and choruses in these productions are integral parts of the main tragedy or comedy. Tables 4.28 through 4.31 reveal the gradual development of Jesuit college theatrical productions from a single tragedy or comedy to productions composed of multiple independent dramatic works.

Table 4.32 presents the results of the data organised by the number of dramatic works within productions from each twenty-five year period. Single-drama productions are nearly equally represented from the periods 1600–1649, 1650–1674 and 1675–1700, comprising 28%, 33% and 39%, respectively, of the total 438 single-drama productions examined. The portions of table 4.32 displaying the data for productions including two or more independent dramatic works reveal the growth in popularity of multi-work productions in Jesuit colleges during the seventeenth century. For example, the majority of the productions with two dramatic works are found in productions performed after 1650. A similar trend is revealed for the productions composed of three or four independent dramatic works, although these types of productions appear to be much less common than two-work productions in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre. The productions in table 4.32 composed of five or more dramatic works are rare, with only two five-work productions, one six-work production, and one ten-work production found within the collected data.

Production Structure: Theatrical Production Components

The productions with four, five and six independent works in table 4.32 are made up of main title dramas and independent prologues, epilogues, choruses or *interludia*. For example, the production of *Garsia Ferdinando* (Innsbruck, 2, 4 September, 1692) contains the tragi-comedy *Garsia Ferdinando* and four untitled independent choruses on biblical subjects: *Manasses*, *Daniel*, *Joseph* and *Susanna*.²⁷⁴ Not all multi-work Jesuit college theatre productions are constructed of choruses and a main title drama, as shown by the production *Omer Spinola* (1656).²⁷⁵ A ballet, *Balet des Siècles*, and three *interludia* with dancing, *La Nuit Pronostique*, *Entreieu de l'Echequier* and *Tournoy de l'Espinette*, are inserted between the acts of this five-act tragedy.

Main title dramatic genres, whose performance medium in most sixteenth-century Jesuit college production was restricted to speech, expanded in the seventeenth century to include various types of music-dramas, such as operas, passions and pastorales, referred to in this study by the term *drama musicum*.²⁷⁶ The practice of performing music-dramas as main title dramas apparently began at the conclusion of the sixteenth century, and the incidence of main title music-dramas increased throughout the seventeenth century. Table 4.33 presents 20 examples of main title *dramae musicae* with the name of their composers that were performed between c.1680 and 1700 by Austrian and German Jesuit colleges.

Sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions consistently concluded with a final moralising chorus, but the inclusion of other choruses within a production was rare until the final decades of the century. However, by c.1600 choruses were customarily inserted between every act or part of the main title drama in Jesuit college productions, while the practice of concluding productions with a final summarising chorus continued without change or interruption from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. In Jesuit school theatrical productions performed during the first part of the seventeenth century, the inserted choruses provide a brief moral assessment of the previous act of the main title drama similar to the function of a final

²⁷⁴ *Filiorum Ingratitudo Punita, Pietas Coronata In Garsia Ferdinando et Ramiro Regis Sanctii, et Elvira Filii, Tragico-Comoedia* (Innsbruck, 2, 4 September 1692), Szarota 3:2, 1461–1467; CSTD ID 415.

²⁷⁵ *Omer Spinola Tragedie* (1656), BE–Lku P940.226.1 no. 10; CSTD ID 2323

²⁷⁶ David Irving, 'Jesuit opera,' *Early Music*. 33:2 (2005): 358–359.

concluding chorus. As the seventeenth century progressed, the function of inserted choruses evolved from moral commentary sung in dialogue to an independent musical drama incorporating increasingly dramatic and visually spectacular elements. Prologues in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre followed a similar pathway of dramatic development and likewise emerged as independent musical dramas before the midpoint of the seventeenth century.

However, while inserted choruses and prologues became independent components of Jesuit college theatrical productions during the first half of the seventeenth century, the function of the final chorus remained that of providing a moral summary to the main title drama. The function of the final chorus did not change, but it was more and more commonly labelled *Epilogus* rather than *Chorus* in seventeenth-century printed programmes and dramatic texts.²⁷⁷ Also, while Jesuit colleges in French-speaking regions, such as France and southern Belgium, eliminated inserted choruses from their productions altogether, these productions still concluded with a spoken or sung final chorus, often identified as the epilogue. Epilogues and final choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions were merely the same theatrical production component under two different labels. The decision of whether to use the label *epilogues* or the label *chorus* appears to have been part of individual schools' theatre traditions rather than a network-wide development over time, although the incidence of final choruses labelled as epilogues is higher in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Another significant change to production structure in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre is that the addition of a prologue became increasingly common, most notably in productions performed during the second half of the seventeenth century. Approximately one-third of the productions in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample include a prologue (table 4.34). The information presented in table 4.35 shows that the majority of the productions with a prologue were performed after c.1650, most during the final quarter of the century. Only 13 examples of productions with prologues in the data sample were staged before 1650.

²⁷⁷ The function of the single brief sung chorus concluding sixteenth-century religious school theatrical productions appears to have been assumed by the epilogue, which appears in Jesuit theatre productions beginning around 1600. This developmental relationship between the concluding chorus and the epilogue perhaps explains why epilogues developed as a sung rather than spoken component of religious school dramatic productions.

Similar to seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions, seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre demonstrates an apparent preference for the addition of a prologue without a correspondingly labelled epilogue concluding the production, merely a final section labelled *chorus*.). There are, however, 65 Jesuit college productions, or 13% of the data sample, that include both a prologue and a labelled epilogue; the known contemporary Benedictine school productions exhibit a similar percentage. In contrast, seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions with prologues and epilogues typically include both components. The custom of adding a prologue and re-labelling the final chorus as an epilogue rather than one or the other appears to be more common in Jesuit college theatre from c. 1675 forward, a trend also seen in Benedictine school theatre. The practice of labelling the final chorus as an epilogue without also providing an accompanying prologue appears to be the least usual arrangement in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit college theatre, represented by only six productions in the Jesuit college theatre seventeenth-century data (table 4.34).

A comparison of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre data samples reveals a decided rise in the number of productions with choruses. Whereas the presence of at least one chorus is known for only 12, or 35% of the sixteenth-century productions in the Jesuit theatre data sample, at least 249, or 51%, of the productions in the seventeenth-century data sample include one or more choruses (table 4.36). However, the figure of 51%, by taking into account all of the productions in the data sample regardless of the geographic region of origin, is skewed because of the chorus-elimination practises in Francophone Jesuit colleges. Following an exclusion of productions from colleges in French-speaking regions, the percentage of seventeenth-century productions with choruses rises to 88% (table 4.37).²⁷⁸ The data in table 4.37 reveals the steady growth in the number of productions with at least one chorus during the seventeenth century, culminating in the figure of 98% for productions performed during the final quarter of the century. In contrast to the Jesuit theatrical productions, only three of the 34 Augustinian seventeenth-century programmes and dramatic texts include choruses; an analytical comparison of the use of the chorus as a dramatic component between seventeenth-century Jesuit and Benedictine productions cannot be carried out at this time, as the chief sources of

²⁷⁸ That is, 296 out of the relevant 336 productions within the seventeenth-century data sample.

seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions are the catalogues of Boberski and Haider, neither of which studies indicate the presence or absence of choruses.²⁷⁹

Interludia first appear in Jesuit college theatrical programmes in the seventeenth century, and it is known that their presence was not recorded in the printed programmes from sixteenth-century productions. Even so, the practice of including synopses for *interludia* is inconsistent among seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes, similar to the observed inconsistencies in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre programmes. Just as in contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions, seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre *interludia* are dramatic forms independent of the main title drama and are typically found within with prize-giving celebrations.

Eighteen productions in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, or 4%, include at least one *interludium* (table 4.38). Although the majority of these productions were performed within the last twenty-five years of the century, they account for only 5% of the 195 final quarter theatrical productions. There are one, three and four productions with *interludia*, respectively, among the productions from the first three quarters (table 4.39). It appears, therefore, that *interludia* continue to be rarely indicated in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes. Another possible reason for the apparent paucity of productions with *interludia* during this period is the wide-spread use of choruses with spectacular elements rather than *interludia*.²⁸⁰

The custom of using ballets as *interludia* in theatrical productions, mentioned above, is the primary reason for the significant presence of ballets in Jesuit college productions in Francophone geographic regions after c.1650.²⁸¹ The practice of inserting ballets between the acts of the main title, while not known in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions, is also found in contemporary productions by the northern Belgian Augustinian colleges in Gent and Antwerp.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ While dependent choruses are not identified in Boberski, independent choruses are identified in his catalogue; however, the first instance of an independent chorus in Boberski's study appears in the eighteenth century.

²⁸⁰ See chapter nine for definitions and examples of spectacle and other sub-types of choruses in early seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions.

²⁸¹ Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: baroque dance on a Jesuit stage in Paris* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996). Robert W. Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'opéra de collège* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larouse, 1966), 175–195. Boyse, 32–58.

²⁸² *De Ghecroode Memorie des Doodts inden Heylighen Henricus: De Verlofte Onnoofelheyt Inde Heylighe Chunegundes Zijn Huyfvrauwe* (Gent, 12 September, 1668), BE–Gug 6597, no. 4, CSTD ID

Prior to 1650, a number of Jesuit colleges in French-speaking regions, such as those in southern Belgium, concluded the acts of the main title drama with choruses as often as they eliminated the choruses and used ballets as *interludia*. For example, *Maurice* (Liège, September, 1631),²⁸³ has choruses at the conclusion of each act, while choruses conclude Acts I – IV in *Ursinus* (Arras, January, 1637) (appendix 6, nos. 223 and 228, respectively).²⁸⁴ Nonetheless, Jesuit college theatrical productions performed after 1650 in French-speaking regions typically have a ballet inserted between the acts of the main title drama and no choruses. For example, a *Balet des Siècles* is inserted between Acts I and II of *Omer Spinola* (Douai, 1656) (appendix 6, no. 229).²⁸⁵ Similarly, the production of *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687) was performed with a three-part ballet, *Louis le Grand dans le Temple de la Gloire* (appendix 6, no. 210).²⁸⁶

However, ballets are also found among the 336 Jesuit theatrical productions from non-Francophone regions, although it appears that, unlike the French-region productions, the ballets were always performed in addition to and never instead of choruses. The data in table 4.40 shows that 21 of the non-Francophone region Jesuit college productions, or 6% of the sample, included at least one ballet. All 21 of these productions with ballets were performed after 1650 (table 4.41). Therefore, it appears that ballets began to be used as contrasting dramatic components in Jesuit colleges in both French and non-French speaking regions at approximately the same time, albeit to differing degrees.

The use of music, in the form of choruses, prologues and epilogues, ballets and entirely sung main title tragedies and comedies, is therefore a demonstrably important component of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions. Similar to contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian school theatres, the musical

259; appendix 5, no. 142. *Susanna Belgica Bly-eyndigh Treur-spel* (Antwerp, 13, 14 September, 1683), BE–Bbr II.25.982, no.162, CSTD ID 356; appendix 4, no. 3.

²⁸³ *Maurice Tragedie* (Liège, September, 1631), BE–Lku MS 2445A, CSTD ID 75. In the case of the southern Belgian colleges, the changing preferences regarding choruses and ballets most likely reflect the frequent change in sovereignty over the region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An examination of the relevant productions reveals that this mixture of practices in southern Belgian Jesuit college productions continues into the eighteenth century.

²⁸⁴ *Ursinus Drama Pastoritium* (Arras, January, 1637), BE–Bbr II.91.153 item 13, CSTD ID 89. The chorus concluding Act IV is an example of a spectacle chorus. The programme synopsis indicates that this chorus is a series of six tableaux whose symbolism and significance is explained to the audience.

²⁸⁵ *Omer Spinola Tragedie* (Douai, 1656) BE–Lku P940.226.1 item 10, CSTD ID 2323. *Interludia* nos. 2, 3 and 4 are not identified as ballets in the programme, but as the characters appear to be the same as those in the single formally labelled ballet, *interludia* nos. 2, 3 and 4 are may also be ballets.

²⁸⁶ *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687), GB–Lbl 11735.ee.5, no. 6, CSTD ID 2310.

portions of Jesuit theatre productions function as a contrasting performance medium. In terms of the amount of music within a production and the types of dramatic components set to music, Jesuit college theatrical productions appear to be more similar to Benedictine school productions than Augustinian school theatre productions during the seventeenth century. Benedictine and Jesuit school productions from this century not only include ballets and choruses, the only two musical forms found in seventeenth-century Augustinian college productions, but also prologues, epilogues and main title tragedies and comedies, although the latter appear to be more common in Jesuit than Benedictine school theatre. The chief difference between the role of music in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Jesuit school theatre lies in their respective treatment of *interludia*. Although typically a musical genre in Benedictine theatre, a significant number of the *interludia* in Jesuit theatre appear to be spoken rather than musical works.

Production Structure: Models

The principal difference between the two models of Jesuit college production structure that emerged during the first half of the seventeenth is, therefore, their use of a chorus or ballet between the acts of the main title drama. In order to facilitate the discussion, the three-act and five-act production structure models with choruses are hereafter referred to as Italian models, reflecting the location of the Society's central authority in Rome, although the model is applicable to the theatrical productions from any non-Francophone geographic region. The second production structure model, which replaces choruses with ballets, is hereafter referred to as the French model. The French model of Jesuit college theatrical production structure is limited to those geographic regions under French sovereignty.

Figure 4.5 illustrates the typical production structure of the five-act version of the Italian model of post c.1650 Jesuit college theatrical production structure, or [P]5MCH[I][E]. Italian model productions might open with a prologue, especially in late-century examples, whose dramatic subject might be dependent or independent of the main title drama. Act I of the main title drama follows the prologue. Choruses, whose dramatic subject may dependent, transitional or independent of the dramatic subject of the main title drama, are found at the conclusion of every act of the main drama except for the final act. In some examples of Italian model productions, a form

of *interludia*, including spoken comedies, is inserted between the preceding act of the main title drama and the chorus. The Italian model production might or might not conclude with a final chorus or epilogue.

The five-act production *Dei Admiranda Clementis* (Regensburg, 5 September, 1661) is an example of a rare variant of the five-act Italian model of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical production structure (fig. 4.7).²⁸⁷ At this time, there are no identified examples of this type of main title drama amongst seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions. In this variant of the Italian model production structure, the main title drama consists of a series of short plays rather than the typical single coherent drama. A more extreme version of this variant is *Nihil est Opertum* (Ingolstadt, 6 September, 1645), which contains ten short plays, two plays per act (fig.4.7).²⁸⁸

The placement of the chorus in both *Dei Admiranda Clementis* and *Nihil est Opertum* is typical of productions with this variant structure, with a single chorus inserted between each act regardless of the number of plays within the act. The dramatic subject of these choruses is dependent upon the dramatic subject of the play immediately preceding it; in the case of *Nihil est Opertum*, therefore, none of the first plays in each act conclude with a chorus. The subject matter of each play in these types of productions is, however, often related, such as the three Old Testament episodes from the life of Joseph in acts II and III of *Nihil est Opertum*. The formal divisions within *Dei Admiranda Clementis*, on the other hand, reveal that each of the five acts is a separate ‘proposition,’ similar in tone to an intellectual debate. Both productions conclude with a chorus, under the label of *epilogue* in *Nihil est Opertum*. None of the examined examples of seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions with this variant structure include *interludia* or ballet.

The three-act version of the Italian model, or [P]3MCH[I][E], whose diagram appears in fig. 4.8(a), is identical to the five-act version, except for the shorter length of the main title drama. Both the three-act and five-act versions of the Italian model appear to be equally represented among the seventeenth-century Jesuit college productions from non-Francophone geographic regions, with 125 and 112

²⁸⁷ *Dei Admiranda Clementis Erga Peccatricum Animam* (Regensburg, 5 September, 1661), GB-Lbl 840.e.4, no. 9, CSTD ID 208.

²⁸⁸ *Nihil est Opertum Quod Non Reveletur* (Ingolstadt, 6 September, 1645), Szarota 2:1, 1183–1196, CSTD ID 121.

productions, respectively, within the seventeenth-century data sample.²⁸⁹ The Jesuit colleges in German-speaking regions developed a variant of the three-act Italian model of production structure during the seventeenth century, P3Pt[CH][I][E]. The formal divisions of the main title drama in the Austrian-German variant productions are labelled as parts rather than acts, but this appears to be only a matter of terminology (fig. 4.8(b)). The major difference between the standard Italian model and the Austrian-German variant concerns the material inserted between the acts of the main title drama. In the production structure of the variant form, a chorus or an *interludium*, but never both, is inserted between the formal divisions of the main title drama. In contrast, three-act Italian-model productions always conclude Act I and II with a chorus, and the introduction of *interludia* is always in addition to and never a replacement of the chorus. However, similar to the Italian model, the productions with the Austrian-German variant structure conclude with a final chorus labelled either *Chorus* or *Epilogue*. The 97 examples of the variant production structure within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre sample is a testament to its popularity among Austrian-German Jesuit colleges.

The French model for Jesuit college theatrical production structure is so called because it is the chief structural model for Jesuit college theatrical productions in French-speaking regions after c.1650, although examples may be found in non-Francophone geographic regions both before and after 1650. Similar to the Italian model, the French model of production structure, exists in a three-act version, [P]3M[I][E], and a five-act version, [P]5M[I][E]. Again, similar to the two versions of the Italian model, there is no discernible difference between the two versions of the French model save the length of the main title dramas (fig. 4.9). Seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions built according to the French model might open with a prologue. Like the Italian model productions, French model productions with prologues are more common after 1650, but the prologues in French model productions appear to be dependent in dramatic subject upon the main title drama; there are no examples within the data sample of an independent prologue in a French model production.

²⁸⁹ The 125 productions in three acts include 28 productions employing the standard Italian model of production structure and 97 productions employing the Austrian-German variant of the Italian model, illustrated in fig.4.8 (b).

Ballets or pastorales, inserted between the acts of the main title drama, provide the contrasting performance medium in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions constructed on the lines of the French model of production structure. There are no choruses between the acts, and French model productions do not conclude with a final chorus. The last act of the main title drama instead concludes with an epilogue, a ballet, a general dance or a ballet leading to a general dance. These characteristics make it possible to argue that the productions with *interludia* but without choruses currently classified as the Austrian-German variant of the Italian model could be classified as an Austrian-German variant of the French model. However, as the *interludia* within the Austrian-German productions are not limited to ballet and pastorelle, one of the chief characteristics of the French model, it appears more accurate to acknowledge the similarity between the two bodies of theatrical works but not to re-classify the Austrian-German productions without choruses as a sub-type of the French model of Jesuit college theatrical production structure.

There are two major differences between the Italian and French models of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical production structure. First, the choruses concluding the acts in Italian model are absent in the French model. Secondly, rather than drawing upon spoken comedies, ballets, and other genres for *interludia*, the *interludia* in productions constructed according to the French model are limited to the ballet and pastorelle genres. In his proposal that the ballet replaces the chorus in French Jesuit college productions, William H. McCabe, S.J., implies that the ballets in French-model productions are equivalent to the choruses found in the Italian model: ‘Finally, we have to consider the most important of all the substitutes used for chorus in the Jesuit theatre, namely, the ballet.’²⁹⁰ However, a comparison of the various forms of production structure in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions reveals that productions constructed according to the French model did not substitute ballets for the choruses but rather eliminated the choruses altogether. The data likewise shows that the inserted *interludia* in French model productions became generally limited to the genres of ballet and pastorelle.

Figure 4.10 presents the diagrams of the five-act version of the Italian model and the five-act version of the French model side-by-side with all genre-specific information removed from the *interludia* labels. Once the choruses are eliminated

²⁹⁰ McCabe, 203–213.

from the Italian model, as shown, the two types of production structure are shown to be identical. A re-examination of the data in McCabe's study also provides support for this proposed amendment, for the theatrical examples provided by McCabe specifically employ ballets as an interlude and not in place of the chorus.²⁹¹ Thus, the chief difference between the Italian and French models of production structure is the presence of the chorus in the first and absence of the chorus in the second, and therefore the development of the independent chorus in Jesuit theatre occurred only in those regions employing the Italian model of theatrical production structure.

Production Structure: Production Forces

The inclusion of the performance cast in printed programmes from Jesuit college theatrical productions during the seventeenth century is also an important source of information for production structure as well as studying the production forces in Jesuit theatre during the seventeenth century. The performance cast information is printed in the programmes of 226 productions out of the 486 productions in the seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre data sample, or 47% (table 4.42). Twenty-one percent, or 47, of these 226 cast lists are incomplete. That is, the performers for one or more components of the production, such as chorus, ballet or *interludia*, are not included in the printed programme even though the presence of these dramatic components are identified in the programme. For example, the programme for the 1687 Argentinean Jesuit college production of the tragedy, *Agathocles*, an independent untitled allegorical prologue, and the ballet, *Louis le Grande*, provides character names for only the prologue and the ballet (appendix 6, no. 210).²⁹² The omission of the main title drama characters in favour of those from other components of the theatrical production is, however, rare among seventeenth-century Jesuit printed programmes. More commonly, the casts of main title dramas are printed in the programme but not the characters or performers for prologues, epilogues, choruses, *interludia* or ballets.

As the data analysis in Table 4.42 shows, by c. 1650 approximately three-fifths of all Jesuit theatre programmes include a list of the performance cast for at

²⁹¹ McCabe, 204–205.

²⁹² *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5, item 6; CSTD 2310; appendix 6, no.210. This production is an example of the French model of production structure in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre.

least one component of cast lists. This is a marked change from observed sixteenth century practices, in which only 9% of theatrical programme identified the performers. The number of programmes with cast lists over the course of the seventeenth century appears to be similar among the Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit datasets, ranging between 38% (Augustinian) and 47% (Jesuit) of the examined programmes. Therefore, the observed increase in the inclusion of cast lists in religious school theatrical programmes appears to be general, and not limited to the theatrical productions of a particular religious community.

The performance cast in printed programmes is usually presented in one of four formats. The first, and by far the most common format, might be labelled Cast by Performance Medium, and appears to be the preferred format in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical programmes during the seventeenth century. In this format, the speaking roles and singing roles are presented in separate lists under headings such as *nomina actorum* or *catalogus actorum* and *personae musicae*, or *choris musici*, respectively (fig. 4.11). Under each of these headings might be one or more sub-groups, such as *Leges*, *Ephebi* or *Militum* under *nomina actorum* and *Choreuta*, *Genii* or *Chori* under *personae musicae*. The actors for *interludia* and dancers for ballets or dances inserted in the main title drama are not typically identified separately within cast lists, if included at all. However, for those programme cast lists with identified dance ensembles, the dancers are generally grouped under a descriptive title including the term *salu* (*saltus*), as in the programme for *Prodigosus Deiparentis Favor* (Linz, April, 1695) (fig. 4.12).²⁹³

However, some seventeenth-century Jesuit college programmes employ a cast list format other than division by performance medium. The cast list in the programme for *Leontius Comes Florentinus* (Neuberg, 3, 6 September, 1677) is a standard example of Jesuit college theatrical programmes in which the entire cast is ordered by school class without differentiation between spoken and musical roles (fig. 4.13).²⁹⁴ There are, however, no known corresponding examples of this format among

²⁹³ *Prodigosus Deiparentis Favor, in Tribus Nobilibus Equitibus cum Ismeria ex Aegypti captivitate in Franciam translatis demonstratus* (Linz, April, 1695) Szarota 1:2, 1211–1226; CSTD 443. The cast of this production includes three ballet ensembles: *Saltu Nobilium*, with 6 dancers, *Saltu Nili*, an ensemble of 15 dancers, and *Saltu Phantasorum*, composed of 19 dancers

²⁹⁴ *Leontius Comes Florentinus Machiavelli Discipulus ab Avo Suo ad Infernum Olim Abstractus* (Neuberg, 3, 6 September, 1677), Szarota 2:1, 1048–1052; CSTD ID 321. Seminary students are an exception in school-class format programmes, for while they are always listed first in the programme, just as seen in the example in fig. 4.13, a class label is never affixed at the head of the speaking cast

the available Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical programmes. As the musicians and dancers are not separated in the Jesuit theatrical programme cast lists organised by school class, it is difficult to determine accurately the size of the various performing ensembles within the production. For example, the seminary student Andreas Merz performed two musical roles, *Genius Tutelaris* of the main character, Leontius, and *Nemesis Divina*, while the Poetry student Andreas Fischer performed multiple minor speaking roles as well as dancing in the ensemble *Saltu Fortun* (fig. 4.13, indicated by arrows).

Three programmes in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample exemplify a mixture of the performance medium and school class formats. For example, in the programme for *Basilus* (Landsberg, 3, 5 September, 1658), the musical cast, but not the spoken cast, is ordered by school class (fig. 4.14).²⁹⁵ The opposite is found in the programme for *Neaniae* (Porrentruy, 2, 4 September, 1676), in which the main title drama cast, but not the *musici*, is displayed by school class (fig. 4.15).²⁹⁶ Currently, examples of theatrical programmes mixing the performance medium and school class formats are found only in Jesuit school theatre. The programme *Filio Prodigio Adumbratus* (Hall, 2, 5 September, 1659) is an example of a rarely used format, in which the musical and spoken roles are presented in a single list without an obvious form of organisation.²⁹⁷ Thus, in the cast list for *Filio Prodigio Adumbratus*, the *chorus musicus* is followed by the actors for a spoken ensemble, *Hostes Ecclesiae Romanae*, and so on (fig. 4.16). The performance medium for each character or ensemble in these types of programmes can be determined only by means of a close examination of the production synopses.

Finally, there are two examples of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes in which the spoken or musical cast is listed by formal division, e.g. Pars Prima, Act I, Chorus I, etc. The cast list in the programme for *Borgia* (Regensburg, 1, 3 September, 1671), found at the conclusion of the programme, lists the cast for each formal division of the main title drama; the *personae musici* and *personae mutae*

list. However, there are examples in which a class label is given to seminary students in the musical personnel list (fig. 4.14).

²⁹⁵ *Basilus Adolescens Constantinopolitanus Divinae Laudis Assertor Invictus* (Landsberg, 3, 5 September, 1658), Szarota 2:1, 467–474; CSTD 185.

²⁹⁶ *Wunderliche Betherung und Marter Neaniae* (Porrentruy, 2, 4 September, 1676), Szarota 2:2, 1337–1344; CSTD ID 316.

²⁹⁷ *Acharistus seu Status Animae Peccantis & Peonitentis Filio Prodigio Adumbratus* (Hall, 2, 5 September, 1659), Szarota 1:1, 603–610; CSTD ID 193.

conclude the cast list (fig. 4.17).²⁹⁸ In contrast, it is only the musical cast that is displayed for each formal division in the programme for *Proteus Christianus* (Munich, 3, 6 September, 1674) (fig. 4.18).²⁹⁹ Although there are no known examples of this type of cast format in Augustinian school theatre, the cast format for the Benedictine production *Pax Europae*, discussed in chapter 2, bears a resemblance to that of the Jesuit productions *Borgia* and *Proteus Christianus*. The key difference between the cast lists in the Benedictine and Jesuit productions is that the cast of *Pax Europae* is not presented together on the final pages of the programme, as in the Jesuit examples, but provided in the body of the programme as the characters enter in the drama.

The cast lists in seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical programmes are not only important for the study of changes in production structures and ensemble size, but also for examining the social class and source, that is, student or hired professional, of the performers. While all of the speaking roles appear to have been performed by Jesuit college or seminary students, a small percentage of seventeenth-century Jesuit productions employed professional church musicians in the leading roles in the choruses. Definitive evidence of the use of outside musicians in Jesuit theatre is rare, and an example has yet to be found amongst the Benedictine and Augustinian programmes in this study.

In some instances, the professional musicians performing in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre were from the church attached to the Jesuit college. For example, in *Cyrus* (Munich, 2, 5 September, 1681) the role of *Mars* was sung by D. Albertus Rorer, a musician from St. Michael's Church (Michaelskirche), the church of the Munich Jesuit college.³⁰⁰ The character of *Vulcan*, on the other hand, was sung by D. Andreas Friz, a musician from St. Peter's Church (Peterskirche), the oldest Catholic church in Munich but independent of the Jesuits (fig. 4.19). Another instance of the use of a non-Jesuit-related church musician is in the production of *Andracius* (Landsberg, 5, 6 September, 1667).³⁰¹ The roles of Deus Pater, Petrus, and Julianus in the choruses inserted in *Andracius* were sung by D. Joannes Settele, a cantor at St.

²⁹⁸ *Borgia Triumphans de Mundivinitate* (Regensburg, 1, 3 September, 1671), Szarota 2:2, 2109–2118; CSTD ID 275.

²⁹⁹ *Proteus Christianus* (Munich, 3, 6 September, 1674), Szarota 3:2, 1821–1832; CSTD 2914.

³⁰⁰ *Cyrus Adoptatus Reguis Divinae Providentiae Ludus* (Munich, 2, 5 September, 1681), Szarota 1:1, 307–318; CSTD ID 340.

³⁰¹ *Andracius* (Landsberg, 5, 6 September, 1667), Szarota 2:2, 1383–1392; CSTD ID 254.

Jodocus (fig. 4.20).³⁰² However, only six productions out of the 226 productions with programme cast lists used non-student performers, and therefore, just as in the sixteenth century, the majority of the roles in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions were acted, sung and danced by Jesuit college and seminary students.³⁰³

After c.1650, several Jesuit colleges and seminaries began to include in the printed theatrical programmes the noble titles of the performers taking part in the production. For example, the dance ensemble *Saltu Nobilium* from *Prodigiosus Deiparentis Favor* (Linz, April, 1695), mentioned above, is composed of six titled students (fig. 4.12).³⁰⁴ Similarly, 20 of the 21 members of the *Choris Saltatorum* ensemble in *Ansberta* (Vienna, August, 1667) are of noble birth (fig. 4.21).³⁰⁵ One possible reason for the addition of social status identification in Jesuit college theatrical programmes at the century midpoint is the growing competition for patronage and resources the Jesuits faced with the educational institutions of other religious communities such as, but not limited to, the Benedictines, Augustinians and French Oratorians. The publication of the titles of noble students in programmes is therefore probably an advertisement that the Jesuit school is the school of choice for noblemen's sons. Nor were the Jesuits the only religious community to employ such

³⁰² The St. Jodocus mentioned in the programme is possibly the fourteenth-century church in Landshut, as there was a large Jesuit college in Landshut, and Landsberg did not have church by that name during the seventeenth century.

³⁰³ The six productions known to have used non-students in principal singing roles are: *Andracius* (Landsberg, 5, 6 September, 1667), Szarota 2:2, 1383–1392, CSTD 254; 1 musician. *Via Mirabilis Divinae Providentiae Principem Hedvinum ad Terrenum et Caeleste Regnum Evehentis* (Munich, 1, 5 September, 1678), Szarota 1:1, 377–388, CSTD ID 328; 3 musicians. *Cyrus Adoptatus Reguis Divinae Providentiae Ludus* (Munich, 2, 5 September, 1681), Szarota 1:1, 307–318, CSTD ID 340; 2 musicians. *Sven [Suen] Deo ac Patri Perfidus Treulosigkeit Svenonis [Suenonis]* (Burghausen, 3, 6 September, 1694), Szarota 2:1, 935–942, CSTD ID 429; 2 musicians. *Prodigiosus Deiparentis Favor, in Tribus Nobilibus Equitibus cum Ismeria ex Aegypti Captivitate in Franciam Translatis Demonstratus* (Linz, April, 1696), Szarota 1:2, 1211–1226, CSTD ID 443; two musicians. *Amor in Filios Crudelis in summo Israelis Pontifice Heli Filiis suis Nimium Indulgente* (Burghausen, 2, 4 September, 1699), Szarota 3:2, 1573–1580, CSTD ID 490; two musicians. Only a few seventeenth-century programmes identify the instrumental performers, and all of these performers are students or the composer. One possibility is that the absence of instrumentalists in seventeenth-century Jesuit college programmes indicates that Jesuit colleges hired outside instrumentalists but did not include their names in the programmes because the musicians were not connected with the school. The exception in programme printing practices, might, therefore, be made only for outside singers, as their character name must appear in the programme and likewise the name of the performer. As they did not perform dramatic roles, there would have been no need to similarly identify the outside musicians hired for the instrumentalist ensemble.

³⁰⁴ *Prodigiosus Deiparentis Favor, in Tribus Nobilibus Equitibus cum Ismeria ex Aegypti captivitate in Franciam translatis demonstratus* (Linz, April, 1695), Szarota 1:2, 1211–1226; CSTD 443.

³⁰⁵ *Eheliche Trewgeflissenheit Oder Ansberta Ihres Gemahels Bertulfi* (Vienna, August, 1667), Szarota 3:2, 1613–1627; CSTD 258.

tactics during the second half of the seventeenth century; the cast list for the Benedictine production *SS. Felicitatis* identifies the noble students in the cast as does the programme for the Augustinian production *Adrianus*. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that noble birth was a consideration in casting the leading roles in Jesuit college theatrical productions, although the minor roles assigned to titled students appear to be those requiring an elaborate costume, such as dukes, courtiers, royal pages and similar. It appears that the casting in Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre was likewise carried out according to ability rather than social class.

An early example of the practice of printing noble titles in Jesuit theatrical programmes, as well as one of only three known examples of a programme from a seventeenth-century Jesuit Marian congregation dramatic production, is the programme printed for the 1659 production of the five-act tragedy *Falcone Bizantino Demonstratum* by the Marian congregation of the Jesuit school in Ingolstadt (24 June, 1659) (fig. 4.22).³⁰⁶ In this production, 20 seminary students composed the cast for the spoken drama, 9 of them noble. The major roles for the musical components of *Falcone Bizantino Demonstratum* were performed by eight seminary students and one noble-born student; the smaller musical roles were relegated to ten non-noble students. Five of the main characters in *Theodoricus* (Dillingen, 4, 6 September, 1696) were also performed by seminary students.³⁰⁷ None of the seminary students were of noble birth, but noble-born students from the Rhetoric class, indicated by brackets in fig. 4.23, performed the remaining principal roles. Many of the minor roles, too, were assigned to noble students from the lower school classes. Just as in *Theodoricus*, approximately half of the cast in *Felix in Captivitate Libertas* (Munich, 3, 5 September, 1698), were titled students (fig. 4.24).³⁰⁸

There are seven examples within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample of productions that incorporate the distribution of class prizes into the dramatic action.³⁰⁹ The prizes are given out by characters from the production. Three

³⁰⁶ *Pretium Veritatis Ab Angelo Custode in Falcone Bizantino Demonstratum* (Marian Congregation, Ingolstadt, 24 June, 1659), Szarota 2:1, 559–566; CSTD ID 192. Regarding the advent of Jesuit Marian congregations, see chapter 7.

³⁰⁷ *Theodoricus magno anio ad obtinendam virtutem se accingit* (Dillingen, 4, 6 September, 1696), Szarota 1:1, 467–474; CSTD ID 450.

³⁰⁸ *Felix in Captivitate Libertas et Felicior ex Liberatate Captivitas, Mulei Mahometi Atafî Serifi Ex Potentissimo Fessae & Marocci Rege Christiani* (Munich, 3, 5 September, 1698), Szarota 2:2, 1417–1424; CSTD ID 472.

³⁰⁹ *Maria Exhilaratrix Comoedia Historice Digesta* (Dillingen, 2, 6 September, 1660), Szarota 3:1, 727–742; CSTD ID 203. *Gloria Sacerdotum S. Franciscus Xaverius Soc. Iesu Indiarum Apostolus*

of the seven productions conclude with a *Pro Distributione Praemiorum* rather than an epilogue or concluding chorus: *Maria Exhilaratrix* (Dillingen, 2, 6 September, 1660); *Parabola Evangelica a Christo Domino Proposita* (Regensburg, 2, 4 September, 1664); *Ludovicus Gritus* (Landsberg, 2, 4 September, 1687) and *Partharitus Rex Longobardorum* (Lucerne, 2, 4 September, 1693). Similarly, the 1693 production of *Partharitus Rex Longobardorum* by the Jesuit college at Lucerne also concludes with a prize distribution ceremony, but in the form of a festival celebration.³¹⁰ In two other productions, *Jobo* (Dillingen, 4, 6 September, 1679) and *Hierosolyma* (Ingolstadt, 1, 3 September, 1682), the prize distribution is incorporated into the final scene of the main title drama (fig. 4.25).³¹¹ Similarly, the distribution of prizes is integrated into the epilogue for *S. Franciscus Xaverius* (Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664) (fig. 4.26).³¹²

The data in tables 4.43, 4.44 and 4.45 reflect the number of performers and not the number of characters/roles in the production. The actual size of the performance cast is larger in most cases than is presented in these three tables, for it is not possible to include those ensembles without a specified number of performers, such as soldiers, nymphs, chorus, crowd, etc. Also, performers in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre frequently performed multiple roles, especially the musical cast. Although there are no examples of this practice among the examined Augustinian productions, there are Benedictine school productions in which students played multiple characters. Therefore, in order to study the size of the production cast and provide an equitable basis of comparison among Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school productions, only the specified performers are considered here; an analysis and

(Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664), Szarota 3:2, 1273–1281; CSTD ID 226. *Vinea Parabolica sive Parabola Evangelica a Christo Domino Proposita* (Regensburg, 2, 4 September, 1664), Szarota 1:1, 567–574; CSTD ID 225. *Divinae Providentiae Lusus in Jobo Olim Exhibitus* (Dillingen, 4, 6 September, 1679), Szarota 1:1, 397–404; CSTD ID 330. *Laurea Christiano-Lotharingica Hierosolyma Capta Primo Illius Regi Imposita* (Ingolstadt, 1, 3 September, 1682), Szarota 3:1, 699–706; CSTD ID 345. *Ludovicus Gritus Ambitosum Lunae Turciae Mancipium a Sole Divinae Iustitiae Merito Supplicio Castigatus* (Landsberg, 2, 4 September, 1687), Szarota 3:1, 779–785; CSTD ID 376. *Partharitus Rex Longobardorum* (Lucerne, 2, 4 September, 1693), Szarota 1:1, 459–466; CSTD ID 2915.

³¹⁰ ‘Festivo omnium applausu redux Partharitus in folium restituitur.’ *Partharitus Rex Longobardorum* (Lucerne, 2, 4 September, 1693), Szarota 1:1, 459–466; CSTD ID 2915.

³¹¹ *Divinae Providentiae Lusus in Jobo Olim Exhibitus* (Dillingen, 4, 6 September, 1679), Szarota 1:1, 397–404; CSTD ID 330. *Laurea Christiano-Lotharingica Hierosolyma Capta Primo Illius Regi Imposita* (Ingolstadt, 1, 3 September, 1682), Szarota 3:1, 699–706; CSTD ID 345.

³¹² *Gloria Sacerdotum S. Franciscus Xaverius Soc. Iesu Indiarum Apostolus* (Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664), Szarota 3:2, 1273–1281; CSTD ID 226.

comparison of the number of characters and unspecified ensembles is found in the following section on dramatic genres.

Table 4.43 presents Jesuit college production cast sizes in increments of 25 performers and shows the total number of productions for each cast size by century quarters, while table 4.44 reveals the average cast size for each quarter of the century in addition to the ensemble size range within the data sample. The three productions from the first quarter of the seventeenth century are so disparate in cast size – 8, 82, and 141, respectively – as to indicate a range rather than a typical number of performers for early seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions. On the other hand, the average ensemble size in table 4.44 for the 21 second-quarter Jesuit theatre productions, 65 performers, is corroborated by the findings in table 4.43. While only 38% of the 1625–1649 productions in table 4.43 require fewer than 50 performers, 67% require fewer than 75 performers. All of the second quarter productions require an ensemble of less than 150 performers, but only just: *Dapiseri* (Constanz, 22 February, 1629) was performed by 148 actors.³¹³

The average number of Jesuit college theatre performers per production is equivalent for the third and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century, 92 performers (table 4.44). The range in the total number of performers is approximately equivalent between the final two quarters of the century, with a range of ten to 233 performers for the third quarter and eight to 220 performers for the fourth quarter. An examination of the data in tables 4.43 and 4.44 reveals that the production ensemble size increased significantly between the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century, for while 95% of second-quarter productions require less than 125 performers, only 78% of the third quarter productions in the data sample used fewer than 125 performers. Whereas the ensemble size of only one second-quarter production exceeded 125 performers, 19 third-quarter and 20 fourth-quarter productions were performed by more than 125 performers. The performance of the largest production in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, *S. Franciscus Xaverius* (Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664), took place during the third quarter of the

³¹³ *Dapiseri das ist heroische oder Eitterliche Thaten* (Constanz, 22 February, 1629), Szarota 3:2, 2041–2048; CSTD ID 63. The 148 performers all perform speaking roles, as the prologue and epilogue are apparently spoken rather than sung; there are no choruses listed in the programme for this production.

century, requiring at least 232 performers (table 4.44).³¹⁴ The largest production in the fourth quarter of the century, with a known ensemble of 220 performers, is *Metamorphosis Favoris in Furorem* (Munich, 1, 3 September, 1676).³¹⁵

A comparison of the range in the number of performers taking part in seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical productions reveals that, while size of the cast in Benedictine and Jesuit productions is similar, Augustinian productions appear to be on a significantly smaller scale. As the boldface figures in table 4.45 indicate, the cast size of the majority of seventeenth-century Jesuit productions ranges between 50 and 124 performers. In contrast, the approximate range in Augustinian productions of 20–40 performers falls well below the Jesuit mean, although the actors for the three *interludia*, dancers and instrumentalists for the four ballets and vocalists and instrumentalists for the six choruses are not specified in programme for the 1689 Augustinian production *Doorluchtigste Huys*.

The available information for seventeenth-century Benedictine productions indicates a range of 20–130 performers, which, while more similar to the Jesuit figures than the known Augustinian productions, is still less than found within comparable Jesuit productions. However, the average number of production performers for the century appears to be similar between Benedictine and Jesuit seventeenth-century productions, with an average of 76 performers in Benedictine dramas and 82 in Jesuit college theatre. However, the approximate average production cast size for seventeenth-century Augustinian productions is only 22 performers; this unbalance among the three bodies of works more likely indicates the lack of detail in Augustinian theatrical programme cast lists than such a drastic difference in production size between Augustinian productions and those by Benedictine and Jesuit schools.

³¹⁴ *Gloria Sacerdotum S. Franciscus Xaverius Soc. Iesu Indiarum Apostolus* (Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664), Szarota 3:2, 1273–1281; CSTD ID 226. The musical cast for this comedy is not presented separately from spoken cast. As there are two dependent allegorical choruses and a dependent allegorical epilogue in the production, the main title comedy is probably spoken rather than sung, although the integration of the cast suggests a single performance medium. The distribution of class prizes forms the conclusion of the epilogue.

³¹⁵ *Metamorphosis Favoris in Furorem* (Munich, 1, 3 September, 1676), Szarota 2:2, 2017–2027; CSTD ID 311. In addition to the main title tragedy, this production includes a prologue and two choruses. Both choruses are allegorical spectacles, and could possibly be considered independent works, although they are currently considered as dependent pending further information.

Dramatic Genres

An analysis of the data sample shows significant changes in the dramatic genres in Jesuit college theatrical productions during the seventeenth century. While all of the main title drama genres present in the sixteenth century continued into the next century, several new hybrid genres appeared during the course of the seventeenth century. The *drama musicum* increased in popularity as a choice for main title drama while other genres, such as the comedy, appear in decreasing numbers among the main title dramas. The presence of *interludia* in Jesuit school dramatic productions is more consistently documented in printed programmes during the seventeenth century, and several *interludia* genres, in particular ballet and pastorale, become associated with certain regions of the Jesuit theatre network.

Another major development in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre dramatic genres concerns the traditionally sung portions of the theatrical productions, namely, the prologues, epilogues and choruses. In sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions, all prologues, epilogues and choruses are dependent, that is, their dramatic subject and characters were those of the main title drama. However, during the seventeenth century, prologues and choruses and, less commonly, epilogues, developed independent dramatic works. The term independent in this context signifies a prologue, epilogue or chorus with a dramatic subject and characters distinct from the main title drama, although the plot typically illustrates or provides a parallel example of the trials of the main title drama protagonist. In the process of developing from dependent to independent dramatic works, there are examples of prologues, epilogues and choruses that appear to occupy a middle territory between dependence and independence; in this study, these examples are identified by the term transitional. Transitional prologues, epilogues and choruses share the characters and to some degree the dramatic subject of the main title drama, using dialogues between an allegorical character, frequently Divine Providence, and the spirit, or *genius*, of the hero to explain a symbolic tableau of saints or Biblical characters or a brief play-within-a-play as examples of moral paragons/Christian inspiration to the hero of the main title drama.

Many aspects of Jesuit dramatic genres remain constant between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of these is performance language. As a general rule, the dramatic genres within Jesuit college theatrical productions on prize-days were

performed in Latin, including the *interludia*. However, as the century continued, one or more dramatic components within non-prize-day productions gradually came to be performed in the vernacular, especially the inserted ballets, pantomimes, and other forms of *interludia*. This discussion presents in brief the dramatic genres commonly found within Jesuit college theatrical productions during the seventeenth century.

Dramatic Genres: Main Title Drama

There are 478 main title dramas in six genres amongst the dataset for seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre.³¹⁶ Of these dramas, only one, *Chosroes* (Rhetoric class, Munich, 7 July, 1638) was performed by a single school class; to the best of current knowledge, the other main title dramas are all from productions involving the entire school.³¹⁷ Thus, while all-school productions appear to comprise the majority of the analysed seventeenth-century theatrical activity in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school, there is evidence of a tradition of performances by a single class, typically either the Rhetoric or Poetry class, in all three repertoires. The apparent characteristic of single-class plays which distinguishes them from all-school productions is an observed absence of the most common musical components: prologues, epilogues and choruses.

The data collected for this study indicates that the greatest variety of main title dramatic genres occurs within the Jesuit theatre oeuvre; in comparison to the six genres observed among seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions, five genres are found among contemporary Augustinian school productions, and only four genres can be identified in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre. The main title dramatic genres in Augustinian school productions include comedy, dialogue, *drama musicum*, oratorio and tragedy.³¹⁸ Except for the oratorio, which is not found in

³¹⁶ Ten of the main title dramas in table 4.10 are dramatic texts published during the seventeenth century without known production performance dates. Therefore, these works could not be included in the data for the preceding portions of the chapter concerning performance and production structure.

³¹⁷ *Chosroes Tragoedia* (Munich, 7 July, 1638), Szarota 3:2, 903–906; CSTD ID 95. It is believed that single-class productions were more common in the seventeenth-century than the currently available data suggests.

³¹⁸ The 4 oratorios in the Augustinian theatre dataset were published in 1700 in the collection *Oratori sacri a 3 v. cavati dalla Sacra Scrittura, et sunt L' Abele - L' Adamo - L' Abramo - Il David trionfante*. Referenced in David Aurelius Perini, *Biblioteca Agostiniana*, 4 vols. (Firenze: Tipografia Sordomuti, 1929 – 1937): II:107, no. 2.

the seventeenth-century Benedictine school productions, the four genres in Benedictine school theatre are the same as those of Augustinian theatre.

The Jesuit school theatre main title dramas in the data sample for the seventeenth-century include 35 comedies, five comi-tragedies, 19 *dramae musica*, two examples of festival pieces with dramatic elements, 409 tragedies, and eight tragi-comedies (table 4.46).³¹⁹ Approximately three-quarters of these works are part of productions performed after 1650; 32%, or 152 dramas, in the third quarter of the century and 39%, or 186 dramas, in the fourth quarter (table 4.47). Ten percent of the sample, or 49 main title dramas, date from the period 1600 to 1624, while the remaining 19%, or 91 dramas, of the dataset were performed between 1625 and 1649. It is thus apparent that while the total number of main title dramas from the first quarter of the seventeenth century dataset is greater than that of the entire sixteenth-century data sample, it is smaller than the number of examples available from the second, third, and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century. Therefore, the existence of a post-1625 bias in the following analyses of Jesuit theatre main title dramas is hereby acknowledged.

Just as seen among sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre productions, tragedies comprise the largest percentage of main title dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre, representing an overwhelming 86% of the data sample.³²⁰ Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical productions also display a preference for tragedies over other genres for main title dramas during the seventeenth-century. However, in comparison to accounting for 86% among Jesuit school main title dramas, the tragedy is used in 66% of Benedictine and only 43% of Augustinian seventeenth-century school theatre productions.³²¹ The comedy is the second most common type of main title drama after the tragedy in both sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit college productions, although making up less than half the percentage seen in the sixteenth century; while comedies comprise 18% of the main title dramas in the sixteenth-century dataset, only

³¹⁹ Although it happens to be that there are no examples of traditional liturgical dramas, such as *Corpus Christi*, amongst the data for the seventeenth-century, an examination of Valentin's catalogue reveals that these early dramatic traditions continued among German and Austrian Jesuit colleges. However, the use of dialogues and ballets as main title dramas seen among the examined seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions is not found within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample. Contemporary Augustinian school theatrical productions likewise do not appear to use dialogues or ballets for main title dramas.

³²⁰ Regarding the tragedy and comedy in French Jesuit school theatrical productions, see Boyssse, 21–30; 59–62.

³²¹ That is, 121 out of 184 Benedictine theatre main title dramas (refer to table 2.11) and 28 out of 65 Augustinian main title dramas (refer to table 3.11).

7% of the main title dramas in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset are comedies. In contrast, although the data is admittedly limited for sixteenth-century productions, the main title drama preference in Benedictine theatre appear to have shifted from the comedy in the sixteenth century to the tragedy in the seventeenth century.

One possible reason for this observed decline in main title comedies in Jesuit college theatre is a performance practice that appears to have developed during the early seventeenth century. A study of seventeenth-century printed programmes reveal that spoken comedies were inserted between the acts of the main title drama following the chorus, a practice examined below in the discussion of Jesuit theatre *interludia*. One of the earliest examples of this practice is the comedy *S. Isabelle*, which was presented with the tragedy *Albert, Fils de Godefroy III* (Brussels, 12 November, 1613).³²² Although there are no known instances in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions, Augustinian schools, perhaps to compete with the local Jesuit colleges, appear to have adopted this practice by the late seventeenth century.³²³

Another possible reason for the decreasing use of the comedy in Jesuit theatre as a main title drama might be the use of the hybrid genres tragi-comedy and comi-tragedy, which seems to first appear in Jesuit theatre c.1600.³²⁴ In brief, the generally accepted chief distinction between a tragi-comedy and a tragedy is that the tragi-comedy concludes happily for the hero, while the tragedy depicts the failure of the hero through poor judgment. The definition of the comi-tragedy genre is less codified in literature than tragi-comedy, but the comi-tragedy plays in the Jesuit theatre seventeenth-century data sample have in common the appearance of Catholic saints or Greco-Roman gods representing Christian attributes that the hero ignores to his fatal peril. The known Augustinian school theatrical repertoire does not contain any examples of main title dramas in these hybrid genres, but there are three instances within the seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre data sample.³²⁵ While it is

³²² *Tragedie Albert Cardinal et Eiusque de Liege, Fils de Godefroy III* (Brussels, 12 November, 1613), BE–Bbr IL.91.153, no. 15; CSTD ID 26.

³²³ The earliest known example of this practice in an Augustinian school theatrical production is the two-part comedy *Sales* inserted in the 1677 three-act tragedy *Andrianus. Glorieuse Doodt...Adrianus Judex du Maximus* (Gent, September, 1677), BE–Gug G.6597, no. 5; CSTD ID 318.

³²⁴ The genres tragi-comedy and comi-tragedy did not, however, develop at the turn of the century. Rather, they are sub-types of ancient Greek drama described by Aristotle in *Poetics*.

³²⁵ *Tragicomedio de S. Remy* (Belgium, Huy, 17 ?, 1631), BE–Lul MS. 484; CSTD ID 2904. *Tragicomica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (Munich, 5 September, 1661), GB–Lbl

possible that these hybrid genres are more numerous in both Benedictine and Jesuit college theatre during the seventeenth century than the available evidence indicates, the tragi-comedy and comi-tragedy appear to be the least common main title drama genres in both Benedictine and Jesuit school theatrical productions.

The genre *drama musicum* is the third genre of choice after tragedies and comedies for seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre main title dramas. The performance information and title incipits for 21 examples of *dramae musica* in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample are presented in table 4.48.³²⁶ In this study, the genre *drama musicum* is restricted to main title dramas sung in performance, i.e. the category does not include sung prologues, epilogues, choruses, and *interludia*. The term *drama musicum* has historically been used as the equivalent of *opera*, but, as the scores, texts and programmes labelled *drama musicum* also include singspiels, passions, pastorales, melodramas, etc., in addition to operas, this study uses the generic term *drama musicum* as used in the primary sources to indicate sung main title dramas without further genre differentiation.³²⁷

The occasion for theatrical productions, such as the distribution of class prizes, does not appear to affect the dramatic genre chosen for the main title drama in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre. For example, among the seventeenth-century Jesuit

RB.23.a.25998; CSTD ID 209. *Comico-Tragaedien von Baccho* (Salzburg, 5 March 1629), Boberski. no. 20; CSTD ID 2624.

³²⁶ While the schools performing these sung dramas reflect the unavoidable Germanic regional bias of the data sample, it is evident in table 4.48 that the practice of using a *drama musicum* as a main title drama is not restricted to a single school or localised region.

³²⁷ T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuit Opera in Seventeenth-Century Vienna: *Patientis Christi memoria* by Johann Bernhard Staudt (1654–1712),' in *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006): 787–801, DVD. Johann Bernhard Staudt, *Ferdinandus Quintus Rex Hispaniae*, ed. Walter Pass and Karl Plepelits, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* Vol.132 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1981). There is some difficulty in ascertaining an accurate assessment of the popularity of the genre *drama musicum* among main title dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre. This is primarily due to inconsistent labelling practices among primary sources as well as the small number of scores available for scholarly study. Nearly all of the located music for *dramae musica* still remains in manuscript. Another obstacle in locating the scores for seventeenth-century *dramae musica* is that the composer is frequently not identified in the surviving documentation. For example, the composers have been identified for only seven out of the 19 examples of *dramae musica* in table 4.48. Only those works identified in source materials as *dramae musica* are so classified in the data sample and the CSTD, but a number of works revealed by later research to be entirely sung are labelled in the sources as tragedies or comedies or bear no genre identification at all. For example, the three-act sacred opera *Ferdinandus Quintus Rex Hispaniae* (Vienna, 1684) with music by Johann Bernhard Staudt, is labelled as a tragedy. Staudt's passion-setting from the following year, *Patientis Christi memoria* (Vienna, 1685) is an example of a *drama musicum* without genre identification. Also, for the main title drama whose titles do not include musical keywords such as 'cantat,' 'cantate dramico' or 'musice,' a sung performance medium cannot be detected from the information in catalogues in previously published secondary sources. Therefore, it is probable the incidence of sung main title dramas in the repertoire is higher than indicated by the data sample in this study.

college theatrical productions not associated with the distribution of class prizes, 32 are tragedies, and only three are comedies. Similarly, while the information in table 4.49 reveals that majority of the examples of seventeenth-century Jesuit *dramae musica* are part prize-day theatrical productions, at least four were performed for other occasions.³²⁸ In contrast, the only two dramatic works classified as festivals in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample are both from non-prize-day productions.³²⁹ Tragedies also outnumber all other genres in non-prize productions in Benedictine and Augustinian productions. However, while the main title dramas in non-prize productions in both Jesuit and Augustinian seventeenth-century school theatrical productions are primarily tragedies, the difference between the number of tragedies and the number of comedies in non-prize productions in seventeenth century Benedictine productions is not significant. Thus, the use of comedies as main title dramas appears to be more common in Benedictine school theatre in general than in either Jesuit or Augustinian school theatre.

Following an examination of the 267 main title dramas in the Jesuit theatre seventeenth-century data sample whose complete internal structure is provided in the source documents, it appears that the number and form of the formal divisions in main title dramas changed significantly between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Four types of formal division, several of which also have sub-types, are found among seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre main title dramas in comparison to the two types identified in sixteenth-century productions. In contrast, contemporary Benedictine school theatre main title dramas exhibit but three sets of formal divisions; in order of popularity, these are dramas in three acts, five acts, and three parts. Similar preferences are found in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions, except that two-act dramas take the place of the three-part dramas seen in Benedictine school theatre. The two-act main title drama appears unique to Augustinian theatre, for there are no known examples of main title dramas in two-acts among Benedictine and Jesuit seventeenth-century theatrical productions. Conversely,

³²⁸ *Epulum fortium* (Ingolstadt, 20 June, 1683), AU–Von Mus.Hs.18959; CSTD ID 359. *Patientis Christi memoria* (Vienna, 21 April, 1685), AU–Von Mus.Hs.18874; CSTD ID 368. *Reconciliatio naturae humani generis* (Vienna, 13 April, 1686), AU–Von Mus.Hs.18927; CSTD ID 374. *Orbis eucharisticus, instar sanctioris fortunae orbitae* (Vienna, 28 May, 1690), AU–Von Mus.Hs.18924; CSTD ID 405.

³²⁹ *Infulas Gandenses* (Gent, 1666), GB–Hsc F.149, no. 4; CSTD ID 2319. *A Senatu Bruxellensi* (Brussels, 21 July, 1698), BE–Bbr II.91.153, no. 5, BE–Bbr VH 27.398, no. 1; CSTD ID 2317, appendix 6, no. 220.

main title dramas in one act such as those found among seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre have yet to be found in the contemporary theatrical repertoire of Benedictine and Augustinian schools.

The changes in formal internal structure between sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre main title dramas are neither a result of the addition of the dramatic genres tragi-comedy and comi-tragedy nor the growing popularity of the *drama musicum* genre. A comparison of the formal divisions found in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre *dramae musica* (table 4.49) and those found in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample (table 4.50) support this hypothesis, as there many tragedies and comedies in the sample that use the same formal divisions as *dramae musicae*; notably, there does not appear to an internal dramatic structure unique to *drama musicae* or any other genre. Instead, the chief changes between dramatic structure in sixteenth and seventeenth century Jesuit theatre main title dramas are the addition of plays in one and three formal divisions.

The seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample includes 13 examples of one-act main title dramas, such as *S. Francisco Borgia* (Regensburg, July, 1671), a re-enactment of the canonisation of the Jesuit priest Francisco de Borja y Aragon (Francis Borgia) and a celebration of the centennial of his death (table 4.50).³³⁰ However, the one-act designation is not found in the documentation but is rather an editorial label adopted for the purpose of categorising main title dramas consisting of a collection of scenes without formal division. *S. Francisco Borgia*, in 11 *inductiones*, or scenes, is an unusually lengthy example; a range of two to six scenes is more typical, just as seen in the ten short plays within the production *Nihil est Opertum*. While *S. Francisco Borgia* and *Nihil est Opertum* are spoken dramas in common with the majority of one-act plays, there are two late seventeenth-century examples of *dramae musica* in one act or part in the seventeenth-century data sample. The first example is *Orbis eucharisticus* (Vienna, 28 May, 1690), written by Adam Abreu and with music by Johann Bernard Staudt, which consists of six *inductiones* (tables 4.48 and 4.49).³³¹ The second example, also by Abreu and Staudt, is *Tractatus pacis inter*

³³⁰ Commonly, Francis Borgia (28 October, 1510–30 September, 1571); the Bull for his canonisation was signed by Pope Clement X on 20 June, 1670. *Mundus Ad Hispana Virtute triumphatus Victore Glorioso S. Francisco Borgia* (Regensburg, July, 1671), GB–Lbl RB.23.a.26002; CSTD ID 274.

³³¹ *Orbis eucharisticus, instar sanctioris fortunae orbitae, multiplices volventis coronas* (Vienna, 28 May, 1690), written by Adam Abreu and with music by Johann Bernard Staudt. Adam Abreu, *Orbis eucharisticus, instar sanctioris fortunae orbitae, multiplices volventis coronas* (Johann Bernard Staudt,

Deum (Vienna, 1697), composed of three *inductiones* (tables 4.48 and 4.49).³³² Thus, dramas organised as a single collection of scenes employ both performance mediums.

The presence of three-act and three-part main title dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre appears to be a change from observed sixteenth-century preferences, for currently the data available from sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions does not include any examples of main title dramas in three acts or three parts. The reason for the apparent absence of this classical Greek standard dramatic structure in the sixteenth-century data and its appearance in the seventeenth-century sample is not known.³³³ However, as detailed in Part II of this study, independent choruses in one formal division developed during the seventeenth century, and main title dramas in three acts or three parts might contain as many as two independent choruses.³³⁴

In the seventeenth century, three-act main title dramas appear to have been a popular dramatic structure, second only to works in five acts. The popularity of the three-act drama in Jesuit college theatre during the seventeenth century is consistent with the evidence in contemporary Augustinian and Benedictine school theatre. Three acts also appear to be the most popular type of formal division in seventeenth-century Augustinian school main title dramas, and main title dramas in three acts are found in both sixteenth and seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions. Amongst seventeenth-century Jesuit main title dramas there is also a significant percentage of dramas in three parts rather than three acts. Except for Jesuit college theatre, seventeenth-century main title dramas with formal divisions in parts rather

Vienna, 28 May, 1690), AU–Von Mus.Hs.18924; CSTD ID 405. *Orbis eucharisticus* consists of a prologue, six *inductiones*, and an epilogue.

³³² *Tractatus pacis inter Deum* (Vienna, 1697), composed of three *inductiones* and an epilogue, is also a work of Adam Abreu and Johann Bernard Staudt. Adam Abreu, *Tractatus pacis inter Deum et peccatorem mediatore Dei et hominum Christo Iesu sub ara crucis conclusae* (Johann Bernard Staudt, Vienna, 1697), AU–Von Mus.Hs.18961, CSTD ID 462.

³³³ The eighteenth-century data collected in the course of the research for this study indicates that the presence of the three-act and three-part main title drama dramatic structures in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre provided a niche for the emergence of independent choruses in two formal divisions in the early eighteenth century, but this proposition is outside the stated time scope of this project. Two examples of two-part independent choruses in the CSTD are the untitled choruses *David et Nabali* in the production *Ferdinandus de Cortes, Honoris Mariani Vindex Iratus ac Placatus* (Landshut, 3, 5 September, 1732), Szarota 2:1, 343–350; CSTD ID 1758, and *Joseph in Egypt* in the production *Henricus Calvinus Tragodia* (Lucerne, 2, 3 September, 17651), Szarota 1:1, 279–286; CSTD ID 1953.

³³⁴ For example, the two independent mythological choruses, *Bellerophon ob caesam Chimaeram insolescens Pegaso* and *Annuet Jupiter, cineresque in aves Memnonian commutat*, in the three-act tragedy *Superbia Saporis Persarum Regis Coelitus Correcta* (Vienna, 1674), Szarota 1:2, 1371–1381, CSTD ID 301.

than acts seem to be rare in religious school theatrical repertoires; there are no examples within the Augustinian data sample and only one among the Benedictine school theatrical productions, *Trias Divorum Martyrum Romanorum* (Villingen, 30 August, 1699).

The chief difference between Jesuit college main title dramas in three acts and those in three parts is the apparent lack of internal scenic divisions in the dramas in three parts. An examination of programme synopses and dramatic texts reveals the action in each part to be continuous, and that changes of scene and ensemble occur only between and not within the formal divisions. For example, the synopses in the printed programme for the untitled *Bruxella* (Brussels, 1694) demonstrate that the characters performing Part I and Part II are distinct ensembles, although all come together for Part III.³³⁵ The characters in Part I represent six Flemish towns with Jesuit colleges: *Bruxellis* (Brussels), *Antwerpia* (Antwerp), *Duacus* (Douai?), *Lovanis* (Leuven/Louvain), *Mechlinia* (Mechelen/Malines), and *Gand* (Gent). In contrast, the characters in Part II include the god *Mars*, the allegorical figure of *Tempus*, and spirits representing two geographic regions important in Jesuit history. These spirits are *Genius Hispania*, honouring the Spanish birth of the Jesuits' founder, and *Genius Sacrus Imperius*, the Holy Roman Empire.

Just as in the sixteenth-century, main title dramas in four acts or parts appear to be the least common dramatic structure in Jesuit college theatre, while they are not found among the known Benedictine school theatre main title productions from either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (table 4.50). The spoken four-act tragedy *Jason Fabula* (Roessel, 1633), is the main title drama from the first known theatrical production by the Lithuanian Jesuit college in Roessel, founded in 1631; beyond the main drama's internal architecture, nothing further is currently known about this production.³³⁶ However, the printed programme for the untitled festival piece *Insulas Gandenses* (Gent, 1666), performed in celebration of the inauguration of Bishop Eugenio Alberto D'Allamont, is divided into four *ingressi*, each with a brief

³³⁵ *Bruxella* (Brussels, 1694), GB–Sc F.149 no. 3; CSTD ID 2318, appendix 6, no. 219. The characters in Part I: *Bruxellis*, *Antwerpia*, *Duacus*, *Lovanis*, *Mechlinia*, *Gand*, and *Belgica*. The characters in Part II: *Mars*, *Tempus*, *Genius Hispania*, *Genius Sacrus Imperius*, and *Conchis*.

³³⁶ *Cursus Gloriam Mortalis Dramaticam Poësie expressus sive Jason Fabula* (Roessel, 1633), Sommervogel 7:8, no.1; CSTD ID 81. Sommervogel reports that the ms. is in Cologne; the present location is unknown.

synopsis.³³⁷ It is not possible to determine whether *Insulas Gandenses* was spoken or sung in performance from the available documents, especially as a cast list is not included among them. The only indication that portions of the piece might have been sung occurs in the synopsis for the fourth *Ingressus*; the phrase ‘celebrantes precantur,’ uses a form of the verb *cano*, meaning ‘to sing.’ In classical literature, however, *cano* is the verb frequently used for the recitation of narrative poetry, such as given in the opening lines of Virgil’s *Aeneid*.³³⁸ Therefore, the use of a form of *cano* in the *Insulas* could be interpreted with equal likelihood as a recitation of poetic verse (with or without musical accompaniment) or the performance of a musical setting of the text.

Just as seen in the sixteenth century, dramatic works in five acts modelled upon ancient classical drama are the most common type of main title drama dramatic structure in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre (table 4.50). The seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample contains 114 examples of main title dramas in five acts, which comprise 42% of the total sample. The most common five-act dramatic genres in Jesuit theatre during both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the tragedy and *drama musicum*. Main title comedies in five acts, on the other hand, appear to be rare during the seventeenth century, as shown by the single example in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, *Cenodoxus*, a play by Jakob Bidermann, S.J., first published in 1635.³³⁹ Likewise, main title dramas in five parts also are rare among the productions; in fact, the two examples in table 4.50 are two productions of the same *drama musicum*, *Philothea* (Munich, 1643, 1658).³⁴⁰

Unlike the case of the main title drama in three formal divisions, the prevalence of the five-act structure in Jesuit theatre does not lead to the development of four-part independent choruses in either the seventeenth or the eighteenth century.

³³⁷ *Insulas Gandenses* (Gent, 1666), GB-Hsc F.149, no. 4, CSTD ID 2319. Referenced in Sommervogel 3:1164, no. 36 and Peter Maurice Daly and G. Richard Dimler, *The Jesuit Series F-L* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 55.

³³⁸ Virgil, *The Aeneid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), I:1. ‘Arma virumque cano...’ ‘Of arms and a man I sing...’ (My translation).

³³⁹ Jakob Bidermann, *Cenodoxus*, Willi Flemming, ed., in *Das Ordensdrama* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1930), II: 47–183.

³⁴⁰ *Philothea hoc est, Anima deo Dilecta sive Admirandus Dei Amor in Animam Hominis ex Sacris Litteris Depromptus, et Modulis Musicis Expressus in Scena Oculis, Auribusque Proponitur* (Munich, 1643), Szarota 1:1, 645–652; CSTD ID 109. *Philothea...* (Munich, 1658), Szarota 1:1, 645–652; CSTD ID 184. The two productions also contain an untitled independent prologue, *David Rex*. The programme reproduced in Szarota 1:1, 645–652 is notable for not only including the voice parts of the actors (eight soprano, one mezzo-soprano, two contralto, for tenor, two bass) but also instruments of the instrumental ensemble (two *violino*, three *violetta*, one *violine*, one *cornettina*, one *cornettino*, three *tromboni*, one *fagotto*, one *clavicimbalo*, one *arpacordo*, one *tiorba*).

An examination of the seventeenth-century data indicates instead that, by providing space for four or five choruses within the dramatic structure, five-act main title dramas led to the development of, first, the transitional chorus in one formal division, and second, the independent chorus in one formal division. It is not uncommon to find dependent, transitional and independent choruses within a single seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical production after c.1630. For example, *Wenceslaus* (Ingolstadt, 5 September, 1647), uses four transitional choruses for acts I–IV and a dependent chorus for Act V (fig 4.27).³⁴¹ Another example, but this time with one independent chorus and three dependent choruses, is the tragedy *Fortunae Henrici Filii Comitis Caloviensis Lupoldi* (Hall, 2, 4 September, 1674) (fig. 4.28).³⁴²

Two hundred and thirty-three of the main title dramas in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, or 49%, are provided with a performance cast list or a list of the dramatis personae (table 4.51). The following examination of the ensemble size in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre main title dramas is based upon information collected from these 233 works, and does not include the main title dramas without a list of the characters. While the main characters in a main title drama may be easily obtained by means of studying the dramatic text or programme, an accurate count of the actors portraying non-speaking roles requires the presence of a cast list.

From the data displayed in table 4.51, it appears that 56% of seventeenth-century main title dramas used fewer than 75 actors, and 82% contained less than 100 roles. Dramas requiring ten or fewer actors are rare, with only 6 examples in the data sample.³⁴³ The main title drama with the largest cast in the seventeenth-century data

³⁴¹ *Wenceslaus diss Namens erster König un Böhem* (Ingolstadt, 5 September, 1647), Szarota 3:2, 1015–1022; CSTD ID 131. The subjects of the four transitional choruses are: Chorus I: David, Saul; Chorus II: David, Abimelech; Chorus III: David, Goliath and; Chorus IV: David's triumphs. The correlation between David's various exploits and King Wenceslaus is outlined in the programme synopses, but it is unknown if the correlation is also directly specified in the chorus. Therefore, these choruses are labelled transitional, but later may be revised to independent upon location of the dramatic text and musical scores.

³⁴² *Providentia Dei Ludens in rebus humanis Pervarios casus Fortunae Henrici Filii Comitis Caloviensis Lupoldi sub imperatore Romano Conrado II* (Hall, 2, 4 September, 1674), Szarota 1:1, 215–222; CSTD ID 306. Choruses I, II, and III are dependent, but the dramatic subject of the untitled chorus for Act IV, *David e septem fratribus suis a Saumele in regem ungitur, & filiae Saulis desponsatur*, illustrates but is independent of the main title drama. This production does not have a concluding chorus or an epilogue. However, the production opens with an untitled transitional prologue, *Providentia Divina in Josepho Jacobi filio praeludit*.

³⁴³ The main title dramas requiring 10 or fewer characters are found in the CSTD under the following production ID numbers: 89, 221, 507, 1275, 2313 and 2319. The six dramas include four tragedies, one tragi-comedy and one comedy.

sample is a three-part comedy, *S. Franciscus Xaverius* (Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664), which contains a total of 196 major and minor roles.³⁴⁴ *S. Franciscus Xaverius* requires the largest ensemble of any main title drama in the seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatre data samples. The known upper limit in contemporary Benedictine dramas is 130 actors, while 40 actors is currently the largest cast among Augustinian main title dramas.

The number of characters in main title dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions ranges between six and 196. It appears as though seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre main title dramas' ensemble requirements are different from their sixteenth-century counterparts, whose ensembles range between 30 and 100 actors. Except for the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and this may be due to the small number of available dramas in the sample, the range in the number of roles is consistently six or seven to just under 150 for the second, third and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century.³⁴⁵

An analysis of cast requirements for main title dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre reveals that Jesuit main title dramas utilised a larger number of actors than either contemporary Benedictine or Augustinian main title dramas. From c. 1650 to the end of the century, the average number of roles in Jesuit theatre main title dramas is 70. (table 4.52). However, seventeenth-century Benedictine main title dramas were typically performed by an average of 50 students, and contemporary Augustinian main title dramas averaged between 20 and 30 roles. The Jesuit main title drama data sample presented in table 4.53 reveal two large clusters of dramas; those with 50 to 74 roles, comprising 27% of the sample, and those with 75 to 100 roles, which make up 26% of the sample. The larger size of Jesuit theatre ensembles may indicate the consistent presence of larger institutions than directed by Benedictines and Augustinian, or it may be a reflection of the difference between the Jesuits' preference for spectacle and the more conservative nature of the two older communities.³⁴⁶ Therefore, the difference in average ensemble sizes among

³⁴⁴ *Gloria Sacerdotum S. Franciscus Xaverius Soc. Iesu Indiarum Apostolus* (Straubing, 4, 5 September, 1664), Szarota 3:2, 1273–1281; CSTD ID 226.

³⁴⁵ Although the main title dramas performed during the period 1650–1674 include two extreme examples of casts over 150, with 196 and 181, respectively, the average large production in this period requires between 140 and 147 actors, just as seen in the second and fourth quarters of the seventeenth-century data sample in table 4.53.

³⁴⁶ McCabe, 32–46. Ohio State University, ed, *The Ohio State University Theatre Collection Bulletin*. OSU Theatre Collection Bulletin 16 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Theatre Collection,

seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit main title dramas may be the combined result of available forces, i.e. number of students, and religious community preferences during this century.

Dramatic Genres: Prologue and Epilogue

In contrast to the few examples of prologues and epilogues among the Jesuit theatre sixteenth-century data sample, 183, or 40% of the seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions in the data sample include a prologue and/or a final chorus labelled as an epilogue (table 4.54). The data suggests that the incidence of productions with prologues and/or a specified epilogue doubles between the third and fourth quarters of the century, with 49 and 116 productions, respectively (table 4.55). Just as in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions, all contemporary Jesuit theatre prologues and epilogues are continuous without internal scenes. The information in table 4.54 shows that the majority of the seventeenth-century prologues and epilogues in the sample are dependent; that is, just as seen in the prologues and epilogues in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data, the dramatic subjects and characters are those of the main title drama,

The seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample also includes a single example of a transitional prologue and six examples of prologues whose dramatic subject and characters are independent of the main title drama. In contrast, all of the prologues in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions are dependent. In fact, there are no known examples of transitional or independent prologues in Augustinian theatre in the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, while the earliest identified example in Benedictine theatre is the combined prologue/epilogue two-part untitled work *Josephus et Pharaon* (Salzburg, 12 June, 1737).³⁴⁷

Seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre prologues and epilogues/final choruses, whether dependent, transitional or independent, share several general characteristics. Most of these prologues and epilogues/final choruses are dialogues among two or more characters and might also include a choral ensemble; some examples, on the

1969). Robert W. Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'opéra de collège* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larousse, 1966), 67–88. Boyssse, 63–68.

³⁴⁷ *Josephus et Pharaon* (Salzburg, 12 June, 1737), Boberski no. 471, CSTD ID 2452.

other hand, are recitations by a single character, usually *Prologus* and *Epilogus*, *Providentia Divina*, or *Justitia Divina*. The preferred performance medium for prologues and epilogues is music rather than speech, whether performed by a single character or a collection of characters. Regarding performance language, the evidence found in both printed programmes and dramatic texts indicates that Latin is typical. A notable exception is the five-act tragedy *Heraclius* (Paris, 17 August, 1688), which not only has a recited rather than sung prologue and epilogue, but also five actors who in turn recite the synopsis in French for each act immediately before the opening of the act (appendix 6, no. 230).³⁴⁸ *Heraclius* is currently the only production known to use this technique amongst the seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions examined, although it is possible that this was a typical part of the performance that is not normally indicated in the printed programmes. There are no known comparable examples of this type of recitation among contemporary Benedictine or Augustinian school theatre productions.

Dependent prologues and epilogues/final choruses are typically accompanied by one or more dependent inserted choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions.³⁴⁹ The primary purpose and function of dependent prologues and epilogues/final choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre continues unchanged from the sixteenth century. Similar to the two prologues and single epilogue found within the sixteenth-century Jesuit college productions *S. Elesbaani* (S. Salvator, Augsburg, 8 December, 1567) and *S. Benno* (Munich, 1598), the primary purpose of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre prologues and epilogues is to introduce or comment upon the main title drama. For example, the prologue to *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687) not only introduces the occasion of the play, i.e., the distribution of prizes, but presents the argument of the tragedy by means of a dialogue between the characters *Amicitia*, or Friendship, and *Amor*, or Love (appendix 6, no. 210).³⁵⁰ The synopsis of the prologue in *Gallican* (Brussels, 26 September, 1630) is even more

³⁴⁸ *Heraclius ou La Croix Reconquise* (Paris, 17 August, 1688), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5 no.5; CSTD ID 2324, appendix 6, no. 230. «Les Acteurs Suivans / diront devant chaque Acte des Vers François/qui en expliqueront le fujet.»

³⁴⁹ The following discussion of the characteristics of dependent prologues and epilogues in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre refers to compounds of dependent theatrical components, such as PCH and PCHE, introduced in chapter 1. P indicates a prologue, CH a chorus and E an epilogue.

³⁵⁰ *Agathocles Tragoedia* (Argentina, 1687), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5, no. 6; CSTD ID 2310, appendix 6, no. 210.

direct, stating that the purpose of the prologue is the explanation of the subject subsequently illustrated on the stage (appendix 6, no. 218).³⁵¹

An examination of the examples in this study reveals that the incidence of prologues among seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions with dependent (P)CH(E) components is much higher than the incidence of final choruses labelled as epilogues in the same sample. For example, the data studied contains 102 productions with the dependent components PCH, that is, productions with a dependent prologue and choruses but no epilogue, compared to 49 with the dependent components PCHE (table 4.55). Furthermore, table 4.55 reveals that there are 18 productions whose dependent components include only a prologue, while there are only seven equivalent productions that have only a dependent epilogue. Thus, the practice of adding a prologue but not necessarily identifying the final chorus as an epilogue observed in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical productions appears to be a shared trait among the theatrical repertoires of all three religious organisations.

Transitional prologues in seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions are represented in this study by the prologue opening the production *Vespasianus* (Burghausen, 4, 6 September, 1674) (table 4.56).³⁵² The prologue in *Vespasianus* although labelled an allegory, cannot be considered an independent dramatic work chiefly because the allegorical character *Ecclesia Romanus*, who represents the Roman Catholic Church, appears within the body of the main title drama as well as the prologue. However, the prologue is a dramatic work capable of being performed without the main title drama; also, it is not merely an introduction of the main characters and plot by name, which are considered in this study as the distinguishing characteristics of a dependent prologue. The prologue for *Vespasianus* is an allegory comparing the work of the Roman Catholic Church to the nurturing of a garden of flowers (Christians), which have been laid waste by Fury and Death (fig. 4.29). However, through Christ's sacrifice, the Church offers salvation, restoring the metaphorical flowers and transforming their mortal natures into everlasting life.³⁵³

³⁵¹ *Gallican Comico-Tragedie* (Brussels, 26 September, 1630), BE–Bbr II.91.153 no. 12; CSTD ID 65, appendix 6, no.218. ‘Le Prologve/explicquè la fubftance de ce qui fe doit/representer.’

³⁵² *Romanum Par Nobile Fratrum Domitianus, Vespasianus. Verus Inconstantis Mundi Gratiae Dei Gratia Contemnendae Typus* (Burghausen, 4, 6 September, 1674), Szarota 3:2, 1721–1722; CSTD ID 300.

³⁵³ Prologue synopsis, *Romanum Par Nobile Fratrum Domitianus, Vespasianus. Verus Inconstantis Mundi Gratiae Dei Gratia Contemnendae Typus* (Burghausen, 4, 6 September, 1674), Szarota 3:2,

An examination of the available examples of productions with transitional and independent prologues suggests that the main title dramas in these productions did not have a pre-existing prologue; that is, the prologues typically appear to have been added to the production for a specific performance.³⁵⁴ This assertion is further supported by the absence of transitional or independent prologues among the available dramatic texts. In every instance in which a dramatic text does include a prologue, the prologue is dependent. The precise period during which transitional prologues first appeared in Jesuit college theatrical productions cannot be determined from the available data, but the performance dates of identified independent prologues indicate that transitional prologues at least pre-date 1640. However, as evident by *Vespasianus*, productions with transitional prologues are found throughout the second half of the seventeenth century.

The available data shows that independent prologues are found in Jesuit theatrical productions during the seventeenth century, but not in contemporary Benedictine or Augustinian theatrical productions.³⁵⁵ The earliest example of an independent prologue in the Jesuit theatre data sample is the untitled prologue *David Rex Israel* for the 1643 *drama musicum* about St. Philothea, *Philothea* (Munich, 1643, 1658).³⁵⁶ While the dramatic subjects of most independent prologues are biblical, an example with a mythological subject is the untitled prologue *Thebes et Hercules* in the late seventeenth-century production *Lupoldo Comite* (Ingolstadt, 4, 6 September, 1696) (fig. 4.30).³⁵⁷

1721–1722; CSTD ID 300. ‘Florentem Ecclesiae Romanae horum, à Furore & morte devastarum Christiano sanguine regandum & restaurandum docet Christus: cui Roma lubens suum offert sanguinem in perennantem Christiani floris sementem.’

³⁵⁴ Several examples of repeated performances of productions using the same transitional or independent prologue as the original performance have been identified in the data, such as the production *Philothea hoc est* (Munich, 1643, repeated 1658), Szarota 1:1, 645–652; CSTD ID 109, 184.

³⁵⁵ A possible reason for the absence of independent prologues in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre is a preference believed to have emerged in the eighteenth century for multi-part independent music-dramas which are inserted as the prologue, choruses, and perhaps also the epilogue, in theatrical productions. See table 4.58 and the discussion of the Jesuit tragedy *Sultan Bajazet*.

³⁵⁶ *Philothea hoc est, Anima deo Dilecta sive Admirandus Dei Amor in Animam Hominis ex Sacris Litteris Depromptus, et Modulis Musicis Expressus in Scena Oculis, Auribusque Proponitur* (Munich, 1643, repeated 1658), Szarota 1:1, 645–652; CSTD ID 109, 184. It cannot be determined from the information provided in the programme whether this St. Philothea is the sixteenth-century Athenian abbess tortured to death for refusing to recant her Christianity by invading Turks in 1589 or the thirteenth-century child-saint of the same name, murdered by her father for giving food to the poor.

³⁵⁷ *Mirabilis & suavis Dispositio Divinae Providentiae in Lupoldo Comite e Bavaria Ejusdemque Filio Henrico Exhibita* (Ingolstadt, 4, 6 September, 1696), Szarota 1:1, 239–246; CSTD 454.

The seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample includes six examples of independent prologues, although the example in table 4.57 performed in 1658 is actually a repeat performance of the *David Rex Israel/Philothea* production. Although limited in numbers, the examples in table 4.57 reveal that independent prologues are found among the September productions associated with prize-giving and that there is currently no evidence to indicate that they occur in theatrical productions staged for other occasions. Also, independent prologues have been identified in productions by multiple colleges, showing that the practice is not restricted to a single school.³⁵⁸

While five of the examples of independent prologues in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre listed in table 4.57 consist only of the prologue, one work, indicated in the table in boldface, is an independent dramatic work in the structure PCH. This work is comprised of the prologue and three choruses in *Sultan Bajazet* (Siegen, 1694), a five-act act tragedy that concludes with a dependent epilogue.³⁵⁹ This work is a currently a curiosity among the Jesuit theatre data collected for this study, as there are no other known examples of the use of a PCH or PCHE structure for an independent dramatic work in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre.³⁶⁰

The presence of individual characters unique to the prologue and epilogue/final chorus, first noted in the sixteenth-century performance of *S. Elesbaani* (S. Salvator, Augsburg, 8 December, 1567), is typical of Jesuit theatre prologues and epilogues/final choruses by the early seventeenth century. Prologues and epilogues for

³⁵⁸ Although the Austrian-German bias in the original dataset is reflected in the examples in table 4.57, it is expected that continuing research will reveal the presence of independent prologues throughout the Jesuit college network.

³⁵⁹ *Sultan Bajazet* (Siegen, 1694), Szarota 3:1, 791–794; CSTD ID 435.

³⁶⁰ However, the use of PCH and its variant, PCHE, as the structure for an independent work inserted in religious school theatrical productions is not only present but common in Benedictine school theatre. Table 4.58 lists 64 examples of independent dramas with a PCH or PCHE structure inserted in theatrical productions at the Benedictine University of Salzburg. As the dates of the productions in table 4.58 reveal, the use of PCH and PCHE structures are found only during the eighteenth century; there are no examples among the seventeenth-century Benedictine productions. The earliest known example of this practice not only at the University of Salzburg but also among all known Benedictine theatrical productions appears approximately 25 years after the Jesuit college production *Sultan Bajazet*: this is the first item in table 4.58, *Saxonia*, which was inserted in the tragedy *Frederick* (Salzburg, 2 September, 1720). The apparent rarity of the use of PCH-structure dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit colleges and the demonstrated prevalence of the structure amongst later Benedictine productions suggests three possibilities of development. First, future research in seventeenth-century Benedictine school may reveal that the insertion of independent works with PCH/PCHE structures in fact begins in the seventeenth century rather than the eighteenth century as the data currently suggests. Second, the internal structure of the Siegen Jesuit college production was influenced by contemporary Benedictine school theatrical practices. Third, either *Sultan Bajazet* was a unique experiment in Jesuit theatre repertoire, or continuing research may locate other examples of this practice in Jesuit college theatre, showing Jesuit theatre as a pioneer in a dramatic structure later adopted by Benedictine school theatre.

a single character, such as *Prodigus Appellata* (March, 1605) by Luís da Cruz and *Heraclius* (Paris, 17 August, 1688) appear throughout the seventeenth century, though chiefly due to the performance of main title dramas written earlier during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³⁶¹ For those main title dramas written after c.1625, two to ten characters is more usual (table 4.59). For example, the prologue ensemble for *Clotario König in Franckreich* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September 1682), indicated on the final page in fig. 4.31, consists of the five solo characters, *Divina Providentia*, or Divine Providence, *Vita hominis*, or the Life/Soul of Man, *Mors*, or Death, *Pietas*, or Piety, and *Impietas*, or Sin, in addition to an ensemble of the Twelve Months.³⁶² Similarly, the prologue to *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687) is performed by five characters, but these actors represent geographic regions and are not accompanied by an ensemble (appendix 6, no. 210).³⁶³

Dramatic Genres: Chorus

In contrast to the brief piece for ensemble or short dialogue for a few soloists characterising sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre choruses, the number and dramatic complexity of the chorus underwent significant changes during the seventeenth century. One such change was the increase in the number of characters, while another was an increase in the performance duration of the chorus. The available data indicates that, as the number of chorus-dialogues increased in the Jesuit school theatre repertoire, the incidence of choruses performed by ensembles of singers without individual roles diminished, apparently all but vanishing by c.1625. The role of moral summary was relegated to the final chorus, often labelled *Epilogus* in seventeenth-century programmes and dramatic texts.³⁶⁴ Finally, the choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions are consistently inserted

³⁶¹ *Heraclius ou La Croix Reconquise Tragedie* (Paris, 17 August, 1688), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5, no. 5; CSTD 2324, appendix 6, no.230.

³⁶² *Clotario König in Franckreich und seinem Sohn Chramno* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September 1682), Szarota 3:2, 1565–1572; CSTD ID 349.

³⁶³ *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5, no. 6; CSTD 2310, appendix 6, no. 210. The prologue to *Agathocles* might have been spoken rather than sung, as indicated by the use of the word 'narraturis.'

³⁶⁴ The function of the single brief sung chorus concluding sixteenth-century religious school theatrical productions appears to have been assumed by the epilogue, which appears in Jesuit theatre productions beginning around 1600. This developmental relationship between the concluding chorus and the epilogue perhaps explains why epilogues developed as a sung rather than spoken component of religious school dramatic productions. See the discussion in chapters 6 and 7.

between every act or part of the main title drama, just as in contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions. As the majority of main title dramas in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre are in three or five acts/parts parts, two or four inserted choruses and a concluding chorus/epilogue are typical per production.³⁶⁵

An analysis of the productions in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample reveals that the choruses in 200 productions are dependent choruses (table 4.60).³⁶⁶ Additionally, 25 productions contain choruses considered transitional according to the definition used in this study. Examples of choruses that are fully independent of the main title drama are found within 19 seventeenth-century Jesuit college productions. The choruses from the remaining 242 productions in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample cannot be included at this time due to insufficient information for classification. This is chiefly the result of a lack of chorus texts or a list of chorus characters in play manuscripts and the absence of chorus synopses and/or a chorus cast list in theatrical programmes. This last is common among the programmes for performances given on occasions other than prize days. Choruses, whether dependent, transitional or independent, are rarely indicated in the programmes and text for non-prize-day productions, exemplified by the absence of choruses in *Pietas* (Bruges, 1683) and *Bruxella* (1694) (appendix 6, nos. 213 and 219).³⁶⁷ In fact, there is only one example in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre

³⁶⁵ Jesuit college theatrical productions with independent choruses, therefore, might have as many as four distinct musical dramatic works in addition to the main title drama and any inserted *interludia*.

³⁶⁶ The terminology introduced in the previous section on the prologue and epilogue in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre is similarly used to distinguish among the three major categories of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses: dependent, transitional and independent. In this study, choruses classified as dependent are those that are 1) ensemble-style works as seen in sixteenth-century productions, or 2) dialogues concerning subjects from the main title drama performed by one or more characters or spiritual representations of characters from the main title drama. Dependent choruses are therefore inseparable from the main title drama of the theatrical production. At the other end of the spectrum are the independent choruses, which emerge in Jesuit theatre repertoire around the midpoint of the seventeenth century. Independent choruses are self-contained dramatic works whose subject and characters are completely separate from the main title drama. Finally, the choruses considered transitional in this study are those that 1) are not performed by characters from the main title drama but whose dramatic subject is that of the main title drama or 2) have an independent dramatic subject but whose main character, typically *Providentia Divina* or similar, appears at least once within the body of the main title drama, or, 3) incorporate a brief independent play or extended representational tableaux whose subject, while usually parallel to or otherwise illustrative of the main title drama, is not that of the main title drama.

³⁶⁷ Two of the three theatrical productions without choruses whose programmes are reproduced in appendix 6 are special performances given in honour of the inauguration of a bishop. In addition to *Infulus Gandenses* (Gent, 1666), *Pietas* (Bruges, 1683) and *Bruxella* (Brussels, 1694) are all symbolic allegories honouring the city and its new bishop. The dramatic structure of these allegories is more similar in structure to pastorales than to classical Greek tragedies and comedies, as the large formal divisions are parts rather than acts and there are no internal scenic divisions. The term *pastorale* is affixed to similar ‘bishop’ Jesuit college plays in the eighteenth century, such as *Daphnis*, *Pastorale*,

data of a programme from a non-prize-day production that includes choruses: *S. Marquardus Hildesheimensium Episcopus* (Constanz, June, 1690).³⁶⁸

Table 4.61 displays the total number of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions according to the classification of their choruses for each quarter of the century. As noted in other aspects of this examination of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre, the first quarter of the century is currently under-represented in the sample. This is markedly true in comparison to the third and fourth quarters, when the necessary information is more consistently documented in the materials. However, the earliest example of transitional chorus in Jesuit theatre to be identified thus far is found among the first-quarter productions in the sample, the three-act comedy *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* (Innsbruck, March, 1619).³⁶⁹ The information in table 4.61 also shows that at least 75% of the categorised productions for each incremental period contain dependent choruses, while transitional and independent choruses at best each account for 10% of the productions whose chorus category could be determined.³⁷⁰

The available data suggests that choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre were typically performed by soloists in character roles that were accompanied by organ or by an instrumental ensemble. Furthermore, the soloists were frequently supported by one or more choral ensembles. Table 4.62 tallies the total number of

which was performed by the Jesuit college of Namur in honour of the inauguration of Bishop John Francis Strickland in 1728 (*Daphnis, Pastorale* (Namur, 1720), BE–Lul MS. 357.c, CSTD ID 1693). If *Infulus Gandenses, Pietas* and *Bruxella* are pastorales and therefore sung, as the available evidence and later performance practice suggest, then the choruses would probably be dependent. For example, the primary role and function of the chorus in other Jesuit college pastorales such as *Daphnis, Pastorale* (Namur, 1728) is to repeat key statements by the solo characters within the dramatic action and to provide concluding statements for each formal division. This last characteristic is the same as observed in choruses in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions. For examples of the use of the chorus in *Daphnis, Pastorale* (Namur, 1728), see the repetition of soloist statements by the chorus in the choral conclusion to Part I in the critical edition of the score in appendix 3.

³⁶⁸ *S. Marquardus Hildesheimensium Episcopus Pro Fide et Patria Caesus* (Constanz, June, 1690), Szarota 2:1, 131–138; CSTD 400.

³⁶⁹ *Der Comedi von einem Jüngling Teutscher Nation welchen als er zu Pariss mehr dem bösen Leben als den freuen Künsten abwartet* (Innsbruck, March, 1619), Szarota 2:2, 1455–1462; CSTD ID 43.

³⁷⁰ While useful as a presentation of the current number of productions for each quarter of the century whose choruses have been identified and categorised, table 4.61 is not intended to represent the actual prevalence of any particular category of chorus within the repertoire for several reasons. First, the published dramatic texts in the data sample without chorus texts were possibly performed with newly written transitional or independent chorus(es) inserted between the acts in a manner similar to the sixteenth-century practice of using motets for choruses in main title dramas not otherwise supplied with choruses. The location and examination of theatrical programmes is necessary to reveal the solution(s) adopted for the performance of these dramas. Second, the examination of main title dramatic texts for productions whose theatrical programmes are without chorus information would reveal whether or not the author provided chorus texts; these studies would at least confirm the presence of dependent choruses.

seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions with categorised choruses that specify the soloists, choristers, and instrumentalists, identifying them by means of naming the performer or including character names, the names or voice parts of the chorister, or supplying instrument names and the names or number of the player. Among the 244 productions whose choruses have been classified, there are 28 that contain no performer information other than generic labels such as ‘symphoniaci,’ ‘musici’ or ‘choeur.’ However, 216 of the 244 productions include the names of the solo characters. Of the 216 productions with soloist information, 79 also include the size of the choral ensemble, i.e. the singers without characters roles, while 23 identify at least one instrumentalist.

The type of chorus, that is, dependent, transitional or independent, does not appear to affect the size of the performance ensemble. This is demonstrated through a comparison of 22 randomly selected seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions performed over the period 1605–1700. Table 4.63 displays the total chorus musical forces from these select productions by the total number of musicians specified in the source materials, ordered from least to greatest. The table also includes the title incipit or key word from main title drama, the type of chorus (dependent, transitional or independent), the total number of musicians listed in the printed programmes and the CSTD ID number for each production in the table. Separate columns detail the number of soloists and the size of the choral ensemble and number of accompanying instruments, where known. The practice of identifying solo characters is demonstrably well-established in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes, as all 22 productions do so. In contrast, only seven out of the 22 examples in table 4.63 provide the names of the choristers, such as the first example in the table 4.63, the independent choruses in *Gosbertus* (1694) performed by seven soloists and 4 choristers.³⁷¹ However, the vocal forces for the dependent choruses in *Prodigus Appellata* (1605) include 20 solo characters in addition to an unspecified choir.³⁷²

As a comparison of the musician data in table 4.63 reveals, there is no significant difference in the size of musical forces among dependent, transitional and

³⁷¹ *Gosbertus, Franconiae Dux, Tragoedia* (Landsberg, 3, 6 September, 1694), Szarota 2:2, 1901–1908; CSTD ID 432.

³⁷² *Tragico-Comoedia: Prodigus Appellata* (Lyon, 1605), SV II, 1710; US–Huh Houghton *PC 5 C8894 605t; CSTD ID 1275. Several of the productions listed in table 4.63 include one or more choral ensembles whose members are not identified, and therefore these ensembles cannot be added to the total musician count.

independent choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions. The select productions in table 4.63 are also representative of the typical range the size of the Jesuit theatre chorus cast, as the results of an analysis of all 216 examples in table 4.64 reveal. Although there are 34 productions whose choruses require fewer than ten musicians and 28 productions whose choruses were performed by over 40 musicians among the 216 examples, the typical range appears to be between one and 40 vocalists and instrumentalists, just as seen in productions listed in table 4.63.³⁷³ The mean size for seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre chorus casts appears to be between ten and 20 musicians, indicated in boldface in table 4.64. The average seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre chorus performance forces are therefore similar to those observed in the choruses from contemporary Benedictine theatrical productions, such as *Pax Europae* (Raysersl, 3, 5 September 1698), with 13 vocalists, and *SS. Felicitatis* (Munich, 5 September, 1661), performed by 29 vocalists and six instrumentalists. However, as the available seventeenth-century programmes from Augustinian colleges do not include a list of the members of the chorus, a comparison of ensemble composition and size between Jesuit and Augustinian and Augustinian and Benedictine choruses is not possible at this time.

The information currently available about the number of roles in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses indicates an apparent increase between the first and second half of the century. Table 4.65 displays the number of solo singers in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses, presented by the count of soloists per production by century quarters. The value '0' in the table column displaying the number of soloists is used to indicate the productions whose choruses were performed only by choral ensembles. Also, the information in table 4.65 displays the number of singers performing character roles and not the total number of roles in the choruses. This is because many soloists, especially in smaller productions, performed multiple characters, usually one per chorus. The data sample shows that, prior to c.1650, the typical number of solo roles ranged between one and 30, but expanded to a range of

³⁷³ The largest musical ensemble among the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses analysed to date is found in the production *S. Michael Archangelus Ecclesiae Militantis Adversus Impietatem, Idolomaniam, and Haeresin Archistrategus Victor Triumphans, Boariae Singulari titulo devinctus Munificentissima Pietate Wilhelmi V. Utriusque Bavariae Ducis, &c.* (Munich, July, 1697), Szarota 3:1, 439–466; CSTD ID 458. This production included a five-act main title comedy, a dependent prologue, 2 transitional choruses and a dependent epilogue. The prologue, choruses and epilogue were performed by a *Personae Musici* ensemble of 137. The cast includes 50 soloists whose voice parts are provided, 14 *cantus*, 12 *altista*, 14 *tenoristae* and 10 *bassus*, in addition 87 other musicians whose vocal or instrumental part is not specified in the programme.

one to 50 over the period c.1650–1700 (table 4.65).³⁷⁴ The largest number of singing roles identified to date in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses is 52, found in the five-act tragi-comedy *Psittacus Leonis Assertor* (Solothurn, September, 1650). However the typical solo ensemble in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses appears to be between ten and 19 singers, accounting for at least half of the productions for period increment in table 4.65.³⁷⁵

Of the 216 seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions with chorus performer details, 79 identify the members of the choruses' choral ensembles, that is, the singers without character roles grouped under an ensemble label such as 'Chor Musicis' or similar. There are only three productions performed prior to 1650 in the available data that include the names of the choral ensemble members, and therefore a comparison of the average choral ensemble size between the first and second half of the seventeenth century cannot be conducted at this time. However, an examination of the choral ensembles in Jesuit theatre choruses performed after 1650 reveals that most had fewer than nine members, typically four, five or six singers. Choral ensembles of ten to 19 singers appear to be nearly as common, and usually have 11, 12 or 16 members. There are also a statistically significant number of post-1650 Jesuit theatre productions with 20 to 29 singers in the chorus choral ensemble. It appears that choral ensembles in Jesuit theatre choruses rarely have more than 29 singers during the seventeenth century, as there are only three examples among the 79 productions analysed. Therefore, the choral ensemble size in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre varies between four, the smallest ensemble in the data, and 19 singers; an additional smaller group of productions has choral ensembles of up to 29 singers.

Most seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes do not include the names of the instrumentalists, similar to contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical programmes (table 4.67). All known examples of instrumental ensembles in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre are from productions performed after 1650, just as seen in the choral ensemble data in table 4.66. The available information

³⁷⁴ These numbers do not differentiate between principal and minor roles but instead include all of the chorus singers with individual character names. The location of the scores for Jesuit theatre choruses is ongoing, and it is hoped that a study of principal solo roles in Jesuit theatre choruses may be carried out in the future.

³⁷⁵ *Tragico-Comoedia Psittacus Leonis Assertor* (Solothurn, September, 1650), Szarota 3:2, 1929–1943; CSTD ID 148. The cast for the chorus out-numbers the cast for the tragedy, for while there are 52 singers with character roles, there are only 29 speaking parts. This is unusual, for the data shows that the speaking cast with their supporting roles is typically significantly larger than the cast for the choruses.

suggests choruses were accompanied either by organ alone or by an ensemble of ten to 15 instrumentalists. The evidence collected in table 4.68 reveals that all of the organists in productions performed before c.1675 were students currently attending the Jesuit college; in contrast, the organ accompaniment was provided by the composer after c. 1675. The single instrumental ensemble detailed in contemporary Benedictine school productions, six instrumentalists whose names appear in the programme for the production *SS. Felicitatis* (Munich, 5 September, 1661) is similar in size to the instrumental ensembles in two Jesuit theatrical productions performed between 1650–1674 (table 4.67); there is no information currently available regarding the use of instruments in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions.³⁷⁶

Table 4.68 provides the known details of the 24 instrumental ensembles presented in table 4.67, and is similarly organised by performance year. As seen, the instruments are rarely identified even when the names of the performers are provided. The three exceptions are the 1643 and 1658 productions of *Philothea* and the three-part tragedy *Metamorphosis Favoris in Furorem*, performed in 1676; all three productions were staged by the Munich Jesuit college.³⁷⁷ The instrumental ensemble for *Philothea* reveals that both older and modern instruments were in use in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre.³⁷⁸ The instruments' names are printed in Italian in the programme: two *violinos*, three *violettas*, one *violine*, one *cornettina*, one *cornettino*, three *tromboni*, one *fagotto*, one *clavicimbalo*, one *arpachordo*, one *tiorba*. However, the names of the instruments in *Metamorphosis Favoris in Furorem* are given in Latin and Greek equivalents: one *organoedus*, *oxyphonus* I and II, two *cheltodi*, one *auloedus*, one *gingrio*, one *tibicin*, two *pandurius*, one *lyricen*, two

³⁷⁶ *Tragico-Comica SS. Felicitatis et Septem Filiorum Felicitas* (Munich, 5 September, 1661), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.2599; CSTD 209.

³⁷⁷ *Philothea hoc est, Anima deo Dilecta sive Admirandus Dei Amor in Animam Hominis ex Sacris Litteris Depromptus, et Modulis Musicis Expressus in Scena Oculis, Auribusque Proponitur* (Munich, 1643, 1658), Szarota 1:1, 645–652; CSTD ID 109, 184. *Metamorphosis Favoris in Furorem* (Munich, 1, 3 September, 1676), Szarota 2:2, 2017–2027; CSTD 311.

³⁷⁸ William H. McCabe, 'Music and Dance on a 17th-Century College Stage,' *Musical Quarterly* (July, 1938): 314–315. Another example of a Jesuit college employing a mixture of antique and modern instruments during the seventeenth century is the English college in Saint-Omer, France. Translated from the Latin by McCabe, the inventory of instruments available to the students in 1609 include a chest of viols, tenor violin, 'Italian' theorbo, flute, bassoon, hautbois, sackbut, cornett, lute, orpharion, cither, Irish harp 'if there is someone who knows how to play it,' organ, harpsichord, and the psalm-mallet 'recently invented in England and given to us by the inventor.' McCabe suggests that the psalm-mallet was a keyboard instrument, perhaps a precursor to the piano-forte. Note the similarity between this list of instruments and the variety of instruments in Brueghel's sketch discussed within the sixteenth-century section of chapter 2.

citharoedus, one *tubicen*, one *buccinator*, one *sambucister*, one *pithaules*, one *hoptachordista*. Except for the choruses accompanied only by organ, the source materials do not specify whether students, non-student musicians from the church attached to the Jesuit college, or outside professionals performed in these or any of the other instrumental ensembles listed in tables 4.67 and 4.68.³⁷⁹

Dramatic Genres: *Interludia*

There are several terms commonly used to identify *interludia* in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes. The most common designation in all geographic regions is the Latin term *interludium* and its vernacular variants, just as seen in contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical programme. For example, *interlude* is used in the programme for *Titus* (Kilkenny, 1644) (appendix 6, no. 285).³⁸⁰ A second term is *episodium*, as seen in *Dei Admiranda Clementis* (Regensburg 5 September, 1661), in which an *episodium*, ‘Ad famam hostilis,’ is inserted between Act III and Chorus III (fig. 4.6); similarly, *Clotario König in Franckreich* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September 1682) has two *interludia*, one bisecting Act III and one between scenes i and ii of Act IV (fig. 4.32).³⁸¹ An *episodium* appears to be a type of spectacular *interludium* involving large numbers of students in massed displays, most typically an equestrian display or some form of military exhibition.

The term *episodium* is apparently unique to Jesuit college theatre, as it is not found in any of the known Benedictine or Augustinian school theatrical productions. The current data suggests that, in contrast to the general application of the term *interludium*, the use of the term *episodium* in Jesuit college theatrical programmes is found primarily in German-speaking regions. Finally, the term *l’entre-jeu*, which

³⁷⁹ However, the instrumental ensemble for the choruses in *Tragico-Comoedia: Prodigus Appellata* (Lyon, 1605), US–Huh Houghton *PC 5 C8894 605t; CSTD 1275, was probably comprised of students; the programme refers to the instrumental ensemble as ‘pueris Symphoniacis,’ though it does not list the students’ names. A future detailed study of instrumental and vocal musicians active in Jesuit college theatre during the seventeenth century would provide much-needed information regarding the degree to which the church musicians in the Jesuit college churches participated in college theatrical productions. Currently, Thomas D. Culley’s excellent investigation of the Roman Jesuit church musicians is the only such study available to scholars, but the work does not contain a table or appendix with musician names cross-referenced with college theatrical activity.

³⁸⁰ *Titus, or the Palme of Christian Courage* (Kilkenny, 1644), GB–Ccu Hib.7.644.33; CSTD ID 2327, appendix 6, no. 285. The programme for *Titus* includes *interludia* but no indication of choruses. *Titus* is the only identified programme from the three Irish Jesuit colleges known to have engaged in dramatic activities, namely Kilkenny, Limerick, and Drogheda.

³⁸¹ *Dei Admiranda Clementis Erga Peccatricum Animam In Parabola Demonstrata* (Regensburg 5 September, 1661), GB–Lbl 840.e.4 no. 9; CSTD ID208.

translated literally means ‘the play between,’ is preferred over *interludium* in theatrical programmes from French-speaking regions.³⁸² ‘Entreieu De L'Echequier,’ the first interlude from *Omer Spinola* (Douai, 1656), is an example in which the term appears within the title of the *interludia* (appendix 6, no. 229).³⁸³ *Antiochus* (Liège, 1635) is another example of a seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programme identifying *interludia* at the conclusion of Acts I and II by the term *l'entre-jeu* (appendix 6, no. 224).³⁸⁴

The earliest known instance of a theatrical programme specifying the presence of *interludia* in Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre dates from around the mid-point of the seventeenth century; however, *interludia* are included in Jesuit college theatrical programmes at least as early as c.1610 (table 4.69). For example, the three-act independent comedy *S. Isabelle* presented with the tragedy *Albert, Fils de Godefroy III* (Brussels, 12 November, 1613) (appendix 6, no. 217).³⁸⁵ Unlike the case of *S. Isabelle*, most *interludia* are not identified in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes beyond the labels *comoedia*, as seen in the programme for *Thomae Aquinatis* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 30 September, 1665), or *interludium* or *episodium*.³⁸⁶ From the surviving *interludia* texts, it appears that Latin was the preferred language for Jesuit college *interludia* performed during the seventeenth-century.³⁸⁷

In addition to *episodia*, other common forms of *interludia* in the seventeenth century include various forms of spoken comedy, such as the three spoken farce *interludia* in *Titus* (Kilkenny, 1644), and ballets. The seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample for this study includes 32 examples of *interludia* listed within the programmes of 22 productions (table 4.70). Of these 32 *interludia*, the dramatic genres of 28 are not specified, but two are identified in the source materials as

³⁸² Common variations of the term within the printed programmes include *entreieu* and *entrejeu*.

³⁸³ *Omer Spinola Tragedie* (Douai, 1656) BE–Lku P940.226.1, no.10; CSTD ID 2323, appendix 6, no. 229.

³⁸⁴ *Antiochus* (Liège, 1635), BE–Lul MS 2444A; CSTD ID 87, appendix 6, no. 224.

³⁸⁵ *Tragedie Albert Cardinal et Eiusque de Liege, Fils de Godefroy III* (Brussels, 12 November, 1613), BE–Bbr II.91.153, no.15; CSTD ID 26.

³⁸⁶ *Consilium in Arena Pugna et Victoria Angelici Iuvenis Thomae Aquinatis* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 30 September, 1665), GB–Lbl RB.23.a.26000; CSTD ID 233. Referenced in Valentin I:260, no. 2070.

³⁸⁷ Smither, I:368. The Viennese Jesuit schools began introducing vernacular *interludia* in their theatrical productions around 1665.

comedies and four are listed as ballets.³⁸⁸ The programmes for the four examples of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions with ballet *interludia* are reproduced in appendix 6.³⁸⁹ Scholar Judith Rock has made a special study of the tradition of ballet at the Jesuit college at the Parisian Collège de Clermont/Louis-le-Grand in her book *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: Baroque Dance on a Jesuit Stage in Paris*.³⁹⁰ Similarly, Barbara Sparti's research concerning dance in Jesuit theatre in France and Italy confirm what the programmes indicate: ballet is the preferred form of *interludia* in French-speaking regions, but staged dances are, just as in the sixteenth century, found in seventeenth-century theatrical productions throughout the entire Jesuit college network.³⁹¹ The presence of staged dances within theatrical productions is not unique to Jesuit schools during the seventeenth century, as examples from Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical productions have been identified in chapters 2

³⁸⁸ David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (London: Macdonald Futura Publishers, 1980), 164. During the seventeenth century, the bills for the ballets performed at the Collège de Clermont in Paris were paid by Louis XIV, while Leopold I similarly paid for the ballets staged at the college in Vienna.

³⁸⁹ *Antiochus* (Liege, 1635), Be-Lul, MS 2444A; CSTD ID 87, appendix 6, no. 224. *Omer Spinola* (Douai, 1656), BE-Lku P940.226.1, no. 10; CSTD ID 2323; appendix 6, no. 229. *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5, no. 6; CSTD 2310, appendix 6, no. 210. *Heraclius* (Paris, 17 August, 1688), GB-Lbl 11735.ee.5, no. 5; CSTD ID 2325, appendix 6, no. 230. The programme for the fourth example, *Heraclius* (Paris, 17 August, 1688), does not indicate the presence of a ballet. However, Rock and Sommervogel have identified that the *Ballet des Saisons* was part of the *Heraclius* production (Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: Baroque Dance on a Jesuit Stage in Paris* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996, 186; Sommervogel, 6:236, no.165). According to Sommervogel, a separate seven-page programme was printed for the ballet, but a copy of this second programme is not found with the *Heraclius* programme in the British Library, nor does the British Library currently possess a copy of the *Ballet des Saisons* programme. It is not known whether the *Heraclius* production used Jean-Baptiste Lully's 1661 ballet of the same title or if a newly composed setting of Abbé Jean du Pic's text was used. The title page of one of the two copies of Pascal Collasse's 1695 edition of Lully's *Ballet des Saisons* in the British Library, GB-Lbl C.396, is signed by André Campra. The potential significance of the autograph to the study of Parisian Jesuit college theatre is that Campra succeeded Marc-Antoine Charpentier as *maestro di cappella* at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont/Louis-le-Grand in Paris. See Don Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin," Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage around 1700,' *Music and Letters* 86:3 (August 2005): 380–413. Regarding ballet at the Collège de Clermont, see also Boysse, 31–58.

³⁹⁰ Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: Baroque Dance on a Jesuit Stage in Paris* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996. This study includes a chronological list of identified ballets over the period 1660–1762. The catalogue in *Terpsichore* does not, however, cross-reference the ballets with their associated main title dramas. Regarding French Jesuit ballets, see also Maria-Françoise Christout and Fernando Bassan, 'Ballet: Incarnation of Allegory,' *Dance Chronicle* 18:3 (1995): 427–435 and Alessandro Arcangeli, 'Dance under Trial: The Moral Debate 1200–1600,' *Dance Research: The Journal for the Society of Dance Research* 12:2 (Autumn, 1994): 137.

³⁹¹ Barbara Sparti, 'Breaking down Barriers in the Study of Renaissance and Baroque Dance,' *Dance Chronicle* 19:3 (1996), 255–276, especially 261–262. William H. McCabe, 'Music and Dance on a 17th-Century College Stage,' *The Musical Quarterly* (July, 1938): 313–322. For examples of Germanic-region Jesuit productions with inserted dances, see the three dance ensembles in *Prodigiousus Deiparentis Favor, in Tribus Nobilibus Equitibus cum Ismeria ex Aegypti captivitate in Franciam translatis demonstratus* (Linz, April, 1695), Szarota 1:2, 1211–1226; CSTD 443, and the *Chori Saltatorum* ensemble in *Trewgeflissenheit Oder Ansberta Ihres Gemahels Bertulfi* (Vienna, August, 1667), Szarota 3:2, 1613–1627; CSTD 258.

and 3, respectively. Thus, the inclusion of staged dances in seventeenth-century theatrical productions is a shared characteristic among Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit schools.

Seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions might contain one *interludium* or multiple *interludia*. The five productions in table 4.70, for example, fall into the latter category, as all include two, three or four *interludia*. In contrast, productions with multiple *interludia* do not appear in the available Benedictine theatre data until 1679, while the earliest known Augustinian theatrical production with multiple *interludia* is *Tullo Hostilio Romanorum Rege*, performed in Gent in 1696.³⁹² The available information indicates that most Jesuit theatre *interludia* are independent dramatic works, but there are several examples of dependent *interludia* in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, such as the three *interludia* in *S. Paulinus* (Eichstätt, 26 May, 1688), in which the apostle Paul figures prominently.³⁹³

As the examples in table 4.70 show, many seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre *interludia* are self-contained in one part or act, just as seen in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical productions. However, some *interludia* in Jesuit theatre, in particular ballets and comedies, have multiple formal divisions, typically two, three, or four to complement the structure of the main title drama; there are similar examples in the Augustinian theatre data sample. Ballets, of course, require musical accompaniment, but, songs might also appear in spoken forms of *interludia*.³⁹⁴ While there are no known instances of an *interludium* inserted within a prologue, epilogue or chorus, *interludia* might appear either within the acts of the main title drama, as seen in the Jesuit theatre example *Clotario König in Franckreich* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September 1682) in fig 4.32, or between the chorus and the subsequent act of the main title drama. The placement of *interludia* in theatrical

³⁹² Otto Aicher, *Marina Armena Constantini VI* (University of Salzburg, 5 September, 1679), Boberski no. 216, CSTD ID 2791. This Benedictine school theatrical production includes three comic *interludia*: *Parmeno*; *Parasiti in cella vinaria*; and *Moriones praeparant sellas. Horatorum Curatorumque Conflictus sub Tullo Hostilio Romanorum Rege ac Metio Suffetio Albanorum Duce* (Augustinian college, Gent, 7 September, 1696), BE–Gug G.6597, no. 10; CSTD ID 449, appendix 5, no. 148. This Augustinian school theatrical production also includes three moralistic *interludia*: *Interludium I: Semper avarus eget*; *Interludium II: Divitiae suscitant vixas*; and *Interludium III: Lachrymae diluunt crimina*.

³⁹³ *S. Paulinus Episcopus Nolanus Prodigium Charitatis* (Eichstätt, 26 May, 1688), Szarota 2:1, 183–193; CSTD ID 386. For example, the synopsis for *Interludium III* reads: ‘Rex suo somnio & Paulini augurio praeludit in Colono, quo me ex vino liberalius hausto sui vix compotem regis ornamentis per ludibrium indui jubet, ac exui.’

³⁹⁴ Franz Körndle, ‘Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,’ trans. Marian Lampe, in *The Jesuits II: Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 486–489.

productions therefore appears similar amongst the seventeenth-century Jesuit, Augustinian and Benedictine school theatre repertoire. The degree of dramatic development also varies considerably: for example, the comedy *S. Isabelle*, inserted in *Albert, Fils de Godefroy III*, is more sophisticated than the three comic interludes inserted in *Titus*.

Interludia casts are rarely identified in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes, and therefore it is difficult to collect sufficient information for analysis. The programme for *Clotario König in Franckreich* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September 1682) is a rare example in which the casts for not only one but both *episodia* are provided (fig. 4.32, indicated).³⁹⁵ However, following an examination of seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes, it appears that the upper limit on number of speaking/singing/dancing roles in *interludia* is approximately 24; many spoken works require only two or four. For example, the minimum required to enact ‘A Soldier Fools a Doctor and Steals His Purse’ from *Titus* (Kilkenny, 1644) is two, while there are nine character-dancers in ‘Louis le Grand dans le Temple de la Gloire’ in *Agathocles* (Argentina, 1687) and 24 actors in the untitled two-part comedy inserted in *Thomae Aquinatis* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 30 September, 1665).³⁹⁶ However, additional students might have taken part in these *interludia* in mute or decorative roles such as soldiers, crowd, shepherds, etc., and their presence is not recorded in the printed cast lists.

Dramatic Subjects

A new dramatic subject category in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre reflects the importance of patronage to the Jesuit college network during the explosive period of growth the network experienced during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dramas based upon important historical regional figures, whose religious, charitable or heroic aspects were tied to those of the current ruling figure, emerge within the Jesuit theatre repertoire, similar to contemporary Augustinian theatrical productions.

³⁹⁵ *Clotario König in Franckreich und seinem Sohn Chramno* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September 1682), Szarota 3:2, 1565–1572; CSTD ID 349.

³⁹⁶ ‘Divi Thomae de Aquino adolescentis pugna cum parente et propinquis,’ in *Consilium in Arena Pugna et Victoria Angelici Iuvenis Thomae Aquinatis* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 30 September, 1665), GB–Lbl RB.23.a.2600, CSTD ID 233. Referenced in Valentin I:260, no. 2070.

The dramatic subjects of the works within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample may be classified according to the same ten source categories used in the previous analyses of sixteenth-century Jesuit and Benedictine and seventeenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian data samples: allegory, hagiography, history of ancient Greece, history of ancient Rome, history of the Roman Catholic Church, regional history, Greco-Roman mythology, the New Testament, the Old Testament, and fiction. Unlike the fiction-based dramas found within the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical repertoire, the fiction sources in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre are not limited to ancient Greco-Roman literature (mythology excluded) but also include classroom farces, which typically feature an eccentric professor, and light comedies that use rustic stock characters.³⁹⁷ However, while seventeenth-century Jesuit and Benedictine theatre make use of fiction-based dramas, particularly in the form of *interludia*, none of the examined Augustinian school dramas use subjects from classical literature or stock comedy.

Table 4.71 presents the ten categories of dramatic subject sources found in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample by the number of dramas in each category, ordered from greatest to least. The information in this table includes not only all genres of main title dramas but also the *interludia* and independent and transitional choruses and prologues in order to present as completely as possible all of the types of individual dramatic works in seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatre. As the data shows, there are surprisingly few dramas on topics from the New Testament, only 13 out of the total sample of 411. One reason for the low number is that certain New Testament subjects, such as the stoning of Stephen recounted in Acts chapters 6–7, are placed in the hagiographic category because of the emphasis placed upon the martyrdom rather than the life of the individual. Similarly, the regional history category overlaps that of the History of the Catholic Church, resulting in a small presence among the seventeenth-century data sample. Only those dramas emphasizing the contributions of regional figures to the specific geographic area are placed in the History (Regional) category; dramas with regional interest whose focus is upon action for or against the Catholic church by local persons are relegated to the History (Catholic Church) category.

³⁹⁷ For example, the stock comedic character *Simplicius Civis* in the first interludium in *Unglückseeliger Ausgang Der Sorglosen Kinder-Zucht...In Clotario König in Franckreich Und Seinem Sohn Chramno* (Augsburg, 1, 3 September, 1682), Szarota 3:2, 1565–1572; CSTD ID 349 (fig. 3.32).

The four dramatic subject sources with the greatest number of dramas in the sample are, in order of greatest to least, hagiography, Old Testament, history of the Catholic Church, and allegory. The seventeenth-century analysis results are therefore strikingly different from that of the sixteenth century, where dramas with allegorical subjects form the largest group. In the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, 32%, or approximately one-third of the dramas are allegories; in contrast, allegories account for only one-tenth of seventeenth-century Jesuit dramas. Hagiographic subjects make up 38% of the seventeenth-century data sample, more than any other source in the seventeenth-century sample and double the sixteenth-century percentage of 18%. However, although there are greater numbers of dramas based upon the Old Testament in the seventeenth-century data sample, the percentage remains constant between the sixteenth and seventeenth century dramatic works at 20%, or one-fifth of the respective sample; as will be shown below, though, the types of dramatic works presenting Old Testament subjects undergo significant changes from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century.

Dramatic Subjects: Main Title Drama

The most common dramatic subjects in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre tragedies fall within the same four categories as seen in the repertoire as a whole, and also in the same order of popularity: hagiography, Catholic Church history, Old Testament and allegory. Tragedies in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre are most likely to be dramas concerning various incidences and aspects of martyrdom for the Roman Catholic Church (table 4.72).³⁹⁸ Thus, the Jesuit theatre emphasis on the deaths of Catholic saints is a consistent factor in the repertoire of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although considerably stronger among the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre tragedies. Seventeenth-century Benedictine tragedies also usually employ subjects from hagiography, but the contemporary Augustinian tragedies examined in this study do not exhibit a preference for any especial source for dramatic subjects.

³⁹⁸ Corroborated by Bruna Filippi for the Collegio and the Seminario Romano by Bruna Filippi, 'Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,' in: *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, John W. O'Malley, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 520.

The second and third most common sources of dramatic subjects among seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre tragedies are historical dramas concerning the Roman Catholic Church or the Old Testament (table 4.72). Examples of similar dramas are found in both Benedictine and Augustinian contemporary repertoire, but appear to be significantly lower in incidence than observed in the Jesuit theatre data sample. Compared to the sixteenth-century data, there is a demonstrable increase in interest in topics concerning the Roman Catholic Church and its post-apostolic history in Jesuit theatre, as the source category changes from one of the lowest in the sixteenth century to the second most common in the seventeenth-century data. Similarly, the increase during the seventeenth century in the number of tragedies presenting subjects from the Old Testament is found not only in Jesuit but also in Benedictine theatre; in contrast, seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre tragedies do not exhibit a noticeable preference for dramatic subjects from either Catholic church history or the Old Testament.

While the numbers of hagiographic and historical church dramas are present in greater numbers among seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dramas compared to the same repertoire in the sixteenth century, the number of solely allegorical tragedies decreased from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. In the data collected for the seventeenth century, there are only 22 examples of allegorical dramas, or 8% of the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre tragedies, compared to approximately 30% of the sixteenth-century data (table 4.72). Similarly, allegorical tragedies comprise only 11% of the seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre data sample while there are only three allegories within the seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre data sample. It therefore appears that the decline in the percentage of allegorical tragedies between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries is not particular to a single religious school theatre repertoire but rather present in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions.

The dramatic subject sources represented by the fewest number of dramatic works in the seventeenth-century Jesuit data sample include ancient Greece and Roman history, mythology, the New Testament, and subjects from fictional literature (table 4.71). Just as seen in contemporary Benedictine tragedies, the majority of Jesuit tragedies with New Testament subjects present either the parable of the Prodigal Son or are concerned with the birth, crucifixion, or resurrection of Christ. Just as seen in seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre, tragedies based upon events

from fictional literature are taken from Greco-Roman classical literature; interestingly, there are no examples of this type of dramatic subject amongst the examined Augustinian school theatre tragedies. In all three school theatre repertoires, tragedies concerning events in ancient Greek and Roman history comprise a significant minority of seventeenth-century tragedies.

Just as found among the tragedies, seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre comedies appear to be typically concerned with the lives of saints and martyrs (table 4.72). Those comedies on dramatic subjects other than hagiography are more likely to be either allegories or based upon the Old Testament; the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample includes six allegorical and nine Old Testament comedies. As the data in table 4.72 shows, all other dramatic source categories are represented by only one or two dramas, except for ancient Greek history, of which there are none in the sample. While a significant number of allegorical comedies are also seen among sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions, the stronger presence of comedies employing topics from the Old Testament and hagiography found amongst seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre comedies does not appear amongst the collected sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions. Seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre comedies are primarily allegories, and it therefore appears that there is a distinct difference between Benedictine and Jesuit comedies in their respective preferences for dramatic subject sources.

Of the 17 examples of the dramatic genre *drama musicum* in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset, 12 employ hagiographic dramatic subjects (table 4.72). Two examples are allegories, while two others focus upon events in the history of Catholic Church; one is a recounting of the Old Testament story of *Jephthe*. As the data in the table 4.72 shows, examples of *dramae musciae* with fictional, Greco-Roman historical, mythological and New Testament biblical dramatic subject are not represented in the data sample, nor is there a *drama musicum* concerning a figure from regional history. The emphasis on hagiography seen among seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre tragedies and comedies is therefore demonstrably also found among the *dramae musica*. The limited number of examples of this genre identified thus far in the Benedictine theatre repertoire does not demonstrate a similar emphasis on hagiographic topics, instead presenting dramas whose subjects are allegorical constructs or from Greco-Roman mythology. However, both of the Augustinian school theatre *dramae musica* make use of hagiographic topics.

The number of tragi-comedies and especially comi-tragedies in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample is insufficient for analysing dramatic subject preferences, and there are no known examples of these genres in contemporary Benedictine or Augustinian school theatre or in sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatre for comparison. The two examples of Jesuit theatre festivals are similarly unique among the collected specimens. However, in keeping with all of the other main title dramatic genres discussed thus far, the information presented in table 4.72 indicates a slight inclination towards hagiography as a source of dramatic subjects in both tragi-comedies and comi-tragedies, although the largest number of tragi-comedies in the dataset are based upon not hagiographic but Old Testament biblical subjects. As for the two festivals, one celebrates the history of the Roman Catholic church while the other is an allegory; alone among seventeenth-century main title dramatic genres in Jesuit theatre, these festivals are not centred upon the deaths of martyrs.

Multiple repetitions of dramatic subjects of Jesuit theatre main title dramas are found within the seventeenth-century dataset (table 4.73). This practice of repetition is similar to that observed in contemporary Benedictine school theatre main title dramas. However, repeating particular stories appears to be more common in the Jesuit theatre repertoire, probably one of the results of the increase in the publication and dissemination of Jesuit dramatic texts throughout the Jesuit college network in addition to the practice of rotating professors among the colleges. In contrast to both Benedictine and Jesuit theatre customs, the currently available main title dramas from Augustinian colleges do not exhibit a pattern of repetition of dramatic subjects.

With one significant exception, the dramatic subjects repeated the most often among the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample are represented by six or seven dramas (table 4.73). However, the largest number of dramas on a single subject within the seventeenth-century dataset is the 15 dramas on the Old Testament story of Jephthe.³⁹⁹ The popularity of the subject is not restricted to Jesuit theatre, as there are three seventeenth-century and two eighteenth-century *Jephtes* amongst the Benedictine school theatrical productions collected in the CSTD; there is also a single

³⁹⁹ The data suggests that Jephthe is not only the most popular dramatic subject in Jesuit theatre repertoire during seventeenth century but also in the eighteenth century, with an additional 36 examples of *Jephthe* dramas. *Jephthe* dramas account for 6% of the 623 eighteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions in the CSTD, the largest percentage of any single dramatic subject within the sample.

performance of a *Jephte* play by an Augustinian school during the eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁰

As the information in table 4.73 shows, dramatic subjects on vices and sin or featuring Divine Providence together make up over 40% of the allegorical main title dramas with seven and six examples, respectively. Table 4.74 reveals that the dependent theatrical components of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions, namely the dependent prologues, epilogues and choruses, also predominantly use vices, sins, and Divine Providence or Divine Justice as their main character, regardless of the dramatic subject source category of the main title drama. This finding indicates that allegorical creations so popular in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre were re-located to the dependent portions of seventeenth-century productions. This practice, together with the increasingly common appearance of prologues and epilogues in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical production, provided the opportunity for the observed growth in hagiographic and other dramatic subjects among the main title dramas without sacrificing the allegorical elements.

Amongst the hagiographic main title dramas, three subjects vie for prominence with six dramas each: Hermenegildus, Sigismund and the Japanese martyr, Titus. Main title dramas concerning the Byzantine Emperor Theodoricus and Alphonsus I of Portugal, represented in the data sample by seven and six dramas, respectively, are prominent among dramas concerning the history of the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps not surprisingly, dramas detailing the contemporary conflicts in England between Charles I and Oliver Cromwell are also well-represented in late seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre with five repetitions in the data sample.⁴⁰¹ Just as seen in contemporary Benedictine theatrical main title dramas, the most common dramatic subjects from the New Testament in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre are the parable of the Prodigal Son and dramas featuring the Virgin Mary. In contrast to these dramatic subject sources, the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample does not exhibit any especial subject preferences in the categories Fiction, History (Ancient Greece), History (Ancient Rome), History (Regional) and Mythology.

⁴⁰⁰ Wilbur Owen Sypherd, S.J. in his study *Jephthah and His Daughter: A Study in Comparative Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1948). Sypherd's literary study examines the fascination the subject of Jephthah held for the Jesuits and other religious schools with theatrical traditions.

⁴⁰¹ Charles I is usually identified in Jesuit theatrical texts and documents by the Latinised version of his name, Carolus I.

Dramatic Subjects: Independent and Transitional Chorus and Prologue

Mythological subjects comprise the second most common type of dramatic subjects in independent and transitional choruses in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample. The information in table 4.75 identifies the presences of six examples, such as *Thebes et Hercules* in the late seventeenth-century production *Lupoldo Comite* (Ingolstadt, 4, 6 September, 1696).⁴⁰² There are also two independent choruses and three transitional choruses that employ allegories featuring Christ or various virtues for their dramatic subjects. However, with eight independent choruses and 12 transitional choruses, or 60% of the 34 total choruses, the Old Testament appears to be the dramatic subject category of choice for these genres. Table 4.76 shows that the most common Old Testament character in independent and transitional choruses is not Jephthe, as seen in the main title dramas, but rather David, with six examples of *David* choruses in the data sample.⁴⁰³ Although there are no independent or transitional choruses in seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre, David is also the most common dramatic subject among the eighteenth-century examples of Benedictine theatre independent choruses.⁴⁰⁴

The independent prologues in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample demonstrate not only an apparent preference for Old Testament dramatic subjects similar to the choruses, but also contribute three of the nine *David* dramatic works listed in table 4.76. The information in table 4.75 reveals that, in addition to four independent and one transitional prologue on Old Testament subjects, there are two independent prologues based upon Greco-Roman mythology and four transitional prologues or PCHE structures that are allegories. However, an analysis of the dramatic subjects of these prologues does not return a prominent specific dramatic subject or character. As shown in table 4.76, each mythological tale is represented by only a single example in the data sample, and the same is true of the allegorical subjects after the chorus data is removed from the analysis. Therefore, except for biblical subjects, the collected data indicates that there is a low incidence of subject

⁴⁰² *Mirabilis & suavis Dispositio Divinae Providentiae in Lupoldo Comite e Bavaria Ejusdemque Filio Henrico Exhibita* (Ingolstadt, 4, 6 September, 1696), Szarota 1:1, 239–246; CSTD 454.

⁴⁰³ Please note that the data in table 4.76 includes the dramatic subjects of independent and transitional prologues as well as choruses.

⁴⁰⁴ CSTD ID nos. 2461, 2531, 2542, 2546, 2561, 2582.

repetition among independent and transitional prologues and PCHE structures in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre.

Dramatic Subjects: *Interludia*

The dramatic subjects of the *interludia* in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample are primarily fictional, just as seen in seventeenth-century Benedictine *interludia*. The most common type of characters in these fictional *interludia* are stock rustic or military comedic characters similar to those found in Benedictine school theatre *interludia* (table 4.77). A significant minority of the *interludia* in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset are based upon local history or ancient Roman history. When compared to the dramatic subjects in *interludia* from contemporary Benedictine theatre, the Jesuit theatre *interludia* dramatic subject information in table 4.77 is similar. The dramatic subjects of the ballets in both the Benedictine and Jesuit data samples for this century are allegorical or symbolic. The Jesuit theatre ballets in the data sample portray the five senses or represent geographic regions.⁴⁰⁵

Authors

The authors of the dramatic works in Jesuit college theatrical productions were rarely identified in print in theatrical programmes during the seventeenth century, just as in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, determining the author of a Jesuit theatre drama is a different undertaking among seventeenth-century repertoire than among sixteenth-century dramas for several reasons. First, the name of the author is occasionally handwritten on the frontispiece of seventeenth-century programmes, often with the phrase ‘Rhet[or] Prof. Chor[agus]’ or ‘Rhet[or] Chor[agus]’ or simply, ‘Choragus,’ indicating that the inscribed name is the author of the main title drama. Also, the numbers of published Jesuit theatre dramas increased considerably during the seventeenth century, as shown by the bibliographic evidence in Valentin and

⁴⁰⁵ Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: baroque dance on a Jesuit stage in Paris* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996). Boysse, 31–58. The percentages of *interludia* with allegorical or mythological dramatic subjects are under-represented in this analysis. Rock and Boysse’s research shows that the majority of French Jesuit college ballets were allegorical/symbolic constructs or depictions of scenes from Greco-Roman mythology.

Sommervogel.⁴⁰⁶ Finally, one of the results of scholarly study of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dramatic works is the continuing growth in the number of published modern editions of Jesuit college dramas.

Table 4.78 provides a list of the 30 identified authors within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, presented in order by last name together with their religious community affiliation, if any, their primary educational background and the total number of their dramas found within the data sample. In comparison to the 25 dramatic works from the sixteenth century whose authors are known, the seventeenth-century data sample contains more than double that number with a total of 56 dramas. However, this is a significantly smaller percentage compared to that of the seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical sample, in which the authors for 240 dramatic works have been identified, though far greater than the seventeenth-century Augustinian data sample, in which the identity of only one author has been confirmed.⁴⁰⁷ There is currently a demonstrable disparity in this area of knowledge among the three repertoires analysed in this study.

The authors of seventeenth-century Jesuit college dramas are primarily members of the Society of Jesus, just as in the sixteenth century. However, five of the authors in table 4.78 are not found among the Jesuit authors in Valentin's or Sommervogel's indices: Joseph Franck, Pietro Giubilei, Joannes Maderegger, Francisco Ruesch and Vitus Wagner.⁴⁰⁸ It is possible that several of these unknown authors were Jesuit seminary alumni or current students, a proposal supported by the presence of two authors, namely, M. Leonhard Funck and D. Joannes Maderegger, whose official titles indicate that they might have been seminary students. For example, Leonhard Funck, the author of a play performed by the Jesuit college in Amberg in 1693, was resident at the Amberg Jesuit college at that time, although it is not currently known in what capacity.

⁴⁰⁶ Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande: répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés, 1555–1773*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983, 1984). Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., ed., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus: nouvelle édition*, 10 vols (Bruxelles: Oscar Schepens, 1890–1919).

⁴⁰⁷ The identification of the authors of all but 7 of the 240 dramatic works are presented in previously published research by Heiner Boberski. Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der Alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* *Theatregeschichte Österreichs VI:1* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

⁴⁰⁸ The names of the authors included in catalogues of Jesuit authors, such as Valentin, Griffin and Sommervogel, are presented in the tables in their standard spelling. For those authors not found in these indices, their name appears as written or printed in the source materials.

Except for these five authors of seventeenth-century Jesuit college dramas about who nothing more is known, the remaining 25 authors found within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset received a Jesuit-directed education at the college and/or seminary level (table 4.79). The confirmed Jesuit-educated authors comprise 83% of the authors in the data sample, comparable to the findings in the sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset. The evidence therefore indicates that the sixteenth-century tradition of performing primarily 'in-house' dramas continues in Jesuit theatre into and throughout the seventeenth century. Similarly, the dramas performed in Benedictine school theatres during the seventeenth century were primarily written by Benedictine monks; at this time, there is insufficient information to draw conclusions regarding the religious affiliation of authors of seventeenth-century Augustinian school dramas

While the data sample of seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre repertoire contains two examples of author collaboration, there are none among the dramatic works in the Jesuit theatre dataset from the seventeenth century, just as in the sixteenth-century. Similarly, there are no known instances of multi-authored works in the seventeenth-century Augustinian data sample. However, as the two examples in found in the Benedictine theatre repertoire involve the same author, Thomas Weiss, collaborating with Aegidius and Melchior Ranbeck, the evidence indicates that these works are exceptions and collaboration among authors is extremely rare among Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school dramas written during the seventeenth century. The examples analysed from these three bodies of theatre repertoire likewise show that the practice of staging works written by members of other religious orders and communities is rare to non-existent.

The authors of Jesuit theatrical dramas in the seventeenth century, just as their colleagues in the sixteenth century, typically wrote more than one drama. Contemporary Benedictine theatre authors likewise customarily composed multiple theatrical works for their institutions. There are several authors with more than five dramas among the dramatic works in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, such as eleven examples of dramas by Jean-Baptiste Adolf, six dramas by Luís da Cruz and eight by the French Jesuit Pierre Musson. However, many of the authors with only one work listed in tables 4.78 and 4.80 in actuality also wrote multiple works for the Jesuit theatre, but these dramas are not among those in the examined data. For example, although author Jakob Bidermann is represented by a

single drama, *Cenodoxus*, in the sample of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dramatic works, a collection of his plays for Jesuit college theatre were posthumously published in 1666.⁴⁰⁹ Such instances are primarily a result of this study's deliberate collection of Jesuit college theatrical productions from as diverse a number of schools and geographic regions as the available sources permitted.⁴¹⁰

Table 4.80 displays the 56 dramatic works with known authors in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample by author and year of performance or publication, whichever is the earliest date. Just as in the data for the sixteenth-century, if the author's name and drama have an established standard form, this is used in table 4.78 and 4.80. The author's identification number and identification number of the dramatic production in the CSTD database are also provided in the table, as is a summary total for each author. Just as seen in the examples from sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre, the dramatic works presented in table 4.80 are chiefly main title tragedies and comedies, with the exception of Jean-Baptiste Adolf's Passion-play, *Patientis Christi memoria*. The evidence thus suggests that the practice of publishing main title dramas over any other form of drama observed in the sixteenth century data continued into the seventeenth century.⁴¹¹

Composers

The evidence summarised in table 4.81 reveals that, in contrast to the sixteenth-century, composer names were provided for approximately one-third of the musical genres and theatrical components in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, a significant change in attitude towards not only the individual

⁴⁰⁹ Valentin, II:1188–1191. Jakob Bidermann, *Ludi theatrales sacri sive opera comica posthuma a R. P. Jacobo Bidermann Soc. Jesu Theologo olim conscripta, et cum plausu in Theatrum producta, nunc bono juvenis in publicum data* (Monachii [Munich]: 1666; repr., Tübingen: Rolf Tarot, 1967). Dramas by Jakob Bidermann include *Belisarius*, *Cenodoxus*, *Joannes Calybita*, *Cosmarchia*, *Josephus Aegypti Prorex*, *Macarius Romanus* and *Philemon Martyr*. See Valentin for editions of and literary studies on Bidermann's dramatic works.

⁴¹⁰ T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuit Opera in Seventeenth-Century Vienna: *Patientis Christi memoria* by Johann Bernhard Staudt (1654–1712), in *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006): 787–801. An exception was made in the case of author Jean-Baptiste Adolf not only due to the fact that all of his dramas were set to music by Johann Bernhard Staudt for the Viennese Jesuit college, but also because all of the manuscripts of Staudt's scores have been located and identified by scholars.

⁴¹¹ The data necessary to determine what percentage of Jesuit theatrical works written during the seventeenth century received contemporary publication versus those remaining in manuscript is not yet available.

contribution of composers, comparable to the corresponding rise in the number of identified authors in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre, but also towards the significance of the chorus in theatrical productions as it developed from a brief work to a fully developed dramatic work. The growth during the seventeenth century in the incidence of composer identification in Jesuit theatre is similarly found in contemporary Benedictine school theatre, but composers remain unidentified in the examined seventeenth-century theatrical production documents from Augustinian schools.

Table 4.81 displays by dramatic genre or component the 156 dramatic works in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample whose primary source materials identify the composer by dramatic genre.⁴¹² Of the 19 *dramae musica* found in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, the name of the composer is specified for 17, or 89%, of the examples. Composers are also included in the source materials for 61%, or 31 out of the 51 independent or transitional choruses and prologues in the dataset. Also, approximately one-third of the theatrical productions with dependent prologues, choruses and epilogues identify the composer by name. However, as table 4.81 shows, the composers of forms of *interludia* are not provided in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes, texts or scores; it appears that, just as in the sixteenth century, Jesuit theatre *interludia* continued to be seen as transient entertainment.

Even with the slowly spreading custom of identifying composers in Jesuit school theatrical productions, anonymous Jesuit theatre music manuscripts remain common, particularly among the dependent prologues, choruses and epilogues, where composers are known for fewer than 30% of these works (table 4.81). The disparity in the percentages between the independent musical genres, i.e. the *dramae musica* and

⁴¹² Culley, 206–209, 272–274. Examples of student singers/composers in the Collegio Germanico S. Apollinare church choir during the seventeenth century include: Georg Prugglacher, 1646–1653; Franz Kall (bass), 1652–1658; Hugo von Orsbeck, 1652–1655; Johann Anton Knebel, 1663–1667; Robert Atzger, 1663–1666; Georg Náray (Hungarian), 1666; Andreas Illyés (Hungarian), c. 1666; Sebastian Loth, 1671–1673; Graf von Maxlrain, 1671–1677; Phillip Jakob Baudrexel, 1644–1651; Kaspar Förster, 1633–1636. Other composers, instrumentalists and *maestri di cappella* trained at S. Apollinare during the seventeenth century include: Alberici, Allegri, Argenti, Caproli, Casata, Colonna, Giacchi, Leopardi, Mocchi, del Pane, Pellegrino, Pio, Rivani, Rodomonte, Rota, and Scritti. Continued research may reveal a discriminatory practice regarding composer identification between works by composers in positions outside of Jesuit institutions and works written by Jesuit church *maestri* as part of the responsibilities of their position, with the name of the composer more commonly supplied for the former.

the independent choruses and prologues, and the dependent choruses with their attendant prologues and epilogues, reveals a difference in the perceived value of independent and dependent components.

An analysis of the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample reveals that c.1640 appears to be the starting period for the inclusion of composers in theatrical documents; the earliest example in the data sample of a programme in which the composer's name appears is the prologue and five choruses composed by D. Georg Leitner for *Cordubaeus* (Ingolstadt, 6 September, 1644).⁴¹³ The data in table 4.82 reveals the progression of the custom of composer identification by presenting the total number of dramatic works with a known composer by performance decade and showing which decades are most populated by the dataset. The results reveal four discrete sub-periods within the progression of the development of the practise.

As research suggests and as the evidence displayed in table 4.82 confirms, the first 40 years of the seventeenth century is similar to the sixteenth-century in the general absence of composer identification in Jesuit theatrical programmes. Beginning in c.1640 through 1670, composer's names begin to be included in theatrical documents, but account for fewer than 10% of the dramatic works associated with a composer in the sample. Approximately a quarter of the dramatic works in table 4.85 were performed over the period c. 1670 to c. 1690. The revelation that 40% of the dramatic works with a known composer were performed during the final decade of the century indicates that the practice of identifying the composer, while still inconsistent, was becoming more common within Jesuit theatre. A similar timeline for the development of the practice of composer identification is found within contemporary Benedictine school theatre, except that late-century Benedictine theatrical programmes also provide the composer of the inserted *interludia*, a practice not found among the dramatic works in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample. In contrast to Benedictine and Jesuit theatre, the evidence suggests that Augustinian theatre did not develop a tradition of identifying the composers of the musical portions of school productions during the seventeenth century.

Just as in the examination of Jesuit theatre authors, this study presents an initial analysis of the religious affiliation and education of composers of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre. The collected evidence suggests that the music in seventeenth-

⁴¹³ *Cordubaeus Tragoedia* (Ingolstadt, 6 September, 1644), Szarota 2:1, 1097–1104, CSTD ID 114.

century Jesuit school theatrical productions was rarely composed by a Jesuit priest, a complete change from the observed monopoly of the Society in the authorship of Jesuit school theatre, and significantly different from contemporary practices in Benedictine school theatre where approximately half of the identified composers are Benedictine monks. That the musical works in Jesuit theatre were composed by non-Jesuit individuals has significant consequences for the research of Jesuit theatre music, for not only was the vast majority of this music never published, but, in contrast to the authors, composers who were not Jesuit priests and their works are not included in the various Society of Jesus bibliographic catalogues.⁴¹⁴

Table 4.83 presents 60 individuals confirmed as the composers for 156 of the dramatic works within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample, organised alphabetically by last name.⁴¹⁵ The official religious titles of the composers, where supplied in the sources, are also provided. An examination of the titles in table 4.83 reveal that Maximilian Bell, S.J. appears to be the exception among the other composers with confirmed compositions among the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset, for none of these other composers are known to have been ordained as Jesuit priests although most took minor orders, as indicated by the prefix ‘D.’ There are four composers with higher religious titles, three reverend doctors, or ‘R.D.’ and one reverend father, ‘R.P.’ There are also five composers among the 60 presented in the table who earned a higher degree in musical arts rather than theology, indicated by the abbreviated title ‘D.M.’ One composer in the list, Martinus Martini, might be the Franciscan friar-composer of the same name, but the available information is insufficient for a conclusive determination.

Finally, in addition to a summary of the composer’s education background, the total number of musical works in the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample is indicated for each composer in table 4.83. Out of the 156 examples, only two works have received previous attention by scholars. Most recently, a DVD performance of Johann Bernhard Staudt and Jean-Baptiste Adolph’s passion, *Patientis Christus Memoria* (Vienna, 21 April, 1685) is included in *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, together with T. Frank Kennedy, S.J.’s discussion of the

⁴¹⁴ There are a few exceptions within the extant indices, such as Sommervogel’s identification of Johann Bernhard Staudt as the composer for Jean-Baptiste Adolph’s dramatic texts.

⁴¹⁵ Similar to the procedure concerning the names of Jesuit authors, standardised names of the composers, where known, are used. For those composers about whom nothing is known, such as Dominicus Gefswain and D. Andreas Halmheij, the names are presented as they appear in the source materials.

work and his recovery of the score.⁴¹⁶ A modern critical edition of another collaboration between Staudt and Adolf, *Ferdinandus Quintus Rex* (Vienna, 1684) was published in 1981.⁴¹⁷ At the time of writing, the other works in table 4.85 have received neither contemporary nor modern publication.⁴¹⁸

The information contained within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample reveals that it was the preferred practice in many colleges to engage the same composer for multiple, but not necessarily consecutive, theatrical productions, just as in the sixteenth century. However, it should be noted that the gaps between productions in several of the composers' contributions as revealed in table 4.85, such as seen in the available data for D. Caspar Brenz, might reflect an absence of information rather than an absence of active involvement in Jesuit theatre composition, and therefore the results of future research may reveal a more definitive pattern of consecutive composition similar to that observed in the seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre data sample.

An analysis and summary of the educational background of the 60 composers listed in table 4.96 is presented in table 4.84. As the results shows, information regarding education is currently available for approximately one-third of the identified composers of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre. Of these, 35% were former graduates of Jesuit seminaries (nine), Jesuit colleges (seven) or Jesuit-directed universities (five). The apparent least common type of composer within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset is the currently enrolled student, as the sample includes only one college student and one seminary student enrolled at the time of the performance of their compositions; it therefore appears not only that student composers awarded such an opportunity must have been considered unusually gifted by their respective institutions but also the majority of Jesuit seminaries, universities and colleges

⁴¹⁶ T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuit Opera in Seventeenth-Century Vienna: *Patientis Christi memoria* by Johann Bernhard Staudt (1654–1712), in *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006): 787–801.

⁴¹⁷ Johann Bernhard Staudt, *Ferdinandus Quintus Rex Hispaniae Maurorum domitor Drama d. Wiener Jesuitenkollegs anlässlich d. Befreiung von d. Türken 1683*, ed. Walter Pass and Karl Plepelits, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 132 (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1981).

⁴¹⁸ In view of the established practice of publishing choruses from sixteenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions in collections of motets and madrigals, the possibility that portions of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre choruses were similarly excerpted and published should be considered. This is an area of Jesuit theatre study yet to be broached, although it seems reasonable to expect that a certain percentage of composers did engage in this practice. Published in such a form, the same issues regarding identification discussed in the section on sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre hold equally true for seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre.

preferred engaging professionals among their alumni to provide the musical portions of their productions rather than using currently enrolled students.⁴¹⁹

The education of Johann Beer (1655–c.1700), who attended the school at the Benedictine monastery at Lambach before continuing his studies at the Jesuit college at Passau, indicates that composers who received part of their education outside of Jesuit-directed institutions might yet compose for Jesuit school theatrical productions.⁴²⁰ A similar attitude may be detected in Benedictine theatre, as several composers for Benedictine theatre during the seventeenth century were educated at Jesuit colleges and universities.⁴²¹ Similarly, Johann Georg Franz Braun and Franz Xaver Anton Murschhauser, although the latter is named after the founder of the Society of Jesus, were educated in non-Jesuit Catholic choir schools. Braun (before 1630–after 1675) was the Kapellmeister and cantor at the Catholic church St. Nicolai in Eger, located in the modern-day Czech Republic. His connection to Jesuits and the Jesuit theatre was through his active membership in the Marian congregation at the Eger Jesuit college, for whose use he published *Marianischer Psalter* in 1664.⁴²² Murschhauser (1663–1738), was educated at the choir school of Peterskirche in Munich; Murschhauser's route to Jesuit theatre composition appears to be through his studies with the eminent composer for the Munich Jesuit college and Kapellmeister at the court of the Elector Ferdinand Maria in Munich, Johann Caspar Kerll.⁴²³ Therefore, it seems probable that the composers in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre who were not currently enrolled or alumni of Jesuit educational institutions most likely gained the opportunity to compose for the Jesuit theatre through their

⁴¹⁹ An investigation into whether Jesuit institutions primarily engaged their own alumni or alumni from other institutions cannot be conducted at this time due to insufficient available information.

⁴²⁰ George J. Buelow, 'Beer, Johann,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02512> (accessed September 10, 2010).

⁴²¹ The three Jesuit-educated Benedictine theatre composers in the data sample for chapter 2 are: Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber (Bohemia?); Thomas Eisenhuet (Augsburg); and Georg Muffat (Séléstat in Alsace; Molsheim, University of Innsbruck). Muffat also studied composition with Rupert Ignaz Mayr, CSTD Composer ID 85, who composed works for Jesuit school theatres. See Elizabeth Roche, 'Mayr, Rupert Ignaz,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18180> (accessed September 11, 2010).

⁴²² Walther Lipphardt and Jiří Sehnal, 'Braun, Johann Georg Franz,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03876> (accessed September 10, 2010).

⁴²³ Waltraude Kramer, 'Die Musik im Wiener Jesuitendrama von 1677–1711,' PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1961. C. David Harris and Albert C. Giebler, 'Kerll, Johann Caspar,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14913> (accessed September 11, 2010).

associations with Jesuit college *maestri* or membership in Jesuit college Marian congregations.

The information presented in table 4.85 provides both the title of the main drama of the theatrical productions and also the musical work's relationship to the main title drama, i.e., dependent, transitional or independent, the structure and number of components within the composition, and, lastly, one or two of the main characters of the musical work. There are instances amongst the seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre data sample of composers writing both dependent and independent musical works for the theatre; as the table 4.85 shows, this practice is also found among composers of works for Jesuit school theatres. For example, the sample includes two examples of dependent PCH(E) structures and one main title *drama musicum* by D. Anton Deichel (c.1662–1712), whose identified Jesuit theatre output includes 29 works for the Jesuit colleges at Augsburg, Eichstätt, Ingolstadt (from which university he graduated in 1680), Landshut, Neuburg an der Donau and Regensburg over the period 1689–1711.⁴²⁴ The seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre dataset also contains examples of composers providing multiple independent musical works for a single theatrical production, such as the three untitled independent choruses by D. Johann Ferdinand Jele, *Cain*, *Salomon* and *Lot*, inserted in the production *Didacus Garzias Comes* performed by the University of Ingolstadt in 1653.⁴²⁵ Severinus Schweighofer, Jele's successor at Dom St. Jakob in Innsbruck, contributed ten of the 156 works in table 4.85, including one main title drama, the tragedy *Hermenegildus* (Ingolstadt, 4, 6 September, 1679), dependent PCH(E) works for five productions, and multiple independent works for the 1692 production *Garsia Ferdinando* (Innsbruck, 2, 4 September, 1692).⁴²⁶

Just as seen in the data from the sixteenth century, there are no known examples of collaboration among composers in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre

⁴²⁴ Robert Münster, 'Deichel,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07417pg2> (accessed September 11, 2010).

⁴²⁵ *Didacus Garzias Comes* (Ingolstadt, 9 September, 1653), Szarota 2:1, 1267–1274, CSTD ID 165. Nothing is currently known about D. Johann Ferdinand Jele except his professional position at the time of composition, included in the printed theatrical programmes. His post is consistently identified in the sources as 'S[acrae] Caesarae M[ajestatis] Oeniponti Capellae Magister, Organoed[us] Aul[icus],' most likely the Dom St. Jakob in Innsbruck.

⁴²⁶ *Victimae Paschalis seu Hermenegildus Martyr Hispaniam in Pristinam Catholicae Religionis Libertatem Asserens* (Ingolstadt, 4, 6 September, 1679) Szarota 3:1, 511–518; CSTD ID 332. *Filiorum Ingratitudo Punita, Pietas Coronata In Garsia Ferdinando et Ramiro Regis Sanctii, et Elvirae Filiis, Tragico-Comoedia* (Innsbruck, 2, 4 September, 1692), Szarota 3:2, 1461–1467; CSTD ID 415. Severinus Schweighofer, about whom nothing more is currently known, succeeded Jele before 1679, as the programme for *Victima* shows that by that time he is in Jele's former position.

(table 4.85); similarly, there are also none within the examined contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian theatrical productions. There is also no evidence that separate composers wrote the music for *dramae musica* and the choruses within the main title *dramae musica* in the repertoires of seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatre. However, while there are no known examples among the examined seventeenth-century Jesuit and Augustinian theatre dramatic works in which the composer was also the author of the text, the seventeenth-century Benedictine data sample includes four authors who composed the music for the dependent choruses in their dramas.⁴²⁷ Finally, it appears that composers of musical components for Jesuit, Augustinian and Benedictine school theatre strictly wrote for only one religious school network during the seventeenth century, although they might and frequently did compose for multiple schools under the direction of that community.⁴²⁸

Jesuit School Theatre, c. 1535–c.1700: Observations and Conclusions

Performance

Theatrical activity in Jesuit colleges in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is present in all twelve calendar months. Programmes were typically printed only for the autumn prize-day production, which took place in October during the sixteenth century and in September during the seventeenth century. In both centuries, the autumn prize-day productions more commonly received multiple performances than other theatrical productions; multiple performances are very common in the data for seventeenth-century. The main title dramas were repeated multiple times by different Jesuit colleges, a practice facilitated by the papal permission granted to the Jesuits to establish printing presses. The second prize-day productions in Jesuit

⁴²⁷ The four Benedictine author-composers, identified by Boberski, are Friederich Plank (1598–1634), Simon Rettenpacher (1634–1706) Andreas Vogt (?–1633) and Ferdinand Wezl (dates unknown).

⁴²⁸ Following the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 and the subsequent closure of Jesuit educational institutions, there is evidence of composers who previously wrote for Jesuit theatrical productions writing for Benedictine schools. For example, Augustin Ullinger composed the music for the Jesuit theatre production, *Der Tod L. Junii Bruti in einem Aufzug* (Munich, 3, 6 September, 1773), Szarota 3:2, 1989–2000, CSTD ID 2185, and two *dramae musica* for Benedictine theatre productions, *Victrix Filialis Pietas Tragoedia Cum Dramate Musico* (Freising, 4, 5 September, 1777), DE–Aua O2/III.7.4.55-12; CSTD ID 2204, and *Fata amicorum tragoedia cum dramate musico* (Freising, 3, 6 September, 1779), DE–Aua O2/XIII.6.8.1156, no. 5 and O2/III.7.8.193; CSTD ID 2207.

colleges also changed their month of performance from June/July to February, but the transition was much more gradual and remained incomplete by the end of the seventeenth century. The language of printed programmes from both the prize-day and other productions in both centuries is either Latin or the vernacular; the advent of bilingual programmes in Jesuit college theatre appears to be c.1650. Both sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes typically include the title of the main title drama, the name of the school, the school's association with the Society of Jesus, the performance occasion and/or patron, the complete performance date, full publisher information, and act or scene synopses. The custom of providing a cast list with the actors' names became established during the seventeenth century; a few seventeenth-century programmes identify the musicians by voice type or instrument. Although the name of the author does not appear in any sixteenth or seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical programmes, the name of the composer is printed in approximately 20% of the seventeenth-century programmes in the data sample.

Production Structure

The dramatic productions in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre employ a single model of production structure, while three distinct models emerged in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre. Regardless of geographic region, sixteenth-century Jesuit school productions include a main title drama and dependent choruses; optional theatrical components include *interludia*, a prologue or an epilogue. The production structural models in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre are specific to certain geographic regions, as indicated by their labels: the Italian model, which includes main title drama, choruses and frequently also a prologue and interludia; the French model, which is composed of a main title drama, interludia in the form of ballets, and perhaps also a prologue and/or epilogue; the Austrian-German model, which is made up of a main title drama and either choruses or interludia, but not both, and possibly also a prologue or an epilogue. The main title drama in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre is most commonly a spoken tragedy or comedy, presented with choruses and possibly also interludia between each act. While most of the main title Jesuit school dramas in the seventeenth century were spoken, an entirely sung repertoire developed around the turn of the century; fully acted and staged, seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre *dramae musicae* are considered in the literature to be forms of opera. The range

of performance forces in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes is between 10 and 89 performers, with an average of 15 to 25 characters. The casts in seventeenth-century productions are considerably larger than in the sixteenth century, ranging from between fewer than ten actors to 232 student performers. The average seventeenth-century Jesuit production force, however, is between 50 and 125 students.

Dramatic Genres

While a large proportion of the main title dramas in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre are tragedies, there are also comedies, spoken dialogues and liturgical dramas. The preference of the tragic drama is similarly observed in Jesuit main title drama repertoire during the seventeenth-century. Several new genres of main title drama appeared in Jesuit theatre in the early seventeenth century, such as the tragi-comedy, the *comi-tragedy*, and the *drama musicum*, an entirely sung work. Main title dramas in both centuries are typically in five acts that are subdivided into scenes. Main title dramas in four acts are found in the sixteenth-century repertoire, while three-act and three-part tragedies and comedies comprise a significant percentage of the collected seventeenth-century productions. Most were performed entirely in Latin, although examples of vernacular main title dramas may be found throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Main title dramas in the sixteenth century required on average 30 actors, while seventeenth-century main title dramas use between 50 and 100 actors.

It is not common to find a sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical production opening with a prologue, and the use of epilogues is even rarer. Productions with prologues or prologue/epilogues pairs become increasingly more common throughout the seventeenth century. Unlike the main title dramas, sixteenth century prologues and epilogues are continuous within internal scenic divisions, inseparable from the main title drama, and typically sung or recited to music by allegorical or symbolic characters in dialogue. Transitional dramatic prologues developed during the 1620s and emerged as fully independent dramatic works by the 1640s.

The chorus in early Jesuit theatre is a single short sung non-dramatic work for ensemble found at the conclusion of one or more acts of the main title drama whose primary purpose is to summarise the preceding dramatic action. During the early decades of Jesuit school theatre, the inserted choruses might be a previously

composed motet; after c.1580, most authors composed choruses for their plays to be set to music. By c.1580, Jesuit theatre choruses were usually dependent sung dialogues similar to contemporary prologues and epilogues. The transitional and independent chorus developed in Jesuit theatre in parallel with the transitional and independent prologue, and are similarly first found beginning c.1640. Although the musical ensemble requirements for sixteenth-century prologues, epilogues and choruses cannot be determined from the available information, the average musical cast for a seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical production is 20 vocalists and instrumentalists.

The presence of *interludia* is rarely acknowledged in the documentation of sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre, but the few known examples indicate that interludia are in one formal part and were inserted within the act or between the acts after the chorus. Theatrical productions in both centuries typically included more than one *interludium*. Seventeenth-century *interludia* are similarly located within the production, and are also usually in one formal part. The two most common forms of *interludia* in seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions are spoken comedies and ballets; the latter is especially common in francophone regions, while the former is more typical of Jesuit colleges in German-speaking areas. Unlike the main title dramas, prologues, epilogues and choruses, *interludia* were frequently performed in the vernacular. The performing forces of Jesuit theatre *interludia* over the period c.1550–c.1700 range between two and 24 performers.

Dramatic Subjects

While most sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre main title drama dramatic subjects are allegorical, the majority of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre main title drama dramatic subjects are hagiographical. Hagiographic topics in addition to biblical subjects are also common in sixteenth-century main title dramas, while themes from Catholic history and the Old Testament are the second and third most common dramatic subject sources among seventeenth-century main title dramas. The single most common dramatic subject in Jesuit main title dramas is the biblical tale of Jephthe. As the prologues, epilogues and choruses are dependent musical works in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre, a separate study is redundant. However, the dramatic subjects of transitional prologues and choruses are usually allegorical or

mythological, while independent prologues and choruses typically portray events from the Old Testament. Unlike the main title dramas, the most common subject in transitional and independent Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses is the life of David, King of Israel. While too little information is known about the dramatic subjects in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre *interludia*, seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre *interludia* commonly employ stock comedy characters or a mixture of mythological and allegorical characters.

Authors

The typical author of Jesuit theatre drama during the sixteenth and seventeenth century is a Jesuit, often the professor of rhetoric or poetry at the Jesuit educational institution, whose responsibilities included directing the annual prize-day production. There is no evidence of collaboration among authors, or of authors also composing the music to the choruses of their productions. The majority of Jesuit theatre authors wrote multiple plays; by the end of the seventeenth century, a number of Jesuit plays had been published.

Composers

In contrast to the authors of Jesuit theatre drama, the composers of Jesuit theatre music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were usually not themselves Jesuits but *maestri* of Jesuit college churches or local musicians. However, many composers for Jesuit school theatrical productions received at least part of their education at a Jesuit institution or were members of Jesuit Marian congregations at Jesuit schools, and therefore were familiar with the traditions of Jesuit school theatre. Unlike Jesuit theatre dramatic texts, however, Jesuit theatre music was rarely published, and most of the located examples are manuscript sources. The majority of Jesuit theatre music is anonymous, but after c.1650, the name of the composer began to be included in printed theatrical programmes. Composers for the Jesuit theatre typically wrote the music for multiple productions, and there are no known examples of collaborative works.

Chapter 5

Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit School Theatre, c.1500–c.1700

A comparison of the six main topics analysed in chapters 2, 3 and 4, namely, performance, production structure, dramatic genre, dramatic subject, authors and composers, reveals that Benedictine and Augustinian schools followed the lead of the Jesuit theatre in innovation and developments. As these innovations and developments, such as the emergence of independent prologues and choruses, are found during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only within prize-day productions, which comprise the majority of the data sample for all three chapters, the following summary analyses reflect the characteristics of and developments within prize-day productions.

Performance

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit schools staged theatrical productions associated with the distribution of academic prizes. These productions were usually performed in October in Jesuit schools during the sixteenth century; whether contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian schools similarly held their annual prize-day theatrical productions in October cannot be determined due to an absence of data. However, the prize-day productions staged by Benedictine schools during the seventeenth century took place in October, as did Jesuit school productions until c.1620. However, after 1620, the traditional performance month for Jesuit school prize-day productions uniformly changed throughout the Jesuit education network from October to the first week in September. Ten years after the Jesuits, the Augustinian schools likewise held their prize day ceremonies and accompanying theatrical productions during the first week in September. Finally, Benedictine schools changed the month in which prize-day theatrical performances occurred during the closing years of the seventeenth century from October to the first week in September.

The repetition of main title dramas, both within a single and among multiple educational institutions, first occurs in Jesuit college theatre beginning in the 1550s.

In contrast, this practice emerges in Benedictine theatrical productions around 1630 and not until c.1670 in Augustinian school theatre. Similarly, theatrical productions in Jesuit schools were frequently performed during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries over a run of two to seven performances on consecutive days. After c.1670, Augustinian schools likewise staged consecutive performances of theatrical productions. The repetition of theatrical productions in Benedictine schools was non-consecutive at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with as long as six months between performances. As the century progressed, the number of days between repeat performances of Benedictine school theatrical productions dwindled until, at the end of the seventeenth-century, the performance run of Benedictine productions took place on consecutive days, just as seen first in Jesuit and later in Augustinian school theatres.

The programmes for sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions were customarily printed for prize-day productions in lingual sets, with one set of programmes printed in the vernacular and the other printed in Latin. Jesuit, Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical programmes continued to be typically printed in two separate lingual sets until c.1650, at which time a single programme in a bilingual format became the preferred norm for Jesuit and Benedictine productions. However, whereas sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical programmes were printed for each production regardless of the number of performances a production received, Benedictine schools printed a separate programme for each performance of a production until c.1650, when they, too, printed one programme to serve for all of the production's performances. The theatrical programmes from Augustinian schools similarly included all production performance dates as early as the 1630s. Seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical programmes are markedly similar to each other in format and contents, except for the absence among Augustinian programmes of the name of the composer and identification of the performers.

Production Structure

Sixteenth-century Benedictine and Jesuit productions prior to c.1560 are structurally identical, consisting of a main title drama and single brief chorus concluding the production. The PMCH[I][E], or Italian, model of production

structure, in which every act of the main title drama was followed by a concluding chorus and perhaps an *interludium* as well, developed in Jesuit theatre after c.1560. The production structure of Benedictine school theatrical productions after 1600 is indistinguishable from the Italian model of production structure in Jesuit theatre; there are also several Augustinian theatrical productions performed during the 1630s whose internal architecture is markedly similar to the Jesuit theatre Italian model.

The Austrian-German model of production structure, or P3Pt[CH][I][E], which contains either choruses or *interludia* but not both, developed in Jesuit theatre during the 1630s. An equivalent of the Jesuit theatre Austrian-German theatrical production structural model is not found within the known seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre repertoire until 1699, but there are several examples of productions with a similar structure among the Augustinian school theatrical productions performed after 1670. The PMI[E] production structure, or French model, which includes *interludia* but not choruses, emerged in Jesuit theatre c.1650 and in Augustinian theatre by the 1670s; there is no known equivalent of this production structure in seventeenth-century Benedictine school theatre.

Dramatic Genre

Sixteenth and seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions consisted of the same theatrical components: main title dramas, prologues, epilogues, choruses and *interludia*. By the seventeenth century, the chief genre of main title dramas in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical productions was the tragedy, although all three repertoires also contain a number of comedies. The main title dramas in Benedictine and Jesuit school theatre also include the genres tragi-comedy, comi-tragedy, dialogue, liturgical church drama and *drama musicum*. *Dramae musica* first appeared in Jesuit theatre beginning in the late 1590s and in Benedictine theatre around the middle of the seventeenth century. However, there are no known examples of main title *dramae musica* in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatre. These main title dramas, regardless of dramatic genre or religious affiliation, were typically in three or five large formal divisions with internal scenes and were performed in Latin.

The earliest known examples of prologues and epilogues among the examined theatrical productions are found in Jesuit school theatre in the late sixteenth century.

By the seventeenth century, prologues and epilogues are present in all three repertoires, and become increasingly common in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions as the century progresses. While the prologues and epilogues were sung in Benedictine and Jesuit theatre, evidence indicates that they were recited in Augustinian productions. The language used was usually Latin, but there are exceptions in which the vernacular was used. Prologues and epilogues in productions before c.1600 were performed by ensembles or a single student without a named role. After c.1600, prologues and epilogues in first Jesuit productions, then Benedictine productions, and, by the 1690s, Augustinian theatre, were performed by characters in dialogue or by characters in dialogue with a supporting ensemble. Functioning as the introduction and moral summary to the main drama, all prologues and epilogues are dependent works from the sixteenth century until c.1610.

Transitional prologues, dramatic works whose subject matter and characters differed significantly from the main title drama but still included identifiable elements of the main drama, emerged in Jesuit theatre c.1610. Epilogues, however, remained a dependent part of the theatrical production throughout the seventeenth century in all three repertoires. The first examples of prologues with a dramatic subject and characters entirely independent of the main title drama appeared in Jesuit theatrical productions around 1640. However, transitional and independent prologues, such as those found in Jesuit theatre from the 1610s forward, are not found in Benedictine school theatrical productions until the eighteenth century and there are no known instances of transitional or independent prologues in either seventeenth or eighteenth-century Augustinian theatrical productions. In Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre, therefore, the prologue and epilogue remained dependent works in one formal part without internal scenes, while seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions exhibit the simultaneous presence of dependent, transitional and independent prologues.

Another significant development involving the prologue that took place during the seventeenth century is the development of an entirely-sung independent dramatic work with multiple formal divisions. This type of work, designated by shorthand nomenclature as PCH, is constructed from prologue and the choruses. Transitional examples of PCH dramatic works appear in Jesuit theatre in the 1670s, while independent PCH works are found in the Jesuit theatre repertoire by the 1690s. While a PCH independent sung drama does not appear to have developed in Augustinian

theatre, this type of dramatic work, first seen c.1730, is common within Benedictine school theatrical productions during the eighteenth century.

The chorus is present in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions from the earliest known examples of each organisation's repertoire. Throughout the sixteenth century, the chorus in Benedictine productions consisted of a single brief sung work in Latin for ensemble, which was placed at the conclusion of the production. Choruses with similar characteristics and function were exclusively used during the first ten years of Jesuit theatre. The custom of using a single concluding chorus was replaced in Jesuit theatre beginning around c.1560 by the tradition of placing a chorus at the conclusion of more than one act of the main title drama. This tradition continued to develop until, by the 1580s, a chorus concluded every act of the main title drama; this practice continued without pause in Italian, or PMCH[I][E], model theatrical productions and those Austrian-German model productions with choruses, or P3PtCH[E], until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The placement of a chorus at the end of every act is found in Augustinian theatrical productions by the 1630s, approximately 50 years after the introduction of the practice in Jesuit theatre, and in Benedictine school theatre starting around the middle of seventeenth century. Therefore, productions in all three repertoires performed after 1650 might include up to five choruses for a main title drama in five acts. The final concluding chorus characteristic of sixteenth century productions is replaced in many seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit productions by the epilogue.

The development of the transitional and independent chorus in Jesuit theatre occurs simultaneously with the development of the transitional and independent prologue, so that Jesuit theatrical productions from c.1640 onward include examples of dependent, transitional and independent prologues and choruses. Also, just as seen in the instance of the prologues, the independent chorus emerges in Benedictine theatre only in the eighteenth century while not appearing among the Augustinian productions examined in this study. Whether dependent, transitional or independent, the choruses in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions are in one formal part without internal scenic divisions. While the theatrical choruses in sixteenth-century Benedictine school theatrical productions were performed by vocal ensembles without character names or roles, choruses performed by characters in dialogue rather than by a generic ensemble appear in Jesuit theatrical productions in

the late 1560s and in Benedictine theatrical productions by at least c.1660. In contrast, all of the choruses in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions are for ensemble with no use of characters.

The most common genres of *interludia* in seventeenth-century Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatrical productions are spoken comedies, spoken farces, ballets, staged dances and farces featuring music. The earliest known Jesuit theatre production with an *interludium* was performed in the late 1550s, while the first known examples in Benedictine theatre are in productions from 1650s and in Augustinian school theatre from the 1670s. The *interludia* in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical productions are inserted between scenes within acts or between acts following the chorus, although the former practice appears to be more common among Augustinian school productions. The limited evidence suggests that the performance language of sixteenth and seventeenth century *interludia* within these repertoires included both Latin and the vernacular. Unlike the *interludia* in seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions, which are uniformly dramatic works in one formal part, the *interludia* in seventeenth-century Jesuit and Augustinian productions included examples with multiple formal divisions, with one division inserted between each act of the main title drama, as well as *interludia* in one formal part. This difference in *interludia* structure reflects the use of multi-part ballets and spoken comedies as *interludia* in Jesuit and Augustinian theatre, types of *interludia* not found among the available Benedictine productions.

Productions containing multiple *interludia* are found in Jesuit theatre beginning in the 1630s, while the first examples of multiple *interludia* appeared c. 1690 in Benedictine and Augustinian theatre. The relationship between the inserted *interludia* and the main title drama might be dependent, as in the case of ballets celebrating an event in the main drama, but the evidence indicates that *interludia* in all three repertoires were commonly independent dramatic works. Dependent and independent *interludia* are found in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre and in seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre, although, as the seventeenth-century progressed, the use of dependent *interludia* diminished. All of the examined *interludia* in seventeenth-century Benedictine school productions are independent dramatic works.

Dramatic Subjects

While the dramatic subjects of sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre main title dramas are usually allegorical or biblical, seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre main dramas are primarily hagiographic. The dramatic subjects of the majority of tragedies and comedies in seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre are similarly reenactments of hagiographic topics, but the main dramas in the available seventeenth-century Augustinian theatrical productions are equally distributed among ten dramatic subject source categories: allegory, fiction, hagiography, history of the Roman Catholic church, history of ancient Greece, history of ancient Rome, regional history, mythology, the Old Testament and the New Testament. In the sixteenth century, Jesuit theatre main title dramas whose dramatic subject was taken from the New Testament were frequently illustrations of the parable of the Prodigal Son. The Prodigal Son is also the most common subject from the New Testament amongst Benedictine main title dramas from seventeenth-century productions. Main title dramas on topics from the Old Testament are also prevalent in all three repertoires, although not as numerous as hagiographic plays.

Dramatic subjects are repeated in Benedictine and Jesuit theatrical productions within and between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and within the seventeenth century in Augustinian school theatre; the repetition of dramatic subjects from the Old Testament is especially common. Of all of the dramatic subjects in all of the dramatic genres in Jesuit theatre, the most common subject is the tragedy of Jephthe's vow from the Old Testament. There are no known productions of the story of Jephthe in Benedictine and Augustinian theatre during the seventeenth century, although there are examples amongst these communities' respective eighteenth-century theatrical repertoire.

As transitional and independent prologues and choruses developed only in Jesuit theatre during the time period examined, an examination of the dramatic subjects used in these works is similarly limited to seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre. The majority of dramatic subjects in these prologues and choruses are from allegorical or biblical sources, chiefly the Old Testament. The life of King David is the single most common dramatic subject among Jesuit theatre transitional and independent prologues and choruses, and not the tale of Jephthe, the most common subject in Jesuit theatre overall.

The dramatic subjects in seventeenth-century Benedictine and Jesuit *interludia* are chiefly from Greco-Roman mythology, Greco-Roman classical literature or stock comedy turns, although some of the *interludia* in Benedictine theatre take their subjects from the history of the Roman Catholic Church. As titles and synopses are not provided for the *interludia* in seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions, the dramatic subjects for these cannot be compared to those of Benedictine and Jesuit *interludia*.

Authors

The authors of Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatre are typically not only members of their respective religious organisations but also teachers of the rhetoric or poetry classes in one of their order or society's institutions. Their works are known primarily through contemporary publications of collections of their dramas or through the publication of modern critical editions. Most authors of Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatre dramas wrote multiple works, sometimes not only the main title drama but also the accompanying *interludia* and choruses.

While nearly all of the Jesuit theatre authors received their education at Jesuit colleges, universities and seminaries, several Benedictine theatre authors were educated at Jesuit-directed institutions; the educational history of the single known author of Augustinian drama is not known. While Jesuit drama authors and the identified Augustinian theatre author did not collaborate with other authors, there are examples of author collaboration in seventeenth-century Benedictine theatre, albeit rare. Seventeenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions also include the only known instances in which authors also composed the music for the production, although this practice was apparently discontinued after the 1630s.

Composers

Most of the manuscripts of sixteenth-century theatre music are anonymous, but a few composers of theatre music for Jesuit and Benedictine school productions during the sixteenth century have been identified chiefly through their manuscripts, as school theatre music, unlike the dramas, was not published. The exceptions are the choruses from sixteenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions which were published as

motets or madrigals in collections with similar works; this practice is not known to have occurred in Benedictine theatre. Composers for Jesuit school theatres during the sixteenth century provided music for multiple productions, but there is insufficient evidence available for comparison with contemporary Benedictine theatre. In seventeenth-century Benedictine and Jesuit theatre, however, it appears that not only did composers write for multiple productions but that many composed the music for consecutive productions. Composers for Jesuit school theatres also provided music for multiple works within a production, such as a *drama musicum*, an independent prologue, and dependent choruses. Similarly, composers of Benedictine theatre music provided the music to the prologue and any choruses in addition to *interludia* and *dramae musica*.

Both Jesuit and Benedictine theatrical programmes began identifying the composer in the printed theatrical programmes around the midpoint of the seventeenth century. Unlike the Benedictine and Jesuits, the Augustinians did not include composer names in their theatrical programmes. Although the composers of the prologues, epilogues and choruses were not usually included in either Benedictine or Jesuit theatrical programmes, the names of the composers of *dramae musica* were almost always provided in Jesuit theatre programmes. Collaboration among composers is not found among sixteenth or seventeenth-century Benedictine and Jesuit theatrical productions or in seventeenth-century Augustinian theatre. Similarly, there are no examples during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of composers writing theatre music for more than one religious organisation.

The typical composer for sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions is a non-Jesuit *maestro* or musician from the church attached to the Jesuit college staging the production or from a local church or court. However, the single composer known among the sixteenth-century Benedictine theatrical productions is himself a Benedictine monk. The composers for Jesuit college theatrical productions during the seventeenth-century are not usually members of the Society of Jesus, just as seen in the sixteenth century, but are typically alumni of or, more rarely, current students at a Jesuit educational institution. Composers of Benedictine school theatre music during the seventeenth century, however, might with equal likelihood be a Benedictine monk or a local *maestro* or musician. Although the education of sixteenth-century Jesuit and Benedictine theatre composers is not known, the majority of seventeenth-century

composers for Jesuit and Benedictine school theatrical productions received their formal education at Jesuit-directed institutions.

Conclusion

The preceding analyses reveal the Jesuits as the agents of change, that is, the leaders, in the developments and innovations in the theatrical productions performed in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit educational institutions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A test of the validity of this conclusion can be conducted by examining the changes in Jesuit theatre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and verifying that similar developments emerge in Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

One possible reason for this behaviour amongst these three communities is their competition for the same resources of patronage and financial support. Also, the original purpose of the Society of Jesus was evangelism, both converting indigenous peoples and recalling Europeans to Catholicism. This created a favourable attitude within the Society towards successful innovations perceived to further the mission. Such a mission is not, however, a central tenet of the Benedictine and Augustinian organisations, and it may be that the success of the Jesuits as rivals for financial resources caused the Benedictines and Augustinian schools to adopt the modifications introduced by the Jesuits in order to remain competitive.

The focus of this study now shifts to other contemporary influences not shared by the Benedictines and Augustinians. Unique to the Jesuits is the close relationship that existed between the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory and their respective founders, Ignatius de Loyola (1491–1556) and Filippo de Neri (1515–1595). Therefore, the scope of this study is now narrowed to c.1550, covering the period of Loyola and Neri's personal relationship before Loyola's death in 1556 and Neri's death in 1595, and concluding in c.1660, twenty years after the musical manifestation of that relationship, the simultaneous emergence of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit theatre and the oratorio within the vesper services of the Congregation of the Oratory in c.1640.

Chapter 6

Prelude to the Jesuit Theatre Prologue and Chorus and the
 Congregation of the Oratory, c.1550–c.1559

The Oratorians and the Jesuits both held music to be an important component of the public expressions of their respective dominant vocations. For the Congregation of the Oratory, whose mission was and is devotion and service, the chief musical activity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took the form of vernacular *laude* and more complex sacred compositions inserted before and after the sermons within their services. In contemporary Jesuit school theatre, prologues and choruses and *interludia* comprise the majority of the music in the productions.

Previous scholars of oratorio and Jesuit school theatre have separately concluded that non-staged medieval *historiae* and Passions are common ancestors of the musical works with dramatic texts that developed within both Jesuit school theatrical productions and the oratories of the Congregation of the Oratory during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.⁴²⁹ Staged medieval liturgical drama developed between the tenth and thirteenth centuries in Western Europe.⁴³⁰ For

⁴²⁹ For example, Arnold Schering, the foremost oratorio scholar before Howard E. Smither, concluded that seventeenth-century Latin sacred dramas such as those composed by Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) and Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704), developed from the *historiae* repertoire. Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen Bd. 3 (Hildesheim: Gg. Olms., 1966), 16. Similarly, Louis J. Oldani, S.J. and Victor R. Yanitelli, S.J. propose that Jesuit theatre evolved from medieval *sacra rappresentazione*. Louis J. Oldani, S.J. and Victor R. Yanitelli, S.J., ‘Jesuit Theater in Italy: Its Entrances and Exit,’ *Italics* 76:1 (Spring, 1999): 20. On *historiae*, see David Hiley and Jean-François Goudesenne, ‘Les Offices historiques ou “historiae” composés pour les fêtes des saints dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims (775–1030),’ *Music and Letters* 88:4 (2007): 670–672; David Hiley, ‘Music for saints’ *historiae* in the Middle Ages: Liturgical chant and the harmony of the universe,’ *European Review* 11:4 (2003): 475–488; and Roman Hankeln, *Historia Sancti Erhardi: Konrad von Meigenberg (1309–1374)* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2000). Concerning early passions, see Peter Victor Loewen, ‘Portrayals of the Vita Christi in the Medieval German Marienklage: Signs of Franciscan Exegesis and Rhetoric in Drama and Music,’ *Comparative Drama* 42:3 (2008): 315–345; and Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

⁴³⁰ Kevin Croxen, ‘Thematic and Generic Medievalism in the Polish Neo-Latin Drama of the Renaissance and Baroque,’ *The Slavic and East European Journal* 43:2 (Summer, 1999): 268. For example, Croxen identifies medieval liturgical as well as secular drama as the ancestor of neo-Latin plays, including those written for Jesuit theatre, in Poland. Regarding medieval liturgical drama, see Leonard Goldstein, *The Origin of Medieval Drama* (Madison, New Jersey, 2004); Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions,’ *Revue de Musicologie* 86:1 (2000): 127–142; and Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, (Oxford, 1933). See also Salvatore Paterno, *The Liturgical Context of Early European Drama*, (Potomac, Maryland, 1989), and Mary Margaret Mahone, ‘Latin Liturgical Drama and the Ludus Peregrinus: A Unique Form of Medieval Monastic

example, the Book of Fleury, a twelfth-century manuscript, contains examples of drama entirely set to music.⁴³¹ In his opening remarks in the first volume of *A History of the Oratorio*, Howard E. Smither precisely identifies the problem with the concept proposed by earlier oratorio scholars of a direct continuum of development between staged and non-staged forms of pre-1500 liturgical drama and the oratorio. While agreeing that liturgical drama is a forerunner of the oratorio, Smither believes that too much time passed between the decline of liturgical drama during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the nascence of the oratorio in the 1640s for there to have been a single unbroken line of development between the two genres.⁴³²

However, the nature of these two observations regarding the development of the oratorio – first, that liturgical drama is one of the ancestors of the oratorio and second, that the elapsed time period between the decline of liturgical drama and the emergence of the oratorio is too great for continuous development – supports the possibility of additional transitional points of development from the fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. It is proposed that one of the transition points of development between medieval liturgical drama and the development of the oratorio is the emergence of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit school theatre. Howard E. Smither comments in passing, ‘It seems likely that the success of the Jesuits in combining religious education with dramatic entertainment exerted a significant influence on the Oratorians in Rome, who first began to use the oratorio as edifying entertainment in their spiritual exercises.’⁴³³

Yet there is at least one significant intermediary point between twelfth century liturgical drama and the emergence of the independent prologues and choruses in Jesuit school theatre in the early seventeenth century that requires a brief introductory digression, however, and that is the fifteenth and sixteenth century *sacre rappresentationi* tradition of the Florentine youth confraternities. The Florentine

Worship’ (PhD diss., University of Miami, 1977).

⁴³¹ C. Clifford Flanigan and Thomas P. Campbell, et al., *The Fleury Playbook: Essays and Studies*, (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1985) and Otto Edwin Albrecht, *Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas from the 12th Century Fleury Play-Book; Text and Commentary, with a Study of the Music of the Plays, and of the Sources and Iconography of the Legends*, (Philadelphia, 1935). The Book of Fleury is probably best known as the source for *The Play of Daniel*, an entirely sung drama.

⁴³² ‘Nevertheless, the latest significant period of the liturgical drama is separated from the beginning of the oratorio by more than three centuries. Although the liturgical drama is a distant forerunner of the oratorio there appears to be no continuous development from the former to the latter...’ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), I:26–27. Hereafter, referred to as Smither.

⁴³³ Smither, I:28–29.

youth confraternities performed forms of sacred drama with music as early as the 1420s, as revealed in the research of scholars Konrad Eisenbichler, John Walter Hill, Nerida Newbiggin, Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen, Lorenzo Polizzoto and Richard C. Trexler.⁴³⁴ Not only did the youth confraternities perform dramas whose characteristics may be directly linked to the development of Jesuit school theatre in the 1550s (and Catholic school theatre in general prior to 1550) but also it can also be shown that their customary devotional exercises strongly influenced the services of the Congregation of the Oratory.

In 1442, approximately a century before the establishment of the Society of Jesus and more than a century before the founding of the Congregation of the Oratory, Pope Eugenius IV issued a papal bull officially recognising four youth confraternities in the city of Florence.⁴³⁵ These four confraternities were the *Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello* (founded in 1406/1411), the *Compagnia della Purificazione delle Vergine Maria e di San Zanobi* (an outgrowth of the *Arcangelo Raffaello*, founded in 1427), the *Compagnia di San Giovanni Evangelista* (established in 1427, also known as *Vangelista*) and lastly the *Compagnia di San Niccolò del Ceppo*, (established between 1420 and 1430).⁴³⁶ The purpose of the four Florentine youth confraternities, whose members ranged in age between 13 and 24 during the fifteenth

⁴³⁴ Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). Hereafter, Østrem and Peterson. Lorenzo Polizzoto, *Children of the Promise: The Confraternity of the Purification and the Socialization of Youths in Florence, 1427–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence 1411–1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). Hereafter, Eisenbichler. Ibid., 'Confraternities and Carnival: the Context of Lorenzo de' Medici's Rappresentazione di SS. Giovanni e Paolo,' in *Medieval Drama on the Continent of Europe*, Clifford Davidson and John H. Stroupe, ed. (Kalamazo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993), 128–139. Nerida Newbiggin, 'The Decorum of the Passion: The Plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in the Roman Colosseum, 1490–1539,' in *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Medieval Renaissance Confraternities*, Barbara Wisch and Susan Munshower, ed., Papers in Art History from the The Pennsylvania State University, 6 (1990), 172–202. John Walter Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785,' *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986): 129–179. Ibid., 'Oratory Music in Florence, I: "Recitar Cantando," 1583–1655,' *Acta Musicologica*, 51:1 (1979): 108–136. Richard C. Trexler, 'Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance,' in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, Charles Trinkuas, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 200–264.

⁴³⁵ Eisenbichler, 12–14. Eisenbichler presents the dramatic increase in the number of lay confraternities in Florence from 1400 to 1750: by c.1400 there were 52; by c.1600 there were 156; and by c.1750 there were 309. In Rome, 84 lay confraternities were founded between c.1600–c. 1700. A detailed register of lay confraternities active during the sixteenth century in all of the Italian states is found in Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁴³⁶ Eisenbichler, 17–18, 23–33. Eisenbichler notes that very few youth confraternities in areas of Europe other than Florence are known before the sixteenth century.

and sixteenth centuries, was to engage regularly in spiritual exercises intended to inculcate the basic doctrinal tenets deemed necessary to develop into a devout Catholic; the Christian education aspect of the youth confraternities caused them to be sometimes referred to as *scuole di dottrina*, or schools of doctrine.⁴³⁷ The young members of these confraternities memorised and recited sermons, sang Latin hymns and vernacular *laude* and occasionally performed *sacre rappresentazioni*, a staged re-enactment of the life and martyrdom of saints that frequently made great use of allegorical devices. Other religious activities included the recitation of the Divine Office, participating in religious processions and pilgrimages and celebrating the Quarant'hore (Forty Hours service).⁴³⁸ Similar to the later Jesuit schools, Florentine youth confraternities accepted as members boys and youths of all social classes. The unrestricted access to the education offered by the Jesuit schools, therefore, was not an innovation but rather a more widespread implementation of this earlier republican policy.⁴³⁹

Of the four Florentine youth confraternities, most is known about the theatrical activities of the *Arcangelo Raffaello* due to Konrad Eisenbichler's detailed study *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence 1411–1785*.⁴⁴⁰ Regarding the other three, the *Compagnia della Purificazione* is known to have performed spoken *sacre rappresentazioni* regularly during the middle years of the sixteenth century but the 1577 flood of Florence destroyed the confraternity's records for that period. Also, Giovan Maria Cecchi wrote at least 28 plays during the sixteenth century for the *Vangelista*, *Arcangelo Raffaello* and *Compagnia della Purificazione* youth confraternities, but only the details of the performances of Cecchi's plays by the *Arcangelo Raffaello* are known.⁴⁴¹

The *Arcangelo Raffaello* typically staged some form of theatre for one of four occasions: Christmas, St. John's procession, and the feast-days of the Archangel

⁴³⁷ Eisenbichler, 17.

⁴³⁸ Østrem and Petersen, 121–122. Eisenbichler, 17. John Walter Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence, I: "Recitar Cantando", 1583-1655,' *Acta Musicologica*, 51:1 (1979): 108. Østrem and Petersen note that all records of these youth confraternities before 1557 have been lost due to flood, except for the *Compagnia della Purificazione*. The records of the *Arcangelo Raffaello*, however, are preserved for most of the years 1563 – 1785 in the State Archives of Florence.

⁴³⁹ Østrem and Petersen, 65–66.

⁴⁴⁰ John Walter Hill 'Oratory Music in Florence III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785,' *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986): 138.

⁴⁴¹ Eisenbichler, 199–200.

Raphael and of St. Mary Magdalene.⁴⁴² The earliest known play given by the *Arcangelo Raffaello* youths is a Nativity play performed in the presence of Pope Eugenius IV in 1430 that inspired the Pope's papal bull to formally recognise all of the Florentine youth confraternities. Regarding the details of that performance, Eisenbichler writes, 'Unfortunately, no first-hand record of the event has come to light.'⁴⁴³ However, very complete records survive of the 1491 performance of Lorenzo de Medici's last major literary work, the *Rappresentazione di SS. Giovanni e Paolo*. *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* is essentially a series of five brief one-act spoken plays rather than a single narrative: the life of Constanza, the daughter of Constantine the Great; the life of Gallicano, Constanza's husband; a fictitious history of the life of Constantine the Great; the life of Constantine's son, Emperor Julian the Apostate; the martyrdom of John and Paul, two Roman officers beheaded Emperor Julian the Apostate in 362.⁴⁴⁴ The prologue for *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* was entirely sung by the female characters *Costanza*, *Artemia*, and *Attica*, thus revealing a fifteenth-century precedent for the entirely sung prologues found in Jesuit and Benedictine school theatre. The 1491 performance of *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* even included an early form of *interludia*, as instrumental interludes composed by Heinrich Isaac were performed between the sections of the play.⁴⁴⁵

Although not among the genres performed by the Florentine youth confraternities, another important type of early drama bridging the gap between medieval liturgical drama and the development of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit school theatre and the oratorio in the Congregation of the Oratory is the Passion play, as distinct from the Quarant'hore, or Forty Hours devotion. The earliest surviving example of a Passion play is a partial fragment of the twelfth-century *Montecassino Passion Play*; it is commonly accepted by scholars that the lament of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross in the *Montecassino Passion Play*

⁴⁴² Eisenbichler, 198.

⁴⁴³ Eisenbichler, 199–200.

⁴⁴⁴ Konrad Eisenbichler, 'Confraternities and Carnival: the Context of Lorenzo de' Medici's *Rappresentazione di SS. Giovanni e Paolo*' in *Medieval Drama on the Continent of Europe*, Clifford Davidson and John H. Stroupe, ed. (Kalamazo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993), 128–129. Note the similarity of construction between *Rappresentazione di SS. Giovanni e Paolo* and the Jesuit play *Nihil est Opertum*, which contains ten short plays, two plays per act. *Nihil est Opertum Quod Non Reveletur* (Ingolstadt, 6 September, 1645), Szarota 2:1, 1183–1196, CSTD ID 121. See page 154, fn. 288.

⁴⁴⁵ Østrem and Petersen, 33.

was sung in performance.⁴⁴⁶ During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the *Gonfalone*, one of the oldest lay confraternities in Rome, annually staged in the Colosseum on Good Friday a *sacre rappresentazione* of the Passion.⁴⁴⁷ The *Gonfalone* confraternity carried on this tradition from 1490 until 1534, when Pope Paul III stopped the practice on account of the anti-Semitic violence the play inspired; the confraternity attempted to revive their Passion *sacre rappresentazione* tradition in the 1560s, but were unsuccessful.⁴⁴⁸ However, the *Gonfalone* also performed *sacre rappresentazione* of the Resurrection and episodes of Christ's life taken from the four gospels on other days during the same period.

Just as the sung dependent prologue in Jesuit theatre has been shown to have a precedent in fifteenth-century Florentine youth confraternity dramas, the concluding choruses in the *Gonfalone* confraternity's Passions and Resurrection *sacre rappresentazione* c. 1490–c.1540 are immediate precursors of Jesuit theatre dependent choruses. The practice of using motets and Marian antiphons as choruses in sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre, as seen in *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (Fribourg en Suisse, 17 December, 1584) et al. (table 4.8),⁴⁴⁹ also appears amongst the late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Resurrection plays of the *Gonfalone* confraternity, which employed common Latin motet texts such as *Adoramus te, Christe* and the Marian antiphon *Regina Coeli* as choruses.⁴⁵⁰

Although music manuscripts from these *sacre rappresentazione* performances do not survive, the role of music in the *Gonfalone* confraternity's *sacre rappresentazione* may be determined through an examination of the surviving texts.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁶ Østrem and Petersen, 31.

⁴⁴⁷ Luigi Ruggeri, *L'archiconfraternita del Gonfalone: Memorie del sacerdote Luigi Ruggeri* (Rome: Bernardo Morini, 1866) and Anna Esposito, 'Le "confraternite" del Gonfalone (secoli XIV–XV),' *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 5 (1984): 91–136.

⁴⁴⁸ Nerida Newbiggin, 'The Decorum of the Passion: The Plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in the Roman Colosseum, 1490–1539,' in *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Medieval Renaissance Confraternities*, Barbara Wisch and Susan Munshower, ed., Papers in Art History from the The Pennsylvania State University, 6 (1990), 172–202.

⁴⁴⁹ Franz Körndle, 'Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,' Marian Lampe, trans., in: *The Jesuits II: Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540 – 1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 481. Valentin I:24. Wittwer, 79. Jacob Gretser, *Lazarus Resuscitatus* (Fribourg, 17 December, 1584), DE–Dsb Cod. XV 223, ff. 1–64; CSTD 1316.

⁴⁵⁰ Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities,' in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 219.

⁴⁵¹ Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities,' in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 218. Noel O'Regan has been able to confirm the presence of music and singers through paid accounts for music copying and the purchase of food for the singers.

The scenes in the Passion and Resurrection plays conclude with choruses, some written for double choral ensembles.⁴⁵² Furthermore, the function of the chorus in the *Gonfalone* plays is to provide moral commentary upon the preceding recitation/action, just as found in sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions. O'Regan writes, 'These commenting choruses [in the *Gonfalone sacre rappresentationi*], which come at the end of scenes like those of Greek tragedy, can be written for Prophets and Sibyls, Shepherds and Kings, Gentiles and Pharisees, the three Marys – or just labelled *primo* and *secondo coro*.'⁴⁵³

As has been shown, at least two points of musical development, namely the Florentine youth confraternity and the Roman *Gonfalone* confraternity *sacre rappresentationi*, punctuating the chronological distance between medieval liturgical drama and the first Jesuit school theatrical productions in the mid sixteenth century have been identified. The prologues performed by characters sung by both individuals and ensembles and the sung choral commentaries placed at the conclusion of one or more formal division of the main title drama typical of these two fifteenth and early sixteenth century theatrical traditions are found in select Jesuit school theatrical productions from the very beginning and are characteristic of the genre by 1559.

Society of Jesus, c.1550–c.1559⁴⁵⁴

Two seemingly unrelated events occurred in Italy during the year 1551. In that year, a Florentine named Filippo Romolo Neri was ordained a priest in the Roman

⁴⁵² Florentine Giuliano Dati wrote much of the *Gonfalone* Resurrection, revealing an example of the importation of Florentine confraternity theatrical traditions into Rome during the late fifteenth century. The choruses and excerpts from the rest of the text are printed in Vincenzo di Bartholomaei, *Laude drammatiche e rappresentationi drama sacro in Italia*, Studi e Testi 10 (Rome, Vatican City: Tipografia Vaticana, 1903).

⁴⁵³ Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities,' in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 218–219.

⁴⁵⁴ The principal studies of music in Jesuit school theatre are: John W. O'Malley, S.J., ed., *The Jesuits II: Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition, 1547–1622' (PhD diss., University of California-Santa Barbara, 1982); Thomas D. Culley, S.J., *Jesuits and Music, vol. 1: A Study of the Musicians Connected with German College in Rome during the 17th Century and Their Activities in Rome*, vol. 1 (St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1970); and Max Wittwer, 'Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Länder deutscher Zunge' (PhD diss., Universität Greifswald, 1934). Concerning the origins of Jesuit theatre drama, see: Ernest Boyssse, *Le Théâtre des Jesuites* (Paris: H. Vauton, 1880); Jean Marie Valentin, *Les Jesuites et le theatre (1554-1680): contribution à l'histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2001).

Catholic Church in Rome, while in Messina, Italy, the students of a Jesuit college for lay pupils performed the earliest known Jesuit theatrical production.⁴⁵⁵ Four years after the first Jesuit drama in Messina, the Jesuit college in Córdoba, Spain (the capital city of the Andalusian province Córdoba in southern Spain) performed a play penned by one of the first Jesuits, Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, S. J. (1522–1572). As the grammar and rhetoric master for both the Córdoba and Seville colleges, Acevedo was responsible for writing and directing plays for these colleges.⁴⁵⁶ His *Acolastus*, performed at the Córdoba college on 24 June, 1555, was published in 1559 by G. Gnapheus o Fullonius.⁴⁵⁷ Another of Acevedo's comedies, *Bellum Virtutem et Vitiorum* (War of the Virtues and Vices) was performed by the same college in October 1558. The programme for this production is a printer's blank, and thus the exact date of performance is not known.

The first known theatrical production in the Jesuit German Assistancy was performed in Vienna in the month of September in 1555, two months after the Córdoba production of *Acolastus*; the Lisbon college produced *Acolastus* in 1556.⁴⁵⁸ The play the Viennese Jesuit college staged was Livinus Brechtus's *Euripus*.⁴⁵⁹ This

⁴⁵⁵ Emmanuel Aguilera, S. J., *Provinciae Siculae ortus es res gestae* (Palermo: Angeli Felicella, 1737), I:69.

⁴⁵⁶ It was traditional in the Jesuit colleges for the Poetry or Rhetoric master to be responsible for writing or selecting and then directing the college's dramatic productions. The Provincial's Rule 84 in the 1591 revision of the *Ratio Studiorum* is as follows: 'Publica praemiorum diftributio, par est, vt quotannis recurrat: nec Dramata aequo diutius intermittantur; friget enim Poefis fine teatro, modo ne labor ille multiplex in erudiendis actoribus, in varia vefte fumptuque conquirendo, in extruendo Teatro, alijfque fcenicis actionibus, ferme totus incumbat in Poetam, cum aequifsimim fit illum aliorum, qui ab ipfo dirigantur, opera leuari. Neque vero quo loco dramata exhibentur, aditus fit mulieribusque vllus muliebris habitus, aut fi forte neceffe fit, non nifi decorus & grauis introducatur in fcenam.' 'The public distribution of prizes is to be held annually. And plays are not be neglected, for poetry perishes when drama disappears. But the endless labor of training the actors, providing the costumes and money, arranging the stage and other theatrical necessities, should not be imposed wholly on the professor of poetry, since it is only right that others should help him. No women are to be admitted as spectators; nor may female dress be used on the stage – at least, if it cannot be avoided, let it be decorous and dignified.' Society of Jesus, *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum* (Rome: Collegio Societatis Iesu, 1591), 27–28. Translated by McCabe, 13.

⁴⁵⁷ Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, S. J. *Tomo I: Lucifer Furens, Occasio, Philautus, Charopus*, Antonio Cascón Dorado, et al., ed., in *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.J.*, ed. V. Picón (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas: UAM Ediciones, 1997).

⁴⁵⁸ By 1773, there were eleven provinces in the German Assistancy. These provinces included 167 colleges in the modern-day nations of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Romania and the Czech Republic. McCabe, 274–275.

⁴⁵⁹ Livinus Brecht's *Euripus* was published in Leuven, 1549. Valentin believes that Müller's identification of the same play as performed at the college in Cologne, Poland, also in 1555, may be incorrect. Valentin, I:1; Georg Michael Pachtler and Bernhard Duhr, *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae concinnatae*, 4 vols., Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica, Bd. 2, 5, 9, 16 (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1887–94), I: 331–332; Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)*, 2 vols. (Augsburg: Filser, 1930), II:43.

drama was the beginning of the Viennese Jesuit college tradition, as the school staged four other theatrical productions in addition to *Euripus* by 1560. The colleges at Ingolstadt and Prague held their first performances in 1558, producing *Lazarus* and *Ecclesia Ejusque*, respectively.⁴⁶⁰ In 1559, the Jesuit school in Ingolstadt staged productions of the first two plays performed in Vienna, *Euripus* and *Hecastus*.⁴⁶¹ The following year, in 1560, the Jesuit colleges at Prague and Munich also performed *Euripus*.⁴⁶² The fact that the sixteen theatrical productions identified for the period 1551–1559 were performed by six geographically and nationally diverse Jesuit colleges offers proof of a thriving Jesuit school theatre tradition prior to 1560.⁴⁶³

The first confirmed report of music used within a Jesuit college drama is in 1556, while the first confirmed instance of the use of sung choruses is in a 1559 production; unfortunately the music has not yet been found, and the details of the type and disposition of the music within the 1559 production is not known.⁴⁶⁴ T. Frank Kennedy has translated the comments of the Society's Secretary to the General, Juan Alfonso de Polanco, upon the 1556 Lisbon Jesuit college production:

After Pentecost a certain comedy, which is called *Acolastus*, was performed with great apparatus on the stage built in the courtyard of the college. The walls were decorated not only with tapestries, but with panels uncommonly well painted with ornamentation. When the affair was made known throughout the city, such a great crowd of people entered the college that not only the courtyard, but even the inside colonnade and the higher floors of the house were filled. Our people were already invited, but a great assault was made on the front door and many entered. Even a certain famous

⁴⁶⁰ T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music, vol. 1: Reconsidering the Early Years,' *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 84. The 1558 official report from the Jesuit college in Billom mentions the performance of 10 theatrical productions, four in Latin, one in Greek, and five in French.

⁴⁶¹ Georg Macropedius (1487–1558), *Hecastus Macropedii Fabula non minus pia quam iucunda* (Coloniae [Cologne], 1539).

⁴⁶² Brecht's *Euripus* was re-printed in Cologne, Poland, in 1555; this second edition, rather than Vienna's earlier performance, may be the primary reason the college at Prague chose this play, as their subsequent dramatic choices are distinct from those of Vienna. This statement is based on a survey of the works performed at both colleges listed within Jean-Marie Valentin's *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande: répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés, 1555–1773* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1983).

⁴⁶³ John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 114–115. Jesuit plays were often published during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Usually, the Jesuits printed these dramas themselves, as the Jesuits from the beginning were granted permission to set up presses in their colleges and residencies. One of the first Jesuit printing presses was operated from the Collegio Romano in Rome beginning in 1556. This press was procured by Loyola shortly before his death that same year.

⁴⁶⁴ Ladislaus Lukács, S.J., *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu II (1557–1572)*, 2 vols., Monumenta 107, 108 (Rome: Institutum historicum societatis Iesu, 1974), I:64.

musician attended who performed his own work and the works of many other musicians for free and not only in song, but with various musical instruments as well. Waiting ears were held fast and souls were mightily refreshed...Our men [the Jesuit fathers] said it was incredible how much this spectacle delighted not only the students, but also all the people.⁴⁶⁵

While the report of the 1559 theatre music has been generally accepted in the literature as the starting point for the inclusion of music in Jesuit theatrical productions, Giuseppe Pastina writes that ‘music was present in the Jesuit theatre from the beginning,’ an assertion supported by the 1556 Lisbon production.⁴⁶⁶ An examination of dramatic texts by Stefano Tucci, Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, Livinius Brecht, and Georg Macropedius performed in Jesuit schools before 1560 reveals that the text of the chorus was printed with the text of the main title drama for the individual college maestro, organist, or music prefect to fit to music for the performance. As discussed in chapter 4, previously composed motets with suitable texts were used to supply the choruses for those Jesuit school plays written or published without choruses. In sixteenth-century Jesuit theatre, it was the Latin text, not the music, which held primary place; music was viewed a transitory good to be consumed at the performance. On the other hand, the dramatic texts, their sentiments and morals censored and approved by the Society, could be read or performed multiple times with spiritual profit.

As was shown in Chapter 4, the choruses in early Jesuit theatre present a moral response to the action of the main tragedy. The performers of the choruses in Jesuit dramas 1551–1559 were identified as simply ‘chorus’ rather than as a named ensemble or group of individual characters. The musical style of the choruses would most likely be indistinguishable from a homophonic or polyphonic motet or *lauda*. The complexity of the music written would probably be dependant upon the musical standard available at individual colleges. If the choral ensembles were accompanied, any instruments probably doubled the vocal lines. Unfortunately, information

⁴⁶⁵ Ladislaus Lukács, S.J., ed. *Monumenta Paedagogica I* (Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1965), 92: 613. Cited and translated by T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. in ‘Jesuits and Music, vol. 1: Reconsidering the Early Years,’ *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 83.

⁴⁶⁶ ‘...drama with music and dance was cultivated in many [Jesuit] colleges from about 1560.’ Franz Körndle, ‘Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,’ trans. Marian Lampe, in *The Jesuits II: Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 479. ‘...era presente nel teatro della gesuita dall’inizio...’ Giuseppe Pastina et al., ‘Teatro dei Gesuiti,’ *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* (Rome: Case Ed. Le Maschere, 1958), V: col. 1160.

regarding the venue, start time or duration of the performances is not known for these first dramas. The available information from the period 1551–1559 does not indicate whether the chorus were present on stage or below the stage with any instruments used in the production or if the ensemble members were costumed. However, the evidence from Pieter Brueghel's sketch of a sixteenth-century Benedictine performance suggests that Jesuits choruses might similarly have been performed off-stage.⁴⁶⁷

Prelude to the Congregation of the Oratory, c.1551–c.1559⁴⁶⁸

The Congregazione dell' Oratorio, or Congregation of the Oratory, initiated and led by the Italian priest Filippo Romolo de Neri (1515–1595, canonised 1622) in Rome in 1552, was officially recognized as a religious community by Pope Gregory XIII in 1575.⁴⁶⁹ In 1613, Pope Paul V approved the French sect of the Congregation of the Oratory, the Société de l'Oratoire de Jésus, or the Society of the Oratory of Jesus, founded by Pierre de Bérulle in 1611.⁴⁷⁰ The Italian and French branches of the Oratorians spread throughout Western Europe until the late 1780s, when the government of Napoleon I closed the oratories, first in France and then in

⁴⁶⁷ Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *De Matigheid*, c. 1559, [http://www.chrisdenengelsman.nl/Kunst kolom /Breughel Pieter/Tekeningen/De zeven deugden/De_Matigheid_1560.jpg](http://www.chrisdenengelsman.nl/Kunst%20kolom/Breughel%20Pieter/Tekeningen/De%20zeven%20deugden/De_Matigheid_1560.jpg) (accessed 10 September, 2010). Jan Bloemendal, *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven?: Latijnse school en toneel in de noordelijke Nederlanden in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), 40.

⁴⁶⁸ The foundational studies of music and the Congregation of the Oratory are: Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig, 1911; repr. Hildesheim: Gg. Olms., 1966); Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945); and Guido Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Firenze: Successori le Monnier, 1906). See also Saverio Franchi, ed., *Percorsi dell'oratorio romano da 'historia sacra' a melodramma spirituale: atti della Giornata di studi (Viterbo 11 settembre 1999)* (Roma: IBIMUS, 2002); Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 7 (London: Royal Music Association, 1995); Victor Crowther, *The oratorio in Bologna (1650-1730)*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Victor Crowther, *The oratorio in Modena* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁴⁶⁹ Two recent biographies of Filippo (Philip) Neri are Antonio Gallonio and Jerome Bertram, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005) and Paul Türks, C.O., *Philip Neri: The Fire of Joy*, trans. David Utrecht (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995). Two earlier biographies frequently cited in these and Smither: Meriol Trevor, *Apostle of Rome* (London: Macmillan, 1966) and Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *Saint Philip Néri et la société romaine de son temps, 1551 – 1595 [St Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times (1515–1595)]*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (1932; London: Sheed & Ward, 1979). Hereafter, referred to as Ponnelle.

⁴⁷⁰ Geoffrey Russell Richards Treasure, *Mazarin: the crisis of absolutism in France* (London: Routledge, 1997), 19 n. 17. Charles E. Williams, *The French Oratorians and Absolutism, 1611–1641* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 69–98. The papal bull establishing the Société de l'Oratoire de Jésus is *Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, 10 May 1613.

subsequently conquered regions.⁴⁷¹ During the period of religious revival following the death of Napoleon in 1821, the English Congregation of St. Philip Neri was established near Birmingham by John Henry Newman in 1847.⁴⁷² After recovering from a second brief period of repression during c.1869–1870, the Italian, French and English Oratorians are an active presence in the modern world.⁴⁷³

Ignatius Loyola and Filippo Neri first met in Rome upon Loyola's arrival there in 1537, three years before the official establishment of the Society of Jesus.⁴⁷⁴ Unlike Loyola, Neri did not begin his religious career with the intention of founding a religious organisation. Yet one of his first activities in Rome was to help found *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, a confraternity whose principal charitable vocation was the care of pilgrims and convalescents.⁴⁷⁵ After his ordination into the priesthood in 1551, a small congregation of laymen gradually grew during the next three years. They met in Neri's quarters during the afternoon for study and prayer for approximately one and half hours.⁴⁷⁶ By 1554, these meetings were held daily except on feast-days and Saturdays, and a storage space over a side aisle in the San Girolamo della Carità was converted into an *oratory* to accommodate the increasing number of attendees.⁴⁷⁷ Those attending were also no longer chiefly lay persons; a number of fellow priests began to attend the services in Neri's new oratory. Although not yet a religious organisation sanctioned by the pope, the community became known as the Congregation of the Oratory; the members, Oratorians.⁴⁷⁸

In 1554, Neri started the practice of concluding his spiritual exercises with a single brief piece of music, called a *lauda*, which reflected some aspect of the

⁴⁷¹ Victor Crowther, *The oratorio in Bologna (1650-1730)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 31.

⁴⁷² The most recent biography of John Henry Newman is by Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 328–331.

⁴⁷³ The central website for the Oratorians is <http://www.oratoriosanfilippo.org/index.html>

⁴⁷⁴ Ponnelle, 99–101.

⁴⁷⁵ Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities,' in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 226–227.

⁴⁷⁶ For descriptions of the spiritual exercises, see Carlo Gasbarri, *Oratorio romano dal Cinquecento al Novecento* (Rome: D'Urso, 1962), 276–79; Carlo Gasbarri, *L'Oratorio filippino, 1552–1952* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1957), 31–34; Piero Damilano, *Giovenale Ancina, musicista filippino (1545–1604)* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1956), 32–35; Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945), 22–28; and Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *Saint Philip Néri et la société romaine de son temps, 1551–1595* [St Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times (1515–1595)], trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (1932; London: Sheed & Ward, 1979), 202–3, 263–65, 389–402.

⁴⁷⁷ Smither estimates that this first oratory could accommodate 150–200 persons. Smither, I:42.

⁴⁷⁸ The Congregation of the Oratory was formally recognized by the Pope in 1575. Smither, I:42–43; Paul Türks, C.O., *Philip Neri: The Fire of Joy*, trans. David Utrecht (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 85.

preceding sermons.⁴⁷⁹ In musical style, the *laude* sung in the 1551–1559 meetings resembled contemporary secular forms, such as the *frottola*, rather than the motet. Most commonly, *laude* appeared in multi-verse repeated binary settings with refrains, and were typically sung in Italian without accompaniment. The songs were set in an accessible fashion to accommodate congregational singing without theatrical staging.⁴⁸⁰

These *laude* were similar to the earliest Jesuit choruses in that their primary function was to provide a moral summation of the preceding discourses and that they did not incorporate narrative or dramatic elements. However, the *lauda* was not a new type of religious song, but rather a continuance of a genre that first appeared in confraternities in Tuscany and Umbria in the thirteenth century.⁴⁸¹ Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen write ‘...the *lauda* definitely belongs to a continuity of ritual contexts all through the many and rather marked changes of its practices during the three hundred years (thirteenth century to fifteenth century)...Thus, it does seem possible to claim that the practice of lauda singing did indeed have even a theological continuity from the early thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century...’⁴⁸² Through his association with the Piagnoni, a Dominican sect, Neri was intimately acquainted with the *laudesi* tradition and *laude spirituali*.⁴⁸³ There is evidence of *laude* singing following a sermon as early as the mid-thirteenth century, and thus Neri’s actions revived and imported this practice to his Roman confraternities.⁴⁸⁴

Comparison, the Society of Jesus and the Prelude to the Congregation of the Oratory, c.1550–c.1559

On the surface, there appears to be little similarity between the musical works performed within these two religious communities over the period c. 1550–c.1559. The sole music performed during the spiritual exercises led by Neri was the *lauda*, a simple unaccompanied song in Italian suitable for singing by amateurs. In the Jesuit

⁴⁷⁹ Smither, I:49.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., I:51.

⁴⁸¹ Østrem and Petersen, 19.

⁴⁸² Østrem and Petersen, 42.

⁴⁸³ Noel O’Regan, ‘Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities’, in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne, ed., (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 226–227.

⁴⁸⁴ Østrem and Petersen, 28–29.

⁴⁸⁶ Smither, I:5.

theatre, choruses were polyphonic or homophonic works in Latin intended to be performed by a select ensemble. The chief union between these works is their single purpose of summarizing with a moralistic text the preceding speeches. Smither points out that ‘the influence of non-Oratorian music...on the origin of the oratorio was no doubt as strong as that of the *lauda*.’⁴⁸⁶ It is over the fifty years following the death of Neri in 1595 (and, to a lesser extent, after the death of Loyola in 1556) that the influence of the Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses upon the music of the oratories becomes evident.

The influence of the *lauda*, however, is present in the dramatic traditions of the Florentine and Roman confraternities before the advent of Jesuit theatre. For example, Østrem and Petersen have identified expressions common in *laude* in the text of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s 1491 play for the *Arcangelo Raffaello* youth confraternity, *Rappresentazione di SS. Giovanni e Paolo*.⁴⁸⁷ Similarly, the poetical structures and themes in the texts of the 1490 – 1534 Passion and Resurrection plays staged by the Roman *Gonfalone* confraternity are distinctly *laudesi* in nature, although the plays’ text is not found in collections of *laude*. Moreover, the characters in the *Gonfalone* confraternity plays might have been performed by ensembles using what O’Regan refers to as the ‘formulaic three-part music found in contemporary *laudi spirituali*.’⁴⁸⁸

If the ties between the musical works performed during this decade appear to be weak, those between Loyola and Neri and their respective religious communities are strong. For example, in his role as priest-confessor, Neri counselled a number of young men to enter the Society of Jesus. An anecdote frequently repeated in the literature is Loyola’s comparison of Neri to a bell, in as much as Neri summoned men to the Society of Jesus but did not himself become a Jesuit.⁴⁸⁹ Also, one of the inspiring texts used for the extemporaneous orations in Neri’s meetings was a collection of letters from the Jesuit missions in India which the Jesuits caused to be

⁴⁸⁷ Østrem and Petersen, 33. Østrem and Petersen specifically mention the expressions “‘a te sia laude” [to you are praises due] and “l’amour, che questi dolci prieghi getta” [the love which these sweet prayers cause] and “delle Vergine già t’innamorasti: ricevi, o Sposo nostro, i petti casti” [As you have chosen the Virgin in love, receive, oh our bridegroom, these chaste hearts]....

⁴⁸⁸ Noel O’Regan, ‘Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities’, in Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne eds., *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009): 218–219.

⁴⁸⁹ Smither, I:41. Ponnelle, 102. See Ponnelle 102 n.7 regarding the controversial 1622 account by the Jesuit Nicolas Lanciscius of Neri’s application to join the Society of Jesus and Loyola’s refusal of acceptance, for reasons not specified.

published in 1556; Ponnelle intimates that it was these letters recounting successful conversions to Catholicism of indigenous peoples by Jesuit Francis Xavier and others that inspired Neri to begin seeking papal permission to establish his own community.⁴⁹⁰

Another example of the connections between the Jesuits and the Oratorian concerns the Milanese *L'Orazione delle Quarant'Ore*, or Forty Hours devotion, which was a common practice in adult and youth confraternities in Florence by at least 1500.⁴⁹¹ The Florentine-born Neri is traditionally credited with introducing the *Quarant'Ore* to Rome around 1550; by 1553, the Jesuits had instituted the *Quarant'Ore* devotion in at least their Roman institutions.⁴⁹² Neri's *Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti*, or Archconfraternity of the Most Holy Trinity of the Pilgrims and Convalescents, which received sanction from Pope Paul III in 1548, celebrated the *Quarant'Ore* regularly by 1578.⁴⁹³ During the seventeenth century, the Jesuits took over administration of the *Quarant'Ore* from SS. Trinità.⁴⁹⁴ Thus, Neri, Loyola, and their respective communities and confraternities, exhibit from the very beginning an active reciprocal relationship.

This reciprocal relationship will be examined in four sections. The 35 years examined in chapter 7, c.1560–c.1595, include the official establishment of the Congregation of the Oratory as a religious community in 1575 and the musical activities and exchanges between the two organisations from the period after the death

⁴⁹⁰ Society of Jesus, *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portogallo. Documenti avuti quest'anno da li R. Padri della Comp. di Gesù* (Rome: Blado, 1556). Ponnelle, 204, 210–211.

⁴⁹¹ Mark S. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusion,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 218–248, especially 220–221 for a history of the *Quarant'Ore*, created in 1427. Angelo de Santi, S.J., *L'Orazione delle quarant'ore e i tempi di calamita e di guerra* (Rome: Civiltà Cattolica, 1919), 181–182; Pietro Tacchi-Venturi, S.J., *Storia della compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, 4 vols. (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1950), I:229–37.

⁴⁹² Østrem and Petersen, 154.

⁴⁹³ Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650* (London: Royal Music Association, 1995), 25. For a history of the organisation, see Carlo Luigi Morichini, *Degli istituti di carità per la sussistenza e l'educazione dei poveri e dei prigionieri in Roma* (Rome: Stabilimento Tip. Camerale, 1870), 3:169–179; Fausto Garofalo, *L'Ospedale della Santissima Trinità dei pellegrini e dei convalescenti* (Rome, 1950); and Sandra Vasco Rocca, *Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1979).

⁴⁹⁴ See also Per Bjurström's discussion of the construction of *Quarant'Ore* sets for the Jesuit church in Rome, the Gesù. Per Bjurström, 'Baroque Theater and the Jesuits,' in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 99–110. The Jesuits modified the service in some metropolises, such as Vienna, into a semi-theatrical production that came to known as the *visitatio sepulchro*. A recently published collections of essays concerning Viennese Jesuit *visitatio sepulchri* is *Die Jesuiten in Wien: zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der 'Gesellschaft Jesu' im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed., Herbert Karner and Werner Telesko, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 5 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003).

of Loyola in 1556 to the death of Neri in 1595. Chapter 8 commences the investigation in the year after Neri's death and continues to the year c.1619, the years in which transitional prologue and chorus emerged in Jesuit school theatre. The discussion in chapter 9 concerns the period c.1620–c.1639, in which the transitional prologue and chorus in Jesuit school theatre and the forms of dramatic dialogues immediately preceding the oratorio in the Congregation of the Oratory continue to develop. Finally, chapter 10, covering the period c.1640–c.1660, shows that the trends established in chapter 9 materialise in the form of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit theatre and the oratorio in the Congregation of the Oratory. Chapter 11 provides a summary of the findings in Part II of this enquiry.

Chapter 7

Development of Dramatic Elements in the Jesuit Theatre Prologue and Chorus and the
 Congregation of the Oratory Service Music After the Death of Loyola,
 c.1560–c.1595

Society of Jesus, c.1560–c.1595

After Loyola's death in 1556 the Society of Jesus continued to grow in both numbers of professions and educational establishments. Between 1558 and 1595, four Jesuits succeeded Loyola in the position of General of the Society of Jesus: Diego Lainez (1558–1565), Francis Borgia (1565–1572), Everard Mercurian (1573–1580) and Claudius Aquaviva (1581–1615) (table 7.1). By 1580 there were 5,000 professed and non-professed Jesuits serving in 18 provinces, according to the census of Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517–1576), the Secretary to the Society's General. The number of Jesuit colleges in Europe rose to c. 300 by the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁹⁵ The principal Jesuit seminary, the Seminario Romano, was established in Rome in 1564. In addition to the activity of the Generals, the Jesuits, who had been tolerated but no more by Pope Pius V (papacy 1566–1572), were fortunate to find an active patron in his successor, Gregory XIII (1502–1585).

Gregory XIII's papal reign (1572–1585) focused upon the reformation of the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy.⁴⁹⁶ He believed in education as a primary tool of reform, assisting in founding a number of additional Jesuit colleges and seminaries in which he placed the Jesuits in charge. Furthermore, with his patronage the

⁴⁹⁵ William H. McCabe, S.J., *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983), 7. Thomas D. Culley, S.J., *Jesuits and Music, vol. 1: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and Their Activities in Rome* (St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1970), 16. Hereafter, referred to as McCabe and Culley, respectively. Due to the numbers of requested colleges, proposed colleges, established colleges, and failed colleges during the period c.1550–c.1600, it is difficult to determine the total number of colleges operating in 1600, as the disparity between Culley's count of 400 schools and McCabe's count of 300 schools by 1600 illustrates.

⁴⁹⁶ Two recent studies of Gregory XIII's papacy, policies, and reform are Nicola Margot Courtright, *The papacy and the art of reform in sixteenth-century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003) and Maurizio Gattoni, *Gregorio XIII e la politica iberica dello Stato pontificio 1572–1585* (Rome: Studium, 2007).

Seminario Romano and Collegio Germanico in Rome grew substantially.⁴⁹⁷ The Jesuit theatre also won the Pope's support. Gregory XIII's response to the lascivious plays frequented by the clergy during Carnival was to shut all of the theatres in Rome in 1574. However, he granted an exception to the productions of the Jesuit college theatre, praising the dramas for their moral subjects.⁴⁹⁸ The Pope's action was important to the growth and development of Jesuit theatre, especially in the Roman Jesuit colleges. As both Smither and McCabe affirm, the first plays mounted in the Roman Jesuit colleges occurred in the middle of the sixteenth century. Pachtler, translated by McCabe, writes in 1566 as if theatre was by that time a common practice at the prize-distribution and graduation ceremonies at the Seminario Romano: 'Finally [at the conclusion of the ceremony]...a dialogue is given or a tragedy or a comedy.'⁴⁹⁹ Prior to Gregory XIII's ban, the Collegio Romano was in direct competition with the other theatres, at Carnival and other times; now, the Jesuits held a monopoly on dramatic productions in Rome and therefore an uncontested opportunity to acquire patronage and funding for the activities of the Society.

A reverse of fortunes for the Jesuits took place when Sixtus V (1521–1590) was appointed pope in 1585. Sixtus V, who disapproved of the large number of Jesuit priests and their influential patrons, intended to severely revise the Society's mission and constitution, but died before he was able to set these plans in motion. Sixtus V was succeeded by Pope Urban VII, whose papacy lasted only thirteen days. One of Urban VII's few acts as pope was to lift the ban on theatre in Rome. On 5 December, 1590, Pope Gregory XIV was elected due to the influence of Spanish cardinals and aggressive interference by Philip II of Spain.⁵⁰⁰ Gregory XIV's brief papacy ended 16 October, 1591, and Innocent IX was chosen (29 October, 1591–30 December, 1591). Philip II interfered in the electoral process of Innocent IX in the same manner as he had Gregory XIV. Due to the brief papacies of Popes Urban VII, Gregory XIV and

⁴⁹⁷ Culley, 18–21; 25–32. In 1573, Gregory XIII re-founded and endowed the Seminario Romano.

⁴⁹⁸ Paul Türks, C.O., *Philip Neri: The Fire of Joy*, trans. David Utrecht (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 73; Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), I:29, n. 31; McCabe, 46; Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*. Trans. and ed. Ralph Frances Kerr (London: Keegan Paul, 1912), 20: 547–48. Hereafter, referred to as Türks, Smither and Pastor, respectively.

⁴⁹⁹ Georg Michael Pachtler, S.J. and Bernhard Duhr, S.J., ed., *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae concinnatae*, Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica, Bd. 2 (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1887), I:129. Translated and cited in McCabe, 12.

⁵⁰⁰ Pastor, 22: 334–348. Philip II's representatives successfully conspired to have only the seven cardinals preferred by Philip II accepted as papal candidates and also to ban thirty members of the Sacred College from participating in the electoral conclave, leaving only 52 voting members.

Innocent IX, the Jesuits experienced little in the way of either help or hindrance from these three popes.⁵⁰¹

In 1563, John Leunis, a professor of grammar at the Collegio Romano, established a lay Marian congregation at the college.⁵⁰² The apparent models for the Collegio Romano Marian congregation were Neri's confraternities and his nascent Congregation; it is not known whether Leunis was familiar with the Florentine youth confraternities. The purpose of the Jesuit college Marian congregation combined basic Christian doctrinal studies with a search for perfection in study and morals and veneration of the Virgin Mary. At first, participation was limited to the students in Leunis' class, but soon the membership was opened to the entire school. By 1564, the Marian congregation at the Collegio Romano had more than 70 members and by 1569 consisted of two groups, one for students over eighteen and a second for students aged seventeen and younger.⁵⁰³

Pius V published a papal brief *Ex debito pastoralis officii* in 1571 that advised all parishes to found *Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Christiana*, often referred to as *scuole di dottrina cristiana*, or School of Christian Doctrine.⁵⁰⁴ Østrem and Petersen write that it was the success of a similar institution in Milan that inspired the Pope's decree, but the spectacular growth enjoyed by Jesuit college Marian congregations

⁵⁰¹ Pastor, 22: 398–406. Pope Clement VIII succeeded Innocent IX in 1592 and was pope until 1605; Clement VIII's actions regarding the Jesuits are presented in chapter 8.

⁵⁰² Girolamo Nappi, 'Origine del Collegio Romano e suoi progressi 1551–1743' in *Annali del Seminario Romano*, 3 vol., IT–Rug APUG Ms 142, fols. 24v–25r. In the literature, this collection of manuscripts is usually indicated simply as APUG. Cited and translated by T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years,' *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 88. «Giovanni Leoni [John Leunis], Fiammingo, è maestro in una delle scuole inferiori, per il desiderio, che aveva di promuovere le pietà ne suoi scolari, diede quest'anno principio ad una Congregazione, che poi servi come di abozzo, e d'avviamento alle Congregazione della Beata Vergine che in appresso s'instituirono con tanto frutto della scolaresca. Anche nel doppio pranzo delle domeniche, e degl'altri giorni di festa vi si adunavano e con un poco di canto recitavano i salmi del vespro.» 'Giovanni Leonio [John Leunis], a Flemming, and teaching in one of the lower classes, on account of the desire he had to promote the piety of his students, started this year [1563] a congregation that served as a model and a beginning for the Congregations of the Blessed Virgin, which were later instituted with so much fruit for the student body [...]. Also after dinner on Sundays and other feast days they gathered there [one of the designated classrooms] and with a little bit of singing they recited the psalms of the Vespers.'

⁵⁰³ Regarding Jesuit Marian congregations and their connections with the nobility, see Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the devout: the Catholic reformation and the formation of a new society*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Mario Rosa, 'Strategia missionario gesuitica in Puglia agli inizi del "600"' in *Religione e società nel Mezzogiorno tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Mario Rosa (Bari: De Donato, 1976): 245–272.

⁵⁰⁴ Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities,' in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 224–225. Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 138. Hereafter, referred to as Østrem and Petersen.

and the flourishing state of the Florentine youth confraternities before 1571 should not be discounted. Nonetheless, six Schools of Christian Doctrine separate from the youth confraternities were operating in Florence by 1585.⁵⁰⁵

Interestingly, even though these six Florentine schools and the other *scuoli di dottrina cristiana* were not affiliated with the Jesuits, they used as their textbook Giacomo (Jacques) de Ledesma, S.J.'s *Modo per insegnar la dottrina cristiana* [Method of Teaching Christian Doctrine], first published in Rome in 1573.⁵⁰⁶ Ledesma had published a short version of the *dottrina* portions of the *Modo* several years earlier in 1569, presumably for use by Jesuit college Marian congregations.⁵⁰⁷ Due to the work's universal popularity, the Jesuits in Milan issued a second edition of Ledesma's *Modo* in 1576 under the title *Lodi e canzoni spirituali per cantar insieme con la Dottrina Christiana* (Milan: Societas Nominis Jesu, 1576).

Other edited versions of Ledesma's *Modo* began to appear in the 1580s, such as Iacopo Ansaldi's *Dottrina cristiana*, published in 1585, in which Ansaldi, the Father Guardian of the Florentine youth confraternity *Compagnia della Purificazione* 1580–1585, acknowledges Ledesma:

No one should be surprised that the versified doctrine of the Reverend Father Doctor Jacopo Ledesma of the Society of Jesus has been sent to print so that it can be sung or chanted

⁵⁰⁵ Lorenzo Polizzoto, *Children of the Promise: The Confraternity of the Purification and the Socialization of Youths in Florence, 1427–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 232.

⁵⁰⁶ Giacomo Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la Dottrina Christiana, per gli Stampatori Camerali: Composto per il Dottore Ledesma, della Compagnia di GIESV [emblem] In Roma* (Rome: Haeredi d'Antonio Blado, 1573). Østrem and Petersen, 58–60, 140. Lorenzo Polizzoto, *Children of the Promise: The Confraternity of the Purification and the Socialization of Youths in Florence, 1427–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 229–230. Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence 1411–1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 133–134. Hereafter, Eisenbichler. Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Laudi e canti religiosi per l'ercizio spirituale della dottrina cristiana al tempo di Robert Bellarmino,' in *La Lauda Spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e Canti Devozionali nell'italia della Controriforma: Volume Offerto a Giancarlo Rostirolla nel Suo Sessantesimo Compleanno*, Danilo Zardin and Oscar Mischiati, ed. (Rome: Ibimus, 2001), 304–306. Hereafter, Rostirolla. The book is in four sections with an extensive preface that includes the method of teaching. The first section is comprised of various standard doctrinal texts, followed by a collection of Italian laude entitled *Laude Da cantarsi* (laude for singing), and then another collection of Italian laude with the title *Lodi Da Cantarsi per i fanciulli della Dottrina Christiana* (laude to be sung by the children studying the Christian doctrine), and lastly, a section detailing Christian good manners.

⁵⁰⁷ Giacomo Ledesma, *Somma della Dottrina Christiana Breve per insegnar in pochi giorni, per interrogazione a modo di Dialogo fra 'l Maestro e Discepolo* (Bologna: Pellegrino Bonardi, 1569). Østrem and Petersen, 58–60. Rostirolla, 304–306. The inclusion of Marian service materials in Ledesma's book, such as the Vespers of the Virgin Mary and the Litanies of the Virgin Mary, in addition to Our Father, Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, and the Litany of Saints, indicate that the work was suitable for use by Jesuit Marian congregations.

jointly or solo in conjunction with certain spiritual *laude* according to the occasion.⁵⁰⁸

For one of the chief novel features of Ledesma's book was that the pupils learn standard Catholic texts by means of singing the words to a single simple *laude* melody, *Giesù, Giesù, Giesù, orgun chiami Giesù*: 'with this melody one sings not only the *Ave Maria* but also all that which is written in verse in the doctrine, such as the *Credo*, the *Pater noster*, etc.'⁵⁰⁹ The *Modo* and its derivative editions published after 1573 include several other melodies, some with optional arrangements in three or four parts, that are also found in Oratorian *laude* collections.⁵¹⁰

The growth of the Collegio Romano Marian congregation was further expanded by Gregory XIII's papal bull of 5 December, 1584, which permitted persons other than students to join the congregation. By the end of the sixteenth century, Marian congregations had been established in the majority of Jesuit-run schools.⁵¹¹ The meetings of Jesuit Marian congregations occurred on the afternoons of Sundays and feast days, and were led by a Jesuit Father who delivered a brief oration, meditation, or sermon. The first meetings included congregational singing of *laude spirituali*. The singing of polyphonic *laude* during the services of Jesuit Marian congregations probably began c.1580.⁵¹² Similar to the Florentine youth confraternities but without any apparent direct influence from them, the student and non-student members of Jesuit college Marian congregations also became involved in

⁵⁰⁸ Østrem and Petersen, 138, fn. 76. «Alcuno non si marauigli se si è mandato alla stampa la Dottrina in versi del R. P. Iacopo Dottore Ledesma della Compagnia di Giesv per poterla cantare, ò salmeggiare à Cori, ò solo con certe Laudi spirituali secondo l'opportunità. Perche questo s'è fatto per più ragioni.» Ansaldo, *Dottrina cristiana*, 12. Translation by Østrem and Petersen.

⁵⁰⁹ «Con quest'aria si canti non solamente l'Ave Maria; ma etiandio tutto quello, che nella Dottrina per versetti; come il Credo, il Pater noster, etc.» Ledesma, *Modo*, Ch. 32. Translated and cited in Rostirolla, 304–306 and in Østrem and Petersen, 61. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 116, 121–122.

⁵¹⁰ Østrem and Petersen, 113–114. Together with the establishment of the *Dottrina Cristiana* schools, the Jesuit school Marian Congregations directly affected the surge in the publications of *laude* before 1650, as shown by scholar Giancarlo Rostirolla. See also Giancarlo Rostirolla, Danilo Zardin and Oscar Mischiati eds., *La Lauda Spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e Canti Devozionali nell'Italia della Controriforma: Volume Offerto a Giancarlo Rostirolla nel Suo Sessantesimo Compleanno* (Rome: Ibis, 2001).

⁵¹¹ Culley, 20.

⁵¹² T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years,' *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 74. Kennedy lists 3 printed collections of music that might have been used in the Marian congregation services: Fillippo de Monte, *Primo libro de madrigali spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1581), dedicated to the Jesuit General Claudio Aquaviva; Lelio Bertani and Costanzo Antegnati, *Madrigali spirituali a tre voci* (1585), dedicated to the rector and staff of the Jesuit college at Brescia; and *Lodi et canzonette spirituali raccolte da diversi autori et ordinate secondo le varie maniere de' versi, aggiuntevi a ciascuna maniera le loro arie nuove di musica a tre voci* (Naples, 1608), a collection whose preface refers to the Jesuits' use of this music.

presenting theatrical productions on religious subjects and semi-dramatic meditations to other members and congregations.⁵¹³

From 1551 to 1586, Jesuit theatre in the colleges and the Marian congregations was neither regulated nor uniformly administered, and any restrictions on productions and the music in productions were the responsibility of the rector of each college. Revelations about the theatrical practices, as McCabe notes, is available chiefly through published admonitions, such as that issued by General Everard Mercurian in 1576:

The provincial should allow comedies and tragedies to be produced only very rarely. They must be in Latin, and they must involve nothing unbecoming. He must either subject them to his personal inspection before their performance or delegate this duty to someone else. He must absolutely forbid the performance of these and other similar plays in the church.⁵¹⁴

Mercurian's edict of 1576 was a step towards establishing uniform guidelines for the performance of dramas in Jesuit college: limited number of plays per year; limitation of the performance language to Latin; the morals within the play must be within the beliefs of the Society; and, lastly, theatrical performances were never to be staged inside a church.⁵¹⁵

The 1576 statement was also a sign of the urgent need of guidelines because of the proliferation of colleges and Jesuit priests since 1551. While the internal organisation of the Jesuit administration designed by Loyola ensured that the Society of Jesus had a centre of authority in Rome, there was no authorised document regulating the colleges and their activities. Therefore, General Claudius Aquaviva called together a council in Rome in 1586 to begin drafting such a document. This document became known as the *Ratio Studiorum*. Its purpose was to create consistent

⁵¹³ Culley, 20. Jesuit Marian congregations began staging theatrical productions between c.1580 and c.1620. Szarota's index includes 2 programmes from seventeenth-century theatrical production by Jesuit Marian congregations, Szarota 3:2, 1229–1272; CSTD ID 47 and Szarota 3:1, 143–156; CSTD ID 73.

⁵¹⁴ Georg Michael Pachtler, S.J. and Bernhard Duhr, S.J., ed., *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae concinnatae*, Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica, Bd. 2 (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1887), I:129. Translated and cited by McCabe, 12.

⁵¹⁵ Allan P. Farrell, S. J., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599. Translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 122, n.28. Farrell notes that "only rarely" was generally interpreted to mean three or four theatrical productions a year.

standards in the colleges and seminaries while in its application allowing for differences in culture.⁵¹⁶ The *Ratio Studiorum* received its first printing in 1586, and underwent a major revision in 1591 before emerging in final form in 1599.⁵¹⁷ Under Aquaviva, Mercurian's 1576 decree formed the basis of rule no. 13 under the rules for the rector of the college in the 1599 edition of the *Ratio*:

The subject matter of the tragedies and comedies, which ought to be only in Latin and extremely rare, should be holy and devotional. And nothing that is not in Latin and proper should be inserted into the action, nor should any female character or clothing be introduced.⁵¹⁸

While the 1599 *Ratio* rule reiterates Mercurian's prescriptions on the amount of theatrical activity and the restrictions of performance language to Latin and dramatic subjects to religious topics, the prohibition on the use of churches as performance venues is not repeated. However, rule no. 13 in the 1599 edition of the *Ratio Studiorum* also requires inserted choruses and interludia to adhere to the same guidelines as the main title drama. Also added to Mercurian's words in the 1599 *Ratio* is a ban on the appearance of female characters and cross-dressing.⁵¹⁹

Significant developments occurred in the prologues and choruses of Jesuit school theatrical productions over the period c.1560–c.1595. These developments included not only an increased presence of vocal and instrumental music within the theatrical productions but also the incorporation of dramatic elements. Although still

⁵¹⁶ Walter D. Mignolo, 'The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Colonization and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 45:4 (Winter, 1992): 811. Mignolo's research has shown that the curricula at Spanish and Mexican Jesuit colleges were very similar.

⁵¹⁷ Claude Pauvar, S.J. trans. and ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, Series I: Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation No. 22 (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), vii.

⁵¹⁸ Claude Pauvar, S.J. trans. and ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, Series I: Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation No. 22 (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), 35. Allan P. Farrell, S. J., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599. Translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 15, 122 n. 28. 'Tragoediarum et comoediarum, quas non nisi latinas ac rarissimas esse oportet, argumentum sacrum sit ac pium; neque quicquam actibus interponatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum, nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introducator.' Farrell notes that 'only rarely' was generally interpreted to mean three or four theatrical productions a year.

⁵¹⁹ By the end of the seventeenth century, colleges interpreted the prohibition on female characters less strictly. For example, there were three tragedies featuring Mary Stuart performed at the end of the seventeenth century by the college in Aalst, Belgium (1694 and 1699) and in 1695 by the college in Dillingen as a completely sung work with music by Joannis Baptista Grerer. A recent study of cross-dressing and cross-casting in Jesuit theatre is Julia Prest, *Theatre under Louis XIV Cross-Casting and the Performance of Gender in Drama, Ballet, and Opera* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 43–55. See also Ursula K. Heise, 'Transvestism and the Stage Controversy in Spain and England, 1580–1680,' *Theatre Journal* 44:3 (Oct., 1992): 360–374.

inseparable from the main title drama, these changes in Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses reveal the beginning of movement towards independence.

One of the changes in Jesuit theatre choruses concerns the increase in the number of choruses within a typical production. For example, the chorus in Jesuit theatrical productions from the 1550s consisted of a single moralizing chorus performed by an anonymous group of vocalists after the conclusion of the final act of the main title drama, just as seen in contemporary Benedictine theatrical productions. From the 1560s forward, however, choruses appeared at the conclusion of several or all acts of Jesuit theatre main title dramas in addition to the final summary (fig. 7.1).⁵²⁰ Similarly, while *sacre rappresentationi* performed by the Florentine youth confraternities during the period c.1560–c. 1595 conclude with the singing of *laude* by the members or a polyphonic madrigal by a choral ensemble, music is inserted between the formal divisions or sections in productions after c.1580.⁵²¹ The ensembles of vocalists in the Jesuit school and youth confraternity theatrical productions were also now given descriptive labels, such as *Chorus Lugentium*, a chorus of weepers and mourners, or *Chor der Engel*, a choir of angels (fig. 7.2)⁵²²

In addition to choruses concluding multiple acts of the main title drama, prologues and epilogues in Jesuit school theatrical productions during the period c.1560–c.1595 also commonly featured the chorus. For example, the tragi-comedy *S.*

⁵²⁰ Chorus, 'Plute tu solus,' I.v, in *Timon* (Jakob Gretser, attr. Orlando di Lasso, Freiburg-an-Suisse, 1584), DE–Dsb Cod. XV 223 fols 73v–74r; CSTD ID 301 Franz Körndle, 'Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,' trans. Marian Lampe, in *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 482–483. Max Wittwer, 'Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Länder deutscher Zunge,' (PhD diss., Universität Greifswald, 1934), 79. Hereafter, referred to as Körndle and Wittwer, respectively. A letter from Father Emmanuel Alvarez at the Jesuit college at Coimbra to fellow Jesuit Father Nadal in 1562 includes a passing comment that indicates that sung choruses were a typical component of college theatrical productions by the 1560s: «Los cantores de la tragedia del P. Vanegas ia se ensaian.» 'The singers for the tragedy by Father Vanegas are themselves rehearsed.' T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years,' *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 84.

⁵²¹ Østrem and Petersen, 134, 141–144; Eisenbichler, 130, 157–158, 187, 205–207. In 1560, the *Arcangelo Raffaello* youth confraternity concluded a dramatization for the Feast of St. Lawrence with the singing of *laude*; on 31 December 1563, the youth confraternity produced *Tobias*, and concluded the performance with *laude*. In 1582, a polyphonic madrigal was performed by a choir both within and at the end of a dialogue for Pentecost Sunday featuring the Archangel Raphael.

⁵²² Jakob Gretser, Orlandi di Lasso, 'Chor der Engels,' in *Lazarus resuscitatus* (Freiburg-en-Suisse, 17 December, 1584), DE–Dsb Cod. XV 245 fols. 20v–21r; CSTD ID 1316. Körndle, 482–3. Wittwer, 79. Referenced in Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)* (Augsburg: Filser, 1930), II:49 and Valentine, I:24. Hereafter, referred to as Müller. 'Chorus lugentium,' Act V, in *Occasio, Comoedia* (18 October, 1564, Seville), CSTD ID 1305. Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, 'Occasio,' ed. Ángel Sierra de Cózar, in *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio. Estudio y edición de Julio Alonso Asenjo* (Valencia: Universidad de València, 1995), item 2. The dramatic text of *Occasio* includes concluding choruses for acts I, IV and V. Only the chorus for the fifth act is given a descriptive label.

Elesbaani (Augsburg, 8 December, 1567) includes not only a concluding chorus to Act I but also a prologue featuring two alternating choirs and an epilogue that functions as a moral summary in the manner of the final choruses of the 1550s.⁵²³ In the prologue, the choruses punctuate a brisk dialogue among the three allegorical characters *Amor*, *Concordia* and *Cordis*:

Countless challenges of Love from Concord out of prudent Judgement, with alternating Choruses entering between the fire, and the Most Reverend Fathers express everyone's most fervent wishes for Love and Concord in the birthday congratulations. The Chorus concludes by means of a clap of thunder the Prologue of the war about to be waged between Elesbanaanum and King Dunaanum, and the entire action reveals him about to be killed.⁵²⁴

As the dialogue between *Amor*, *Concordia* and *Cordis* in the prologue of *S. Elesbaani* indicates, individual characters first emerge in prologues, epilogues and choruses in Jesuit school theatre during the 1560s and engage in dramatic exchanges. An early example of a Jesuit school theatre chorus with dialogue between multiple individual characters as well as a choral ensemble is Hernando de Avila's *Charopus*, performed in Spain in 1565. In *Charopus*, the characters *Mors* and *Libertas falsa* and the chorus sing an extended dramatic narrative in Spanish and Latin.⁵²⁵ Individual

⁵²³ Prologue, *Amphitheatrum Basilicae Virtutis, et Malitiae in quo S. Elesbaani, Aethiopum Regis Candorem, et Sanctimoniam, ac Dunaanum, Arabiael Foelicis, Tyranni perfidiam, horrendumque* (8 December, 1567, Augsburg), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25995; CSTD ID 4. This production required 42 performers, making it one of the larger productions of the period. The use of multiple choral ensembles in Jesuit theatre continued into the seventeenth century; for an example of the use of a double choir in a seventeenth-century work for a Jesuit college, see *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* H. 403 by Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Charpentier, Marc-Antoine, *Mors Saülis et Jonathae (H. 403)*, Jean Duron, ed., *Editions du Centre de Musique Baroque* 2nd ed. (Versailles: Editions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2005).

⁵²⁴ Prologue, *Amphitheatrum Basilicae Virtutis, et Malitiae in quo S. Elesbaani, Aethiopum Regis Candorem, et Sanctimoniam, ac Dunaanum, Arabiael Foelicis, Tyranni perfidiam, horrendumque* (8 December, 1567, Augsburg), GB-Lbl RB.23.a.25995; CSTD ID 4. 'Amor a Concordia ex Corde innumeris cordibus provocatus, cum alternante Choro inter incendium egreditur, atque Reverendissimi Dn. Dn. Abbatis in Conventum suum, hujusque in Reverendiss. Dn. Dn. Abbatem Amorem, & Concordiam explicat, optatissimisq[ue]; Natalibus congratulatur. Choro finito editoque tonitru, Prologus de bello Elesbanaanum inter, & Dunaanum Reges inito, totaque Actione futura feriem pandit.' My translation.

⁵²⁵ Prior to General Mercurian's 1576 edict, plays containing a mixture of Latin and vernacular languages were not uncommon. For example, the sixteenth-century Jesuit plays by Fr. Manuel da Nóbrega and Fr. José de Anchieta performed in the Jesuit colleges of colonial Brazil included passages in native Tupi as well as the Portuguese and Spanish of the European colonists. In fact, Nóbrega and Anchieta rarely wrote their plays in Latin. See Rogério Budasz, 'Of Cannibals and the Recycling of Otherness,' *Music & Letters*, 87/1 (2005): 1–15.

characters replace the undifferentiated choral ensemble in Jesuit school theatrical productions by the end of the sixteenth century.

Dialogue amongst multiple characters in a musical setting is not original to sixteenth-century Jesuit school theatre, however. For example, Gustave Reese and Thomas Frederick Crane have uncovered thirteenth-century examples of multi-character dialogues in France, typically exchanges between a pleading lover and resisting mistress.⁵²⁶ David Nutter's study discusses examples of *frottola* dialogues from the period c.1500 to c.1530, which feature dialogues between Cupid and Morte and/or Amore, Fortuna and Madonna, who in this context during this time period represents the mistress/nymph/object of love rather than the Virgin Mary.⁵²⁷ Konrad Eisenbichler reports that sung dialogues were performed by the Florentine youth confraternity *Arcangelo Raffaello* beginning in the early 1570s.⁵²⁸ The development of dialogue in Jesuit school theatre prologues and choruses in the 1560s is therefore an adaptation of an earlier form of rhetorical expression to the Jesuit theatre medium and not an innovation.

Similar to the observed increase in the use of vocal music within Jesuit theatrical productions during the period c.1560–c.1595, the use of instrumental music in the form of accompaniment to staged dances, ballets and sung prologues and choruses developed during the 1560s. The first recorded examples of staged dances appear during the late 1560s, such as the ballet of birds inserted in *Samson* (Munich, 27 February, 1568).⁵³⁰ In the final scene of Act IV, trained boys costumed as birds perform a choreographed dance.⁵³¹ The increase in the use of instrumental music and

⁵²⁶ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), 214. Thomas Frederick Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influences on the Literature of Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 8. See David Nutter's brief history of the secular dialogue pre-1550: David Nutter, *The Italian Polyphonic Dialogue of the Sixteenth Century* (Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1977), 1–24.

⁵²⁷ David Nutter, *The Italian Polyphonic Dialogue of the Sixteenth Century* (Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1977), 24, 26–27.

⁵²⁸ Eisenbichler, 202–203. Giovan Maria Cecchi, *Atto recitabile per alla Capannuccia. Per il natale di Nostro Signore (Scenic act to be performed at the manger. For the birth of Our Lord)*, 1573. Play includes a prologue and three sections performed by allegorical characters (Vigilance (prologue), Human Nature, Peace, Charity), prophets from the Old Testament (David, Solomon, Isaiah) and sibyls (the Eritrean and Cumean sibyls). Eisenbichler believes that these characters might have sung their parts in solo or in chorus.

⁵³⁰ Valentin, I:23. Wittwer, 78. Sommervogel, V:1404. Müller, II:49. CSTD ID 1317.

⁵³¹ Valentin, I:8. Wittwer, 78, 96. Sommervogel, V:1404. Duhr, I:342–344. Müller, II:45. CSTD ID 1317. The text to *Samson* was published in 1569. A later example of the use of dance in the Jesuit theatre is the dance concluding Act I of *Timon* (Jakob Gretser, attr. Orlando di Lasso, Freiburg-an-Suisse, 1584), DE–Dsb Cod. XV 223 fols 73v–74r.

instruments during this period is not limited to inserted dances, for *Salomos* (Koblenz, 1582) was sung throughout with instrumental accompaniment.⁵³²

The 1592 performance of *Gottfried von Bouillon* in Graz illustrates the stage of development reached by Jesuit drama choruses by c.1595.⁵³³ The performance opens with a chorus of singers and instrumentalists behind the backcloth performing works in honour of the marriage of Princess Anna of Hapsburg to Sigismund II of Poland.⁵³⁴ The use of chorus in the first act includes a dialogue sung by six symbolic characters: *Hungaria*, *Graecia*, *Aegyptus*, *Antitircus*, *Fugitivus* and *Filia Sion* and a dialogue or ensemble piece for five Jerusalem boys, *Illah*, *Illelah*, *Mehemet*, *Iresul*, and *Alah*. Choral ensembles without descriptive labels conclude the third and fourth acts. *Gottfried von Bouillon*, therefore, is an example of a 1590s Jesuit school theatrical production with multiple dependent choruses fulfilling different dramatic functions: a commentary on the action by 6 allegorical characters, a hymn of praise by a five-voice treble ensemble, and two brief moralising choruses performed by vocal ensembles.

Congregation of the Oratory, c.1560 – c.1595

Filippo Neri paid a price for his friendship with Society of Jesus during the decades following Loyola's death because of the Iberian origin of Loyola and the first Jesuits. The Society of Jesus was viewed, not only in Rome but also elsewhere in Europe, as a Spanish organisation. After an escalation of the Spanish-Roman war brought the conflict to the very gates of Rome in 1566, Pope Pius V (1504–1572) ordered Neri's spiritual exercises and services to cease. Neri's relationship with the Jesuits provided the Pope with a generally acceptable excuse to end the Congregation, but it was the republican nature of the oratory that lay at the root of the Pope's objection to the Oratorians. Neri's custom of encouraging laymen to deliver sermons

⁵³² Fritz Michel, *Das ehem. Jesuitenkolleg und seine Bauten* (Trier: Trierisches Archiv., 1919).

⁵³³ Wittwer, 79–80. *Gottfried* is not referenced in Valentin or Duhr. A leader of the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon (c. 1060– 100) was a knight who became the first Christian ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem after the city was taken by the Crusaders in 1099.

⁵³⁴ Anna of Hapsburg (1573–Warsaw) married Sigismund II, King of Poland and Sweden, on 31 May, 1592. This marriage was important politically to the Jesuits, for Sigismund II was the first king to have received his entire education in the Jesuit college system. Sigismund supported the Jesuits throughout his reign and played an active role in importing Roman composers and musicians, and thereby Italian musical styles, to his courts, churches, and Jesuit colleges. See also Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów [The Music Courts of the Polish Vasas]', trans. Zofia Weaver, *De Musica* 14:3 (2008): 1–14.

and the congregational singing of *laude* in the vernacular in particular caused the Pope to accuse the organization of Lutheranism. Through the intervention of Cardinal Charles Borromeo (1538–1584) at the last hour, Neri was permitted to continue his activities, but Pius V continued to oppress Neri throughout his papacy (1566–1572).⁵³⁵

Pius V died on 10 April, 1572, and was succeeded by Gregory XIII, who esteemed the work of Neri as much as that of the Jesuits. The Congregation of the Oratory was formally established by papal bull by Gregory XIII on 15 July 1575.⁵³⁶ From 1564 to 1578, the Oratorian community grew from six to 38 members. When Neri applied to the Pope for a church for his growing Congregation, Gregory XIII offered him Santa Maria in Vallicella. The pre-existing buildings were demolished, and over the period 1575–1606 the Church of the Congregation of the Oratory, the Chiesa Nuova, was completed.⁵³⁷

Secure in the support of Gregory XIII, the Oratorians quickly gained a favourable reputation throughout Italy during the 1570s and 1580s. In spite of the Congregation's small official membership, bishops besieged Neri with requests to establish oratories in their bishoprics. Unlike Loyola, Neri was content with the single oratory in Rome, and politely refused all requests until 1586.⁵³⁸ At that time, a congregation in Naples was founded by a fellow Oratorian and close friend of Neri, Francesco Maria Tarugi (1525–1608), with grudging approval by Neri. A total of seven oratories were associated with the Congregation of the Oratory at the time of Neri's death in 1595: Rome, Naples, San Severino, Fermo, Palermo, Camerino and Cotignac (table 7.2).⁵³⁹ In April of 1588, the Roman Oratory officially announced that

⁵³⁵ Türks, 65. Giovanni Battista Ribera, S.J. was Borromeo's confessor after Borromeo was assigned to Milan. Presumably, the Jesuits were not treated to same degree of oppression as the Oratorians because of the difference in size and influential patronage between the two organisations. Two Dominican priests were dispatched by Pius V in 1569 to observe the activities of the oratory and report back to him. Shortly afterwards, the two Dominicans joined the Congregation.

⁵³⁶ Türks, 80–81, 85. Smither, I:34. Pastor, 19:180.

⁵³⁷ Smither, I:45–46. Pastor, 19:180, 584. The cornerstone was laid in 1575; the nave finished in 1577; the sanctuary, transept and dome completed in 1590; the roof of the nave completed 1593; the front façade finished in 1606.

⁵³⁸ Türks, 78, 87–88. Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *Saint Philip Néri et la société romaine de son temps, 1551–1595 [St Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times (1515–1595)]*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Sheed & Ward, 1979), 382. Neri's reply dated 13 January, 1580, to Domenico Pinelli, the Bishop of Fermo, is a standard example: '... taking prudent measure of our strength, it has seemed to me well to hesitate in undertaking new oratories outside Rome...' Upon receiving a negative response from Neri multiple times, Charles Borromeo created his own oratory, the Oblates of St. Ambrose. After Borromeo's death, the oratory was re-named the Oblates of St. Ambrose and Charles.

⁵³⁹ Alfonso Capececiatro, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome*, trans. Thomas Alder Pope, C.O., 2nd ed. (London: Burns & Oates, Ltd., 1894), II: 465–466. A number of oratories not associated

only the Naples oratory was under Roman jurisdiction; all the other oratories were to be independent houses. That same year, the Constitutions of the Oratory received papal approval.⁵⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Pope Sixtus V (1521–1590) replaced Gregory XIII beginning in 1585; his attitude toward the Oratorians was one of ambivalence. On 5 December 1590, Pope Gregory XIV was elected pope.⁵⁴¹ Gregory XIV was a personal friend of Neri, and in the course of his brief papacy offered Neri a cardinal's hat, which Neri refused. After the intervening two-month papacy of Innocent IX (29 October, 1591–30 December, 1591), Clement VIII was elected pope.⁵⁴² He supported the works of Neri and the Oratorians; Neri, in fact, held the office of confessor to Clement VIII.

After receiving formal papal recognition, the Congregation of the Oratory offered several types of spiritual exercises whose distinguishing characteristics depended upon the time of day, the season, the size of the congregation, and the social class of those attending (fig. 7.3).⁵⁴³ The afternoon services begun in the 1550s still had the same content by the 1570s, but the congregation had changed from a mixture of social classes to one of primarily priests and nobles. Also, the lay preachers of the 1550s were replaced by priests. The development during the late 1570s of the *oratorio vespertino*, which met in the evenings after vespers on Sundays and feast days, included a greater quantity of music before and after each sermon than the ferial day afternoon session.⁵⁴⁴ Trained singers were now available to the Oratorians, and thus the music sung at *oratorio vespertina* services was no longer limited to the simple homophonic congregational *laude* of the afternoon exercises. The Latin and Italian works performed at the oratory now included more elaborate settings of *laude*, polyphonic motets, and spiritual madrigals for which experienced voices were necessary.⁵⁴⁵

with the Congregation were founded between c.1575 and c.1595, such as Milan, Padua, Bologna and Verona, although all took as their model Neri's Roman Congregation of the Oratory.

⁵⁴⁰ Türks, 88. 93, 143.

⁵⁴¹ Pastor, 22:334–348.

⁵⁴² Pastor, 22:398–406.

⁵⁴³ Smither, I:50–53. Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945), 22–28. Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *Saint Philip Néri et la société romaine de son temps, 1551–1595 [St Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times (1515–1595)]*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Sheed & Ward, 1979), 202–3, 263–65, 389–402.

⁵⁴⁴ Østrem and Petersen, 100–101. The public services on Wednesdays and Fridays and the vespers services were open to women.

⁵⁴⁵ Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities', in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne eds., (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 226–227. Østrem and Petersen, 77–79. Smither, I:53–54;

Smither has identified those *laude* with narrative and dramatic elements in their texts as the ‘most significant sixteenth-century antecedents of the oratorio performed in the oratory’ while revealing that, compared to the entire repertory of the Oratory, these *laude* are relatively few, only thirty-eight.⁵⁴⁶ These include some works intended for specific ecclesiastical festivals, such as the Passion. Through his analysis, Smither determined that the thirty-eight *laude* fall into four classifications: dialogues (17), dialogues combined with narrative (eight), monologues combined with narrative (ten), and narratives (three).⁵⁴⁷ The two chief features of the dialogue *laude* are that the texts are plays in miniature form; some provide specific casts, but in others the characters are only implied. Smither states that those dialogue *laude* that also include narrative passages in the text are strikingly similar to seventeenth-century oratorios with a *testo*, albeit again on a small scale. The narratives found within the monologue *laude* assume one or more of the following roles: to introduce the monologue; to link portions of the monologue; or to give a moral summary as the conclusion. Of the narratives appearing as conclusions to the *laude*, Smither writes, ‘This conclusion foreshadows the type of text often used for the final choruses of seventeenth-century oratorios.’⁵⁴⁸ The very few *laude* composed only of narrative text appear to have not had any lasting legacy in the subsequent development of the oratorio. All of these dramatic or narrative works might be written in Latin or a vernacular language and all were intended to be performed without staging.

The two books of *laude* published by the *maestro* of the Congregation, Giovanni Animuccia, in 1563 and 1570 demonstrate the changes to the music in the oratories during this period. The first book contains homophonic four-voice *laude* in Italian. These works, accessible to amateur musicians, would be suitable for use in the afternoon sessions on ferial days. The *laude* in the 1570 publication, however, are intended for trained singers, with polyphonic writing and what O’Regan and Smither both describe as textures approaching *cori spezzati*.⁵⁴⁹ His dedication in the second book of *laude* sums up the changes in the oratory and its services discussed above:

73–74. Little information about which *laude*, motets, and madrigals were actually performed at *oratorio vespertina* is known. Smither lists five books containing works with Italian texts published by the Roman Oratory, supporting his choice with information presented in Pasquetti.

⁵⁴⁶ Smither, I:70.

⁵⁴⁷ Smither, I:72.

⁵⁴⁸ Smither, I:73

⁵⁴⁹ Smither, I:74. Lewis Lockwood and Noel O’Regan, ‘Animuccia, Giovanni,’ in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 10 September, 2010).

But since the above-mentioned oratory by the grace of God has been constantly growing, with a concourse of prelates and the highest noblemen, I found it appropriate in this second book to expand the harmony and the chords, to vary the music in different ways, using both Latin and Italian texts, setting it in few or more voices, some times in one verse form, sometime sin another, and to occupy myself as little as possible in fugues and inventions in such as way that the understanding of the words in not obscured but that they with their efficaciousness, aided by the harmony, may penetrate the listener's heart more sweetly. And many judicious and devout persons have told me that they have felt greatly moved to devotion when these *laude* have been sung, as you Your Illustriousness have confirmed to me many times.⁵⁵⁰

The vocal forces required for some of these works is as many as eight. Both the Latin and Italian languages are used in the collection. Animuccia also included Gospel-based dialogues, several of which contain narrative and dramatic elements, although not intended to be staged.

Comparison, the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory, c.1560–c.1595

The complications that the Spanish origins of the Jesuits initially caused for Neri were resolved by the 1580s. In fact, two of the books of *laude* published for the Oratory in 1588 and 1598 include *laude* with Spanish texts, perhaps a reflection that the vernacular of the early Jesuits was Spanish rather than Italian.⁵⁵² However, with the papal difficulties behind him, Neri received a flood of requests in the 1570s just as

⁵⁵⁰ Østrem and Petersen, 79–80. Giovanni Animuccia, *Il secondo libro delle laudi. Dove si contengono motteti, salmi et altre diverse cose spirituali vulgari et latine* (Rome: Blado, 1570), preface. «Ma essendosi poi tuttaua l'Oratorio suddetto per gratia di Dio uenuto accrescendo, co'l concorso di Prelati, & Gentil'huomini principalissimi, è parso anco à me conueniente di accrescere in questo Secondo Libro, l'harmonia, & i concerti, uariando la musica in diuersi modi, facendola hora sopra parole latine, hora sopra ugalri, & hora con piu numero di uoci, & hora con meno, & quando con rime d'una maniera, & quando d'un'altra, intrigandomi il manco ch'io ho potuto con le fughe, & con le inuentioni, per non oscurare l'intendimento de le parole, accioche con la lor efficacia, aiutate dall'harmonia, potessero penetrare piu dolcemente il cuore di chi ascolta. Et molte giuditiose, & diuote persone, m'hanno riferito di sentirsi grandemente commouere à diuotione quando si cantano queste Laudi, si come V.S. Illustre, di se medesima piu uolte mi ha confermato.»

⁵⁵² Smither, I:58–59. Two *laude* in Spanish were published in *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali a tre e a quattro voci stampata ad istanza delli Reverendi Padi della Congregatione del'Oratorio* (1588). One *lauda* in Spanish appears in *Il quinto libro delle laudi spirituali, a tre & a quattro voci del Reverendi P. Francesco Soto, sacerdote dell Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (1598).

Loyola had received in the 1550s. The different response of the two men to these requests had a lasting influence upon the growth of their respective organisations. Whereas the Jesuits by 1595 operated between 300 and 400 colleges in Central Europe and Eastern Europe in addition to a handful of colleges in colonial lands and Asia, the Oratorians administered five oratories in Italy and one oratory in France. Not until after Neri's death did the Congregation expand into Europe, Asia, and the New World, usually in the wake of the Jesuits.

The presence and participation of the Jesuits in the activities of the Oratories beyond the personal friendship of Loyola and Neri blossomed during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵³ The creation starting in the 1560s of Marian Congregations in Jesuit schools modelled upon Neri's Oratory is a significant example of exchanges between the two religious organisations. Also, Giovenale Ancina, later a member of the Congregation of the Oratory, noted in 1576 that a Jesuit was included among the four or five eminent men chosen to deliver a sermon at an Oratorian service.⁵⁵⁴ Not only did Jesuit fathers deliver sermons during the Congregation's spiritual exercises, but also students from the Collegio Germanico and the Seminario Romano attended the oratory services. Neri took notice of their interest and participation in the afternoon ferial day exercises, writing: 'And those from the Collegio Germanico come there [to the oratory] to listen, much to their edification.'⁵⁵⁵

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, who held the position of *maestro* at the Seminario Romano during the period 1566–1571, not only went to Neri for confession, but also is believed to have composed and/or led the devotional music during Lent and Holy Week for Neri's Confraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in 1576, 1578, and 1592; scholar Noel O'Regan notes that Palestrina may have also written a complete *Tenebrae* setting for this confraternity.⁵⁵⁶ Tomás Luis de Victoria, educated at Jesuit institutions San Gil in Ávila and the German College in Rome,

⁵⁵³ Türks, 83. The church of the Jesuits in Rome, the Gesù, inspired the architect of the Oratorian's Chiesa Nuova with its single large nave.

⁵⁵⁴ Letter of Giovenale Ancina to Matteo Ancina, 28 May 1576, translated and cited in Smither, I:50–51.

⁵⁵⁵ Translated and cited in Smither, I:53. Pastor, 19: 585–86.

⁵⁵⁶ Noel O'Regan, 'Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place,' *Early Music* 22:4, Palestrina Quatercentenary (Nov, 1994): 553, 560. See Table 2 in O'Regan's study for a summary of Palestrina's employment by the SS. Crocifisso and SS. Trinità over the period 1552–1592. These devotions chiefly employed the same programme as the Oratorian's spiritual exercises on Sundays and feast day mornings: a sermon, self-flagellation, and the recitation of penitential psalms. The devotions concluded with the Marian antiphon *Ave Regina*. Although the *Tenebrae* service was often added to the exercises on Good Friday, the majority of the musical pieces sung at the devotions were psalm motets and litanies.

undertook *moderator musicae* duties on a part-time basis for the German in 1571, expanding to full-time just prior to his priestly ordination in the English College in August 1575.⁵⁵⁷ Victoria served as a chaplain from c. 1581/1583 to 1585 at the church S. Gerolamo in Rome, therefore living in the same house as Neri, but did not join the Congregation of the Oratory although a letter from Victoria reveals that Neri ‘had promised him a place’ just as Victoria was leaving for a position in Madrid.⁵⁵⁸ The composer Giovanni Francesco Anerio, who was ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1616, began participating in the service music of the Congregation of the Oratory as early as 1583.⁵⁵⁹

The purpose of the music performed within the services of the Oratorians and the theatrical productions of the Jesuit schools was identical: a means of attracting an audience for spiritual instruction. On the subject of the music in the services, Neri commented, ‘...the people are allured by devotional music...’⁵⁶³ This shared purpose likewise supported similar developments in the musical works performed in the services of the Oratorians and the choruses in Jesuit theatre during the period c.1560–c.1595. Although starting from disparate points of origin, namely, the motet for the Jesuit theatre chorus and the *laude* for the Oratorians, the more sophisticated musical works performed in both venues by c.1595 incorporated elements of drama through

⁵⁵⁷ Noel O’Regan, ‘Tomás Luis de Victoria’s Roman churches revisited,’ *Early Music* 28 (2000), 404. P. Girolamo Nappi, *Annali del Seminario Romano*, 1640, MS 2800, p. 136, Universita Gregoriana Archives, Rome. Nappi records c.1640 that Tomás Luis de Victoria held the position as *maestro* at the Jesuit college church S. Apollinare beginning in 1573 and that Victoria was engaged beginning in 1571 to instruct the students of the Collegio Germanico in plainsong, a position entitled *moderator musicae*. Victoria left the Collegio Germanico in 1577.

⁵⁵⁸ Daniele Filippi, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Palermo: L’Epos, 2008), 37. James Haar, ed., *European Music 1520–1640* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006), 79. Culley, 38–48. Noel O’Regan, ‘Tomás Luis de Victoria’s Roman churches revisited,’ *Early Music* 28 (2000), 412. Robert Stevenson, ‘Tomás Luis de Victoria: Unique Spanish Genius,’ *Inter-American Music Review* 12 (1991): 1–100 (which updates Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961)). See O’Regan’s findings and the summary chronology of Victoria’s Roman years in O’Regan’s table 8 that shows that Victoria did not join the Congregation of the Oratory, as previous scholars have written. O’Regan, 413–414.

⁵⁵⁹ Smither, I:118–119. Anne Kirwan-Mott, *The Small-Scale Sacred Concerto in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), I:356. G. F. Anerio left Rome for the post of *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral in Verona 1609–1611 but returned to Rome in 1611 as the *moderator musicae* at the Seminario Romano, a position he held until c. 1621. G. F. Anerio also composed the 1619 *Teatro armonico spirituale* used by the Congregation the Oratory. Giovanni Francesco’s brother, Felice Anerio (c.1560–1614), was appointed *maestro di cappella* at the Jesuit English College in Rome in 1585.

⁵⁶³ Pastor, 19:585. ‘...s’alletta il popolo con musiche devote...’

the use of dialogues among multiple allegorical, symbolic or biblical characters, performed in either Latin or the vernacular.

Chapter 8

Growth of the Dramatic Dialogue in the Jesuit Theatre Prologue and Chorus and the
 Congregation of the Oratory Service Music After the Death of Neri,
 c.1596–c.1619

Society of Jesus, c.1596–c.1619

The sixteenth century ended in turmoil as political and religious conflicts broke out in Europe beginning in the late 1590s. Ultimately, these skirmishes developed into a period of intensification known as the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁶⁴ The Jesuits had been expelled from France in 1595 following accusations of arranging the assassination of Henry III of France on 2 August, 1589.⁵⁶⁵ The coronation of Henry IV of France (1553–1610) took place in 1598. In spite of resistance from the French Parliament, Henry IV re-instated the Society of Jesus in France in 1603, reportedly declaring to Parliament:

You say they pick out the best for their Society. I commend them for it. The King of Spain employs Jesuits, and I am resolved to do likewise. Why should France fare worse than Spain?⁵⁶⁶

In spite of the public support of Henry IV, the Jesuits in France continued to be viewed by the French as Spanish foreigners while the government of Germany came to view the Jesuits as French foreigners.⁵⁶⁷ In 1606, Jesuits were expelled from

⁵⁶⁴ For a re-evaluation of the label and the development of the conflict, see N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review* 107: 424 (July, 1992): 587–625.

⁵⁶⁵ For a detailed history of this period of Jesuit history, see Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)*, Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700 (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005), 33–62.

⁵⁶⁶ Translated by and cited in David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 178. For an example of court cases regarding the Jesuit recruitment process, see Barbara B. Diefendorf, 'Give Us Back Our Children: Patriarchal Authority and Parental Consent to Religious Vocations in Early Counter-Reformation France,' *The Journal of Modern History* 68:2 (June, 1996): 275.

⁵⁶⁷ N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review* 107:424 (July 1992): 589–590. The anti-Hapsburg conflict began around 1598, eventually involving France by 1629. A recent study of the Jesuit involvement in these conflicts is Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

the Venetian state.⁵⁶⁸ When Henry IV of France was assassinated by the Catholic François Ravallac on 14 May, 1610, the Jesuits were accused not only of foreknowledge but also of collusion with Spain in his murder.⁵⁶⁹ This charge the Society of Jesus successfully refuted, but anti-Jesuit rumours continued to circulate, resulting in an increase of anti-Jesuit plays such as *Loiola* [Loyola] (Cambridge, 28 February, 12 March, 1623) by John Hacket, Bishop of Coventry and Cambridge (fig. 8.1).⁵⁷⁰

The war of the Jülich-Cleves succession took place the year before the death of Henry IV. The Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II of Hapsburg attempted to annex the lands of the late Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves-Berg. The two claimants, the Catholic Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Palatinate-Neuberg (1578–1653) and the Calvinist Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg (1572–1618), in concert with Henry IV and the Dutch Republic, objected to this proposed extension of Hapsburg lands. This conflict, considered a major precursor to the Thirty Years' War, ceased hostilities on 12 November, 1614 through the Treaty of Xanten, which divided the territory between the Duke and the Elector.⁵⁷¹ All Jesuit college activity was then restricted to the Duke's portion, the duchy of Jülich in the lower Rhineland surrounding the river Rur.

⁵⁶⁸ Olwen Hufton, 'The Widow's Mite and Other Strategies: Funding the Catholic Reformation "The Prothero Lecture,"' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6:8 (1998): 133. John Patrick Donnelly, *The Jesuit College at Padua: Growth, Suppression, Attempts at Restoration, 1552-1606*, (Rome: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1982), 45. The 1595 French expulsion also included the Theatines and the Capuchins. Money lay at the root of the Jesuit's 1606 ban from Venice. The Venetian government believed that the Jesuits were systematically targeting rich elderly Venetian ladies, installing themselves as confessors to the same, and, upon the death of the ladies, receiving legacies that had been willed to Venice before the interference of the Jesuits. These legacies the Jesuits then sent out of Venice to Rome, thus enriching Rome at Venice's expense.

⁵⁶⁹ Michael J. Hayden, 'Continuity in the France of Henry IV and Louis XIII: French Foreign Policy, 1598–1615,' *Journal of Modern History* 45:1 (March, 1973): 1–23. Pastor, 26, 12–17. François Ravallac stabbed the king while Henry IV was riding in his coach through the streets of Paris. The king's widow, Marie de Médicis, was named Regent to the heir, Louis XIII, until 1617.

⁵⁷⁰ John Hacket, *Loiola* (Cambridge, 28 February, 12 March, 1623), IE–Dml Bishop Stearne Collection, H170. The 12 March performance was a command repeat performance for James I. Amongst the characters in *Loiola* are two choruses, one of which is made up of 6 prominent Jesuits, including the English Jesuits Robert Parsons and Edward Campion. The second chorus is comprised of Jesuit 'virtues', or *virtutem Jesuiticarum*, including *Caeca obediencia*, *Pseudo-miraculum*, *Regicidium*, *Index expurgatotius*, *Aequivocatio*, and *Arrogantia*, or Blind obedience, False-miracle, Regicide (a direct reference to the deaths of Henry III and IV), Sign of purgatory, Shiftiness and Arrogance. My translation.

⁵⁷¹ N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review* 107: 424 (July, 1992): 602. Michael J. Hayden, 'Continuity in the France of Henry IV and Louis XIII: French Foreign Policy, 1598–1615,' *Journal of Modern History* 45:1 (March, 1973): 1–23.

Meanwhile, Albert V, Duke of Bavaria and his son, William V, also Duke of Bavaria, had both entrusted the Catholic reform of their respective kingdoms to the Jesuits in the last half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷² The bishoprics of Albert V's other son Ernest, who had likewise been educated by the Jesuits and supported their work, included Freising, Hildesheim, Liège, Münster and Prince-electoral archbishop of the Archbishopric of Cologne; at least one Jesuit school was established in all of these towns during the period c.1596–c.1619.⁵⁷³ As well as the rulers of Bavaria, the Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperors of the period 1596–1619 were also educated by the Jesuits. Albert V's grandson, the future Ferdinand II of Hapsburg (1578–1637), and his Hapsburg cousin, the future Duke/Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian I (1573–1651), received their education from the Jesuit college in Ingolstadt; thus the link of Bavaria and the Hapsburgs to the Society of Jesus remained close from the sixteenth century into the seventeenth.⁵⁷⁴

The new wave of competition with the Jesuits in the field of education that emerged during the period 1595–1619 originated not in conflicted Europe but among the Italian states. Jesuit colleges began to encounter serious competition from other Catholic religious communities with scholastic vocations, such as the Barnabites, Piarists and Somascans.⁵⁷⁵ The *Dottrina cristiana* schools were competitive with

⁵⁷² Franz Körndle, 'Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music,' trans. Marian Lampe, in *The Jesuits II: culture, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006): 479–481, 484–486. Orlando di Lasso was *maestro di cappella* to Albert V in Munich from 1556 until his death in 1594 during which time he is believed to have composed choruses in the form of motets for at least six Jesuit school theatrical productions.

⁵⁷³ David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 100–101. Approximately 20 Jesuit colleges were operating in Hapsburg German provinces by the 1580s; by 1620, the only Catholic higher-education institution in the Hapsburg Empire not founded or directed by the Jesuits was the Benedictine University in Salzburg.

⁵⁷⁴ N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review* 107: 424 (July, 1992): 606–611, 613, 615. Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33–62. However, the Jesuit training of Ferdinand of Styria, later Ferdinand II, was a negative factor when Ferdinand was proposed as successor to Matthias for the Hapsburg throne in 1612. The Protestants and anti-Hapsburgs felt that his training with the Jesuits and later recognition from Philip II would place the power of the Empire in the hands of Spain. The Calvinist and Protestant Bohemian Revolt of 1618, at the heart of which lay the purpose of forcing Ferdinand to instead lead a confederation of Protestant states, failed after Spain raised the siege of Vienna in November 1619. Sutherland believes Ferdinand's election to the Empire to be the pivotal event in the origins of the Thirty Years' War. See Bireley's evaluation of the Jesuit influence.

⁵⁷⁵ Maurizio Sangalli, 'Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI–XVII Centuries),' *Catholic Historical Review* 93:4 (October, 2007): 837. Thomas Dandele, 'Spanish Conquest and Colonization at the Center of the Old World: The Spanish Nation in Rome, 1555–1625,' *The Journal of Modern History* 69:3 (September, 1997): 481–482. Dandele reasons that previous to c.1600, the majority of the Italian states had been either submissive to Spanish policy or too weak to oppose it, and therefore a new competitor to the Jesuits had not arisen during the sixteenth century. The Barnabites' interaction with the Jesuits occurred chiefly during in the mid-seventeenth century. In

Jesuit Marian congregations only after the 1584 decree permitting entrance to non-students; the common practice was for the students at Jesuit-directed institutions to join the Marian Congregations of their college or seminary and not the local *Dottrina cristiana* schools or youth confraternities. According to Østrem and Petersen, between the activities offered through the *Dottrina cristiana* schools, the Jesuits and the Oratorians, membership in the Florentine youth confraternities declined during the early seventeenth century.⁵⁷⁶

Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) succeeded Innocent IX in 1592; the influence of Philip II of Spain was no longer enough to overcome the Italian cardinals and therefore the selection of Clement VIII was a declaration of papal independence from Spain.⁵⁷⁷ Clement VIII was very suspicious of the Jesuits and their activities, but stopped short of official condemnation.⁵⁷⁸ Instead, he went about undermining the Jesuit educational network by giving his support to the efforts of two other minor Italian teaching orders, the Somascans and the Barnabites.⁵⁷⁹ For example, Clement VIII endowed the Collegio Clementino in Rome for the Somascans in 1595; the

addition to the Barnabites and Somascans, the Italian Jesuits also faced competition beginning around the turn of the century from the Piarists, who later assumed direction of many of the Jesuit schools after the suppression of the Jesuits, and the Theatines. For a recent study of the Theatines, see Maurizio Sangalli, ‘Dell’educazione, tra teoria e prassi. Paolo Sarpi e i teatini a Bergamo (1615),’ ed., Corrado Pin, in *Ripensando Paolo Sarpi, atti del convegno internazionale di studi nel 450° anniversario della nascita di Paolo Sarpi* (Venice: Ateneo veneto, 2006): 439–460.

⁵⁷⁶ Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 138–139. Østrem and Petersen note that one of the Florentine youth confraternities, *Il Ceppo*, changed to become a *Dottrina cristiana* school due to falling membership.

⁵⁷⁷ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio Volume I: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), I:30–31. Hereafter, referred to as Smither. The state of Florence successfully sought a political alliance with France to break Spain’s influence in the papal conclave.

⁵⁷⁸ Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* [The *History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages*], trans. Ralph Francis Kerr, C.O. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trüner & Co., 1933), 281–336. Hereafter, referred to as Pastor. The Jesuits and the Dominicans had been embroiled in a public theological quarrel concerning grace and free will since 1581, with the Dominicans accusing the Jesuits of Lutheranism and heresy. In 1597, Pope Clement VIII created the *Congregatio de Auxiliis* to examine the matter; argument continued for sixty-eight sessions over the period 1602–1605.

⁵⁷⁹ Maurizio Sangalli, ‘Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI – XVII Centuries),’ *Catholic Historical Review* 93:4 (October, 2007): 837. The Barnabites, or the Clerics Regular of St Paul, were founded in Milan in 1530, receiving formal papal recognition from Clement VII in 1533. This congregation was centered in Rome and Milan until the seventeenth century, when congregations in France and Savoy were founded in 1610 and also established in Austria and Bohemia in 1627. However, it was not until 1605 that the Barnabites included teaching in their vocation; their first institutions were the Arcimboldi schools in Milan and the Collegio S. Giovanni Evangelista/S. Giovanni alle Vigne in Lodi, both of which were founded in 1605.

Collegio Clementino became a rival of the Roman Jesuit colleges in the realm of dramatic theatre.⁵⁸⁰

Clement VIII's role in acquiring France as an ally had a direct effect upon the election of his successor, Leo XI. Alessandro Ottaviano de' Medici was opposed in the papal selection session by a candidate backed by Philip III of Spain and the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. However, the French cardinals aligned themselves with the Italian cardinals against the Spanish, and Alessandro Ottaviano de' Medici, now Pope Leo XI, was selected. The alliance of the French and Italian cardinals also ensured the election of Pope Paul V (1552–1621) in 1605.⁵⁸¹

Even without the addition of the Somascans' schools in the late 1590s and the Barnabite institutions in the 1600s, Jesuit colleges encountered many difficulties, both economic and political, during the period c.1596–c.1619.⁵⁸² As the Jesuits founded college after the college, the pre-existing Benedictine, Augustinian and other schools in those cities, the majority of which charged fees, felt threatened by institutions offering a free education of high quality.⁵⁸³ Not only did the Jesuits face competition on the stage from other Catholic communities and orders but also from Protestant schools, such as in Strasbourg.⁵⁸⁴ In spite of these issues, the growth and expansion

⁵⁸⁰ Maurizio Sangalli, 'Colleges, Schools, Teachers: Between Church and State in Northern Italy (XVI – XVII Centuries),' *Catholic Historical Review* 93:4 (October, 2007): 837. Lorenzetti, Stefano, "Con ottima musica e sommo applauso:" per una storia degli oratori dell'Assunta al Collegio Clementino,' in *Percorsi dell'oratorio romano: da "historia sacra" a melodramma spirituale: atti della giornata di studi*, ed. Saverio Franchi (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002): 99–110. The first recorded dramatic production at the College Clementino occurred in 1601. Pope Clement VIII also founded the Collegio Scozzese, or Pontifical Scots College, in Rome in 1600 to serve as the seminary for Scottish priests; no dramatic activity is associated with the Collegio Scozzese.

⁵⁸¹ Pastor, 25:1–18. Paul V brought about a resolution with Venice, whom Clement VIII had excommunicated in 1600 after the Republic of Venice revoked the Church's right to own property in Venice. The Jesuits' expulsion from Venice for the reasons provided above were thus only part of the conflict, for it was not only property owned by Jesuits to which the Republic objected, but also any property located within the boundaries of the Republic owned by the Pope or any Catholic order that supported the Pope. Thus not only the Jesuits, but also the Theatines and the Capuchins were expelled in 1606. When Paul V lifted the strictures on Venice in 1607, only the Oratorians, Theatines and Capuchins were permitted to return to Venice.

⁵⁸² Christopher Carlsmith, 'Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540 – 1600,' *History of Education Quarterly* 42:2 (Summer, 2002): 216. Regarding the funding of the Jesuit colleges during the period c.1596–c.1619, see: Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Giorgio Politi, Mario Rosa, and Franco della Peruta, eds., *Timore e carità: I poveri nell'Italia moderna* (Cremona: Libreria del Convegno editrice, 1982); and John Patrick Donnelly, *The Jesuit College at Padua: Growth, Suppression, Attempts at Restoration, 1552-1606*, (Rome: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1982).

⁵⁸³ David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 59.

⁵⁸⁴ David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 101. Martin Banham, *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1154. The Protestant schools included polemic speeches in their dramas, which developed during the seventeenth century into entire plays. This resulted in the creation of a genre of anti-Jesuit literature such as John

rate of the Jesuit educational network remained steady at approximately six new institutions founded per year; by c.1600, 20 colleges were operating in the Hapsburg German provinces.⁵⁸⁵ From the first college for lay students, the Collegio Mamertino in Messina, founded in 1547, the number of Jesuit schools in the Italian states expanded to 56 colleges by 1600, while there were 77 colleges in Spain, Portugal and their respective New World colonies.⁵⁸⁶ The Roman colleges continued to thrive; by 1600, over 1,000 priests had graduated from the Collegio Germanico.⁵⁸⁷

With the substantial growth in the number of Jesuit schools came also a corresponding increase in dramatic activity, including the colonial and mission schools.⁵⁸⁸ For example, the first dramatic performance by the students of the Jesuit college in Manila in the Philippines took place in 1610.⁵⁸⁹ The Jesuit theatre escaped the ongoing censures of the secular theatre by the regional church and state leaders through the rationalisation that these theatrical productions were not public entertainments but rather exercises intended to develop skills of speech and bearing and means of impressing Roman Catholic morality and spirituality upon the students.⁵⁹⁰ To this end, the custom of printing booklets for distribution to the audience containing plot synopses and explanations of the portrayed moral and/or

Hackett's *Loiola* and a work by an anonymous author, *Regni Antichristus Auspicium* (SS. Trinitas College, Leuven, 1685), whose main character is *Antichristus Jesuiticus*, or Anti-Christ, a Jesuit. Some Protestant school printed theatrical programmes ridiculed the phrase placed at the conclusion of every Jesuit school theatrical programme, 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam' (fig. 8.2). Against the instructions of the Society's General Aquaviva, Jesuits responded to the Protestant literature by composing treatises against Martin Luther and other Protestant sects. Nonetheless, unlike the Protestant school theatre, overtly polemic material is rarely found within contemporary Jesuit theatre dramatic texts.

⁵⁸⁵ David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 100–101. Pastor, 26:43–46, 50–52, 243–246, 331.

⁵⁸⁶ Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths, and Histories* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004), 50. Peter Costello, *Clongowes Wood: A History of Clongowes Wood College 1814–1989* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd, 1989), 152.

⁵⁸⁷ Francesco C. Cesareo, 'The Collegium Germanicum and the Ignatian Vision of Education,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24:4 (Winter 1993): 829–841.

⁵⁸⁸ Othmar Wessely and Harald Goertz, 'Linz,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (accessed August 26, 2010). As a typical example, 343 productions were staged at the Jesuit college in Linz between 1608 and 1764. The composers for the music in these productions included F. T. Richter, Andreas Rochner, Johann Bernhard Staudt, J.M. Kämpfl and Georg Butz.

⁵⁸⁹ Martin Banham, *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1154.

⁵⁹⁰ Julia Prest, *Theatre under Louis XIV Cross-Casting and the Performance of Gender in Drama, Ballet, and Opera* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 54–55. Ursula K. Heise in 'Transvestism and the Stage Controversy in Spain and England, 1580-1680,' *Theatre Journal*, 44:3 (October, 1992): 360. The Jesuits also influenced secular theatre. For example, in Castile, the *Ratio Studiorum* guidelines for theatre were applied to secular theatre, as shown by a proclamation issued in 1600, the year after the official release of the Ratio. The 1600 ordinance forbade boy actors to appear in make-up. A second law was passed in 1641 forbidding boys to play female roles.

doctrinal issues became general among Jesuit schools.⁵⁹¹ In many European and colonial towns the Jesuit college theatre became a major venue for spoken and musical theatre. The 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* acknowledged this fact by ensuring that the most gifted student performers continued to perform only in Jesuit-sanctioned productions, stating that ‘...they [the students] should not play any role in the stage productions of non-Jesuits unless permission has first been given by their teachers or by the school’s prefect.’⁵⁹²

The prologues and choruses in Jesuit school theatrical productions performed during the period c.1596–c.1619 continued to develop the dramatic elements first observed at the end of the sixteenth century. Solo passages as well as dialogue exchanges became customary in Jesuit drama prologues and choruses; for example, the *Angel* and the *Devil* in *Michaelis Archangeli* (1597) perform separate solo strophic songs accompanied by instruments.⁵⁹³ In comparison to late sixteenth century prologues and choruses, the most highly developed early seventeenth-century prologues and choruses involved larger numbers of characters, as many as 8 major roles compared to dialogues among two or three characters before c.1600, and also exhibited a greater degree of dramatic development. For the first time in Jesuit theatre, the prologues and choruses were entities capable of dramatic action in their own right rather than limited to commenting upon the action in the main title drama or providing a moral summary, although these earlier types of chorus also continued to

⁵⁹¹ Bruna Filippi, ‘Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,’ in: *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, John W. O’Malley, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 516. The Collegio and Seminario Romano began printing theatrical programmes in 1616. For a catalogue and analysis of theatrical productions for Carnival and other festivals performed by the Collegio and Seminario Romano over the period 1616–1698, see Bruna Filippi, *Il teatro degli argomenti. Gli scenari seicenteschi del teatro gesuitico romano, Catalogo analitico*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. no. 54 (Rome: Institutum historicum S. I., 2001).

⁵⁹² Claude Paur, S.J., trans. and ed., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), 201. ‘Regulae Externorum Auditorum Societatis, no. 13: Spectacula et scenae interdicantur. Neque ad publica spectacula, comaedias, ludos, neque ad supplicia reorum, nisi fortei haeticorum, eant; neque personam ullam ini externorum scenis agant, nisi data prius a magistris vel a praefecto gymnasii potestas.’ ‘Rules for Lay Students, no. 13: Shows and plays forbidden. They should not go to public shows, comedies, or plays, or to the punishments of criminals, except perhaps heretics. And they should not play any role in the stage productions of non-Jesuits, unless permission has first been given by their teachers or by the school’s prefect.’

⁵⁹³ *Triumphus Divis Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici* (Munich, July, 1597), Szarota 3:1, 393–438; CSTD ID 12. Noel O’Regan, ‘The Performance of Palestrina: Some Further Observations,’ *Early Music* 24:1 Music in Purcell’s London II (February, 1996), 150. Wittwer, 80. Instrumental accompaniment for solo motets began to be used at the S. Apollinare around the midpoint of the sixteenth century; it is not known precisely when instruments began to be used to accompany Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses. See also T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. ‘Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years.’ *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988): 71–99, regarding the faction of Jesuits opposed to the use of music in Jesuit church services.

be used during this period.⁵⁹⁴ Also, whereas the ensemble chorus motets of the c.1550s and the allegorical and symbolic dialogues of the c.1580s were not integral parts of the main title drama, the characters and their actions within early seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatre prologues and choruses served to further the plot of the main title drama and thus were inseparable from it.

While the function of the majority of inseparable, or dependent, prologue and chorus dialogues in early seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions continued to be a means of introducing the subject of the main title drama and commenting upon the action through allegorical or symbolic characters, three new types of dependent choruses developed around the turn of the century. All three chorus types are found in Jesuit theatrical productions throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until the 1773 suppression. Frequently, the choruses of a single theatrical production will contain a mixture of two or all three types. The printed programmes from *Maurice* (Liège, September, 1631), *Ursinus* (Arras, January, 1637) and *Gallican* (Brussels, 26 September, 1639) provide examples not only of each of the three types of choruses typical in productions after c.1600, but also the creation of additional spectacle through presenting two or more types of chorus (appendix 6, nos. 223, 228 and 218).⁵⁹⁵

The first type of early seventeenth-century dependent Jesuit theatre chorus is also the most common, and is essentially a late sixteenth-century allegorical or symbolic sung dialogue with more dramatic development. In the early seventeenth-century, these dependent choruses are re-enactments by allegorical or symbolic characters of key moments from the immediately previous act of the main title drama. An example of this type of dependent chorus is the first chorus in *Gallican* (Brussels, 26 September, 1639), the tale of the Christian conversion and martyrdom of Gallican, one of Emperor Constantine's generals. In this chorus, the declaration of war in Act I between the Emperor Constantine and Taiphah, king of the Scythes, is illustrated in

⁵⁹⁴ Valentin, I:71. Duhr, II:695. Maurice Gauchez, *Le règne de la basse continue*, Collection Nationale, L'Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse, 9me Serie No. 97–100 (Brussels: Office de Publicité J. Lebègue & Cie. Editeurs, 1949), III:24. For example, Jesuit theatre authors continued to suggest particular pieces or chants for the chorus, such as the chorus in Act IV of Jakob Bidermann's *Cenodoxus* (1609) performed at the college in Munich. Bidermann indicated that the concluding chorus was to be an intonation of the *Veni sancte spiritus*. In Belgium in the early seventeenth century, the use of dialogue in Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses rarely appears; most of the music was still in the form of polyphonic motets.

⁵⁹⁵ *Maurice Tragedie* (Liège, September, 1631), BE–Lul MS 2445A; CSTD ID 75. *Ursinus Drama Pastoritium* (Arras, January, 1637), BE–Bbr II.91.153. no.13; CSTD ID 89. *Gallican Comico-Tragedie* (Brussels, 26 September, 1639), BE–Bbr II.91.153, no.12; CSTD ID 65.

action by the capture and imprisonment of the figure of Peace by the god of war, Mars, and his retinue.⁵⁹⁶ Similarly, the choruses in acts I, II, and III in *Ursinus* (Arras, January, 1637) are celebrations of various sacred exploits of St. Ursinus, a fourth-century French bishop.⁵⁹⁷ However, the chorus to Act III in *Maurice* (Liège, September, 1631), a response to the final scene of Act III, in which the spirits of slain soldiers send up a cry to God for vengeance, who responds with a revelation of the future punishment of Maurice, might be classified with equal justification as either the first or second type of dependent chorus.⁵⁹⁸

The second type of dependent chorus in early seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions is comprised of choruses that foreshadow events in later acts of the main title drama, such as the Act III chorus of *Maurice* mentioned above. Similar to the first type of chorus, or illustrative chorus, the foreshadowing chorus is a sung dialogue among multiple characters engaged in stage action. Unlike illustrative choruses, however, the characters in foreshadowing choruses are typically a mixture of ‘real’ and allegorical characters. Another example of a foreshadowing chorus is the chorus concluding Act II in *Gallican*, as it concerns Gallican’s trial, which takes place over Acts IV and V. The Act IV chorus of *Gallican*, which both fulfils the prophecies of the Act II chorus and foreshadows the events in Act V, employs a dramatic device common in foreshadowing choruses but rare in illustrative choruses. This dramatic device is the use of a manifestation of the *genius*, or soul/spirit, of one or more of the main title drama characters. For example, in the fourth chorus in *Gallican* the *genius* of *Julian*, or Flavius Claudius Julianus, the last non-Christian Roman Emperor, calls

⁵⁹⁶ *Gallican Tragedie* (Brussels, 26 September, 1639), BE–Bbr II.91.153, no. 12, p. 8; CSTD ID 65. «Bellone trouble tout, & lance fur la terre plufieurs Peites & Boutefeux, qu’elle fait fortir de la tefte de Mars & y enferre la Paix prifonniere.» ‘War disturbs all, and unleashes on the earth several Plagues and Disasters, according to the will of Mars, and encloses Peace a prisoner there.’ My translation.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ursinus Drama Pastoritium* (Arras, January, 1637), BE–Bbr II.91.153, no. 13; CSTD ID 89. The character of St. Ursinus represents in metaphor the recently deceased abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Vaast/St. Vedast, in Arras, Pas-de-Calais, France.

⁵⁹⁸ *Maurice Tragedie* (Liège, September, 1631), BE–Lul MS 2445A; CSTD ID 75. «Ces ombres toute balaffrées & fanglantes fortent des tobeaux, & demandent vengeance. A ces cris le Ciel s’ouure, & Dieu preffé par les voix de ces panures occis decerne de punit Maurice, luy laiffant neantmoins le choix de fou fupplice. Maurice à demy fommeillant choifit d’efre puny en ce monde: furquoy Dieu arreft de le faire paffer avec toute fa race par le glaive de Phocas fon fucceffeur futur à l’Empire.» ‘The blood-stained shades leave their graves and ask for vengeance. With these cries, Heaven opens, and God, hearing the voices of these humble supplicants, decrees that Maurice be punished, leaving him [Maurice] nothing except the choice of insane torment. Maurice chooses to be punished in this world: therefore, God causes it to pass that all his race shall end by the sword of Phocas, future successor to the Empire.’ My translation.

upon *Idolatrie*, *Impiety* and *Worldly Vanity* together with ‘other infernal monsters’ to persecute the newly converted Gallican.⁵⁹⁹

The third and least common type of dependent chorus in early seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions is in function and performance an exhibition for visual effect and not a sung work, in spite of its chorus label within the production. Therefore, these spectacle choruses lie outside the developmental continuum of the dramatic dialogue in Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses. Spectacle choruses, whose function is an extravagant display of skill rather than commenting upon the action in the main title drama, typically feature military, athletic or equestrian displays or pageants. The emphasis on the visual aspect makes the spectacle chorus similar in function to the inserted ballet or pageant found in later seventeenth-century Jesuit college theatrical productions.

If a seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatre production contained a spectacle chorus, it typically had only one, such as the Act IV chorus in *Ursinus* (Arras, January, 1637), a symbolic pageant of St. Ursinus’ funeral. However, the production of *Maurice* (Liège, September, 1631) contains no less than three examples of spectacle choruses in the choruses to acts I, III, and IV. The chorus to Act I is a show of military and/or fencing manoeuvres,⁶⁰⁰ while the soldiers in the Act III chorus ‘celebrate’ the funerals of their fallen comrades in a military pageant.⁶⁰¹ Finally, the concluding chorus of Act IV in *Maurice* is a display of military plays and pastimes in honour of the new Emperor, Phocas.⁶⁰²

Unlike Jesuit theatre, the music performed within Jesuit college Marian congregations was not regulated by the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1586 or its subsequent revisions. The musical works performed during the exercises and services of Jesuit

⁵⁹⁹ *Gallican Tragedie* (Brussels, 26 September, 1639), BE–Bbr II.91.153, no.12, p. 8; CSTD ID 65. «Le mauvais *Genie* de Iulian appelle *l’Idolatrie*, *l’Impiete*, la *vanite mondaine* & autres monstres infernaux oppreffe par Gallican, & leur promet que bientoft onen prendra vengeance.» ‘The evil spirit of *Julian* calls *Idolatrie*, *Impiety*, *Worldly Vanity* and other infernal monsters to oppress Gallican, and promises them that he will soon take revenge.’ My translation. See also the appearance of the spirits of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in *Titus, or the Palme of Courage* (Kilkenny, 1644), GB–Ccu Hib.7.644.33; CSTD ID 2327 (appendix 6, no. 285).

⁶⁰⁰ *Maurice Tragedie* (Liège, September, 1631), BE–Lul MS 2445A; CSTD ID 75. «Quelques Soldats armez repreffentent l’image du combat paffe, par diuerfité d’approches, retours, & autres actes de guerre.» ‘Several armed soldiers represent the image of combat passes by means of a diversity of approaches, returns, and other acts of war.’ My translation.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.* «Les Soldats reffez celebrent à la façon militaire les exeques & funerailles de leurs compagnons occis.» ‘The remaining soldiers celebrate according to military traditions the deaths and funerals of their comrades.’ My translation.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.* «Quelques ieux et paffetemps militaires à l’honneur de Phocas nouuel Empereur.» ‘Several military plays and pastimes for the honour of Phocas, the new Emperor.’ My translation.

Marian congregations, therefore, continued to be performed in both the vernacular and Latin. The dramatic representations by youth confraternities were used only the vernacular. The dramatic elements of the sung dialogues performed by Jesuit Marian congregations continued to develop at a similar pace and in similar fashion to the Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses. Youth confraternity productions included representations that inserted sung *laude* in a spoken *sacre rappresentazione*, similar to the Jesuit school theatrical productions of the 1570s and 1580s. The most sophisticated representations performed by youth confraternities after c.1600 were those in which the dialogue text of *laude* were staged and sung, similar to contemporary Jesuit Marian congregation productions and Jesuit theatre choruses.⁶⁰³ The addition of action or miming to dialogues performed by Jesuit Marian congregations occurred at least by c.1620. Except for language, there is no discernible difference in the musical style and performance characteristics of the Jesuit theatre chorus dialogue and the Marian Congregation service dialogue.

Congregation of the Oratory, c.1596–c.1619

The first three Popes after Neri's death in 1595 supported the work of the Congregation of the Oratory, taking an active hand in the growth of the Congregation in locations outside Italy, especially in France. All three Popes knew and admired Neri; for example, Neri was Clement VIII's confessor for thirty years.⁶⁰⁴ Likewise, his successor Leo XI (1535–1605) was a personal friend of Neri's, although the extreme brevity of his papacy (1 April 1605–27 April 1605) prevented him from tangibly expressing his support of Neri's Congregation. Leo XI's successor, Paul V (1605–1621), beatified Neri as well as Loyola and another Jesuit known for his missionary work, Francis Xavier.

Twelve new Oratorian Congregations closely connected to, but not directed by, the Roman Oratory were established between c.1596 and c.1620, raising the total

⁶⁰³ Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 21. Hereafter, referred to as Østrem and Petersen. John Walter Hill 'Oratory Music in Florence III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785,' *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986), 135.

⁶⁰⁴ Pastor, 23: 36; Paul Türks, C.O., *Philip Neri: The Fire of Joy*, trans. David Utrecht (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 58, 132–133. Hereafter, referred to as Türks. Loughlin, James, 'Pope Clement VIII,' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04027a.htm> (accessed 18 August, 2010).

number of Congregation oratories to 18 (table 8.1). The growth of the Congregation in France was due to the reconciliation Clement VIII brokered between Henry IV of France and the Roman Catholic Church after thirty years of religious strife. Following Henry IV's public proclamation that the church of France was subject to the Papacy, Clement VIII absolved Henry IV in 1595 and, in so doing, gained France as an ally for Rome and further weakened the influence of Spain in Papal affairs. As a testament to the growing strength of the anti-Hapsburg movement, Clement VIII annexed the state of Ferrara to the Papal States against the express wishes of Philip III of Spain and the Hapsburg Empire. In 1598, Clement VIII assisted in negotiating *La paix de Vervins*, or the Peace of Vervins, between Spain and France, and similarly supported a 1601 peace agreement between Henry IV of France and Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy.⁶⁰⁵ This last event directly affected the Oratorians as Clement VIII sent a French priest studying in Rome, Francis de Sales (1567–1622), to found an Oratory based upon the Roman model in Thonon, Savoy.⁶⁰⁶ Clement VIII also permitted an Oratory to be founded in Brescia in the state of Venice and another in Fano, located in the Roman state. In addition to the Thonon, Brescia and Fano oratories founded at the turn of the century, the Congregation of the Oratory established nine other oratories during the quarter-century following Neri's death.

The next significant stage of growth for the Oratorians took place in France. Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629), educated at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, held the office of confessor to Henry IV of France until Henry IV's assassination in 1610.⁶⁰⁷ Inspired by Neri's Congregation, Bérulle founded the French Congregation of the Oratory in 1611 which used the constitutions of the Roman Oratory. Unlike Neri's Congregation of the Oratory, Bérulle instituted a hierarchical structure of internal government comparable to that of the Jesuits. Similar to the Society of Jesus, the French Congregation of the Oratory is administered by a centralised government headed by a superior-general who is elected for life. Bérulle also looked favourably upon the rapid expansion of his Congregation, as shown by the approximately 50 oratories established by the French Congregation by the late 1620s. In contrast to the autonomous 18 Roman Congregation oratories, all 50-some French Congregation

⁶⁰⁵ Pastor, 23: 230–242, 461–467, 491–492.

⁶⁰⁶ Türks, 144–145. Michael Walsh, ed., *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York: Harper-Collings Publishers, 1991), 304. Savoy is located in on the south-eastern border of modern-day France, Italy and Switzerland; Thonon is the modern-day town of Thonon-les-Bains near Lac Léman, or Lake Geneva.

⁶⁰⁷ Türks, 144–145. Michael Walsh, ed., *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York: Harper-Collings Publishers, 1991), 304. Pastor, 26: 56–60.

establishments were under the authority of Bérulle, the first Superior-General of the French Congregation of the Oratory. Bérulle's actions were viewed favourably by Paul V, who approved the Oratory of the French Congregation by papal bull on 10 May, 1613.⁶⁰⁸

Another important difference between the Roman and French Congregations of the Oratory was the addition of a scholastic vocation to Bérulle's Congregation. The French Oratorians, also known as the Bérullian Oratory or the Congregation of the Oratory of Jesus and Mary Immaculate, opened colleges and seminaries as the number of the French Congregation oratories expanded. Unlike the free Jesuit schools, which accepted pupils from all social classes, the French Oratorian schools and seminaries were fee-paying institutions intended for students from the noble classes. By c.1620, the Oratorian schools and seminaries in France began staging dramatic productions, thus placing themselves in direct competition with the pre-existing French Jesuit schools for patronage and noble-born pupils.⁶⁰⁹

In Italy during the closing years of the century, a single but significant change was made to the structure of the winter *oratorio vespertino* service. Previous to c.1595, four to five sermons were given in the course of the service, with *laude* sung between each sermon. After c.1595, the number of sermons in *oratorio vespertino* services was reduced to one, with musical works performed before and after the sermon as before.⁶¹⁰ Smither's research has shown that the *oratorio vespertino* devotion in Naples during this period followed the lead of the developments and changes in the Roman *oratorio vespertino*, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the other 16 of Neri's Congregation oratories made similar modifications to their *oratorio vespertina* services.⁶¹¹ This change in the service created a niche for the later development of bi-partite musical structures of significant length with a pause between the parts. The music performed in the oratories continued to increasingly

⁶⁰⁸ Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57:1 (Spring, 2004): 24. Pastor, 26: 57–60, 64. Augustin Ingold, 'French Congregation of the Oratory,' *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11274a.htm> (accessed 18 August, 2010).

⁶⁰⁹ Charles E. Williams, *The French Oratorians and Absolutism, 1611–1641* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

⁶¹⁰ Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945), 28.

⁶¹¹ Smither, I:56–57. There is no indication in the literature whether Bérulle's Congregation used the original *oratorio vespertino* service structure or the modified version before c.1620.

incorporate dramatic and narrative elements.⁶¹² As noted in the previous section, although works with narrative and dramatic texts may be found in the Oratorian repertoire, they are relatively few in number compared to the total body of music performed in the *oratorio vespertino* until after c.1620.⁶¹³

The chief characteristics of the most developed dialogues performed during the services of the Congregation of the Oratory c.1596–c.1619 identified by Smither, Alaleona and Schering can be summarised as follows.⁶¹⁴ Early seventeenth-century dramatic dialogues were performed by solo singers portraying allegorical or symbolic characters accompanied by continuo. A dialogue typically concluded with a section for a choral ensemble. In addition to a greater number of characters, the sense of drama is increased by a greater number of exchanges among characters and a decrease in the amount of narrative material. The texts of the dramatic dialogues were written in either the vernacular or Latin, although the printed collections of Congregational music from this period indicate a preference for the vernacular.

⁶¹² Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri "gentiluomo romano": his life and letters, his role as superintendent of all the arts at the Medici court, and his musical compositions* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2001). Murray C. Bradshaw, 'Cavalieri and Early Monody,' *The Journal of Musicology* 9:2 (Spring, 1991): 239–241. Smither, I:89, 226. Oscar Mischiati, 'Per la storia dell'Oratorio a Bologna. Tre inventari del 1620, 1622 e 1682,' *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 3 (1963): 138–139. Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945): 38, 42, 235–243. Wittwer, 119–120. Valentin, I:90. Müller, II:61. Duhr, II:1:683. Sommervogel, 8:1259. The two staged performances of *La rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* [The Representation of the Soul and the Body] by Emilio de' Cavalieri (c.1540–1602) in the oratory of the Chiesa Nuova during the season of Carnival in February, 1600 have been viewed in the past as a unique event among the musical works performed in the oratory. A proposition that *La rappresentazione* was not the first dramatic work to be physically staged in the Roman oratories is supported by the absence of complaints or remarks beyond the ordinary about the piece by contemporary members of the Oratory. The difficulty of genre distinction among staged and unstaged works from this period with dramatic texts is illustrated by the conflicting identification of *La rappresentazione* as an oratorio or an opera by previous scholars. Most recently, Warren Kirkendale considers *La rappresentazione* to be from the secular traditions leading to opera, if not actually an example of early opera, a view also supported by Smither. A situation similar to that of *La rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* surrounds a dramatic work performed at the Jesuit college in Würzburg in 1617. The Würzburg college gave two performances on 31 July and 1 September of an entirely sung work of significant duration entitled *Ignatius Loiola Societatis fundator bis miles Dei et Mundi / Sing-Comödie von der Befreiung Ignatii Loyolae* [Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society and twice a soldier: once of the World and now of God. My translation]. As the work was produced without any recorded use of costumes, action or scenery, Wittwer classifies *Ignatius Loiola* as an oratorio.

⁶¹³ Smither, I:89.

⁶¹⁴ Smither, I:91–144. Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945), 109–125. Arnold Schering, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des italienischen Oratoriums im 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, 1907), 42–50.

Comparison, the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory,
c.1596–c.1619

The Naples Congregation of the Oratory brought the Quarant’ore devotion to prominence in their city during the early seventeenth century. One of their innovations was to move the observance of the devotion to the Carnival season:

In the beginning, when the Institute was founded in Naples, the oration of the forty hours was introduced, beginning on the Sunday of Sexagesima with the following four days, in order to entertain the people during those days when the senses and the flesh are so dominated by carnevalesque dissipation and liberties. And in order to entice the people into this holy exercise, one began to make a solemn and rich altar *apparato* with many candles and other ecclesiastical ornaments, more than what one had been used to doing in Naples, and accompany the oration with various sermons and with various concerts of music with voices and instruments, and with other spiritual exercises, which in those days resulted in a spiritual play, open to all the people, without exception, which was usually not the case in the secular plays, to which not everyone had access...the introduction of such an exercise during the Carnival days in Naples started through the work of father Alessandro Borla from Piacenza, of the Congregation of the Oratory, who in obedience of the Blessed Father was staying in Naples, doing many charitable works, and who, following the ancient practice of the Congregation to celebrate Carnival in a spiritual manner, introduced the celebration of the forty hours in the Church of the Incurable, choosing the fifth day of the Sexagesima, which is commonly called Fat Thursday, because in this day the Blessed Father used to celebrate solemnly a sung mass and hold a general communion of all the devout of the Oratory. This was, then, the first beginning of the forty hours during the time of the Carnival in Naples.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ Østrem and Petersen, 160 – 162. Borrelli, *Le costituzioni dell’Oratorio Napoletano*, 358 – 360, cited by Østrem and Petersen. «Di più se introdusse nel principio, che si fundò l’Istituto in Napoli l’oratione delle quaranta hore, cominciando la Domenica in Sexagesima con li quattro giorni seguenti a fine di divertire il popolo in quelli giorni, che tanto è predominato il senso e la carne dalle dissolutioni e licenze carnevalesche. E per più allettare il Popolo a questo santo esercizio, se introdusse di fare un solenne e ricco apparato di altare con moltitudine de lumi, et altri ornamenti ecclesiastici, più di quello che era stato solito farsi in Napoli accompagnando l’oratione con diversi sermonj e con varij conserti di musica di voce e de instrumenti, e con altri exercitij spirituali donde ne risultava in quelli giorni un devoto spettacolo spirituale eposto a tutto il Popolo senza eccezione di persona, il che non suole essere nelli spettacoli secolari, alli quali non tutti hanno ingresso...l’introduzione di tale esercizio neli giorni di Carnevale in Napoli cominciò per opera del P. Alessandro Borla, Piacentino dela Conge del’Oratorio, che con l’obbedienza del B. P.re si trovava in Napoli occupandosi a fare molte opere di carità, il quale per osservare l’antico uso dela Congregazione di celebrare spiritualmente carnevale, introdusse nela Chiesa degli Incurabili l’oratione dele 40 hore, elegendo la feria quinta dela sessagesima, che volgarmente si chiama giovedì grasso, perche in questo giorno era solito il B. P. far

The other major innovation of the Oratorian, as Borelli writes, was to add items to the devotion to attract the people such as music, theatre, and ornamentation of the altars and churches to increase the visual spectacle. It is the Oratorian Father Alessandro Borla, responsible for moving the celebration of the *Quarant'hore* (Forty Hours' Devotion) to Carnival week, who writes not only of the introduction of the devotion from Naples to Rome but also especially acknowledges the role the Jesuits played in spreading the newly-modified *Quarant'hore* throughout Europe.⁶¹⁶

The connections between the musical activities of the Jesuits and those of the Oratorians noted in the previous period of 1560–1595 continued to strengthen during the 25 years following Neri's death in 1595. For example, in 1594 the composer Asprilio Pacelli joined SS. *Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti*, an archconfraternity founded by Neri in 1548, and accepted the post of *maestro di cappella* at the Collegio Germanico the following year.⁶¹⁷ Pacelli then left the Collegio Germanico in 1602 upon his appointment as court *maestro* to Sigismund III of Poland, the first Jesuit-educated king.⁶¹⁸ The various *maestri* of Jesuit college churches and the Congregation of the Oratory worked together not only in oratories and confraternities founded by Neri but also in lay oratories and confraternities, such as SS. Crocifisso di San

celebrare in Roma solennemente una messa cantata, e fare una comunione generale de tutti devoti del'oratorio. Questo fu dunque il primo principio dele 40 hore il tempo di Carnevale in Napoli.»

⁶¹⁶ Cited in Østrem and Petersen, 162. 'From Naples was introduced in Rome during the three last days of the Carnival, and in Rome this spread throughout Italy and beyond, particularly in the Company of Jesus.' «Da Napoli è stata poi introdotta in Roma li tre ultimj giorni di Carnevale, da Roma poi si è dilatata per Italie, e for d'Italia particolarmente dala Compagnia del Gesù.»

⁶¹⁷ Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, 1550 - 1650* (London: Royal Music Association, 1995), 79.

⁶¹⁸ Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów [The Music Courts of the Polish Vasas],' trans. Zofia Weaver, *De Musica* 14:3 (2008): 1–3, 5. Noel O'Regan, 'Marenzio's Sacred Music: The Roman Context,' *Early Music* (Luca Marenzio (1553/4–99) 27/4 (November 1999), 611. Steven Ledbetter, 'Marenzio, Luca,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40081> (accessed 18 August, 2010). Mirosław Perz, 'Pacelli, Asprilio,' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20644> (accessed 18 August, 2010). Sigismund III (Sigismund Vasa) was crowned 27 December 1587 and recruited his court *cappella* primarily from the Collegio Germanico. His first choice for *maestro di cappella* was the former Music Prefect of the Collegium Germanicum, Annibale Stabile, but Stabile died in the spring of 1595 on the journey to Kraków. Luca Marenzio was ordered by the Pope and Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini to take the post of *maestro di cappella* in Stabile's place, and Marenzio was *maestro* in the court of Sigismund III from October 1595 until 1597/98. Previous to this appointment, Marenzio was paid for singing in Lenten musical activities at Neri's SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in 1584. O'Regan believes that Marenzio was invited to sing for the Lenten music in 1583 as well as 1584, although no record of payment from SS. Trinità for the 1583 engagement is known. The next musician to hold the Warsaw post for a significant period of time after Marenzio, for his immediate successor, Giulio Cesare Gabussi of Milan, stayed less than a year, was Asprilio Pacelli, who served as *maestro di cappella* from 1602 to c.1624.

Marcello in Rome. For example, while Palestrina organised certain Holy Week processions at SS. Crocifisso in 1552, 1558 and 1570, Cavalieri directed the Lenten music there in 1599 and 1600.⁶¹⁹

Two of the major collections of music used in the services of the Congregation of the Oratory after 1600 were composed by *maestri* of Jesuit college churches. In 1607, *Primo libro di madrigaletti a tre voci* by Agostino Agazzari, *maestro* at the Seminario Romano, was much used by the Congregation of the Oratory, presumably in the *oratorio vespertino* devotions.⁶²⁰ The composer Giovanni Francesco Anerio, S.J., published in 1619 his *Teatro armonica spirituale di madrigale*, a collection of dialogues for soloists, choirs, and basso continuo for use in the Roman Oratory.⁶²¹ Although the *Teatro* was not printed until 1619, it would be reasonable to believe that these or similar works had been performed in the oratories for some time.

The amount of music within the Jesuit theatre and the oratories of the Congregation of the Oratory increased significantly over the period c.1596–c.1619. In the oratory, this was primarily due to a change to the organisation of the *oratorio vespertino* from multiple sermons to a single sermon. The increase in available time for musical performance before and after the sermon resulted in an observable increase in the duration of the dramatic dialogues composed for the oratory during this period. Consequently, the longer length of the pieces encouraged another increment of dramatic development in these works. In the Jesuit theatre, although no change in structure similar to that in oratories occurred in Jesuit productions, the prologues and choruses increased in length according to the dramatic complexity of

⁶¹⁹ Noel O'Regan, 'Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place,' *Early Music* 22:4, Palestrina Quatercentenary (Nov, 1994): 553. Murray C. Bradshaw, 'Cavalieri and Early Monody,' *The Journal of Musicology* 9:2 (Spring, 1991): 238–253. Nino Pirrotta, 'Rome,' in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., ed. Eric Blom (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954), VII:218. Italian music specialist Nino Pirrotta identifies the SS. Crocifisso as connected with the Society of Jesus: '...oratories of San Girolamo della Carità and of Santa Maria in Vallicella, both founded by St. Philip Neri, and at the Jesuit oratory of the Crucifix in the church of San Marcello.'

240. Smither, I:79. Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia* (1908; repr., Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945), 104.

⁶²⁰ Smither, I:90.

⁶²¹ Smither, I:126–127. Wayne C. Hobbs, 'Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigali*: a contribution to the early history of the oratorio (PhD diss., Tulane University, 1971). Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen Bd. 3 (1911; repr., Hildesheim: Gg. Olms., 1966), 43. Hobbs identifies seven of the dramatic spiritual madrigals as pre-oratorio dialogues, Smither considers 14 to be 'incunabulae of the oratorio,' while 16 are so labelled by Schering. The following examination of Anerio's *Teatro* is based upon the findings of Smither and Hobbs; for a full analysis, see Hobbs' dissertation.

the individual prologue or chorus. The prologues and choruses likewise demonstrate a greater degree of involvement in the dramatic action of the main title drama.

The parallel development of Jesuit school theatre prologues and choruses and the dramatic dialogues of the Oratorians begun in the late sixteenth century continued into the early seventeenth century. By c.1620, the two repertoires are indistinguishable from each other, except for preference of the performance language as determined by their respective administration; this is probably due to the fact that composers wrote music for Jesuit school theatrical productions and Oratorian services simultaneously. Similar to contemporary Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses, the most developed dialogues performed during the services of the Congregation of the Oratory c.1596–c.1619 include sections for individual allegorical or symbolic characters, performed by one singer, and sections for ensemble. The voices are accompanied by continuo and possibly other instruments, just as found in Jesuit theatre choruses and prologue. The inclusion of sections of pure instrumental music is rare. Foreshadowing and warning, reflective, narrative and symbolic re-enactment, are all categories of dialogues found within the Oratorian and Jesuit theatre repertoires during this period. The duration of early seventeenth century Jesuit prologues and choruses, estimated through the examination of available dramatic text, is between approximately five to 20 minutes; similarly, the shorter Oratorian dramatic dialogues are between six and eight minutes in performance, while the duration of the longer Oratorian dramatic dialogues is between 16–20 minutes. Neither the dialogues performed in the Congregation of the Oratory nor the Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses have internal scenic divisions. The language of the dramatic dialogues published for use by the Congregation of the Oratory includes both Latin and the vernacular, as do Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses, although the vernacular was preferred by the Oratorians and Latin by the Jesuits, particularly after c.1600.

Chapter 9

The Transitional Prologue and Chorus in Jesuit Theatre and the Pre-Oratorio in the
Congregation of the Oratory Services, c.1620–c.1639

Society of Jesus, c.1620–c.1639

Pope Gregory XV expressed his support of both the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory by canonising Ignatius de Loyola, the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier and Filippo Neri on 12 March 1622.⁶²² At the same time, Gregory XV also beatified a Jesuit novice, Aloysius Gonzaga. In 1623, Gregory XV was succeeded by another Pope who had received his education in the Jesuit system, Urban VIII (1568–1644). One of Urban VIII's first acts as Pope was to issue the Papal bull of canonization for Loyola, Xavier, and Neri, the final step in the process begun by Gregory XV.

Urban VIII's papal reign (1623–1644) also included twenty-one years of the European Thirty Years' War and its accompanying plagues, famines, and economic fluctuations.⁶²³ Under the political foment, a power struggle escalated during the

⁶²² Bruna Filippi, 'Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,' in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, John W. O'Malley, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 512–529. Thomas Dandeleit, 'Spanish Conquest and Colonization at the Center of the Old World: The Spanish Nation in Rome, 1555–1625,' *The Journal of Modern History* 69:3 (September 1997): 509–510. Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio Volume I: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 36–37. Hereafter, referred to as Smither. The Carmelite nun Teresa of Avila, and Isidoro Labrador, a farmer from Madrid were also canonised in the same ceremony. Filippi's essay includes descriptions of the decorations and theatrical productions at the Gesù for the canonisation festivities. The canonisation of four Spaniards, Loyola, Xavier, Teresa and Isidro, was a public acknowledgement by the Papacy of the contributions made by Spain to Catholicism, a result of the political influence still held by Spain in Rome. Dandeleit estimates that one-quarter of the Roman population was Spanish in 1622, approximately thirty thousand adults. To celebrate the canonisation, a large and elaborate procession was organised, whose route, as Dandeleit points out, took the procession through areas populated by the most influential people in Roman politics. The procession began at St Pietro's and travelled across the Tiber River to the Chiesa Nuova to honour Filippo Neri, and then continued to the Church of San Giacomo for Isidoro. Next, the procession passed on to the church of the Jesuits, the Gesù, to recognise Loyola and Xavier. The procession concluded by returning back across the Tiber to Theresa de Avila's church, Santa Maria della Scala.

⁶²³ Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, 'Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis,' *The Historical Journal* 35:2 (June, 1992): 437. N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review* 107:424 (July, 1992): 587–625. By 1620, the principal political alliances were the Hapsburg Emperor Ferdinand I allied with Poland, Spain, and the Pope against Bavaria, Trier, France, the Protestant states and the Calvinists. At the same time as the anti-Hapsburg battles were escalating in the Rhineland and the Netherlands, the Huguenot wars began

1620s and 1630s between the Jesuits and the Capuchins.⁶²⁴ Urban VII issued two bulls in 1638 that directly affected the Jesuits' missionary and educational activity in the New World, China and Japan. The first bull was positive for the Jesuits, guaranteeing the freedom of indigenous peoples in South America who became members of a Jesuit mission community; it was forbidden for colonists to enslave them. However, in the second bull Pope Urban VIII opened the door for competitors to the Jesuits in Japan and China by repealing a previous bull permitting only the Society of Jesus to establish missions in the Far East. Urban VIII supported the Capuchins and the Jesuits equally, and it was partly for the Capuchins' benefit that he lifted the ban on foreign missions by religious organisations other than the Jesuits.⁶²⁵

in France. With the religious civil war requiring the king's attention and resources, France and Spain entered a peace agreement in 1626. However, when the Hapsburg state Mantua was claimed in 1627 by a French heir, the Duc de Nevers, France again went to war against the Hapsburg Empire. To distract the Holy Roman Emperor from the battle for Mantua, France encouraged Sweden to attack Germany in 1633–1634. Unexpectedly, Sweden's campaigns were successful, and France declared war on Spain in 1635, occupying the Valtelline. The Franco-Spanish war continued until the French victory in 1659 led to the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

⁶²⁴ N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review* 107:424 (July, 1992): 617. Robert Donington, *The Rise of Opera* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 272–376. David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 87. Thomas D. Culley, S.J., *Jesuits and Music, vol. 1: A Study of the Musicians Connected with German College in Rome during the 17th Century and Their Activities in Rome* (St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1970), 219–220. Hereafter, referred to as Culley. An intense rivalry between the Jesuits and the Capuchins began in the late 1610s and continued until c. 1650. The Capuchins, who originated as a splinter sect within the Franciscan order in the 1520s, achieved independence as an order in 1619. The rivalry between the two orders affected to a demonstrable degree the importation of Italian opera into France. Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) was Louis XIII's chief advisor beginning in 1622. Richelieu's friend and agent was the Capuchin monk François Leclerc du Tremblay (1577–1638), also known as Père Joseph. Père Joseph and Cardinal Richelieu were strongly anti-Hapsburg, i.e., Spain and Austria, and therefore suspicious of the Jesuit activity in France. After the deaths of Père Joseph and Cardinal Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661) became chief minister to Louis XIII and later Louis XIV. Mazarin received his education at the Collegio Romano, where he also performed the title role of Ignatius Loyola in *Saggio delle Feste...in honore de' SS. Ignatio et Francesco*, a 1622 festival piece composed by Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger to celebrate the canonisation of Loyola and Francis Xavier (Sommervogel, 7: 48–49, no.72). Mazarin arranged for a production of an Italian opera, *Orpheo* by Luigi Rossi, the composer for the Barberini family, to be given in Paris for the royal court in 1645. Mazarin requested the singers for the performance be taken from the Collegio Germanico, citing their experience in these matters through the dramatic traditions of the college. The first Italian opera staged in France, therefore, was performed by vocalists from a Jesuit college. See also Don Fader, 'Phillippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens," the Italian cantata and the *goût-réunis* under Louis XIV,' *Early Music* 35:2 (May, 2007): 237–249; and *ibid.*, 'The *Honnete homme* as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and Politesse in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music,' *The Journal of Musicology*, 20:1 (Winter, 2003): 3–44.

⁶²⁵ Lorenzetti, Stefano, "'Con ottima musica e sommo applauso": per una storia degli oratori dell'Assunta al Collegio Clementino,' in *Percorsi dell'oratorio romano: da "historia sacra" a melodramma spirituale: atti della giornata di studi*, ed. Saverio Franchi (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002), 99–110. David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 87. At this time, Urban VIII also re-endowed the College Clementino in Rome directed by the Somascans, changing the college from primarily an institution for refugee Catholic students to a college for nobles. The dramatic tradition at the College Clementino began shortly thereafter. The Capuchin order grew at such a rate

By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits faced competition in school theatre from the Barnabites and the Somascans in the states of northern and central Italy, from the Oratorians in France, from the Capuchins in the New World, Asia and Africa, and from the Protestants and Calvinists in Ireland, England, France and the northern German states. The Florentine Jesuit college, for example, competed with the city's youth confraternities, such as the *Arcangelo Raffaello*, whose 1636 statutes include permission to stage a theatrical production once a year.⁶²⁶ The rivalry between the Gent Augustinian and Jesuit schools in Gent presented in chapter 3 is another representative example of the mounting competition amongst these religious organisations.⁶²⁷ The Society of Jesus also continued to receive harsh criticism regarding their theatrical activities from other Catholic organisations and from Protestant religious leaders during the period c.1620–c.1639. For example, the Huguenot pastor André Rivet (1572–1610), criticised Jesuit dramas in his 1639 *Instruction chrétienne touchant les spectacles publics* because 'it is not seemly that saints should be represented by infamous men.'⁶²⁸ The only geographic regions in which the Jesuit educational system remained uncontested were the Hapsburg Empire,

during the period 1620–1639 that by 1640 there were over 18,000 Capuchin friars, three times as many members as the Society, who numbered approximately 6,000 by 1640.

⁶²⁶ Cited in Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence 1411–1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 199. *Arcangelo Raffaello*, *Statues*, 1636. '...the brothers may once a year restore themselves in a pleasant villa, or stage a virtuous comedy or a sacred representation, to be recited with the appropriate decorum and retaining modesty in speech, gravity in actions, fleeing noises ['strepiti'], obscenities, gossip, and undue licence...' Similarly, the activities of the confraternities in Florence are revealed through a 1624 document from the youth confraternity *Sant'Alberto Bianco* regarding legal action over a rented garden in which they were disposed 'to exercise themselves in honest activities, such as comedies and pious representations staged many times in Florence, pious works such as devout gatherings, lessons from the lives of the saints, divine lauds, and also other permissible and modest pastimes as are usually carried out in other similar places and in nearly all other confraternities in this city.' Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Comp. Soppr. Incamerate nel Bigallo, Comp. della dottrina dell'Assunta e S. Alberto dei Fanciulli detta SS. Crocifisso e S. Alberto Bianco, fasc. 13 Filza di documenti.

⁶²⁷ See chapter 3 n.122.

⁶²⁸ Georges Mongrédien, *La vie Quotidienne Comédiens au temps de Molière* [Daily Life in the French Theatre At the Time of Molière], trans. Claire Eliane Engel (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, 1969), 29. Rivet also wrote the polemic anti-Jesuit treatises *Sommaire et abrégé des controverses de nostre [sic] temps touchant la Religion auquel la vraye & fausse doctrine se pourront discerner, par la confrontation des deux escrits [sic] contraires : l'Vn, le Catechisms des Controverses qu'a dressé, & publié en Poictou, par le commandement de l'Archevesque Gvillavme Baile, Iesvite: l'Avtre, l'examen & Responce que lui a opposee de poinct en poinct, Andre Rivet de S. Maixant en Poictou, Pasteur de l'Eglise de Thoüars* (Geneva: 1609) and *Les Mysteres des Peres Jesuites par Interrogations & Responses, extraictes fidelement des escrits par eux publiéz* (VilleFrance, 1622 is the bibliographical information on the cover page, some doubt by scholars as to accuracy). Only two copies of the 1622 edition exist; they are in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. An English translation of the last-mentioned work was completed by Peter Gosselin in 1623, *The state-mysteries of the Iesvites, by way of questions and answers* (London: Printed by G.E. for Nathanael Butter, 1623).

Spain, and Poland.⁶²⁹ Spain supported the Society as the birthplace of their founder, while the Hapsburg Empire and Poland supported them because the rulers and ecclesiastics from those regions were all Jesuit-educated.⁶³⁰

In spite of the upsets of war, the plagues and the famines such as those suffered by the Italian states during 1629–1633, and competition from other religious organisations, the Jesuit educational system continued to expand.⁶³¹ The growth in the Jesuit presence in universities and the continuing foundation of new schools was one of the results of the previous twenty years' success in providing lay and canonical

⁶²⁹ Theodore Griesinger, *The Jesuits: A Complete History of Their Open and Secret Proceedings from the Foundation of the Order to the Present Time*, trans. Andrew James Scott (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1903), 400. As an example, Griesinger translates and cites a decree of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II dated 9 September 1622 that awards the Jesuits control over the entire educational systems of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia: 'By virtue of our Imperial and Royal power, we legally unite, now and for ever, the Karolinium University with that of the Ferdinandian College of the Society of Jesus, instituted in our town of Prague, in such manner that this amalgamation shall not stand in the way of any of the peculiar privileges of the aforesaid University, though we also, through the present ordinance, destroy all and every privilege which might be contrary to the amalgamation ordained by us. In consequence thereof, it is our will that the present Rector of the College, appointed according to the statutes of the Society of Jesus, shall be at the same time Rector of the whole University, and we annihilate [exterminate] hereby all claims which anyone might otherwise make to this dignity. And similarly do we put in subjection to the aforesaid Rector all teachers of the lower, as also all of the upper schools in the town of Prague; and these shall be bound to follow the orders of the Rector, or of those whom he will appoint to visit the schools, and to comply with any regulation whatever made by him. No one, without permission from the Rector in writing, shall be authorised to found any new school in whatever Faculty it may at any time be; and we charge the aforesaid Rector with the supervision of all present established schools and colleges, as well as those which may in future be established throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia. Lastly, we appoint the aforesaid Rector to be Inquisitor and corrector of heretics, and commit to him, of our free Imperial and Royal power, the censorship over all books which shall be printed or sold.'

⁶³⁰ David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 101–102. The two chief commanders of the forces of the Holy Roman Empire, Johan't Serclaes (Count Tilly) and Albrecht von Wallenstein (Duke Wallenstein) were also connected with the Jesuits. Tilly received his education from the Jesuit college at Cologne; Wallenstein converted to Catholicism by means of the Jesuits and contemplated entering the Order. However, he did not, and supported instead the Jesuit endeavours in Bohemia and Moravia.

⁶³¹ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation*, New Appreciations in History Vol 9. (London: Historical Association, 1989), 17. J. J. Scarisbrick defines Jesuit activity in the European universities during the sixteenth and seventeenth century in five categories. First, non-Jesuit universities such as Vienna, Prague, and Leuven hired prominent Jesuits such as Petrus Canisius (Peter Kanis, 1521–1597) and Cardinal Bellarmino (Roberto Francesco Romolo, 1542–1621) as lecturers. Second, certain positions were reserved for Jesuits at universities, for example, Cologne, Freiburg, and Ingolstadt. Third, the universities at Heidelberg, Mainz, Trier, Vienna and Würzburg had entire departments staffed by Jesuits. These departments were usually theology or philosophy, but occasionally also arts. Fourth, a Jesuit college was attached to a university, as was the case in Leuven. Last are the universities directed by the Jesuits, either previously existing institutions given over to the Jesuits or those newly founded by the Jesuits. These universities included the Pontificia Università Gregoriana in Rome (1551), Universität Dillingen (founded 1551, Jesuit direction 1563–1773), Pont-à-Mousson in France (1572), the Klementinum in Prague (founded 1347, Jesuit direction 1566–1618, 1622–1638; with the Collegium Adalbertinum 1638–1654, merged as the Universitas Carolo Ferdinanda in 1654–1773, now the Univerzita Karlova v Praze), Paderborn, (1614, now the Universität Paderborn), Academia Carolina Osnabrugensis, (Osnabrück, 1632, closed the same year during the Swedish occupation during the Thirty Years' War), and the Academia Bambergensis (Bamberg, 1647, now the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg).

education. In addition to Ferdinand II, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, and Julius Echter, the prince-bishop of Würzburg (1573–1617), a large number of influential Catholic laity and priests had by c.1620 passed through the Jesuit colleges and seminaries, and the Jesuit reaped the benefits in the form of patronage. Echter, for example, elevated a Jesuit college to a university and founded two Jesuit colleges and two Jesuit seminaries.⁶³² Jesuit-educated Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1635) built a new church for the Jesuits next to the Collegio Romano, giving as his reason for doing so his great admiration for the Jesuits’ ‘power and authority that they have over nearly all princes.’⁶³³ In 1630, over 40,000 students were enrolled in French Jesuit colleges.⁶³⁴ The church of the Collegio Germanico, Sant’ Apollinare, had already achieved a reputation for performing fine music by the mid-1620s.⁶³⁵

Significant developments in the dramatic and musical activity in the Jesuit mission colleges also occurred during the period c.1620–c.1639. In Cuzco, Peru, the Jesuits founded two separate but equal schools, the Colegio de San Bernardo, founded in 1619 for the sons of European colonists, and the Colegio de San Borja, founded in 1621 for the sons of *caciques*, or native nobility. Music was apparently part of the curriculum of both colleges, for the records of the Colegio de San Bernardo contain a one-year’s salary of 120 pesos in 1638 to a musician named Juan Candidato, who was hired to teach daily classes in music to the European students. Likewise, the *caciques* at the Colegio de San Borja learned to sing and to play keyboard instruments.⁶³⁶

One of the reasons behind the emphasis laid upon musical skills in these and other colonial Jesuit colleges was that the Jesuits intended the most gifted students to fill *maestro di cappella* positions in the newly established Catholic churches in the students’ communities.⁶³⁷ While establishing Marian congregations at these and other mission schools, the Jesuits also formed music confraternities open to the community, such as the Confradia del Nifio Jesfis at the college in Cuzco and others at the Colegio de San Pablo in Lima and at the college in Arequipa. The indigenous and freed

⁶³² J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation*, New Appreciations in History Vol 9. (London: Historical Association, 1989), 17.

⁶³³ Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque: Revised and Enlarged edition* (London: Yale University Press, 1980), 73.

⁶³⁴ Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths, and Histories* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004), 32.

⁶³⁵ Culley, 16.

⁶³⁶ Geoffrey Baker, ‘Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial Cuzco,’ *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 24: 1 (Spring–Summer, 2003): 17–18.

⁶³⁷ Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 286.

African musician members of Jesuit music confraternities took part in their associated colleges' theatrical productions and other festivals.⁶³⁸

Jesuit Marian congregations in European Jesuit schools began to perform dramatic productions by at least c.1620. An early example is a five-act comedy performed by the Marian congregation of the Jesuit college of Lucerne in 1622.⁶³⁹ The complete programme from another early seventeenth-century theatrical production by the Marian Congregation at the Jesuit school in Ingolstadt, *H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo* (Ingolstadt, 16 February, 1631), is reproduced in fig. 9.1.⁶⁴⁰ The proof that this production was the product of a Marian Congregation is found on the frontispiece of the programme. After the title of the drama is printed 'Von den Sodalibus in ihrem Oratorio der Wolldlichen Brüderschafft Mariae de Victoria,' indicating that the Marian Congregation performed *H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo* in the Maria de Victoria Congregation Oratory, now the Asam Church in Ingolstadt.⁶⁴¹ As the cast list for *H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo* shows, Marian Congregation dramatic productions, unlike Jesuit school theatre productions, were performed by community members of the Marian congregation as well as students.⁶⁴² Jesuit Marian congregation productions, as Bruna Filippi's term 'domestic productions' implies, were given only for the members of the Congregation and college; unlike Jesuit school and Florentine youth confraternities productions, the theatre of Jesuit Marian congregations was not open to the public.⁶⁴³ The restrictions of the *Ratio Studiorum*

⁶³⁸ Geoffrey Baker, 'Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial Cuzco,' *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 24:1 (Spring–Summer, 2003): 19. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Colegio y Universidad de San Ignacio de Loyola de la Ciudad del Cuzco* (Lima: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1948), 42–3. Baker finds no evidence that any order other than the Jesuits taught European music skills to the indigenous peoples of Peru, but he did discover records revealing that the Augustinians hired native members of the Jesuit music confraternities to provide music for their services.

⁶³⁹ Szarota 3:2, 1229–1272; CSTD ID 47.

⁶⁴⁰ *Der teutschen Comoedi von dem H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo* (Ingolstadt, 16 February, 1631), Szarota 3:1, 143–156; CSTD ID 73.

⁶⁴¹ The Maria de Victoria Congregation Oratory building was the student oratory for the Marian congregation of the Jesuit college. For comparison, see appendix 7, which contains reproductions of nine early eighteenth-century Jesuit Marian congregation theatrical programmes from the Alma Congregation Latina Major Beatissimae Mariae Virginis of the Olomouc (Olmütz) Jesuit college, and appendix 8, which contains eight mid-eighteenth century examples of Jesuit Marian congregation theatrical programmes from the *Congregatio Minor Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* of the Jesuit college in Regensburg.

⁶⁴² The cast members of *Der teutschen Comoedi von dem H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo* (Ingolstadt, 16 February, 1631), Szarota 3:1, 143–156; CSTD ID 73, perform on average four roles in the production, and most are not students but rather community members of the Marian congregation, as shown by the identification of their occupation following their name in the programme cast list.

⁶⁴³ Bruna Filippi, 'Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,' in: *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, John W. O'Malley, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 514–515.

limiting the language of the theatre did not apply to the theatre of the Marian congregations, and therefore *H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo* was performed in German.

H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo concludes with a sung chorus; the available evidence indicates that the chorus is for ensemble and not a dialogue among characters.⁶⁴⁴ This example of an early seventeenth-century Jesuit Marian congregation play is considerably less advanced than two plays produced by the Florentine youth confraternity *Arcangelo Raffaello* in 1624. The five-act play *La celeste guida* (Jacopo Cicognini, 5 February, 1624) featured dances and singers inserted as interludes between the acts, while the chorus appears in the prologue and the epilogue. The second play, a repeat performance of Giovan Maria Cecchi's c.1580 – 1587 *Dialogo per la festa di S. M. Maddalena* on 28 July, 1624, featured sung dialogues among three characters and an epilogue sung by St. Mary Magdalene.⁶⁴⁵

Faced with growing competition from the French Oratorian and other Catholic school, Jesuit school public theatrical productions became an increasingly important opportunity to display the superiority of the Jesuit college through artistic excellence. Accordingly, those parts of the productions featuring music, particularly prologues and choruses, increased in length and dramatic development during the 1620s and 1630s.⁶⁴⁶ The older commentary and narrative styles of prologues and choruses continue to be used in Jesuit theatre during c.1620–c.1639, as likewise the allegorical, foreshadowing and spectacle types of dramatic choruses that developed c.1595–c.1619: all of these types of choruses are dependent upon the main title drama for their subject matter and characters.

⁶⁴⁴ One student, Herz Adam Kofer of the Logic class, sang in the vocal ensemble for *H. Apostel Fürsten Paulo*. Eighteenth-century printed programmes show that Jesuit Marian congregation productions involved a significant amount of music. Also, see the 22 programmes from the Munich Jesuit college *Congregatio Latina Major B.V. Mariae* with two-part Latin oratorios composed by Augustinus Ullinger, Placidus von Camerloher, Joseph Adam Obermüller, Franz Anton Stadler, Sebastian Heinddl., Mathias Haeberle, Joseph Giuliani and Joseph Georgius Holzbogen in the two-volume collection Houghton *CC.J499.B776ℓ in the archives of Harvard University. In addition to these Latin oratorios, Ferdinand Michl composed at least 13 *dramae musica* for Munich and one for Freising, while Placidus von Camerloher composed at least three *dramae musica* for Munich and one for Regensburg. The programmes in the Harvard collections also provide a list of the personnel and officers of the *Congregationis Majoris Latinae B.V. Mariae*, including the name of the music prefect.

⁶⁴⁵ Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence 1411–1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 207–211, 215. Pages 210 – 211 include details of costuming for the performance of *La celeste guida*. The original title of Cecchi's play is *Duella della vita attiva e contemplativa*.

⁶⁴⁶ Bruna Filippi, 'Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano,' in: *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, John W. O'Malley, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 514–515.

During the 1620s and 1630s, not only did the dramatic complexity and duration of prologues and chorus increase, but they also begin to exhibit characteristics indicating a growing separation from the main title drama.⁶⁴⁷ While never fully independent of the main title drama, the transitional prologue and chorus in early seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre is distinguished from dependent choruses by the inclusion of a short play-within-a-play or interactive representation, usually biblically based; or a symbolic re-enactment of each act without using characters from the main title drama; or have an independent plot but hold in common one or more actors or characters, typically the narrator *Providentia Divina* or *Justitia Divina*, with the main title drama.

The three periods of music within the 1619 production of *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* by the Jesuit school in Innsbruck are typical examples of the transitional chorus of early seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatre (fig. 9.2).⁶⁴⁸ The prologue, ‘Tyrolis cum Musis Oenipotanis,’ is a symbolic presentation similar to symbolic prologues from the preceding period, c. 1595–c.1619. While the characteristics of the choruses in *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* are representative of early seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatre transitional choruses, their placement within the work is less common. The chorus, instead of appearing at the conclusion of the act, is inserted within the act in the manner of an *interludium*, thus dividing each act into two equal parts (fig. 9.3).

The increase in complexity observed in transitional Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses may be seen in *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* by the large number of solo roles and the presence of multiple vocal ensembles. The musical cast for *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* is listed under *Cantantium* on the final page of the programme (fig. 9.4).⁶⁴⁹ The choruses feature two main allegorical/symbolic solo characters, *Bma. Virgo*, or the Virgin Mary, and *Sapientia*, or Wisdom, in dialogue, who are supported by other soloists and choral ensembles. In addition to the two lead characters, there are 21 other solo roles. The seven *Nuncii*, or Messengers, are symbolic representations of geographic regions, and there also seven *Virtutes & Vitia*, or

⁶⁴⁷ The performance during the seventeenth century of dramatic texts without choruses published during the sixteenth century probably provided an important niche for the emergence of the transitional and independent chorus in Jesuit theatre as newly written works.

⁶⁴⁸ *Der Comedi von einem Jüngling Teutscher Nation* (Innsbruck, March, 1619), Szarota, 2:2, 1455–1462; CSTD ID 43.

⁶⁴⁹ The Susanna and Josephus characters in the Recitantium ensemble are St. Susanna and St. Joseph in keeping with D. Vdalricus, or St. Udalricus and St. Leontius.

Virtues and Sins; the six *Persona Zelotypa* are the third and final group of soloists. Two solo characters are supported by their own choral ensembles, for *Patientia*, or Patience, is accompanied by an ensemble of six singers, *Comites Patientia*, while the character of *Nemesis* is supported by two ministers, *Ministri Nemesis*. Of the musical cast, only the *Comites Patientia* and *Ministri Nemesis* singers are not provided with character names, indicating their ensemble nature.

The size and variety of the musical cast of *Der Comedi von einem Jüngling Teutscher Nation*, therefore, is similar to that of contemporary examples of dependent Jesuit theatre choruses, but there are two characteristics that distinguish the choruses of *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* from the dependent choruses seen in the early years of the seventeenth century. First, the characters of the sung and spoken portions of the production are separate from each other; the Virgin Mary in the *Cantantium* cast does not appear within the main title drama, and there are no *genii* of main title characters in the choruses. The second characteristic of the choruses in *Jüngling Teutscher Nation* shows not only an increase in independence but also the beginning of the development of dialogues on biblical subjects of significant duration, namely, the presence of six *figurae* from the Old Testament: Joseph, Susanna, Job, Anna, David and Sara.

The use of *figurae* in Jesuit theatre begins around the turn of the century, and, unlike the main title drama subjects, female *figurae* are common, as seen in the three examples in *Jüngling Teutscher Nation*. When first introduced into Jesuit theatre, *figurae* were saints or villains presented in mute tableaux, their virtues or vices recited in song by a solo narrative character or in a dialogue between a narrative character, usually the spiritual guide *Providentia Divina* or *Divina Justitia*, and the *genius* of the hero or villain of the main title drama. Starting in the 1610s, *figurae* transformed into singing statues and presented themselves in solo song, but without interaction with other characters. The source of the *figurae* also began to change from hagiography to the Old Testament during the 1610s.

Around 1620, *figurae* in Jesuit school theatrical choruses began to either enter into dialogue with allegorical characters separate from the main title drama, as in *Jüngling Teutscher Nation*, or present an incident from biblical history in a separate sung dialogue within a framework dialogue provided by allegorical or symbolic characters. The three-character untitled transitional dialogue chorus inserted in *Sacra Metamorphosis* (Hall, 1629) retelling the tale of Sidrach, Misach, Abednego and the

Fiery Furnace from the Old Testament book of Daniel is an example of a transitional chorus with biblical characters in dialogue within a framework of symbolic characters.⁶⁵⁰ The transitional chorus in *Salomon Rex Sapiens* (Ingolstadt, 30 October, 1639) is similar in construct to *Sacra Metamorphosis*. However, the chief link between the chorus and the main title drama in *Salomon Rex Sapiens* is that in the re-enactment of the death of Saul and Jonathan from the Old Testament book of Samuel II, the actors playing Saul and Jonathan were double-cast as the leading roles in the main title drama.⁶⁵¹

Congregation of the Oratory, c.1620 – c.1639

The pace of growth in the Roman Congregation of Oratory followed the pattern of gradual acceleration observed in the period c.1596–c.1619. During the period c.1620–c.1639, the Congregation was increased by eight new houses in the Italian states and Sicily as well as one located in Brabant (table 9.1).⁶⁵² Two houses from the Roman Congregation of the Oratory were also founded in France during this period; the oratory in Apremont was established in 1620 while six years later the Douai oratory was founded in 1626.⁶⁵³ By c. 1639, the Italian Congregation of the Oratory consisted of 30 establishments. Meanwhile, the Congregations of Rome and Naples became embroiled in a bitter quarrel in 1629. The issue at the centre of the argument was one of prestige. The Congregation of Naples claimed equal status with the Congregation of Rome, stating that they, too, had been founded by Neri. The Roman Congregation denied Naples' claim; the Jesuits' relationship with the Oratorians forced the Society of Jesus to choose sides, and they allied themselves with

⁶⁵⁰ *Sacra Metamorphosis* (Hall, 1629), Szarota 3:2, 1811–1817; CSTD ID 62. Grammar class student Christoph Plöckner sang the role of Azarias (Abednego), while Wolffgangus Holger, of the Rudiments class, sang the part of Misael (Misach) and Carolus Keller, of the Syntax class, sang the role of Ananias (Sidrach).

⁶⁵¹ *Salomon Rex Sapiens* (Ingolstadt, 30 October, 1639), Szarota, 2: 2, 1475–1482; CSTD ID 98. The double-casting and therefore the attachment to the main title drama makes this chorus transitional rather than independent.

⁶⁵² Smither, I:284. Alfonso Capecelatro, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome*, trans. Thomas Alder Pope, C.O., 2nd ed. (London: Burns & Oates, Ltd., 1894), II:465–466. The first community of Oratorians in Florence was founded in 1632 in the church of San Sebastiano. However, the first performance of a work called an oratorio occurred in 1663, a performance mentioned in a letter from Florentine Oratorian Zanobi Gherardi to Filippo Bini, another Oratorian.

⁶⁵³ Türks, 146.

the Congregation of Rome against Naples.⁶⁵⁴ Thus, the Jesuit college in Naples lost the political support of the Congregation of the Oratory.

In France, Charles de Condren (1588–1641) became the second superior-general of the French Congregation of the Oratory after the death of founder Pierre de Bérulle in 1629.⁶⁵⁵ The French Congregation likewise demonstrated growth during the period c.1620–c.1639, founding not only additional houses, seminaries, and colleges for Oratorians, but also continuing to establish colleges for lay pupils. By 1630, the French Oratory directed a total of seventeen colleges and four seminaries.⁶⁵⁶ Among the forty-four houses of the French Congregation at the time of Bérulle's death were the houses of the French Congregation in Italian in Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon.⁶⁵⁷ The French Oratorians were also able to establish a mission in England, as the wife of Charles I, Henrietta of France, had as her confessor the Scottish-born Oratorian Robert Philips.⁶⁵⁸

During the 1620s and 1630s, the French Oratorians found themselves actively solicited to set up colleges as an alternative to or preference over those of the Jesuits. For example, the Jesuits requested permission from the city of Dieppe to establish a college, but the governor refused them in favour of the Oratorians.⁶⁵⁹ In 1618, the

⁶⁵⁴ Türks, 91. Neri did recognise the Naples Oratory as a subsidiary of the Roman Oratory, but only after much pressure and then reluctantly, as it was part of his vision for each Oratory to function as an independent organisation.

⁶⁵⁵ Mildred Violet Woodgate, *Charles de Condren* (Dublin: Brown and Nolan, 1949). Michel Leherpeur, *L'Oratoire de France* (Paris: Edition Spes, 1926). Adolphe Perraud, *L'Oratoire de France au XVII^e et au XIX^e* (Paris: Douniol, 1865). A. M. P. Ingold, 'French Congregation of the Oratory,' *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/11274a.htm (accessed 5 August, 2010).

⁶⁵⁶ Willem Frijhoff and Dominique Julia, 'Les Oratoriens et l'espace éducatif français du règne de Louis XIV à la Révolution française,' in *Le Collège de Riom et l'enseignement oratorien en France au XVIII^e siècle*, ed., Jean Ehrard (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993), 11. By 1790, the colleges of the French Congregations included: Agen, Angers, Arras, Autun, Bavay, Beaune, Béthune, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Condom, Dieppe, Effiat, Hyères, Julilly, Mans, Lyon, Marseilles, Montbrison, Nantes, Niort, Pézenas, Poligny, Riom, Saline, Soissons, Toulon, Tournon, Turns, Troyes, Vendôme. The seminaries were Chalon-sur-Saône, Dijon, Grenoble, Mâcon. Paris (Saint-Magloire) and Vienna. Between 1709 and 1743 at least eight other seminaries closed due to the anti-Jansenist conflicts. At this time, an investigation of French Oratorian school theatre has yet to be published.

⁶⁵⁷ Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis: 1598–1648*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 85. Türks, 145. In 1624, there were forty establishments, according to Parker. Türks states the total number of houses by c. 1630 to be 70.

⁶⁵⁸ A. M. P. Ingold, 'French Congregation of the Oratory,' *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/11274a.htm (accessed 5 August, 2010). See Ingold's article for the names English clergy who joined the Oratory 1620s–1660s.

⁶⁵⁹ Paul Lallemand, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'ancien Oratoire de France* (1889; repr. Genève: Slatkind-Megariotis Reprints, 1976), 25–28. The Oratorian college, comprised of six classes when it opened after Easter in 1616, was financially supported by the city of Dieppe, but under the direction of François Bourgoing, later the third superior-general of the French Oratory. According to Lallemand, Dieppe paid annually 600 livres for the rent; 40 livres for the porter(s) and all of the heating and lighting expenses. The original church and college were burned during the conflicts of 1694.

French Oratorians opened a college in Billom even though the town had a pre-existing Jesuit college; the city leaders hoped that the introduction of competition would weaken the Jesuit institution. The Oratorian colleges in Langres and Poligny were founded in a manner similar to Dieppe, with the leading politicians choosing the Oratorians over the bid of the Jesuits.⁶⁶⁰ A fee-paying Oratorian college was established in Riom for the noble and upper classes in 1622; by 1657, the enrolment at Riom was over eight hundred students.⁶⁶¹ The first of the Oratorian colleges founded under de Condren was the Collège de Juilly for French nobility in modern-day Seine-et-Marne, founded in 1638.⁶⁶² Louis XIII endowed the college as a royal academy, and thus the coat-of-arms of the college includes both the *fleur-de-lis* of France and the symbol of the Oratorians, the text *Jesus Maria* inside a crown of thorns (fig. 9.5).⁶⁶³

The musical portion of the Congregation's *oratorio vespertino* expanded in importance during the 1620s and 1630s, superseding the recitations and sermons in prominence.⁶⁶⁴ Several important changes made to the services of the Oratorians during this period provided a niche favourable to the emergence of the one-part and

⁶⁶⁰ Paul Lallemand, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'ancien Oratoire de France* (1889; repr. Genève: Slatkind-Megariotis Reprints, 1976), 29–30. Michel Houssaye, *La Père de Bérulle et l'Oratoire de Jésus* (Paris: Plon, 1874), 228. In Poligny the ecclesiastics, headed by M. Quarre, requested that Bérulle specifically and formally state in what ways the Oratorian college would differ from the Jesuit tradition.

⁶⁶¹ Paul Lallemand, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'ancien Oratoire de France* (1889; repr. Genève: Slatkind-Megariotis Reprints, 1976), 32–34. The annual tuition was nearly 1,000 livres, paid in advance.

⁶⁶² Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *The French nobility in the eighteenth century: from feudalism to enlightenment*, trans., William Doyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 69. Jacques de Givry, *Juilly 1177–1977, Huit siècles d'Histoire* (Juilly: Imprimerie Floch, 1978). Charles Hamel, *Histoire de l'Abbaye et du Collège de Juilly, depuis leurs origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Jules Gervais, 1888). The French Oratorian colleges were intended for both lay and clerical students; their seminaries, however, were devoted to educating their own novices. The Collège de Juilly was originally an Augustinian priory founded in 1176. The website for the college, still under direction of the Oratorians, is www.college-de-juilly.com. By the late eighteenth century the fees at Juilly were prohibitive at 900 livres a year, which excluded all except the wealthiest students. One of Collège de Juilly's most famous pupils was Jean de La Fontaine (July 8, 1621–April 13, 1695), best known for his *Fables*. He briefly entered the Congregation of the Oratory and attended the seminary of Saint-Magloire in 1641. His tri-centenary was celebrated with a re-issue of his fables in France in 1995, and a documentary film of his life, *Jean de La Fontaine - le défi* (La Fontaine portrayed by Laurent Deutsch), was released in France in 2007.

⁶⁶³ François Furet, *In the Workshop of History: Part 13*, trans. Jonathan Mandelbaum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 84. Furet includes information concerning the curriculum offered at Juilly.

⁶⁶⁴ Smither, I:161–162. Musicians and composers from outside the Congregation continued to perform at the services. When the Oratorian and noted soprano Girolamo Rosini became *maestro* at the Chiesa Nuova in Rome in 1623, he expanded the musical activities of the Congregation. One of the results of Rosini's work from 1623 until his death in 1644 was the elevation of the Chiesa Nuova into one of the chief musical centres in Rome.

two-part *oratorio volgare*, or Italian oratorio, in the mid-seventeenth century. The first change concerned the formalisation of the service structure for the three types of evening services, namely, the non-feast-day exercises, the winter Vespers and the summer Vespers. One major change was the decision to restrict the language in the musical works in all three services to Italian except for the traditional Vesper texts. The non-feast-day and winter services required two musical compositions in Italian with a sermon inserted between them. Although a similar restriction was not placed upon the winter spiritual exercises, the text of the second piece performed on non-feast days had to be from the New Testament.⁶⁶⁵ Thus, the non-feast-day service provided a venue encouraging the continuing development of the Italian one-part dialogue towards the single-part oratorio. The winter Vespers, the same as the non-feast-day exercises with regard to the number of works but without the stipulation that one of the works must be derived from the New Testament, resulted in the emergence of the two-part oratorio during the next few decades. Only the summer Vespers did not lead to the development of a musical genre, as simple congregational *laude* continued to be preferred over the performance of more complex music.

Although similar to the Jesuits in wishing to attract patrons and visitors, the Chiesa Nuova, in concert with the other Congregations and the wishes of Neri, never countenanced full theatrical staging of the sacred dramatic music performed in their oratories. However, during the 1620s and 1630s *rappresentazioni spirituali*, which might have included theatrical elements, were popular among works performed in the oratories. The excerpt from table 5.1 in Crowther, *Bologna* reproduced in table 9.2 is a compilation of examples of works performed in the Bologna Congregation of the Oratory 1620–1638, revealing that *rappresentazioni spirituali* account for one-half of

⁶⁶⁵ André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie: écrite à Rome le premier octobre 1639*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock (Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1993). Translated and cited in Smither, I:210–212. The lay confraternities imitated the Congregational practises of performing a one-part composition, either sacred dramatic dialogue or early oratorio, before and after the sermon in their services. For example, in his 1639 *Response faite à un curieux*, the French violist André Maugars describes five components in Lenten services of the confraternity SS. Crocifisso: a psalm sung as a motet; a pure instrumental piece; Latin musical work [*histoire*] whose plot is taken from the Old Testament; a sermon; a Latin musical work [*histoire*] with a plot from the New Testament: ‘The voices ... would sing a story from the Old Testament in the form of a spiritual play, such as that of Susanna, Judith and Holofernes, or David and Goliath. Each singer represented a character of the story and expressed perfectly the force of the words. Then one of the most celebrated preachers would give the sermon. That finished, the Gospel of the day was recited in music, such as the story of the Samaritan woman, the woman of Cana, Lazarus, the Magdalen, or the Passion of our Lord...’ Smither also states, and corroborating evidence from Jesuit theatrical programmes supports his statement, that the terms *histoire* (French), *istoria* (Italian) and *historia* (Latin) refer to the type of text set, a Biblical narrative, rather than indicating a particular category of musical composition at this time.

the works listed.⁶⁶⁶ The rising popularity of the *rappresentazione* might have been a factor in the dissensions that surfaced within the Congregation during the 1620s.

The tendency towards theatrical spectacle observed throughout the period c.1595–c.1619 which began to eclipse the devotional purpose of the Oratorian services received a severe check during the 1620s and 1630s through a series of formal decrees issued in response to internal complaints. The Oratorians systematically stripped all elements perceived as dramatic or associated with the Jesuit dramatic tradition. First, a limit was imposed upon the length of the winter services at a time when the duration of Jesuit productions lengthened to as long as seven hours. Then followed a decree, albeit short-lived, from the Chiesa Nuova expelling stringed instruments and concerted music from the Oratory, while the instrumental ensembles in Jesuit theatre continued to use a variety of string and wind instruments, as shown by the examples in programmes from the 1640s. The decree from the Oratory also stipulated that all music was to be performed only by members of the Oratory, thus eliminating Jesuit *maestri* and student participation in the musical works performed in the oratories of the Congregation for at least a short time.⁶⁶⁷

The formal structure and characteristics of the sacred dramatic dialogue evolved during the 1620s and 1630s to accommodate the new guidelines for the Congregation's evening exercises. The musical requirements and organisation of the three types of evening services specified by the Congregation of Bologna in 1621 present the formalised outline practised by the Congregations of the Oratory generally.⁶⁶⁸ According to the 1621 guidelines, the exercises on non-feast days required that two Italian musical works of relatively brief duration, at least one of which relates to the Gospels, should be sung in addition to the appropriate Marian litanies and antiphon. Italian *dialoghi* in one formal part, such as those found in Anerio's 1619 *Teatro armonico e spirituale*, or *laude* would fulfil the language,

⁶⁶⁶ Crowther, 'Table 5.1, Religious Dramas in Bologna, 1615–1665,' in *Bologna*, 43.

⁶⁶⁷ Smither, I:161, 163–164. Carlo Gasbarri, *Oratorio romano dal Cinquecento al Novecento* (Rome: D'Urso, 1962), 285–286. In addition to banning the Jesuits from taking part in Oratorian services, Smither notes that the Oratorians made several other oblique references to Jesuits and Jesuit theatre in their reformations, such as the elimination of opening sinfonias and the injunction to permit only a small amount of reciting; in the context, the word *recitare* signifies dramatic music. Smither writes: '...the Fathers of the Oratory in this period were struggling to retain some semblance of the former simplicity of their exercises. They were interested in proselytizing with up-to-date methods, as were the Jesuits; but unlike the latter they wanted to avoid lavish display. Stopping short of full-fledged theatre, they sponsored neither elaborate drama nor opera. The oratorio as a musical genre was strongly conditioned by the Oratorian's efforts to maintain...[a] balance of modernity and restraint.' (163–164).

⁶⁶⁸ Crowther, *Bologna*, 28–29.

length, and Gospel-relation requirements. Two one-part works, whether dialogue or early oratorio, one with text from the Old Testament and the other with a libretto from the New Testament would fit the needs of this service. Providing that the plot was sufficiently related to the Gospels, which by dint of their subject matter most of the extant hagiographic librettos do, an early two-part Italian oratorio might also be suitable for the evening non-feast-day services. Nor would the duration of each formal division of such an oratorio exceed the prescribed limits, as each division is similar in length to Anerio's longer dramatic dialogues, that is, between twelve and twenty minutes.⁶⁶⁹

The Bologna document also includes the outline of the feast-day evening exercises during winter, revealing a change in the service's structure from the observed practises from c.1596–c.1619. In the period c. 1596–c.1619, the evening exercises consisted of a musical work followed by a single sermon followed by another musical work. In the 1620s and 1630s a sermon recited by a choirboy, an activity seen in the summer-time services c.1596–c.1619, was added to the winter evening service. Also added were Marian litanies and antiphons similar to the non-feast service discussed above. Thus, this service in the 1620s and 1630s had five components: the Marian celebration, a brief recited sermon by a choirboy, a musical work in Italian, a homily by a priest, and another musical work in Italian. This structure created an environment that brought about the emergence and proliferation of the Italian oratorio in two formal divisions.⁶⁷⁰ The 1621 outline for the summer exercises for the Bologna Congregation organises the service in the following manner: Italian musical work; recited sermon by a choirboy; Italian musical work; discourse by a priest; Italian musical work; a set concluding prayer that was sung.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁹ Smither, I: 126–127.

⁶⁷⁰ Crowther, *Bologna*, 25, 31. The 1620 musical inventory of the Bologna Congregation included Anerio's *Il Teatro Armonico spirituale* (Rome, 1619) and other items indicating that the Oratory used music in both the Latin (15) and Italian (28) languages in their spiritual exercises, including a six-voice anonymous dialogue, *Dialogho d' Abram, Isaac*. However, the 1682 inventory included two hundred and sixty-seven Italian oratorios performed between 1660 and 1682.

⁶⁷¹ With a niche provided in the summer spiritual exercises for three musical Italian works, the question arises of why the tri-partite oratorio did not emerge in Oratorian services at the same time as the bi-partite oratorio. In fact, the three-part oratorio developed only in the eighteenth century, nearly a hundred years after the two-part oratorio. One possibility takes into account the difference between the traditions of the winter and summer evening services. In preceding chapters it was shown that the musical portion of the winter-time Vespers rapidly evolved a high professional standard, requiring a significant investment of time and resources. In contrast, the summer Vespers were conducted in a much simpler manner; the necessary music was supplied by congregational singing of *laude* rather than a prepared performance by trained professionals and their students. Therefore, the development of the

There is also a significant change in the choice of language in the Oratories during the 1620s, for, as seen in the Bologna document, the use of the vernacular is clearly and repeatedly requested. For both the winter and summer Vespers and the non-feast-day exercises, the stipulated language is Italian, not Latin. From the 1620s forward, Latin had no place in the musical works presented in the oratories of the Congregation except in the Marian litanies and antiphons. This was a change from the previous period c.1596–c.1619 when Latin and Italian texts were equally acceptable. The reform movement within the Congregation during this period was urging a return to Neri's original conception of the Congregation; Neri expressed a preference for Italian over Latin in the Congregation's spiritual exercises because use of the vernacular permitted participation by the common people, not only highly educated ecclesiastics. The decision to use only the vernacular in Oratorian services further distanced the works performed in the Oratories from the transitional Latin choruses and prologues in the Jesuit school theatre. Before c.1620, the prologues and choruses in Jesuit college theatrical productions and the Latin *dialoghi* performed in the Oratories were indistinguishable from each other. In choosing the vernacular, the Oratorians also disassociated themselves from the Lenten performances of Latin dialogues and oratorios by the SS. Crocifisso lay confraternity, in which many musicians and composers from Roman Jesuit colleges continued to participate.⁶⁷²

bi-partite but not the tri-partite oratorio does not appear to be only a matter of service structure but also a matter of the traditional practices of the Congregation of the Oratory.

⁶⁷² It is interesting to speculate whether this lingual disassociation from two arenas in which Jesuit musical activity was prominent is an indication that a practice of using the same composition as both an inserted music-drama in a Jesuit tragedy and a work for the Lenten performances of the SS. Crocifisso existed. The current lack of programmes and scores from the Roman Jesuit colleges renders such an investigation impossible at this time, but as research into the Jesuit theatre continues to uncover new materials, perhaps in the future it will be possible to compare Saverio Franchi's inventory of the works performed at the SS. Crocifisso up to 1702 with a catalogue of the Latin music-dramas performed by the Roman Jesuit colleges. And although the relationship between the Jesuits and the Oratorians began its deterioration during this period, especially in France and Naples, the Roman Oratorians in particular continued to use Jesuit college composers and performers. Therefore, it is probably not the case that the Oratorians as a body actively sought to expunge Jesuit participation from all of their musical activities. Rather, the separation between the musical works of the two orders that occurred during the 1620s and 1630s is due to the internal reforms of the Congregation of the Oratory and the continuing adherence to the language restrictions in the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* by the Jesuit colleges for their prize-distribution productions. However, it is notable that from this point forward, the use of the vernacular in music-dramas and spoken plays produced by the Jesuit colleges on non-prize-distribution days increased, until by the mid-eighteenth century it was no longer unusual to find spoken plays and sung main title dramas, including oratorios, performed in the vernacular each year. For example, the MTJD contains 66 examples of vernacular Jesuit school main title dramas performed during the period 1750–1773.

Comparison, the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory, c.1620–c.1639

Before the Congregational reforms of the 1630s took effect, the Jesuit presence in the musical activity of the Congregation of the Oratory during the 1620s continued unbroken from the previous period c.1595–c.1619. In Italy, the negative relationship between the Congregation of the Oratory in Naples and the Jesuits and the continuing antagonism of Venice towards the Society of Jesus appear to be exceptions within a continuing cordial relationship between the Society of Jesus and Italian Congregation of the Oratory. For example, the Oratorians used the Jesuit college church for their spiritual exercises in Bologna. Victor Crowther's two recent monographs examining the oratorio in Modena and Bologna, respectively, reveals both a continuing relationship between the Jesuits and the Oratorians as well as the musical practises of these two congregations.⁶⁷³ The Jesuit-educated Archbishop of Bologna and later Pope Gregory XV, Ludovico Ludovisi, issued an order in 1620 that the spiritual exercises of the Congregation of the Oratory be held in Santa Lucia, the Jesuit college church, after Vespers on Tuesdays.⁶⁷⁴

A study of the known librettists and composers of works performed in the services of the Congregation of the Oratory during the period c.1620–c.1639 reveals continuing connections between the Oratorians and the Jesuits. Evidence collected by Speck and Smither indicate that *dialoghi* such as those found in Jesuit church *maestro* Giovanni F. Anerio, S.J.'s *Teatro* continued to be performed during this period.⁶⁷⁵ Two works considered by Smither to be preliminary examples of *oratorio volgare* are connected with the Jesuits, although at least one is known to have been performed at the Oratorian Chiesa Nuova: *Oratorio della Santissima Vergine* (? , Rome, after 1629) by the *maestro* of the Collegio Germanico, Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) and *Coro di Profeti* (Chiesa Nuova, Rome, c.1635–1638), attributed to Domenico Mazzocchi (1592–1665), brother of the *maestro* of the Seminario Romano, Virgilio

⁶⁷³ Victor Crowther, *The Oratorio in Modena* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Victor Crowther, *The oratorio in Bologna (1650–1730)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Hereafter, referred to as Crowther, *Modena* and Crowther, *Bologna*, respectively.

⁶⁷⁴ Crowther, *Bologna*, 23, 27. In 1621, Ludovisi as Pope Gregory XV gave the growing Bologna Congregation the Madonna di Galliera with its rents and associated properties.

⁶⁷⁵ Smither, I:164, 284. Christian Speck, *Das Italienische Oratorium 1625–1665 Musik und Dichtung*, *Speculum Musicae* Vol. 9, (Turnout: Brepols, 2003), 111–242. Smither uncovered evidence of sacred dramatic dialogues in the 1620s and oratorios at least as early as 1660 in Florence, amending previous thought that the oratorio was brought to Florence just before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Mazzocchi.⁶⁷⁶ Francesco Balducci (1579–1642), educated at the Jesuit college in Sicily, composed the libretto for Carissimi's *Oratorio della Santissima Vergine*.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁶ Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini cultural policies* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 108. William R. Shea and Mariano Artigas, *Galileo in Rome: The Rise and Fall of a Troublesome Genius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 95–104. Christian Speck, *Das italienische Oratorium 1625–1665: Music und Dichtung* (Brepols: Turnhout, 2003), 85–95. Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598–1648*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 258. Domenico Mazzocchi, 'Coro di Profeti,' in *Musiche sacre, e moralia una, due, e tre voci. Roma 1640*. Archivum musicum, La cantata barocca No. 26 (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1988). Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981). Smither, I:164, 168–175; 175–185. Lino Bianchi, *Oratorio della Santissima Vergine (Giacomo Carissimi)* (Rome: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica, 1964). Sommervogel 6:122, no. 11. Johann Peter Kirsch, 'Pietro Sforza Pallavicino,' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11426a.htm> (accessed 30 August, 2010). The puzzle behind the authorship of the early oratorio *Coro di Profeti* involves a tale of two composer-brothers, Domenico and Virgilio Mazzocchi. Virgilio Mazzocchi (bap. 1597–1646) was *maestro di cappella* and professor of music for the Seminario Romano from 1626 to 1629. He composed the music for at least one Jesuit drama, writing the inserted choruses for *Crispus Tragoedia* (Bernardino Stéfonio, 1628, Sommervogel 7:46, no. 37). After leaving the Seminario Romano in 1629, Virgilio composed music for a number of churches patronised by the Barberini family, including the Chiesa Nuova and Archiconfraternita del SS Crocifisso at S Marcello. The attribution of the incomplete *Coro di profeti* is difficult because, due to the compositional demands of his multiple *maestro* positions, Virgilio routinely requested Domenico to compose works in his stead. The early Latin oratorio *Ego ille quondam* is only extant oratorio known to have been written by Virgilio Mazzocchi. He also composed the music for *Rappresentazione sacra san Bonifazio* (Rome, Carnival, 1638), and the Italian dialogue or early oratorio *Sant'Eustacchio* (Rome, Carnival, 1643), which was inserted in the Latin tragedy *Sancta Susanna* in the same manner as contemporary Jesuit theatre.⁶⁷⁶ The libretto for *San Bonifazio* was written by Giulio Rospigliosi (Pope Clement X), who attended the Seminario Romano beginning in 1614. Murata remarks on the influence of Jesuit theatre in his librettos, noting that six, including *San Bonifazio* and *Sant'Eustacchio*, treat hagiographic subjects and were performed in private houses by seminary students from S. Pietro during Carnival. Giovanni Ciampoli (1590–1643) wrote the libretto for *Coro di Profeti*. Details regarding his education are not known and he himself was not a Jesuit, but one of his intimate friends was the Jesuit Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1607–1667), a professor of philosophy and later the holder of the chair of theology at the Seminario Romano from 1639 to 1651. Pallavicino himself wrote one Jesuit college tragedy, *Ermenegildo Martire Tragedia* (Seminario Romano, 1644 and 1655). In 1621, Gregory XV appointed Ciampoli as secretary for Latin correspondence and, later, royal correspondence. Urban VIII appointed Ciampoli as his Secret Chamberlain and also the papal poet laureate in 1623. However, when a war of words began between Galileo and Orazio Grassi, professor of mathematics and rector of the Jesuit College in Siena, Ciampoli, a supporter of Galileo, not only lost credence in the papal court but also his relationship with the Cardinal and the Jesuits. To placate the Jesuits, the Jesuit-educated Urban VIII exiled Ciampoli in 1632. One of the results of Ciampoli's exile is the loss of much of his dramatic works.

⁶⁷⁷ The Jesuits of the Collegio Germanico were successful in their suit to Pope Clement X for Carissimi's manuscripts to be made the property of Collegio Germanico *in perpetuum*; anyone found taking a manuscript out of the college faced immediate excommunication, according to the bull of 30 January, 1674. However, the manuscripts disappeared, possibly sold as waste paper in company with other documents from the college library following the suppression of the Society in 1773. Carissimi's works for the Congregation, the Jesuits, and the lay confraternities survive chiefly through copies made by his students. Carissimi's students not only preserved their professor's works but also disseminated them and Carissimi's style through their own compositions throughout Europe. Five of Carissimi's best-known pupils include Kaspar Förster (bap. 1616–1673), Vincenzo Albrici (1631–1690-6), Christoph Bernhard (1628–1692), Johann Caspar Kerll (1627–1693) and Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704). These five students either attended a Jesuit college or were taught by Jesuit-educated composers, including Christoph Bernhard, a German Protestant. Several of these students wrote music for Jesuit college theatre. While in Warsaw, Kasper Förster, who succeeded Marco Scacci (1600–1681-7) as *maestro*, composed six dramatic sacred dialogues in Latin equally suitable for the Jesuit college theatre or the royal court, as the Jesuit-educated kings of Poland preferred the style of the Jesuit theatre

Although some doubt remains about his composition of *Coro di profeti*, Domenico Mazzocchi did compose four dialogues for the Lenten service at SS Crocifisso that Virgilio then directed in 1634, as these four *dialoghi* together with other dialogues and seven *oratorio latinus* were published in a 1664 collection of Domenico's sacred music, *Sacrae concertationes*. Wolfgang Witzemann speculates that several of the dialogues and early oratorios included in *Sacrae concertationes* were intended for Neri's lay *Confraternita della SS Trinità dei Pellegrini*.⁶⁷⁸ Domenico Mazzocchi also composed three Latin dialogues with librettos from Virgil's *Aeneid*, similar to those transitional and independent prologues and choruses in contemporary Jesuit theatrical productions.⁶⁷⁹ Gino Angelo Capponi (Ginus Angelus Capponius), the author of the

for their entertainments. Vincenzo Albrici was a student at the German College from 1641 to around 1646 before replacing Heinrich Schütz as Kapellmeister in Dresden. He returned to Rome as *maestro di cappella* to the Roman Congregation of the Oratory from 1673–1675. After a brief period as a converted Lutheran in the post of organist for the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, he reverted to Catholicism and spent his final years as an organist to the Augustinian church in Prague. Albrici's compositions and other musical activities for the Oratorians are not known, and although he might have participated in the German College dramas, no evidence has yet been found to indicate that he did so. Albrici did, however, continue the tradition of the sacred dramatic dialogue in the Dresden court introduced by Schütz. Christoph Bernhard was vice-Kapellmeister in Dresden with Albrici. Christoph Bernhard and Kasper Förster studied initially with Kaspar Förster's father and then with Marco Scacchi in Warsaw. Scacchi was a student of G. F. Anerio, *maestro* at the Roman Seminary. When Anerio was appointed *maestro* to Sigismund III as described in chapter 8, Scacchi travelled with Anerio to Warsaw. Scacchi succeeded Anerio in 1628 and remained court *maestro* until 1648. Bernhard, a Protestant, was sent to Italy in the late 1650s to study with Carissimi by Johann Georg II, the Elector of Saxony. Johann Kaspar Kerll, another foreign student of Carissimi's, was previously taught by Giovanni Valentini (1582/3–1649) in Vienna. The prologues and choruses Kerll composed for a play for the Jesuit college of Vienna, *Pia et fortis mulier S. Adriani martyris coniunge expressa* (Vienna, 1677) exists in manuscript in Vienna and in an unpublished modern edition by Vera Kochanowsky. Marc-Antoine Charpentier was the *maestro* for the Parisian Jesuit college Collège de Clermont/Louis-le-Grand. He composed one *drama musicum* for the college, *David et Jonathas* in addition to *histoire sacrées* whose purpose and function is still under discussion. Recent studies related to the dramatic output of Charpentier include Don Fader, 'The "Cabale Du Dauphini," Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage Around 1700,' *Music & Letters* 86:3 (2005): 380–413. Edward T. Corp, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z": David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,' *Revue de Musicologie* 84:1 (1998): 37–62. Raphaëlle Legrand, 'La rhétorique en scène: Quelques perspectives pour l'analyse de la tragédie en musique,' *Revue de Musicologie* 94:1 (1998): 79–91. Edward T. Corp, 'The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Center of Italian Music in France, 1689–1712,' *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 120:2 (1995): 216–231. Lionel Sawkins, 'Doucement and légèrement: Tempo in French Baroque Music,' *Early Music French Baroque Music II* 21:3 (August 1993): 365–374. Jean Duron, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier: *Mors Saülis et Jonathae – David et Jonathas*, de l'histoire sacrée à l'opéra biblique,' *Revue de Musicologie Musique Française Et Musique Italienne Au XVIIe Siècle* 77:2 (1991): 221–268.

⁶⁷⁸ Wolfgang Witzemann, 'Zum Oratorienstil bei Domenico Mazzocchi und Marco Marazzoli,' *Analecta musicologica*, 19 (1979): 52–93. Witzemann also believes that several works in the collection were intended for the S Maria Maddalena delle Convertite al Corso, an Augustinian convent. If continuing research confirms that the latter is true, it is notable as early proof of the performance of sacred dramatic music in convents as well as evidence of significant musical activity by Augustinian nuns in Rome.

⁶⁷⁹ W. Oliver Strunk, 'Vergil in Music,' *The Musical Quarterly* 16:4 (October 1930): 482–497. An example of a Jesuit theatre chorus with a libretto from Virgil's *Aeneid* is *Alecto et Megaera in Hermenegildus Martyr* (Ingolstadt, 1623; Augsburg, 12, 14 October, 1626), Szarota 2:1, 681–696;

1626 dialogue *Martirio di S. Orsola* listed in the table 9.2 also wrote the text for *Pirimalo: Tragedia da recitarsi nel Coll. Rom. Da gli Academici Partenii nelle feste della canonizatione di S. Francesco Saverio. Spiegata in breve argomento d'atti e scene*, a tragedy performed in Italian in 1623 by the Collegio Romano as part of the canonisation celebrations for St. Francis Xavier.⁶⁸⁰

The dramatic dialogues and pre-oratorios performed within the services of the Congregation of the Oratory are comparable in function, number of leading roles, dramatic subject, the use of a narrator(s) and accompanying musical ensembles to the transitional prologue and chorus that developed in Jesuit school theatrical productions c.1620. The typical musical forces in both venues are basso continuo or basso continuo with strings. Narrators are used in both Oratorian and Jesuit dramatic musical works in the form of a *testo* or *historicus* in the oratory and characters such as *Divina Providentia* and *Divina Justitia* in Jesuit theatre. The dramatic subjects of the dialogues from the preceding period c. 1596–c.1619 are primarily allegorical, but biblical subjects, in particular stories from the Old Testament, became increasingly common in Oratorian service music and, as a result of the development of the biblical transitional prologue and chorus c.1620, also in Jesuit theatre. The Oratorian pieces require between five and eight soloists, while the musical casts in Jesuit theatre range in size from 6 to over 50; however, most of these performers are chorus, and between three and eight leading soloists is typical for Jesuit theatre dependent and transitional prologues and choruses during the 1620s and 1630s.⁶⁸¹ Likewise, the primary function of these musical works is the same in both the Congregational oratory and the Jesuit theatre during the period c.1620–c.1639: rather than concluding each sermon or act with a moral summary or reflection, as was the case before c.1595, or rendering a symbolic re-enactment of the sermon or theatrical act, as was typical before 1620, Oratorian dramatic dialogues and Jesuit theatre transitional prologues and choruses in

CSTD ID 56. Two of Domenico Mazzocchi's Latin dialogues on subjects from the *Aeneid*, *Dido furens* and *Nisus & Euryalus*, were published in a collection, *Dialoghi, e sonetti* (1638); the third dialogue appeared in a separate publication in 1641.

⁶⁸⁰ Margaret Murata, 'Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome,' in *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, 4 (1994): 130–131. Ricardo García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)* (Rome: Universitatis Gregorianae, 1954), 285. Sommervogel 7: 49, no. 75.

⁶⁸¹ For example, the transitional choruses in *Der Comedi* had four lead solo roles, *Bma Virgo*, *Sapientia*, *Patientia* and *Nemesis*. *Der Comedi von einem Jüngling Teutscher Nation* (Innsbruck, March, 1619), Szarota, 2:2, 1455–1462; CSTD ID 43.

the 1620s and 1630s provided a biblical illustration of the key point of the preceding spoken part of the service or theatrical production.

The difference in performance language between the two repertoires is merely a result of performance language preferences expressed within the two organisations, and has no affect upon the form, function and characteristics of these works. However, the chief difference between Oratorian dialogues and pre-oratorios and Jesuit theatre transitional prologues and choruses following the 1630 reforms lies in the degree of dramatic development. Jesuit theatre transitional prologues and choruses continued to develop dramatically, emerging as one-part self-contained dramatic works by the 1640s. The *oratorio volgare* emerged at the same time as the independent Jesuit theatre prologue and chorus, but without the stage action and costumes of Jesuit theatre chorus. The period c.1620–c.1639 is therefore a pivotal point in the development of the independent Jesuit theatre chorus and the Congregational oratorio, marking the first major divergence in the previously parallel development of the two genres.

Chapter 10

Emergence of the Independent Prologue and Chorus in Jesuit Theatre and the
Early Oratorio in the Congregation of the Oratory Services,
c.1640–c.1660

The year 1640 is a point of demarcation previously established by oratorio scholars between the dramatic dialogue or cantata and the early oratorio, citing as evidence the first documented use of the term ‘oratorio’ in a musical work by Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652).⁶⁸² The first examples of theatrical prologues and choruses in Jesuit college theatrical productions whose dramatic subject and characters are independent of the main title drama likewise appear around the year 1640. The socio-political context for this period included the election of two popes, the continuing hostilities of the Thirty Years’ War and the spread of Jansenist philosophy.

The papacy of Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) ended with his death on 29 July, 1644, and he was succeeded by Giovanni Battista Pamphili as Pope Innocent X (1574–1655, papacy 1644–1655). The five-week papal conclave at the Vatican, led by the Jesuit Valentino Magnoni, was the scene of yet another power struggle between Spain and France for control of the papacy.⁶⁸³ Chief amongst the thirteen proposed papal candidates were Giulio Sacchetti (1587–1663) and Pamphili. Sacchetti was preferred by the powerful Barberini family and the French faction, especially by Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661), who in 1642 had succeeded Cardinal Richelieu as Chief Minister of France. The Spanish and Italian cardinals, however, preferred Pamphili.

Mazarin objected to Pamphili not only because of Pamphili’s alliance with Mazarin’s personal enemy, Cardinal Panciroli, but also because Philip IV of Spain

⁶⁸² Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), I:174–175. Pietro Della Valle, *Dialogo di Esther* (Congregation of the Oratory, 2 April, 1640). Smither notes that in 1647 Della Valle refers to this work in a letter as *Oratorio di Esther*.

⁶⁸³ Ludwig Pastor, *The history of the popes from the close of the middle ages*, trans. D. Ernest Graf, O.S.B (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1040), 30:15. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, ‘Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,’ in *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 99–131. The 1644 conclave was originally planned to be held in either the Jesuit Seminario Roman or the Palazzo del Quirinale, The Palazzo del Quirinale, also called the Quirinale, is the summer residence constructed by Gregory XIII in 1573. Only 8 of the 62 voting cardinals had been created by popes other than Urban VIII.

(1621–1665) supported Pamphili's candidacy.⁶⁸⁴ The Roman cardinals, fearing that Sacchetti's relationship with the Barberinis would result in a papacy rife with the nepotism and favouritism that characterised Urban VII's reign, coined the slogan, 'Non fate Papa Sacchetti, se no Roma andrà a pezzetti,' or, 'Do not make Sacchetti pope, or Rome will go to pieces.'⁶⁸⁵ At the opening of the conclave, Cardinal Egidio Carillo Albornoaz (d.1649), instructed by Philip IV of Spain, declared Sacchetti ineligible by *jus exclusivae*. *Jus exclusivae*, or the right of exclusion, was first practised by Philip II of Spain at the papal conclave of 1572.⁶⁸⁶ At this conclave Cardinal Granvelle expressed Philip II's desire that Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589) be removed from the body of candidates, nominally on the grounds of his youth (52 years).⁶⁸⁷ Philip IV now claimed this controversial right for himself. Pastor writes:

When asked on what grounds Sacchetti was to be excluded, Albornoaz declared that his sovereign was not bound to give explanations on the subject, that it sufficed that he did not trust him:....not a few of the theologians were of the opinion that they were bound to take that fact into account; thus the confessor of the conclave, the Jesuit Valentino Magnoni, thought that it was not possible to resist the will of so

⁶⁸⁴ Anthony Levi, *Louis XIV*, (New York: Caroll & Graf, 2004). Geoffrey Russell Richards Treasure, *Mazarin: the crisis of absolutism in France* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Ludwig Pastor, 'Innocent X. 1644–1655,' trans. D. Ernest Graf, O.S.B, in *The history of the popes from the close of the middle ages* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1940), 30:19. Hereafter, referred to as Pastor. Though the coronation of Louis XIV (1638–1715) was held on the 7 June 1654, the King did not assume governance of France until after Cardinal Mazarin's death in 1661. Mazarin had co-controlled France since 1643 with Louis XIII's wife, Anne of Austria (1601–1666). Louis XIII had arranged for a regency council headed by Anne in the event of his death during Louis XIV's minority, but upon Louix XIII's death, Mazarin encouraged Anne to sue the Parlement de Paris to annul the king's decree and award her sole regency.

⁶⁸⁵ Lilian H. Zirpolo, *Ave Papa/Ave Papabile: The Sacchetti Family, Their Art Patronage and Political Aspirations* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 97–127, especially 98. On the relationship between the Medici, Barberini and Sacchetti families, see Irene Fosi, *All'ombra dei Barberini: fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca*, Biblioteca del Cinquecento 73 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997), 139–170.

⁶⁸⁶ *Jus exclusivae* is a controversial right claimed first by the Spanish and later by French and Austrian monarchs. Though cardinals and popes throughout the centuries have officially rejected the right of monarchs to exclude papal candidates, Spain successfully did so in 1572, 1644, 1655, 1730 and 1830; France in 1758; and Austria in 1721, 1800 and 1823. For a brief history of the practise, see Francis A. Burkle-Young, *Papal elections in the age of transitions, 1878–1922* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2000), 83–84. See also Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vols. 19 (for 1572), 30 (for 1644) and 31 (for 1655).

⁶⁸⁷ Pastor, 19: 12–13. Philip II believed, as the Pope, Farnese would be hostile to his policies. Farnese was a supporter of the Jesuits, founding the Jesuit college of Sicily in 1552. He also financially supported the construction of the Gesù, the Jesuit church in Rome, where he was buried in 1589 at the high altar.

powerful a King without imperilling the Church, hence they must choose the lesser evil.⁶⁸⁸

Once Pamphili had the support of the Spanish and many of the Italian cardinals, Antonio Barberini found Sacchetti's candidacy untenable and accordingly took action to have him removed from consideration.⁶⁸⁹ Mazarin arrived in Rome too late to veto Pamphili's election, and Innocent X was duly elected.⁶⁹⁰

Mazarin once again proposed Giulio Sacchetti as a papal candidate for the conclave of 1655 after the death of Innocent, but with no more success than the previous conclave.⁶⁹¹ Cardinal Fabio Chigi succeeded Innocent X as Pope Alexander VII (1599–1667, papacy 1655–1667). Similar to the conclave for Innocent X, the papal conclave of Alexander VII was a confrontation of political factions related to the ongoing Thirty Years' War; the meeting of the cardinals lasted an unprecedented 80 days.⁶⁹²

Society of Jesus, c. 1640–c.1660

Pope Innocent X, similar to previous popes, was a Jesuit school alumnus, having attended the Seminario Romano.⁶⁹³ Pope Alexander VII, although he did not attend a Jesuit institution, dedicated his dissertation theses at the *Studium Senese*, later the University of Siena, to the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi (table 10.1).⁶⁹⁴ Under

⁶⁸⁸ Pastor, 30:20. Alexander Eisler, *Das Veto der katholischen Staaten bei der Papstwahl seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Manz, 1907) 93, 95, 97. Sacchetti was excluded by Spain a second time during the conclave of 1655. Eisler notes that the Spanish cardinals were threatened with severe financial repercussions from Philip IV if they did not support the election of Pamphili.

⁶⁸⁹ Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' in *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 129.

⁶⁹⁰ Pastor, 30:14.

⁶⁹¹ Gianvittorio Signorotto, 'The *Squadron Volante*,' in *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 177–211. Michael J. Walsh, *The conclave: a sometimes secret and occasionally bloody history of papal elections* (Lanham, Maryland: Sheed & Ward, 2003), 128.

⁶⁹² Pastor, 31:1–9. For the 1640–c.1660 period of the Thirty Year's War, see N. M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Structure of European Politics,' *The English Historical Review*, 107:424 (July, 1992): 587–625; Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, 'Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis,' *The Historical Journal* 35:2 (June, 1992):417–441.

⁶⁹³ Pastor, 30:25.

⁶⁹⁴ Pastor, 31:14. Thomas D. Culley, S.J., *Jesuits and Music, vol. 1. A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970), 266–267. The December 18, 1657, and February 24, 1663, church music reforms issued by Alexander VII for the Jesuit churches at the Jesuit Collegio Germanico and Collegio Hungarico do not include the music performed within the schools' theatrical productions.

the auspices of both Innocent X and Alexander VII, the Jesuits continued to expand their network of institutions, such as founding a school in Kiev in 1645.⁶⁹⁵ By c.1650, most major as well as many minor European towns had at least one Jesuit educational institution in addition to the colleges established outside of Europe, a total of approximately 500 educational institutions.⁶⁹⁶ The theatrical activities of their schools continued to attract noble patrons: Michael Foss considers it likely that the young Louis XIV attended the productions at the Collège de Clermont in Paris, while it is known that the Collège de Clermont staged a special production for Louis XIV and the exiled Charles II of England in 1653.⁶⁹⁷ In Vienna, Ferdinand III caused a special theatre to be constructed for use by the University of Vienna, an institution administered by the Jesuits.⁶⁹⁸

In the midst of their success, the actions of the Society of Jesus continued to attract hostility from the various factions in the Roman Catholic Church. The period c.1643–c.1648 was a time of intense antagonism by other mendicant organisations, the Dominicans in particular, towards the Jesuits in both Europe and the mission colonies in South America, China, India and the Philippines.⁶⁹⁹ The Dominicans accused the Jesuits of encouraging ancestor worship to continue in their Chinese missions. Meanwhile, at the same time in Mexico, the bishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza ordered the Jesuits to cease preaching and hearing confessions after the Jesuits refused to pay him a tithe. In France and modern-day Belgium, the Jansenists and the Jesuits continued to present and publish their polemic disputations throughout the period 1640–1660. All of these quarrels escalated to the point of papal intercession from the late 1640 to the 1650s.⁷⁰⁰ In Venice, the Jesuits' application to re-enter the city after their expulsion in 1606 was emphatically rejected, with 53 senators voting against the proposal.⁷⁰¹ Pope Innocent X, in spite of his generally cordial relations with the

⁶⁹⁵ Pastor, 30: 194–195.

⁶⁹⁶ McCabe, 7. Emmanuel Aguilera, S.J., *Provinciae Siculae ortus et res gestae* (Palermo: Angeli Felicella, 1737), I:178.

⁶⁹⁷ Michael Foss, *The founding of the Jesuits: 1540*, ed. Sir Denis Brogan, Turning Points in History Series (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969), 176. Sommervogel, 6:223, no. 45. This performance might have been the 4 August, 1653 performance of *Suzanna Tragoedia* with the accompanying ballet *Les Jeux*. For a related topic at the turn of the eighteenth century, see Edward T. Corp, 'The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689–1712,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120:2 (1995): 216–231.

⁶⁹⁸ Smither, I:367.

⁶⁹⁹ Pastor, 30:203–212.

⁷⁰⁰ Pastor, 30:221–350.

⁷⁰¹ Edward Muir, 'Why Venice? Venetian Society and the Success of Early Opera,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36:3 (Winter, 2006): 337. For a study of the continuing Jesuit influence in

Society, issued a papal brief restricting the tenure of Jesuit Superiors to three years and ordering a General Congregation of the Society to be held every nine years.⁷⁰²

Meanwhile, Jesuit college theatre transitional prologues and choruses, which emerged during the period c.1610–c.1630, developed into autonomous works during the 1640s and 1650s.⁷⁰³ The chief characteristic distinguishing Jesuit school theatre independent prologues and choruses from transitional prologues and chorus is that the plot and characters of independent prologues and choruses are completely separated from those of the main title drama; independent prologues and choruses are self-contained musical works. Similar to dependent and transitional choruses, independent choruses are entirely sung works inserted between one or more acts of the main title drama.

Amongst the seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions examined, dependent, transitional and independent prologues and choruses often appear together within a single theatrical production. Jesuit theatre productions performed over c.1640–c.1660 might include more than one independent chorus as well as an independent prologue. For example, the production *Didacus Garzias* (Ingolstadt, 9 September, 1653) exhibits both of these characteristics, as it contains a dependent prologue and chorus, a concluding summary chorus similar to those found in sixteenth-century Jesuit school productions, and four independent works within three choruses (fig. 10.1).⁷⁰⁴ The prologue and the closing scene of Act II, whose performance medium is specified as *Semimufica*, are examples of allegorical

1660s Venetian opera, see Mauro Calcagno, 'Censoring *Eliogabalo* in Seventeenth-Century Venice,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36:3 (Winter, 2006): 355–377.

⁷⁰² Pastor, 30:178.

⁷⁰³ Victor Crowther, *The oratorio in Bologna (1650-1730)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 39, 49–50. Of the musical activity in the Jesuit colleges in Bologna in the second half of the seventeenth century, Crowther writes: '...evidence of a sustained interest in music is lacking...[in] the principal colleges: the Collegio di San Francesco Saverio and the Collegio de San Luigi Gonzaga. From the 1650s onwards they promoted staged events (tragedies, sacred dramas, and tragi-comedies) and academic debates, but only rarely do the librettos of these events indicate the participation of musicians.' As the analyses of Jesuit theatrical programmes in chapter 4 revealed, it was rare for the presence of musicians to be noted in the theatrical programmes/librettos throughout the Jesuit education network until as late as c.1700, and even then the practice remained sporadic until well into the eighteenth century. Taking into consideration the development of the Jesuit school theatrical programme, Crowther's observation may instead indicate the stage of theatrical programme development in the Bologna Jesuit colleges c.1650 rather than an actual absence of musical activity. If neither of the Bologna Jesuit colleges included sung choruses in their theatrical productions, as Crowther proposes, such an omission would be notable as the only example of Italian colleges not to place sung choruses at the conclusion the acts of the main title drama. An analysis of the production components of the Bologna colleges' relevant theatrical programmes would shed light on this matter.

⁷⁰⁴ *Didacus Garzias Comes de Viriddi Valle, Ob Sacrelegam Libidinem Post Frequentes Dei Admonitiones Impoenitens, A Molosso Tartareo Discerptus Comico-Tragoedia* (Ingolstadt, 9 September, 1653), Szarota 2:1, 1267–1274; CSTD ID 165.

dependent choruses; II.vii functions as the concluding chorus to the act but is not labelled a chorus as it is not entirely sung. The final chorus, which is also a dependent work, is a moral summary of the main title drama.

Whereas the prologue and the conclusions to Act II and Act V of *Didacus Garzias* are dependent musical or semi-musical works such as those found within Jesuit school theatrical productions prior to c.1640, *Didacus Garzias* also contains four independent works that function as the choruses for acts I, III and IV; the chorus of Act III contains two works. The chorus for Act I is a biblical example of fratricide, the story of Cain and Abel from the Old Testament book Genesis. The story is presented in song by *Cain* and expounded upon by a narrative character, possibly *Deus*, or a five-voice vocal ensemble, *Philostham*, led by the director of choirs, Albert Loth (fig. 10.2). Albert Loth performs not only the role of *Deus* in the Act I chorus but also the role of *Loth* [Lot] in the concluding chorus of Act IV, whose subject is the city of Sodom and the temptation of luxury. The chorus to Act IV is principally a dialogue between Lot and *Providentia Divina*, supported by other characters.

The concluding chorus for Act III is comprised of two one-part dialogues; the first of which concerns Solomon while the second recounts the tale of Samson. The title role for each dialogue is sung by different performers: the role of *Solomon*, in addition to the parts of *Cain* from the chorus in Act I and *Providentia Divina* in Act IV's chorus, was sung by seminary student Stephan Sutor. The part of *Samson* was performed by another seminary student, Johann Râdlmair; this was his only named role in the production. Four other seminary students and two lower school students from the major syntax and grammar classes, respectively, performed supporting roles, aided by the *Philostham* ensemble

As exemplified by the production *Didacus Garzias*, independent choruses in seventeenth-century Jesuit school theatrical productions typically portray subjects from the Old Testament.⁷⁰⁵ The works *Cain*, *Solomon*, *Samson* and *Lot* in the *Didacus Garzias* production display the typical performance composition of seventeenth-century independent Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses, that of soloists in dialogue with a supporting choral ensemble. The choral ensemble in these works may be built from soloists, or as in the case of *Didacus Garzias*, be a specified group of singers. It

⁷⁰⁵ For example, the dramatic subject source for 20 out of the 34 independent choruses within the seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre data sample is the Old Testament.

appears from the extant examples that it is typical practice for the choral ensemble to conclude the work.

The function of the independent prologue and chorus in seventeenth-century Jesuit theatrical productions is to portray a biblical story that illustrates in parallel the moral of the preceding act of the main title drama. Probably the increase in spectacle in the Jesuit theatre during the period c.1640–c.1660 led to a tradition of staging independent prologues and choruses in Jesuit theatrical productions, and similar to the staged dialogues in the Jesuit Marian congregations.⁷⁰⁶ The majority of seventeenth-century independent choruses are in one formal division, just as seen among the 18 examples in the seventeenth-century data sample in chapter 4 and the four independent choruses in *Didacus Garzias*, but choruses in two formal divisions became increasingly common after the turn of the century.⁷⁰⁷

Joyce L. Johnson and Howard E. Smither identify *Adae oratorium* and *Filii prodigi oratorium* by Bonifazio Graziani, the *maestro di cappella* at the Gesù and the Seminario Romano, as the only known examples of seventeenth-century Latin oratorios in two formal divisions. In their introduction to the first volume of their facsimile series *The Italian Oratorio 1650–1800: Works in a Central Baroque and Classic Tradition*, Johnson and Smither write, ‘As the Jesuits are not known for having performed oratorios either in their church, the Gesù, or in the Seminario Romano at this time, Bonifazio Graziani’s oratorios would more likely have been heard at [Oratorio del santissimo] Crocifisso.’⁷⁰⁸ Graziani is known to have directed the music at SS. Crocifisso in 1650 and the chief venue in Rome at that time for the performance of sung non-staged dramatic works in Latin outside of Catholic school

⁷⁰⁶ Spectacle choruses that were not musical works, such as military displays, were staged. Similarly, the dependent choruses in which the actual hero, not the *genius* of the hero, takes part might also have included some elements of staging. Jesuit theatre stage directions are a rare find, and therefore the absence of stage directions for the available examples of independent prologues and choruses neither suggest nor deny that these works might have been performed with dramatic action.

⁷⁰⁷ The available examples indicate that the two-part chorus was common in Austrian and German Jesuit school theatrical productions by at least the 1730s. Three examples of two-part independent choruses in three different Jesuit schools c. 1730–c.1750 are *David et Nabali* in the production *Ferdinandus de Cortes, Honoris Mariani Vindex Iratus ac Placatus* (Landshut, 3, 5 September, 1732), Szarota 2:1 343–350, CSTD ID 1758; *Sacrificium Jephthes* in *T. Flavius Clemens Romanus Consul Tragoedia* (Regensburg, 4, 6 September, 1748), GB–Lbl 840.e.5 no. 45, CSTD 1921; and *Joseph in Aegypt* in *Henricus Calvensis Tragoedia* (Lucerne, 2, 3 September, 1751), Szarota 1:1 279–286, CSTD 1953. The production *Henricus Calvensis Tragoedia* also includes an independent prologue, *David Coronatus*.

⁷⁰⁸ Bonifazio Graziani, ‘*Adae oratorium*,’ ‘*Filii prodigi oratorium*,’ ed. and intro. Joyce L. Johnson and Howard E. Smither in *The Italian Oratorio 1650 – 1800: Works in a Central Baroque and Classic Tradition* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 1:iv; 141–170; 171–194. Smither, I:255–256. Both Johnson and Smither refer to Graziani’s *Adae oratorium* and *Filii prodigi oratorium* as oratorios.

theatres was SS. Crocifisso, and thus the conclusion is logical; moreover, the Sommervogel's catalogue shows that the Seminario Romano did not perform oratorios as main title dramas among the productions listed there at this time.

However, there is evidence during the period c.1640–c.1660 that works regarded as Latin oratorios by Smither, Johnson, Pasquetti, Alaleona, et al., were inserted as independent prologues and choruses in Jesuit school theatrical productions. For example, three years after the performance of *Didacus* by the Ingolstadt Jesuit school, Collegio Germanico *maestro* Giacomo Carissimi's *Giuditta*, or *Judith*, was inserted in the 1656 production of *Il sacrificio d'Isacco*, also with music by Carissimi, staged in the Jesuit church S. Apollinare.⁷⁰⁹ Therefore, given that Graziani was a *maestro* at a Jesuit institution and responsible for composing the music for theatrical productions, there is a possibility that his *Adae oratorium* and *Filii prodigi oratorium* were inserted in theatrical productions by the Seminario Romano, information that the format of Sommervogel's catalogue would not indicate.⁷¹⁰ The interpolation of Carissimi's *Giuditta* in a Jesuit school production as an independent chorus indicates that independent Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses and the works considered *oratorio latino* share the same characteristics and according Smither's definition of *oratorio latino* could be considered the same genre.

⁷⁰⁹ Smither, I:215–246. Culley, 178–180. Fausto Torrefranco, 'Christine Alexandra von Schweden,' *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (New York: Bärenreiter, 1952), II:1408. *Isacco* was repeated for Pope Alexander VII without costume and scenery, a demonstration of the flexibility of the sung works in Jesuit theatre to be performed with or without theatrical trappings as the circumstances dictate. This performance of *Il sacrificio d'Isacco* was given at the request of Christine of Sweden; the Pope purportedly gave the Jesuits 20,000 thalers to produce theatrical works for the entertainment of Queen Christine. Culley cites Fausto Torrefranca, who identifies the function of *Giuditta*, the tale of Judith and Holofernes, as an *intermedio* for the *Il sacrificio d'Isacco* production. Oldani and Yanitelli's research shows that independent choruses in Jesuit theatre were commonly identified as *interludia* rather than choruses. The change in label emphasized the chorus' independence from the main title drama similar to other forms of *interludia*. Louis J. Oldani, S.J. and Victor R. Yanitelli, S.J., 'Jesuit Theater in Italy: Its Entrances and Exit,' *Italics* 76:1 (Spring, 1999): 30.

⁷¹⁰ Carolyn Gianturco, "'Cantate Spirituali e Morali,'" with a Description of the Papal Sacred Cantata Tradition for Christmas 1676–1740,' *Music & Letters* 73:1 (February, 1992): 1–31. Gianturco has uncovered an example contemporary to the *Didacus* and *Il sacrificio d'Isacco* Jesuit school productions of a spoken play performed in the Oratory of S. Filippo Neri at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti in Venice with what she labels 'moral cantatas' inserted between the acts of the main title allegorical Italian drama, *L'anima pentita* (1667). The description of the production, the format of the production structure and the function of the inserted moral cantatas match that of contemporary Italian Jesuit college theatrical productions, except that the performance language of *L'anima pentita* is the vernacular. Gianturco mentions that *L'anima pentita* is the only example she has found to date of a spoken play with non-secular cantatas concluding each act; a comparative study of *L'anima pentita* and contemporary Italian Jesuit theatre choruses has yet to be conducted.

Congregation of the Oratory, c.1640–c.1660

On the 15 August, 1640, the new oratory for the Chiesa Nuova in Rome opened with great celebration.⁷¹¹ The Congregation of the Oratory nearly doubled in size through the addition of 24 establishments (table 10.2).⁷¹² The first Mexican Congregation of the Oratory, formed in 1651, was recognised in 1671 by Clement X. There were also new oratories in Spain after c.1650, while the first Polish Congregation was founded in 1655 in Gostyn.⁷¹³ The initial stages of the establishment of the Congregation of the Oratory in Germany began in 1660s through the efforts of a Jesuit-educated priest from Munich, Johann Georg Seidenbusch (1641–1729). Seidenbusch, upon hearing about the Congregation, journeyed to the Roman Congregation and became the first German Oratorian.⁷¹⁴

However, while the Italian Oratorians remained generally uninvolved in the power struggles in the papal conclaves and maintained a cordial but no longer close relationship with the Jesuits, the heretical doctrine of the Jansenists began to be espoused by some French Congregations of the Oratory beginning around 1650.⁷¹⁵ With the acceptance of the Jansenist teachings in the Oratory came also an assumption of the pre-existing hostility between the Jansenists and the Jesuits.⁷¹⁶ Subsequently, relations between the French Oratorians and the French Jesuits turned

⁷¹¹ Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: Yale University Press, 1980), 76–77. However, like the Gesù, the Chiesa Nuova remained unadorned and without frescos until 1646; the work was completed by Pietro da Cortona in 1664.

⁷¹² Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome*, trans. Thomas Alder Pope, C.O. (London: Burns & Oates, Ltd., 1894), II:465–466.

⁷¹³ Türks, 146.

⁷¹⁴ Türks, 151–152. The first German Congregation of the Oratory was sponsored by the Bishop of Regensburg in Aufhausen in 1692 with Seidenbusch as the Provost. The Aufhausen Oratory was formally sanctioned by the Pope in 1695, the centennial of Neri's death. The first Congregation of the Oratory in Vienna was founded in 1704 and Munich, 1707. The earliest known identification of a work for Jesuit theatre as an oratorio is *Mulier fortis quis inveniet? Oratorium* (Regensberg, 1740), GB-Lbl 840.e.5, no. 33; CSTD ID 1855.

⁷¹⁵ For details of Jansenism and its role in seventeenth-century politics, see Daniella J. Kostroun, *Feminism, absolutism, and Jansenism: Louis XIV and the Port Royal Nuns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Gemma Simmonds, 'Jansenism versus papal absolutism,' ed. James Corkery and Thomas Worcester in *The Papacy since 1500: From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010): 90–106; William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic resistance to authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); *ibid.*, *Jansenism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Charles E. Williams, *The French Oratorians and Absolutism, 1611–1641* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1989).

⁷¹⁶ William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic resistance to authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 21–39. Charles E. Williams, *The French Oratorians and Absolutism, 1611–1641* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1989), 418–419. Pastor, 30: 221–350, especially 273.

inimical. For example, the Jesuit Le Tellier, confessor of Louis XIV, requested that the Oratorians be suppressed and expelled from France on the grounds of spreading doctrines of political rebellion against the monarchy in order to set up a republican state.⁷¹⁷ First Pope Innocent X and then Pope Alexander VII became involved in quelling the Jansenist/Jesuit disputes that escalated during 1650s and 1660s.⁷¹⁸

Meanwhile, the number of musical works performed by Oratorian congregations increased. In Florence during the 1650s and 1660s, the Congregation of the Oratory performed between 22 and 37 dialogues and oratorios between 1 November and Palm Sunday, an average of more than one work per week.⁷¹⁹ Other confraternities in Florence also were performing dialogues during this time, and later oratorios; four of these were former youth confraternities whose membership eligibility was altered to admit adult men during the early years of the seventeenth century. According to John Walter Hill, the membership of these confraternities was predominantly adult by the 1660s.⁷²⁰

The reformatory attitude of the Italian Congregations of the Oratory towards the music performed in the oratories of the Congregation during the 1620s and 1630s continued into the 1640s. Theatrical staging continued to be discouraged, while the selection of musicians from among the Oratorians over outside musicians likewise continued. One of the reformatory efforts in the 1630s resulted in the development of a new structure for the oratorio. During the 1660s, the one-part oratorio began to be superseded by a new development, the oratorio in two formal divisions, frequently

⁷¹⁷ Arthur Herman, 'The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53:2 (April–June 1992), 267. G. Minois, *Le Confesseur du roi* (1988), 469–488. I. de Récalde, ed., *L'Abbé de Margon: lettres sur le confessorat du P. Le Tellier, avec une introd. et des notes sur La politique des jésuites et de l'Oratoire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie moderne, 1928), 249–259.

⁷¹⁸ Agnès Cornevin, 'La *Ratio studiorum* du Père Houbigant, témoignage de l'enseignement oratorien des humanités,' ed. Jean Ehrard, in *Le Collège de Riom et l'enseignement oratorien en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993): 133. The French Oratorian schools also promulgated their own *Ratio Studiorum*, the first version of which was written by Père Morin in 1645. The Italian Barnabites similarly published a course of studies for their schools in 1666, *Exterarum scholarum disciplina apud clericos regulares S. Pauli in provincia Mediolanensi* (Mediolani: Francisci Vigoni, 1666).

⁷¹⁹ John Walter Hill 'Oratory Music in Florence III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785,' *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986), 131–132.

⁷²⁰ John Walter Hill 'Oratory Music in Florence III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785,' *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986), 132. Hill notes that the *Vangelista*, the sole Florentine youth confraternity that never changed its statutes to admit adult men, continued performing *sacre rappresentazioni* rather than oratorios.

labelled either *prima cantata* and *seconda cantata* and *prima and seconda parte*.⁷²¹ The purpose of the musical works presented in the spiritual exercises, namely, attracting the people to hear the sermon, did not change. However, as contemporary oratorio librettist Archangelo Spagna (c.1636–after 1720) writes in his ‘Discorso,’ the Oratorians realised that if only half of a biblical story were delivered in each musical work, the audience were more likely to stay through the sermon.⁷²² Beginning around 1660, therefore, both two-part and one-part oratorios were performed in the oratories; eventually, the two-part oratorio replaced the one-part works.

Comparison, Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory, c.1640–c.1660

It is generally accepted that a consistent definition and use of the term oratorio is not present during the period c.1640–c.1660. In Rome, while the term indicated a musical work, it is not clear whether a specific venue, namely, the oratory, or specific type of musical work is indicated. For example, in the Congregation’s oratory in Bologna, Crowther suggests that a number of the so-called oratorios performed in services during c.1640–c.1671 were actually dramatic dialogues from the Jesuit-employed Giovanni Francesco Anerio, S.J.’s *Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigale*.⁷²³ Similarly, the letter from Friedrich, the Landgrave of Hessen-Darmstadt and a former student of Carissimi, requesting three motets from Carissimi for an oratorio to be performed at the Jesuit church in 1642 is another instance of the casual use of the term oratorio, as the only motet whose title is specified in the letter,

⁷²¹ There is no relationship between the Austrian and German variant of the Italian model of production structure in contemporary Jesuit theatre, [P]3PtCH[I][E], beyond the use of a similar system of labels. These Jesuit main title dramas, whose divisions are labeled *pars prima*, *pars seconda* and *pars tertia*, are not fore-runners of the two-part or three oratorio, as the performance medium of the Jesuit theatre works is solely speech. As shown in chapter 4, some of these productions do include sung choruses and prologues.

⁷²² Archangelo Spagna, *Oratorii: libro primo overo melodrammi sacri con un discorso dogmatico intorno l'istessa materia* (Rome: Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1706). Reprinted in Arnold Schering, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des italienischen Oratoriums im 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, 1907), 51. Cited by Smither, I:166–167. See also Mauro Sarnelli, ‘Percorsi dell’oratorio per musica come genere letterario fra Sei e Settecento’, in *Percorsi dell’oratorio romano: da “historia sacra” a melodramma spirituale: atti della giornata di studi*, Saverio Franchi, ed. (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002): 137–198. A related essay in the same collection that also starts with Spagna’s works but focuses upon developments in the librettos of Protestant cantatas is Oscar Mischianti, ‘La cantata secondo Erdmann Neumeister e l’oratorio secondo Arcangelo Spagna: una possibile analogia?’, *Percorsi dell’oratorio romano: da “historia sacra” a melodramma spirituale: atti della giornata di studi*, Saverio Franchi, ed. (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002): 95–98.

⁷²³ Crowther, *Bologna*, 32. Crowther notes that these were accompanied by a number of instruments, in particular a theorbo as well as two harpsichords, which were placed in such a way as to give the audience an unobstructed view of the characters in the dialogues.

Clama ne cesses, is neither a narrative nor a dramatic dialogue.⁷²⁴ However, Culley cites Adolf Sandberger's research showing that Queen Christine of Sweden had an oratorio performed in the Jesuit church S. Apollinare every Wednesday of Lent, the first of which was *L'istoria di Daniele* (1656).⁷²⁵

Smither points out that the major European cities began importing the oratorio from Italy beginning around c.1660 while also writing,

Brief dialogue motets probably were performed in these areas [Spain, Portugal, the Catholic regions of Austria (except Vienna), southern Germany, and eastern Europe] as elsewhere in the early Baroque, but the extent to which there may have been an early Baroque development of long, sacred dramatic dialogues is not known.⁷²⁶

The Austrian and German bias in the data sample for chapter 4, together with the examples from eastern European Jesuit colleges, reveals that 'long, sacred dramatic dialogues' arose in these areas prior to the importation of the Italian oratorio. Continued investigation of the practise of *contrafactum* in seventeenth-century oratorios, as revealed in research by Oscar Mischiati and Arnaldo Morelli, may reveal a hitherto unknown Jesuit presence among the oratorios written and composed during the period c.1640–c.1660.⁷²⁷ In France, copies of Carissimi's *historias*/oratorios are known from 1649, yet, as Smither notes, there are no documented performances of

⁷²⁴ Culley, 188. 'There are so many favours that you are doing for me that I can only thank you very much, knowing myself [to be] so obliged to your kindness that I long for nothing else, other than the occasion of showing you the gratitude and affection which I profess for you. Meanwhile, I give you infinite thanks for the *arietta* which you have sent me, assuring you that I have had great pleasure not only from the said [*arietta*], but more because of the continued remembrance which you are pleased to keep of my person through your kindness alone. This gives me all the more courage to demand a new favour of you, which is that you be willing to send me, as soon as possible, the *arietta*, *Alora che fai che pensi*, for two voices, as well as three motets, for four, five or more voices (as you will think fit) which are to serve for an oratorio which is to be given Friday at eight, at the Jesuit Fathers', who have asked me [for them] so insistently. One of these [motets], if it seems fitting to you, could be *Clama ne cesses* for four voices....Florence, March 29, 1642. Your most affectionate student, The Prince, Friedrich Landgrave. Translated by Thomas D. Culley. Italics, my emphasis.

⁷²⁵ Culley, 180. Adolf Sandberger, 'Beziehungen der Königin Christine von Schweden zur italienschen Oper und Musik, insbesondere zu M. A. Cesti. Mit einem Anhang über Cestis Innsbrucker Aufenthalt,' *Bulletin de la Société Union musicologique* 5 (1925): 129. The libretto was by Prince of Gallicano and Carissimi might have composed the music.

⁷²⁶ Smither, I:365.

⁷²⁷ Oscar Mischiati, 'Per la storia dell'Oratorio a Bologna: Tre inventari del 1620, 1622, e 1682,' *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 3 (1963): 131–70. Arnaldo Morelli, 'La circolazione dell'oratorio italiano nel Seicento,' *Studi Musicali* 26 (1997): 105–86.

these works in that country during the period c. 1640–c.1660.⁷²⁸ However, several of the *histoire sacrées* of Marc-Antoine Charpentier written for the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris were performed during the 1680s.⁷²⁹ Smither, Kirkendale and Müller all cite the influence of Jesuit main title dramas, and thereby dependent choruses, on the development of oratorios with hagiographical dramatic subjects.⁷³⁰ Oratorios on allegorical subjects developed from allegorical dialogues in *laude* and the *sacre rappresentationi*; Smither, Müller and Schering note again the similarity between allegorical oratorios and allegorical Jesuit main titled dramas.⁷³¹

However, by c.1640, the relationship between the Jesuits and the Oratorians that had begun in the 1550s had disintegrated, strained by political and religious tension between the two organisations during the 1620s and 1630s. The continuing preference for drama and spectacle in Jesuit theatre prologue and choruses found no support in Oratorian services, and the restrictions on language imposed in the 1630s continued to force the two developing musical repertoires to diverge still further.⁷³² The presence and influence of Jesuit *maestri* in the Oratorian repertoire diminished after 1630; the loss of Jesuit student participation in the musical performance in Congregational services severed another strand of the previously strong conduit of

⁷²⁸ Smither, I:416–418. An investigation into the performances of French Jesuit college Marian Congregations might reveal a possible performance venue in France for Carissimi's *oratorio latinos* during this period.

⁷²⁹ Jean Duron, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Mors Saülis et Jonathae – David et Jonathas, de l'histoire sacrée à l'opéra biblique,' *Revue De Musicologie* 77: 2 (1991): 221–268. H. Wiley Hitchcock, 'Les oeuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: post-scriptum a un catalogue,' *Revue de Musicologie* 70:1 (1984): 37–50. Ibid., 'The Latin Oratorios of Marc-Antoine Charpentier,' *Musical Quarterly*. 41:1 (1955): 41–65. In his 1984 article, Hitchcock classifies Charpentier's oratorios and *histoires sacrées* as 'motets dramatiques,' thus linking the motet with the *oratorio latino* and thereby also with the independent Jesuit theatre chorus. The absence of choruses in French Jesuit theatrical productions (see the production structure model section of chapter 4) precludes their use within a theatrical production. This leaves two possible venues for the performance of Charpentier's *histoire*, namely the church and the Marian congregation. The research of Jean Duron and H. Wiley Hitchcock reveals the probability that several of Charpentier's dramatic sacred works were performed within the Mass at the Jesuit church at Clermont. The musical activities of the college's Marian congregation have not been studied to date.

⁷³⁰ Smither, I:300; Ursula Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien* (Graz: Böhlau, 1966), 154–156; Müller, I:31, 608.

⁷³¹ Smither, I:301; Johannes Müller, I:60–62; Schering, 93.

⁷³² Kevin Croxen, 'Thematic and Generic Medievalism in the Polish Neo-Latin Drama of the Renaissance and Baroque,' *The Slavic and East European Journal* 43:2 (Summer, 1999): 269–270. Louis J. Oldani, S.J. and Victor R. Yanitelli, S.J., 'Jesuit Theater in Italy: Its Entrances and Exit,' *Italics* 76:1 (Spring, 1999): 26–27. After c.1660, the language barrier between Jesuit theatre prologue and chorus and Oratorian oratorios diminished somewhat. For example, the prologues and choruses in seventeenth-century Polish Jesuit dramas are usually in the vernacular. In Italy, beginning c.1700, main title dramas and independent prologues and choruses were written and performed in the vernacular; Oldani and Yanitelli's article includes the authors and titles to 24 eighteenth-century Jesuit main title dramas written and published in Italian.

exchange between the two organisations. By c.1660, the independent Jesuit theatre prologue and chorus and the Congregation *oratorio volgare* were historically related but separate genres following separate paths of development into the eighteenth century.

Chapter 11

The Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory, c.1550–c.1660

The growth of the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory over the period c.1550–c.1660 reflected the philosophy of their respective founders: Loyola embraced a rapid expansion of the Society's education network, while Neri's approach to expansion was reflective and deliberate. Beginning with the foundation of the first Jesuit college in 1548, the Jesuit educational network expanded to approximately 300 schools throughout Europe, Asia, and the Americas by c.1595, as Ignatius Loyola and the succeeding Generals of the Society accepted as many requests for schools as possible. In contrast to Loyola, Filippo Neri refused nearly all of the requests proffered him to found additional oratories, so that over the period between 1574, when the Congregation of the Oratory received papal sanction, to 1595, the year Neri died, the Congregation of the Oratory had established only eight oratories, seven in Italy and one in France. However, between 1595 and 1619, the Congregation of the Oratory founded 12 new oratories in both Italy and France, bringing their total to 20 Congregations. Just as the measured pace of the growth within the Congregation during the seventeenth century was guided by the example of Neri, the Jesuits continued the rapid rate of expansion instituted by Ignatius. The result was that by c.1660, the Congregation consisted of 38 oratories while the Society of Jesus directed an estimated 500 colleges, universities and seminaries.

Before and after the deaths of their two founders, Loyola and Neri, the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory exhibited a persistent pattern of influence and exchange during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The personal friendship between the Spaniard priest Ignatius Loyola and the Italian priest Filippo Neri extended into their respective religious organisations, an example of which is Neri's recruitment activities for the Society of Jesus. Neri himself was intimately acquainted with several Jesuit school *maestri* and musicians.

Even before the Congregation of the Oratory was a formally recognised institution, the Jesuits established Marian congregations, modelled upon Neri's exercises and services, which became a standard component of all Jesuit colleges after the 1570s. Also, Filippo Neri was a Florentine, and he introduced from his

confraternal experiences in Florence the custom of singing *laude* to the *Congregazione dell'oratorio*, supported by the *lauda* collections published by the Oratorian *maestro*, Giovanni Animuccia. The influence of Neri and the Oratorians upon Loyola and the Society of Jesus was apparent after the practice using *laude* to conclude the meetings of their school Marian congregations was adopted by the Jesuits. The tradition of *laude* singing that Neri imported to Rome was spread throughout Europe through the use of the Jesuit priest Ledesma's *Dottrina cristiana* in the Christian Doctrine schools in Italy and Jesuit college Marian Congregations throughout the Jesuit school network; for example, 19 of the 67 editions of *lauda* published between 1563 and 1609 were specifically associated with *Dottrina cristiana* schools.⁷³³ As the use of the vernacular was acceptable in the Jesuit college Marian congregation exercises and services, books of *laude* published by the Oratorians for their own use were also likely used by the Jesuit Marian congregations.

Following the papal recognition of the Congregation of the Oratory in 1574, the Jesuits and their students assumed an active role in the services and meetings of the Oratory. Oratorian congregations without their own church typically held their spiritual exercises and services in churches attached to Jesuit colleges. Moreover, composers and musicians active in the Congregation of the Oratory and Jesuit school theatres worked together in performing in lay oratories at least as early as the 1590s. Finally, a significant amount of the music performed in the oratories of the Congregation for *oratorio vespertino* services during the period c.1580–c.1640 was composed by composers associated with Jesuit schools and performed by musicians from the Jesuit schools.

Relations between the Jesuits and Congregation of the Oratory began to fray starting in the 1620s, the combined result of Jesuit interference in a quarrel between the Roman Oratory and the Congregation in Naples and the demonstrated preference by cities for French Oratorian schools over those of the Jesuits. However, Oratorian congregations without their own facilities continued to use Jesuit college churches for their services and exercises during the 1620s and 1630s. Also, a significant number of the composers and librettists writing for the Oratories during the seventeenth century who did not themselves hold a position in a Jesuit college were alumni of Jesuit educational institutions. But tensions continued to mount between the Jesuits and

⁷³³ Eyolf Østrem and Neils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 88.

Oratorians in France and between the Jesuits and the French Oratorians in Italy. By the 1640s, the two religious communities followed ever more divergent pathways and the emergence c.1640 of two sacred music repertoires with the same characteristics except for performance language was one of the results of the dissolution of this relationship.

The immediate precursors of both the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit theatre and the oratorio in the Congregation of the Oratory include *sacre rappresentazioni* performed by Florentine and Roman confraternities during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. While the dramas mounted by Florentine youth confraternities chiefly took the form of recitations or spoken dialogues on the lives and martyrdoms of saints followed by the singing of *laude* by the members, others were more truly theatrical, such as the 1491 performance of *SS. Giovanni e Paolo the Arcangelo Raffaello*, which included an entirely sung prologue with instrumental interludes inserted between the major divisions of the work. The Passion plays performed by the Roman *Gonfalone* confraternity until 1534 provide another avenue of continuity between the Jesuit theatre chorus and the Oratorian oratorio and the medieval liturgical drama, for these plays concluded with a single summarizing chorus. The Resurrection plays of the same confraternity not only concluded individual scenes with a chorus, but also provided a precedent for the use of motets and Marian antiphons as internal choruses in the sixteenth century Jesuit theatre productions.

Before c.1560, the production structure of both Jesuit theatrical productions and the spiritual exercises led by Neri included a brief musical work presented at the conclusion of each production or exercise, respectively, just as found in the earlier *Gonfalone* confraternity's Passion and Resurrection *sacre rappresentazioni*. After c.1560, choruses were commonly placed at the conclusion of each act of Jesuit school productions rather than only at the end of the production. The Congregation of the Oratory followed suit in the 1570s, placing a musical work at the conclusion of each of the four to five sermons in their winter vesper services.

Examples of performances involving sung dialogues in confraternities, in particular the youth confraternities of Florence, shows that the development of the musical dialogues was general in Italy around the turn of the century. Sacred sung dialogues appeared in the choruses of Jesuit theatre prize-day productions and in the winter vespers services and non-feast-day services of the Congregation of the Oratory

in Rome beginning c.1580. The structure of the winter vesper and non-feast-day services of the Congregation of the Oratory during the seventeenth century included space for two dialogues, while contemporary Jesuit theatrical productions contained as many as six dialogues, and as the dramatic elements of the dialogues continued to develop c.1580–c.1640, the duration of the works increased from five to 30 or more minutes.

The primary function of the Jesuit theatre chorus and the *laude* in Neri's spiritual exercises during the sixteenth century was to provide a moral response to, or a summary of, the import of the preceding dramatic act(s) or sermon, just as found in fifteenth-century and contemporary dramatic works staged by Florentine youth confraternities. The primary purpose of the narrative and dramatic dialogues performed in these venues during the late sixteenth and into the early seventeenth century, however, was to present a commentary upon the contents of the drama or sermon through the use of allegory. During the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, the role of the Jesuit theatre chorus and the dialogues in Oratorian services transformed from providing commentary through allegorical characters to providing a separate but parallel example from the Old Testament of the spiritual or moral virtue being extolled in the sermon or the main title drama. Examples of staged productions of dramatic dialogues, similar to contemporary performance by Florentine and Roman confraternities, are found among the performances of both the Jesuit and Oratorian organisations during the early seventeenth century, although after 1620–1630 the dialogues performed in Congregational oratories were given without staging.

While the modifications in production structure in Jesuit school theatrical productions during the seventeenth century did not affect the location of the theatrical choruses, the structure of the winter vesper services, or *oratorio vespertino*, changed from four or five sermons with inserted musical works to a single sermon flanked on either side by a sung sacred dialogue. The structure of the non-feast-day services of the Congregation similarly changed to two musical works with a sermon inserted between them. Although the guidelines issued by the Congregation in 1621 added additional spoken components to the *oratorio vespertino*, the location of the two musical works in relation to the sermon within the structure of the service remained constant.

The sung musical works concluding Jesuit theatrical productions and the spiritual exercises of Filippo Neri during the period c.1550–c.1570 were motets,

laude, madrigals, etc., independent musical compositions devoid of narration or dramatic dialogue. However, narrative and dramatic elements appear in Jesuit theatre choruses and Oratorian vesper service dialogues beginning in the late 1570s and are found in confraternity productions by the turn of the century. By c.1580, the subject matter and characters in the dialogues of Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses are those of the main title drama or are allegorical constructs inseparable from the main drama action. Whereas all Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses are dependent dramatic works until the late 1610s, the dialogues performed in the services of the Congregation, although distinct in character from the spoken sermons, illustrate by parallel biblical example the subject or moral of the sermons. This parallel relationship continues from c.1610 until at least the 1630s, during which time the transitional prologue and chorus developed in Jesuit school theatrical productions. Examples of Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses whose dramatic subject and characters are completely independent of the main title drama but illustrate the morals of the main title drama through the use of parallel examples from the Bible appear in c.1640, just as the first self-identified oratorios emerge. By the 1660s, independent Jesuit theatrical prologues and choruses and Congregational oratorios are sacred musical entertainment whose dramatic subjects do not necessarily illustrate the moral of the main title drama or sermon.

During the period c.1500–c.1570, Jesuit college theatrical productions and the spiritual exercises led by Filippo Neri included one or more brief musical works in one formal part. The dependent prologues and choruses that developed in Jesuit theatre in the 1580s appear to be a series of one-part dialogues within the theatrical production, although treating these as a single large work could be supported due to the dependent relationship among the prologue and choruses. The narrative and dramatic sacred dialogues performed in the oratories of the Congregation c.1570–c.1620 are in one formal part, and each vesper service required the performance of two dialogues. Beginning early in the seventeenth century, Jesuit school theatrical productions often contained multiple examples of transitional choruses and prologues

All identified seventeenth-century transitional Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses are dialogues in one part, indistinguishable from contemporary Congregational and confraternal dialogues; there are no known examples of seventeenth-century transitional Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses in two or more formal divisions. Italian dialogues or early oratorios in two formal divisions first

appear in the 1630s, although works in one part are more common until after c.1660. Similar to the oratorios performed in the oratories of the Congregation over the period c.1640–c.1660, the one-part independent chorus in Jesuit theatre that emerged in 1640 developed into a two-part genre by the 1660s.

The duration of the musical works performed within Jesuit theatrical productions and the services of the Congregation of the Oratory increased significantly from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth century. Prior to c.1600, the estimated performance time for Jesuit theatre choruses and Oratorian *laude* is less than five minutes. The change from works for ensemble to more complex works for soloists and ensembles in both repertoires around 1600 resulted in longer performance times of approximately five to ten minutes. The emergence of the transitional chorus and the structural changes in the services of the Oratory in the 1610s provided niches for the continued expansion of dramatic dialogues. The Congregational reforms of the 1620s limiting the length of services to two hours did not have an observable effect on the duration of the musical works, which increased to an estimated maximum of 15 minutes in both the oratories of the Congregation and the choruses of the Jesuit theatre. By the 1660s, the performance time for each formal division of the independent chorus in Jesuit theatre and the oratorio in the oratories typically ranged between 15 and 30 minutes.

Neither the Jesuit theatre choruses nor the *laude* in Neri's exercises performed by ensembles and congregations before c.1570, respectively, contained narrative or dramatic elements. However, the ensemble Jesuit choruses and congregational *laude* in the Oratorian services were replaced by dialogues c.1570–c.1580 whose dramatic development increased over the course of the seventeenth century. The Jesuit drama chorus dialogues before c.1600 were chiefly allegorical constructs, as were those performed in the oratories. After the turn of the century, subjects from the Old Testament became the preferred subject choice for Congregation service dialogues, although the characters and subjects in Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses remained largely allegorical until the late 1610s. After 1620, the favoured source of dramatic subjects in both repertoires is the Old Testament; the most common dramatic subjects are taken from Samuel II, which contains the account of the life of King David of Israel.

The performance language of Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses and the musical works of the Congregation's exercises and services differed from each during

the period of c.1550–c.1660. Whereas the music for the Congregation of the Oratory was performed in Italian or another vernacular tongue, Jesuit theatre music was primarily sung in Latin. However, the vernacular was used in the services and exercises of the Marian congregations in Jesuit colleges, and before the 1621 Oratorian language restrictions, dramatic dialogues were occasionally performed in Latin in the oratories of the Congregation.

An examination of the performances of the musical works within Jesuit college theatrical productions and the services of the Oratorians over the period c.1550–c.1660 reveals evidence of staging. There is no known documented evidence that the dialogues in Jesuit theatre choruses were acted with costumes and scenery before 1600; similarly there is no evidence to suggest that the dialogues sung during Oratorian services were performed dramatically. The first known example of a staged performance within an oratory occurred in 1600. It is likely that Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses became staged components of Jesuit school productions sometime between c.1600 and c.1620, for there is existing evidence in the 1620s of choruses presented in costume and with scenery as part of the Jesuits' drive to increase the splendour and spectacle of their school theatre productions. The strong reaction against the dramatic staging of dialogues in the oratories of the Congregation occurred simultaneously with this transformation of Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses to fully staged works. It therefore appears that the independent prologues and choruses that emerged c.1640 in Jesuit school theatrical productions may have been performed with full theatrical accoutrements, while the Congregational reforms of the 1620s ensured that the oratorios performed within the services of the Congregation of the Oratory remained non-staged musical dramas.

As a result of the performance restrictions in both organisations, the previously similar musical repertoire performed in the Congregational vespers services and Jesuit school theatre choruses diverged during the period 1620–1640, emerging as two distinct bodies of work by c.1640–c.1660. Although there was no opportunity to perform the independent Latin prologues and choruses from the Jesuit theatre in the oratories of the Congregation after the 1620s, it is possible that a vernacular repertoire continued to be shared by the Congregation and the Jesuit college Marian congregations. The performance languages chosen for the narrative and dramatic musical works performed as choruses in Jesuit school theatre and within the services of the Congregation of the Oratory are the results of the objectives and

regulations of the two religious organisations. When the characteristics of the dialogues, oratorios and transitional and independent choruses are compared, only the choice of language distinguishes the two repertoires.

Chapter 12

Conclusion

An examination of the developments in Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit school theatre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals the Jesuits as the leaders in both dramatic and musical innovations. The emergence of seventeenth-century Jesuit theatre innovations in eighteenth-century Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions validates this conclusion.

While previous comparisons of Jesuit theatre main title dramas and Oratorian oratorios do not reveal a relationship, a comparative examination of the prologues and choruses performed within Jesuit theatrical productions and the music performed in the oratories over the period c.1550–c.1660 shows a parallel progression of development; the development of the oratorio in the oratories of the Congregation is a further demonstration of Jesuit influence during this time period.

The friendship of Ignatius Loyola and Filippo Neri matured into a close relationship between the musical activities of the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The simultaneous development of the Jesuit school theatre independent prologue and chorus and the Congregation of the Oratory oratorio is one of the results of this relationship. The sacred musical works in Jesuit school theatrical productions and the services of the Congregation followed the same pathway of development and exhibit equivalent characteristics. A formal declaration restricting performance language in the Oratorian services caused the two repertoires to diverge c.1620–c.1630. A comparison of independent Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses and the oratorios performed during the services of the Congregation of the Oratory c.1640–c.1660 reveals these two bodies of work as indistinguishable from each other except for the language of the text.

Significance of the Study

This body of research contributes to knowledge in the following areas:

1. Details the development of the independent prologue and chorus in Jesuit school theatre over the period c.1550–c.1660
2. Demonstrates the influence of Jesuit school theatre upon subsequent developments in Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre and validates the Society of Jesus as the leading agent of change in school theatre innovations among the Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit religious communities over the period c.1500–c.1700
3. Reveals that the influence of the Jesuits extends beyond Benedictine and Augustinian school theatre to the services of the Congregation of the Oratory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and shows that the relationship between the principals and subsequently the members of the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Oratory is an important contributing factor to developments in their respective musical repertoires
4. Illustrates that developments in the prologues and choruses performed within Jesuit school theatrical productions and the musical works within the services the Congregation of the Oratory occurred simultaneously over the period c.1550–c.1660 and that the characteristics of the two bodies of work remain similar except for the performance language prescribed by each religious community
6. Conducts the first analysis of seventeenth-century Augustinian school theatrical productions
7. Increases the number of known Benedictine, Augustinian and Jesuit theatrical productions source materials to provide a larger dataset for comparative study than previously available

Future Research

1. Collect examples of performances of Jesuit school theatre independent prologues and choruses in the Congregation of the Oratory and lay oratories
2. Locate source materials for sixteenth and seventeenth-century Jesuit school Marian congregation exercises, services and theatrical performances and perform comparative analyses on the music performed in Jesuit school Marian congregations and the oratories of the Congregation
3. Research the musical repertoire of the French Oratorians
4. Locate source materials for French Oratorian school theatrical productions and conduct a comparative study of Jesuit and French Oratorian school theatrical productions
5. Increase the number of identified source materials for Benedictine and Augustinian school theatrical productions
6. Identify independent Jesuit theatre prologues and choruses among previously published scores of composers associated with Jesuit school theatre or the Congregation of the Oratory

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