

FROM PARIS TO GOTHA

THE CIRCULATION OF TWO PARISIAN JESUIT COURSES BETWEEN THE 16TH AND THE 17TH CENTURY*

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Abstract

This article traces back the history of a collection of manuscript academic course-notes taken by a German student at the end of the sixteenth century and today preserved at the Research Library of Gotha (Thuringien, Germany). It focuses, in particular, on two of them, which transmit texts dictated in Paris: they testify to the large circulation of academic doctrines through the practice of the copy of the course-notes by students.

Key Words

Gotha, Parisian Jesuits, Jesuit Colleges, Academic Courses-notes; 16th Century Theology, Predestination.



The Gotha Research library, founded in 1647 by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Ernst I, and situated in the Friedenstein Castle (Thuringien, Germany), holds, among the others, a unique collection of manuscript sources from the time

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of the Reformation¹. This manuscript collection includes autographs of Luther, Melancthon, Spalatin and other Protestant Reformers; it does not only bear the mark of the cultural heritage of the region, theater of the Lutheran Reformation in its making, but is also one of the library's specificities. Within this important archive, the library of Gotha preserves a small group of Jesuit manuscript courses dictated in the sixteenth century between Germany and France. These manuscripts formerly belonged to two Protestant theologians, Johann Gerhard² (1582–1637) and his son Johann Ernst (1621–1668). As Gerhard's library was absorbed in Gotha's in 1673, they integrated the history of the library from the very beginning. The reason for their presence within the manuscript library of the German theologians might be resumed by the adage 'know your enemy'³ (to fight her better): Johann Gerhard spent the most of his life fighting against the Jesuits, as, in his day, they were the most conspicuous representatives of the Catholic party in Germany⁴. His son inherited his library, and the Gerhard's *Nachlass* counts in total twelve Jesuit courses-notes taken by students. These manuscripts form a

¹ This manuscript collection has been described in the online database HANS, edited by the Forschungsbibliothek of Gotha: <<http://hans.uni-erfurt.de/>>, which includes manuscripts', autographs', and manuscript libraries' descriptions, as well as by Daniel Gehrt (who is also the editor of HANS, which, in some cases, provides the reader with more information on single manuscripts): see DANIEL GEHRT, *Katalog der Handschriften aus den Nachlässen der Theologen Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) und Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621-1668), Aus den Sammlungen der Herzog von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha'schen Stiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2016 (Die Handschriften der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, 3). Besides, the seventeenth-century catalogue prepared by the erudite Cyprian (Cyprianus) still offers a precious instrument for the researchers: ERNST SALOMON CYPRIAN. *Catalogum codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Gothanae*, apud Io. Frider. Gleditsch et filium, Lipsiae 1714.

² For Gerhard's biography, see ERDMANN RUDOLPH FISCHER. *Vita Iohannis Gerhardi...*, apud Ioh. Christophorum Coernerum, Lipsiae 1723; now transl. into English: Id., *The life of John Gerhard*, transl. RICHARD J. DINDA, ELMER HOHLE, TX Repristination Press, Malone 2001.

³ This adage is a famous quote by Sun Tzu, *The art of War*. This sixth century-classical text of military strategy has been translated in all the languages and many times published; for an English translation see Sun Tzu, *The art of war*, transl. SAMUEL B. GRIFFITH, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1963.

⁴ See, for example: PATRIZIO FORESTA, « Die Ekklesiologische Auseinandersetzung zwischen Roberto Bellarmin und Johann Gerhard anhand der Loci de Ecclesia und De conciliis », in MARKUS FRIEDRICH, SASCHA SALATOWSKY, LUISE SCHORN-SCHÜTTE (eds.), *Konfession, Politik und Gelehrsamkeit. Der Jenaer Theologe Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) im Kontext seiner Zeit*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, p. 133–145. On the opposition between Gerhard and Bellarmin, see also MARTIN HONECKER, « Die Kirchengliedschaft bei Johann Gerhard und Robert Bellarmin », *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 62 (1965), p. 21–45; Id., *Cura religionis magistratus christiani. Studien zu Kirchenrecht im Lutherthum des 17. Jahrhunderts insbesondere bei Johann Gerhard*, Verlag Claudius, München 1967 (Jus ecclesiasticum, 7). For the standard view of the Jesuits as champions of Catholicism against the Reformers, see for instance GERARD SMITH, *Freedom in Molina*, Loyola University Press, Chicago 1966, p. 219; JOHN W. O' MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1993), p. 243–283.

family within the Gerhard collection: they all focus on theology and are, mostly, courses-notes of different parts of the *Summa theologiae* by Thomas Aquinas.⁵

In this article, I will focus, more particularly, on three of them – Gotha, Chart. A 28, Chart. B 2 and Chart. B 6 –, whose provenance is said to be Paris.⁶ Just like the other Jesuit manuscript courses-notes preserved in Gotha, these three manuscripts are almost unknown to scholars and to specialized literature.⁷ They preserve courses dictated in Paris; they thus provide information on the Jesuit teaching at the Parisian College in its first phase of activity, which is still not very well-known to scholars, as well as on their transmission in and outside France. To study them, I will put them in relation to other Jesuit manuscripts held in Gotha, thereby shedding light on the following points: (1) the circulation of academic manuscripts in a relatively wide geographical area, which goes from Paris to Mainz; (2) the texts that they transmit and vehiculate, which provide additional information on the Jesuit teaching in the sixteenth century and, eventually, (3) on their ‘usage’. For instance, Gotha Chart. B 2 offers an interesting case-study. With a focus on predestination, this notebook preserves the notes taken by the student Christoph Weber as well as his own dissertation, defended (and published) in Mainz at the end of his *cursus* of theology.

I. From Paris to Gotha...

The recent catalogue of the Gerhard manuscripts library, prepared by Daniel Gerht (2016), claims that three manuscripts formerly belonged to the German Protestant

⁵ Nevertheless, the Gotha manuscripts are not reviewed in the classical reference work by ANTON MICHELITSCH, *Kommentatoren zur Summa theologiae des hl. Thomas von Aquin*, Styria, Wien–Graz 1924 (repr. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim 1981). These manuscripts would indeed deserve more attention by scholars, for they preserve courses-note from different institutions, as we will see – the Jesuit colleges of Pont-à-Mousson, Mainz and Paris.

⁶ See *infra*, Section II.2.

⁷ For instance, Carlos Sommervogel does not mention them, whereas Paul Oskar Kristeller shortly reviews the manuscript Gotha Chart. B 6. In the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Sommervogel refers to other *reportationes* preserved in Gotha, but not to those just mentioned. He refers, for instance, to the lectures by the Jesuits Jean Bleuses (vol. I, col. 1545) and Juan Leo (vol. IV, col. 1692–1693), which correspond to the manuscripts Gotha Chart. B 5 and Chart. B 12 (Bleuses) and Chart. B 3 (Leo). Cf. CARLOS SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols., Éd. de la Bibliothèque S. J., Heverlee 1960 (Bruxelles–Paris 1890–1932¹). For Kristeller, see PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, vol. III: *Alia Itinera I. Australia to Germany*, Warburg Institute–Brill, London–Leiden 1983, p. 394. Kristeller shortly describes the content of the Gothan manuscripts Chart. B 4–11, but he did not see them in person; he arbitrarily excludes from his review the manuscripts Chart. B 2, Chart. B 3 and Chart. B 12, which have a very similar content (lectures on the *Summa theologiae*, theological texts). The criteria for their exclusion are thus difficult to understand: perhaps they depend on the fact that he based himself on the seventeenth-century catalogue by Cyprianus.

theologians preserve texts coming from Paris.⁸ This information is, as we will see, wrong: only Chart. A 28 and Chart. B 6 preserve texts of Parisian provenance.⁹ Nevertheless, the three manuscripts together add indeed a piece of information to the history of the Parisian Jesuit College. Up to the present day, the Parisian Jesuit College's teaching and methods are still largely unknown. Which texts were taught there,¹⁰ and mostly, how, are questions that still need to be answered. Despite excellent historical works, like Dupont-Ferrier's referential study,¹¹ or the most recent literature,¹² little is known about its protagonists and the lectures they taught there. One of the reasons is that most part of the courses taught by the Jesuits in Paris are still unpublished.¹³ Differently from the Roman College, wherein the courses taught by Francisco de Toledo were selected for their clarity as scholastic handbooks, soon becoming authentic best-seller works all over the world until mid-seventeenth century, not only the Parisian, but also the French Jesuits in general did not publish any of their philosophical or theological

⁸ Cf. GEHRT, *Katalog*, p. 13-15 (Chart. A 28), p. 240 (Chart. B 2), p. 242 (Chart. B 6).

⁹ By 'provenance', I mean the place where these courses-notes have been dictated. On the academic practice of the dictate, see ANN BLAIR, « Note-Taking as an Art of Transmission », *Critical Inquiry*, 31 (2004), p. 85-107, and EAD., « The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe », *Intellectual History Review*, 20/3 (2010), p. 303-316. On the same topic, see EMIDIO CAMPI, SIMONE DE ANGELIS, ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, ANTHONY T. GRAFTON (eds.), *Scholarly knowledge. Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, Droz, Genève 2008 (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 447).

¹⁰ Beside the texts of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, namely the references and the textual base for teaching in philosophy and theology, respectively, there is still up to the present day no information or actual study concerning the Jesuit teaching at the Parisian College. The bibliography on the lectures held by Jesuit professors are, usually, extrapolated from the internal regulations which accompany the development of the institutions founded by the Society before the publication of the *Ratio studiorum* (1599). It is mostly to the previous forms of internal regulations that rely on these studies: CHARLES H. LOHR, « Jesuit Aristotelianism and sixteenth century metaphysics », in HARRY GEORGE FLETCHER III, MARY BEATRICE SCHULTE (eds.), *Paradosis: Studies in memory of Edwin A. Quain*, Fordham University Press, New York 1976, p. 203-220; JACOB SCHMUTZ, « Les normes théologiques de l'enseignement philosophique dans le catholicisme romain moderne (1500-1650) », in PHILIPPE CAPELLEJ-DUMONT (ed.), *Anthologie des relations entre la philosophie et la théologie*, vol. III: JEAN-CHRISTOPHE BARDOUT (ed.), *Philosophie et théologie à l'époque moderne*, Cerf, Paris 2010 (Philosophie et théologie), p. 129-150; CRISTIANO CASALINI, « The Jesuits », in HENRIK LAGERLUND, BENJAMIN HILL (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy*, Routledge, New York-London 2017 (Routledge philosophy companions), p. 159-188.

¹¹ Cf. GUSTAVE DUPONT-FERRIER, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, 3 vols., Boccard, Paris 1921-1925.

¹² Cf. PIERRE DELATTRE, *Les établissements des jésuites en France depuis plus de quatre siècles*, vol. III: *Macheville-Pinel*, Enghien-Wetteren: Institut Supérieur de Théologie-Imprimerie De Meesster Frères, 1945, col. 1106-1135; LAURENCE BROCKLISS, *French Higher Education in the 17th and 18th Centuries: a Cultural History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987; MARIE-MADELEINE COMPÈRE, *Les collèges français. XVIe-XVIIe siècles*: Paris, CNRS, Paris 2002, p. 359-422.

¹³ Cf. DUPONT-FERRIER, *Du Collège de Clermont*, p. 176-177, *passim*.

courses.¹⁴ This is probably due to two main reasons: the difficulties they encountered to install themselves in France, and the sixteenth century religious wars.¹⁵ Targeted by the Gallican party but protected by the nobles and soon part of the religious élite in France, the Parisian Jesuits authentically struggled to conquer their right to teach in Paris. The stages of their many-times-interrupted teaching have been well described by historians; but, besides the two mentioned reasons, there are two additional factors that are worth considering for understanding the almost total absence of a publishing policy by the Parisian Jesuits. First, time: not every professor enjoyed the conditions to prepare his courses for publication. The *Monumenta paedagogica* registers for instance the complaint of Jacobus Borrassa, a Jesuit professor teaching in Paris, about the heavy charge of teaching he had to accomplish in one academic year.¹⁶ Of course, this document does not apply to every case, but it offers an example of the practical difficulties of a Parisian Jesuit professor in the sixteenth century. The second factor is intention: not every academic had the intention of publishing his own course. The case of Juan Maldonado, one of the first Jesuit teachers in Paris, and a brilliant philosopher and erudite humanist, is exemplar: he did not publish anything during his life. His works were published posthumously by other Jesuits and not directly edited by him. Nevertheless, his lectures and works had a great dissemination all over Europe. Such dissemination still deserves to be studied and understood: almost every big library in Europe hosts at least a copy of one of his lectures.¹⁷ Gotha makes no exceptions: the manuscript Chart. B 6 preserves two of

¹⁴ This point has been highlighted by JACOB SCHMUTZ in ID., « L'invention jésuite du sentiment d'existence ou, comment la philosophie sort des collèges », *Dix-septième siècle*, 4 (2007), p. 615–631.

¹⁵ For the French Jesuits' history, see the very instructive text by PAUL SCHMITT, *La Réforme Catholique. Le combat de Maldonat* (1534–1583), Beauschesne, Paris 1985 (Théologie historique, 74).

¹⁶ Cf. LADISLAUS LUKÁCS (ed.), *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, vol. III, n. 264, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Roma 1974 (henceforth, MP III), p. 441–442. The text by Jacobus Borrassa, also known as 'Valentinus' (1538–1581), is a letter addressed to the General Francisco de Borja, one of the founders of the Society, and based in Rome, which dates 1568: the Parisian College was opened since four years. Borrassa therein states that teaching philosophy in Paris was for him « an infinite task » (« es trabajo infinito leer aquí filosofía », p. 442). He alone had taught, in two years, much more than the professors did in Rome in three years. Moreover, he had to teach a wide range of different subjects: logics, ethics, natural philosophy; he also read the *De meteoris*, *De partibus animalium*, *De generatione animalium*, and taught mathematics, geometry, astronomy and metaphysics (cf. p. 441). The cause for this heavy charge of work was, according to Borrassa, that in Paris the teachers had to lecture twice more than those in Rome; he does not specify why, but we can hypothesize, according to the evidences which accompany the first years of the College's opening, that the real cause was the great affluence of students at the Collège de Clermont on the one hand and, on the other, its practical organization: the College was opened since four years only and had already encountered many obstacles on its way.

¹⁷ Sommervogel does not list of course all the manuscript *reportationes* by Maldonado's courses, nor does it exist a complete catalogue of them. As Maldonado taught philosophy and theology in Paris

his courses. But, before entering the details concerning the texts, let us start by following their dissemination, namely how they arrived in Gotha.

I.1. ... via Pont-à-Mousson: the 'iter' of a student

As we already said, one specificity of the manuscripts Gotha Chart. A 28 and Chart. B 6 is that they preserve theology courses-notes either dictated at the Jesuit College of Paris between 1569 and 1570 or, as it is the case of Chart. B 2, by a professor who taught in Paris, like Jean Chastelier.¹⁸ The three manuscripts belong to the Gerhard's *Nachlass*, and in particular to the same 'family' composed of twelve Jesuit manuscripts (Chart. A 28, Chart. B 2–12). We call them a family, because of their similar content (theological courses-notes by Jesuits teaching in Mainz and in Pont-à-Mousson), and because they most probably had the same possessor. With the exception of the Gotha manuscripts B 8–11, which bear the ex-libris and other possession marks of Heinrich Biebers, student at the Jesuit College of Mainz, the others share material (format, initials/emblems on the hard-cover, paper, watermarks, paleographical aspects/hands of the copyists) and content aspects (dates, places, personal notes), which all point out to the same possessor: Christoph Weber (Seligenstadt, 1560–Köln, 1633). In our case, the 'family' – in the person of Christoph Weber – provides the answer to the question concerning how these texts arrived in Germany – first in Mainz and, lately, in Goth.¹⁹ Weber's career was oriented toward priesthood, and his uncle Stephan, bishop of Mainz, was entrusted with his care since his young age. Thus, Weber started studying philosophy in

between 1564 and at the beginning of the 1570s only, this dissemination records the success of his Parisian courses.

¹⁸ This is most probably the reason why Daniel Gehrt indicated Paris as the provenance of Gotha, Chart. B 2: most of the (poor) biographical records about Chastelier (Poitiers, 1554?–La Flèche, 1630) refer that, in the beginning of his academic career, he taught philosophy and theology in Paris. Nevertheless, the indications of date and place which usually accompany every item of these manuscript notebooks, describe another geographical *iter*: Chastelier started to dictate his course on the *Pars Prima* in Pont-à-Mousson in 1584; because of the plague, his lecture was interrupted in June 1585. Professors and students thus moved to Verdun and the courses started off again in November 1585. In December, Chastelier ended up his lecture on the q. 23 of the *Summa theologiae*. This calendar is confirmed by secondary literature: cf. GASTON GAVET, *Diarium Universitatis Mussipontanae (1572–1764)*, Berger-Levrault: Paris–Nancy 1911, p. 62, and NICOLAS ABRAM, *L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson. Histoire extraite des manuscrits*, L'écureux, Paris 1870, p. 440. On the first years of teaching of Chastelier, and the difficulty to clearly trace back his academic appointments, see ANTONELLA ROMANO, *La Contre-Réforme mathématique. Constitution et diffusion d'une culture mathématique jésuite à la Renaissance*, École française de Rome, Rome 1999 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 306), p. 329–330, p. 338–342.

¹⁹ In his catalogue, Gehrt attributes with certainty to Weber the shelf marks B 2 and B 4–7 only; he nevertheless recognizes that also Chart. A 28, Chart B 3 and B 12 have been copied by the same hand, which prevails in the notebooks held by Weber. Cf. GEHRT, *Katalog*, p. 245. In the wake of material and content aspects, I hold that Weber was the possessor of these three manuscripts as well.

Mainz, at the *Jesuitengymnasium*.²⁰ The manuscript notebook Chart. B 3, which Weber owned, conserves nonetheless the note of a student, who dates his arrival at the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson, in Lorraine, in 1582.²¹ The same hand, different from those who copied other items of Chart. B 3, happens to be the one, which copied almost entirely the manuscript notebook Chart. B 2, and abundantly annotated the other notebooks owned by Christoph Weber. Other sources testify to the fact that Weber spent five years at the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson to study theology;²² this, together with the evidences of his usage of the manuscripts, convinced us that the student who arrived in Lorraine (« in Lotharingiam perveni ») on 9 October 1582 is Weber himself.

Knowing the identity of the first – or of one of the firsts –²³ possessors of these manuscripts helps us indeed in tracing their history. In this case, it is the history of the whole family of manuscripts which can be traced and clarified: the presence of Weber at the College of Pont-à-Mousson explains why, beside courses-notes taken in Mainz, there are also courses-notes dictated in Pont-à-Mousson – and in

²⁰ On the University of Mainz, see LEO JUST, *Die alte Universität Mainz von 1477 bis 1798. Ein Überblick mit einem Anhang: Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität in der Zeit nach der Restauration von 1784*, F. Steiner, Wiesbaden 1957 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Mainz, 4), and FRITZ KRAFFT, « Jesuiten als Lehrer an Gymnasium und Universität Mainz », in HERMANN WEBER (ed.), *Tradition und Gegenwart. Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Mainz*, F. Steiner, Wiesbaden 1977 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Mainz, 11), p. 259–350.

²¹ Cf. Gotha Chart. B 3, fol. 440v: « Anno 1582 nono octobris ipso festo die SS. Dionisii et sociorum Martyrum Mussipontum in Lotharingiam perveni, et a Festo D. Luca 18 die octobris iuriticis lectiones frequentavi, usque ad festivitatem sancti Marci eiusdem anni, diem nimirum 25 aprilis, a quo lectiones theologicas prosecutus sum. Ita tamen ut omnem theologicis, juris studium coniungerem usque ad finem anni 83 ».

²² Cf., for instance, *Archiv der Historisches Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg*, vol. IV, Historischer Verein von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg, Würzburg 1838, p. 209; FRIEDHELM JÜRGENMEIER, « Der Mainzer Weihbischof Christoph Weber (1615/1616–1633). Informativprozeß und Lebensskizze », in WINFRIED AYMANS, ANNA EGLER, JOSEPH LISTL (eds.), *Fides et ius. Festschrift für Georg May zum 65. Geburtstag*, Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg 1991, p. 351–361; ERWIN GATZ (ed.), *Die Bischöfe der Heiligen Römischen Reiches: ein biographisches Lexicon*, vol. II: 1448 bis 1648, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 1996, p. 738–739. This fact that many German students came to study at the University of Pont-à-Mousson, which the Jesuits had been entrusted with, was due to the prestige it apparently enjoyed as well as to the constant exchange facilitated by the geographical proximity of Lorraine and Germany: this point is highlighted by all the pieces of bibliography relative to the history of this University that we quote in the following notes.

²³ Gotha Chart. A 28 differs from Chart. B 2 and Chart. B 6, which present almost identical material characteristics: Chart. A 28 has bigger dimensions (28 x 19 cm instead of the 20,5 x 15,5 cm of the other notebooks Chart. B 2 and Chart. B 6, which are externally identical), and is made of three items, which differs in format and hand of the copyist. They might have been bound together by Weber – who might have bought separately the second and the third items (the first item has been copied most probably by his hand) – or lately, by Johann Gerhard, whose blazon (a heart with Jesus's initials) is well visible on the fore-edge of the volume, which has also been painted in red. Unfortunately, as the binding of the notebook Chart. A 28 is modern, and very tight, it is impossible to count the booklets to study its codicological features.

Paris. From Weber's biography, we find out that he never went to Paris; nor did he attend Maldonado's or Mariana's courses. Pont-à-Mousson was, at his arrival, a ten-years old university ruled by the Jesuits on the behalf of the Bishop of Lorraine²⁴. According to his plans, Pont's geographical position – at the border with Germany, but distant enough from Metz, wherein the Protestant party had gained the city – and the Jesuits' strong organizational skills had to make of it a real bastion of Catholicism.²⁵ The Parisian lectures copied (or bought, when they happen to have been copied by other copyists for instance) by Weber had been dictated almost a decade before his arrival in Pont-à-Mousson. Thus, what can we retain from the indication of place, 'Paris', which accompanies the indications of date in the Gotha manuscripts Chart. A 28 and B 6?

The most probable case is that these manuscripts were copied in Pont-à-Mousson: part of them (the first item of Chart. A 28, B 2, and B 6) by the same Weber, the rest by unknown copyists. Weber might have copied himself some of the Parisian courses and bought others, preserved in individual booklets, in Pont-à-Mousson, to collect notes of courses which interested him particularly, as we will see in a more detailed way. Concerning the circulation of these Parisian courses, another observation that can be made: Juan Maldonado, namely one of the Parisian professors whose courses have been copied in Weber's notebooks, enjoyed high prestige at the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson. Thus, it is not surprising that his courses circulated or were copied even long time after their deliverance in Paris. The Spanish Jesuit was called at the Lorraine University six years after its foundation to establish its internal regulations.²⁶ Until then, the Jesuit College observed the regulations of the German (and close) University of Dillingen, wherein the Dean had studied.²⁷ Maldonado spent six months only in Pont-à-

²⁴ On the foundation of the University of Pont-à-Mousson, and its custody to the Jesuits, cf. ABRAM, *L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson*, p. 1–38. On the Jesuits, as 'link' between Germany and France, see LOUIS CHATELLIER, « Un lien entre la Lorraine et le Saint-Empire: la Compagnie de Jésus », in JEAN-PAUL BLED, EUGÈNE FAUCHER, RÉNÉ TAVENEAUX (eds.), *Les Habsbourg et la Lorraine*, Presses universitaires, Nancy 1988, p. 81–90, and JOSEPH M. O'KEEFE, « The Pedagogy of Persuasion: the Culture of the University of Pont-à-Mousson », *Paedagogica historica*, 34/2 (1998), p. 421–442. I am grateful to the blind reviewer who suggested me this and other bibliographical records on the history of the universities in France, and in Germany.

²⁵ The Society was founded, from the beginning, to defend the Catholic values, and the Roman Church in general; this is one of the aspects that the independent Gallican party in France always reproached to the Jesuits. See DELATTRE, *Les établissements des jésuites en France*, vol. III, col. 1106–1135.

²⁶ On the role of Maldonado as visitor in Pont-à-Mousson, see ANN LYNN MARTIN, « The Jesuit Mission to France », in THOMAS M. MCCOOG, *The Mercurian Project. Forming Jesuit Culture. 1573–1580*, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu–The Institute of Jesuit Sources, Rome–St. Louis 2004 (*Bibliotheca Instituti historici Societatis Iesu*, 55), p. 265–266.

²⁷ Cf. CHARLES HYVER, *Maldonat et les commencements de l'Université de Pont-à-Mousson*, Collin, Nancy 1873, p. 30–31. On the University of Dillingen, it is possible to refer to the recent study by ULRICH G. LEINSLER, *Dilinganae Disputationes. Der Lehrinhalt der gedruckten Dissertationen an der Philosophischen*

Mousson, as a ‘visitor’²⁸, and an excellency in matter of authority.²⁹ Doubtlessly, Hyver exaggerates when he defines Maldonado as « le premier Père de l’Université de Pont-à-Mousson » (« the first Jesuit of the University of Pont-à-Mousson »).³⁰ The Spanish Jesuit failed in imposing his view on the rules of the College,³¹ which were finally written down by another Jesuit. But he left indeed a trace there: the first edition of his commentary on the Gospels was prepared and published in Pont-à-Mousson, some years after his death.³² His prestige as a professor in Paris is, most probably, the reason why Weber copied his courses. The same explanation applies to the case of Juan de Mariana (Talavera de la Reina, 1536–Toledo, 1623). Just like Maldonado, Mariana was one of the first professors who inaugurated the Jesuit Parisian College, where he taught theology from 1569 to 1574. We might hypothesize that, at the time Weber copied these courses, Mariana enjoyed, just like Maldonado, of a certain fame and prestige.

II. Weber’s notebooks: three case-studies

We owe our knowledge of Christoph Weber to the fact that, once he completed his studies in theology, he became auxiliary Bishop of Mainz. There are thus some records of his activities as *Weihbischof* (auxiliary bishop); furthermore, his dissertation in theology has been published (Mainz, 1588). To study the three ‘Parisian’ codices preserved in Gotha, his figure is central, as he was the person gathering these courses-notes. His intention of collecting material for writing down his own dissertation is clear. But, before heading to this conclusion, let us shortly present each manuscript, its content, and some new outputs as well.

Fakultät der Universität Dillingen 1555–1648, Schnell & Steiner, Regensburg 2006 (Jesuitica: Quellen und Studien zu Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur der Gesellschaft Jesu im deutschsprachigen Raum, 11).

²⁸ As an inspector of the quality of teaching, according to the Society of Jesus’s regulation. Cf. LYNN MARTIN, « The Jesuit Mission to France », p. 278–281.

²⁹ Cf. PRAT, *Maldonat*, p. 450.

³⁰ Cf. HYVER, *Maldonat*, p. 47.

³¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 44–45; Prät, *Maldonat*, p. 452–455; SCHMITT, *La Réforme Catholique*, p. 480–481.

³² Cf. *Joannis Maldonati ... Commentarii in quatuor evangelistas ...*, ex typographia S. Mercatoris, Mussiponti 1596 (1597²). The publication of Maldonado’s commentary was the result of the teamwork by a group of Jesuits teaching in Pont-à-Mousson: Fronton du Duc and Toussaint Roussel prepared the manuscript by Maldonado for publication, whereas Clement Dupuys and Leonard Perrin wrote down the preface for the reader and the dedication to the Duke of Lorraine Charles III. Cf. HYVER, *Maldonat*, p. 62.

II.1 *Gotha, Chart. A 28: a new evidence of Juan Mariana's 'De sacrae scripturae intelligentia'*

The manuscript *Gotha, Chart. A 28*, has bigger format than the other notebooks by Weber (see *infra*, Appendix). It preserves three items. The first and the second have been copied by Weber, whereas the third, which has a different layout, has been probably assembled to them – perhaps, by the same Weber. The first item is the course «for the understanding of Holy Scriptures» (*De sacrae scripturae intelligentia*), dictated by Juan de Mariana in Paris in 1570. In the first page of the text, Weber copies the correct place and date of the course deliverance (Paris, 13 February 1570). This manuscript evidence is up to the present-day unknown to scholars, whereas three other copies of the same course (two in St. Gallen, Switzerland, and one in Albi, France) have been included by Reinhardt in his catalogue of the Spanish Commentators of the Bible.³³ Mariana never lectured in Pont-à-Mousson. Differently than Maldonado, after a brief period in Paris (1569–1574), he went back to Spain. We can thus hold that, in the wake of Mariana's popularity, his course-notes circulated outside Paris, namely in Pont-à-Mousson. Moreover, personalities such as the Jesuit Louis Richeome, a former student of Maldonado in Paris,³⁴ settled down there, perhaps helping such manuscript course-notes circulation.

The second item has been copied in Pont-à-Mousson, in 1583. It is part of the lecture on the *Pars Prima Secundae* of the *Summa theologiae* by an unknown theology professor, perhaps Clement Dupuys, who lectured on Thomas Aquinas in Pont-à-Mousson during Weber's stay. Parts of Dupuys's lectures on the *Summa* actually belong to Weber's notes' collection.

The third item has a different layout than the first two; it is the *reportatio* of a logic course whose author I could not identify. No mentions of date or place, or notes, are recorded. The hand of the copyist is different from those present in all the notebooks owned by Christoph Weber, which entered the Gerhard's collection. This text is most probably the reason why on the spine of the notebook someone noted «*Annotationes de Aristotelis predicamentis*». This latter is the only philosophical text present in Weber's collection of notes preserved in *Gotha*.

³³ Cf. KLAUS REINHARDT, *Bibelkommentare Spanischer Autoren (1500-1700)*, vol. II, CSIC, Madrid 1999 (*Medievalia et humanistica*, 5), p. 38–39.

³⁴ In the preface of his treatise on the immortality of the soul, Richeome evokes his attendance of Maldonado's course, the first taught at Clermont; see LOUIS RICHOEME, *L'immortalité de l'ame declaree avec raisons naturelles, tesmoignages humains et divins pour la Foy Catholique contre les Athees et Libertins...*, Sébastien Cramoisy, Paris 1621, p. 5–6.

II.2. Gotha, Chart. B 2: focus on predestination

The notebook Chart. B 2 shares the same material features of the other notebooks owned by Weber (size, quality of the paper, watermarks, copyists). His initials, together with the date 1588, are engraved on the hard cover. The year probably corresponds to the moment in which Weber let bind the booklets together with the printed folios of his dissertation in theology, which is the seventh item of this notebook: Weber defended it – and published – in Mainz in 1588.

The whole notebook is representative of Weber's theological apprenticeship. It collects councils and heresiological literature (items 1–5) as well as three texts focusing on predestination: Jean Chastelier's lecture on Thomas Aquinas' *Pars Prima* (q. 1–23), which occupies most part of the notebook,³⁵ Weber's own final dissertation and a short text, undated, on the cause of predestination (« An possit dari causa praedestinationis »). This text stems from the lectures held in Mainz by another Jesuit, the Spanish Juan Leo.³⁶ The item, whose provenance has been erroneously said to be Paris, is the sixth and corresponds to the course-notes of the French Jesuit Chastelier. Although this course has been dictated by the Jesuit in Pont-à-Mousson and Verdun between 1584 and 1585,³⁷ it is nonetheless linked to the history of the Parisian College: a few years later, Chastelier taught philosophy there and lectured again on the first questions of the *Pars Prima*.³⁸ A manuscript evidence of this Parisian lecture (dated 1589) is still preserved in Paris, at the Bibliothèque sainte-Geneviève.³⁹ After a short verification, I was able to observe that the Parisian manuscript preserves the same text previously dictated by Chastelier in Pont-à-Mousson.⁴⁰ It is thus possible to conclude that the French

³⁵ Fol. 97r–382v.

³⁶ On Leo, see SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. IV, col. 1692–1693.

³⁷ See *supra*, fn. 18.

³⁸ I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for suggesting me to highlight that, if the French Chastelier lectures on the *Summa*, Maldonado (cf. *infra*, Section II.3), who preceded him in Paris on the chairs of philosophy and theology, still lectured on the book of the *Sentences*: this fact records the sixteenth-century passage, in the study of theology, from the practice of commenting on the medieval *Sentences* to that of lecturing directly on the *Summa* by Thomas Aquinas. This phenomenon has recently made the object of the works by LIDIA LANZA, MARCO TOSTE, « The *Sentences* in Sixteenth-Century Iberian Scholasticism », in PHILIPP ROSEMAN (ed.) *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. III, Brill, Leiden 2015, p. 416–503, and by JACOB SCHMUTZ, « From Philosophy to Theology: the Changing Status of the *Summa theologiae*. 1500–2000 », in JEFFREY HAUSE (ed.), *Aquinas's 'Summa theologiae': A Critical Guide*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018 (Cambridge Critical Guides), p. 221–241.

³⁹ Cf. Paris, Bibliothèque sainte-Geneviève 266, fol. 1r–262v. This manuscript has been shortly reviewed in MARCEL THOMAS (ed.), *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. V: 3278–3535, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1966, p. 404, 418. The possessor of this manuscript was the French student Jean Seguyer.

⁴⁰ I compared the beginning of the lecture by Chastelier, and, more accurately, the *quaestio* 23 on predestination. There are but a few and not significant differences between the two *reportationes*.

Jesuit used his courses-text twice: first in Pont-à-Mousson and then, probably without introducing substantial changes,⁴¹ in Paris.

The reason why Weber gathered many texts, which focus on predestination, is clear: the problem of human salvation is the topic of his final dissertation. In his work, he contends with the conciliation of human free will of choice and divine grace.⁴² Most probably, this is the reason why he collected those texts and tried to interrogate them in order to provide an answer to the question concerning the cause(s) of salvation: whether it depends on the cooperation between the Creator and the creature and, mostly, how it is possible. As it is well-known, such issues had a peculiar weight in Weber's day: it is, by simplifying (or, by simply following Weber's own work), the theological watershed between Protestant and Catholic theologies. Catholic theologians made a strong point in highlighting their own defence of human free will of choice by portraying Calvinist and Lutheran doctrines as ascribing human salvation exclusively to human grace and predestination; in such a view, all room for human freedom was eliminated. The Council of Trent being the proximate background, these issues were far from belonging to the past: the last, big sixteenth century-controversy, which stemmed from the publication of the *Concordia liberi arbitri cum gratiae dono* (1588) by the Jesuit Luis de Molina, still had to explode. But whereas Molina's text would mainly generate a war between Catholics – Dominicans against Jesuits, but also Jesuits against Jesuits –, when Weber was studying the complex matter of predestination, such themes were still evoking, uniquely, the battle opposing Catholic and Protestant theologians.

This opposition is very clearly represented in the lectures by Chastelier, which are an important piece in Weber's courses-notes. The lecture by the French Jesuit on the first part of the *Summa* is in fact not very equilibrated, as it draws more attention to some topics than to others: it is the case of the *quaestio* 23, which focuses on divine predestination and foreknowledge and which occupies a consistent part of its lectures. Weber has abundantly annotated Chastelier's text, which has thus a double value: on the one hand, it offers a polemic and detailed study on the Protestants' main theses, and a historical evidence of how the Jesuits fought the Protestant party within their classes as well. For instance, it is noteworthy that, among the Protestants, Chastelier mentions not only Luther and Calvin, but also other protagonists of the fight, which carried on in his own day. It

Be this as it may, I have not checked the whole text by Chastelier, but only that of the q. 23, which focuses on predestination.

⁴¹ See *supra*, fn. 40.

⁴² The extensive title of his dissertation is: *De cohaerentia liberi arbitrii et contingentiae rerum, cum scientia et praedestinatione divina*, ex Officina Gasparis Behem, Moguntiae 1588.

is the case of his contemporary, the French religious Claude des Saintes.⁴³ Chastelier's is what we might call a 'war' commentary, as it evokes the religious fight dividing France. Another feature of Chastelier's lectures is that, since Weber bound them together with his own theological dissertation, it is immediately possible to verify its reception and most direct influence, on a sixteenth century student. In the last section of this work, we will examine how Weber reemploys in his text what he had learned by the Jesuits in his text; before, we will briefly expose some features of Chastelier's commentary.

As we already said, Aquinas's *quaestio* 23, which deals with predestination, is discussed at length by Chastelier and occupies great part of his course. By following Aquinas's text, the Jesuit expounds – and rejects – Luther's and Calvin's positions. The main and most discussed is the Protestant view that entirely ascribes mankind's salvation to God's will, thereby eliminating any room for human freedom.⁴⁴ The Jesuit traces a vast history of this theological position by drawing upon many and different sources, going from the medieval heresy of Gottschalk of Orbais to his contemporary, the polemist Claude de Saintes. Chastelier describes the repetition of this old error, which originated from a specific reading of Augustine, in different times, and that was newly arising in his day through the dissemination of Protestantism.⁴⁵ In his reading of Aquinas,

⁴³ Cf. Chart. B 2, fol. 341v. Chastelier refers to de Saintes's *Examen doctrinae calvinianae et bezanae de Coena Domini, ex scriptis auctorum ejusdem collectum, per F. Claudium de Saintes* (apud C. Frémy, Parisiis 1567) as to one of his sources. On de Saintes, cf. MARCO PENZI, « L'histoire tragique et mémorable de Claude de Saintes, évêque d'Evreux », *Cahiers du Centre des recherches historiques*, 44, (2009), p. 9–26. De Saintes was a great admirer of Maldonado, and a collector of his Parisian *dictata*; their good relations ended up abruptly, because of a misunderstanding by de Saintes: he retained Maldonado responsible for the problematic obtention of his episcopate in Evreux. Cf. SCHMITT, *La Réforme Catholique*, p. 431.

⁴⁴ Cf. Chart. B 2, fol. 341r: « Tres sunt opiniones, prima e Lutheranis et Calvinistis, quod absque operum previsionem aiunt, non solum Deum quosdam elegisse et quosdam reprobasse, verum etiam, mera sua voluntate et ab aeterno, nulla habita ratione operum, voluisse aliquos homines ad vitam aeternam, alios vero ad damnationem creare, ut in illis misericordiam suam orderet, in his vero iustitiam. Id enim aperte docet Calvinus, in libro suo de aeterna Dei predestinatione, et libro tertio Institutionum, cap. 21, sect. 5. Verba Calvinus sunt, 'praedestinationem vocamus aeternum Dei decretum, quod apud se constitutum habuit quod de unoquoque fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes, sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna preordinati. Itaque prout in alterum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem praedestinatum dicimus.' »

⁴⁵ Cf. Chart. B 2, fol. 341v: « Eundem errorem [Godeschalchi] suscitarunt postea Wiclif et Iohannes Hus et nostris temporibus Lutherani omnes et Calviniani, qui in eo superiores impietate superarunt, quod quamvis affirmarent illi, Deum alios creasse ad vitam, alios ad mortem; non tantum audebant Deum peccatorum auctorem facere, quod isti non reformidarunt, deteriores etiam sunt Simone mago, qui homine a malo Deo creatum dicebat, summam impietatem esse putans optimo Deo tamquam blasphemiae notam iniurere. Hanc igitur opinionem impiam esse, et rationi Scripturae Concilii ac patribus repugnantem paucis ordemus ». On the history of the reactions to Augustine's doctrine, bibliography is extensive, and it is not our scope to provide a

Chastelier leaves room to creatural freedom: he claims that both human beings and angels cooperate to their salvation by responding to the divine gifts of grace.⁴⁶ Chastelier appeals to the doctrine of the secondary causes,⁴⁷ which are, under a certain respect, free from God's direct influence, and ties it to divine foreknowledge of the merits to explain predestination.⁴⁸ In a nutshell, Chastelier's strategy is to accord the first cause of predestination to God's will, and the second, to God's foreknowledge of the reactions of angels and human beings to His gifts of grace. Such strategy is cautiously exposed by Chastelier, who does not oppose himself to Aquinas, but seems to draw it from him as well as from other authoritative sources. His reading is complex and rich of digressions, which make sometimes difficult to understand the balance between free will and divine grace,

complete list of the works dedicate to it; we will only mention but a few of the most recent works, containing extensive bibliographical references. For a general and historical overview, see for instance ALLAN D. FITZGERALD (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*, William Eerdmans Publishing Company, Cambridge 1999, as well as the most recent KARLA POLLMANN, WILLEMEN OTTEN (eds.), *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, 3. vols., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, with many entries on the Renaissance. On the controversy 'de auxiliis', triggered by the publication of the *Concordia liberi arbitrii* by Luis de Molina again, bibliography is extremely rich. We confine ourselves to quote the most recent work by SYLVIO DE FRANCESCHI, for it contains most of the bibliography on the earlier period. Cf. *Thomisme et théologie moderne. L'école de saint Thomas à l'épreuve de la querelle de la grâce (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Artège-Lethielleux, Paris-Perpignan 2018 (Sed contra). For the impact of Augustine in the seventeenth century, see also the very rich work by GAETANO LETTIERI, *Il metodo della grazia: Pascal e l'ermeneutica giansenista di Agostino*, Edizioni dehoniane, Roma 1999 (Biblioteca di ricerche teologiche).

⁴⁶ Cf. Chart. B 2, fol. 336v–337r: « Minor videtur difficultas si rationem ipsam consuleremus, quamvis si scripturas et theologorum opiniones attenderemus; haec opinio difficultate non careret, sint autem omnia prius efficaciter esse volita diceremus, quam Deus ea tanquam futura presciveret. Maior multo videret esse difficultas, potissimum si cum omnibus circumstantiis in particulari a Deo essent praedeterminata, cum hac enim voluntatis divinae determinatione, ut prior concipit prescientia futurorum, vix ac ne vix quamdam libertatem po(ss)e consistere, art. 8 q. 19 demonstravimus. Minima autem difficultas esset, si multa diceremus etiam libere. Futura prius a voluntate divina determinata ut essent, non in cunctis omnibus circumstantiis in particulari quam ab eo praecognoscerent. Multa etiam caussis secundis relictas, quae determinate a Deo non sunt volita nisi posita eorum praevisionem, et hanc opinionem caeteris probabiliorum esse iudicamus ».

⁴⁷ For Aquinas's doctrine, see the very helpful text by PETR DVORAK, « The Concurrentism of Thomas Aquinas: divine causation and human freedom », *Philosophia*, 41/3 (2013), p. 617–634.

⁴⁸ Twenty years before, by confronting the same *quaestio* (and question), the Jesuit Francisco de Toledo had elaborated a very similar strategy, by very explicitly claiming, against Aquinas, that divine foreknowledge of human acts is the secondary cause of predestination: such bold claim encountered severe criticism and censorship at the *Collegio romano*, where Toledo taught, at the point that he had to recant his reading. Despite of the unfortunate result of Toledo, divine foreknowledge provides the successive Jesuit generations with the 'maneuver area' to elaborate a more structured doctrine of human freedom, like in Molina's system. On Toledo, see JUAN CRUZ CRUZ, « Predestination as Transcendent Teleology: Molina and the First Molinism », in MATTHIAS KAUFMANN, ALEXANDER AICHELE (eds.), *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, Brill, Leiden 2014 (Brill's companions to the Christian tradition, 50), p. 89–124, esp. p. 104–105.

as well as to draw clear-cut conclusions. Chastelier's text was dictated to a students' audience and before the 'bomb Molina' exploded: far from being as clear (and punishable) as his forerunner Francisco de Toledo's was, or a systematic treatise, like Molina's *Concordia*, it aimed mostly at presenting students with a specific point: in order to escape the same heresy as Luther's and Calvin's, it was necessary to maintain that human free will of choice has a role in salvation.

II.3. Gotha, Chart. B 6: an unknown text by Juan Maldonado

If Chart. B 2 collects theological disputations on predestination, the third 'Parisian' manuscript preserved in Gotha, Chart. B 6 gathers important Jesuit names, such as those of Juan Maldonado and Peter Canisius (1521–1597).

The first item preserves a part of Maldonado's lecture on the Third Book of the *Sentences*, a commentary *De poenitentia*. This text, which has been dictated in Paris by the Jesuit after he had taken on the chair of theology, has been published posthumously, and has a complex story:⁴⁹ it has long been debated whether the attribution to Maldonado was authentic. Be this as it may, Weber, who probably bought the booklets containing this text, annotated on the right margin of the first page « Paris », as well as the name of Maldonado. The date of the course has been cut off, probably after the acquisition and new binding of the notebook by Johann Gerhard.

The second item preserves a text, which has been copied by Weber's hand. It is the commentary by Maldonado on the *Quattuor novissimis*, a devotional treatise by the Dutch theologian Gerardus of Vliederveen (d. 1402). No other information about this course by Maldonado have come down to us; if the attribution (only based on Weber's notes) is correct, to my knowledge, the Gothan manuscript is the first manuscript evidence of this text.⁵⁰ Moreover, there are but a few known Jesuit commentaries on this text from this period (late '80s of the sixteenth century). The *Quattuor novissimi* was usually read within the Marian congregations, a sort of Jesuit 'third order', which involved laymen and reached out great part of the society through devotional practices and social assistance to the poor.⁵¹ This institution was parallel to the Jesuit colleges' scholar activities but collected students from the colleges. It is thus possible that this reading by Maldonado follows from his extra-curricular activity in the Parisian Marian congregation.⁵² Another possibility is that the Spanish Jesuit lectured on this devotional text during one of his numerous

⁴⁹ See *infra*, Appendix.

⁵⁰ It would be important to raise the question as to the authorship of this text. Unfortunately, this is a problem that goes far beyond the scope of the present research, which is to be deemed only a first and preliminary step toward a more systematic discussion. I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

⁵¹ Cf. O' MALLEY, *The first Jesuits*, p. 197.

⁵² About which I have no records, though.

apostolical missions – like the one in Metz, in 1571 –⁵³ or during his stay in Bourges in 1577, where he gave some courses at the local Church.⁵⁴ In Pont-à-Mousson, he founded a Marian and a Holy Sacrament congregation.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, there are no evidences that he ever lectured there.

If the text preserved in Gotha really is by Maldonado, unfortunately we do not have additional information on it; it might have sorted out by the Jesuit's pen almost in any time of his career as a theology professor and a preacher. Indeed, Weber's notebook helps us in circumstantiating the Jesuit practice of lecturing on the *Quattuor novissimi*. In another book preserved in Gotha, Chart. B 5, he notes that the Irish Richard Fleming,⁵⁶ Jesuit professor in Paris and then, in Pont-à-Mousson, interrupted his lecture on the *Quattuor novissimi*, which had already been commented on by many, to dedicate more time to his lecture on *The sacraments* (the topic of the third book of the *Sentences* by Peter Lombard). As an example, in the same note Weber refers to his own copy of the *Quattuor novissimi* – Gotha Chart. B 6 –, as contained in the « second volume of the commentaries on the *Sentences* by Maldonado ».⁵⁷ There are three things to observe: firstly, Weber does not refer to the *Quattuor novissimi* as to a text by Maldonado; he limits himself in stating that many authors (« multi auctori »⁵⁸) had already commented on the *Quattuor novissimi*. Thus, it was a popular text within the Jesuit colleges, already in 1585–1586 (date of the course by Fleming preserved in Gotha Chart. B 5). Furthermore, Weber alludes to a second tome of Maldonado's commentaries on the *Sentences*, a sign that, most probably, he had a more extensive collection of the Spanish Jesuit's courses-notes, whose parts are today lost.

⁵³ Cf. LOUIS VIANSSON-PONTÉ, *Les jésuites à Metz*, Association des anciens de Saint-Clément, Strasbourg 1897, p. 10–11: « Pendant un mois, devant le Palais, le Père [Maldonado] fit tous les jours le catéchisme aux dissidents qui eurent ordre d'y assister. Il leur exposa spécialement la doctrine chrétienne touchant le sacrifice de la messe et le purgatoire. Ses instructions produisirent des fruits merveilleux, etc. » For the mission in Metz, see SCHMITT, *La Réforme Catholique*, p. 395–397.

⁵⁴ Cf. SCHMITT, *La Réforme Catholique*, p. 470.

⁵⁵ Cf. PRAT, *Maldonat*, p. 451; SCHMITT, *La Réforme Catholique*, p. 479.

⁵⁶ Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. IX, col. 345. Fleming taught theology in Paris since 1569, and then moved to Pont-à-Mousson, where he became chancellor of the University.

⁵⁷ Cf. Gotha, Chart. B 5, fol. 390v: « Quod longior et accuratior fuerit Reverendus et Eximius Professor P. Richardus in commentariis sacramenti poenitentiae ob quotidianum magisquam necessarium eius usum, ideo reliqua ob temporis brevitatem tanquam faciliora celerius pertransiit. Ob eandem causam intermisit tractatum Novissimorum, quod passim a(llo modo) multis auctoribus ea de re scribatur: compendiosum tractatum eorundem quaere in tomo 2 commentariorum in Magistrum Sententiarum R. P. Maldonati, quem eundem in Cursu Moguntinensi Theologiae invenies ».

⁵⁸ See *supra*, fn. 57.

III. *A good pupil? What Weber learned from the Jesuits*

As we already said, Christoph Weber published in Mainz his theological dissertation (1588).⁵⁹ The printed folios of this text have been bound by him to the notebook Chart. B 2. A direct link to the courses he followed – or to those he simply copied, like the Parisian lectures by Mariana for instance – is self-evident: Weber gathered texts on the themes of predestination and grace to prepare his own final dissertation. His work is a synthesis, simpler than the thorough commentary by Chastelier: it counts less than 50 printed folios, and his theological references are indeed less important than in the French Jesuit's course. Just like Chastelier, though, Weber refers to his day and to the historical moment he experienced as a Catholic and a theology student as well: in the dedication to his uncle, the Archbishop of Mainz Stephan Weber, the student refers to the « most painful conditions » (*haec luctuosissima tempora*) in which Catholic faith was, in the wake of the assaults of « the corruptors of the sacred doctrine » (*novatores et corruptores catholicae doctrinae*).⁶⁰ His point of view is, thus, very clear and explicit: Weber stands against the Protestant reformers Luther and Calvin and takes on the role of the Catholic party's champion. The theme around which his dissertation is structured is the conciliation of human freedom with divine grace; he focuses on that which he describes as the worse error by the Protestant, who eliminated from their account of salvation any room for creatural freedom.

Weber divides his text into two parts, dealing first with free will of choice, and with divine attributes (*proprietates*) such as foreknowledge, grace and will in the second part. To the Protestants he first reproaches the anarchical component of their doctrine, which, by fully attributing salvation to divine grace, eradicates the intermediate role of the Church.⁶¹ Weber thus proves the necessity of human free will of choice by the Church Fathers' authority and, also, by that of not specified « philosophers ». ⁶² Weber often refers to Aristotle to conciliate Catholic faith and true philosophy, which is a feature proper to most of the Jesuit literature of his

⁵⁹ That is the reason why this text is today more accessible than the Gothan manuscripts; an online digitalization is for instance consultable on googlebooks.

⁶⁰ Weber's work has no pagination; we can thus refer to its paragraphs. Both references come from the first page of the dedication to Stephan Weber.

⁶¹ Cf. WEBER. *Disputatio theologica, pars prima*, §5–7: « Haud quaquam admittimus insulsam seditiosa illam Lutheri et Calvini sententiam, qua Christianorum conscientias a quibusvis hominum legibus exemptas dicunt. Siquidem hanc sacrae leges non probant, sancti Ecclesiae doctores prorsus rejiciunt et explodunt. Quin potius Apostoli ipsi, ut est in actis, legem humana constituerunt. (...) In Deut.: dicitur, *Qui sacerdoti non obedierit, morte moriatur*. (...) Etenim haec Calviniana libertas, scripturis adversatur quin potius servitus dicenda est, ut quae omnis disciplinae expers, latam illam patefaciat portam, quae ducit ad perditionem, huiusmodi inquam libertate fretus (quod divinis literis contrariari thesi quinta probatum fuit) nulli quisquam se legi subijciet, nihilque boni faciet ».

⁶² Cf. *Ibid.*, §27–29. See also n. 66, for the reference to Cajetan as 'a philosopher'.

time. In their writings, the sixteenth-century Jesuits often referred to the Bull *De apostolici regiminis* (1513), which inaugurated the century, thereby claiming, as much as they could, the important and indissoluble alliance between true faith and true philosophy.⁶³ Besides, the reference to Aristotle and to Aristotelian anthropology⁶⁴ is not surprising, as Aristotle was, for the Jesuits – but not only – the authority to follow in matter of philosophy.⁶⁵ From Aristotle and from the Church Fathers Weber derives, against Luther and Calvin, that « differently from the beasts, man is the master of his own actions ».⁶⁶ In the first part of his dissertation, Weber sketches human free will of choice as something, which requires divine intervention to be accomplished: in accordance with the Council of Trent, which he refers to, he claims that a cooperation between creatures and Creator is needed.⁶⁷ How this happens (*quomodo*), makes the object of the second part of his dissertation. The terrain to save free will of choice is that of divine foreknowledge (*praescientia*); although God's science of the future is perfect, there is room for contingency and freedom of the creatures.⁶⁸ Just like Chastelier, whom

⁶³ On the importance of the *Apostolici regiminis* (text published in GIOVAN DOMENICO MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio...*, vol. XXXII, Welter, Paris 1902, col. 842–843) in the sixteenth century, see for instance JOHN MONFASANI, « Aristotelians, Platonists, and the Missing Ockhamists: Philosophical Liberty in Pre-Reformation Italy », *Renaissance Quarterly*, 46/2, (1993), p. 247–276; ANNALISA CAPPIELLO, MARCO LAMANNA, « Il principio dell'unicità del vero dalla bolla *Apostolici regiminis* (1513) alla Rivoluzione scientifica », *Quaestio*, 14 (2014), p. 229–256; DAG NIKOLAUS HASSE, *Success and Repression. Arabic Sciences and Philosophy in the Renaissance*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2016 (I Tatti Studies in Renaissance History), p. 179–247. For its importance by the Jesuits, see CRAIG MARTIN, *Subverting Aristotle, Religion, History and Philosophy in Early modern Science*, John Hopkins University press, Baltimore 2014), p. 88–95.

⁶⁴ Cf. almost all the *pars prima* and §10.

⁶⁵ See *supra*, fn. 10.

⁶⁶ Cf. WEBER, *Disputatio theologica, pars prima*, §37: « teste Aristotele, solus homo qui rationis est compos, sit Dominus suarum actionum, qui et possit et non possit facere ». For a list of the Church Fathers' opinions, see §47–61.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, §35–36: « Sed vero a longe aberrat, contraria huic nostri temporis haeticorum sententia, qui libertatem arbitrii prorsus enervant ac tollunt. Quamvis enim Catholica Ecclesia definiat exordium Iustificationis a dei per Christum praeveniente gratia sumendum esse, et quod nihil eorum, quae iustificationem praecedunt, sive fides sive opera, eam promereantur, attamen recte etiam docet, dispositiones quae iustificationem praecedunt, et bona opera eam sequential, peccata non esse, ut asserunt haeretici. Ad haec non minus vera est Ecclesiae assertio, qua definit liberum arbitrium hominis, ante quam per gratiam sanatum sit, in actionibus piis et salutaribus non esse prorsus inane quoddam instrumentum, mere passive se habens, sed adiuvanti opemque ferenti Deo cooperari ». See also *Ibid.*, §40–41.

⁶⁸ Weber takes on Cajetan's reading of Aquinas (§13), and can thus claim that (*pars altera*, §14): « effectus iuxta Philosophorum sententiam non superioribus causis, sed proximis respondent. Si quidem sol et homo, non solem, sed hominem generant. Itaque etiamsi superiores caussae essent necessariae (quod quidam Aristotelem sensisse contendunt), modo inferiores sunt libere, vel contingentes (...) ».

he follows almost literally,⁶⁹ Weber claims that the divine will is the only cause of salvation (*predestinatio*); nevertheless, divine predestination follows from God's foreknowledge of how both angels and human beings will react to the gifts of grace through their actions (*opera*).⁷⁰ Luther's and Calvin's « most absurd opinion » (*absurdissima opinio*),⁷¹ according to which God punished the creatures since eternity (1) before original sin and (2) before any prevision of their actions, is thus definitely rejected by Weber, who sides with Chastelier's reading.

IV. *Some conclusive considerations*

The geographical *iter* of the manuscripts, today preserved in Gotha, testifies alone of the vitality of the course-notes dictated within different academic institutions of the sixteenth century. Like Weber's case shows, the practices of notes-taking and, mostly, of notes-copying by the students, allowed, through local exchanges, the circulation (*via* copies made from other copies) of courses, which had been dictated in different times and places. Such practice should indeed deserve a larger attention by scholars. First, because what it reveals is not the circulation of some esoteric and obscure doctrines but of highly debated academic doctrines, in a day wherein manuscript and printed texts played different roles. It suffices to mention the importance of students' note-taking in more modern times – which appears clear, if one evokes Hegel's or De Saussure's courses, both published from manuscript notes taken by students –, to understand how, in the sixteenth century, the practice of notes-taking was crucial for vehiculating doctrines, nowadays known and studied in most cases only *via* the contact with some – few – printed texts. To remain closer to Weber's times, it is also worth mentioning the

⁶⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, §60: « Licet totius praedestinationis, secundum omnes suos effectus sumptos, neque ex parte hominis neque ex partes angeli causa vel ratio assignari possit, sed sola divina voluntas immensa ». Cf. Gotha, Chart. B 2, fol. 337r: « Ultimam et maxime in tota hac disputatione notandum est, cum agitur de causa praedestinationis, an aliqua in nobis detur. (...) Certa fide tenendum est, neque in angelis neque in hominibus ullam esse suae predestinationis causam, sed tam angelos quam homines ex mera Dei voluntate et gratia a Deo esse ad haec omnia bona dilectos et predestinatos, quod inductione quadam per omnia illa causarum gratia facta manifestum fieri ».

⁷⁰ See previous note but also, *Ibid.*, §60-62: « non tamen ideo absurdum videri debet, causam in utroque, id est homine et angelo, alicuius in particulari effectus dari: quemadmodum nec illud, ut aliquid ipsorum potestate esse dicatur, adiuvante scilicet divina gratia, quod in praevisione divinae infallibiliter coniugantur cum tota praedestinatione, nempe rationalis creatura cooperatio, qua divinae gratiae praeventienti et vocanti in finem, perseverantes cooperantur ratione cuius cooperationis, in quantum illa infallibili lege divinae misericordiae, cum tota praedestinatione est coniuncta; [...] [Deus] nullum ante praevisionem operum a gloria excludere, sed omnibus, sufficientissima media conferre voluit, quorum bono vel malo usu praeviso, praedestinandi vel reprobandi fuissent, aliquos enim tum futuros fuisse fuisse reprobos probabile est ».

⁷¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, §64.

large dissemination, in the Protestant world, of manuscript courses and notes, extending from other, more private contexts, like the private teaching by Protestant theologians like Johann Gerhard. The case of the Gotha Library provides us with a fortunate case, which would deserve more attention for many and different reasons: (1) the presence of new evidences of early modern Jesuit lectures on the *Summa theologiae*, for example; (2) the information they provide on academic institutions, whose history is not very well known; (3) last but not the least, they allow to map out – and to know better – the tradition of specific doctrines, which extended from the sixteenth century. It is the case of the debate on predestination, which opposed the Protestant and Catholic parties. The Jesuit Society having not yet elaborated a uniform line of defense concerning such delicate matter – if they ever succeeded doing that –, the Gothan manuscripts allow to take a picture of such an attempt in its very making.

Appendix

The two 'Parisian' manuscripts: Chart. A 28 and Chart. B 6

I. Chart. A 28

Shelfmark: Chart. A 28

Old shelfmark: Ch. N. 27

Origin: South Germany (Bavaria – see watermarks)

Date: [1570]

Material description: 213 fols., 28 x 19 cm, blazon of Johann Gerhard on the fore-edge of the volume (heart); fore-edge coloured in red; pages have been cut-off again probably after new binding by Gerhard (see the marginal notes, which are cut off and not fully readable), 35 lines/page; red ink underlines in item 2.

Watermarks: From a comparison with the Piccard-online database, many watermarks present in the MS were produced in Amorbach (Bavaria, Germany).

Ex-libris: Front paste-cover: « Bibliothecae Gerhardinae »; fol. 5r: « Bibliotheca ducalis Gothana ».

Indication of date/notes by the copyist(s): fol. 5r: « Parisiis, 13 fe(bruar)ii 1570 »; fol. 60r: « Hactenus 20 (?) 1570 »; fol. 64r: marginal note beside the title, « Mussipo(nti) anno 83 ».

History: Christopher Weber was the owner of this manuscript before Gerhard.

Content:

(1) fol. 5r–60r: *Commentarius de scripturae intelligentia D. Mariani Societatis Nostris Jesu.*

Incipit, fol. 5r: « Universam de scripturis disputationem in duas partes dividam, acturus in priori de scripturae autoritate, in posteriori vero de eiusdem difficultate, prima pars secunda continebit tractatus. In primo agam de scripturis autoritate sumpta ab antiquitate, veritate et nobilitate eiusdem, in posteriori de autoritate singularium editionum. 'Primus tractatus de autoritate scripturae ab eius antiquitate'. Ut ergo ad primum tractatum accedamus mirum est qua ratione omnes Antiqui Patres in eo laborarunt, ut efficiant scripturam nostram actam et religionem in illa contentam esse omnium antiquissimam ».

Explicit, fol. 60r: « Denique in decretis pontificis id observandum, ne omnia que dicuntur existimamus esse fidei dogmata, sed tantum ea quae ex professo proponuntur (et non obitet aut praeter rem, ea etiam quae ex forma ipsa dicendi proponuntur), tanquam definita quam exedenda ab omnibus fidelibus; solet enim aliquando in suis decretis pontifices tantum opinative loqui ».

For the titles of the 20 questions composing Mariana's treatise, see Gehrt (2006). fol. 60v–63v: blank folios.

- (2) fol. 64r–95v: Pars of a commentary on Thomas Aquinas, *Pars Prima Secundae* (q. 85–89, on the nature of sins): *Disputatio de peccato originalis*.

Incipit, fol. 64r: «Theologi operam et studium in aliquam quaestionem exigere solent, difficultas et necessitas ea nec maxime in proposita materia locuta sint, prioris testis est Augustinus ».

Explicit [q. 89, *De peccato veniali secundum se*], fol. 95v: « Resp. ipsemet D. Thomae q. 87 precedenti articuli 5 ad secundum et tertium, secundo sententiarum dist. 42 quaest. I art. 5 ad 7; cum originali et solo veniali discederet proveniendum per sempiterna in inferno ».

- (3) fol. 96r–209r: Anonymous, *De facultate logice(s) in genere*.

Incipit, fol. 96r: « Sectio prima: de facultate logice(s) in genere. Prima disputatio. Quaestio I. Quid nomen logices significet. Pronunciatum primum logica apud Isidorum libro secundo Etimologiarum dicta est verbo graeco logos, secundum pronunciatum ».

End, fol. 209r: « Disputatio de postpraedicamentis ».

On the spine of the notebook, it is possible to read « Annotationes de Aristotelis praedicamenta ».

Commentary: Other textual evidences of the first item (fol. 5r–60r) are preserved at the Stiftsbibliothek of St. Gallen (Switzerland) and at the Municipal Library (Médiathèque municipale Pierre Almaric) of Albi (France). St. Gallen: Cod. Sang. 1115, p. 33–269 (copy by Moritz Enk) and Cod. Sang. 1129_2 part. (copy by Joachim Opser). Both manuscripts are fully accessible online: <<https://www.e-codices.uni-fr.ch/en/csg/1129/2>>. The shelfmark of the Albi manuscript is 57 (description in the CGM, the *Catalogue général des manuscrits conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France*, accessible online: <http://www.bonnespratiques-ead.net/sites/default/files/structure_CGM_imprime.html>). This text by Mariana has been described in REINHARDT, *Bibelkommentare Spanischer Autoren*, p. 38–39, but Chart. A 28 is not listed among the manuscripts preserving the *Isagoge in sacra scriptura*. The author(s) of the texts preserved in items 2 and 3 is/are unknown. The second item, which is part of a commentary on Aquinas, *ST Ia Ilae*, has been dated « Pont-à-Mousson 1583 »; at that time, Mariana was already back in Spain. It might be Clement Dupuys (see Chart. B. 3, which contains another lecture on *ST Ia Ilae*). The item 3, a text of logics, has completely different features (see paper, watermarks, folio layout, number of lines, copyists) than items 1 and 2; it might have been bound to them in a posterior moment. There are no indications of date or colophons.

Bibliography: CYPRIAN, *Catalogum codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Gothanae*, p. 50, n. XXVII; Fr. JACOBS, F. A. UKERT, *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur, oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzogl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Dyk'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig 1836, p. 79; GEHRT, *Katalog*, p. 13–15.

Chart. B 6

Shelfmark: Chart. B 6

Old Shelfmark: Chart. n. 12

Origin: Germany (watermarks from Amorbach)

Date: [1569]–1588

Material description: The edges of the pages have been cut off, probably contemporarily to the new binding (which is modern, of the same kind of the other notebooks previously owned by Ch. Weber). Marginal notes are thus cut-off and not fully readable; probably, different formats and different booklets have been bound together to form the actual notebook. The *Cordiale, de quattuor novissimis* has lost some pages.

Ex-libris: Front paste-cover: « Bibliotheca Gerhardina »; fol. 1r: « Bibliotheca ducalis Gothana ».

History: The notebook belonged to Christoph Weber before entering Johannes Gerhard's library. His blazon is painted in red on the fore-edge cut of the book.

Watermarks: (1) On the blank pages used to separate the booklets, same watermarks than Chart. A 28, B. 2, B. 5: emblem (Amorbach 1591): e.g. fol. 1–2, 314–323; (2) First item: spread-winged eagle with a circle on the top of the head, big and small size: e.g. fol. 7–8 (small), 11–12, 15–19, 20–21, 30–31, 39–40, 53–55, 86–87, etc., 222 (very clear); (3) Second item: other spread-winged eagle with a sort of crest on top, see e.g. fol. 224, 226–227; and (4) other eagle not fully readable because of the thickness of the notes: e.g. fol. 230 (eagle less visible) 233 (less visible), 239, 240, 242 (*infra textus*); blank folios separating items: fol. 243–245, 246 other eagle top; f. 314: crowned eagle (same watermark than Chart. B 5).

Hands: The copyist of the first item is unusual in Christoph Weber's collection of booklets preserved in Gotha; he has copied in a very accurate and clean way the text by Maldonado. It might have been a luxury copy, realized in order to be sold.

Indication of date: fol. 242v: on a marginal note: « jul. a<nn>o. 1569 »; fol. 314r: « Anno 1584 circiter 29 julii ».

Content:

(1) fol. 1r–221v: *De penitentia* (part of Maldonado's lectures on *De Sacramentiis*).

Incipit, fol. 1r: « Disputatio de poenitentia septem partibus continetur. In prima agendum est de nomine, in secunda de origine, in tertia de natura, in quarta de partibus, in quinta de causis, in sexta de effectum, in septima de ceremonijs. (*Incipit*) Hinc habuerunt originem omnes haereses nostri temporis, quod quidam ad nomen poenitentiae nimium adhaerent ».

Explicit, fol. 221v: « Nam Deus esset profecto crudelissimus si propter unam orationem dominicam, quae non diceretur, animam pro qua fundit suum

sanguinem, detineret in tantis tormentis. [...] De extrema unctione, ordine matrimonio, fine mundi»

Other parts of the *De sacramentis*, are announced but not present in the volume.

(2) Presence of a loose leaf, between fol. 146v and 147r: « Antiphona: (r) Adesto Deus unus etc. Oremus. Actiones nostras quaesumus Domine aspirando praeveni, et adiuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra oratio et operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te caepta finitatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. (v) Post partum virgo inviolate permansisti. Resp. Dei genitrix etc. Oremus. Deus, qui salutis aeternae beatae Mariae virginitate fecunda humano generi ».

(3) fol. 223r–242v: [P. Maldonatus, Gerardus de Vliedervhovens, *Cordiale*] *de quatuor novissimis*.

Incipit, fol. 223r: « Haec disputatio duas habet partes generales: prima, an mundus sit abiturus finem (et quo modo) secunda, de homine quid accidit si finiatur mundus. Prima potest haberi vel cum philosophis vel cum christianis ».

Explicit, fol. 242v: « Item, lib. 5 contra Iulianum, c. 8 q. 6 dubitaverit pretes non baptizatos in damnatione omnium minimos esse futuros ».

fol. 243v–247v: blank folios

(4) fol. 248r–314r: *In catechismum R. Patri Canisii Societatis Iesu Doctoris theologi*.

Incipit, fol. 248r: « Quinque sunt praetermittenda. Primo de antiquitate de lectioni catechisticae, secundo de acceptione vocis, tertio de modo docendi catechismum in antiqua ecclesia, quarto de ordine huius catechismi quem summa misericordia interpretaturi. Quinto de utilitate».

Explicit, 314r: « Finis art. septimi. Reliqua huius catechismi pars desideratur ideo quod professor huius lectionis in Scotia ablegatus, nihil praeter haec docuerit. Anno 1584 circiter 29 Juli ».

Internal Notes: fol. 1r, right edge: « Parisiis. Reverendi Patri Societatis Iesu Doctoris Maldonati praecellentissimi Theologi per Franciam ». Notes in Hebrew (e.g. fol. 37v). fol. 314r.

Commentary: The three parts of the notebook Chart. B 6 have different formats and have probably been bound together by its first possessor. Unfortunately, the modern binding does not allow considering the booklets; what is observable easily, is the difference of folios' format for every component part: it suffices to consider the marginal spaces separating the text from the edge of the page.

Hypothesis: Christoph Weber might have bought in Pont-à-Mousson the notes of the courses dictated in Paris by Maldonado ten years before.

Notes on the texts: The attribution of the *De poenitentia* to Maldonado has been contested. The text is a part of Maldonado's lecture on the *Sentences*, namely the fourth part (*De sacramentis*). The Gotha manuscript preserves the same text published in Lyon in 1614: *Ioannis Maldonati Andalusii Societatis Iesu Theologi*,

disputationum ac controversiarum decisarum et circa septem Ecclesiae Romanae Sacramenta inter Catholicos praesertim et Calvinistas, ... tomi duo, quorum priores, quae circa Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam: Alter, quae circa Poenitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem et Matrimonium versantur. Sommervogel (*Bibliothèque*, vol. V, p. 407) observes that this edition is not very correct (« édition peu correcte »). In the *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum* published in Madrid in 1667, the attribution of this work to Maldonado is contested, and the whole work prohibited: « Ioanni Maldonado liber falso adscriptus, ementito impressionis loco Lugduno, pro Francofurto, impressoris nomine supresso, cum hac inscriptione, Disputationum, et controversiarum decisarum, circa septem Sacramenta, prorsus prohibetur ». Nevertheless, the same text has been published in Brussels (typis Henrici Fricx, 1676). Sommervogel (*Bibliothèque*, vol. V, p. 408) collects other evidences about these *Disputationes* by Maldonado – a letter on the poor fortune of this work (published in the *Bibliothèque critique* de R. Simon, Amsterdam, 1708, IV, p. 71–78) and a letter, by the same author (Rich. Simon), on this, and other works by Maldonado as well (published in the *Lettres choisies* by Rich. Simons, Amsterdam, 1721, p. 156–165). « Simon dit qu'il a vu le MS de cet ouvrage qui était de la main d'un élève du P. Maldonat, nommé Yvelin ». There is another work attributed and published under the name of Maldonado, which contains the same material, namely the text on the sacraments (= Book IV of the *Sentences*; see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. V, p. 408, n. 6 among Maldonado's works): *Ioannis Maldonati ... Opera varia theologica tribus tomis comprehensa. Ex variis tum Regis, tum doctissimorum Virorum Bibliothecis macima parte nunc primum in lucem edita. Hic accesserunt ejusdem auctoris Praefationes, Orationes, et Epistolae*, apud Andream Pralard, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1677. In the *praefatio ad lectorem* contained in this edition, which lists the works by Maldonado, Alegambe's refusal to ascribe to the Jesuit the *Disputationes* is discussed and rejected:

Tam egregium opus, quod ubique magnum et excellens auctoris ingenium, acre iudicium, summam eruditionum pari pietate conjunctam refert, non debuit a viro prudente, et alias erudite temere et inconsiderate configi: nec dignitati Societatis, aut honori, me iudice, derogasset Alegambius, si horum Commentariorum verum et genuinum auctorem sincere et liberaliter agnovisset Ioannem Maldonatum; quod nemo quidem inficiabitur, nisi qui meridiana luce voluerit caecutire. Omnes enim omnino Manuscripti codices, qui non pauci sunt, Ioannis Maldonati nomen, stylum, ac ingenium repraesentant. Unum penes me habeo, qui omnia, ut eduntur, ad verbum exhibit, quique annum et diem annotate, quo hos tractatus dictavit et absolvit Maldonatus. Hic codex olim fuit D. Henault Doctoris Theologi Parisiensis e Societate Navarrica, cui haereditario iure obvenerat a consanguineo quodam suo, qui Maldonatum in Collegio Claromontano docentem audierat eiusque scripta exceperat. Praeter caeteros autem MSS. Codices Maldonati nomen praeferentes indubitatae maxime fidei sunt illi, quorum alterum penes se habet D. Ant. F. sacrae facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis Doctor, maximumque decus et ornamentum

singulare, vir exquisita eruditione omnium longe instructissimus; alterum vero habet vir eruditissimus Stephanus Baluzius, quod tot eximiis libris in lucem editis nomini suo famam laudemque eduntur in quartum lib. Sententiarum ad verbum continens dictante Maldonato exceptit, propriaque manu descripsit vir illustrissimus Mericus de Vic Regis Christianissimi quondam apud Helvetios Legatus, Regionumque sigillorum Custos, dum adhuc iuvenis Theologiae operam daret, ipsumque Maldonatum in schola Claromontana docentem audiret. Quorum etiam codicum apographum diligenter ad exemplar exscriptum in Bibliotheca Regia asservatur, sicut et alia plura Maldonati opera manuscripta.

In this edition, Maldonado's work is held for authentic. According to Montfaucon, other witnesses of this text are MSS Vendôme, Bibliothèque du Parc Ronsard, 149 and Grenoble, Municipal Library, 303 (cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. V, p. 410). Other manuscript evidences of Maldonado's *De poenitentiae* are preserved in Paris, such as that quoted by Alegambe in the aforementioned text: MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 3225, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5454 A. To attempt providing a full list of the manuscripts preserving Maldonado's works is not our task here, but part of a larger project: for manuscripts preserving his lectures are present almost in every important European library.

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