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BENEDICT DE SOXO'S *CLAVES JURIS* – THE FIRST LAW TEXTBOOK IN VILNIUS

Abstract. Benedict de Soxo, who is sometimes considered one of the best rectors of Vilnius, is the author of a treatise entitled *Claves juris*, published in 1648. It was the first textbook on the study of law in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, studied by candidates preparing for *utrisque iuris* doctorates.

The aim of this article is to familiarise contemporary readers with the content of *Claves juris*. This will not only allow them to learn about the work of the rector of the Vilnius Academy, but also to assess the scientific value of the textbook. The actual content of the work consists of a series of treatises (chapters and subchapters) entitled *Claves*.

The Spanish professor composed *Claves juris* in such a way that canon law took up more space than Roman (civil) law. The sections devoted to *Corpus Iuris Civilis Romanorum* were constructed in the form of questions and answers. In this part of the work, the rector of the Vilnius Academy cited only works created as part of the Justinian codification: *Digesta*, *Institutions*, *Justinian Code* and *Authenticum* – a private collection of Novels from 535–556 AD.

Keywords: *Claves juris*, Benedict de Soxo, canon law, Roman (civil) law, laws of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, interpretation of law.

1. Introduction

Currently there are many textbooks on Roman law on the book market in Poland (Zabłocka 2013: 17). In recent years, they have primarily been subject to improvements and additions. In the 1990s, new textbooks on Roman private law were written in almost every academic center (Zabłocka, 2002: 11). In addition, since the 1980s, there has been a breakthrough and greater interest in public law. Textbooks on Roman public law are a complete novelty (Zabłocka 2013: 18).

Benedict de Soxo, who is sometimes considered one of Vilnius' best rectors (Baliński, 1862: 147; Petrani, 1961: 201; Tarkowski, 2015: 28), wrote

a treatise titled *Claves juris* published in 1648¹. It would therefore be reasonable to take a closer look at this presumably first law textbook in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Benedict de Soxo was associated, both academically and organizationally, with the law faculty, becoming head of the canon law department (Niczyporuk, 2025: 197). When he held the university's highest office – that of the rector – the law faculty was established, with two departments of canon law and two of Roman (civil) law². Benedict de Soxo, being an active member of the university's community, wrote a treatise intended for young people studying law.

The purpose of this article is to familiarize the modern reader with the publication *Claves juris*. Due to the content of the article, the treatise, which is intended for young people studying law, will be subjected to a partial analysis allowing to assess the scientific value of the work of the Vilnius rector.

In view of the above, the following research hypothesis was formulated: Benedict de Soxo, during his tenure as rector of the Vilnius Academy, supported the newly established faculty of law organizationally and academically by writing a textbook for the study of law for the newly established faculty.

In connection with this hypothesis, two research problems were identified that required analysis.

First, it was necessary to verify what were Benedict de Soxo's aims that resulted in the writing of a textbook intended for students.

In addition, it was necessary to analyze another research problem, i.e. to determine whether the treatise *Claves juris*, published in 1648, is written at an adequate scientific and teaching level.

The solution of the formulated research problems and the verification of the hypothesis are based on the historical and legal method and the dogmatic and legal method, which allow a scientific analysis of the preserved manuscripts and university documents, as well as the following methods: functional and teleological.

2. Benedict de Soxo and his university career

Benedict (Benito) de Soxo (Sojo), of Spanish descent, was born in 1587 in Baeza, near Granada. In his native Spain, he studied philosophy in Seville (1605–1608), earning a master's degree in liberal sciences and philosophy. He then completed his higher studies in theology in Granada from 1608 to 1612. In Spain, he began his research and teaching activities as a pro-

fessor at the Jesuit College in Cordoba³. In Spanish universities, Benedict de Soxo taught rhetoric for 3 years and philosophy for 4 years, and also trained students in theology (Bieliński, 1900: 26). However, having a missionary vocation, he wanted to become a missionary and abandon his scientific and teaching activities. Around 1620, he was to begin missionary work in Japan after receiving permission from the Jesuit Order's general Mutius Vitelleschi. However, the bloody persecution of Christians in that country caused Benedict de Soxo to join the Jesuits in Lithuania⁴.

Benedict de Soxo performed teaching duties as a professor of scholastic theology, continuing the tradition of Spanish professors in Vilnius (Grzebień, 2002: 24). It was at the theological school, in the presence of the noblest guests, after a solemn public debate, that he was promoted to doctor of theology (*sacrae theologiae doctor*) in September 1625. (Balčienė, Plečkaitis & Kupčinskaitė 1997: 84; Plečkaitis, 1979: 39)⁵.

After his promotion, Benedict de Soxo, as a lecturer of scholastic theology conducted his intensive scholarly and teaching activities until 1631 as a respected and recognized academic teacher (Grzebień, 2002: 25). He was also personally involved in the training of academic staff by being a dissertation supervisor (Nowak, 1970: 428–429; Darowski 1979: 263–275).

Since the establishment of the Faculty of Law, he was head of the Department of Canon Law (Niczyporuk, 2022: 102). One may doubt whether the ailing rector of the Vilnius Academy actually taught students at the newly established department. There are many indications that he was only the head of the department of canon law, with no teaching duties (Niczyporuk, 2025: 197).

For about 20 years, Benedict de Soxo performed the duties of the chancellor of the Academy. Initially, in 1628–1629 he bore the official title of chancellor and from 1631 – the title of vice chancellor. Until 1630, a member of the Jesuit order had always been appointed to that university office, and then the title was reserved for the bishops of Vilnius. In view of the above, a professor “responsible for the course of study” was appointed to the post of vice chancellor (pro-chancellor) (Rabikauskas, 1996: 30)⁶. Benedict de Soxo served as chancellor until 1641 (Dworzaczek, 1967–1968: 270–272), and in 1643 he became rector of the Vilnius Academy, which under his management experienced one of the greatest periods of its history.

Within the walls of *Academia Vilnensis*, he hosted King Ladislaus IV with his wife Cecilia Renata of Habsburg (Grzebień, 2002: 24–25; Załęski, 1901: 699–700; Piechnik, 1983: 160–161; Ochmann-Staniszevska, 2006: 141). Benedict de Soxo contributed to the establishment of the Law Faculty of the

Vilnius Academy. Like many of his predecessors, he also performed chancellor's duties, combining them with those of rector (Dworzaczek, 1967–1968: 270–272).

Benedict de Soxo contributed to the establishment of the Faculty of Law at the Vilnius Academy by arranging all the organizational formalities associated with the establishment of the new faculty (Niczyporuk, Kołodko, 2020: 627–636)⁷. The Rector, along with Provincial Jan Grużewski and Mikołaj Łęczycki, attended the Eighth General Congregation (November 21, 1645 – April 14, 1646) in Rome (Piechnik, 1983: 26–27), where the new General of the Jesuit Order Vincent Carafa (Caraffa) was elected – Grzebień, 2004: 84. Due to his poor health, he resigned from the position of rector⁸. After his tenure as rector ended, Benedict de Soxo again became vice chancellor (1646–1649) – Piechnik, 1983: 242. Even the paralysis he suffered in 1650 did not interrupt his activities as a confessor and advisor to the rector (Grzebień, 2002: 25).

Benedict de Soxo was associated with the Vilnius Academy continuously until 1655 (Piechnik, 1983: 265). In that year, like most Jesuit monks and professors, he had to leave the Vilnius Academy and go abroad into exile. Benedict de Soxo died on December 18, 1658 in Antwerp (Rostowski, 1877: 412; Bieliński, 1900: 156).

3. Reasons for writing *Claves juris*

Claves juris is not the only sample of the Spanish scholar's scientific work. During his work at the Vilnius Academy, he wrote a treatise titled *Praecepta grammaticae linguae Polonicae*, intended for foreigners working in Poland. It is likely that the Polish grammar handbook never appeared in print, although it is believed that it was written in 1636 (Rostowski, 1877: 456; Grzebień, 2002: 24). The reasons why Benedict de Soxo wrote this treatise are unknown, and one may also have doubts about the author's intentions in writing *Claves juris*, a sizable work addressed to students of the Law Faculty of the Vilnius Academy (Niczyporuk, 2019: 163–165).

Ludwik Piechnik believed that the work was written because the Spanish Jesuit performed the function of *resolutor casum* and the treatise was to be a teaching aid. This author based his theory on the fact that Benedict de Soxo had already wrote publications on various current problems of moral theology and ecclesiastical law and presented them to professors and students of the *Alma Mater*. Ludwik Piechnik believed that *Claves ju-*

ris would also serve as a teaching aid, with similar content, intended for students of the Faculty of Law. In his opinion, Benedict de Soxo wrote the treatise with the intention to give it to a faculty where he did not teach (Piechnik, 1984: 176).

Ludwik Piechnik's views would have to be compared with the intentions of the author of *Claves juris*, which he wrote on the back of the title page *Ad lectorem*⁹:

Cum Illustrissimus Dominus Casimirus Leo Sapieha, Procancellarius Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, Slonimensis, Volpensis, Luboszanensis, etc. etc. Gubernator, Thesaurus Scientiarum, Artiumque Liberalium Almae Academiae Vlnensis, fundata Iuris utriusque prudentia, liberaliter adauxerit: non abs re esse arbitror, cum hasce Iuris Claves Academicis eiusdem Iuris Auditoribus publice porrigo, quibus sibi utcumque studendi viam aperire, et aliquam Iurisprudentiae cognitionem comparare possint. Accipe igitur, Lector, et utere feliciter, nec subirascere, quaeso, Typographo, qui foliorum numeris abstinens.

“Since Honorable Kazimierz Lew Sapieha, vice chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, starosta¹⁰ of Slonim, Wołpa, Lubcz, etc., etc. having founded the department of both laws, generously increased the treasury of sciences and liberal arts of the Vilnius Academy, I think it will be useful if I publicly offer to the students of law at the Academy these *Keys to law*¹¹, with the help of which they could open the way to study and gain some knowledge of jurisprudence. Accept them, therefore, dear Reader, and use them successfully, and please do not be angry with the Printer, who was restrained in numbering the pages.”

Benedict de Soxo undoubtedly created a work intended for young people studying law at the Law Faculty of the Vilnius Academy. This was to be his contribution to the development of this organizational unit of the Academy, which was established thanks to the involvement of Kazimierz Lew Sapieha (Niczyporuk, Kołodko 2020: 672). It was the vice chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who allocated adequate funds for this purpose (Łukaszewicz 1851: 24–26). The founder, Kazimierz Lew Sapieha, donated the funds to then-rector Benedict de Soxo in cash so that four professors could be paid from the interest obtained for this sum. The vice chancellor also pledged another sum of money and appropriate land grants. The founder also designated the Poczajowice estate in the Orsza District to ensure adequate material security for the law faculty. The income from this estate made it possible to employ four professors and build a house for

lay lecturers and new premises for the future faculty (Piechnik, 1984: 176–177, Niczyporuk, 2014: 19). Kazimierz Lew Sapieha not only provided material resources to the Law Faculty of the Vilnius Academy, but also acted as an intermediary in bringing future lecturers to Vilnius (Niczyporuk, 2025: 193).

The founder and protector of the Faculty, Kazimierz Lew Sapieha, cared not only about the outstanding academic staff teaching there, but also about the development of the faculty. This is evidenced by a letter of gratitude addressed to the vice chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the professors and officials of the Vilnius Academy (Tyla, 2001: 299–309)¹². Also, Benedict de Soxo wanted more than just organizational support for the Academy's new administrative unit. By writing a substantial work intended for the students of the Law Faculty of the Vilnius Academy (Niczyporuk, 2019: 165–167), he undoubtedly supported the new faculty of the Vilnius Academy scientifically.

4. *Claves juris* and its scientific value

The Spanish scholar wrote a work whose proper content consists of a series of treatises (chapters and subchapters) titled *Claves*. Even a cursory reading of this publication, or even just its table of contents, proves that it is at least a teaching aid in the form of a compendium of comparative knowledge in the field of law.

Since the culmination of legal education was a doctorate in both Roman (civil) and canon law, and the *utriusque iuris auditor* was required to be *Artium et Philosophiae Magistro*, Benedict de Soxo, on the pages of his work, cited definitions and philosophical concepts without discussing them more extensively¹³. It should be pointed out that master's degrees in liberal sciences and philosophy were awarded to the more talented graduates of the faculty of philosophy (Plečkaitis 1979: 31–32), who then studied law and prepared *utriusque iuris* doctorates (Niczyporuk, 2018). The degree of *atrium liberalium et philosophiae magister* was held in high esteem among university graduates and was considered as equal to the doctorate awarded as the culmination of legal or theological studies (Niczyporuk, 2004: 19).

Thus, law students were familiar with aspects of natural philosophy, metaphysics, and cosmology. In the faculty of philosophy, they explored logic, which dealt with concepts, judgments, and reasoning (Piechnik, 1984: 122). When describing legal institutions, Benedict de Soxo referred to philosophical views on the matter.

In quo distinguitur¹⁴ Iurisprudentia a Philosophia et Theologia morali, quae immediate agunt de actibus hominis internis, in quibus bonitas, aut malitia moralis praecipue consistit¹⁵.

Thus, philosophy provided a kind of reference point and made it possible to understand legal concepts.

Benedict de Soxo began his substantive argument with the first key to law namely *Ad naturam et definitionem Iurisprudentiae*. According to the Spanish scholar, jurisprudence is the knowledge of laws cognizable by the senses (*leges sensibiles*), as consistent with the intent of the legislator and reason. Benedict de Soxo believed that the intention of the legislator (*mens legislatoris*) was the soul of law (*anima legis*) and without conformity to reason (*conformitas ad rationem*) there can be no true law¹⁶. People proficient in law participate in the creation of *lex*, which had to have the characteristic of being up-to-date. In addition to statutes, the Spanish scholar recognized the existence of unwritten, eternal, natural laws created by customary law and the law of nations (*ius gentium*). This law was supposed to represent the ancient wisdom and be an expression of natural reason (*ratio naturalis*). The science of law continues to deal with the issue of natural law. The foundation for solving this issue was laid by ancient Greek philosophy, and the concept of natural law (*ius naturale*) was not strange to Roman jurists (Koschembahr-Łyskowski, 1930: 3). At the time of Benedict de Soxo, the issue had not lost its relevance. Therefore, scholars of that period resorted to Roman law or canon law, recognizing their principles as principles of natural law.

In the pages *Claves juris*, the Spanish scholar discussed concepts, divisions, as well as the sources of canon law and civil law. The Spanish scholar's arguments about the concept of civil law (*ius civile*) can be described as interesting. He presented three approaches to this issue, which testify to the comprehensive approach of the author of *Claves juris* to the concept of private law. According to Benedict de Soxo, civil law (*ius civile*) can be understood imprecisely as any statute within the scope of civil law (*lex civilis*). The Spanish scholar draws attention to the concept of *ius civile* understood strictly and commonly considered to be all *leges*, *constitutiones*, *dispositiones* and *decisiones*, collected together as coming from the imperial authority and contained in the volumes called the Collection of Civil Law (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*). According to Benedict de Soxo, civil law in this sense and in contrast to other sources was usually quoted with the additions "imperial" (*Caesarei vel Imperialis*), "universal," "ancient," or "Roman." However, in his view, a broad understanding of *ius civile* is appropriate.

Civil law, understood in the broadest sense, should include all *leges*, *constitutiones*, *leges pragmaticae*, and *statuta*, both those included in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis Romanorum* and those existing outside it. In this group, the Spanish scholar included sources of *ius civile* derived from the civil authority (*potestas civilis*), namely popes (*potestas Pontificum*), as those who are lords (*Domini*) over their own temporal possessions as well as those of emperors. However, civil law, understood in this broadest sense, should include law not only coming from the rulers of ancient Rome and from the legislative act of kings, dukes, margraves, counts, and other rulers. In addition, he also included in this group the laws of the “republics” and other communities with the jurisdiction to pass laws (*legislativa Iurisdictio*). It is civil law, understood most broadly, that was discussed by the Spanish professor in the pages of *Claves juris*.

With reference to the law of the *Res Publica Utriusque Nationis*, the Spanish professor understood the term *de iure civili* to mean the laws of the ancient Romans and *Iuris Civilis in communi Regni Poloniae*¹⁷. On the other hand, the sources of private law of the Kingdom of Poland that Benedict de Soxo pointed to were royal law, statutes, acts, constitutions¹⁸, and in particular three Lithuanian statutes (Bardach, 1984), Saxon law¹⁹, and Magdeburg law (Niczyporuk, 2019: 166–167). There is no doubt that the Spanish scholar recognized the influence of Roman law on the legal order of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Godek, 2001: 48).

Later in his work, Benedict de Soxo listed the sources of canon law. He pointed first to *Corpus Iuris Canonici* – a collection compiled at the Council of Trent by a special commission and approved in 1580 by Pope Gregory XIII²⁰. He enumerated and discussed in detail in the pages of his dissertation *Gratian's Decretum, Liber extra* – Pope Gregory IX's decretales of 1234, *Liber sextus* – Pope Boniface VIII's collection of decretales of 1298, *Clementinae* – an unfinished collection of decretales of Pope Clement V from 1314 and 1317, and *Extravagantes communes* and *Extravagantes Joannis Papae XXII* – private compilations of decretales from the 14th to 15th centuries²¹. In his work, he cited a number of well-known and recognized opinions of theologians, canonists and philosophers, in particular the views of Augustine Barbosa (Piechnik, 1984: 175), known as “the prince among canonists” (Mandziuk, 2004: 74). Benedict de Soxo quite often quoted the works of his contemporaries, writers and thinkers, mostly those associated with the Jesuits.

The composition of the Spanish professor's work indicates that canon law occupied more space in it than civil (Roman) law. There is no doubt that Vilnius Academy was a university where theology occupied a central

place (Rabikauskas, 1996: 29). Also, canon law may have been the preferred subject at the Faculty of Law. This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that Rector Benedict de Soxo was organizationally and academically associated with the law faculty. In addition, a majority of the *utriusque iuris* doctorates of the first graduates of the Law Faculty of the Vilnius Academy from 1644–1650 included canon law in their scope. Issues relating to *iuris canonici* were more popular among potential doctoral candidates for practical reasons. Doctorates of both laws were awarded to church dignitaries and other distinguished individuals (Niczyporuk, 2017a: 279). For this reason, most of the first graduates of the Law Faculty of the Vilnius Academy also chose this discipline of law to write their *utriusque iuris* doctoral dissertations. In addition, dissertations from the years 1644–1650 presented a good scientific level (Niczyporuk, 2017b; Niczyporuk, 2025: 209). Benedict de Soxo's treatise could also be a basic academic aid for students writing their *utriusque iuris* doctoral dissertation.

However, from the point of view of a Romanist (Niczyporuk, 2018: 169), the most interesting parts of Benedict de Soxo's monograph are the passages focusing precisely on the *Corpus Iuris Civilis Romanorum*. A rather original measure by the Spanish professor was the structure of this part of the work, consisting of questions and answers. *Claves juris* reads:

*Nimirum Corpus Iuris Civilis Caesaris continet Digesta, Codicem, Authentica, Instituta seu Institutiones Iustiniani*²².

However, the rector of the Vilnius Academy cited only works written as part of the Justinian codification (Kuryłowicz, 2006: 191). He pointed to the Digest, the Institutes, and the Justinian Code. In addition, the Spanish professor cited the *Authenticum*, or *Liber Authenticorum*, a private collection of 134 Novels (*Novellae leges*) from 535–556 AD. Thus, Benedict de Soxo may have had in mind the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, a work that Dionisius Gothofredus (Denis Godefroy) published in print in Geneva in 1583 (Godofredo, 1583). In this publication, the French jurist and humanist included, in addition to the *Authenticum*, some laws of the German emperors Frederick I and Frederick II as a supplement to the Novels, as well as *Libri Feudorum* – a Longobardian collection of fief law (Kuryłowicz, 2006: 191). It was *Libri Feudorum* that Benedict de Soxo wrote about in *Claves juris*, listing among the sources the *Corpus Iuris Civilis Romanorum*²³.

In the key titled: *Ad tempus et ordinem generalium partium Corpus Iuris Civilis Romanorum*, the Spanish professor pointed out the circumstances of the creation of the various parts of the Justinian codification.

The discussion on this matter constitutes an in-depth university lecture on the organization of law (Zablocka, Wołodkiewicz 2009: 66–68) by Emperor Justinian I the Great (Browning, 1971: 103; Evans, 1996: 43). Benedict de Soxo drew attention to the compilation of the collection later called *codex vetus* and to the vast material that the writings of Roman jurists constituted. He also called the Digests *Liber legalis* (*Book of laws*), because he believed that they contained almost all laws (*leges*)²⁴. He also pointed to the circumstances of the new code.

In the second key in this part, the Spanish scholar discussed the Digests pointing out the constituent parts and the legal matter that this work concerned. The next chapter, of sorts, of Benedict de Soxo's work was devoted to the remaining works of the Justinian codification. The Spanish scholar also discussed here the *Authenticum*, a private collection of Novels. In the final key of this part of the treatise, Benedict de Soxo outlined how individual works of the Justinian codification should be quoted. The structure of the Spanish professor's work, especially in the part on the *Corpus Iuris Civilis Romanorum*, demonstrates a high scientific level and can be a source of inspiration for future *utriusque iuris* doctors writing a dissertation on this field of law.

An important place in Benedict de Soxo's publication is given to properly applied legal interpretation, which is the focus of a part resembling a chapter. The next editorial unit of the work deals with judicial and legislative authority, although Benedict de Soxo referred almost exclusively to legislation adopted by ecclesiastical authorities in this part of his treatise (Niczyporuk, 2019: 166–167).

Further parts of *Claves juris* are: "On the sections of laws," "On *proaemium legis*," "On commentaries," and "On the names given to laws." Another important place in Benedict de Soxo's publication is given to an editorial unit relating to the authority of scholars.

The *Claves juris* also discusses various formulas, phrases, clauses and technical words (*series nominum appellativorum*) used by lawyers. The rector of the Vilnius Academy began his arguments, in each of the matters covered, by referring to Roman law (Niczyporuk, 2018: 186–188). Although Benedict de Soxo's work contains theoretical material, the rector of the Vilnius Academy ends his work with practical advice for students of the law faculty ("*Generales ultimae ad praxim studenti juris*") – Niczyporuk, 2019: 167.

4. Concluding remarks

Professor Benedict de Soxo, a native of Granada, performed numerous organizational duties related to holding numerous academic posts at the Vilnius Academy. As its rector, he contributed to the establishment of the law faculty, arranging all the associated formalities. Benedict de Soxo created a work intended for young people studying law at the Vilnius Academy. This was to be his contribution to the development of this organizational unit of the Academy, which was established thanks to the organizational and financial involvement of Kazimierz Lew Sapieha. The proper content of his work consists of a series of treatises (chapters and subchapters) titled *Claves*. Even a cursory reading of this publication, or even just its table of contents, proves that it is not only a teaching aid, but also a compendium of comparative knowledge in the field of law. Benedict de Soxo begins his argument by discussing the concepts, divisions, and sources of canon law, civil (Roman) law, and local law. A very important issue described by the author of *Claves juris* is the foundation of both natural and positive law. Benedict de Soxo understood the latter term as canon law, Roman (civil) law, and the laws of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, among which he distinguished, for example, Magdeburg law. An important place in his publication is given to properly applied legal interpretation and Benedict de Soxo's reflections on the authority of scholars. Concluding his work with practical advice for students of the law faculty, the Spanish scholar points out the addressees of his treatise.

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NOTES

¹ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus a R. P. Benedicto de Soxo S. I. sacrae theologiae doctore et Academiae vicecancellario porrectae. Vilniae Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu 1648.*

² When discussing civil law, we always mean Roman law, because national law was not taught at all at that time.

³ P. Benedicti Sojo Societatis Iesu Theologi, et in Cordubensi Collegio Eloquentiae Professoris in laudem D. D. Francisci de Cordoue, [in:] Francisci Ferdinandi de Cordova Cordubensis, Didascalia multiplex, Lugduni 1615, p. 11.

⁴ Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995, p. 634.

⁵ Manuscript F2 DC1, F. 91.

⁶ Institutum Societatis Iesu, vol. II: Examen et constitutiones, decreta congregationum generalium, formulae congregationum. Florentiae 1893, Ex Typographia A SS. Conceptione, p. 83.

⁷ Fabritius Banfi do Mutiusa Vitelleschi, Gdańsk 14 Jun. 1642, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Polonica 77, II, f. 304–305.

⁸ T. Poszakowski, De viris illustribus Provinciae Lithuaniae, Archivum Societatis Iesu (ASI) Crac., manuscript 1536, f. 784.

⁹ Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus a R. P. Benedicto de Soxo S. I. sacrae theologiae doctore et Academiae vicecancellario porrectae. Vilniae Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu 1648.

¹⁰ The Latin text contains the word “gubernator”, but here it refers to the office of starosta.

¹¹ I translate Claves juris as “keys to law” rather than “keys of law” because the table of contents says “clavis ad...”.

¹² Letter of professors and officials of the Vilnius University to the Founder of the Faculty of Law, Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Kazimierz Leon Sapiecha, Vilnius, dated September 25, 1644. Original: Polish Library in Paris, f. 11, no. 35, pp. 423–426.

¹³ Especially when he wrote about *obiectum materiale seu subiectum scientiae* – CLAVIS III. *Ad Causam Efficientem, Materialem, Formalem, et Finalem Iurisprudentiae*.

¹⁴ There is an error in the Latin text, as it should read: *distiguitur*.

¹⁵ “This sets jurisprudence apart from moral philosophy and theology, which directly speak of the inner acts of man, on which moral good or evil are primarily based” [transl. by the author].

¹⁶ *Iurisprudentia est notitia legum sensibilibus, ut conformium menti legislatoris, et rationi. Mens enim legislatoris est anima legis, et sine conformitate ad rationem non potest esse vera lex* (Claves, p. 16).

¹⁷ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 83.

¹⁸ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 99.

¹⁹ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 102.

²⁰ Gregorii XIII Pont. Max., *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. I–V, Lvgdvni 1553, Hugonem a Porta et Antonium Vincentium, National Library, Microform Store (mf. 85220).

²¹ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 56.

²² *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 86.

²³ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 97.

²⁴ *Claves iuris Academicis Vilnensibus...*, p. 97.

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