

SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER ON JESUIT SCHOOL STAGES OF THE BOHEMIAN PROVINCE*

KATEŘINA BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ, MAGDALÉNA JACKOVÁ
(Praha)

ABSTRACT

The study deals with Jesuit school dramas from Bohemian lands, whose protagonist is St. Francis Xavier. Four complete texts and thirteen plays preserved only in form of synopsis are analysed primarily from the point of view of most frequent motives, known also from biographies of Xavier and from fine arts.

The analysis shows that in Xaverian plays from the *Provincia Bohemia SJ* appear both the themes and motives well known from the surviving production of other lands, and the adaptations less usual or unsupported. The synopses and texts therefore prove that many Jesuits were able to deal with the frequently treated theme such as the life of Francis Xavier, handled almost always in an exclusively allegorical way, newly and originally.

Key words: St. Francis Xavier; Jesuit saints; Jesuit theatre; neolatin drama; school theatre; Bohemian lands; Nicolaus Avancini (1612–1686); Arnoldus Engel (1620–1690)

Jesuits school theatre in the Bohemian Province¹ had a number of common features with the production of the Society of Jesus schools in other provinces of the German assistance.² The theatre operation followed similar rules, the only language used on the stage was Latin, not national languages as we can see e.g. in Spain,³ the actors spoke mostly in verse. There were also common sources of themes treated in the forms of handbooks of preaching (M. Pexenfelder, L. Beyerlink),⁴ collections of legends (L. Surius and his adaptation by P. Ribadeniera)⁵ and historical syntheses (especially C. Baronio and his followers).⁶ Like in Bavaria or Rhineland, also on the stages of the Bohemian Province

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¹ The Bohemian province was separated from the Austrian one in 1623. It included Jesuit institutions in Bohemia, Moravia and till 1755 even in Silesia.

² *Assistentia Germaniae* was one of the five assistancies of the Jesuit order and belonged until the mid-18th century the whole of Transalpine Europe from the Netherlands to Lithuania and also Mission province of Russia.

³ See e.g. Menéndez Peláez (1995).

⁴ Beyerlinck (1631); Pexenfelder (1747).

⁵ *Historiae Sanctorum* (1675); Ribadeneira (1630).

⁶ *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1623).

came alive a story of three Japanese brothers determined to devote themselves for their parents, there flared a faithful friendship of Asmund and Asvic or quarrelled love and justice in the heart of prince Lideric.⁷ Playwrights used identical forms based on the same theoretical basis. Printers typeset indistinguishable, often bilingual programmes called synopses or periochas. From the researcher's point of view another common feature is the fact that majority of the production is irretrievably lost and the known part is supported mainly by the mentioned synopses, not by complete texts.⁸

Besides, the development of school theatre in our lands had some specific traits. From the point of view of applying theatre in the school operation and also the possible extent of its influence on participants, the most important thing was an annual performance made by each class in the grammar school. This practice, which was also applied by Austrian Province, was asserting itself in Bohemian lands already from the 1670s on and at the turn of the century can be documented and regarded as established even in small schools.⁹ Survival of a rather big number of plays destined to individual classes is thus extremely important for monitoring this phenomenon. With respect to the topics it seems that some of them spread in Bohemian Province with some delay and it made them last there longer. Following this tendency is, however, determined by preserved material and can therefore be defined only as hypothetical.¹⁰

The corpus of survived textual materials covering mainly the period between 1650 and 1760 contains about 2500 so far known synopses and almost 300 mainly handwritten texts. While the synopses document at least fragmentarily events in the whole province, the collection of texts covers production of only one school over a short course of time (Klodska, Prague – Nové Město, Český Krumlov, Uherské Hradiště, Olomouc)¹¹ or the work of one author (Arnoldus Engel, Carolus Kolczawa, Bernardus Pannagl, Wenceslaus Lachatsch).¹² As for the time point of view, the synopses, texts and other reports best document the situation between 1726 and 1740. Thanks only to this period can we make conclusions on the shape of the Jesuit school repertoire more relevant.¹³

In the given corpus we find more than fifty plays concerning a particular member of the Society of Jesus, when majority of them was written to glorify the saints of the religious order. One play deals with Petrus Faber (*Impressus scientiae degustatae Amor*)¹⁴ and as very remarkable can be considered a staging of a play about Augustinus Strobach,

⁷ Bobková-Valentová (2010a: 931–934).

⁸ Szarota (1979–1987).

⁹ Bobková-Valentová, Jacková (2010).

¹⁰ Jacková (2011a).

¹¹ For an overview of plays from Český Krumlov see Jordan (1916). For more information about plays from the college in Prague – Nové Město and Uherské Hradiště, see Jacková (2011), Zemek (2001: 116–155) and Bobková-Valentová (2006).

¹² For more information about Kolczawa, see Ryba (1926) or *Theater in Böhmen* (2013: 328–329 [s.v. Karl Kolczawa by M. Jacková]); for Engel, see Jacková (2006; 2011b), *Theater in Böhmen* (2013: 6–8 [s.v. Arnoldus Angelus by M. Jacková]); for Pannagl, see Svatoš (2004); for Lachatsch, see Jacková (2012).

¹³ Overviews of preserved synopses for Prague Jesuit houses and their analyses: Bobková-Valentová (2003), Jacková (2011a: 223–253).

¹⁴ *Impressus scientiae degustatae Amor*, in Petro Fabro insolitus ad palaestram ingenii magnetismus, ferream patris in adverso proposito mentem respuens, luci theatriali propositus a media classe grammatices collegii S[ocietatis] J[esu] Hradistii Anno M. DCC. XXXIX. Mense Junio, Die ... NA ČR JS, sign. IIIo-447, box 176/1, f. 643r/v (synopsis), 644r–654v (full text).

a missionary and martyr from Bohemian Province, presented by the students of highest grammar class in his native town of Jihlava in 1731 (*Fructus missionis apostolicae*).¹⁵

If we look at the given plays only from the statistical point of view, we find out that Saint Francis Xavier was the most frequent guest on school stages from the rank of Jesuit saints. He remained, however, such a star, only till the end of the 70s in the 17th century when the students performed to his tribute at least 11 plays. In the 18th century the theme of Xavier apparently recedes – we have only five documented plays.¹⁶ Similar tendencies can be observed also with the plays of Saint Ignatius, as we have only two documented dramas that celebrate the founder of the Society of Jesus, both from the 18th century.¹⁷ The reason for this retreat was replacement by other Jesuit saints mostly connected with their canonization. In connection with canonisation of Francis Borgia we do not notice any significant breakthrough: from canonization year 1671 we know a play of a gymnasium in Brno and from year 1677 we know a performance of rhetoric class from Olomouc. Another play on Francis Borgia is not verifiably staged till spring in 1732 in Prague – Nové Město.¹⁸ Canonization of Saint Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka in 1727, however, caused a staging explosion. Solely in the year of canonization there were, apart from four canonisation celebrations, which school youth also participated in, three so far known plays on Aloysius and two on Stanislaus.¹⁹ Although the aspect of

¹⁵ *Fructus missionis apostolicae*, pretiosa mors Venerabilis Patris Augustini Strobach e Societate Jesu, in Marianis insulis missionarii a barbaris in odium fidei christianae trucidati, a suprema classe grammatices in gymnasio Soc[ietatis] Jesu Iglaviae exhibitus anno 1731. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 39, adl. 87 (synopsis).

¹⁶ For an overview of plays on Saint Francis Xavier see the appendix.

¹⁷ *Tres modi humilitatis*, consummatae virtutis compendium a magno Asceseo magistro Divo Ignati de Loyola, Societatis Jesu fundatore, orbi ad admirationem, religiosae animae ad imitationem propositi, ... anno 1730, mense Martis, die 30. NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 61 (synopsis); *Monumentum filialis observantiae*, Divo Ignatio de Lojola minimae Societatis Jesu parenti maximo in debitae gratitudinis eucharisticon ... anno 1743, mense Novembri, die 26. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 19, adl. 73 (synopsis). ATKr, sign. 2554, pp. 209–210d, 211–214 (synopsis).

¹⁸ *Sancti Francisci Borgiae* in virtutis stadio ad honorem et gloriam immortalem vitae cursus, dedicatus ... a caesareo regione gymnasio Societatis Jesu Brunae anno M.DC.LXXI. mense Septembri, die 15. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 91; SK, sign. AB VIII 38, adl. 21 (synopsis); *Franciscus Borgias Candiae dux*, Catalauniae prorex, Lombaiae marchio, imperatricis Isabellae aulae praefectus, superatis gloriose mundi machinationibus Societatem Jesu ingressus, ab eloquentia Julio-Montana ... repraesentatus anno 1677, 14. Decembris. NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 34 (synopsis); *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae* caducitatem ex putri Augustae cadavere mundanorum deliciarum relegens, ex aula Caroli V. ad aulam Iesu Christi imperatoris transiens. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 40, adl. 87 (synopsis); NA ČR, SM, sign. J 20/17/18, box 999, f. 426r–439r (full text).

¹⁹ *Castilionensis in carne sine carne Angelus S. Aloysius Gonzaga*, Clementis X. elogio innocentia vitae et principatus contemptu clarissimus, Benedicti XIII. decreto adolescentibus praesertim venerandus atque imitandus, propositus in theatro a Micro-Pragena ... suprema grammatices classe, anno 1727, mense Junio, die ... NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 56 (Latin synopsis); Ein eingefleischter Engel, Der heilige Aloysius Gonzaga nach Ausslage Clementis des X. von unschuldigem Lebens-Wandel und Verachtung des Ihm zulänglichen Fürstenthums höchst verwunderlich; nach Zeugnis aber Benedicti des XIII. der Jugend besonders zu einem Beyspiel. Heut auf öffentlicher Schau-Bühne vorgebildet von einer diesem ihrem Schutz-Patron gantz ergebenen 4ten Schul in der Königl. Kleinern Stadt Prag. Im Jahr 1727. den Junii. NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 95 (German synopsis); *Aequissime honoris vindiciae veterem sui contemptum devotissime ulciscens in Aloysium et principem Castilioni humilem SJ* ... SOA Treboň/ČK, fund Velkostatek Český Krumlov, sign. I 3Sa3 (synopsis); *S. Aloysius Gonzaga, gloriosus* de mundo victor, abdicto in memoriam fratrem Marchionatis iure calcatiscue honorum titulus in veram filiorum Dei libertatem vocatus, ab ... NA ČR, JS, sign. IIIo-472, f. 126r–142v (full text); *Innocentia propriae humilitatis* arbitrio culpae rea, ad aequissimum Sacrae Rotae tribunal solito examinata ritu, suffragante virtutum omnium testimonio immunis a reatu declarata, sive Stanislavus

preservation plays its part, we must attribute this fact to other reasons. First it is necessary to remind the fact that both the young saints were patrons of grammar classes – lower classes in gymnasium – and their story was a suitable example for shaping students who were their age. What is more, treating their lives, especially the moments of rejecting secular things and deciding for the Society of Jesus took hold already in the second half of the 17th century on Jesuit stages all over Europe. The oldest play on Gonzaga (1656) that was documented in Bohemian lands, is built on the motif of his purity,²⁰ while the other two (1685, 1715) deal with the efforts of Aloysius's father Ferdinand to turn away his son from his desire to become a Jesuit and his steely determination.²¹ The basic motif of plays on Stanislaus is his flee from home;²² in one play, Stanislaus is compared with his brother Paul;²³ only one allegorical play takes us to the heavenly court deciding on Kostka's sanctity.²⁴ Another canonization of a Jesuit, John Francis Regis, took place at the end of 1737 and at the end of the school year his apostolic eagerness was celebrated

Kostka, proprio quidem arbitrio peccatorum reus, sedis vero apostolicae sententia divorum fastis adscriptus hodieque ... pro theatro assumptus a ... mediae grammaticae classis juventute, Praegae ad S. Clementem, anno 1727, mense [Aprili], die [24]. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 39, adl. 67 (synopsis); *Gloriosus in fuga Olympionices* sive Divus Stanislaus Kostka, calcatis mundi blanditiis, superatis Pauli fratris calumniis feliciora vocationis suae decurrens Olympia in scenam datus. NA ČR, JS, sign. IIIo-472, f. 144r–150v (full text).

²⁰ D.O.M.A. *Liliata Beati Aloysii Gonzagae virginitas* seu drama de Beati Aloysii Gonzagae puritate feliciter conservata, quod Praegae ad Sanctum Clementem suprema classis grammaticae exhibuit ... [1656], NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 2 (synopsis).

²¹ *Homo proponit, Deus disponit*, sive Aloysius, quem parentes militiae destinarunt, Deus ad religionem vocavit, in scenam datus ab academica juventute supremae grammaticae classis, Praegae ad S. Clem[entem] 1685, mense Augusto, die [22]. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 61 (synopsis); *Aloysius a Deo et Deipara ad religionem vocatus*, innocenti fortitudine de gemino, naturali in parentes et propinquos, supernae vocationi reluctantae affectu victor, in ejusdem Beati tutelaris sui venerationem dramatice repraesentatus a cliente suprema classe grammaticae academici gymnasii Societatis Jesu Micro Praegae, anno 1715, mense Majo, die ... *Aloysius von Gott und der Mutter Gottes in geistlichen Stand beruffen*, besieget mit unschuldiger Stärcke. Die Natürliche gegen seinen Eltern und Anverwandten, dem himmlischen Beruff aber widerspenstige Zuneygung ... NK ČR, sign. 52 A 19, adl. 31 (Latin-German synopsis).

²² *Libertas filiorum Dei*, excussa mundi captivitate fugiendo victrix, sive B. Stanislaus Kostka, per spinas et domesticae patientiae senticeta e mundi laqueis in caelum religiosum gloriose profugus, in aeternum gratitudinis monumentum actione dramatica propositus. SK, sign. CQ VIII 5, adl. 53 (synopsis); *Gloriosus in fuga Olympionices*, see note 19; *Fuga nobili Polono trames* ad victoriam. In theatrum inducta a suprema classe grammaticae, in collegio Societatis Jesu Hradistii anno 1737, Mense Die. NA ČR, JS, sign. IIIo-447 box 176/1, f. 258r–269v (full text); *Sacrum Victoriae genus fugiendo obtentum a Sancto Stanislao*. illustrissima stirpe inter Polonos sato, a Virgine Deipara ad fugam saeculi vocato, Romae post emensa fugae incommoda sub signa Christi adoptato, ludo theatri adumbratum, agente ingenua mediae classis grammaticae juventute, Glacii 1743, mense Majo. Seltsamer Sieges-Krantz in der Flucht erreicht von dem Heiligen Stanislaus einem Hoch-Adelichen Pohnlischen Jüngling und siegreichen Welt-Flüchtling. anheunt auf öffentlicher Schau-Bühne vorgestellt von einer der Jugend und ehrbeflissenen Jugend der dritten Schul in dem Collegio der Gesellschaft Jesu zu Glatz in dem Jahr 1743, den ... Tag des Monaths May. ATKr, sign. 2554, pp. 201–202, 203–204, 205–206 (synopsis); S. *Stanislaus Kostka in fuga victor* [1745]. NA ČR, SM, sign. J 20/17/18, box 998, f. 114r–126v (full text); the synopsis published in Mikovec (1851: 162).

²³ *Rara est concordia fratrum* seu Stanislaus et Paulus Kostka, germani fratres nobilitate pares, genio et moribus quondam dispares, a tenerioribus rudimentistorum Musis Glacii in scenam dati anni 1689, die 12 Augusti. ATKr, sign. 2554, pp. 27–28 (synopsis); BUWr, sign. Akc 1949 KN 125 f. 168v–174r (full text).

²⁴ *Innocentia propriae humilitatis*, see note 19.

by at least five classes from different colleges.²⁵ His story was, however, put on stage by rudimentists (i. e. students of the lowest class) from the college in Prague – Malá Strana sooner, already in 1717.²⁶

Plays

Out of seventeen obviously documented plays on saint Francis Xavier produced in the Bohemian Province, only four complete texts, in which the Saint appears, have been preserved. In the case of undated play *Tres juvenum in provincias abeuntium morum et vitae praefecti* from Český Krumlov (no. 17),²⁷ he shows up really very briefly. Xavier appears here as a guard of young men voyaging at sea. His character is dumb and it is even possible it was solely an emblem or picture.

Francis's life is not the topic even in the youngest of those plays, *Sol in India orientali* (no. 14) when Xavier assumes the part of Xaverian Eagerness, which protects the Youth from the temptations of the World and his companions. Like in the above mentioned play

²⁵ *Heroa in juventute virtus* sive S. Joannes Franciscus Regis adhuc juvenis regi saeculorum in minima Jesu Societate vivere eligens, olim sui et mundi magnanimus victor factus, hodie vero pro theatro propositus a devotis eidem clientibus rudimentistis Reginae-Hradecii anno 1738, mense Junio, die ... Údatná v mladosti ctnost nebo S. Jan František Regis, v mladým věku Králi Neskončenému, v nejmenším Tovaryšstvu Ježíšovu živobyťi volící, od ctitelů jeho malé školy Králo-Hradecké na divadle představený ... NK ČR, sign. 52 A 40, adl. 132 (Latin-Czech synopsis); *Imago secundi saeculi Societatis Jesu, vivum Salvatoris ectypon Sanctus Joannes Franciscus Regis, e Societate Jesu per Galliam Narbonensem et omnem Occitaniam missionarius apostolicus, Societate Jesu annum saecularem primum 1640 festive celebrante ad superos evocatus; a pontificibus maximis Clemente XI. Beatorum fastis, Clemente XII. solenni apotheosi Sanctis adlectus, publicae venerationi et imitationi orbi orthodoxo propositus, sub ipsa apotheoseos sacrae solennia a facultate oratoria in academico Societatis Jesu collegio Pragae ad S. Clementem comice praesentatus anno M.DCC.XXXVIII, mense Julio, die ... NK ČR, sign. 52 A 40, adl. 134 (synopsis); *Lamentum poenitentis innocentiae*, olim ab innocenter reo Joanne Francesco Regis in gaudium caute loquentium productum, hodie honori ac venerationi ejusdem recens in syllabum Sanctorum relati a facultate poetica voce et gestu reproductum Hradistii anno 1738, mense Junio, die 18. NA ČR, JS, sign. IIIo-447 box 176/1, f. 366r–382r (full text); *Olympia honorum apostolica Occitaneae palestra*, in qua, cum adversus depascentes lilium Gallicanum colubros Joannes Franciscus Regis S. I. victorioso decertaverit, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Clemente divina providentia papa XIImo Sanctorum gloria coronatur atque sub ipsa sacrae apotehoseos solennia ludis Apollinaribus celebratur. SOA Třeboň/ČK, fund Velkostatek Český Krumlov, 3S a3 (full text and Latin-German synopsis); *Heroica virtus solenni apotheosi consecrata*, seu B. Joannes Franciscus Regis, zelosus in regno Galliae e Societate Jesu missionarius, Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Papae Clementis XII. oraculo Sanctorum catalogo novissime adscriptus, sub mythico schemate praecleari herois Persei a Jove ob egregia facinora inter sidera translati comico et melico dramate exhibita, agente pro theatro Illustrissima gymnade collegii Societatis Jesu Glogoviae anno aerae christianae MDCCXXXVIII die ... Julii. ATKr, sign. 2554, pp. 181–184 (synopsis); Erstem Jahrhundert dess Breslauer Collegii In Isaac jenn reichlichen Frucht dess hunderten Jahrs dess in das Land Chanaan wandernden Grossen Seelen-Eyferers Abraham vorgebildet; mit feyerlicher Begängnuss dess von IhroPäpsti- Heiligkeit zur schuldig Clemente XII. in die Zahl der Heiligen jüngst-übersetzten Heiligen Joannis Francisci Regis gecrönet ... zur schuldigst-handbarer Gedächtnuss gegenwärtiges Schau-Spiel auf öffentlicher Schau-Bühne gewiedmet hat. Von einer Hoch-adlichen, Hoch und Wohlgebohrenen. Lehr- und Sitten-befleissenen Jugend aller Schulen dess Academischen Collegii in Breslasu vorgestellt in Jahr 1738, den ... Augusti. ATKr, sign. 2554, pp. 185–186j (synopsis).*

²⁶ *Rudimenta apostolica* seu B. Joannes Franciscus Regis, a teneris Divinae gloriae zelotes, in drama graegorianum assumptus a rudimentistis academicis Micro-Pragae mense Martio, Die ..., Anno 1717. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 19, adl. 38, SK, sign. CJ V 160, adl. 33 (synopsis).

²⁷ Numbers in parentheses refer to the table in the appendix.

from Český Krumlov, Francis Xavier is even here presented as a protector and patron of youth.

The subject of play *Novi Indiarum Phaebi ortus* (no. 13) is on the contrary Xavier's missionary work in the East. This short play, or to be more accurate an exercise, has only three scenes and apart from Xavier there are only allegorical characters. At the beginning India learns that a new sun rose to her salvation and expresses craving for his coming. Xavier rejoices in his happy arrival in India in a long monologue, and promises India to be absolutely devoted. In the last scene India brought by the "rays of newly arisen Phoebus" to a better life cheerfully runs towards the Genius of the Society of Jesus and pays tribute to him.

Xaverian missionary activity is also the content of the oldest and simultaneously most extensive of the preserved plays, *Nox orientis per solem Hesperium, Franciscum ... Xaverium ... discussa* (no. 3). Its author, Arnoldus Engel (1620–1690), left six theatre plays behind ready to be published, but he never succeeded in putting them through.

Nox orientis resembles in many aspects perhaps the most renowned Jesuit play on Francis Xavier, *Zelus sive Franciscus Xaverius, Indiarum Apostolus*,²⁸ written by a famous playwright Nicolaus Avancini, first staged in 1640 in Vienna.²⁹ A detailed comparison of both the texts goes beyond the possibilities of this study. Therefore we will try at least to show some motifs occurring also in other Xaverian plays, which means they can be considered typical³⁰ to a certain extent. The motifs of light and darkness play significant roles in these plays: Xavier is often compared to the sun that comes untraditionally from the West and has to scatter the pagan darkness, which rules in the East, using his glow – this means Christian faith. This idea is reflected in a range of titles. Xavier is also called a Western Sun, which will disperse the Eastern Night (*Nox Orientis per solem Hesperium, Franciscum ... Xaverium ... discussa*), new Phoebus of India (*Novi Indiarum Phaebi ortus*) or Sun, which died the other day in Eastern India (*Sol in India orientali, olim gloriosa morte occiduus, in novis Indiis oriens innociduus, sanctus Franciscus Xaverius, ambiguo juventuti ab Eo, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos pro eligenda via salutis in lucem et ducem coelitus datus*). As the title shows in the last-mentioned case Xavier is the Sun not only for India but also for the young to whom he illuminates the way.

²⁸ Avancini (1675: 1–101).

²⁹ For more information about this play, see e.g. Valentín (2001: 526–533).

³⁰ When analysing the motifs of the play the authors of this study limited only to some possible sources and based their analyses mainly on the *Bulla Canonizationis* and two most renowned Saint's biographies, which are also the most quoted in plays and synopses: Bartolus (1666) and Tursellinus (1596). We leave aside the very important texts from the book *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu a provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem Societatis repraesentata*. Ed. Johannes Bolland, Jean de Tollenaere et alii. Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana Balthazaris Moreti, 1640. We also took into consideration released graphic conversion of canonization decoration of church Il Gesù in Rome (Regnartius 1623) and one of their analyses (Iturriaga Elorza 1994). As an example of artistic portrayal of Xavier's life we chose a cycle of 35 lunettes by Jesuit painter Hermann Schmidt in the hall of Prague Klementinum (further only Klementinum cycle); for more details see Nevimová (2002). As an example of emblematic and symbolic elaborations we chose the collection *Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* (1663) made by Olomouc Bachelors of Philosophy, with symbols invented by A. M. Lublinsky. See Zelenková (2011: 68–71), Dolejší (2013: 64–215). For a brief insight in Xaverian problematic, see also the introductory study in Andrlé, Fidlerová (2010: 5–34).

Eastern countries represented by allegorical characters of India, Japan, East etc. are usually depicted as if immersed into darkness, both in real and figurative meanings, i.e. darkness of mind and spirit. These kinds of darkness often find a metaphorical expression in sleep (Eastern countries sleep and it is necessary to wake them up from their dreams); India is described as being blind, staggering and weak in *Novi Indiarum Phaebi ortus*. The first two mentioned characteristics can also be connected with the darkness India is surrounded by.

Darkness the East is emerged in reflects also on his face and dark complexion in general. In *Nox orientis* the Eastern countries are represented on a comical level by a character named Aethiops, Indus or Maurus in turns, i.e. a man of dark complexion. In the first act Indus walks out of the globe suspended in the middle of the scene and resting on the shoulders of Idolatry. The Faith holds up a mirror to him and Indus discovers the abomination of his face symbolizing the darkness of paganism, of course, and looks for someone to wash the dirt off. Not even called Hercules can cope with this task and Indus learns his face can be cleaned only by the “river from heaven” (*ab axe rivus*), this means by Xavier (it is an anagram from *Xaverius* as well as an allusion to baptism).³¹ Indus appears in the play several times later: in a comic interlude he looks for help with Bacchus, who instead of washing him makes him drunk; Indus is put on Francis’s shoulder before he sets off to India, which expresses the difficulty of work awaiting him there – Engel found the inspiration for the scene undoubtedly in Xavier’s narrations about his repeating dream, which we find in both the principal biographies of the Saint. Xavier is said to have dreamt several times of having to carry an Indian man on his shoulders who was so heavy that the sleeper was woken up by his tiredness (Tursellinus) or woke up others by his moaning (Bartolus).³² In the epilogue Indus shows up with his face cleaned, which he is grateful for to Xavier. India speaks of her black complexion also in *Novi Indiarum Phaebi ortus* and apart from the others she asks the Genius of the Society of Jesus (*Genius Societatis*) not to disdain her since even a dark face can cover pure-white mind.

The Eastern countries suffer badly their situation and in fact long for a new Sun. Xavier shares this wish, too, usually after an allegorical character (often Eagerness) ignites his heart or hits him with an arrow and ignites his desire to go on a missionary journey to the East. In Avancini’s play this “fire” is ignited by the character called *Zelus Divinae gloriae*, which means eagerness when spreading the God’s fame. In Engel’s play Francis is gradually hit with three arrows, and this event is connected with the motif of fight for Xavier between East and West. Angel of India (*Angelus Indiarum*), Genius of Saint Ignatius from Loyola (*Genius Ignatii*) and God’s love (*Amor Divinus*), sent by The God’s Providence (*Providentia Divina*) to Paris to bring Xavier,³³ must fight for Xavier twice: first with different “suitors” (*proci*), who are deputies of the pagan world and at the same time of different secular affairs (e.g. Pallas – education, Cupido – secular love, Mars – war glory). This “fight” is decided by Divine Love, which strikes Xavier with an arrow and ignites love for God in his heart.

³¹ See Libertinus (1673: appendix, Imago V).

³² Bartolus (1666: 6); Tursellinus (1596: 47); *Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* (I.); Dolejší (2013: 88–90, 138–140, 177–179); Zelenková (2011: 69).

³³ In Avancini (1675) these envoys are Wishes of the East (*Desideria Orientis*).

Engel probably based also this scene on what was written about Xavier by his biographers. Bartolus and Tursellinus mention the fact that before Francis turned into a perfect Christian he had to overcome his ambition and desire for the mundane fame. Spiritual and even austere way of life lead by Ignatius of Loyola was in the beginning met with laughter. It was only Ignatius's patience with which he bore these attacks and his persistent persuading him that made Xavier transform himself. The presented scene from Engel's play is hopefully an allegorical adaptation of this fact.

Another "battle" takes place over sleeping Xavier, when the Angel of India wants to hit him with his shot, while the Angel of Europe and other characters stop him from doing that since they say Francis belongs to them. Archangel Michael decides the dispute in favour of Asia. The Angel of India is thus allowed to send his arrow into Francis's heart and inspire him with the desire to go to the East. The third arrow, thrown by the Eagerness (*Zelus*), ignites the eagerness in his heart.

Xavier's voyage to India is in Avancini's play a content of the fourth act; in Engel's play it is a content of choir between the 2nd and 3rd acts. In both the cases it is, to a certain extent, matter of allegorical and supernatural characters: storm, in which Xavier almost dies, in *Zelus sive Franciscus Xaverius*, it is Idolatry (*Idololatria*) who, being afraid of losing his power, starts the storm, in which Xavier almost dies; he has a narrow escape thanks to an Angel's help. In *Nox orientis* Xavier is accompanied by Faith (*Fides*) and Eagerness. Xavier himself has a wordless role in this scene; his journey is described by the choir of Sirens and Tritons, and in the end also Faith and Eagerness speak. Neither Avancini nor Engel forgot another popular motif, i.e. a crab, which brings Xavier a crucifix lost in waves. Bartolus depicts this story in his biography.³⁴ According to him the story happened when Xavier was staying in India, while both the playwrights connect it already to his voyage to Asia – probably due to emphases put on its symbolic character. In the play of the first author it is Piety (*Pietas*) that takes on the appearance of a crab, while Tritons are sitting on other crabs singing a praising song. Engel first lets Neptune go on the crabs having a sign of cross on their backs, while a bit later one of the crabs emerges from the sea waves bringing a crucifix to Xavier.

Avancini pursues Francis's missionary activity only in the 5th act and in the choir preceding it (the biggest space is given to bringing a group of children to religion).³⁵ Engel depicts Xavier's stay in India and Japan in the 3rd and 4th acts. Both in Avancini's play and in *Nox orientis* there are allegorical and mythological characters in these parts. Xavier is still accompanied by Faith and Eagerness, allegorical characters represent India and Japan, repudiated demons and Pagan deities lament their fate. Engel included into his play a scene in which demons try to prevent Xavier from praying – they raise his arms, disturb him by discordant singing, make noises, whip him etc.

³⁴ Bartolus (1666: 92–93); Regnartius (1623: no. 6); Klementinum cycle, no. 26 (Nevimová 2002: 226); *Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* (VI.); Dolejší (2013: 98–99, 154–156, 197–200); Zelenková (2011: 70).

³⁵ For the motif of catechization of children, see e.g. Tursellinus (1596: 156). Klementinum cycle depicts not only teaching catechism (no. 13; see Nevimová 2002: 225), but also other episodes of destroying models by children (no. 15) and children's mission to spread faith and evict evil spirits (no. 14). *Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* (1663: IX.); Dolejší (2013: 101–103, 163–165, 209–211); Zelenková (2011: 71).

There are, however, almost “realistic” passages too, for example two scenes in which Engel treats the story of Peter Vellius, a Portuguese trader, who Xavier asked for dowry for a young girl who was otherwise under a threat of becoming a prostitute.³⁶ Since Vellius did not want to interrupt playing chess, he gave Francis the key to the safe to take the needed money himself. Francis took only three hundred florins to Vellius’s surprise since he intended to give away to the poor much more. As a reward for his generosity Xavier disclosed how he will know his last day has come in future – it will be in the moment when his wine turns bitter. This moment came in no long time and Vellius had, thanks to Francis’s prophecy, time to arrange his last matters and leave this world in peace. This episode appeared in the Bohemian Province apart from *Nox orientis* at least in one another play in which it even became its main theme (see more details on this play later). In other countries it can be found e.g. in a big play on the founders of the Society of Jesus performed in Ingolstadt in 1622.³⁷ Engel chose it for his drama probably because of the motif of generosity. The care of the poor is actually one of the leitmotifs in his play. Xavier on several places disproves the local doctrine that the poor and women will not go to heaven – e.g. it is this question that represents one of the principal points in his dispute with Buddhist priests.

Engel, unlike Avancini, captures in his play even Francis’s death, which comes in the choir between the 4th and 5th acts. The 5th act takes places after Xavier’s death. It is again an allegorical part in which Virtue, Honour and Immortality play the main roles.

Synopses

We get a far more modest idea of building the plot and the way of work with particular motives in plays documented only by synopses. Despite this fact eleven surviving prints testify the enormous variety of attitudes of individual authors. First, we will pay attention to a set of synopses from 1656–1679, which is somewhat more compact.

The oldest play *Medicus Neapoleos* (no. 1) shown in Klementinum in 1656 celebrates in an allegorical way Xavier as a saviour of Naples in the times of plague and through its theme it points at ranking of Saint Francis Xavier among so called plague patrons.³⁸ Despite the fact the synopsis does not refer to the source of the subject and in the main Xaverian legends we look for it vainly, it was not about depicting an unknown miracle.³⁹ It is shown e.g. by the students who also treated the subject in Landsberg in 1676⁴⁰ and who brought on stage real players of the story about miraculous effect of the picture of Xavier and the oil lamp burning in front of it. The synopsis of Prague performance indicates a simpler allegorical portrayal of the motif of a town, which does not care about

³⁶ Bartolus (1666: 267–270), Tursellinus (1596: 382–384).

³⁷ *Comedie unnd Triumph von den Heiligen Ignatio de Loyola Stiffier deßOrdens der Societas Iesu; und Francisco Xaverio. bemelter Societet Priester; der Indianer und Japonen Apostel.* In: Szarota 1979–1987: III/2, 1229–1271 (text), 2017–2021 (commentary).

³⁸ For more details see Černý, Havlík (2008: 92–95).

³⁹ See Libertinus (1673: 103–108 [Elogium XXXI. Xaverius saevissimam Pestem Neapolitanam et praesagit et fugat.]

⁴⁰ *S. Franciscus Xaverius Neapoli Prodigii Clarus.* In: Szarota 1979–1987: I/2, 1229–1271 (text), 1766–1767 (commentary).

warning of the saint picture, stays in its wickedness, and is punished by plague. It is only sorrow and pleas for God and Saint Francis, which bring Life, Health, Joy and others back to the town.

Allegorical, emblematic or symbolic ways of interpretation of celebrating the Saint were after all used by majority of the authors; nevertheless, each of them chose a different topic. Three of them concentrated on particular virtues or cleric merits. The play *Amplius Labor et Dolor* (no. 2) works with the basic attribute of the Saint – a cross and develops mainly two known motives. It is the moment of igniting the Saint's heart with arrows of the God's love between scenes devoted to Xavier's journey leading to the faithful respect for the Christ's cross.⁴¹ The third part, where the main role is besides the cross played also by water, develops a miraculous comeback of the Cross from the sea deep.⁴² Like in Engel's play there are Neptune and other sea Gods who appear on the stage, and who are disturbed by the presence of the cross in their realm. There is, of course, also a crab bringing the cross out on the shore.

Deep spiritual convergence and mutual brotherly love which led to the soul unity of Xavier and Saint Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus, is one of often emphasised moments of the Saint's legend, especially with respect to its formation function. It is no wonder its celebration became a basis for a play *Novus Castor et Pollux* (no. 4) which also reminds of both the men's significance in spreading salvation in the whole world and their mutual heavenly triumph in the form of canonization. Comparison to Gemini was not used only with the founder of the Society of Jesus; it can be encountered also with Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka.⁴³

⁴¹ One of the frequent iconographic types of Francis's portrayals is a praying Saint with a torn robe, sometimes with flames on the chest or burning heart, other time completed with a quote *Satis est, Domine, satis est*. To know more of Saint Francis iconography see e.g. Oswald (2002). Klementinum cycle, no. 16 (Nevimová, 2002: 225); Regnartius (1623: no. 3) – description: *In Coelestium gaudiorum affluentia: "Satis est, Domine, satis est!", repetit in laboribus et cruciatibus pro Christo "Non satis, Domine, non satis."; Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* (II., III.); Dolejší (2013: 90–95, 141–147, 180–188); Zelenková (2011: 69).

⁴² See note 34; other miracles of the Saint connected with this element are also treated, i.e. transformation of salty water into sweat water (e.g. *Bulla Canonizationis*; Regnartius 1623: no. 4), or saving a ship in a sea storm (Klementinum cycle, no. 12 – *Navigans ad Indos*; there is a similar interpretation of picture 5 by Regnartius 1623, whose description not even the corresponding extract in the *Bulla Canonizationis* speaks of calming down the storm).

⁴³ The scene appears e.g. in two plays written on the occasion of canonization: *Novi in coelis Gemini unius foecundae matris partu editi nexuque fraterno foederati, novissima per Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Benedicti XIII. oraculum apotheosi in ecclesiae triumphantis zodiaco stationem adepti ac mutuis splendoribus sese irradiantes, S. Aloysius Gonzaga et S. Stanislaus Kostka, curioso coelestium speculatori et siderum supra omnem mundum elevatorum scrutatori oculo, ad contemplandum, amandum, honorandum, ab universa Triurbis Pragensis militante Societate Jesu in publico triumphali processu, die 24. mensis Augusti anno 1727 devote adornato propositi*. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 19, adl. 107 (synopsis); *Intaminatis fulget honoribus stelligeros spargens radios laeto aethere virtus*. In exorto solennis apotheosis novo iubare gemino coeli sidere, Divo Aloysio de Gonzaga e ducibus Mantuae, Castilionis principe terreni principatus contemptu clarissimo juvene, humili facto subinde Jesu socio ejusdemque Societatis Sancto scholastico nec non in Divo Stanislae Kostka, in juvenilibus annis adultae virtutis et canonizatae sanctitatis Societatis Jesu illustri novitio per eorumdem Divorum fastis adscriptorum sacra solemnia, a Boëmae provinciae Jesu Societate universali jubilo adornata conformiter ad illud Dan. 12. *Fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti et quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates*: accinente Seneca: *Locum virtus habet inter astra*. Sub Geminorum Castoris et Pollucis schemate a duicali collegio Societatis Jesu Oppaviae, cothurno como- et melo dramatico celebrata, agente pro

The author of play *S. Franciscus Xaverius Admirabilis* (no. 5) shows the Saint's victory over Mart, Fortune (*Fortuna*) and Death (*Mors*). The first and third of them show very well-known and often artistically treated miracles: repelling foes of Christians by calling a lightning from the heaven⁴⁴ and reviving a noble young man.⁴⁵ In the second scene we find a little peculiar narration on a dice player who won back everything he had lost thanks to a prayer to Saint Francis.⁴⁶

Francis Xavier was, however, glorified mainly as a missionary of the East, while the authors sometimes invented original and complicated allegories. Although majority of plays concerns Xavier's activity in India, we also get twice to China. The Saint desired to christianize China but he did not live to realize the journey to the country.⁴⁷ We have then something to do with the Saint's afterlife activity.⁴⁸ The play *China Xaveriani Zeli meta* (no. 9) depicts seven heads of an awful hydra that Xavier wants to free China from, but unsuccessfully. From the structural point of view the play seems to be very simple, its plot is divided into eight scenes, while paganism is depicted in seven of them: *Idololatria* (= Idolatry), *Mania* (= giving feasts to the dead), *Metempsychosis* (= moving of the souls), *Barbaries* (= barbarism – here illustrated by selling children into slavery), *Parricidum* (= murders in the family), *Autochiria* (= suicide) and *Autarkeia* (= self-satisfaction, which brings along cruelty towards foreigners). In the last scene Xavier himself wants to set off in the fight with Hydra. He can, however, hear the well-known: *Non plus ultra*.⁴⁹

The second play, *Opus Posthumum* (no. 8), starts with Xavier's death, which is according to the prologue represented by "shipwreck" of the Saint's voyage to China,⁵⁰ which is entrusted to Xavier's protection in the heavens. In another scene of the play comes an interesting turnabout and we return from the heavenly spheres to reality of the second half of the 16th century, when China entirely closed to business trade contacts with Europe. This also meant closing a gate for Christianization in the country. Jesuits, however, did not stop with their missionary work and used another way, mainly spreading of European sciences, among which Mathematics had an extraordinary post. It is also the main character of this allegorical play.

Depicting Chinese interest in European Mathematics, which thanks to Saint Francis's intercession also brings Christianization success, and intrigues of Chinese Mathematics

theatro ejusdem gymnadis illustrissima juventute anno aerae Christianae ut supra, Kalendas Septembres. NK ČR, sign. 52 A 39, adl. 117 (synopsis).

⁴⁴ The motif appears in different variations: Xavier protects freshly baptized people with his bare hands (*Bulla Canonizationis*; Regnartius 1623: no. 11) or with the sign of cross (on the 22nd lunette of the Klementinum cycle), next to the Saint appears a huge black figure, which does not startle the enemies: Bartolus (1666: 55–56). To learn more about Xavier's activity by Travencorids and their protection see also Tursellinus (1596: 161–162)

⁴⁵ Reviving the young man who had already been carried away to be buried (Regnartius 1623: no. 15, in some legends connected to the reviving of a young man who died of plague); reviving a young man who died of plague in Malacca (Bartolus 1666: 258, Tursellinus 1596: 138).

⁴⁶ The synopsis points at a biography of the Saint that is for the time indefinable.

⁴⁷ To learn more about the plans of the journeys to China see e.g. Tursellinus (1596: 371–387, 410–431).

⁴⁸ See Libertinus (1673: 85–89); *Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* (X.), Dolejší (2013: 103–105, 166–168, 212–214), Zelenková (2011: 71).

⁴⁹ Puns including connection *non plus ultra / plus ultra* are frequent not only in the Xaverian, but generally in the Jesuit emblematic and would need a more detailed analysis, which we now leave aside.

⁵⁰ The synopsis expresses that, among others, in the pun: *ille in Chinam adspirans, in portu Sanciano ab omnibus desertus beate exspirat*.

towards its enemy, which are finally foiled by the Saint, is a clear picture of alternating success of the Jesuit's activity in the country. It was e.g. Matteus Ricci's (1552–1610) work, appreciated by both the parties up to now, that was replaced by expulsion of Jesuits from the country.⁵¹

Authors of the Jesuit plays were not afraid to use typological parallels with Antique mythology remote even for us. In play *Schoeneida praemia cursus* (no. 10) India could become Atalanta and Francis could become Hippomenes. Golden apples – Venus's gift, which caused that mythical Atalanta was delayed in running and lost the race – are not here a trick leading to humiliation but they are a symbol of gifts coming from the tree of life with which Francis wants to convince India. The struggle in running symbolises hardships endured by Francis; and Atalanta, which famously knocked down a boar in the hunt, represents India triumphing over Idolatry.

Although this conception can seem too courageous, one of Jesuit playwrights went even further. In his play *Laureola Martyrii* (no. 11) he told the story of the Queen Jepeias whose only son is blind and unable to rein. That is the reason why, after a distressful way, his cousin sits on the throne instead of him. Prologue, epilogue and the key of characters in the synopsis inform us that Xavier is the competent ruler and the people of India are the blind son.

As an interesting pun can also be regarded a play called *Hercules Asiaticus* (no. 7) performed at the end of school year 1671/72 by poets from Olomouc. In ten couples one missionary merit of Francis is always introduced as prothesis and a kind of summary of work of poets in the particular month is introduced as apothesis. Connection with Hercules's work is rather free and is clearly voiced only in the overture. The parallel itself between Xavier and Hercules is not the invention of the playwright. Among emblems connected with Francis we can see Hercules carrying a heavenly arch representing a Saint taking on the burden of Christianization of the East.⁵² Considering the way the play was built it seems the author worked with a hyperbole and wit especially when creating parallels between Francis's deeds and study devotion of the pupils of poetics. The April couple, in which *prothesis* represents Xavier who had to endure a range of hardships threatening his life (arrows shooting, attack by stones, shipwrecking), can serve as a proof. *Apothesis* is symbolized by penetrating through mysteries of poetical treatment of Antique mythology (*poetarum docta deliria*), represented by Ovidius's *Metamorphoses* and *Mythology* of Italian humanist Natalis Comes.⁵³ The synopsis includes also a witty epilogue on Xavier's death and its "rescheduling" from real December (3rd December) to September, which is the last month, i.e. December of the school year: September dies together with Xavier and the whole performance exhales together with him.

Although this play can be considered unique, other authors used different ways of approaching the school environment. The most frequent is setting the story into childhood of the Saint or right in the time of his school attendance. There is no preserved

⁵¹ Andreotti (2007: 13–82).

⁵² See note 32; Libertinus (1673: 23 [Elogium VII. Xaverii Indophori Somnium]): ... *ergo novus Orientis Atlas* ...

⁵³ *Hercules Asiaticus: Pro Aprili, poetarum docta deliria, Metamorphosis Nasonis, Mythologia Natalis, Proteus, omnia demum phantasmata dedicuntur*; Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae sive explicationum fabularum libri X*. Venetiae, 1567.

text of this kind among Xaverian plays, and from other plays on Jesuit Saints, it was used only in the play *Litterae amoris proximi admoniculum* that took partly place in the first year of Ignatius's later studies at the grammar school.⁵⁴ The second tool was using notions and procedures from the discussed school subject, as we can see in play *Problema syntacticum*, by which the fourth-grade grammar students from Olomouc honoured Aloysius Gonzaga.⁵⁵

While all the above analysed plays were perhaps prepared by the students of poetics, whose patron used to be Francis Xavier, for the festive awarding the best students at the end of the school year, performance *Jucundus homo* (no. 6) served also another purpose. Grammar school pupils from Jihlava honoured with the performance the Imperial Couple on behalf of school and town on 29th September 1667. The play narrates the already mentioned story of a Portuguese merchant Peter Vellius. One of the allegorical prologue figures distinguishes the overjoyed person who is spoken about in psalm 111. The author divides the play into nine scenes, which are in the synopsis started by passages from the fifth to tenth verse of the relevant psalm. Individual episodes from Vellius's story are then outlined as a proof that the psalm words can be applied to this very man. The synopsis, however, does not say if this interconnection was scenically performed – either by using a choir or allegorical characters appearing in the prologue or by scenographic tools, e.g. placing the written tapes or emblem on the stage – or whether relating the story to the psalm was explained only in the synopsis. The plot line itself contains all the episodes of the story: giving money to Xavier; the Saint's double prophecy; triple forecasted shipwrecking and repeated growing rich of Vellius; presage of death after wine turns bitter; his preparation for “good” death and leaving for the other life. Many allegorical characters (*Castitas* – Purity, *Fama* – Reputation, *Amicitia* – Friendship, *Felicitas* – Fortune) apart from the real basic ones (Xaverius, Vellius and his friends) come on the stage. Not knowing the whole text of the play we are not able to evaluate their participation in the development of the plot, not even the way of their mutual interaction. The only obvious thing is the message of the play involving both the usual moral of the play, i.e. acclaim of Vellius's generosity (a present to Xavier), faith in God (trust in the change of adverse fate when shipwrecking), careful preparations for death, and the particular updating in which *Jucundus homo* Petrus Vellius sets an example of the correct behaviour of the rich and powerful.

There are only two synopses from Klementinum and one from Klodsko, which complete the base of documented plays in the 18th century. A complex allegory *Pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis* (no. 12) played by fourth-grade grammar school students in 1710 presents Xavier as a creator of peace in the East. India is convulsing in wars and disputes caused by idolatry and Francis comes as an Angel of Peace (*Angelus Pacis*) who strides in the mountains, while one of his feet is on the sea and the other one on the dry

⁵⁴ *Litterae amoris proximi admoniculum* seu D. Ignatius de Lojola, animarum juvandarum amore ad Dei majorem gloriam litterarum rudimenta auspicatus, comice repraesentatus a rudimentistis academici gymnasii Soc[ietatis]. Jesu Neo-Pragae, Anno 1678. die 21. Augusti. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 87 (synopsis).

⁵⁵ *Problema syntacticum*: An bene convenient et in una sede morentur Majestas et Amor, scenice in B. Aloysii Gonzagae, marchionis Castilionensis, sanctae in Societate Jesu vocatione propositum et discussum ab ... supremae classis grammatices juventute, Olomucii, anno Domini M.DC.LXIX., X. Julii. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 96 (synopsis).

land.⁵⁶ The supposed author Fabianus Vesely is not, however, the creator of this scene (image), he only constructed its scenic appearance, which we find rather chaotic. He knew the image of Xavier as an striding Angel in the sense of the mentioned apocalyptic quotation from the work of Antonius Vieriſius who built ten speeches over the same verse in the second part of his *Xaverius dormiens*.⁵⁷ The Vesely's drama is divided into three acts and twenty-four scenes of the most various character, from portraying particular war conflicts, known from biographies (downfall of Malacca), to allegorical scenes commenting on the affairs or portraying Francis's mental states. There also appears the renowned dream in which Xavier is carrying a "weighty Pagan" on his back, here designated as *Aetiopus*. It is interesting to see the use of the motif of the Sun, which does not rise in the West, nor does it chase away the night of the East this time but is the contrary of the crescent of the Mohammedan Moon.

The synopsis of the play *Armata arrogantia* (no. 15), written for students of the highest grammar class in Klodsko, shows an unsuccessful assault on Malacca in October 1547. The author introduces us to the endangered port to show Xavier's prediction of the attack, his appeals to defence and his credit of the miraculous victory. Scenes taking place in Malacca alternate with those from the camp of invaders, whose main protagonist is an ambitious commander Bajaja Soora. These events are described in most of Xaverian legends; however, the author of *Armata arrogantia* refers in the argument to Xavier's biography by an Italian Jesuit Joseph Massei, which is quite surprising. This biography was translated into German in the early 18th century and available also in Bohemian province, but Latin version is unknown.⁵⁸ Then, *Armata arrogantia* is the first synopsis, in which an author uses a vernacular text as a source of inspiration. Trying to find out reasons for the choice of this topic, we can speculate about the influence of the ongoing War of the Austrian Succession; the play was performed just a few weeks before the decisive Prussian-Austrian battles in the summer 1744.

The youngest synopses come from 1745 and were printed for a more-part exercise, whose author is a famous and well-experienced professor of rhetoric – Ferdinand Silberman.⁵⁹ The first copy called *Franciscus Xaverius primum salutaribus Ignatii de Loyola consiliis repugnans* (no. 16) dates back to May 1745 and includes, besides the argumentum referring to the particular part of Tursellini's biography,⁶⁰ only contents of seven scenes in which Francis rejects Ignatius's advice. The first leaf of the second print in 1745 is identical from the points of view of content, but its form is different. The second leaf, however, shows two other parts of the play, which culminate with Francis's decision to lead a devoted life. Existence of two synopses clearly points at showing the play or its parts on different dates and different occasions. While the first part, which is just one third of the whole play, could serve as a monthly exercise, the second one was perhaps

⁵⁶ *Pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis* (argumentum): *Xaverius sit Angelus ille, qui posuit pedem suum dexterum super mare, sinistrum autem super terram*. Cf. Apoc. 10, 2.

⁵⁷ Vieriſius 1701. The synopsis refers rather surprisingly to the part of the eleventh speech in which counting the length of journeys in India (Vieriſius 1701: 391–392 [Sermo undecimus De anniversario S. Xaverii festo die, § II, no. 408]) by Francis is discussed. Majority of speeches (2–9) of the particular collection are based on the same apocalyptic quote.

⁵⁸ Massei (1714: 139–152).

⁵⁹ *Theater in Böhmen* (2013: 637–639 [s.v. Ferdinand Silberman by M. Jacková]).

⁶⁰ Tursellinus (1596: 10–12).

played as a festive performance of rhetoricians at the end of the school year, which was already moved from September to July at the time. It is, of course, a question whether they did not show the whole piece in the second performance. As an evidence for that could serve the fact that the whole synopsis was reprinted, which is not usual by other plays divided into two performances.⁶¹ Reasons for including the contents of the first part could be at the same time merely typographic.

Before we try, on the basis of the above analysed text corpuses and synopses, to pronounce several more general theses on the way of treating Xaverian theme in the Jesuit dramatic work in the Bohemian Province, let us come back to its structure and informative value. First it is necessary to raise a question about relations between the preserved collection, at least in terms of number of plays, and the real theatre production on Saint Francis Xavier in Bohemian lands. The answer is very difficult and we can try to find it mainly in annual reports of individual colleges bearing in mind, however, that from the 1690s there is less and less information about school theatre.⁶² In spite of that we can prove, on the basis of Ferdinand Menčík's research carried out in the Viennese collection *Litterae Annuae*,⁶³ that Xavier entered the scene of one of the Province's schools in the period between 1658 and 1687 almost every year. For the given thirty years there are 21 documented performances, while three of them can be safely supported by rather representative text or synopsis for those days,⁶⁴ and apart from that we know 8 other pieces from synopses. From this point of view the collection of synopses seems rather representative for this period. It is, however, necessary to say it includes production in Prague and Olomouc, about which we have no records in annual reports. In this connection there might be further interesting information coming from the studies of the surviving diaries of rectors of Klementinum and Olomouc College, which was at the moment refrained from due to the extent of the study.

If we follow themes of the documented plays, we will surely find a base in majority of them in Tursellinus's or Bartolus's biographies, be it mentioned or not. Did the authors have to look for the source of inspiration in this way? Both the files, undoubtedly in several languages and different textual adaptations, were certainly easily available to all the authors.⁶⁵ It is, however, necessary to suppose that knowledge of not only

⁶¹ From Silberman's exercise for rhetoric from 1731 *Cosmophilus* and Paleczek's one year older Ignatius play for humanisties *Tres modi humilitatis* we know the synopsis of only the second part, which was perhaps the longer one.

⁶² The annual reports survived mainly in three collections, in the Roman Jesuit Archives, the Austrian National Library and the Czech National Library. To learn more on their appearances and origin, see Bobková-Valentová (2010).

⁶³ Menčík (1895).

⁶⁴ Menčík (1895: 109, 122) finds evidence for staging Engel's *Nox Orientis* in Cheb and two performances on Peter Vellius in Jihlava shown allegedly in 1677 (documented in synopsis) and 1678, when the piece is described as a melodrama.

⁶⁵ See e. g. [Georgius Ferus] *Swatey Swatého Diwy a Záznaky schwáleného Obcowánj Žiwot Ignacya Logoli Rządu Towarystwa Gména Geżjssowego Zakladatele. Od Petra Rybadeneyry, Učedlnjka a Towarysse geho, hodnowěrně sepsaney, a neyprw w Česstině wydaney*. Praha, 1617; [anon.], *Philo-Xaverii Pietas hebdomadaria in S. Patronum Franciscum Xaverium, Indiarum Apostolum e Societate Jesu, ad beatum ex hac mortali vita transitum a Deo per ejusdem intercessionem, et imitationem impetrandum. Romae primum Superiorum permissu Anno M.DC.LXII. Italice, deinde Latine reddita, et denuo recussa*. Graecii, 1662. Vilnae, 1715; [Georg Kastel], *Vita Sancti Francisci Xaverii e Societate Jesu, Indiarum Apostoli et thumaturgi compendio descripta. Promo Mediolani Italice, tum Graecij Latine in lucem edita, Nunc denuo honori ejusdem Divi, Auspicijs et munificentia Sancto Addictorum plurimum aucta et recussa*.

basic moments of the Xaverian legend and ways of its iconographic and emblematic development belonged to the basic formation educative stint of each Jesuit. There is no doubt they heard a countless number of exhortation and sermons about the Saint, they many times prayed various Xaverian religious services, in privacy they often reflected on Francis's life, and they may have desired to follow him in his missionary journeys. Their knowledge and imagination could surely have been supported by the decoration of Jesuit temples where was also the Saint's altar with pictures from his life or at least his *vera effigies*, and by colleges whose refectories, libraries and halls often served to portraying whole cycles from the life of saints of order. In connection with the theatre it is necessary to emphasize the role of the Klementinum cycle,⁶⁶ which majority of Bohemian Jesuits became familiar with when studying philosophy or theology.

We can divide themes and motifs treated on the stages of Jesuit schools into three groups. The first one is formed by generally known themes, often dealt with in arts and used in emblematic. These are mainly events, attitudes and miracles enumerated in the *Bulla Canonizationis*, which waited to see their visualisation in the picture decoration of church Il Gesu during canonization. It is not surprising the most frequent motif of this kind is a crab carrying a cross (*Nox orientis*, *Amplius amor et dolor*) although it was not easy to put it on the stage. There are other miracles connected with the cross and mentioned in the bull or pictures, i.e. transformation of salty water into sweet water, calming down of the storm and a blind person starting to see, they get on the stage rather sporadically. Francis's carrying a cross related to the motif of gratitude for the surplus of heavenly gifts and eternal desire to suffer for the Christ is the main theme of *Amplius labor et dolor* and April scene from play *Hercules Asiaticus*. The second plentifully used story is Xavier's help in the fight, most frequently represented also in the *Bulla Canonizationis*, which is reminded by chasing away the army of pagans endangering the Christian village. It appears in two plays: *Franciscus Xaverius Admirabilis* and *Hercules Asiaticus*. From other often iconographically treated motives we find a disputation with Buddhist priests only in Engel's play, and the scene of baptism of Pagan Kings so popular in our lands appear merely marginally.

The second group form themes that are quite popular in plays but do not occur in the *Bulla Canonizationis*. This group includes e. g. Xavier's dream of carrying an Indian person (*Nox orientis*, *Pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis*, *Hercules Asiaticus*) or the episode of Xavier's refusal of Ignatius's advice on how to lead a pious life and later the Saint's awakening (*Franciscus Xaverius ... repugnans*, *Nox orientis*) which found their place even in the artistic adaptation.⁶⁷ We have to include here the story of Peter Vellius who has, as it seems, a strange destiny. He did not become very popular in the visual art; in the Bohemian environment we know only Heinsch's picture that portrays Xavier asking Vellius for money.⁶⁸ Nevertheless this story became a favourite example as shows

Prague, 1667; or Georgius Iwanek, *Vince te ipsum, Magnum magnorum Dei sanctorum Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Jesu fundatoris et Francisci Xaverii de eadem Societate Indiarum Apostoli, ad magnam vitae sanctitatem conducens axioma*. Neo-Pragae, 1693.

⁶⁶ Nevímová (2002: 219). The pictures were according to the author created most probably in the middle of the 1660s.

⁶⁷ Klementinum cycle, no. 4.

⁶⁸ The picture does not show Vellius playing chess, like in plays, but during the feast. More about the work: Šroněk (2006: 42–45).

e.g. the fact it was ranked among a range of German language handbooks including a collection of legends by Martin of Kochem.⁶⁹

It was very popular to compare Xavier and Hercules. We find this comparison not only in play *Hercules Asiaticus*, which is based directly on this parallel, but also in Arnold Engel's work. Francis carrying an Indian person like Hercules/Atlas holding the heavenly arch is depicted even in the first of symbols in collection *Divus Franciscus Xaverius magnus Indiarum Apostolus*.

The last third group is formed by adaptations, which can be regarded unusual or quite original. We can rank here especially the play on Christianization achievements of Mathematics in China (*China Xaveriani Zeli meta*) or a typological parallel on India/Atalanta and Xavier/Hippomenes (*Schoeneida praemia cursus*). Application of Vierius's panegyric in play *Pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis* is also unusual.

The performed analysis shows that in Xaverian plays in the setting of the Bohemian province appear both the themes and motives well known from the surviving production of German lands (e.g. Naples plague, motif of Francis bringing peace to India), and the adaptations less usual or unsupported (a Chinese hydra, a parallel to Atalanta). The synopses and texts therefore prove that many Jesuits were able to deal with the frequently treated theme such as the life of Francis Xavier, handled almost always in an exclusively allegorical way, newly and originally. A further research and attempts to broaden the known corpus of texts can therefore extend our knowledge of the work of Jesuit playwrights with well-known themes.

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Abbreviations of archives

ATKr = Archiwum Prowincji Polski Południowej Towarzystwa Jezusowego [Archives of South Poland Province], Kraków

JS = Jesuitica fund

NA ČR = Národní archiv České republiky [Czech National Archives]

NK ČR = Národní knihovna České republiky [Czech National Library]

SK = Knihovna Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově [Library of Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov]

SM = Stará manipulace [Old Manipulation] fund

SOA Třeboň/ČK = Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, pobočka Český Krumlov [State District Archives Třeboň, Branch Český Krumlov]

VKOL = Vědecká knihovna Olomouc [Research Library Olomouc]

⁶⁹ Andreas Strobl, *Der Anderte Theil Oder Zusatz Deß Geistlichen KartenSpills: In welchem Die [...]. Saltzburg, 1696: no. 108, pp. 115–119 (Der letzte nicht der letzte Stich); Martin Prugger, Lehr- und Exempel-Buch für die Krancke und Sterbende, wie auch für die [...]. Augsburg, 1730: pp. 46–47; Reginbald Perckmayr, *Geschicht- und Predig-Buch. I. Von denen Heiligen Gottes, Welche [...]. Augsburg, 1737: T. 3, pp. 621–622; Dominicus Wenz, Lehrreiches Exempelbuch [...] ein nützlicher Zeitvertreib als ein Haus- und Les-Buch. Augsburg, 1757: pp. 576–579 (Ein und dreysigste Begebenheit, Ein reicher, mithin aber gewissenhafter Kaufmann läßt vor seinem End für sich ein Seel-Amt halten, und stirbt gleich darauf seeliglich); Martin von Kochem, *Verbesserte Legend der Heiligen. Augsburg, 1769: col. 1185–1186.***

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- Novi Indiarum Phaebi ortus* seu S. Francisci Xaverii in Indiam adventus Indis qvam proficuus pro debita erga Patronum suum scholarem observantia primo exercitio hebdomadario propositus a poëtis Crumloviensibus anno 1710 die 1^a Februarii. SOA Třeboň / ČK, Velkostatek Český Krumlov fund, sign. I 3 Sa 4, f. 114r–121r.
- Sol in India orientali olim gloriosa morte occiduus, in novis Indiis oriens innociduus, Sanctus Franciscus Xaverius, ambigue iuventuti ab eo, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, pro eligenda via salutis in lucem et ducem coelitus datus, Agente Perillustri Nobili, Praenobili ac Ingenua mediae classis grammatices juventute gymnasii Academici Societatis Jesu Neo-Pragae 1740, mense Majo, die ...* NA ČR, SM, J-20-17/18, box 999, f. 677r–688v.
- Tres juvenum in provinciis abeuntium morum et vitae praefecti*: S. Josephus in terra, S. Xaverius in mari, S. Angelus Custos in conversatione. SOA Třeboň / ČK, Velkostatek Český Krumlov fund, sign. I 3 Sa 4, without pagination.

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- Amplius Labor et Dolor sive Crucis amor S. Francisci Xaverii a patientia probatus et praemiatus atque honori Tutelarisi sui a clientibus poëtis Iuliomontanis in scenam datus Decembris die 11. M. DC. LVIII.* NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 3.
- Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1623 = *Annales Ecclesiastici ex XII tomis Caesaris Baronii, [...] in epitomen redacti [...]*. Moguntiae.
- Armata arrogantia* olim opitulante Divo Xaverio humiliter exarmata; hodie in venerationem Ejusdem urbis Patroni a suprema classe grammatices collegii Societatis Jesu Glacii in scenam data anno aerae christianae 1744, mense Junio, die // Starct bewaffneter Heydnischer Hochmuth durch des Heiligen Francisci Xaverii demüthiges Gebett, Rath und Antrid vn den obsiegenden Waffen Christlicher Demuthm siegreich ertwaffnet und erniedrieget ... ATKr, sign. 2554, pp. 255–258.
- Avancini, N., 1675. *Poesis dramatica. Pars II.* Coloniae Agrippinae.
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- Beyerlinck, L., 1631. *Magnum theatrum vitae humanae, hoc est rerum divinarum humanarumque syntagma catholicum, historicum et dogmaticum.* Coloniae Agrippinae.
- Bulla Canonizationis* = Urbani VII. Pontificis Maximi Bulla Canonizationis Beati Francisci Xaverii celebrante per Gregorium XV. In: *Monumenta Xaveriana, ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta. Tomus secundus. Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio.* Matriri: Gabriel Lopez del Horno, 1912, 704–724.
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- Divus Franciscus Xaverius, magnus Indiarum Apostolus* in symbolica decade in honorem annorum decem in Indiis exantlatorum adumbratus et epigrammatum centuria expressus nec non illustrissimis, magnificis, perillustribus, generosis, nobilibus, reverendis, religiosis ac eruditis dominis, artium liberalium et philosophiae neobaccalaureis cum in aula universitatis Olomucensis, promotore R. P. Martino Lassota Societatis Iesu, artium liberalium et philosophiae doctore, ejusdemque professore ordinario primam philosophiae laureaem capesserent dicatus ac consecratus ab illustrissima, magnifica, perillustri, generosa, nobili, decade totaque facultate academicae poëseos in eadem universitate studiosa, anno M.DC.LXIII., mense Majo, die ... NK ČR, sign. 52 B 49, adl. 8; VKOL, sign. 33.330, SKC VI 102/14.
- Franciscus Xaverius primum salutaribus Ignatii de Lojola consiliis repugnans ... Tandem generosa sui victoria de se ipso gloriose triumphans, seque propagandae Divinae Gloriam, et animarum saluti procurandae ex asse consecrans; a facultate oratoria Vetro-Pragae, in Academico Societatis Jesu Collegio ad S. Clementem dramatice repraesentatus ...* 1745. VKOL, sign. 42.272, 42.251.
- Hercules Asiaticus.* D. Xaverius decennialibus in oriente laboribus gloriosus, cui obsequii ergo decem mensium scholasticos labores, academici poetae Neo-Pragenses, comice D. D. C. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 83.

- Historiae Sanctorum*, 1675 = *Historiae Sanctorum omnium nationum, ordinum et temporum ex probatis R. P. F. Laurentii Surii Carthusiani* [...]. Coloniae Agrippinae.
- Jucundus homo* Petrus Vellius latrunculis ludens S. Francisci Xaverii interventione et ejusdem vaticinio "miserescens, commodans et disponens sermones suos in iudicio" ad thema psalmi CXI. sub auspiciis Augustissimi Imperatoris Leopoldi I. Ungariae et Bohemiae Regis etc. et Augustissimae Margaritae Hispaniarum Infantis ex munificentia Amplissimi senatus Iglaviensis in scenam datus ab Illustrissima, Perillustri, Generosa, Nobili et Ingenua juventute in caesareo regioque gymnasio Societatis Jesu Iglaviae. NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 13.
- Laureola Martyrii* D. Francisci Xaverii in symbolica Daphniphori corona adumbrata et in scenam data a poësi academica Pragensi ad S. Clementem. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 65; SK, sign. AB VIII 38, adl. 28.
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- Medicus Neapoleos* = MeDICVs NeapoLeos, sive SanCtVs FranCisCVs XaVier, NeapoLIs LVe pestifera oppressae eXCeLLentIssIMVs patronVs a poetis academicis Pragensibus in scenam datus XIX. Calend. Januarii. NK ČR, sign. 52 B 44, adl. 1.
- Novus Castor et Pollux* = NoVVs Castor et PoLLVX IgnatIVs LoyoLa et FranCisCVs XaVerIVs genVInI et gerManI e SoCietate IesV fratres, cor unum et anima una, toti orbi salutare, relati inter sidera; in scenam dati ab Illustrissima, Perillustri, Generosa, Nobili ac Ingenua humanitate Micro-Pragensi. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 78.
- Opus posthumum* Sancti Francisci Xaverii magni Indiarum Apostoli gravissimis pro fide catholica laboribus consummati; China nimirum illustrata, fidei christianae lumine, sacris ejusdem Divi auspiciis in acceptis relata, ab Illustrissima, Perillustri, Nobili ac Ingenua poësi Micro-Pragae editum, mense Decembri, die ..., M.DC.LXXVII. NK ČR, sign. 52 C 21, adl. 72.
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- Pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis* et praedicantis pacem Isai. 52. v. 7. A detriumphato theomachae gentilitatis fastu gloriosi; a foecundato propriis vestigiis Indiae deserto speciosi; pulchri a pacis olea propagatae; nunc theatralem cothurnum induti seu magni orbis alterius Apostoli, mundi utriusque thaumaturgi Divi Francisci Xaverii pedes super emensos, apostolico aequae ac pacifico gressu, Indiae, Japoniae ac totius pene Orientis montes, speciosi. Nunc sacriore Poesi in publicum spectaculum pro theatro producti, agente Illustrissima, Perillustri, Nobili ac Ingenua supremae classis grammaticae juventute academica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae, Pragae ad Sanctum Clementem anno 1710 mense ... die ... NK ČR, sign. 52 A 39, adl. 21.
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SV. FRANTIŠEK XAVERSÝ NA ŠKOLNÍCH SCÉNÁCH JEZUITSKÉ ČESKÉ PROVINCE

Shrnutí

Studie se zabývá jezuitskými školskými dramaty z českých zemí, jejichž protagonistou je sv. František Xaverský. Čtyři kompletní texty a 13 her dochovaných jen ve formě synopse rozebírá především z hlediska proměn nejčastějších motivů, které se kromě divadelních her objevují také ve světcových životopisech a ve výtvarném umění.

Provedený rozbor ukazuje, že v prostředí české řádové provincie se v xaveriánských hrách objevují jak náměty dobře známé z jiných zemí, tak motivy méně obvyklé či nedoložené. Synopse i texty také dokazují, že i tak často zpracovávané téma jako je život Františka Xaverského, pojímané navíc téměř výlučně alegoricky, dokázali mnozí jezuité uchopit nově a neotřele.

APPENDIX

The list of Xaverian plays – texts and synopses

1		<i>Medicus Neapoleos</i>	14. 12. 1656	Prague – Klementinum	humanities	synopsis
2		<i>Amplius Labor et Dolor</i>	11. 12. 1658	Olomouc	humanities	synopsis
3	Arnoldus Engel / Angelus	<i>Nox Orientis</i>	1658	Cheb	all school	full text – 3 manuscripts
4		<i>Novus Castor et Pollux</i>	1659	Prague – Malá Strana	humanities	synopsis
5	[Franciscus Kamperger]	<i>S. Franciscus Xaverius Admirabilis</i>	1661	Olomouc	humanities	synopsis
6	[Joannes Coratinus ?]	<i>Jucundus homo</i>	1667	Jihlava	all school	synopsis
7	[Guilielmus Dworsky]	<i>Hercules Asiaticus.</i>	1672	Prague – Nové Město	humanities	synopsis
8		<i>Opus posthumum</i>	?. 12. 1677	Prague – Malá Strana	humanities	synopsis
9		<i>China Xaveriani Zeli meta</i>	9. 12. 1677	Prague – Nové Město	humanities	synopsis
10	[Henricus Richter]	<i>Schoeneida praemia cursus</i>	7. 2. 1679	Prague – Nové Město	humanities	synopsis
11		<i>Laureola Martyrii</i>	16??	Prague – Klementinum	humanities	2 synopses
12	[Fabianus Vesely]	<i>Pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis</i>	1710	Prague – Klementinum	highest grammar class	synopsis
13	[Tobias Streit]	<i>Novi Indiarum Phaebi ortus</i>	1. 2. 1710	Český Krumlov	humanities	full text – manuscript
14	[Sigismundus Pospischil]	<i>Sol in India</i>	?. 5. 1740	Prague – Nové Město	middle grammar class	full text – manuscript
15	[Josephus Swartz]	<i>Armata arrogantia</i>	?. 6. 1744	Klodska	highest grammar class	synopsis
16	[Ferdinandus Silberman]	<i>Franciscus Xaverius primum salutaribus Ignatii de Lojola consiliis repugnans</i>	spring, 1745	Prague – Klementinum	rhetoric	two different synopses
17		<i>Tres juvenum praecepti</i>	17??	[Český Krumlov]		full text – manuscript