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**CHILDREN'S WORLD ON THE STAGE  
OF JESUIT SCHOOL THEATRE  
IN THE BOHEMIAN PROVINCE<sup>1</sup>**

Textual material related to Early Modern school theatre, i.e. texts and synopses of school plays, can be approached through the prism of multiple scientific fields. It is evident that theatre specialists as well as Neo-Latinist or literary scholars may contribute to the understanding of its form and function. This theatrical discipline has also been a focus of historians, be it those examining the history of the performing institutions (i.e. order houses or entire orders), or those focusing on the history of pedagogy or education. In their research, texts and synopses of school plays function mostly as evidence of the dates of school performances, incorporation of theatre into the curriculum and sometimes also the personalities of actors or prominent superior members of the audience. These researchers are interested in the thematic aspect of the plays, which are analysed mostly in connection with festive performances but also in the context of their possible educational impact. Can the texts of school plays, however, be approached as representative sources in a different light? This brief article will try to answer by attempting, with the help of several exemplary texts, to show the possible benefit of detailed reading of school plays as probes into the everyday life of children – pupils in the Early Modern society.

The paper draws from the research of Jesuit school theatrical production in the Bohemian province in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which is only briefly characterized here in the context of preserved texts of the school drama in the Bohemian lands in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Similarly to the rest of the Central European territory, a large number of performances were written and performed by the students of predominantly Jesuit and

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Piarist colleges in the Bohemian lands.<sup>2</sup> The plays were occasional, written mainly by teachers as a part of the curriculum or for special occasions; these two reasons for the creation of such plays can overlap so much that they are inseparable, and separating them does often not make any sense. The preservation of these texts is a matter of coincidence; it does not reflect any rational mechanisms of conservation but rather the way textual material of this kind was treated from the Josephine times to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> The known corpora contain altogether over 500 plays in manuscript and several thousand of printed or manuscript programmes/synopses. Only several single copies have been preserved from the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is represented predominantly by Jesuit<sup>4</sup> and partly Piarist production;<sup>5</sup> the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is characterised mostly by Piarist and Benedictine plays,<sup>6</sup> where German language becomes a competition for previously dominant Latin.

Owing to recent research, the best documented theatrical production is the Jesuit one, the assessment of which can be supported by foreign studies as well.<sup>7</sup> In Europe, researchers focus above all on rarely preserved clusters of texts of regular performances from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, completed by an extensive corpus of synopses which enable the scholars

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2 Colleges founded by other orders only played a marginal role; theatrical activity is only documented in the Benedictine college in Broumov and the municipal college of Žatec (BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2011a, 53–57). The Latin schools of the mendicant orders were not very common and the evidence about their theatrical activities has not been researched as of yet.

3 The sets of synopses have mostly been preserved in convolutes from college libraries or their origin is unknown. The texts were sometimes conserved thanks to the libraries of the succeeding educational institutions, i.e. public colleges (Kłodzko, Broumov, Litomyšl etc.); Jesuit plays have usually been preserved in the torsos of collections of documents pertaining to individual colleges, which have survived for unspecified reasons and now form a part of the Jesuitica in various archival collections. Cf. Alena Bočková's paper (*Theatrum Neolatinum...*) in the first volume of the present book (p.296.).

4 MENČÍK 1895; JORDAN 1916; BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 1995, 158–166.; ZEMEK 2001, 116–156.; JACKOVÁ 2006, 232–253; BOK 2013, 40Y–413 [Contains an inventory extant plays from Jesuit College in Český Krumlov]; *Nejmírnější Pallas* 2016, 443–466.

5 ZEMEK, 1966; BOMBERA 1983, 1987, 1990, 1995; KLOSOVÁ 1992.

6 SVATOŠ 2005.

7 The list of plays e.g. VALENTIN 1983–1984; STAUD 1984–1994; editions of synopsis SZAROTA 1979–1987; FILIPPI 2001; editions of dramas: MUNDT–SEELBACH 2002; TILG 2005; GIER 2005; BAUER –LEONHARDT 2000; SULINI 2011 etc.; for the most recent syntheses e.g. BLOEMENDAL 2014, 2015; DEMETER 2015.

to reconstruct the repertoires of the school stages of certain colleges.<sup>8</sup> The efforts to make the preserved texts accessible gave rise to a series of publications entitled *Theatrum Neolatinum*, introduced in these proceedings by Alena Bočková.<sup>9</sup> I have used the texts collected in the earliest volumes of this editorial project as the reference material in the preparation of this article.<sup>10</sup>

First of all, however, let me briefly characterize the plays with a child protagonist. In the second part of this article, I will discuss some passages from the plays set in the school environment and show how these apparently banal scenes can complete or correct our idea of the running of a Jesuit school. In the conclusion, I will summarize the potential educational effect of this type of theatre on young people through identification with the child protagonist.

In multiple school plays, the protagonist is *in tenera aetate* – i.e. a child or an adolescent. It is apparent that with the drama set among the pupils' peers, their acting became more credible – and, more importantly, the familiar setting multiplied the moral or educative effect of the story. In my research, however, the main attraction of these plays is their illustration, in one form or other, of the life of the pupils/actors. The protagonists are close in age to the students of a Jesuit college, i.e. the age scope is still rather wide, ranging from little boys to adolescents who are already preparing to assume their role in society.

School plays vary substantially in terms of topic and tone, making the thematic division possible.<sup>11</sup> For the sake of this article, let us divide the stories of little or young heroes into three broader groups according

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8 BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 1995, 148–166.; JACKOVÁ 2006, 232–253.

9 *Sv. Jan Nepomucký* 2015; *Nejmírnější Pallas* 2016.

10 In the corpus of the published plays, seven plays have a child protagonist confirmed by the text of the play and two according to their synopses.

11 The most complex division of the plays was performed by M. E. Szarota in her facsimile edition of the synopses. (SZAROTA 1979–1987, introduction to volumes I, II, III). Other researchers have divided the repertory into similar thematic groups: unfortunately, with regard to the preserved textual material, they can only deduce from the topics introduced in the *argumentum* of the play and the outline of the contents in the synopsis. Magdalena Jacková drew from complete dramatic texts (JACKOVÁ 2011, 114–222.), establishing similar, albeit broader categories. A variant of this thematic division of the plays is derived from the instructive impact on the students (BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2006, 105.). Three basic thematic categories can be established. The first group focuses on personal relationships, especially ties with family and friends. The second category primarily strives to develop religious feeling, especially Marian devotion. The last group contains plays that focus on personality and its formation, with regard to the current or future missions of the individual. These plays mostly thematise the right choice in life, often including the portrayal of a good or evil ruler; less commonly, they emphasise specific positive (diligence, obedience) or negative (pride, greed, laziness) traits.

to the treatment of the young protagonist and the setting of the dramatic action. The first group are stories firmly rooted in the world of children, with a simple plot and usually also a happy-ending.<sup>12</sup> Frequently, they are episodically structured, alternating adventure (straying, robbers' assault, presumed death of a friend),<sup>13</sup> with scenes from family life (siblings' conflict)<sup>14</sup> or school life, miracles etc. The plot of these plays is usually a fictitious story fabricated by the author, which can be derived from an *exemplum* or a marginal citation from a legend about a saint, who then becomes the leading positive character of the play. Sometimes suitable moments from the saint's childhood are used, sometimes a convenient episode from the saint's life is simply transposed into his childhood.<sup>15</sup> These plays were usually created for the youngest pupils of Jesuit schools, the rudimentists and the principists. Numerous everyday situations from the life of children appear here in detail, not respecting the historical setting of the story, but on the contrary making se of the daily reality of the actors' lives. This makes them very valuable as sources of information about the functioning of the college and the behaviour of the pupils both at school and outside; they reflect the way the child communicated with socially superior characters, i.e. parents (always represented by the father on the school stage), teachers and priests, but also with their peers, i.e. classmates and siblings.

In the second, radically different group of plays, the adolescent or child protagonists are confronted with the situations that no longer belong into children's world (struggle for the throne, crusade, confessionalism or

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12 *Angelus ad aras, Vox clamantis, Gratia indeptarea gratiae, Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei.*

13 *Vox clamantis* (v. 317–341., BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ 2015, 170–173.) features a real assault by robbers; a faked robbery plotted by naughty classmates figures in *Angelus ad aras* (v. 599–615, ibidem, 128–129.) and *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei* (v. 36–380., JACKOVÁ 2016, 160–163.); a presumed death appears in *Gratia indeptarea gratiae* (scena IX, BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ 2015, 480–481, ); JACKOVÁ 2007, 55.

14 E.g. Edmundus in the play *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei* has a fictitious brother Florimundus – his very opposite not only in the approach to school duties and devotion but also in relation to their mother, which is apparent from the presents the brothers send her.

15 In the play *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, the apparition of Baby Jesus is transposed from the Saint's early adulthood to his early childhood.

even martyred death...).<sup>16</sup> These works also bring the spectator to a very different environment. They are set at court or in the exotic landscapes of pagan lands, and place their characters, be it rulers or poor families, in extreme situations. Everyday life of young people is not shown in much detail; on the other hand, we can deduce from these texts what was probably the Jesuit tutors' ideal of the relationships among their wards. They also present the correct ways of dealing with the power that is bestowed on one.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, they offer a noteworthy view of the difficulties of growing up, be it the necessity to instantly enter the adult world or, conversely, the need to maintain filial obedience.

The third group contains plays whose heroes have been labelled by Magdalena Jacková as “the young men on the crossroads”.<sup>18</sup> The motive of *bivium* is frequent in these texts, and the *psychomachia* principle is employed in the decision-making process of the protagonist. Similarly to the first group, these plays are set in an environment familiar to the students, with a possible introduction of adventurous motives. They are nevertheless also related to the second group through the motive of the necessity of making a decision which is vital for the protagonist's future life. This kind of plays can be found among dramatic texts intended for the youngest pupils but also those written for adolescents, showing that the motive of making the right decision in life was very universal and as such favoured by the teachers. The topic may have stemmed from the morality tradition;<sup>19</sup> the plot is usually fictitious, often developed from an *exemplum* but sometimes also inspired

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16 This type has an only representative among the published plays – *Gratiosus Matris pulchrae dilectionis lusus*, (JACKOVÁ 2016, 192–275.), the dramatic treatment of a legend about three young crusaders (young boys in the play), who are taken captive by the caliph after a lost battle. Their bravery and ardent prayers addressed to Virgin Mary bring about the apparition of the Virgin's statue (Madonna of Liesse – worshipped today in Valletta, Malta in the Church of the Madonna of Liesse), which causes the conversion of the Egyptian princess Ismeria. Cf. KOVÁCS 2013.

17 These models are especially prominent in the plays set at the royal court. More on their educational impact e.g. BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2010.

18 JACKOVÁ 2011, 106.

19 A typical example of this type is the play *Richardus*: one of its scenes transfers the spectator directly to heaven. Devil arrives to persuade Jesus that it is just to cast the erring protagonist and his friends in hell, and the heroes are saved only with the intercession of the Virgin.

by a legend.<sup>20</sup> In the genre scenes, apart from the realities of the life of a common student, who applies himself with more or less diligence to his school and spiritual duties, these plays tend to portray the idle life of youth. When assessing the credibility of the scenes set in a tavern or showing other types of entertainment, we must bear in mind the educational goals these plays had. The characteristics of the “leaders” of the good and evil camp can cast some light on the creation of the character of an ideal tutor – i.e. a grown-up supposed to mould his young wards.

The research regarding the pedagogical methods in Early Modern times has conveyed many insights into the ideal ways of bringing up and educating youth, especially boys. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the educational and instructive practice is very general and researchers frequently find themselves unable to verify the real state of things. Hardly any journals or letters written by schoolchildren have been preserved, and the correspondence of their parents or tutors only covered extraordinary events. Hence, in the second part of this article I will focus on the informative value of the school scenes in this type of drama. The school would usually become a Jesuit institution in the plays, even if the circumstances suggested a Cistercian convent school or a Medieval Latin school as was the case for St. John of Nepomuk,<sup>21</sup> or one of the oldest colleges of the Oxford University, as was the case for St. Edmund of Canterbury. The observations and information gained from the plays are therefore applicable to educational institutions run by the order. I will focus on two specific areas: the mechanisms of teaching and the application of educational methods and premises.

We usually reconstruct the Early Modern educational process with the aid of school regulations (*Ratio studiorum*, *Consuetudines*),<sup>22</sup> which may be very detailed but still do not fill in all the blanks. Let me cite three examples here: *Ratio studiorum* states that the teacher of the lowest class should verify

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20 *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus*. The protagonist of the play is John of Nepomuk – the plot, however, is pure fiction fabricated by the author, who drew on the information that John was a diligent student (irrelevant for the plot of the legend). The fight between Theolater and Philocosmus for John’s affection becomes the main plot of the play, with the Saint standing unwaveringly on the side of virtue as a role model for his classmates and future adorers. Similar approach was adopted by the author of *Gratia indeptarea gratiae*.

21 More about the legentic context of plays about St. John of Nepomuk see BOČKOVÁ 2015.

22 *Ratio studiorum* 1599; BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2011.

the expertise of his pupils prior to teaching,<sup>23</sup> without specifying how this should take place. The classroom scene in the middle of the fourth act of the play *Angelus ad aras* proves that oral examination was indeed used in schools and shows its course.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, several scenes from the play *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei* demonstrate the way homework was approached.<sup>25</sup> We discover that the teacher announced a competition to write a poem, specifying its topic in a very poetic way; apart from the form, he suggested how much time his students should spend on the task; he publicly read the works they handed in and commented on them, instantly choosing and rewarding the winner. Some of the pupils had problems understanding the task, others rushed, yet others did not respect the form or made a mistake in metrics...<sup>26</sup>

*Consuetudines* describe the duty of an altar server during mass in the convent church as a very rare and probably honorary service,<sup>27</sup> but do not state the conditions or mechanisms of choosing the suitable boys. *Angelus ad aras* reveals that especially in the case of smaller boys, the choice was on the catechist and that being proficient in the duties at mass was a necessary condition.<sup>28</sup> The vestments used for altar service were probably paid for by the parents.<sup>29</sup> The pupils could get a small reward for exemplary service from the catechist or the sacristan.<sup>30</sup>

One of the basic features of Jesuit pedagogy is the use of elements of competitive teaching, whose basic feature was competing in practically every field. The above mentioned play *Edmundus* shows the competition in

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23 BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2006, 83–85.; *Regulae communes Professoribus classium inferiorum*, 30, *Ratio Studiorum* 1599, 420.

24 *Angelus ad aras* 1729, v. 393–434: “*Magister: Qveis norma discenda fuit obsequii sacri/ Ad aram, an omnes hanc suis animis tenent? / Eccur tacetis singuli? Nemo sciat?/ ...*”, BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 112–117.

25 *Ratio studiorum* merely recalls assigning homework. *Regulae communes Professoribus classium inferiorum*, 30, *Ratio Studiorum* 1599, 420.

26 *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, Inductio V. (v. 187–247.), JACKOVÁ 2016, 146–151.

27 E. g. *Consuetudines provinciae Germaniae Superioris*. „*Ordo diei*. 8. ... *Ministrant etiam discipuli externi, sed sine neglectu lectionum et studiorum*.” BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2011, 190.

28 *Angelus ad aras*, e. g. v. 133–136., 384–388., 413–440., BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 92–93., 112–117.

29 *Angelus ad aras*, v. 155–158: „*SERVUS: Nova vestimenta Joanni jubet / Parare mater in modum tunicae. AEMULUS 1: Deo / Rursus dicatum veste votiva induent, / Istud profecto sanctuli ingenio placet*.” BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 94–95.

30 *Angelus ad aras*, v. 175–210., BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 96–99.

homework for a small reward. The concluding part of the play *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus* mentions the grand competition for the best student of the school or at least of each class.<sup>31</sup> It is clear from both plays that winning such contests was very important for the pupils; they are also very instructive in showing how the winner – in both cases a celebrated saint – earned his laurels.<sup>32</sup> Apart from erudition and thirst for knowledge, apparent in the Nepomucene play,<sup>33</sup> diligence and piety is emphasised, as it places John above his equally talented peers and promotes Edmund, who is not always among the best, to the elite of the class.<sup>34</sup>

The plays also help us learn about the form of material rewards used in these school competitions. The announcement of the winners and granting of a honorary duty or degree (*honores*) was already a great tribute. Apart from this, the winner of a school competition could win a book or “*imago*” (*praemia*).<sup>35</sup> This prize was usually conceived by scholars as a paper picture of a saint or Virgin Mary, and only thanks to the school plays we now know about other types of objects – wax figures or pendant medallions.<sup>36</sup>

31 *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus*, Inductio XI, XII, BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 242–249.

32 *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus*, v. 624–630: “*DISCIPULUS 1: O tantum forem / Victor ego! Quantum plauderem in cordis sinu! / [DISCIPULUS] 2: Inane votum est, praeripi mihi non sinam / Primos honores. [DISCIPULUS] 3: Et ego vobis non ero / Inferior, omne colligam ingenii robur / Viresque totas exeram, ut locum mihi / Primum in Lycaeō vendicem.*” BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 242–243.; *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, v. 203–204.; JACKOVÁ 2016, 148–149.: “*EDMUNDUS: O utinam Deus! / Victoris ego sorte potiar! OMNES: Utinam ego qvoque!*”.

33 *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus*, v. 612–614: “*PALLADIUS: Pignora adamata! Gloriam quisquis cupit / Solium tenere paceque optata frui, / Sciat necessum sibi, scientiam ut colat.*” BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 242–243.

34 *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus*, v. 658–664. ... 681–683.: “*THEOPHOBUS: Hucusque semper aemulos inter suos / Victor Joannes fuerat et talem fore // Etiam deinceps nullus est dubio locus. / Satis tuetur diligentia eum sua / Pietasque, qua ille Caelicos primus sibi / Rapit favores ... PHILOTHEUS: Debitam hanc palmam sibi / Poscit Joannis diligentia et preces / Junctae labori.*” BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 244–247.; *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, v. 239–241., 252–255.: “*PAEDAGOGUS: Denique Edmundi labor / Pergratiosus ingenii palmam et statum / Unus meretur praemium. Donum cape. ... / MUSULUS: ... Scio, ingenio rudi / Est caetera Edmundus. Nisi alieno bibat / E fonte metra, nauseam e proprio creent / Petita.*” JACKOVÁ 2016, 150–153.

35 BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2006, 83–85.; *Regulae communes Professoribus classium inferiorum*, 31, 35, 36, *Ratio Studiorum 1599*, 420–421.

36 *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, v. 205–206.: “*PAEDAGOGUS: Videte, pro Narcissulo hoc scholae fuit / Mavorte agendum.*” JACKOVÁ 2016, 148–149.; *Vox clamantis*, v. 84–87. “*ROSILUS: ... Ubi non Mariae mysticis textam rosis / Coronam adornes nec tamen pulchrum refers / Testem favoris, praemium. Pulchrum tulit / Pignus Joannes et, Rosile, tu nihil.*” BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 152–153.

The possible negative influence of competition on the relationships in class<sup>37</sup> was a frequently discussed subject. Scenes from school plays often use the motive of the pupils' jealousy of a more successful classmate, which every so often leads to the stealing of his deserved reward, showing that this issue was reflected by the teachers. For instance, the portrayal of John of Nepomuk as the best student of his school accentuates the Saint's humility – a possible suggestion for the top students not to succumb to pride.

The sophisticated educational system, which was meant to produce cultured and pious members of the elite class of townsmen or clerks, relied on keeping the young person very busy. This supposition is confirmed by the school plays. The regulations also anticipated the protests of the youth to the large workload. How exactly these protests took place is not clear from the last redaction of *Ratio studiorum*, but the plays once again confirm the laziness and forgetfulness of the students, their attempts to plagiarize and their cheekiness and flippancy towards the teacher – perhaps a little unexpected in the context of the period.<sup>38</sup> Pupils' complaints regarding the difficulty of the curriculum, attempts to play truant or to escape from school for good are reflected here.<sup>39</sup> We also encounter the practice of sending the classmates of the absent student to look for him and find out the motive for his absence.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly interesting is the mention of slapping as an effective pedagogic tool. The Jesuit teacher could not use slapping in class, since it fell under the ban of physical contact with the students.<sup>41</sup> On stage, however, it is used by parents, tutors and angels alike, which clearly proves that the motive of the ban was formative and not pedagogical.<sup>42</sup>

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37 *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, v. 243–246.: „*PAEDAGOGUS: Quid nubilosa fronte et obliquo feris, / Pubes, sodalem lumine? Invidia flagras? / Sedito, simili pensa fac scholae feras / Ornata studio, praemio ornabo pari.*“ JACKOVÁ 2016, 150–151.

38 JACKOVÁ 2007, 54–55.

39 JACKOVÁ 2001, 939–940.; *Angelus ad aras*, v. 390–391.: “*DISCIPULUS 1: Instat hora jam adeundae scholae, / Vae mihi tibi que. DISCIPULUS 2: Non petam ludum.*“ BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ-BOČKOVÁ-JACKOVÁ 2015, 112–113.

40 *Regulae Communes Professoribus classium inferiorum*, 41, *Ratio studiorum* 1599, 422., *Richardus*, v. 236–237: “*THEORGUS: ... Meos citato provola ad nutus gradu, / Dudum Richardum Laribus absentem voca.*“ JACKOVÁ 2016, 88–89.

41 E.g. *Consuetudines Provinciae Gallo-Belgicae*, Pars 3, §15, n. 2: “*Caveatur vero magnopere, ne inter agendum cum discipulis eorum facies, manus et caput tangatur.*“ BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2011, 147.

42 *Ratio studiorum* considers the corporal punishment appropriate, above all for younger pupils. For the execution, however, it suggests appointing a so-called corrector, who was neither a teacher, nor a Jesuit. This practice has not been directly attested yet. BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ 2006, 124–126.

I would like to dedicate the third and conclusive part of my paper to the protagonists of school plays as possible models of exemplary behaviour. Stories of children whose lives end in death and damnation were no doubt meant to serve as cautionary tales. It was comparatively easy to identify with a protagonist who seeks the right way of life and often follows the wrong path, but miracle or deep repentance (or both) save him from perdition.

The saints, sometimes employed for the role of the unwavering, positive heroes, were surely the paragons of diligent, precise, obedient, helpful and above all pious pupils. Was a saint, however, an attainable – and therefore attractive – model? With this question in mind, let us examine for instance the plays about St. John of Nepomuk, set in the Saint's childhood and young age. The typical feature of many of these plays is the portrayal of vices, which the teachers encountered in their pupils: laziness, unwillingness to study, unruliness, envy, levity, desire for a frivolous life or religious laxness and formalism. In many cases, the triumph of the diligent, responsible and pious student John does not lie in the defeat and shaming of his adolescent adversaries, but in the spiritual force, which makes them repent and seek reformation, and which is manifested when John forgives them and renews the friendship (they pray together to Virgin Mary or they both serve as altar boys). The teachers must have suspected that the characters of naughty classmates and disorderly friends will be closer to the actors than saintly characters, and they made sure to point out that these characters can be reformed by regret which will be rewarded by forgiveness and the possibility to join the saint.<sup>43</sup>

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43 *Angelus ad aras*, v. 744–751: „*AEMULUS 1: Ignosce. Ecce, factorum pudet / Pigetque. EUCHARUS 1: Frustra. Vosmet indignos agunt / Delicta vestra, hunc sanctitas dignum facit. / AEMULUS 2: Huic comministros esse nos saltem fave / Jamque meliores aemulatores facis / Committesque ad aras. / JOANNES: Gratia rursum nova / Servum beabis, hosce si socios faves. / Decet apliorem Numini turmam obsequi. / EUCHARUS 1: Rursus triumphas Eucharum. Jam igitur data / documenta sequere et Angelus ad aras vola.*“ BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ 2015, 138–139; *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei*, v. 654–665: “*UTERQUE: Ah nos nefandi! Maeror et dolor tuus / Nos impia manus. HIGINUS: Recipe (sed veniam dabis?) / Sacra furta miserens, recipe. Parcis? EDMUNDUS: Poplitem / Humo leva. ... OMNES: Sodales faedus in tuae sinis / Pietatis ire? EDMUNDUS: Gaudeo, laetor! Tua / Exempla per virtutis erudiar, cohors!*“ JACKOVÁ 2016, 182–185.

The elementary educational goals of the plays which employed details from student life are evident: to encourage the pupils to work harder at school, to deepen their spiritual practice (with a special emphasis on Marian devotions), and also to confirm the possibility of abandoning the evil ways and changing them for the righteous path.

In place of a conclusion, allow me merely to state that the reading of selected Jesuit school plays can not only enrich the historian's knowledge of the functioning of a Jesuit school, but also improves our understanding of the main concerns of upbringing pupils in colleges run by the order.

### List of plays

**[Rirenschopff, Joannes]**, *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus tenera in aetate virtutis et scientiae illustris idea, imitationi studiosae juventuti propositus*. Agente pro theatro academica mediae classis grammaticae juventute Pragae ad S. Ignatium a. 1734, Národní archiv Praha (NA Praha), found Stará manipulace (SM), sign. J 20/17/18, box 998, f. 86r–93v (text), f. 82r/v (synopsis), edition BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ 2015, 190–249.

**[Tiller, Joannes]**, *Vox clcamantis, Mariae amantis echo sive S. Joannes Nepomucenus, quondam dilectus a Matre pulchrae dilectionis, eidem tenerrima dilectione correspondens*. Hodie in theatro propositus ab infima gramatices classe Neo-Pragae 1724, NA Praha, SM, sign. J 20/17/18, box 998, f. 299v–308v, edition BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ 2015, 188–249.

**[Machek, Antonius]**, *Angelus ad aras D. Joannes Nepomucenus*. Pro theatro exhibitus a rudimentistis Neopragensibus 1729, 27. Maji, NA Praha, SM, sign. J 20/17/18, box 998, f. 330r–337v (text), f. 329r/v (synopsis), edition BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ 2015, 72–139.

**[Tiller, Joannes]**, *Gratia indeptae rea gratiae ad tribunal Matris gratiarum votivo absoluta, debito in S. Joanne Nepomuceno quondam recuperatae sospitatis ergo ad beneficas Mariae aras ex voto peregrino*. Hodie in theatrum assumpto ab Illustrissima, Perillustri, Praenobili, Nobili ac Ingenua mediae classis grammatices juventute Pragae ad S. Clementem anno 1725, mense Majo, die ... Národní knihovna ČR, sign. 52 A 39, adl. 58, edition BOBKOVÁ-VALENTOVÁ–BOČKOVÁ–JACKOVÁ, 2015, 476–483.

[Kleinhampl, Joannes], *Richardus per Matrem viventium a morte aeterna vindicatus*, hodie pro theatro propositus ab Illustrissima, Perillustri, Praenobili ac Ingenua rudimentorum schola in academico gymnasio S. J. Pragae ad S. Ignatium, 1735, NA Praha, SM, sign. J 20/17/18, box 998, f. 199r–209v (text), xxx (synopsis), edition JACKOVÁ 2016, 59–124.

[Kaliwoda, Antonius], *Nomen proprium Floris Nazaraei, ex amicitiae lege amicus alter ego Innocentiae Flosculo Edmundo ad salutarem usum olim factum commune*, hodie in theatrum translatum ibidemque exhibitum a Perillustribus, Praenobilibus ac Ingenuis adolescentibus rudimentistis in Academico Gymnasio Soc. Jesu Pragae ad S. Ignatium, Anno 1740, mense Junio, die 1., NA Praha, SM, sign. J 20/17/18, box 999, f. 804r–816r, edition JACKOVÁ 2016, 125–184.

### Gyermekvilág a bohémiai jezsuita iskolai színpadon

A kutatás legtöbbször vagy az iskolai színjátékok esztétikai, műfaji, tematikai sajátosságaira, pedagógiai hatásaira vagy az előadások körülményeire irányul, a jelen tanulmány viszont a drámák segítségével szeretné feltárni a koraújkori gyermekek iskolai mindennapjait: a bohémiai jezsuita provincia 17. századból és a 18. század első feléből való iskolai színjátékait tekinti át. 500 kéziratos dráma és több ezer kéziratos illetve nyomtatott program maradt fenn; a 17. századból kevés, az anyag legnagyobb része a 18. század első feléből való. (A 18. század második felében Bohémiában már jelentős a piarista és a bencés iskolai színpad, ahol a latint egyre gyakrabban felváltotta a német nyelv; e szakasz azonban már nem tárgya a dolgozatnak.) A 18. század első felének jezsuita korpusza a legjobban dokumentált, így alkalmasabb a nemzetközi összehasonlításra. Az elemzés a *Theatrum Neolatinum* sorozat kiadott szövegeire épít; lásd az első kötetben Alena Bočková dolgozatát.

A dolgozat röviden jellemzi azokat a színjátékokat, ahol gyermek a főszereplő. majd rátér az iskola mint színhely ismertetésére, mivel e hétköznapi jelenetek feltárják, hogyan működött a jezsuita iskola. A szüzsék figurái leggyakrabban iskoláskorú gyermekek. A legegyszerűbb történetek szerencsésen végződnek, a (második cselekménytípusba sorolt) bonyolultabbak a gyermekvilág konfliktusait (testvér, iskola, stb.) mutatják be, ahol fontos a feljebbvalókkal való viszony is. Sokszor egy-egy szent gyermekora ad példát, máskor a nézők számára ismeretlen, exotikus

világba visznek a darabok. A koraújkori iskolákról való kevés ismeretünk alapját a curriculumok (*Ratio studiorum*, stb.) jelentik. A drámák ezen túl a tanítás és nevelés módszereiről is árulkodnak. E módszereket a dolgozat több drámából rekonstruálja. A tanárok a drámákban sokszor versenyeztetik a diákokat, mint ahogy a jezsuita oktatásban kiemelten fontos volt a verseny, majd a jutalmak, díjak kiosztása.

A szentek gyermekkorában szívesen mutatták meg a bűnök, kísértések legyőzését. A harmadik cselekménytípus ugyanis válaszütra érkező gyermekeket mutat be (Jacková szavai), akiknek éles helyzetben jól vagy rosszul döntenüik kell. A történetekben láthatóan erős az exemplumok és a moralitások hatása.

Végül a dolgozat összegzi a lehetséges pedagógiai hatásokat, a diákok azonosulási lehetőségeit a gyermekszereplőkkel. A színpad számos, elsősorban történelmi ismeretet is nyújtott. A jezsuita iskola a hétköznapokat, a jelent, a múltat, az ismert színhelyeket, az ismeretlen körülményeket egyaránt a színre varázsolta: minddel az volt a célja, hogy képzett, művelt, a hatalomhoz lojális embereket neveljen, s hogy a gyermekek erkölcsi és intellektuális erejét megeddze.

A dolgozat végén lista sorolja a hivatkozott drámákat, a bibliográfiai adatokkal.