

Introduction: The Jesuit Engagement with the Status and Functions of the Visual Image

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Let us begin with a couple of examples taken from two Jesuit books, both of which say a great deal about the Jesuit investment in thinking in, through, and about visual images. Produced at the behest of Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Theodoor Galle's *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris* (*Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus*) consists of sixteen magnificently engraved large oblong plates that illustrate major episodes from Ribadeneyra's Latin biography of Ignatius, adapted from the Spanish edition of 1583 [Fig. 1.1].¹ The print series cleaves closely to subtle distinctions made by Ribadeneyra amongst the kinds and degrees of sacred image that Ignatius beheld as he progressed in sanctity. Within the prosopography that he codified, the form and function of such *imagines*, and the manner and meaning of their viewing, constitute the chief markers of the Jesuit vocation as defined by the founder's life. Plate 4, scenes 'A' and 'B', for instance, puts forward two inflections of the spiritual image [Fig. 1.2]. In scene A, on the steps of the Dominican church in Manresa, Ignatius discerns the Most Holy Trinity by means of a certain visible image ('specie quadam visibili') that signifies externally what he is perceiving internally ('id significante exterius, quod interius percipiebat'); working in tandem, the external and internal images allow Ignatius to see with bodily eyes what the *oculi mentis* behold from

* The "Introduction" concludes with summaries of the contributors' essays, co-authored by Wietse de Boer, Karl Enenkel, and Walter Melion.

1 *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris ad vivum expressa ex ea quam P. Petrus Ribadeneyra eiusdem Societatis theologus ad Dei gloriam et piorum hominum usum ac utilitatem olim scripsit; deinde Madriti pingi, postea in aes incidi et nunc demum typis excudi curavit* (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610). On this pictorial *Vita* and its relation to the image theory propounded by De Ribadeneyra in his *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, see "In sensus cadentem imaginem: Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theodoor Galle's *Life of the Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* of 1610", in Boer W. de – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 26 (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 63–107.



FIGURE 1.1 *Cornelis Galle (engraver), Title-Page to Petrus Ribadeneyra, Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610). Engraving, 200 × 140 mm.*

LEUVEN, MAURITS SABBEIBLIOTHEEK.



FIGURE 1.2 *Carel de Mallery (engraver), Visions of the Trinity and of the Verum Corpus in the Dominican Church at Manresa, plate 4 to Petrus Ribadeneyra, Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610). Engraving, 205 × 145 mm.*

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within.² Plate 4, scene 'B' depicts a spiritual image solely visible to the eyes of the mind: during the celebration of the Mass, while viewing the elevated host, Ignatius discerns with his mind's eye, rather than merely imagining, what truly inheres in the bread and wine, once they have been consecrated. The most complex spiritual image in the *Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* appears in plate 10, scene 'A' [Fig. 1.3]. This is the famous vision at La Storta, experienced by Ignatius on his way to Rome, where he was seeking papal approbation for the new order he proposed to found. The vision, as Ribadeneyra intimates and plate 10 demonstrates, consists of two primary elements—a spiritual image of God the Father and the visionary presence of Christ carrying the Cross.³ The attention paid by Ribadeneyra to kinds and degrees of image, and to the allied



FIGURE 1.3 *Cornelis Galle (engraver), Vision at La Storta and Ignatius Recounting the Vision to his Associates on the Way to Rome, plate 10 to Petrus Ribadeneyra, Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610). Engraving, 202 × 146 mm.*

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- 2 The reference to a visible image that signifies externally while being perceived internally, comes from the description of this crucial episode in Ribadeneyra's *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*; see Dalmases C. de (ed.), *Vita Ignatii Loyolae auctore Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, in Dalmases (ed.), *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, 4 vols., *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* 93 (Rome: 1965) IV 122.
- 3 De Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, ed. De Dalmases, IV 270.

distinction between image and presence, can be seen to exemplify the pervasiveness and richness of Jesuit image-culture.

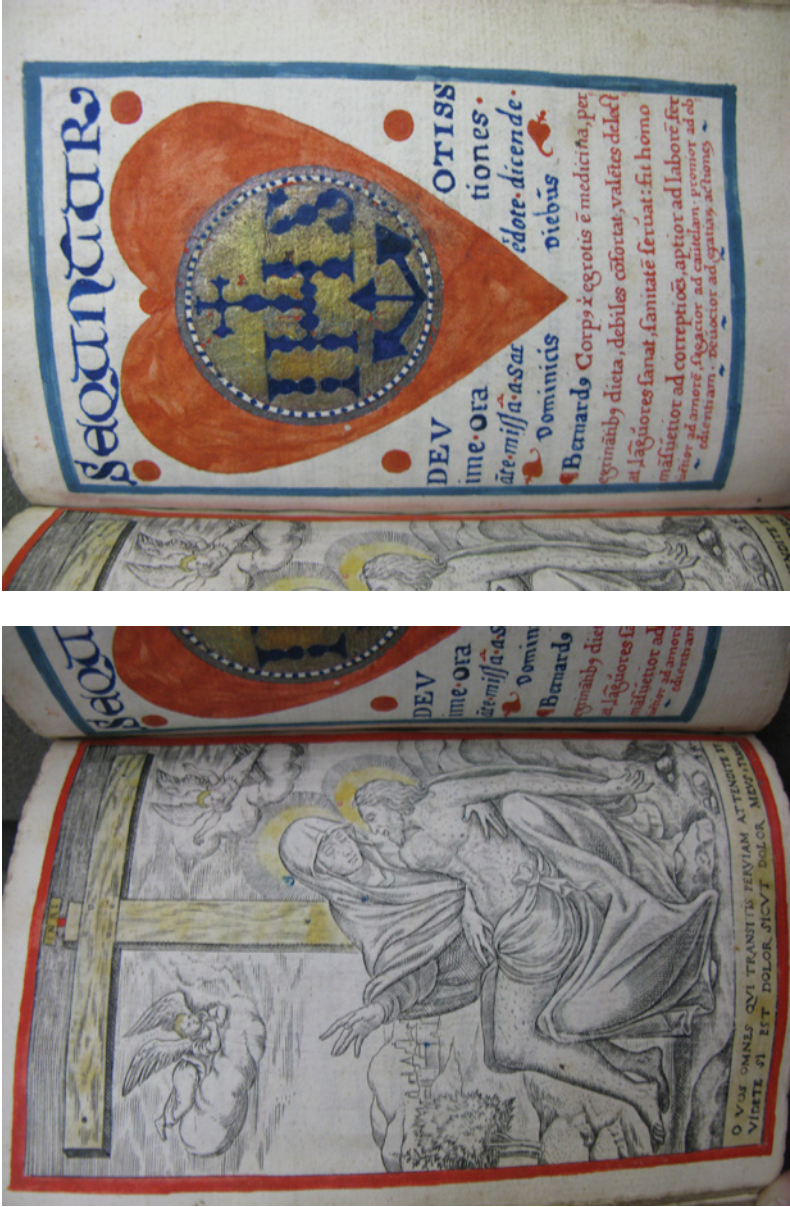
We see further evidence of this image culture in an early Jesuit manuscript prayerbook, the *Libellus piarum precum* of 1575, composed for a priest resident at the nascent Jesuit College in Trier.⁴ Several openings consist of a mimetic image of the wounded Christ juxtaposed to an abstracted image of his five wounds, the former focusing on a thematic of transience, the latter on a thematic of permanence bound up with the votary's desire to become incorporated sacramentally into the *corpus Christi* [Fig. 1.4]. Embedded within the *Libellus*'s prayers is a rich image-theory that analogizes various types of image to successive stages of the votary's relationship to Christ in the Mass.

What is the context for the Jesuit commitment to expounding religious experience by reference to the theory and practice of image-making? Jesuit Christology often invokes the *imago* and its species—*figura*, *pictura*, *repraesentatio*, *similitudo*, *simulachrum*, *speculum*—treating them as mimetic instruments best suited to expounding, within the limits of human capacity, the supreme mystery of the Incarnation.⁵ As codified by Jerónimo Nadal and other Jesuit theologians, incarnation doctrine celebrates the omnipotence of the *Deus Artifex* who fashioned Christ Jesus, the divinely human *imago Dei*, and thereby translated his incarnate person and Holy Name into *imagines* newly discernible to human senses, hearts, and minds. Construed as an act of divine image-making, the Incarnation licenses the production of further sacred images *ad imitationem Christi*; indeed for Jesuit theologians such as Nadal, devotional prayer in all its forms, public and private, meditative and liturgical, entailed visualizing the image of Jesus by recourse to secondary images—both verbal and visual, textual and pictorial, variously titled *imagines imaginis Dei* or *imagines secundo loco*—that derive from Christ the primary image of God.⁶

4 *Libellus piarum precum* (Trier [?]: 1575). On this early Jesuit manuscript prayerbook, see Melion W.S., "Libellus piarum precum (1575): Iterations of the Five Holy Wounds in an Early Jesuit Prayerbook", *infra*.

5 On Jesuit terminology for the *imago* and its theoretical implications, see Dekoninck R., 'Ad imaginem': *status, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVI^e siècle*, Travaux du Grand Siècle 26 (Geneva: 2005).

6 On Nadal's conception of the relation between the mystery of the Incarnation and the production of sacred images, see Melion W.S., "The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*", in *Jerome Nadal, Annotations and Meditations on the Liturgical Gospels*, ed. – trans. F. Homann, S.J. (Philadelphia: 2003) 1–96. On Nadal's practice of image-making, as it relates to the meditative 'composition of place' enshrined in Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, see Fabre P.A., *Ignace de Loyola: le lieu de l'image* (Paris: 1992), esp. 162–239, 263–295.



FIGURES 1.4A & B Pietà and IHS Monogram in Golden Host within Heart Flanked by the Four Wounds of Christ, facing fol. 80 verso and 81 recto in Libellus piarum precum (Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Engraving and watercolor (left) and pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor (right), ca. 146 × 96 mm. ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

Jesuit Mariology is equally image-centred. For Petrus Canisius, whose *Mariale* of 1577 constitutes the first and most important Jesuit treatise on the Virgin, Mary exemplifies the imitation of Christ, for she mobilizes sacred images to mould body and soul into fully realized *imagines Christi*; for Canisius, the kinds and degrees of images she harnesses, and the action of image-making she perfects, derive ultimately from the paradigm of the pictorial image, as becomes evident from his anchoring of Marian devotion in the iconic archetype of the Virgin and Child painted by Saint Luke, upon which all further portraits of Mary, including the verbal portraits of Jerome, Epiphanius, Cedrenus, and the other Fathers, are seen to be based.⁷

Jesuit rhetorics likewise embrace the resources of visual artifice, comparing the orator to a picturer and inviting him to exploit the full range of rhetorical figures and ornaments in virtually pictorial feats of demonstrative oratory. In such Jesuit school texts as Cyprien Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* of 1560 and Melchior de la Cerda's *Usus et exercitatio demonstrationis* of 1598, orators are encouraged to deploy a wide spectrum of image-based tropes in defense of the faith.⁸ In particular, Soarez and De la Cerda, as Marc Fumaroli has convincingly shown, endorse the principle of *definitio per descriptionem*, the definition of concepts by resort to vividly descriptive tropes such as hypotyposis.

The various redactions of the *ratio studiorum* foreground Jesuit attitudes to allegorical imagery, both literary and pictorial, which may be discerned even more fully in the pedagogical institutes approved in 1625 by Father General Muzio Vitelleschi for the Flemish-Belgian Province.⁹ Heavily rhetoricized and codified within the first pedagogical cycle of the *ratio studiorum*, Jesuit emblematics often focuses on the forms and functions of the pictorial *imago*: in Jakob Masen's theory of the figurative image, for example, the emblem is

7 On the *Mariale*, also known as *De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta, libri quinque*, see Melion W.S., "'Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata diu': The Pictorial Images in Petrus Canisius's *De Maria Virgine* of 1577", in Melion – Wandel L.P. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes: Discourses of Vision, 1500–1800*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 13 (Leiden – Boston: 2009) 207–266.

8 Soarez Cyprien, *De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone, & Quintiliano praecipue deprompti* (Paris, Ex officina Thomas Brumen: 1565; reprint ed., Cologne, Apud Gosvinum Cholinum: 1591). Cerda Melchior de la, *Usus et exercitatio demonstrationis* (Seville, Rodericus Cabrera: 1598). On Soarez, De la Cerda, and their textbooks within the Jesuit rhetorical *cur-sus*, see Fumaroli M., "Définitio et description: scolastique et rhétorique chez les Jésuites des xvi^e et xvii^e siècles", *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 18 (1980) 37–48.

9 On Vitelleschi's institutes, see Salviucci Insolera L., *L'Imago primi saeculi (1640) e il significato dell'immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù: Genesi e fortuna del libro* (Rome: 2004).

defined as a word-image construct displaying *argutia*, the quality of incisiveness that prompts the reader-viewer to interpret the emblem as a virtual syllogism, or more precisely enthymeme, in which the *res picta*, comprised by the picture and epigram together, constitutes the protasis, while the *res significata*, to be inferred by the inventive reader-viewer, supplies the apodosis that completes the enthymematic argument.¹⁰ If like Antonio Possevino, Louis Richeome, Maximilianus Sandaeus, Silvestro Pietrasanta, Claude-François Ménéstrier, and many other Jesuit emblematisers, Masen privileges the emblem's visual component, thus underscoring the power of symbolic imagery to frame persuasive moral arguments, he does so to argue explicitly for a heightened argutal style.¹¹

As will be evident from this summary account, the Jesuit investment in images, whether verbal or visual, virtual or actual, pictorial or poetic, rhetorical or exegetical, was strong and sustained, and may perhaps even be identified as one of the order's defining characteristics. Although this interest in images has been richly documented, by art historians such as Alexander Gauvin Bailey, Ralph Dekoninck, Christine Goettler, Mia Mochizuki, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, and Jeffrey Muller, by theatre historians such as Anne Piéjus, Fidel Rädle, Bernd Roling, Jean-Marie Valentin, and Christof Wolf, by scholars of the emblem such as Peter M. Daly, G. Richard Dimler, Rita Haub, Judi Loach, John Manning, Sabine Mödersheim, Lydia Salviucci Insolera, and Marc Van Vaeck, the question of Jesuit image theory has yet to be approached from a multi-disciplinary perspective that examines how the image was defined, conceived, produced, and interpreted within the various fields of learning exercised by the Society: sacred oratory, pastoral instruction, scriptural exegesis, theology, collegiate pedagogy, poetry and poetics, et al. Amongst the issues such an approach might address—and there are many—is how and why the practitioner of the spiritual exercises was expected to move between different registers of image, making the transition from a stilled mental image, often circumscribed by the lineaments of place, to a moving image composed of sensate and animate protagonists, such as Mary, Jesus, and the votary himself. How did such transitions assist the exercitant to track his ascent from sensory perception to mental discernment, from corporeal to spiritual sight? Upon what psychology of soul are such operations of the image-making faculty premised? Co-organized by Karl Enenkel, Wietse de Boer, and Walter Melion, with the

10 On Masen's theory of the *figura* as instrument of *argutia*, see Dimler R.R., S.J., *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*, AMS Studies in the Emblem 18 (Brooklyn: 2007).

11 On Jesuit enhancements to the emblem's visual component, see Melion W.S., review of Peter M. Daley, *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem*, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 (2015) 471–480.

invaluable assistance of Petra Korte and Christian Peters, the conference on Jesuit image theory held at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster in October 2014, provided a forum in which such questions were discussed and debated from multiple vantage points by representatives of a wide array of disciplines. The papers selected and revised for publication in this volume examine some of the ways in which Jesuits reflected visually and verbally on the status and functions of the *imago*, between the foundation of the order in 1540 and its suppression in 1773.

Jan David, S.J.'s *Veridicus Christianus* as Epitome of Implicit Jesuit Image Theory

Jesuit Image Theory consists of two parts: the first seven chapters examine texts that deal explicitly with the form, function, and meaning of the *imago*—the visual image—as construed variously by the order's members; the next eight chapters examine paintings, prints, and illustrated texts produced for the order, in which the status of the visual image as a signifying or hermeneutic instrument is explored by means of these very images. A theoretical understanding of the *imago* permeates these texts and pictures, but the theory remains implicit, so to speak, in the sense that rather than being foregrounded, it must be deduced from the image-making practices themselves. The relevance of the material in part one will be immediately evident, but what we mean by 'implicit image theory' requires a bit of unpacking. No better example could be offered than that of the Flemish Jesuit apologist, preacher, pedagogue, and emblematiser, Jan David, S.J. (1545–1613), many of whose publications center on printed images, generally designed and engraved under his guidance by members of Philip Galle's Antwerp workshop, most notably his sons Theodoor (1570/71–1633) and Cornelis I (1576–1650).¹² David, who ministered mainly within the Jesuit *Provincia Belgica*, served as rector of the Jesuit College in Ghent between 1594 and 1602. In addition to numerous anti-Lutheran, -Mennonite, and -Calvinist tracts and treatises, he composed four of the order's earliest emblem books: *Veridicus Christianus* (*The True Christian*) (ed. prin., 1601), *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* (*Occasion Seized, Shirked*) (ed. prin., 1605), *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae et Pancarpium Marianum* (*Paradise of the Bride and Bridegroom and Marian Garland*) (ed. prin., 1607), and *Duodecim specula* (*Twelve Mirrors*) (ed. prin., 1610). Both genres of text—apologetic and

12 Walter Melion is currently writing a monograph on David's image theory, *Imago veridica: Image Theory in Joannes David, S.J.'s Four Latin Emblem Books*, to be published by Brill.

emblematic—contain extensive reflections on what an image is and what sorts of moral and spiritual effects it can produce. These thoughts can be taken for a kind of image-theory embedded in the visual language of David's polemical works and in the combined words and images of his emblem books.

David's apologetical publications, such as the *Christelijcken bie-corf der H. Roomscher kercke* (*Christian Beehive of the Holy Roman Church*) of 1600, written to confute Filips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde's anti-Catholic *Den byen-corf der H. Roomsche Kercke* of 1569, or the *Kettersche Spinnecoppe* (*Heretical Spider*) of 1596, almost always incorporate robust defenses of devotional and liturgical images [Figs. 1.5 & 1.6]. In the *Spinnecoppe*, for instance, Book IV, chapter 12, "Helschen aerdt der ketteren, int beeldestormen, etc." ("The Hellish Behavior of Heretics, as seen in the Iconoclasms, etc."), elaborates upon the basic analogy of a heretic to a spider, of heretical wiles to a spider web, enriching the arachnoid imagery developed cumulatively at every stage of the book [Fig. 1.7]. If the *Spinnecoppe* is a vast image-making machine that turns on a singular visual analogy, chapter 12 constitutes a defense of the probity and sanctity of sacred signs and images, argued from within the overarching dualistic image of the pro-image bee ('ghelijck de Catholijcke honich-bien') set against the anti-image spider ('kettersche spinnecoppen, wat en veel duvelsch hebben').¹³ David's argument is that the representative function of sacred images remains operative, even when the principle of sacred image-making is contested or contravened. Just as the portrait of a king is referential, so damage inflicted upon it or contumely directed against it must perforce also be referential, irrespective of what the person attacking the image believes about it. To attack the one stands proxy for an attack on the other, because the mimetic link between them, premised as it is on the assumption of mutual reference, refers violence against the one toward the other; violence, then, is no less representative than the images against which it is perpetrated, since inflicting damage on the king's portrait represents the action of injuring the sovereign or, at least, the desire to commit such an act:

Ende wie en weet niet, datmen den Coninck eert in zijn beelde, en ter contrarie in zijnen beelde oock versmaet. Alsmen yemants beelde hangt, onthoof oft verbrant, men weet wel dat al dat hem toecompt, wyens

13 David Jan, *Kettersche Spinnecoppe, waer in, deur de natuere der Spinnecoppe, claerlijck bewesen wort, hoe degheelijck en orboorlijck een saecke dat een ketter is, en kettersche voere* (Brussels, Rutgeert Velpius: 1596) 162.

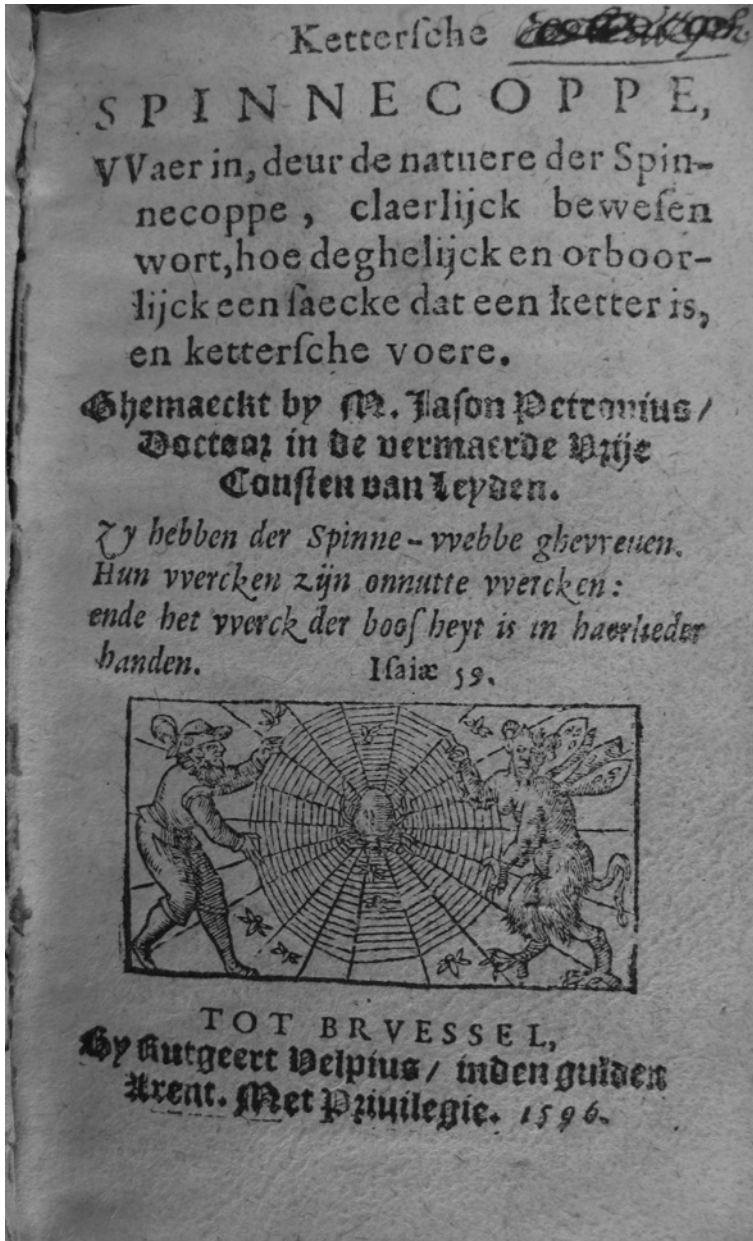


FIGURE 1.5 Jan David, Title-Page to *Kettersche Spinnecoppe*, waer in, deur de natuere der Spinnecoppe, claerlijck bewesen wort, hoe deghelijck en orboorlijck een saecke dat een ketter is, en kettersche voere (Brussels, Rutgeert Velpius: 1596). Engraving, in-12.

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FIGURE 1.6 Jan David, Title-Page to *Christelijcken Bie-Corf der H. Roomscher Kercke* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1600). Engraving, in-8.

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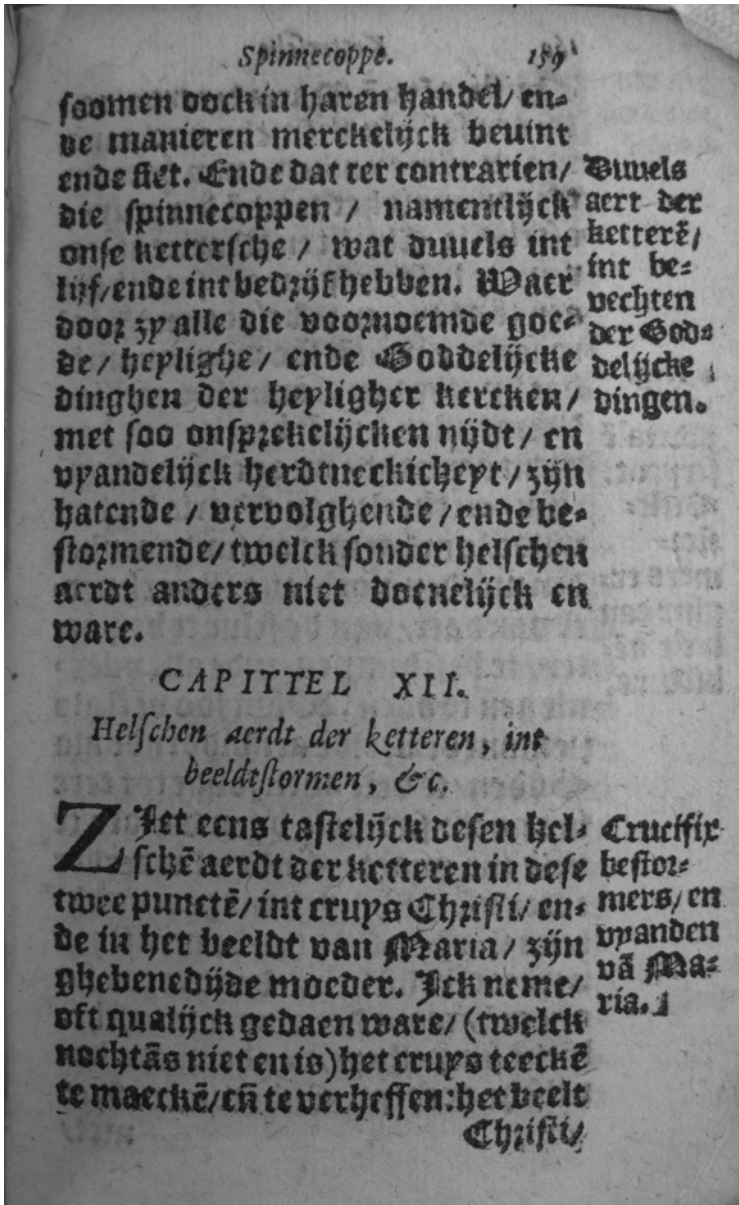


FIGURE 1.7 Jan David, Book IV, chapter 12, "Helsen aerdt der ketteren, int beeldestormen, etc.," in *Kettersche Spinnecoppe, waer in, deur de natuere der Spinnecoppe, claerlijck bewesen wort, hoe deghelijck en orboorlijck een saecke dat een ketter is, en kettersche voere* (Brussels, Rutgeert Velpius: 1596) 159.

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beelde het is: en daerom doetment in sulcker vueghen, als men den persoon selve metten lijve niet krijghen en can.¹⁴

And who does not know that one honors the king in his image and, conversely, defames him in his image. One realizes full well that in hanging, beheading, or burning an image, everything done to it also refers to whomever the image portrays: and one proceeds in this way, whenever the king's actual body is not to be had.

By the same token, the crucifix or an image of Jesus or Mary, simply because it purports to represent them, and regardless of whether one believes such images to be licit, cannot help but be referential: abuse and mockery of sacred images therefore equates to abuse and mockery of whomever they depict—Christ, the Virgin, or the saints. Indeed, David considers such mockery worse than outright destruction since, by the logic of referentiality, it constitutes blasphemy against God or contempt for his saints:

Waer sal een mensche nochtans in zijn herte vinden, van daerom ter contrarie het teken der cruys, oft tbeelt Christi en Marie totten-eeren, te beschimpen, als snootheyt aen te doen, en te bespotten? Ja al waert dat yemant soo verre quame, dat hy, soo den Coninck Ezechias dat metalen serpent brack, om datment aenbadt, nu oock soo tcrucifix, en tbeelt van Maria breken wilde, om dat niet en soude aenbeden worden: nochtans ist noch verre van daer, van de selve te bespotten, te beschimpen, ende alle vileynie aen te doen. Want soo veel als yemant de beelden aenbiddende als Goden, te vele doen soude tot eere int goet: soo vele doen dander te vele int quaet.¹⁵

Wherefore such a man finds it in his heart to berate, condemn, and defile the sign of the cross or the image of Christ and Mary, rather than honoring them. Indeed, even if one were to go so far as King Ezechias, who tore down the brazen serpent because people had worshiped it, and were to wish that the crucifix and the images of Mary be torn down: yet would mocking, berating, or vilifying them be to go still farther. For just as he who worships images as gods, does them too great honor in goodness, so these others do them too much [dishonor] in wickedness.

14 Ibidem 160–161.

15 Ibidem 160.

These points are versions of the conciliar decree on sacred images, “On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images”, formulated during the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent: ‘[...] the honour that is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ; and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear: as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of Nicaea, has been defined against the opponents of images’.¹⁶ What distinguishes David’s account is his comparison of a sacred image to an image of state and his conviction that an image’s referential function is so absolute that it proves impervious to any and all contingencies: not even the iconoclast’s refusal to countenance such a function can sever the connection between the image and the prototype it represents.

David’s pronouncements on sacred images betray a fascination with the power and scope of the representational relation that undergirds the process of mimetic image-making. In Book 7, chapter 8 of the *Bie-corf*, “De lustighe bloempotten der heyligher beelden, ende haerder eere” (“On the Joyful Bouquets of Saints’ Images, and Doing Them Honor”), he focuses instead on the persuasive effect of images upon the heart, mind, and will, and also on the distinction between the allusive character of Mosaic imagery and the evidentiary and affective character of Christian imagery [Fig. 1.8]. With reference to *Exodus* 25 and 3 *Kings* 7, David observes that God licensed the production of sacred images even under the old dispensation, but he implies that these images worked more indirectly than Christian ones, in that they relied on analogy and metaphor to advert to the presence of God. The angels that Moses caused to be carved over the ark, for example, allude to the proximity of God and of his angelic mediators, the Cherubim. They admonish the faithful to become acquainted with the latter, to imitate them, and to transform themselves accordingly, as a method of approaching to God. Other images, such as the twelve oxen that supported the ‘molten sea’ in the Solomonic Temple, are even more connotative: they serve as reminders to the leaders of the people, that God holds them accountable for the purity and salvation of their subjects. And the lions that lined the throne of Solomon are to be seen as entirely metaphorical:

Zoo heeft Godt int oude Testament Moysi bevolen, beelden te maken van Enghelen, ende andere dinghen. Ende Salomon heeft figuren van

16 *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. – trans. J. Waterworth (London: 1848) 235.

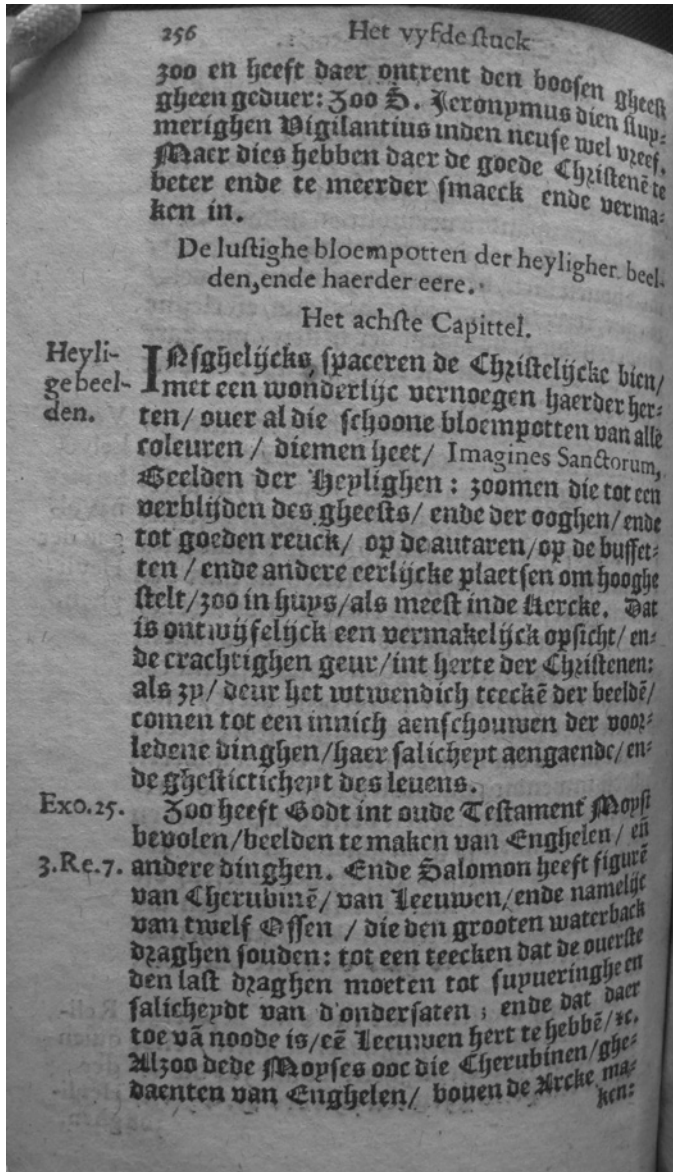


FIGURE 1.8 Jan David, Book 7, chapter 8, "De lustighe bloempotten der heyligher beelden, ende haerder eere", in *Christelijcken Bie-Corff der H. Roomscher Kercke* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1600) 256.

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Cherubinen, van Leeuwen, ende namelijc van twelf Ossen, die den grooten waterback draghen soudent: tot een teecken dat de overste den last draghen moeten tot suyveringhe en salicheydt van d'ondersaten; ende dat daer toe van noode is, een Leeuwen hert te hebben, etc. Alzoo dede Moyses ooc die Cherubinen, ghedaenten van Enghelen, boven de Arcke maken; tot een teecken dat Godt daer tegenwoordich was boven de selve; ende datmen met de Enghelen beghinnen kennis te maken, haer na doende in heylicheydt, om eens met haerlieden te converseren, ende te regneren inden Hemel: want zy al tsamen als Enghelen Godts zijn sullen, die daer gheraken.¹⁷

So, in the Old Testament, God commanded Moses to fashion images of angels and other things. And Solomon made figures of Cherubim, lions, and the twelve oxen that carried the great water basin, for a sign that lords must ensure the purity and salvation of their subjects; and that to bring this to pass, they must be lion-hearted, etc. And Moses also fashioned Cherubim, in the form of angels, over the ark, for a sign that God was present above it, and that one must learn to know about them, following the angels in holiness, if we are to converse with them when we come to reign in heaven: for all shall become angels of God when they attain to heaven.

By contrast, Christian images are far more direct, for they allow us to see the Lord Christ as if he were actually with us, to attend his Passion as if we were there with him, and in addition, to bear witness to the lives and deeds of the saints, whose closeness to Christ thus becomes intensely memorable and, more importantly, imitable. The vividness of such images enables them deeply to penetrate the heart where they enkindle the passions, awakening our desire to emulate Christ and his closest imitators, the holy martyrs. Moreover, their outward appearance appeals not only to exterior but also to interior sense, conveying via these sensoria the sight and fragrance of Christ and the saints, stirring us to engage with them by means of image-based spiritual exercises ('oeffeninghe der H. Beelden'):

Inshelijcks, spaceren de Christelijcke bien, met een wonderlijc vernoe- gen haerder herten, over al die schoone bloempotten van alle coleuren, diemen heet, *images Sanctorum*, Beelden der Heylighen: zoomen die

17 David Jan, *Christelijcken Bie-Corf der H. Roomscher Kercke* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1600) 256–257.

tot een verblijden des gheests, ende der ooghen, ende tot goeden reuck, op de autaren, op de buffeten, ende andere eerlijcke plaetsen om hooghe stelt, zoo in huys, als meest inde Kercke. Dat is ontwijfelijk een vermakelijck opsicht, ende crachtighen geur, int herte der Christenen: als zy, deur het wtwendich teecken der beelden, comen tot een innich aenschouwen der voorledene dinghen, haer salicheyt aengaende, ende ghesticticheyt des levens. [...]

Is het oock zoo niet een zeer beweghelijcke sake, deur de hulpe der H. Beelden zoo ontsteken te worden, tot aendachticheyt ende devotie, als oftmen by t'Cruys ons Heeren stonde, als men hem siet aent Cruyce hanghen? als oftmen met hem int hofken ware biddende, als men hem in sulcken figure, als ofmen zijn gheessel, zijn croone, ende swaren last zijns Cruyces self ghevoelde, int lijden, int verdriet, in alle tribulatie, als men zijnen Heer en Godt, in den voorseyden anxt, ende benautheyt, deur de beelden voor ooghen houdt.

Hoe goet ende smakelijck dat dese oeffeninghe der H. Beelden is, dat weten zy alle, die deur sulcke middelen, tot suchten, tot bidden, tot weenen, ontsteken worden. Ja, tot een vierighe begheerte van sulck oft sulck eenen Heylighen na te volghen, in het principale punct dat zijn leven aengaet. Ende oock desghelijcks van gheiren, om Christus naem, haer verdriet, siecte, en teghenspoedt te lijden, ia ooc, waert noodt, de doodt voor hem te onderstaen, als zy sien, dat hy voor ons, zoo vele, ende ten laetsten die schandichste ende swaerste doodt des Cruycken gheleden heeft. Hoe menighe vrome vechters, ende verwinders haers selfs, en der werelt, ende des vyandts zijnder opgeresen, wt het aenmercken van die vrome feyten der martelaren, ende der alder martelaren Coninc en Heere, Christus JESUS?¹⁸

Likewise, with marvelous and heartfelt rejoicing, the Christian bees fly amongst the beautiful, multi-colored bouquets that men call *imagines Sanctorum*, the images of the saints, which being placed high on altars, chests, and other honorable places at home and in church, bring joy to the spirit and eyes, and cast a good fragrance. Doubtless this sight is as pleasurable as the fragrance powerful to Christian hearts that interiorly see, signified by external images, the sanctity of the saints' past deeds and exemplary life.

Is it not deeply moving to be roused to attentive devotion by holy images, as if one were standing beside the Cross of our Lord, as if one

18 Ibidem 256–258.

were to see him hanging there, as if one were seeing him at prayer in the garden and praying with him, as if one felt oneself his scourge, crown, and the heavy burden of his Cross, with him in suffering, sorrow, and tribulation—all this through images held before the eyes, of our Lord and God in his fear and anxiety, as aforesaid.

How good, how savory these [spiritual] exercises of holy images are, all know who have been stirred by such means to sigh, to pray, to weep; or have felt the stirring of fiery desire to imitate such or such a saint in their suffering, sorrow, and tribulation, in the principal point around which their lives turned. And like them, in the name of Christ to suffer grief, sickness, and calamity, and even, where necessary, to undergo death, when they see how much he suffered on our behalf, and finally, how ignominiously and burdensomely he died on the Cross. How many pious fighters and victors over themselves, the world, and the devil have arisen from observation of the pious deeds of the martyrs and of the King and Lord of martyrs, Christ Jesus?

This fulsome endorsement of images, put forth to combat the heresy of iconoclasm, concludes with an affirmation of the equivalent value of sacred images and texts ('schrijven en schilderen is zeer een dinck').¹⁹ Although David is talking about saints' lives, his assertions that images, like texts, are God-given instruments, that texts, insofar as they facilitate visualization of the things they record, are construable as a species of image, and that the impulse to record the life of Christ, both in word and image, is Godly, make clear that 'texts' encompasses Scripture as well as hagiography. More particularly, he distinguishes on this basis between Jewish and Christian Scripture: the latter, in his view, stimulates memory and understanding newly to fashion a true image of the things recorded in writing. The many miraculous images whose truth is sanctioned by divine warrant demonstrate how fully God endorses sacred images as a medium of scriptural transmission, indeed as a kind of visual Scripture on par with holy texts:

Dat de benijders onser salicheydt, ende onser Catholijcke Religie, de beelden niet luchten en mogen, maer die belasteren en scheynden [...]; Die en maken de zaken dies niet quaet, maer zy toonen, hoe groot quaet dat zy int herte draghen die zoo goede saken vervolghen. Want, alzo goet en Goddelijck ist de gheschiedde dinghen, tzy tleven ons Heeren, tzy andere, te schilderen, alst is te schrijven: want, wat is het schrijven anders, dan een

19 Ibidem 258. This rubric takes the form of a marginal gloss.

seker maniere van schilderen met der penne? Ende, dat meer is, het gheschrifte ghelesen, maect in ons memorie en verstandt een nieu oprechte [N. 'Deugdelijk, eerlijk'] verbeeldinghe, vant gheene dat wy lesen, eens gheschiedt te zijne. Zoo dat die sake Goddelijck is; ende van Godts wege [N. 'By God'], met zoo vele wonderlijcke clare mirakelen versekert [...].²⁰

That men envious of our sanctity and Catholic religion cannot light upon images without defaming or damaging them [...], this does nothing to compromise the images and merely lays open the great ill-will with which this sort of men prosecutes things as good as these. For it is as good and Godly to paint such events as the life of Christ, as it is to write about them: after all, what is writing, other than a certain manner of painting with the pen? And what's more, to read something written down generates in our memory and understanding a new, true image of that which, according to what we read, once took place. Thus, the thing [i.e., image-making] is Godly, and confirmed by God with many wondrous, perspicuous miracles [...].

If the *Kettersche spinnecoppe* and *Christelijcken Bie-korf* provide the lineaments of David's conception of sacred images and their efficacy as conveyors of Christian exempla, his first emblem book, the *Veridicus Christianus*, addressed to a sophisticated, Latinate audience, explores more fully, both in word and image, the pivotal role that images played (and continue to play) in establishing the covenant of Christ and promulgating the doctrine of salvation [Fig. 1.9]. Published by Jan Moretus, the book consists of one hundred emblems, each comprising an engraved picture, motto, and epigrams—in Latin, Dutch, and French—followed by an extensive commentary that explains the relation amongst the emblem's three parts. David conceived it as a supplement to the Tridentine Catechism: the sequence of emblems is meant inexpugnably to impress the key principles of the Christian life and faith. As he puts it in the dedicatory epistle to his good friend, the Right Reverend Petrus Simons, Bishop of Ypres, the book's point of origin were the one hundred distichs he had written in Brussels for the use of catechists; the engraved images will allow their catechumens 'to apprehend what they have just read, as if they were seeing these points of doctrine placed before their eyes'.²¹ Simons for his part, in

20 Ibidem.

21 David Jan, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus: 1601), fol. +2r: 'Ea ipsa deinde scholiis quibusdam atque adeo centum in aes incisus iconibus illustrare visum est, ut qui lecta intelligerent, eadem quasi subiecta oculis viderent'.



FIGURE 1.9 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Title-Page to Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, in-4. CHICAGO, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY.

a letter appended to the book's front matter, astutely compares the *Veridicus Christianus* to Horace's *Epistula* 1.1 (especially the claims made in verses 33–40 for the restorative properties of poetry): he animadverts that David's Christian *cultura*, in its ability to quell carnal passion and provide a lenitive to human misery, trumps the pagan poet's self-proclaimed power to civilize even the most savage and wayward of men.²² In truth, David's hundred emblems narrate the clash between Christian *cultura* and the sinful passions, beginning with the opposition of *timor Dei* ('fear of God') to godless obstinacy and ending with the opposition between constancy of faith and inconstancy, in the face of the four last things (death, judgment, hell, and heaven). The emblems take the form of meditative exercises that assist the user to transform himself spiritually by reflecting on the virtues and implanting them as an antidote to the vice. Largely based on Scripture and the Fathers, the moral commentaries make their case exegetically, but David also includes extensive paraphrases taken from a wide range of sources, including Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus's *Liber nonus exemplorum*, and Laurentius Surius's *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*.

Emblem 1, "Initium sapientiae, timor Domini" ("Fear of the Lord, the Beginning of Wisdom"), displays in the *pictura* the meta-reflexive image of an open emblem book: the left folio verso depicts a scourge made up of bundled twigs crossed over a long-handled magnifying glass; the right folio recto repeats the words of the motto inscribed atop Emblem 1, 'Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini' [Fig. 1.10]. The book in the book—a mise en abyme—comments on the emblematic form and function of the *Veridicus Christianus*, which consists of precisely this sort of verbal-visual apparatus, designed to purify the votary: his vices are made visible, in this sense magnified (hence, the pictured lens); then they are penitentially eliminated (the scourge); and finally, the virtues that substitute for vice are themselves visualized and scrutinized (the lens, once again). The allusion to the cross evokes the Passion of Christ, which functions both explicitly and implicitly as the tertium comparationis that undergirds every moral analogy brought forward in the *Veridicus*. That 'Liber Sapientiae' is also the name of a biblical book underscores the scriptural derivation and exegetical character of David's method of argumentation. The open Book of Wisdom appears midway up the slope of Mount Sinai, where it mediates between the antitheses demarcated in Emblem 1: whereas Moses receiving the tablets of the law epitomizes reverential fear of the Lord, the purblind ass, impaled for having infringed the sacred precinct, epitomizes the failure humbly to uphold the will of God (the reference is to *Exodus* 19: 12–13).

22 Ibidem, fol. ++1r–v.

The emblem book within the emblem or, better, image of an emblem book within the emblematic *pictura*, foretells that the *Veridicus Christianus*, held open by the reader-viewer, shall function as a source of wisdom and a hinge between the obstinate passion it admonishes us to eschew and the fearful faith it counsels us to embrace.

The emblem book in the emblem resembles the splayed tablets of the law, as if to announce that the one emanates from the other, in the sense that the *Veridicus* counsels reverence for God the lawgiver and for his commandments. But it also differs from the tablets, the conferral of which is reserved for Moses's eyes alone. On the contrary, the pictured emblem book communicates directly with the Christian reader-viewer, its pages propped open to enhance the visibility of the conjoined image and motto. The distinction between tablets and emblem book adumbrates the typological distinction between Mosaic and Christian images that constitutes one of the primary thematic threads woven into the fabric of the *Veridicus*. Three interrelated emblems—1, 20, and 60—dwell on this distinction [Figs. 1.10, 1.11, and 1.12].

Emblem 1 elucidates the nature of God-given images under the old dispensation, as exemplified by the sights and sounds that accompanied the promulgation of the Decalogue on Mount Sinai [Fig. 1.10]. The chief effect of these sensory devices was to instill fear of the Lord and his law, fixing *timor Dei* in the hearts and minds of the Israelites. They were thus devised to impose compliance with the rule set forth in the Latin epigram to Emblem 1: 'What principle does true Wisdom impose upon itself? Fear of the will of God, imprinted on a humble heart'.²³ There are three registers of fear, explains David in the commentary: servile fear of the Lord; filial fear of God the Father; and reverential fear of the beneficent God who superintends human affairs, providing for our welfare in this life and our salvation in the next. The first kind of fear engenders the second, the second the third, with *timor servilis* initiating the process that leads by way of *timor filialis* to *timor reverentialis*. Servile fear was endemic under the Old Law; under the New, however, fear is subsumed into charity, as John avows in 1 *John* 4: 18: 'Fear is not in charity: but perfect charity casteth out fear, because fear hath pain'.²⁴ Reverential fear, in David's view, is entirely compatible with John's conception of perfect charity: 'But reverential fear also abides with perfect charity, not only in the way, but also in the fatherland. Namely, amongst the sanctified in this life, which is the way to the life to come;

23 Ibidem 1 and *pictura* 1: 'Quod sibi Principium posuit Sapiencia vera? / Numinis infixum summisso in corde Timorem'.

24 Ibidem 2.

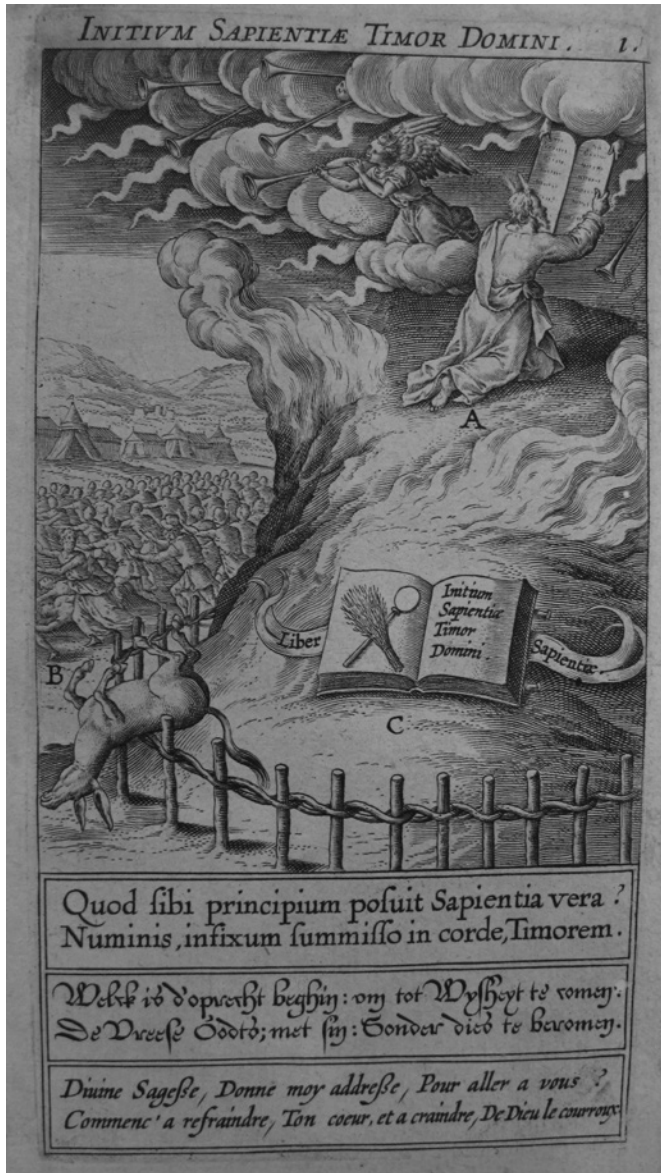


FIGURE 1.10 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 1, “Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini”, in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus (Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, in-4.

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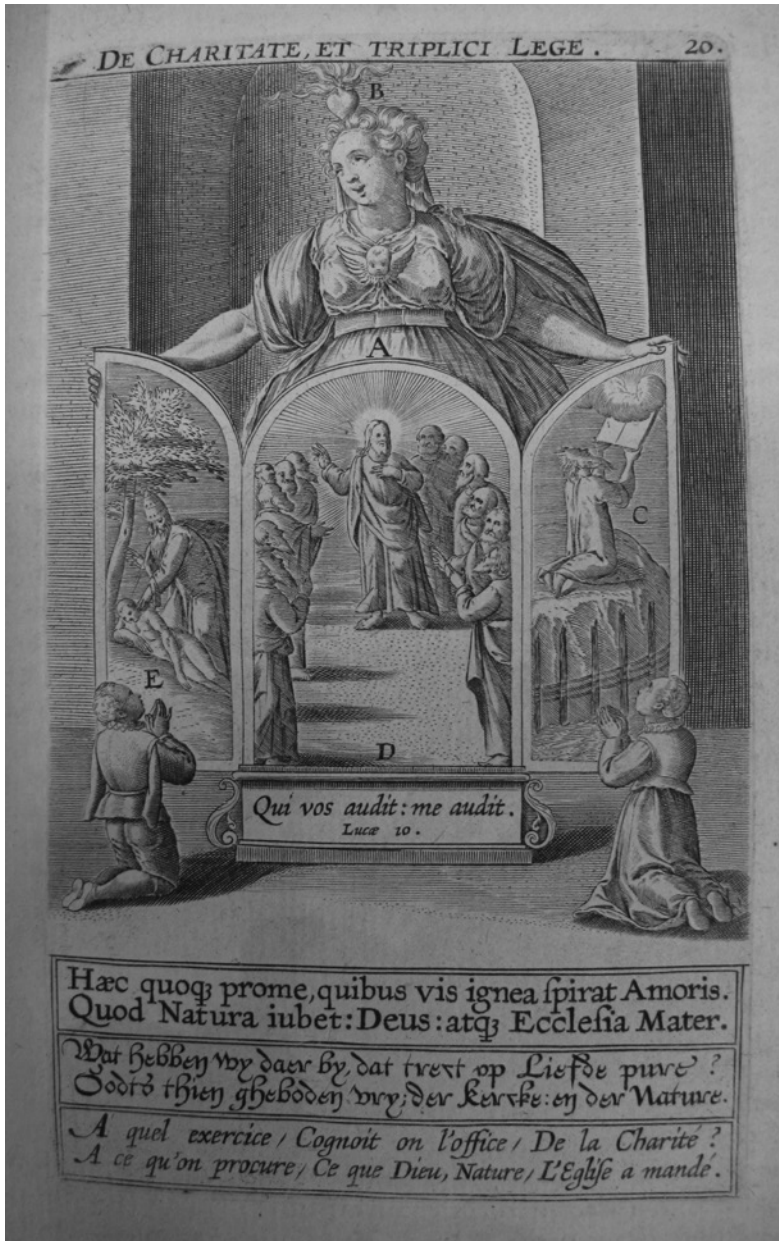


FIGURE 1.11 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 20, "De Charitate, et Triplici Lege", in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, in-4. CHICAGO, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY.



FIGURE 1.12 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 60, "Perfectum Patientiae exemplar, Christus passus", in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, in-4.

CHICAGO, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY.

and in the saints, the possessors of eternal life. The royal prophet indicates as much [*Psalm* 18: 10]: “Fear of the Lord is holy, enduring eternally”.²⁵

It was servile fear alone that was known and experienced under the Old Law, for God knew that only *terror Legis* (‘terror of the Law’) could ensure adherence to the Decalogue. Fearsome images, enhanced by dreadful sounds, were the chief means used to implant such fear in the recipients of the commandments, Moses included:

In totius huius tractatus dilucidiorum explanationem referri potest, quod, dum olim Dominus populo suo Israël per Moysem Decalogum daturus erat, primum curabat, ut in monte Sinae audirentur tonitrua, micarent fulgura nubesque eum densissima operiret et clangor buccinae vehementissime perstreperet ac mons omnis fumigaret adeo, ut populus universus, qui erat in castris, ingenti timore corripereetur. Ita enim initio necessarium erat, ut per timorem illum et Legi pronunciandae attentius aures praeberent eidemque observandae animum magis applicarent. Hinc nimirum Moyses idipsum illis indicavit, dum prae formidine extremum sibi vitae periculum imminere arbitrarentur. ‘Ut probaret vos’, inquit, ‘venit Deus, et ut terror illius esset in vobis et non peccaretis’ [*Exodus* 20: 20]. Huc siquidem spectabat illud, quo dominus antea Moysi praeceperat: ‘Constitues terminos populo per circuitum et dices ad eos: “Cavete, ne ascendatis in montem nec tangatis fines illius. Omnis, qui tetigerit montem, morte morietur; sive iumentum fuerit, sive homo, non vivet”’ [*Exodus* 19: 12–13]. Quo respiciens Apostolus idem dicit explicatius, in hanc sententiam: ‘Non enim portabant quod dicebatur, “Et si bestia tetigerit montem, lapidabitur”. Et ita terribile erat, quod videbatur’ [*Hebrews* 12: 20–21].²⁶

What formerly the Lord caused to transpire before giving the Decalogue to his people Israel through Moses, can here be adduced for a clearer explanation of this whole treatise: thunderclaps were heard on Mount Sinai, lightning flashed, a very dense cloud covered it, the clamor of trumpets sounded loudly, the whole mountain was smoking, and so the people camped below were seized by great fear. For thus was it necessary at

25 Ibidem 2–3: “Timor autem reverentialis manet cum perfecta etiam charitate non solum viae, sed etiam patriae. Hoc est, in sanctis huius vitae, quae via est ad alteram; et in sanctis, vitae aeternae possessoribus. Id indicat Propheta Regius: “Timor Domini sanctus, permanens in saeculum saeculi”.

26 Ibidem 3.

first that by fear they make their ears more attentive to the proclamation of the Law, and their spirit more observant. Hence truly, Moses declared the same thing to them when in terror they believed their lives to be in the greatest danger: 'For God,' he said, 'is come to prove you, and that the dread of him might be in you, and you should not sin'. Inasmuch as this corresponds to what God had earlier instructed Moses: 'And thou shalt appoint certain limits to the people round about, and thou shalt say to them, "Take heed you go not up into the mount, and that ye touch not the borders thereof; every one that toucheth the mount dying he shall die; whether it be beast, or man, he shall not live"'. In view of which, the Apostle says the same more plainly in this sentence: 'For they did not endure that which was said: "And if so much as a beast shall touch the mount, it shall be stoned". And so terrible was that which was seen'.

Hebrews 12: 21, as the term 'ita' indicates, is the first half of a line that ends, 'Moses said, "I am frightened, and tremble"'. The implication is that no one under the Mosaic Law was immune from *timor servilis*, which, as the phrase 'quod videbatur' emphasizes, originated in response to sights seen and divinely orchestrated.

David, in the opening line of the passage quoted above, asks the reader to contextualize these sights within the overall argument of the *Veridicus*, wherein, as we shall see, they are compared to the very different kinds of images disseminated by Christ. He insists on their status as visual symbols when he goes on to liken them to the symbolic instruments prominently displayed in schoolrooms—the rod or switch—to enforce discipline, or to the gallows erected in public squares or at crossroads to instill fear of the law, or to the sword carried by effigies of Justice to represent the judicial right of punishment ('Iudice non sine causa gladium portante'). Their status as *imagines* is of course made apparent by their appearance within the emblematic *pictura*, where, marked by the letter 'A', they are seen to correlate with the description of fire, smoke, lighting, and storm clouds in the commentary, likewise marked 'A' [Fig. 1.10]. Here the textual analogy between these phenomena and the switch is fully pictorialized, since the open Book of Wisdom, just below, illustrates a related device, the scourge. The phenomena swirling around the mountain-top, identified as emblematic *imagines* ('A'), are thus connected to the *imago in imagine* pictured in the emblem book lying open on the mountainside ('C'), as if to say that these two elements differ not in kind, since both are species of *imago*, but rather in degree, since one consists of a set of descriptive images, the other of an image in an image. In the commentary, the letter 'C' attaches to the text passage describing the comparanda—rod, switch, gallows, effigy of

Justice with sword—that invite reflection on the visual character of the phenomena enumerated in text passage ‘A’.²⁷

Text passage ‘B’ comprises the citations from *Exodus* 19 and 20 that convey the terror felt by Moses and the Israelites when confronted by the visual evidence of the Lawgiver’s power. This corresponds with scene ‘B’ in the *pictura*, which shows the terrorized Israelites fleeing from Mount Sinai; Galle has utilized more finely engraved lines than in ‘A’ or ‘C’, to indicate how distant the people are from the event transpiring at the summit. They body forth the symptoms of *timor servilis*: one woman apprehensively glances back at the mountain, but most have simply turned away, incapable of looking any longer, even from afar, at the dreadful portents. The *pictura* thus comments ironically on the effect of the Mosaic images generated to mark the founding of the Law: these images instigate the first kind of fear, but fail to engender the second, *timor filialis*, let alone the third, *timor reverentialis*.

Emblem 20, “De Charitate, et Triplici Lege” (“On Charity, and the Threefold Law”), supplies the way out of this impasse [Fig. 1.11]. The personification *Charitas* (‘Charity’) dominates the *pictura*: she holds open a triptych, the right wing of which incorporates a simplified version of *pictura* 1, Moses receiving the tablets of the Law atop Mount Sinai. Letter ‘A’ correlates to text passage ‘A’ that identifies her as a ‘divinely infused virtue’ (‘virtus divinitus infusa’); the letter’s placement on her womb invites the inference that charity must be held deep within its recipient’s heart, in the manner of a mother’s embryonic child.²⁸ Letter ‘B’ attaches to the flaming heart above Charity’s brow: combined with her upturned face and eyes, the heart alludes to the Eucharistic prayer ‘sursum corda’, as text passage ‘B’ makes apparent. It describes Charity as the ‘ardor of a heart set afire’ (‘ardor cordis inflammati’) by divine love; ‘sparked by God’ in the man who ‘believes and hopes’, Charity impels him ‘to love, honor, and worship the good Lord’, and enables him ‘to anticipate whatsoever will be pleasing to God’, including love of one’s neighbor.²⁹ Charity, on this account, operates within the heart of the votary, and concomitantly, it is expressed by external works that give evidence of his longing for salvation, both of himself and of his fellow men (‘sive nostram nostrique proximi salutem concernant’). Crucially, as the *pictura* and the emblematic epigram demonstrate in concert, one of the chief works of *ardor charitatis* is the internal production of sacred images having to do with God’s love for humankind. This love is expressed by the so-called ‘Triplex Lex’ (‘Triple Law’)—comprising the ‘Lex Dei per Moysem’ (‘Law

27 Ibidem 3–4.

28 Ibidem 56.

29 Ibidem.

of God, conferred through Moses'), the 'Lex Naturae' ('Law of Nature'), the 'Lex Ecclesiae' ('Law of the Church')—that the picture in the picture, held open by Charity, invites us to visualize in the form of a triptych, in imitation of the boy and girl praying intently and staring at this image of the three laws: 'Bring forth these things also, by which the fiery power of loves breathes forth. What Nature, God, and Mother Church enjoin'.³⁰

The command 'prome', 'bring forth' or, alternatively, 'bring into view', emphasizes that the things we must produce are meditative images. Unlike the Israelites pictured in Emblem 1, we can visualize for ourselves the act of lawgiving, seeing it as a Mosaic type for the fulfillment of the Law through Christ [Fig. 1.10]. The pictorial status of this repetition of *pictura* 1—like the emblem book pictured there, it is an *imago in imagine*, more precisely, a recollected *imago imaginis*—serves to accentuate its character as an image of Moses generated mnemonically, as part of the meditative process incubated by the *Veridicus* [Fig. 1.11]. The revisualization of *pictura* 1 within *pictura* 20 also signifies the process of internalization that converts exterior Law into interior impulse. David, in his commentary on the triptych's Mosaic wing, marked 'C', rehearses by way of comparison the many scriptural passages—*Jeremiah* 31: 33, *Ezekiel* 11: 19–20, and *2 Corinthians* 3: 2–3, among others—that represent spiritual enlightenment as the conversion of the Law's hard, stony tablets into the malleable, tabular hearts made supple by the love of Christ:

Dei Legem illam communiter vocamus, quam Moyses in monte Sinae in duabus tabulis lapideis a Deo accepit; quam Christus etiam postmodum in mundum veniens renovavit, confirmavit et perfecit. Dicebat enim: 'Non veni solvere Legem, sed adimplere' [*Matthew* 5: 17]. Venit, quod amplius est, scribere eam digito suo, hoc est, Spiritus Sancti gratia, in cordibus Fidelium, sicut per Prophetam promiserat: 'Dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum et in corde eorum scribam eam' [*Jeremiah* 31: 33]. Quod et D[ivus] Paulus enucleat pro rei dignitate, dum ait: 'Epistola estis Christi, scripta non atramento, sed spiritu Dei vivi non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus' [*2 Corinthians* 3: 2–3]. Iuxta promissionem Dei olim per Ezechielem factam: 'Auferam cor lapideum de carne eorum et dabo eis cor carneum, ut in praeceptis meis ambulent' [*Ezekiel* 11: 19–20]. Per cor lapideum, durum et ad mandata Dei inflexibile intelligitur; per

30 Ibidem 56 and *pictura* 20: 'Haec quoque prome, quibus vis ignea spirat Amoris. / Quod Natura iubet, Deus atque Ecclesia mater'.

carneum vero non carnale nec cereum in vitia flecti, sed ad nutum facile et obsequens in bonum.³¹

We commonly call the Law of God, that which Moses received from him on two stone tablets upon Mount Sinai: which Christ thereafter, upon coming into the world, renewed, confirmed, and perfected. For as he said: 'I am come not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it'. He is come, moreover, to write it with his finger, that is, by grace of the Holy Spirit, upon faithful hearts, just as the prophet promised: 'I will give my law in their bowels, and in their hearts I shall write it'. Which Saint Paul explains according to the matter's worth, saying: 'You are the epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tablets of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart'. According to the promise formerly made by God through Ezechiel: 'And I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in my commandments'. By stony heart is meant a heart hard and resistant to the commandments of God; but by fleshly, neither carnal nor waxlike and easily moved to vice, but easy to command and compliant in doing good.

The imagery of stone become flesh, of the finger of God writing in 'tables of the heart', corresponds to the recasting of the image of Moses, who is now subsumed into Charity's triptych, as if he were an image issuing directly from the votary's 'fleshly heart', as an expression of loving compliance.

Moses's gesture of reception in 'C', his arms and hands raised, is mirrored and, in this sense, fulfilled by Christ in 'D', which portrays his appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem after the Resurrection, as recounted in *Matthew* 18: 17, *John* 20: 21, and especially *Luke* 10: 16, the text inscribed on the triptych's predella [Fig. 1.11]. David cites all three passages in his exposition of 'D': Jesus teaches the virtue of humility and counsels the disciples to flee the occasion of sin in *Matthew* 18: 17; he blesses them and bestows the spiritual gift of peace in *John* 20: 21; and he appoints 72 disciples to go into the world and preach, deputizing them to act as his representatives in *Luke* 10: 16. By enforcing their purity and modesty, reconciling them spiritually, and authorizing them to evangelize, he founds the *Lex Ecclesiae* ('Law of the Church'). This Law, states David, works in tandem with the ten commandments, the meaning of which it is the Church's right and privilege to elucidate ('praeceptis Ecclesiae elucidantur ex parte mandata Dei').³² The radiance of Christ illuminates the disciples in 'D',

³¹ Ibidem 56.

³² Ibidem.

thus showing that he casts his light upon the Church, and additionally, that this light shines brighter than that of the Mosaic Law. The position of 'D' at the heart of the altarpiece accentuates the centrality of the *Lex Ecclesiae* as mediator of the *Lex Dei*. Christ points at his heart, while turning to look across the frame at Moses, to demonstrate that the tablets received externally by his forebear must now be housed within the votary's loving and biddable heart. The open pathway leading to Christ, in contrast to the palissade blocking access to Sinai, invites the beholder to acknowledge that just as Jesus behaved toward his disciples like a loving father, so now, in them as in us, *timor servilis* must be supplanted by *timor filialis* or even *timor reverentialis*. It hardly needs repeating that these many analogies are transmitted visually, by means of verbal figures, such as the prophetic, evangelical image of hearts turned from stone to flesh, and by the pictorial image of Charity unfolding a tripartite allegory of the three laws.

The bulk of the commentary dwells not on 'C' or even 'D', however, but on 'E', the left wing of the triptych, which depicts the creation of Adam, more specifically, the infusion into Adam of the spirit of life. God raises his right hand in a benedictory gesture that echoes the similar gestures made by Moses and Christ. At the same time, God reaches down to touch Adam's head, presumably to enliven the future seat of his memory, imagination, and reason. The commentary to 'E' explains that God is conferring the *Lex Naturae* that consists in the capacity to distinguish right from wrong, along with the instinctive desire to pursue the former and eschew the latter:

Lex Naturae, ut quae omnia comprehendit, quae tum homini fugienda tum facienda sunt, his paucis verbis continetur—'Declina a malo et fac bonum' [*Psalms* 36: 27]—ad quae omnia reliqua praecepta referuntur. De hac lege, ita ad Romanos Apostolus: 'Gentes, quae legem non habent, naturaliter ea, quae legis sunt, faciunt' [*Romans* 2: 14]. Exempli gratia hoc proferre possumus, quod D[ivus] Augustinus ait: Furtum punit lex tua, Domine, et lex scripta in cordibus hominum. Hoc est, Lex per Moysem a Deo data, et Lex Naturae, a Deo cordi humano naturaliter indita.³³

The Law of Nature, that which encompasses all things, what men must flee, what they must do, is contained in these few words—'Avoid the bad and do the good'—to which all other precepts are related. On this Law, the Apostle says to the Romans: 'The Gentiles who have not the Law, do by nature those things that are of the Law'. By way of example, we can

33 Ibidem 57.

adduce what Saint Augustine says: ‘Your Law, O Lord, punishes theft, as also does the Law written in human hearts’. Namely, the Law given by God through Moses, and the Law of Nature, implanted naturally into the human heart by God.

The Law of Nature, continues David, is manifest as a light bestowed interiorly (‘interius infundendo lumen’), but equally, it is discernible in all created things, which are ‘set before the eyes as the exterior signs, like unto traces, of divine wisdom’ (‘proponendo suae sapientiae signa exteriora velut quaedam Dei vestigia’).³⁴ David insists that this Law, whether transfused by means of *lumen* or broadcast by means of *signa*, is conveyed neither by word, as in ‘D’, or by writing, as in ‘C’: ‘Thus, from the start, this Natural Law was never at all delivered by verbal means, and nor was it mandated by written means, but rather, it is impressed in every human heart, where it may be ascertained’.³⁵ The point David broaches here and develops elsewhere in Emblem 20 is that the currency of the *Lex Naturae* is visual: it operates by means of images, such as the triptych analogizing the three *leges* in *pictura* 20, but with this difference—its lineaments are inherent rather than adventitious: neither voiced nor scripted externally, they are instead indelibly imbued or ingrained, and await discovery by anyone attentive to this Law. In every person, therefore, the Law of Nature exists as the precondition that facilitates reception of the Laws of God and the Church. As such, its mode of transmission, which is visual, prepares us to visualize the other two Laws.

To emphasize that the Law of Nature operates in and through images, David analogizes their internal production to various methods of pictorial execution. They may not actually be written, but they can be seen to partake of the appearance and visual force of scripted images, that is, of calligraphy. They can appear like something painted on panel, sealed in wax, or engraved in copper. They are comparable to that most iconic of divinely manufactured images—the Holy Face imprinted on the veil. In short, howsoever innate, they are to be visualized as images materially crafted by God the *Deus Artifex*. David prefaces these remarks by describing one of the most forceful such images to be derived from contemplation of the *Lex Naturae*—the image of a neighbor in need, upon whose situation we ought empathetically to project our own. The Law of Nature is likened to a mirror from out of which this image emerges assuredly:

34 Ibidem.

35 Ibidem: ‘Itaque neque usquam unquam ab initio vel verbo tradita vel scripto mandata fuit Lex ista Naturalis, sed ita in cuiusque corde impressa reperitur’.

Non possit propterea homo praesentius remedium et magis promptum speculum optare, in quo statim, quid sibi tali casu agendum sit, videat, praecipue erga proximum, hoc est, quemvis hominem, quam protinus cogitare, quid mihi, si tali sim loco, factum velim. [...] Sine dubio, laboranti succurri optem. Quare, sic faciam huic proximo, ut mihi cuperem fieri. Quod si ita actu ipso vere adimpleremus, id omne studium, omnem librorum lectionem, disputationem ac Philosophiam superaret. Nam quod legis, audis aut etiam theorice specularis, elabitur facile neque etiam volenti occurrit; at ista lex et lectio semper in corde scripta viget et conspicua est ad nutum volentis intueri, signatum est lumen istud super nos quasi inexterminabile [*Psalm 4: 7*] estque homini ad manum, instar tabellae ac pugillarium memoriam refricans. Quid ergo dicturi sumus, quod Lex ista ita a cordibus hominum videtur evanuisse aut erasa funditus, atque si nunquam eis tale quid inscriptum insculptumque fuisset?³⁶

No man could wish for a prompter remedy or more ready mirror in which forthwith to see what he must do, particularly with regard to his fellow man, whoever he may be, than at once to think: 'What should I wish done for me, were I to find myself in such a situation?' [...] Without doubt, as one suffering, I should wish to be succored. Wherefore, I ought to do for this neighbor, whatsoever I wish done for myself. If we were truly to fulfill this in deed, that would surpass every kind of study, every reading of books, every disputation, and every philosophy. For the things you read or hear, and also whatever you speculate theoretically, easily slip away, and nor do they easily come to our mind, even if we are desirous of finding them: but this Law, written upon the heart, along with the perusal of it, thrives eternally; visible to whoever wishes to behold it, this light is sealed upon us, as if inextinguishably. Ready to hand, like a painted panel or writing tablet it refreshes a man's memory. What, then, shall I say about the fact that this Law seems to have vanished from the hearts of men, or to have been scratched out; as if it had never been inscribed or engraved within them?

These images of pictorial images correlate to *pictura 20*, which portrays the three *leges* as the conjoined wings and centerpiece of a triptych enclosed within an emblematic image. The reference to *Psalm 4: 7*, aligned with verb 'signatum' ('sealed, stamped, impressed'), clearly conjures up the image of the Holy Face, imprinted in blood, sweat, and sputum: 'The light of thy countenance, O Lord,

36 Ibidem 58–59.

is signed upon us'. As the Law of Nature resembles an *imago manufacta*—indelibly scripted, painted, impressed, or engraved—so moral oblivion takes the form of material defacement.

The transition from Mosaic to Christian images concludes in Emblem 60, "Perfectum Patientiae exemplar, Christus passus" ("Image of perfect Patience, Christ outstretched", or, alternatively, "the suffering Christ") [Fig. 1.12]. David returns to the question of the relation between love and Christian image-making. In Emblem 20, as we have seen, the image of Moses on Sinai, introduced in Emblem 1, is reconfigured by Charity—pictured by love, as it were—and this implies that *timor servialis* has been displaced by *timor filialis* and/or *timor reverentialis*, in fulfilment of 1 John 4: 18 [Figs. 1.10 & 1.11]. Emblem 60 then asks how the love of Christ might itself be pictured, and concomitantly, how the power of this love to generate sacred images and transform the votary by means of them may best be shown. The *pictura* shares the format of *picturae* 1 and 20, thus indicating that it closely relates to these earlier emblems: the emblem book in the former and triptych in the latter become the large book ('D') embellished with images of the Holy Face and the Five Wounds. The kneeling boy and girl in *pictura* 20 are now accompanied by their pious parents ('B'), who stare at the *arma Christi* and the open book. The cross props up the book ('C'), respectively taking the place of Mount Sinai and of Charity.

The epigram admonishes the reader-viewer that he or she may become patient, in imitation of Christ, by reflecting on the instruments of the Passion and on the Holy Blood. Whereas the motto calls forth the image of Christ stretched out on the cross ('passus'), the epigram alludes to a different kind of image—abridged and compendious ('per compendia discam'), explicitly pictorialized ('hoc lege descriptum'), and more symbolic than mimetic, in the sense that instead of envisaging Christ crucified per se, we are urged to visualize images of the relics of his suffering ('Flagris, Cruce, Sanguine Christi'): 'Where may I shortly learn how not to be crushed by adversity? Peruse the scourges, cross, and blood of Christ, where this is described'.³⁷ The *pictura* diagrams this process of distillation, whereby the Passion resolves into component reliquary images. The vertical axis, read top to bottom, starts with the motto's reference to the image of Christ on the cross ('exemplar', lined up with the cross's postbeam); next comes a representative sampling of the *arma Christi*, more precisely, of images thereof ['C']; then an open book in which such relics as the crown of thorns, the sudarium, and the blood flowing from Christ's hands and side, are re-represented ('D'), as images of the images of the relics

37 Ibidem 200 and *pictura* 60: 'Non frangi adversis, ubi per compendia discam? / Hoc lege descriptum Flagris, Cruce, Sanguine Christi'.

just above them. The book sits on an anvil ('A') that signifies how the many blows endured by Christ in the smithy of the Passion, forged the steel of salvation ('sic incus fert verbera ut ferrum cudatur'). But the anvil and hammers also circle back to the thematic of image-making: combined with the imprinted image of the Holy Face and the images of the punctured hands, feet, and heart, they can be seen to allude to the allied techniques that produce an engraved image—the pounding of copper and the stamping of the incised copperplate in a press. The trope of engraving resurfaces at several points in the commentary, most emphatically in David's closing statement, which compares fashioning a mental image of Christ crucified, to the process of engraving his image upon the heart: 'Whence Saint Augustine, rightly considering Christ crucified, says: "Meditate these things, how great they are; weigh them in the steelyard of your heart, that all of him who for us was wholly affixed to the cross, may by piercing be fixed in the heart ('figatur in corde')'":³⁸

The meditative exercise of dwelling on the wounds of Christ singly and sequentially is conceived as an expression of the votary's empathetic love, on the model of Bernard's *Sermo in Cantica canticorum* 43. His reading of *Canticum* 1: 12, 'A bundle of myrrh is my love to me, he shall abide between my breasts', is both exegetical and performative: he visualizes each of the instruments of the Passion, then gathers them into a bundle—the *fasciculus myrrhae*—holding them close in his arms.³⁹ The layering of different kinds and degrees of image in *pictura* 60—the conversion of 'Christus passus' as 'patientiae exemplar' into an assortment of reliquary images, which are then re-articulated into images of images and gathered into an open book—stages Bernard's stepwise dissection of the Passion into its component *arma* and subsequent reassembly of these parts into an aggregative meditative locus. David expressly invokes the pictorial iconography of Bernard's *fasciculus*:

Tu quoque, si sapis, imitaberis sponsae prudentiam; atque hunc myrrhae fasciculum nec ad horam a pectore tuo patieris avelli, amara illa omnia, quae pro te pertulit, semper in memoria retinens et assidua meditatione

38 Ibidem 203: 'Unde recte D. Augustinus, Christum crucifixum expendens, inquit; haec quanta sint, cogitate; haec in statera vestri cordis appendite; ut totus figatur in corde, qui totus pro nobis fixus fuit in cruce'.

39 Bernard of Clairvaux, "*Cantica Canticorum*: Eighty-Six Sermons on the Song of Solomon", in Mabillon J. (ed.) – Eales S.J. (trans.), *Life and Works of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*. Vol. 4 (London: 1896) 266–270. Cf. *Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Clarae-Vallensis Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, ed. H. Hurter, *Sanctorum Patrum opuscula selecta*, series altera 5 (Innsbruck: 1888) 362–366.

revolvens. Hoc pictura designat, qua S. Bernardus omnia Passionis Christi instrumenta in fascem collecta inter ulnas suas complectitur, hac sacrae Scripturae subiecta sententia: 'Fasciculus myrrhae dilectus meus mihi inter ubera mea commorabitur'. Quod nihil est aliud, quam Christi pro nobis passi assidue cum gratiarum actione recordari, animumque in afflictione constitutum vel stantem confirmare vel labascentem fulcire vel etiam lapsum erigere, tam salutari atque efficaci remedio, vel naribus tantum animae languentis applicito.⁴⁰

If you have sense, you too shall imitate the prudence of the bride, not suffering this bundle of myrrh to be removed, not even for an hour, retaining in memory always all the bitter things he bore for you, meditating them assiduously. This is what that picture represents, in which Saint Bernard collects all the instruments of Christ's Passion into a bundle and cradles them in his arms, with this scriptural passage attached: 'A bundle of myrrh is my love to me, he shall abide between my breasts'. Which is nothing other than earnestly to recollect with due action of thanks the suffering of Christ, and to confirm our afflicted spirit when it stands firm, to uphold it when it wavers, to raise it up when it has fallen, by means of so salutary and efficacious a remedy applied, if you will, to the nostrils of our greatly languishing soul.

The layering of types of image also stands for the process whereby images become anchored in memory, whence they emerge to pervade the exercitant's mind, heart, and spirit. In the commentary, David identifies what it is the four votaries ('B')—man and boy, woman and girl—are observing with such care: they scrutinize the 'furnace of probation' in which the patience of Christ was 'baked', like potter's clay, as an example to all men, calling them to bear tribulations patiently.⁴¹ David has in mind the metaphor of the kiln from *Ecclesiasticus* 27: 6: 'The furnace trieth the potter's vessels, and the trial of affliction just men'. In gazing, then, at the items assembled in 'C'—cross, nails, scourges, spear, sponge, and crown of thorns—they are completing a kind of exegetical operation, construing the *arma Passionis Christi* as fulfillments (in this sense, as antitypes) of the Old Testament type put forward by the voice of Wisdom. In other words, they are meditating images, as David points out in a

⁴⁰ David, *Veridicus Christianus* 202.

⁴¹ Ibidem 201: 'sed quando fictile nostrum vas fornaci tentationis imponitur, tunc vere apparet, quid sit in rei veritate; tunc testa nostra dissilit et in verba impotentis animi crepitu erumpit. At qui ignem tribulationis perfert, ut vas perfectum, usui bono cedit'.

paraphrase of Augustine's reading of this passage in *Confessiones* x 37: 60; the analogy of Passion to *fornax* must be kept ever in view: 'Since this is the case, who does not see that whatsoever the tribulation, we ought daily to exercise effort and care always to set before our eyes and keep at hand this furnace of probation'.⁴² The votary must do more than this, however: he or she must ensure that the *tormenta Christi* are fixed in memory, in such a way that their motivating source, the boundless love of Christ, the true wellspring of his infinite patience, becomes durably evident. To help fix this crucial memory, David attaches it to another biblical *typus*, *Exodus* 15: 23–25, the sweetening of the bitter waters of Mara by Moses:⁴³

Dicit Responsio: 'Lege hoc descriptum in flagris, Cruce et Sanguine Christi. Hoc est, da operam Passioni Christi et morti eius intimo cordis amore meditandae et facile ac suaviter discas patientiam, quam alioqui duris asperisque praescriptionibus observandis sine patientia nunquam addisceres. Quando enim per memoriam passionis et tormentorum, quae Christus pro nobis sustinuit, ad tristia perferenda procedimus, tunc facilius sustinemus: quia patientia charitate fulcitur, omniaque ardua facit tolerabiliora. Huc figura illa spectabat, quando lignum dulcoravit aquas Marath, quae bibi non poterant. Sic lignum Crucis, hoc est Passio Christi in carne suscepta, et devote considerata dulcorat et facit potabiles amaras tribulationum aquas, quas alioqui difficile esset ebibere.'⁴⁴

The response says: 'Peruse the scourges, cross, and blood of Christ, where this is described'. Namely, attend to the Passion of Christ and to his death fit to be meditated with the heart's deepest love, and then easily and sweetly you will learn patience, which otherwise through the impatient observance of harsh and austere precepts you shall never come to know. For when through memory of the Passion and torments endured by Christ on our behalf, you proceed to suffer sorrows, you will easily sustain them, since charity fortifies patience, making hardships bearable. That figure pertains here—the wood of the tree sweetening the undrinkable

42 Ibidem: 'Quis non videat igitur, quandoquidem ita est, etiam quotidianam nostram curam et studium esse debere, hanc fornacem probationis per tribulationem quamcunque, semper ante oculos et ad manum habere et observare?.'

43 Two other such types of the Passion, David's patient suffering of Semei's rebukes (*2 Kings* 16: 5–10) and Job counseling his wife to patience (*Job* 2: 9–10) appear in the background, respectively labeled 'E' and 'F'.

44 David, *Veridicus Christianus* 201–202.

waters of Mara—for so the wood of the cross, that is, the Passion endured by Christ in the flesh, if it is devoutly contemplated, sweetens and makes potable the bitter waters of tribulation, which would otherwise be noisome to drink.

The charity of Christ shall fortify us, just as it fortified him, sweetening our sorrows no less than the wood of the tree sweetened the bitter waters of Mara. David enjoins the votary to see that love expressed in the mnemonic image of Christ's suffering flesh ('in carne suscepta, & devote considerata'), and this is what the images impressed in the open book ('D')—the Holy Face, heart, hands, and feet—represent [Fig. 1.12]. The transition from 'C' to 'D' might thus be parsed as the shift from the register of vision to that of visual memory; it might be more accurate to claim, however, that it diagrams the shift from one kind of mnemonic image, focusing on the relics the Passion or, better, its reliquary images, to a more deeply embedded and affective species of mnemonic image, consisting of Christ's bloodsoaked face and wounds.

David amplifies upon the nature and meaning of *imago* 'D': it is not only the images in the book, but the book itself, that represents Christ. The equivalence of Jesus and the book was already implied by the motto's pun on 'passus' ('open, outspread, outstretched', from 'pando', but also, 'having suffered', from 'patior'), which David now revisits and more fully develops. In drawing this parallel, he asks us to imagine that Christ is the true author of these images, as if our memory were subsumed into his, and our meditative image-making instrumentalized by him. Or alternatively, he encourages us to visualize the Crucifixion as the opening of a book whose images not only portray the injured, outstretched body of Christ, but also originate in and issue from it. Or yet again, he prompts us to see the images in the book as imprinted upon the flesh of Christ:

Possemus quasi librum ingentem, apertum, Christi passionem, immo Christum ipsum super pulpito crucis expansum, intus et foris scriptum oculis cordis intueri in eoque, praeter immensam sapientiam, potentiam, et bonitatem stupendam quoque legere charitatem, misericordiam infinitam, mansuetudinem inexplicabilem, incomparabilem humilitatem et obedientiam, et, quod modo urgemus, sole splendidiorem patientiam, ut in speculo omnibus Christianis unice imitandam. Hic liber, hic magister, haec lectio, haec methodus patientiam addiscendi compendiosissima. Perlustremus omnia quaecunque homini in hac vita possint obtingere adversa, in fama, bonis, corpore, amicis, et in omnibus corporis membris ac sensibus animaeque facultatibus. Quid est, cuius non possit in

Passione Christi reperiri exemplum, quo, qui iam patitur, doceatur, excitetur et adiuvetur.⁴⁵

Would that we could see the Passion of Christ with the eyes of the heart, as if it were a giant book opened, nay rather, Christ himself spread out upon the scaffold of the cross, drawn both interiorly and exteriorly: and behold not only his immense wisdom, power, and goodness, but also his stupendous charity, infinite mercy, inexplicable clemency, incomparable humility, and obedience, and that which we now urge, his patience more splendid than the sun, fit to be imitated by all Christians especially, as if reflected in a mirror. This is the book, this the teacher, this the lesson, this the compendious method of learning patience. Let us examine every adversity that can befall a man in this life, whatsoever it may be, in reputation, property, personhood, or friends, in every part of his body and senses, in his powers of soul: what is there that cannot be found exemplified by the Passion of Christ, wherein he who suffers, is taught, comforted, and sustained.

The phrase ‘*intus et foris*’, as used in the opening sentence, can be interpreted to mean either, ‘as if we were seeing the book with bodily eyes, when we see it with our interior sense’, or, ‘as if we were seeing represented in an image, the internal and external suffering of Christ’. Whichever meaning is selected, the emphasis falls on the intense visibility of the images of the Passion unveiled by the self-opening of *Christus Liber*. He reveals all of himself, both within and without, and conversely, we see what he uncovers with our corporeal and spiritual eyes, that is, with everything human vision can muster.

David’s remarkable reading of the image of the book responds to *Apocalypse* 5: 1–5, as a marginal note clearly indicates: ‘And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals. [...] And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open the book, nor to see it. And one of the ancients said to me: “Weep not; behold the lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof”’. The reference to *Apocalypse* 5 brings to mind the different sort of image, closed to human eyes, that Emblem 1 elucidates, and that we saw reconfigured and pictorialized under the New Dispensation in Emblem 20 [Figs. 10 and 11]. In Emblem 60, the Christian image, unlike the Mosaic one, is thus construed as susceptible to a unitive process of

45 Ibidem 202.

interiorization that subsumes the votary into Christ, to such an extent that his suffering becomes continuous with Christ's suffering, his image-making coincident with that of Christ [Fig. 1.12]. The Passion images illustrated in this book are to be appreciated as fashioned by Christ himself, who impresses them upon our memory and consciousness, thereby deepening our experience of his paradigmatic, patient love. The emblem book pictured in Emblem 1, as an instrument generative of the three *timores*—*servialis*, *filialis*, and *reverentialis*—and the triptych pictured in Emblem 20, as a meditative image of the three *leges*—*Lex Naturae*, *Lex Dei*, and *Lex Ecclesiae*—is transformed into the open book of Emblem 60, which represents the full participation of Christ in the 'true Christian's' efforts as image-maker.

David, as this analysis will have shown, was deeply invested in exploring the nature of sacred images and in defending and understanding their use. His favored means of expression—the apologetical, controversialist treatise and the illustrated emblem book—are not in any conventional sense art theoretical, but a rich discourse of the *imago*, of its forms and functions, its meaningful potentialities, permeates them. His treatment of the religious image—what it is, what it can do, how it has changed over time, whether it is divinely sanctioned—becomes particularly sustained and systematic in emblem books such as the *Veridicus Christianus*, undoubtedly because the genre, which David converted into a Jesuit specialty, turns on the relation between image (verbal or pictorial) and text (captions, mottos, epigrams, and commentaries). It would therefore be justifiable to characterize his books as epitomes of the phenomenon that this volume has designated 'Jesuit Image Theory'.

Part I: Jesuit Image Theory—Rhetorical and Emblematic Treatises, and Theoretical Debates

Six of the fourteen chapters in this book examine texts that purport to theorize about the *imago* and to analyze its various forms and functions. Wietse de Boer seeks to reconstruct the context within which the first generation of Jesuits developed their ideas about the sacred image. In the mid-sixteenth century, as Europe was convulsed by doctrinal disputes, the cult of the saints and the uses of religious art gave rise to vivid criticism by reform-minded Christians, Protestant and Catholic alike. The issue was hotly debated both in France and Italy, where the early Jesuits spent their formative years. While we lack direct evidence of how their thinking on the subject evolved in these years, it was surely conditioned by two vital concerns: on the one hand, the wish to defend the veneration of images from charges of idolatry; on the other, the need to counteract suspicions that

Ignatius and his companions fostered forms of spirituality that smacked of mystical illumination. Two disputations by Dominicans with whom the early Jesuits maintained close relations may suggest how they navigated this treacherous passage. In his *De cultu imaginum* (1552) the French inquisitor Matthieu Ory offered a Neothomist theory of visual perception in which the veneration of physical images and the cultivation of mental images were analogous forms of spiritual practice. The Italian Ambrogio Catarino, in his *Disputatio [...] de cultu et adoratione imaginum* (1552), rejected any view that did not expressly deny that divinity inhered in the graven image, but nonetheless came close to Ory's psychology of perception. On this basis he justified forms of veneration that, going well beyond didactic or mnemotechnic uses of the image, rendered honor to the represented. Both views, in explaining how the image mediated the apprehension of realities beyond itself, may have been critically important as the Jesuits developed practices of image-making that hinged on connections between texts and visual representations, between external and mental images.

Subsequent generations of Jesuits came to plumb the depths of these relationships theoretically, particularly to explore the processes of signification. Ralph Dekoninck traces the derivation of the symbolic category *imago figurata* ('figured image')—as used in the treatises of four Jesuit image theorists, Louis Richeome, Jacob Masen, Maximiliaan van der Sandt, and Claude-François Ménestrier—from Augustine's category *signum translatum* ('transferred sign', i.e., a sign that refers to something beyond itself, to a God-given meaning that is conferred or 'instituted'). The synonymous terms *figurata* ('figured') and *translatum* ('transferred') refer in all cases to the hermeneutic process that both produces and is produced by the signifying image, but the four Jesuit authors' accounts of what this process entails and the effects it brings about, vary dramatically. For Richeome, the term *signa translata* is medium-specific: it refers to visual images that represent sacred mysteries. For Van der Sandt, the *imago figurata* is subsumed into the operations of a *theologia symbolica* ('symbolic theology') that aims to decode the corporeal similitudes by which God may be known. For Masen, the *imago translata* or *figurata* is a visual or verbal metaphor that more closely resembles the symbolic usage of poets and rhetoricians than that of biblical exegetes. For Ménestrier, the *imago figurata*, now construed as a purely rhetorical instrument, dominates all forms of symbolic thought—mental, performative, imaginative, and enigmatic.

Agnès Guiderdoni demonstrates how central the *imago figurata* is to Maximiliaan van der Sandt's overarching system of symbolic theology, as set forth in his trilogy of treatises, the *Theologia scholastica* (1624), *Theologia symbolica* (1626), and *Theologia mystica* (1627). For Van der Sandt, symbolic and mystical theology, unlike speculative theology (which forms part of scholastic

theology), rely on modalities of symbolisation—*allegoria in factis* ('symbolism of scriptural events') and *allegoria in verbis* ('symbolism of things imagined by means of verbal images')—based on a rhetorical understanding of figures of speech. In turn, the symbolic theology of things ('figuratio rei') and the symbolic theology of speech ('translatio verbi') are understood as complementary modes of allegorization, both of them anchored in the use of *imagines figuratae*, into which virtually all figures of speech can be subsumed. In practice, when Van der Sandt distinguishes between symbols that operate *in factis* (i.e., by means of things that function either hieroglyphically or emblematically as signs for other things) and symbols that operate *in verbis* (i.e., by means of words used to signify things either literally or tropically), he is really construing both symbolic types as *modi loquendi* that turn on an archetypal figure—the *imago figurata*—and its kinds: parabolic, proverbial, enigmatic, emblematic, fabulous, and hieroglyphic. Symbolic theology, states Guiderdoni, thus altogether relies upon the figurative image as a way of knowing God, and this is why, for Van der Sandt, the distinction between the symbolic (which focuses on signs of God) and the mystical (which focuses more directly on the mystery of Godhead) is more a question of degree than kind, or is even elided.

A case study allows Andrea Torre to show the enormous creativity, scope, and emotional power the lessons of symbolic theology could have when developed in sacred rhetoric. He examines the ways in which Emanuele Tesauro, the Jesuit-formed master of seventeenth-century poetics and author of *Il cannocchiale aristotelico* (1655), used the stigmata as an exegetical, mnemonic, and oratorical device. Christ's wounds, Torre argues, were a record both of his suffering and of the benefits he thereby bestowed—the *memoria beneficiorum*. The image thus allowed the faithful beholding it to reflect on the savior's past sacrifice on their behalf. Tesauro enriched this reflection with a form of associative etymology that, in conjuring up images of the Passion, intended not so much to offer a literal representation of Christ's final hours as to open up a diverse and potentially new range of allegorical meanings, moral lessons, and appeals to affective participation contained in the Christian myth of redemption. The knowledge thus disclosed was not historical or scientific, but claimed to uncover deeper layers of truth, perfectly rendered metaphorically by the image of Christ's gaping wounds. The Shroud of Turin, which Tesauro considered in a famous panegyric, demonstrated the full potential of this kind of forward-looking recollection. In it the divine had left a literal imprint of his own sacrifice: at once a relic, a self-portrait, and an emblem, it revealed itself for contemplation, exegesis, and emulation.

David Graham takes the discussion of the Jesuits' theoretical engagement with images to the seminal emblem scholar, influenced by Tesauro,

Claude-François Ménestrier (1631–1705). To what extent can the extensive taxonomy the Jesuit undertook in the two treatises entitled *L'Art des Emblèmes*, published in 1662 and 1684, be called works of theory, when scholars have noted Ménestrier's penchant for infinite distinctions and his apparent inability to develop a systematic approach? What is more, how are we to consider his significance in an age that saw both the peak and crisis of early modern emblematics? Graham not only reconsiders the theoretical significance of Ménestrier's thought but, more importantly, argues for its modernity. He makes this original case by positing an evolutionary development between the two treatises. *L'Art des Emblèmes* of 1662, rather than presenting its own theory of the image, rested on the collective wisdom of the ancient and modern authors it assembled. Further, the work reflected the author's interests in rhetoric and practical emblematics, deriving its compendium of images less from emblem books than festival culture and applied arts. In contrast, the much expanded 1684 version was reconfigured by an Aristotelian-Thomist framework and engaged more deeply with the printed emblem, as evidenced by the inclusion of numerous woodcut illustrations. These novelties, Graham suggests, may reflect the author's increased interest in anchoring image theory in visual and related textual sources rather than the received opinions of established authorities. This tendency, the author suggests, seems to anticipate modern 'grounded theory' developed in recent sociology, in that it derives theory from the analysis of primary data rather than axiomatic positions. This innovative stance grew out of Ménestrier's attempt, genuine if perhaps unsuccessful, to come to terms with the astonishing profusion of image forms that, by this time, had come to characterize the field of emblematics.

Karl Enenkel attempts to shed light on Jesuit image theory in a school context, by analyzing the important rhetorical treatise *Idea Rhetoricae* of the German Jesuit Franciscus Neumayr (1697–1765), especially the chapters on *enargeia* or *evidentia*. Neumayr, who primarily composed his rhetoric as a manual for Jesuit priests, attached the highest value to *evidentia*, and he elaborated upon the devices and tools he regarded as especially useful in creating *evidentia*. In this respect, he went much further than the rhetorical works formerly utilized in Jesuit schools: Erasmus's *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, Andreas Frusius, S.J.'s metrical *De utraque copia verborum ac rerum praecepta*, and above all, Cyprian Suarez, S.J.'s *De arte rhetorica*, and even Erasmus's and Suarez's main sources, Quintilian and Cicero. Among other things, Neumayr theorizes about what he calls 'spectacula', that is, the demonstration of visual objects as instruments for creating *evidentia*, objects such as skullcaps, burning torches, statues of saints, or paintings, and he also provides detailed practical advice on how to use them in sermons. Interestingly, he identifies

theatrical performances of religious rites, *tableaux vivants*, and even *Deus ex machina* installations as instruments of persuasion. Particularly illuminating is Neumayr's chapter on church architecture: he analyzes how it functions to persuade the believer by means of visual effects, and to create religious feelings through *evidentia*. His discussion of St. Michael in Munich may be seen to operate as the nucleus for an advanced stage of Jesuit image theory. For Neumayr, who was himself a compelling and influential preacher, *evidentia* functioned within controversialist sermons and elsewhere as a pivotal argument for the superiority of Catholicism. In conclusion, Enenkel analyzes some of the ways in which Neumayr, who served as director of the Munich Jesuit theatre, created and instrumentalized *evidentia* in his Jesuit school plays.

Part II: Embedded Image Theory

The next seven chapters examine what one might call expressions of embedded image theory, that is, various instances where Jesuit authors and artists use images to explore the status and functions of such images and of image-making. Walter Melion discusses the early Jesuit manuscript prayerbook mentioned at the start of this introduction—the *Libellus piarum precum*—which consists of a carefully ordered sequence of Eucharistic images that anchors clusters of meditative prayers to be recited *in solitudine*, as codicils to the liturgy of the Mass. Throughout the *Libellus*, pasted-in woodcuts and engravings of the Virgin and Child, Christ the Man of Sorrows, and scenes from the Passion, richly colored in gouache and watercolor, are juxtaposed to brightly illuminated versions of the Jesuit impresa—IHS with cross, nails, and sacred heart—superimposed on images of the host. Whereas the printed images are mimetic, in this sense representational, the host images tend to be abstracted—highly patterned, geometrical, and diagrammatic. They repeat in abstract what the first pictorial statement narrates more explicitly. Melion construes these juxtaposed images as pictorial registers that variously convey complementary aspects of the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

The imaginative deployment of meditative images, albeit without the support of material images, is also at the center of Hilmar M. Pabel's contribution on Peter Canisius's *Notae evangelicae* (1591–1593). Building on his earlier work on this important set of meditative directives for priests, Pabel analyzes the Dutch Jesuit's comments on the gospel pericopes for Advent, the first part of the liturgical year. Canisius's methodology, obviously drawing its inspiration from Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, included the engagement of the five senses in contemplation. Already as a young man, Canisius is known to have meditated on Christ's ascension, drawing on vision, hearing, and smell. Distinctive in his

writings is the emphasis on hearing: speech and music were as instrumental in spiritual practice as they were in the external applications of preaching, teaching, and apologetic argument. Central to Pabel's analysis, however, is the prominent role played by sight in Canisius's pursuit of inner piety, on the model of sight's centrality in Ignatius's *Exercises*. In the contemplation of Advent, for example, sight facilitates the processes of mental elaboration and affective connection with scriptural places (from the site of Christ's birth to the scene of Hell), persons (John the Baptist, Christ, the Holy Family), and narratives (Jesus's entry into Jerusalem, the beheading of John the Baptist). The purpose of such contemplative exercises consisted, as Pabel puts it, in 'fostering spiritual dispositions' worth cultivating, from the fear of punishment for sin to the love of God. The ultimate goal was a wholesale redirection of the self, a spiritual transformation.

James Clifton utilizes an image within which numerous other images proliferate, Antoon Sallaert's *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* of ca. 1635, to call attention to the reflexiveness of much Jesuit devotional imagery. Image-tropes abound in pictures such as Sallaert's that visualize the Holy Name as a source of further *imagines Christi*. In the *Glorification*, Jesus holds one kind of symbolic image, the reliquary *arma Christi*, and points upward at a wheel of seven narrative scenes from the Passion—the so-called seven bleedings of Christ—which emerge from his name, more specifically, from the abstracted cross the name subtends, like the mimetic spokes of a narrative wheel. One kind of image appears to beget another, and all these images are seen to originate from the blessing gesture of the infant Jesus, whose infancy and tender flesh allude to the mystery of the Incarnation, and whose pose and divine radiance allude to the mystery of the Resurrection. It is as if Sallaert were arguing that these mysteries, expressed in the form of a synoptic image, license the propagation of corollary images, such as the *imagines Passionis Christi*. Moreover, as Clifton points out, Sallaert takes full advantage of the capacity of pictorial images to engender new kinds of devotional practice: the *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* is exceptional in its accommodation of so many devotions—to the infant Christ, the *arma Christi*, the Holy Name, the Seven Bleedings, and the Eucharist. The composite format that he devised highlights the potentialities of image-based devotion, since he relies on no textual precedents.

Anna Knaap discusses the innovative paintings on marble that the painter Hendrick van Balen embedded within the stone predella, altar frame, and revetments of the Marian Chapel in the Jesuit Church of Antwerp. Van Balen was the first northern master to take such paintings on stone out of the *const-camer* ('art cabinet'), the private, secular setting in which they were proudly displayed as specimens of natural artifice, and resituate them in the sacred

space of a church, where they function as allusions to the Deus Artifex and, most notably, to the mystery of the Incarnation. The patterns in the veined yellow marble slabs of the predella, for instance, variously depict landscapes, light-infused cloud banks, and ephemeral effects such as billowing smoke, greatly ornamenting the pendant *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Adoration of the Magi* painted upon them. The artist's capacity to produce these effects, making a single material—stone—so protean that it serves equally to represent inert rocky matter, fugitive phenomena, and the ineffable appearance of divine light, stands proxy for God the Creator's power to bring forth images from raw nature and, by analogy, for his bringing forth of the supreme image of himself—Christ Jesus, the *imago Dei*—in and through the mystery of the Incarnation. Moreover, Knaap explains how these paintings on marble signified the Virgin's participation in this process of divine image-making: as instrument and co-agent of this mystery, she was compared to a marble slab, her conception of Christ to the veining ingrained within the slab's crystalline structure.

Pierre Antoine Fabre expounds Louis Richeome, S.J.'s illustrated meditative treatise, *La peinture spirituelle* of 1611, more particularly its title-page and two of its engravings, *The Gardens of the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome* and *Ignacio de Azevedo, S.J., and the Thirty-Nine Jesuit Martyrs of Brazil*. These printed images, as he shows, in their relation to the book's other images—verbal, visual, pictorial, and mnemonic—give evidence of Richeome's pluriform and multifarious conception of the *imago* and of its sometimes ambivalent relation to his deeply rhetoricized text. This text, in turn, centers on the ekphrastic production of *tableaux* purporting to describe paintings on display in the Jesuit's Roman house of Sant' Andrea al Quirinale. What, asks Fabre, is the nature of the relation between these verbal *tableaux* and the other kinds of image generated by Richeome within the *Peinture spirituelle*, and what does this relation tell us about the process of spiritual image-making? How and why, in the *Peinture*, is the mutual relation amongst pictorial image, ekphrastic text, imagined *tableau*, and mnemonic image, text, and *tableau*, so vexed, so fraught with contingency? Fabre demonstrates how the book's image-text apparatus makes it possible to identify various permutations of the *imago* as different in kind—he identifies at least eight—and yet complementary, and then again, as intensely contradictory. The *Peinture spirituelle* can be seen as symptomatic of the competing authorities of word and image, *écrit* and *image*, within Jesuit spiritual and exegetical theory and practice at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Aline Smeesters deals with a famous scene in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* (VI, 756–887), in which Vergil allowed his readers to visualize, together with Aeneas and his father Anchises, the whole line of Roman rulers down to Marcellus,

the nephew of Augustus. This masterpiece of *enargeia*, underpinned by the ancient (and, from a Christian point of view, problematic) theory of the pre-existence of souls, was adapted in a number of interesting ways by Jesuit authors within a very precise generic frame: the genethliac allegorical poem in Latin hexameters written to celebrate the birth of a child. Smeesters discusses two such poems by the Jesuits Jacobus Wallius and Ubertino Carrara, dated 1652 and 1678 respectively, that provide striking examples of how Jesuit poetical *imitatio* could operate in conjunction with philosophical and theological conceptions of the generative power of divine ideas, and with art theoretical notions of inventive agency.

Steffen Zierholz explores the myriad ways in which theoretical premises underlying the *Spiritual Exercises* can likewise be discerned in Jesuit church construction and decoration. Specifically, he identifies the classical rhetorical concept of *enargeia*—the rendition of past events in a manner so vivid and lively that they are made to seem visibly present—as crucially important, not only to early modern theories of artistic production and meditative image-making, but also to the devotional form and function of sacred spaces. The attempt to integrate spatial and pictorial design with meditative practice antedates Andrea Pozzo's celebrated *Apotheosis of St. Ignatius* in Sant'Ignazio, Rome. It was already fully evident in the Jesuits' first major architectural commission in the papal city, the Gesù. Zierholz closely examines the church's Cappella della Natività, whose carefully coordinated decorative program—in particular, Niccolò Circignani's cupola fresco depicting the *Heavenly Host*—turns the chapel into a unified sacred space that envelops the beholder, inciting a participatory, imaginative, and contemplative engagement with the pictorial narrative. Convincing effects of space, volume, light, and color enhance the devotee's involvement in the depicted action. Ideally, the perception of pictorial artifice dissolves into a veritable sense of celestial presence.

In the final essay, Jeffrey Muller invites the reader to consider this volume's central theme within the context of a much debated question—the strategy of accommodation developed by the Jesuits as they established their ministry and missions in far-flung corners of the world. Muller outlines an approach to this critical issue that eschews anachronism, bridges internal (Jesuit) and external perspectives, and acknowledges both religious and political motivations. In the eyes of a missionary like Roberto De Nobili, adopting foreign customs could be defended as a way to facilitate access to and conversion of local populations, as long as this compromise was limited to 'accidental' cultural features, not essential elements of the faith. But the deep suspicions that accompanied the order for centuries, and that erupted during controversies such as those over the Chinese and Malabar rites, demonstrates just how tenuous this justifi-

cation could seem to others, and how easily it could be politicized. The image question was very much involved in the forms of cultural interaction, translation, and accommodation at the heart of the Jesuit enterprise. In Europe and beyond, illustrated catechisms could bridge language and educational divides. Buddhist (and other) images could profitably be cast as demonic opposites of the statues of Catholic saints, if not outright proof of the idolatrous nature of native religions. In other ways, too, the Jesuits did not hesitate to use images, material culture, and other culture-specific appeals to the senses—ranging from luxurious art to local dress to popular fragrances—to draw in potential converts. This approach reflected Ignatius' oft-quoted suggestion that religious persuasion be facilitated by 'going in by their door in order to come out by ours'. Sometimes, however, one is struck by glimmers of cross-cultural awareness, for example when the missionary Luis Frois came close to describing the temple of the Japanese god Amida as a suitable locus of meditation. The numerous statues of Amida's son Kanon, Frois noted, 'would make a good composition of place for a meditation on the ranks and hierarchies of the angels'. The point provides striking proof, if any was needed, of how deeply embedded Jesuit image theory had become within decades of the order's founding.

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