

The Name of the Father. About a Mysterious Jesuit Mentioned by Kepler in the Phaenomenon singulare (1609)

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Abstract

In the *Phaenomenon singulare*, written in Prague in 1607 and published in Leipzig in 1609, Kepler mentions, without naming him, a Jesuit with whom he briefly discussed astronomical matters. We identify this Jesuit as Father Georgius Van der Boon (1572?-1636), then professor of mathematics at the Clementinum in Prague. We also provide some dates to clarify his biography.

Quando Cristina D’Ancona mi ha invitato a partecipare a questo omaggio a Concetta Luna, non potevo che offrire un modesto contributo sul mio argomento preferito: Keplero. Parlo anche di Praga, una città che amo, e, guarda caso, anche un po’ dell’Italia. Lo offro a Concetta in ricordo della nostra collaborazione alla ristampa di un volume del Padre Festugière per Les Belles Lettres. Non me ne vorrà, credo, se ho pensato anche ad Alain-Philippe Segonds (1942-2011), che ha significato tanto per noi.

In the *Phaenomenon singulare seu Mercurius in Sole*, edited by Joachim Tanckius and published in 1609 in Leipzig at the expense of Thomas Schürer,¹ Kepler described what he thought to be a transit of Mercury observed in Prague on Monday, the 28 May 1607. Then, he mentioned a number of eyewitnesses to the phenomenon: a Jesuit, with whom he was talking about the Sun-Mercury conjunction scheduled for the following day; Martin Bachaczek, the rector of Prague’s Utraquist University, in whose home he was staying at the time; and Heinrich Stolle, an assistant to Jost Bürgi, whom Kepler asked to provide written testimony in the absence of the master clockmaker.² In a 2012 article devoted to the problem of eyewitness testimony in Kepler’s natural philosophy, Mario Biagioli writes:³ “Kepler

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¹ On this book, see the *Bibliographia Kepleriana. Ein Führer durch das gedruckte Schrifttum von Johannes Kepler*, hrsg. von M. Caspar, 2. Auflage besorgt von M. List, München, C.H. Beck, 1968, n° 30. On Thomas Schürer (1563-1615), see F. Seck, “Johannes Kepler und der Buchdruck”, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 11 (1971), col. 609-726 (col. 640-642).

² For a summary of the book, see M. Caspar, *Kepler*, translated and edited by C.D. Hellman, with a new introduction and references by O. Gingerich, bibliographical citations by O. Gingerich – A-Ph. Segonds, 2^d ed., Dover Publications Inc. New York 1993, pp. 166-7.

³ Emphasis added.

calculated that Mercury would enter conjunction with the Sun on May 29, 1607 and planned to observe both before and after that date. At first the weather did not comply with Kepler's wishes but, on May 28 (as he was talking to an unidentified Jesuit about the expected transit), the cloud scattered and out came the sun".⁴ In footnote 9 of his article, Biagioli comments: "The fact that the Jesuit is left nameless throughout the book is somewhat puzzling. One interpretation is that Kepler did not mention the Jesuit by name, because he (the Jesuit) did not want to be named in print as an active collaborator of a Protestant". I try here to identify this Jesuit mentioned by Fr. Burke-Gaffney SJ, and Eileen Reeves among others.⁵

The *Phaenomenon singulare* appears in volume 4, pp. 79-92 of the *Gesammelte Werke*, edited in 1941 by Max Caspar and Franz Hammer.⁶ However, only Caspar dealt with this text, as stated in the Nachbericht.⁷ The passage mentioning the Jesuit reads (kgw 4, 92, 19-23):

(...) tamen cum post meridiem hora circiter quarta viderem nubes pulsas, coelum mediocriter serenum, abrui sermonem cum Jesuita, quo cum super hac re loquebar, et negotio observationis ipsi dato domum me recepi, sub tectum altum et amplum, scandulis structum rimosis.

(...) around the fourth hour after noon I saw the clouds driven away and the sky tolerable clear, and I broke off the conversation with the Jesuit who had been discussing the matter with me, and retreated to my house for the business of this observation, under a high and wide roof equipped with a crack in a shingle.⁸

For the purposes of our enquiry, it is important to remember that the edition of the *Gesammelte Werke* is based on printed copies and, when they are available, on Kepler's manuscripts, which were then conserved in Leningrad after having been in the Pulkovo Observatory. Walther von Dyck, one of the editors of the complete works, had obtained that the manuscripts volumes be sent one by one to the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich, where a complete facsimile was made of each of them.⁹ Around 1600, the manuscript of a text intended for printing was rarely preserved; in general, the printer's copy was destroyed after use.¹⁰ But the case of the *Phaenomenon singulare* is peculiar, because

⁴ M. Biagioli, "Witnessing Astronomy: Kepler on the Uses and Misuses of Testimony", in M. Biagioli – J. Riskin (eds.), *Nature Engaged: Science in Practice from the Renaissance to the Present*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York-Basingstoke 2012, pp. 103-23.

⁵ M.W. Burke-Gaffney SJ, *Kepler and the Jesuits*, The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee 1944, p. 84; E. Reeves, *Evening News. Optics, Astronomy, and Journalism in the Early Modern Europe*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2014, pp. 149-50.

⁶ Kepler, *Gesammelte Werke*, 22 Bde, hrsg. von M. Caspar – F. Hammer [et alii], C. H. Beck, München 1937-2017 (henceforth: KGW).

⁷ KGW 4, 418: "Die beiden Herausgeber haben sich in die Bearbeitung des Bandes in der Weise geteilt, daß M. Caspar die sieben ersten, F. Hammer die drei letzten Werke übernommen hat".

⁸ I quote the translation by Reeves, *Evening News* (above, n. 5), p. 149.

⁹ V. Bialas, "Zur Kepler-Gesamtausgabe bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Geschichte und voraussichtlicher Abschluß der Edition", *Beiträge zur Astronomiegeschichte* 2 (1999), pp. 58-69; N. Jardine – A.-Ph. Segonds, *La guerre des astronomes. La querelle au sujet de l'origine du système géo-héliocentrique à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2008 (Science et Humanism 2/2), p. 231.

¹⁰ J. Veyrin-Forrer, "Fabriquer un livre au XVI^e siècle", in Ead., *La lettre & le texte. Trente années de recherches sur l'histoire du livre*, École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, Paris 1987, pp. 273-319 (p. 279): "À moins d'être (...) retournée à son détenteur ou à ses ayants droit, la copie semble d'ordinaire considérée comme quantité néglige-

Sethus Calvisius, in a letter to Kepler loosely dated mid-1609, states that he is sending the mathematicus 20 copies of the libel, together with the manuscript.¹¹

In the passage quoted above, line 21, the sign † refers to a note (*KGW* 4, 491), which gives the following clarification: “In der Handschrift ist als Name des Jesuiten Georgius Vandervan angegeben.” Thus, far from being unnamed, the Jesuit is indeed mentioned by Kepler in the manuscript, but his name was not preserved in the printed text.¹² Caspar, in the note to his 1941 edition, thus gives the name of the Jesuit from an autograph account. Another note (*KGW* 4, 491) further states that the quoted passage (corresponding to *KGW* 4, 92, 19-23) can be found in the Pulkovo manuscript collection in volume XVIII, fol. 41.

I tried to verify this information. Thanks to Mrs. Edith Hanke and Mr. Peter Michael Schenkel of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich, I was able to obtain a copy of Kepler’s manuscript folio. In volume XVIII, fol. 41v, lines 1-7, we find the following text (the photography does not always allow the end of the lines to be read but a hand has completed the words in the margin; I render the conjectures in square brackets):

... tamen cum post meridiem hora
 circiter 4 viderem nubes pulsas, coelum m[e]
 diocriter serenum, abrupti sermonem cu[m]
 P. Georgio VanderVan, et negotio observatio[nis]
 ipsi commandato domum me recepi, sub te[ctum]
 altum et amplum, scandulis structum rim[o]
 sjs.

First puzzle: while the version edited by Schürer gives “cum Jesuita”, Kepler’s manuscript sent to Leipzig says “cum P. Georgio VanderVan” (“Vandervan” being possible). The Jesuit’s name was spelled out in the body of the text, not in the margin. Contrary to the Jesuits, to whom a rule forbade quoting their Protestant counterparts favorably,¹³ Kepler never had a

able dès l’instant qu’elle a été utilisée, et se trouve donc rarement conservée”. Cf. the remarks by M. Caspar about the *Mysterium cosmographicum* (*KGW* 1, 418: “Das Manuskript des *Mysterium Cosmographicum* ist nicht erhalten [...]”) and the *De Stella nova* (*KGW* 1, 464: “Für die Handschriften zum Buch vom neuen Stern, von denen sich eine Anzahl von Konzeptblättern erhalten hat [...]”).

¹¹ Letter no. 531 (Calvisius to Kepler, Mitte 1609). *KGW* 16, 246, 6-7: “... à bibliopola tantum vigintj exemplaria obtinere potuj, quae hic mitto [...]”. See also the *Nachbericht* to this letter (*KGW* 16, 441-442).

¹² The quoted passage appears on fol. Dv in the 1609 edition.

¹³ U. Baldini, *Legem impone subactis. Studi su filosofia e scienza dei Gesuiti in Italia, 1540-1632*, Bulzoni, Roma 1992, pp. 217-27 and pp. 229-31. In 1614, Joannes Camerota SJ (1559-1644), wrote a censura in the margin of Giuseppe Biancani’s forthcoming *Aristotelis loca mathematica* (apud Bartholomaeum Cochium. Superiorum permissu, Bononiae 1615). The document, preserved in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* (now *ARSI*), Fondo Gesuitico (now F.G.) 662, fol. 162r-163v, reads, according to Baldini (f. 163r): “Omnino tamen absteineat laude scriptorum Haereticorum”. Follows a list of Protestant authors: Tycho Brahe, William IV of Hesse-Cassel, Michael Mästlin, Cornelius Gemma, Helisaeus Roeslin, Christoph Rothmann, and Johannes Kepler. In the printed version of 1615, the “heretical” authors are mentioned, but without *laudatio* (see the electronic edition of the printed version on the website ECHO. Cultural Heritage Online: <<https://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de>>; consulted on 9 Dec. 2023). See also M.-P. Lerner, “L’entrée de Tycho Brahe chez les Jésuites ou le chant du cygne de Clavius”, in L. Giard (ed.), *Les jésuites à la Renaissance. Système éducatif et production du savoir*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris 1995, pp. 145-85 (pp. 167-70). There could be exceptions: the Jesuit Nicolaus Serarius, of Mainz, not only referred to Kepler in a polemical work against Scaliger but also wanted to publish

problem quoting and discussing the works of Catholic scholars, and even Jesuit scholars like Jose de Acosta, Martin Delrio or Christophorus Clavius. An intervention in the print shop of Tobias Beyer is possible.¹⁴

Second puzzle: the name of the Jesuit. If we can find a few occurrences on the web, the name “Vandervan” remains hopelessly unfindable in the writings produced around 1600 and suggests one of those curious spellings that the historian frequently encounters in the texts of the period, marked by the importance of orality and still fluctuating written forms. It therefore seemed appropriate to direct the inquiry to the *Clementinum*, the Jesuit College in Prague founded by Peter Canisius in 1556.

A study by Karl Adolf Franz Fischer published in 1978 mentions among the professors of the Collegium Pragense a certain “Georgius Vanderboom” (the only name close to the “Vandervan” given by Caspar – note that the first name is also the same: Georgius).¹⁵ Fischer says he was born in Delft around 1579 and taught mathematics in Prague from 1605/1606 to 1610/1611.¹⁶ However, this name, taken up by other historians, such as Mačák and Schuppener,¹⁷ should rather be retained in the form “Vanderboon” or “Van der Boon”. The late form is found in the entry by L. van Miert SJ, for the *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*¹⁸ as well as in the *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua* by W. Audenaert.¹⁹ I did not find any occurrence of the name in Sommervogel’s *Bibliographie de la Compagnie de Jésus*.

The name of the professor of mathematics appears several times in the diary of Fr. Theophilus Cristeccus (1561-1622), rector of the Clementinum from 1606 to 1610.²⁰

a private letter of Kepler in which the mathematicus criticized Scaliger’s reconstruction of the Attic calendar (letter n° 349, Nicolaus Serarius an Kepler, 23.6.1605. *KGW* 15, 219-220). Kepler refused (letter n° 351, Kepler an Caspar Odontius, 5.8.1605. *KGW* 15, 221-224). On the Jesuits’ Machiavellian strategy of using the works of a Protestant (Kepler) to discredit another Protestant (Scaliger), see A. Grafton, “Chronology, Controversy, and Community in the Republic of Letters. The Case of Kepler”, in Id., *Worlds Made by Words. Scholarship and Community in the Modern West*, Harvard U.P., Cambridge [MA]-London 2009, pp. [114]-36 (pp. 126-7).

¹⁴ Tobias Beyer himself or Valentin Am Ende, for example. See *KGW* 4, 98, 18-21 (= ed. 1609, fol. E3v): “Lipsiae Typis Tobiae Beyer. Valentin Am Ende excudebat, Anno M. DC. IX.” Thomas Schürer (1563-1615), the bookseller (*bibliopolas*), is not mentioned in Benzing’s sum completed by Reske, but by Seck, “Johannes Kepler und der Buchdruck” (above, n. 2), p. 642. On Tobias Beyer, fl. 1609-1615 († 1615), and Valentin Am Ende (1557-1614, fl. 1602-1614), see Ch. Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Joseph Benzing*, 2. Aufl., O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 574-5.

¹⁵ K.A.F. Fischer, “Jesuiten-Mathematiker in der deutschen Assistenz bis 1773”, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 47 (1978), p. 159-224, part. p. 182.

¹⁶ Fischer, “Jesuiten-Mathematiker in der deutschen Assistenz bis 1773” (above, n. 15), p. 182 and p. 221a.

¹⁷ K. Mačák – G. Schuppener, *Prager Jesuiten-Mathematik von 1600 bis 1740*, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, Leipzig 2002, p. 210.

¹⁸ L. van Miert in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, A. W. Sijthoff, Leiden 1918, vol. 4, p. 210.

¹⁹ W. Audenaert, *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua (PIBA). A Biographical Dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries, 1542-1773*, [4 vol.], Filosofisch en Theologisch College S.J., Leuven-Heverlee 2000 (vol. 1, p. 132).

²⁰ *Diarium Collegii Societatis Jesu Pragae ad sanctum Clementem 1578-1610*, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, Praha (Bibliotheca Regiae canonicae Strahov-Pragae), DC III 16 (digitized document consulted on November 2022 at <<http://www.manuscriptorium.com>>). On this manuscript, see M. Tošnerová, “Rukopisy předbělohorského období (1526-1620) signatury DA-DE v knihovně Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově”, *Studie o rukopisech* 35 (2002-2004), pp. 115-56 (p. 144, n° 56). On Theophilus Cristeccus (1561?-1622), see A. Fechtnerová, *Rektoři kolejí Tovaryšstva Ježíšova v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku do roku 1773 = Rectores collegiorum S. I. in Bohemia, Moravia ac Silesia usque ad annum MDCCLXXIII iacentum, pars I, Národní knihovna ČR, Praha 1993*, p. 43, and the entry by M. Jacková in L. Storchová (ed.), *Companion to Central and Eastern European Humanism*, Vol. 2, *Czech Lands. Part 1: A-L*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2020, pp. 332-4.

Here are the 19 occurrences found in the manuscript kept in the Strahov monastery library (Prague), respecting the very fluctuating spelling:

- fol. 19v (30.05.1606): “P. Georgius Wanderboon”
 fol. 21r (29.06.1606): “12. P. Georgius Vanderboon Minister Collegij & Mathematicae Profefſor”
 fol. 24v (11.09.1606): “P. Georgius Vanderboon Minister Collegij”
 fol. 28r ([23].01.1607), top: “P. Georgius Vander Boon”
 fol. 28r (02.02.1607), bottom: “P. Georgius WanderBoon Minr Collegij & Profefſor Mathematices”
 fol. 30v (13.03.1607): “P. Minr Georgius Wander Boon”
 fol. 41v (01.01.1608): “P. Georgius Van der Boon”
 fol. 51r (31.07.1608): “P. Georgius WanderBoon Minister Collegij & Profefſor Mathematices”
 fol. 53v (19.09.1608): “P. Georgius WandenBoon”
 fol. 56v (17.11.1608): “P. Georgius WanderBoon”
 fol. 56v (19.11.1608): “P. Georgius WanderBoon”.
 fol. 57r (25.11.1608): “P. VanderBoon”
 fol. 59v (01.01.1609): “P. Georgius VanderBoon”
 fol. 69r (23.04.1609): “P. Georgius VanderBoon”
 fol. 79v (19.11.1609): “P. Georgius VanderBoon”
 fol. 80r (29.11.1609): “P. Georgius WanderBoon”
 fol. 82r ([01].01.1610): “Personæ huius Collegij sunt hæ : 1. P. Theophilus Crystechus Collegij Rector & exhortator coad. form. 2. P. Georgius Vander Boon Minister Collegij, Consultor, Profefſor Mathematicus, Confeſſarius externorum.”
 fol. 93v (29.06.1610): “Renovavent vota sequenter: P. Georgius Vander Boon Collegij Minister.”
 fol. 94r (05.07.1610): “P. WanderBoon confeſſarij”
 (The diary ends with fol. 95v, 14.08.1610).

Georgius Van der Boon is thus the Jesuit with whom Kepler spoke in 1607 about what was in fact a sunspot. In 1607, he was a professor of mathematics - so he may not have been the first Jesuit Kepler met at the Hradčany, but a kind of colleague, a witness for the astronomical phenomenon with a certain credibility. So, Kepler not only corresponded with Jesuit mathematicians such as Paul Guldin, Christoph Scheiner, Johannes Decker, Johann Reinhard Ziegler, Odo Malcotius or Albert Kurz (Curtius)²¹, but, contrary to what Schuppener claims,²² also had direct and personal contact with some of them (or, at least,

²¹ The case of Guldin is examined by G. Schuppener, “Kepler’s Relation to the Jesuits. A Study of his Correspondence with Paul Guldin”, *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 5/1, 1997, pp. 236-44, the case of Ziegler by A. Kraye, *Mathematik im Studienplan der Jesuiten. Die Vorlesung von Otto Cattenius an der Universität Mainz (1610/1611)*, F. Steiner, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 47-55. For the other Jesuits, see Burke-Gaffney SJ, *Kepler and the Jesuits* (above, n. 5), J. Andritsch, “Gelehrtenkreise um Johannes Kepler in Graz”, in P. Urban – B. Sutter (eds.), *Johannes Kepler 1571-1971. Gedenkschrift der Universität Graz*, Leykam, Graz 1975, pp. 159-95, and J. Hübner, *Die Theologie Johannes Keplers zwischen Orthodoxie und Naturwissenschaft*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 1975, pp. 92-9.

²² G. Schuppener, “The Relations between Tycho Brahe and the Jesuits in Prague”, in J.R. Christianson – A. Hadravová – P. Hadrava – M. Šolc (eds.), *Tycho Brahe and Prague. Crossroads of European Science. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the History of Science in the Rudolphine Period*, Prague, 22-25 October 2001, H. Deutsch, Frankfurt am M. 2002, p. 292-301 (see p. 293: “The same fact can be seen in the (not existing) relations between Kepler and the Jesuits in Prague a few years later”). See also G. Schuppener, “Jesuistische

with one of them) during his stay in Prague. From October 1607 to April 1612, Kepler lived “At the French Crown” house, opposite the Clementinum.²³ This geographical proximity possibly encouraged some contacts, although probably very limited, with the Jesuits, who always tried to convert Kepler to the Catholic faith – unsuccessfully.

Appendix 1

Chronological milestones and documents for a biography of Fr. Van der Boon

It would be premature to sketch a biography of Fr. Van der Boon²⁴. However, from the entries by de Guilhermy, Lukács, Fischer, Mačák & Schuppener, van Miert, Audenaert (among others), the following chronological elements, which remain to be verified in the archival founds, can be derived:

In or around 1572, Georg Van der Boon was born in Delft²⁵ from Protestant parents.²⁶ He joined the Society of Jesus in 1596²⁷, on 5 December, in Vienna.²⁸

Astronomie in Prag. Ein Überblick”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Mathematica et Physica* 46.3 (2005), pp. 153-72, part. p. 156: “Soweit sich aus den erhaltenen Archivalien schließen lässt, hatten die Prager Jesuiten offenbar keinen Kontakt zu den bedeutenden Astronomen am kaiserlichen Hof, und zwar weder zu Tycho Brahe noch zu Johannes Kepler, der nachweislich in regem Austausch mit Jesuiten andernorts stand”.

²³ M. Caspar, *Kepler* (above n 3), p. 174; A. Švejda, “Kepler’s four Residences in Prague”, in A. Hadravová – T. J. Mahoney – P. Hadrava (eds.), *Kepler’s Heritage in the Space Age. 400th Anniversary of Astronomia nova*, National Technical Museum, Prague 2010, pp. 81-90 (pp. 88-9). House located at number 4 of the Charles Street, in the Old Town of Prague.

²⁴ Presentation of the Jesuit archives in E. Lamalle SJ, “L’archivio di un grande ordine religioso: l’archivio generale della Compagnia di Gesù”, *Archiva ecclesiae* XXIV-XXV/1 (1981-1982), pp. [89]-120. Preliminary considerations on the Jesuit archives in Prague and Rome from a prosopographical point of view in K. Bobková-Valentová, “Come elaborare la biografia di un gesuita? Rassegna delle fonti di registro dell’ordine, loro conservazione, accessibilità e valore documentario nella prospettiva di una sistematica elaborazione di un database biografico”, *Bollettino dell’Istituto Storico Ceco di Roma* 9 (2014), pp. 116-23.

²⁵ E. de Guilhermy, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus. Assistance de Germanie*, 2^e Série, vol. II, M.-R. Leroy, Paris 1899, p. 441; L. van Miert in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (above, n. 18), p. 210; *Biographische Index van de Benelux...*, samengesteld door W. van der Meer, Bd. 1, *Aa-Dijxboorn*, K.G. Saur, München 1997, p. 159; *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I (1551-1600)*, collegit et edidit L. Lukács S.I., Institutum historicum S.I., Romae 1978, p. 805; P. Begheyn, *Gids voor de geschiedenis van de jezuiten in Nederland 1540-1850. A Guide to the History of the Jesuits in the Netherlands 1540-1850*, Valkhof Pers -Nederlands Instituut voor Jezuit Studies-Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, Nijmegen-Amsterdam-Roma 2006, p. 127; Fischer, “Jesuiten-Mathematiker in der deutschen Assistenz bis 1773” (above, n. 15) and Mačák-Schuppener, *Prager Jesuiten-Mathematik von 1600 bis 1740* (above, n. 17), p. 210, are the only ones to give 1579 as the date of birth. The parish archives of Delft do not seem to have been preserved for the year 1572: <<https://www.stadsarchiefdelft.nl>>. Consulted on 6 November 2023, the Czech database <<http://reholnici.hiu.cas.cz>> gives the date of birth as “[X.1572]” (= October 1572) in square brackets.

²⁶ J. Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae. Pars 4, volumen primum... 1633-1653*, Typis academicis per Joannem Georgium Schneider factorem, Pragae 1759, p. 352; de Guilhermy, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus* (above, n. 25), p. 441.

²⁷ Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae. Pars 4, volumen primum* (above, n. 26), p. 352

²⁸ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I (1551-1600)* (above, n. 25), p. 805: A 25

From December 1596 to 1598, he was in the *domus probationis Brunae* (Brno): *Novitii anni 1596...* Georgius Wanderboon *hollandus, 5 decembris*.²⁹

In 1599-1600 he was *Olomutii et Viennae praec[eptor] Gram[maticae]*.³⁰

From 1601 to 1605, he studied at the Jesuit College in Graz:

in May 1601, among the *logici*³¹

in 1602, among the *physici*³²

in 1603, in convict³³

in 1604, among the *studiosi nostri theologiae*³⁴

in 1605, he was one of the *theologi secundi anni*³⁵

in 1605, he was ordained in Graz.³⁶

From 1605/1606, he was active at the Clementinum in Prague.³⁷ According to Lukács, the following are the successive titles he took at the Clementinum:³⁸

1606: P. Georgius Wanderboon, *professor mathematicas*.³⁹

1607: P. Georgius Vanderboon, *minister collegii, professor matheseos*.⁴⁰

1608: P. Georgius Van der Boon, *minister, professor matemeseos, confessarius templi*.⁴¹

1609: Fr. Georgius Vander Boon, *minister et professor mathematicas*.⁴²

1610: Fr. Georgius Van der Boon, *minister collegii, professor matemeseos et confessarius templi germanorum et belgarum, consultor rectoris*.⁴³

[= ARSI, vol. 25, *Vota professorum*], 140r; Fischer, "Jesuiten- Mathematiker in der deutschen Assistenz bis 1773" (above, n. 15), p. 221a.

²⁹ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I* (above, n. 25), p. 580; J. Vercruysse, "Nederlandse jezuiten aan de wieg van de Moravische universiteiten", *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. C, Řada historická / Studia minorum Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis. C, Series historica*. R4, Sonderheft, 1999, pp. 187-98, part. p. 192.

³⁰ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I* (above, n. 25), p. 805.

³¹ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I* (above, n. 25), p. 805; *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (1601-1640), collegit et edidit L. Lukács S.I., Institutum historicum S.I., Romae 1982, p. 4.

³² *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (above, n. 31), p. 16.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁶ See the *Catalogi breves seu annui* for the year 1605 [= ARSI, *Assistentia Austriae*, vol. 123, 81r-88v], according to the *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I* (above, n. 25), pp. 24* and 33*.

³⁷ Fischer, "Jesuiten-Mathematiker in der deutschen Assistenz bis 1773" (above, n. 15), pp. 182 and 221a; *Diarium Collegii Societatis Jesu Pragae ad sanctum Clementem 1578-1610* (above, n. 20), fol. 19v sq.

³⁸ For the signification of the different functions in the general organigram of the Company, see A. Demoustier SJ, "La distinction des fonctions et l'exercice du pouvoir selon les règles de la Compagnie de Jésus", in L. Giard (ed.), *Les jésuites à la Renaissance. Système éducatif et production du savoir*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris 1995, pp. [3]-33.

³⁹ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (above, n. 31), p. 60.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

- 1611: Fr. Georgius Vanderboon, *procurator collegii, confessarius germanorum*.⁴⁴
 1611 (30 January): *coadjutor spiritualis*.⁴⁵
 1612: Fr. Georgius Vonderbon, *procurator collegii, consultor rectoris, confessarius germanorum ordinarius, visitat infirmos et convertendos*.⁴⁶
 1613: Fr. Georgius Vonderboon, *procurator collegii, consultor rectoris, confessarius ordinarius germanorum*.⁴⁷
 1614: Fr. Georgius Wonderbon, *procurator collegii, consultor rectoris, confessarius germanorum ordinarius*.⁴⁸
 1615: Fr. Georgius Vonderbon, *procurator collegii, confessarius germanorum, consultor rectoris*.⁴⁹
 1616: Fr. Georgius Von der Boon, *procurator collegii, confessarius externorum, consultor rectoris*.⁵⁰
 1617: Fr. Georgius Vanderboon, *procurator collegii, rectoris consultor, confessarius templi*.⁵¹
 1618: Fr. Georgius Vanderboon, *procurator collegii, consultor rectoris, fabricae p[r]aefectus*.⁵²
 1618 (23 May): Defenestration of Prague. Fr. Vanderboon was present in the Castle at the time of the events.⁵³
 1618 (6 June): Fr. Vanderboon's flight to Bavaria.⁵⁴
 1618 (9 June): Decree expelling the Jesuits from Bohemia.⁵⁵
 1619 (26 August): Frederick V of the Palatinate, a Calvinist, elected as the King of Bohemia.
 1619 (4 November): Coronation of Frederick in St Vitus Cathedral in Prague.
 1620: Fr. Vanderboon in Padua (Pataviae).⁵⁶

⁴⁴ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (above, n. 31), p. 115.

⁴⁵ *ARSI, Assistentia Germaniae*, vol. 60 [Vota *coadjutorum spiritualium*], 609r (cf. *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I* [above, n. 25], p. 13^{*}).

⁴⁶ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (above, n. 31), p. 127.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵³ A. Kroess, SJ, "Příspevky k dějinám vypuzení jesuitů z Čech r. 1618", *Sborník historického kroužku* 8.1-2 (1907), pp. 162-72; A. Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Bd. I, A. Opitz, Wien 1910, pp. 917-32; F. Gui, *I Gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema. Alle origini della guerra dei trent'anni*, F. Angeli, Milano 1989, pp. 226-37.

⁵⁴ Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Bd. I (above, n. 53), p. 931-932.

⁵⁵ Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Bd. I (above, n. 53), p. 940 and p. 949; Gui, *I Gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema* (above, n. 53), pp. 30-43 and pp. 414-16 for the text of the decree ("Proscriptio Patrum Societatis Iesu ex Regno Bohemiae", 9 June 1618; originally published in: *De statu Bohemico perturbato, hoc est de Belli bohemo-germanici initio...*, curante M. Lon [= Michael Caspar Lundorp], apud J.F. Weissium, Francofurti 1621, pp. 37-9).

⁵⁶ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] I* (above, n. 25), p. 805. The Jesuits were expelled from Venice on 6 May 1606 and from the Republic of Venice on 8 May 1606. Their schools were closed. Expelled from Bohemia in 1618, Fr. Vanderboon may have been sent to negotiate the reopen of Jesuit College in Padua or the return of the Jesuits, which was not effective until 1657. See J.P. Donnelly SJ, "The Jesuit College at Padua: Growth, Suppression, Attempts at Restoration", *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 51 (1982), pp. 45-78; G. Signorotto, "Il rientro dei gesuiti a Venezia: la trattativa (1606-1657)", in M. Zanardi (a. c. di), *I gesuiti e Venezia*.

1620 (8 November): Battle of White Mountain. Frederick fled to Breslau.

1620 (22 November): Return of the Jesuits to the Clementinum.⁵⁷

1622: Fr. Georgius Vonderbon, *procurator collegii, confessarius ordinarius externorum, consultor*.⁵⁸

1623: Fr. Georgius Vonderboon, *procurator collegii, consultor et confessarius externorum*.⁵⁹

1623 (23 September): Creation of the Province of Bohemia by the 6th Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Muzio (Mutius) Vitelleschi.⁶⁰

1623: Fr. Vanderboon, first procurator of the Province of Bohemia.⁶¹

1627: Installation in the professed house of Saint-Nicolas in Malá Strana.⁶²

1636, 16th of November: death of Fr. Van der Boon in the professed house of Prague.⁶³

According to Ludovicus van Miert in his notice of the *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, “he was buried in the crypt under the Maria Chapel, which he had erected and decorated”.⁶⁴ The “Maria Chapel” is the Italian Chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Prague (“Vlašská kaple Nanebevzetí Panny Marie”), located in the Charles Street (Karlova ulice), in the building of the Clementinum. Alfonso Visconti, then Apostolic *nunzio* in Prague, laid the foundation stone⁶⁵ on 23 July 1590. The chapel, famous for its oval plan, was built

Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù. Atti del convegno di studi, Venezia, 2-5 ottobre 1990, Giunta regionale del Veneto-Gregoriana Libreria Editrice, Padova 1994, pp. 385-433, and P.F. Grendler, “Education in the Republic of Venice”, in E.R. Dursteler (ed.), *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2013 (Brill’s Companions to European History 4), pp. 675-99.

⁵⁷ I. Čornejová, *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo. Jezuité v Čechách*, Hart, Praha 2002, p. 95 : “Klementinští jezuité se do Prahy vrátili 22. listopadu 1620.”

⁵⁸ *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (above, n. 31), p. 249.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁶⁰ T.V. Bílek, *Dějiny řádu Tovaryšstva Ježíšova a působení jeho vůbec*, a v zemích Království Českého zvláště, F. Bačkovský, Praha 1896, p. 496. On Muzio Vitelleschi, see *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 99 (2020), pp. 743-7 (S. Negruzzo). A symposium was held at the *Catholic Theological Faculty* of the Charles University from 21 to 23 September 2023 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the creation of the province (“400 aniversarium provinciae Bohemiae Societatis Jesu 1623 - 1773 - 2023”).

⁶¹ de Guilhermy, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus* (above, n. 25), p. 441; cf. Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae. Pars 4, volumen primum* (above, n. 26), p. 353; A. Kroess SJ, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Bd. II.1, Mayer, Wien 1927, p. 74 and 95; *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I. [Tomus] II* (1601-1640), collegit et edidit L. Lukács S.I., Institutum historicum S.I., Romae 1982, p. 2^o.

⁶² J.F. Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragense continens urbium pragenarum....*, Typis & impensis Wolfgango Wickhart, Vetero Pragae 1723, p. 432; C. Kauba, *Analecta historica de scholis Pragae Regiae Minoris latinis ante et post erectam universitatis*, Typis Joannis Spurny, Pragae 1830, p. 33: “Anno 1627 domus professae incolae primi fuerunt PP. Georgius van der Boon...”.

⁶³ Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae. Pars 4, volumen primum* (above, n. 26), p. 353: “die 16. Novembris horâ octavâ matutinâ”; de Guilhermy, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus* (above, n. 25), p. 441; J. Fejér SJ, *Defuncti primi saeculi Societatis Jesu, 1540-1640. Pars I, Assistentia Italiae et Germaniae (cum Gallia usque ad 1607)*, Curia Generalitia S.J.-Institutum historicum S.J., Romae 1982, p. 260: “Vanderboon, Georgius, P (Boh.), Pragae 16 XI 1636 (Hist. Soc. 45 [=ARSI, *Catalogus defunctorum S. I.*, 1629-1640]), 35v.”

⁶⁴ van Miert, in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (above, n. 18), p. 210 : “Hij werd begraven in den grafkelder onder de Maria-kapel, die hij had opgericht en versierd.”

⁶⁵ On Alfonso Visconti (1552-1608), see *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. 2. Abteilung, Die Nuntiatur am Kaiserhofe. 3. Bd., Die Nuntien in Prag : Alfonso Visconti, 1589-1591. Camillo Caetano, 1591-1592*, hrsg. von J. Schweizer, F. Schöningh, Paderborn 1919, pp. XVI-XXXIII.

between 1590 and 1597⁶⁶ and consecrated on the feast of the Assumption on 9 August 1600, by Filippo Spinelli,⁶⁷ then Apostolic *nunzio* at the court of Rudolf II. Today property of the Italian State, it was restored and partially reopened to the public in 2017.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, van Miert's notice is imprecise, not to say erroneous. Adjacent to the Maria Chapel, St. Salvator Church ("Kostel Nejsvětějšího Salvátora")⁶⁹ houses a kind of cellar called "crypt" with many Jesuit tombs: this is probably where the tomb of Fr. Van der Boon was located.⁷⁰ To the best of my knowledge, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773,⁷¹ the crypt was cleared out and all the remains placed in a mass grave; at present, it is completely empty.⁷²

Post scriptum: There is a facsimile of Georgius Van der Boon's signature in a collection commemorating the Peace of Westphalia published in 1849.⁷³ Documents written by him, to him, or mentioning him, are probably kept in Rome (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), in Prague (Czech National Library, located in the Clementinum building; National Archives of the Czech Republic) and in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), which are waiting to be exploited.⁷⁴ Fr. Van der Boon is still waiting for his biographer.

⁶⁶ See the *Recueil... contenant tous les Plans originaux des Maisons, Eglises qui appartenoint à la Société des Jésuites avant leur abolition*. [Assistance de Germanie], tome XI, Hd-4d, 168 (plan dated 1600-1601, held in the Mazarine library, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, and digitalized on the Gallica website: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8448727q>>); notice in J. Vallery-Radot, *Le recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, Institutum historicum S. I., Roma 1960, p. 317 (n° 1033). See also J. Staňková – S. Voděra, *Praha. Gotická a barokní*, Academia, Praha 2001, pp. 89 and 98. Short history of the Chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in: P. Oulíková, *The Klementinum. A Guide* [translation by K. Millerová and S. M. Miller], National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague 2006, pp. 65-6, and D. Borghese, "La Cappella degli Italiani a Praga", in F. Monni (ed.), *La cappella italiana dell'assunzione della Vergine Maria. Messa in sicurezza, consolidamento strutturale, restauro architettonico. Vlašská kape Nanebevzetí Panny Marie*, Aracne, Roma 2018, pp. 19-31.

⁶⁷ On Filippo Spinelli (1566-1616), see the entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 93 (2018), pp. 631-2 (V. Fiorelli).

⁶⁸ https://ambpraga.esteri.it/ambasciata_praga/en/ambasciata/la_sede (consulted on 24 August 2023).

⁶⁹ Located on Křižovnické Square, near the Charles Bridge; see P. Oulíková, *The Klementinum. A guide* (above, n. 66), pp. 63-5.

⁷⁰ See the Wikipedia page in Czech about the Kostel Nejsvětějšího Salvátora (Praha), consulted on 24 August 2023 (I underline): "Pod kupolí kostela je v podlaze ošlapaný kámen s letopočtem 1674 a českým nápisem na kovové destičce, kryje kryptu jezuitů s několika desítkami rakví v zazděných hrobových výklenkách. Jsou zde mj. pohřbeni Václav Hájek z Libočan, jezuité Jan Tanner, Antonín Koniáš nebo Jiří Plachý-Ferus" ("Under the dome of the church, there is a worn stone with the year 1674 and a Czech inscription on a metal plate in the floor, covering the Jesuit crypt with several tens of coffins in walled grave niches. Among those buried here are Václav Hájek of Libočany, Jesuits Jan Tanner, Antonín Koniáš and Jiří Plachý-Ferus").

⁷¹ On 21 July 1773, Pope Clement XIV issued a brief entitled *Dominus ac redemptor noster* abolishing the Order. On 17 September 1773, Maria Theresa proclaimed the confiscation of all movable and immovable property of the Jesuits. On 7 August 1814, Pope Pius VII restored the Jesuit Order and fully rehabilitated it.

⁷² I owe this information to Mr Martin Staněk (Prague).

⁷³ Th. O. Weigel, *Album von Autographen zur Zweihundertjährigen Gedächtnisfeier (am 24. Oktober 1848) des westphälischen Friedensschlusses*, T.O. Weigel, Leipzig 1849, pp. 51-2 (table 14, autograph signature no. 315: receipt of a cash donation of 200 Reichsthaler from Albrecht von Wallenstein, signed on 19 December 1624). Wallenstein, a supporter of the Jesuit order, was in contact with Fr. Vanderboon: see A. Ernstberger, *Hans de Witte, Finanzmann Wallensteins*, F. Steiner, Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 315-17, 403, 472.

⁷⁴ Published by Kroess, "Přispěvky k dějinám vypuzení jezuitů z Čech r. 1618" (above, n. 53) and Id., "Přispěvky k dějinám vypuzení jezuitů z Čech r. 1618", *Sborník historického kroužku* 9.1 (1908), pp. 9-27), a letter

Appendix 2

Two biographical entries on Fr. Georgius Van der Boon by Guilhermy and van Miert

Esteban de Guilhermy, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus. Assistance de Germanie*, 2^e Série (M.-R. Leroy, Paris 1899), vol. II, pp. 441-2:

Le seizième jour de novembre de l'an 1636, mourut dans la maison professe de Prague le P. Georges Van der Boon, né à Delft en Hollande, de parents hérétiques. Venu de bonne heure en Bohême, il y fut converti par les Pères de la Compagnie et, quelques années après, se joignit à eux. Les fonctions de Ministre et de Procureur se partagèrent presque toute sa vie religieuse. Quand la Bohême se détacha de l'Autriche en 1623, pour former une Province à part, le P. Van der Boon en fut nommé le premier Procureur. C'était la triste époque de la guerre de Trente ans et des invasions suédoises. Deux fois, pendant qu'il était à Prague, les Jésuites furent chassés de Bohême et leurs biens livrés au pillage. Au milieu de ces calamités, quand les proscrits ne pouvaient plus attendre que de Dieu, semblait-il, les choses nécessaires à la vie, le P. Van der Boon pourvut à tous leurs besoins avec une sollicitude admirable et un succès qui tenait du prodige. Son protecteur spécial était l'illustre évêque de Noyon, saint Éloi, dont le culte était très répandu à Prague, depuis que le roi de France, Charles V, avait fait présent à cette ville de plusieurs reliques insignes de ce grand serviteur de Dieu. Il recourait à lui dans tous ses embarras et assurait n'avoir jamais vu ses espérances trompées. Le soin des affaires temporelles n'empêchait point le P. Van der Boon de travailler aussi au salut des âmes ; sans parler des ministères habituels de la confession et de la visite des malades, il se livrait avec zèle à la conversion des hérétiques ; il en ramena plusieurs centaines à la vraie foi. Il négligeait moins encore sa propre perfection. Nul n'était plus fidèle observateur de la règle et de la vie commune, et plus uni à Dieu. Sa dévotion à la sainte Vierge était si tendre et si active que l'historien de la Province de Bohême a pu écrire de lui qu'il était tout à Marie, ex toto Parthenius. Le P. Van der Boon mourut à l'âge de soixante-quatre ans, dont il avait passé quarante dans la Compagnie.

Ludovicus van Miert SJ, "Boon, Georgius van der", *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 4 (1918), p. 210:

BOON (Georgius van der), geb. te Delft omstreeks 1572, overl. te Praag 16 Nov. 1636. Uit protestantsche ouders geboren, kwam hij op jeugdigen leeftijd naar Bohemen en werd tot den katholieken godsdienst bekeerd door de Jezuieten, bij wien hij zich, 24 jaar oud, aansloot. Het grootste deel van zijn volgend leven was hij met het beheer der goederen zijner orde in Bohemen belast, en bewees in die betrekking de gewichtigste diensten,

dated 9 June 1618 is mentioned by Gui, *I Gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema* (above, n. 53), p. 37 and p. 227 (= *ARSI, Boh.* 192). V. Schulz, *Korrespondence Jesuitů Provincie České z let 1584-1770: z archivu Musea království českého, V Praze*, Nákladem. České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění 1900, p. 12, published another letter written by Fr. Vanderboon in 1622. A digital edition of the *Litterae annuae provinciae Bohemiae SJ* is actually in preparation with the support of the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences (see the webpage <<http://reholnici.hiu.cas.cz/litteraeannue>>; consulted on 22 Nov. 2023).

zoowel aan afzonderlijke huizen als aan de geheele Boheemsche orde-provincie, die in 1623 van de Oostenrijksche provincie werd afgescheiden, en welker eerste procurator of zaakverzorger hij werd. Tegelijk werd hem de zorg toevertrouwd voor de tijdelijke aangelegenheden van het St. Clemenscollege en het professenhuis te Praag, dat in 1623 was begonnen en zijn vestiging en instandhouding vooral te danken had aan B.'s ijver en bedrevenheid. De rampen van den 30-jarigen oorlog en de invallen der Zweden maakten zijn taak zeer zwaar. Tweemaal gedurende zijn verblijf te Praag, in 1618 en 1631, werden de Jezuïeten verdreven en hun huizen geplunderd, en slechts met de grootste moeite kon hij zijn ordebroeders het noodzakelijke bezorgen. In eerstgenoemd jaar werden in zijn nabijheid de twee stadhouders door de oproerige Stenden uit de vensters van den burg geworpen. Uit het verhaal van dien opstand, dat hij als ooggetuige te boek stelde, blijkt hoe hoog hij als zielzorger en raadsman bij den katholieken adel stond aangeschreven. Doch ook de armen vonden in hem een trouwen helper. Honderden andersdenkenden bracht hij tot de katholieke Kerk terug. Hij werd begraven in den grafkelder onder de Maria-kapel, die hij had opgericht en versierd. Het bovengenoemd verhaal van den 'Fenstersturz' is uitgegeven in *Sborník historického kroužku VIII* (1907) en IX en gebruikt door Kroess in zijn *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Wien 1910) I, 486 v., 917-32; zie ook: Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemicae (Pragae 1747-59)* II, 7; IV, 352; de Guilhermy, *Ménologe d.l. Comp. de Jésus, Assistance de Germanie, 2^e Série* (Paris 1899) II, 441.