CHAPTER 7

Enargeia Fireworks: Jesuit Image Theory in Franciscus Neumayr's Rhetorical Manual (*Idea Rhetoricae*, 1748) and His Tragedies

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Introduction

The Jesuit priest Franciscus Neumayr (1697–1765) with his *Idea Rhetoricae* and *Idea Poeseos* (together comprising 10 editions between 1748 and 1775)[1] figures among the most successful and interesting Jesuit authors of rhetorical treatises, which is especially intriguing because these works appeared at a time just before rhetoric as a system of legitimate literary and intellectual communication came under pressure.[2] Neumayr was not only a theoretician, but a prolific writer of Latin school comedies and tragedies; some 29 lyrical dramas (*Meditationes scaenicae*) that united dialogue, instrumental music, arias, and

1 The *Idea Rhetoricae* appeared six times (1748, 1753, 1756, 1761, 1768, and 1775), and the *Idea Poeseos* four times (1751, 1755, 1759, and 1768); first editions: *Idea Rhetoricae sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis quotidiano, civili ac ecclesiastico* [...] (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1748); *Idea Poeseos sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis,ad ingeniorum culturam, animorum oblectationem,ac morum doctrinam accommodata* [...] (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1751). Moreover, in his manual for priests, *Vir Apostolicus*, Neumayr devoted a substantial passage to rhetoric, i.e. to sermons (book III, chapter 1, article 1 "De concionibus", in the first edition of 1752 on pp. 229–281); *Vir Apostolicus sive doctrina methodica de utili et facili praxi functionum Sacerdotalium libello de Gratia Vocationis Sacerdotalis nuper edito per modum appendicis adiecta* (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1752) 120, 428 pp., Sommervogel 34. The *Vir Apostolicus* saw five more editions up to 1779 (same title, but 80, 414 pp., ibidem: 1755, 1758; Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz: 1765, 1771, 1779). For details concerning the various editions of the *Idea Rhetoricae* and the *Idea Poeseos* cf. *infra*.

2 That is, in the second half of the eighteenth century, when adherents of the Enlightenment, such as Immanuel Kant and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, started to criticize rhetoric as an insincere, artificial, unrealistic, immoral, and therefore also unworthy way of arguing. Cf., *inter alia*, Geitner U., *Die Sprache der Verstellung. Studien zum rhetorischen und anthropologischen Wissen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: 1992) (*Communicatio,* vol. 1); Ueding G. (ed.), *Rhetorik: Begriff—Geschichte—Internationalität* (Tübingen: 2005).

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duets; spiritual texts, such as *exercitia*, exhortations, regulations of religious life, and prayer books; and a large number of controversial Latin and German sermons. Altogether he authored the impressive sum of some 300 publications. In 1992, P.Th. van der Veldt, S.J., published a biography of Neumayr with a first comprehensive study of his works.[3] I think that Neumayr's rhetorical works deserve special attention because of the innovations the author introduced in order to adapt rhetoric to the requirements of its "modern", daily use in school education, preaching, literary writing, theatre performances, etc.[4] I believe that, among other things, Neumayr developed interesting views on *enargeia*, and on the use of images in rhetorical prose and poetry. With respect to image theory[5] his works have not been studied thus far. Neumayr developed his views in close connection with an extensive practical experience as a Jesuit schoolteacher, priest, missionary, *Praeses* of the Marian Congregation of Munich, preacher, and director of theatre and musical performances. After entering the Jesuit order as a novice in 1712, he studied philosophy at the Augsburg Lyceum (1714–1717)[6] and theology at the Jesuit universities of Dillingen and Ingolstadt from 1722 to 1726.[7] After being ordained a priest in 1726, he worked as a professor of rhetoric at the Jesuit schools of Brig and Solothurn in Switzerland (1727–1729), and at the *collegium* in Munich (1731–1736). In 1738 he became *Praeses* of the Marian Congregation (*Congregatio Mariana maior*), the so-called Latin congregation, in Munich (1738–1750), and in 1746–1747 he served as *Praefectus* of the Munich Jesuit school. From 1750 to 1753 he worked as Rector of the Jesuit universities of Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and from 1753 to 1765 he served as preacher in the Cathedral of Augsburg.[8]

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3 Veldt P.Th. van der, *Franz Neumayr SJ (1697–1765). Leben und Werk eines spätbarocken geistlichen Autors* (Amsterdam – Maarssen: 1992). Van der Veldt 333–395 gives a complete list of Neumayr's printed editions.

4 For the *Idea Poeseos* cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 84–97 and 123–125; Van der Veldt, however, discusses the *Idea Poeseos* only with respect to drama ("Dramentheorie in der Idea Poeseos"). Van der Veldt's discussion of the *Idea Rhetoricae* focuses on preaching, invention, and argumentation (ibidem 193 ff.), and in fact deals primarily with the related work *Vir Apostolicus*; cf. ibidem, 193: 'Da er aber im *Vir Apostolicus* fast buchstäblich den Text aus der *Idea Rhetoricae* übernommen und erheblich erweitert hat, beschränken sich die folgenden Erörterungen vornehmlich auf das erstgenannte Werk'.

5 For Jesuit image theory of the seventeenth century cf. Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle Jesuite du XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: 2005).

6 Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 21–23.

7 Ibidem 23–25.

8 For these periods of Neumayr's life cf. ibidem 26–60.

The Theory of *Evidentia* in Quintilian and in Early Modern Rhetorics

The rhetorical skill of creating *evidentia* (*enargeia*) has been considered to be of high importance in various early modern rhetorical treatises, such as Erasmus's *De duplici copia, verborum ac rerum*,[9] and in this respect they have been influenced especially by Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[10] Erasmus's *De copia* was without doubt the most successful rhetorical manual of the sixteenth century, with more than 160 editions between 1512 and 1570. In a sense, one can speak of a kind of an early modern obsession with *enargeia* or the imitative potential of language with respect to visual objects.[11] Erasmus with

9 Ed. pr. as *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*, together with *De ratione studii* and *De puero Iesu Concio scholastica* (Paris, Josse Bade: 1512); second corrected ed. with the title *De duplici Copia, Verborum ac rerum Commentarii duo. Ab ipso Authore diligentissime recogniti et emaculati, atque in plerisque locis aucti* (Strasbourg, Mathias Schürer: 1514); third corrected and augmented ed. with the same title as the second, *postrema autoris cura recogniti locupletatique* (Basel, Joannes Froben: 1526); fourth considerably augmented ed. *multa accessione novisque formulis locupletati* (Basel, Officina Frobeniana: 1534). Henceforth, the title will be abbreviated as *De copia*. On the work cf., *inter alia*, Sloane T.O., "Schoolbooks and Rhetoric. Erasmus' Copia", *Rhetorica* 9 (1991) 113–129; Knott B.I., "Introduction", in Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, in *ASD* I, 6, ed. B.I. Knott (Amsterdam – New York: 1988) 7–19; eadem, "Erasmus' Working Methods in 'De copia'", in *Proceedings on the Symposium on Erasmus, Rotterdam 1986* (Leiden: 1988) 143–150; Cave T., *The Cornucopian Text* (Oxford: 1979); Vallese G., "Érasme et le 'De duplici copia verborum ac rerum'", in *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia* (Paris: 1972), vol. I, 233–239; Soward J.K., "Erasmus and the Apologetic Text Book: A Study on the 'De duplici copia verborum et rerum'", *Studies in Philology* 55 (1958) 122–135; Mack P., *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: 2011) 80–87; Wels V., *Triviale Künste* (Berlin: 2000) 71–82, 170–183; Bauer B., *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt a. M. – Bern – New York: 1986) 121–129. In Erasmus's *De copia*, book II, "ratio"/"method" (=chapter) 5 is dedicated to *enargeia* or *evidentia*. In the 120th edition (Amsterdam, Joannes Janssonius: 1645), the chapter on *enargeia* consists of 12 pages (207–220), the same number as in Knott's English translation in 40, in the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. XXIV (Toronto: 1978) 577–589. In the critical edition of *De copia* cf. *ASD* I, 6, on pages 202–215. On Erasmus and *enargeia* cf. esp. Cave T., "*Enargeia*: Erasmus and the Rhetoric of Presence in the Sixteenth Century", *L'Esprit Créateur* 16, 4 (1976) 5–19.

10 Especially *Institutio oratoria* VIII, 3, 61–71; IV, 3, 12. On the pivotal importance of Quintilian for Erasmus's *De copia* cf., *inter alia*, Knott, "Introduction", esp. 8–10. 10: Erasmus 'does in fact quote, paraphrase or rework a great deal of Quintilian's treatise'.

11 On *enargeia* in the early modern period cf., *inter alia*, Plett H.F., *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and in the Early Modern Age* (Leiden – Boston: 2012) (International Studies in

his powerful *De copia* may be exemplary for the conviction that things can be made visible by words. This seems to be true also for one of the most important Jesuit manuals, the *De arte rhetorica libri tres* by the Portuguese scholar Cyprian Soarez, S.J. (1524–1593), which was printed some 129 times (!) between 1562 and 1700.[12] *De arte rhetorica* was widely used in Jesuit schools, was officially prescribed in the *Ratio studiorum*, and dominated Jesuit teaching of rhetoric for the rest of the century.[13] The work appeared for the first time in Coimbra

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the History of Rhetoric vol. IV); Cheeke St., *Writing for Art: The Aesthetics of Ekphrasis* (Manchester – New York: 2008); Schenka A., *Ekphrasis und Theatralität: Begegnung zweier Konzepte* (Saarbrücken: 2007); Koelb J.H., *The Poetics of Description: Imagined Places in European Literature* (New York: 2006); Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem*; Armas F.A. de, *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes* (Lewisburg: 2005); Dundas J., *Sidney and Junius on Poetry and Painting: Renaissance Poets and the Art of Painting* (Newark: 2003); Klarer M., *Ekphrasis: Bildbeschreibung als Repräsentationstheorie bei Spenser, Sidney, Lyly and Shakespeare* (Tübingen: 2001); González de Cosio Rosenzweig M. (ed.), *Visual Rhetoric* (Providence: 1998); Boehm G. – Pfotenhauer H. (eds.), *Beschreibungskunst—Kunstbeschreibung. Ekphrasis von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: 1995); Galland-Hallyn P., *Les yeux de l'eloquence: Poétiques humanistes de l'evidence* (Orléans: 1995); Solbach A., *Evidentia und Erzähltheorie: Die Rhetorik des anschaulichen Erzählens in der Frühmoderne und ihre antiken Quellen* (Munich: 1994); Heffernan J.A.W., *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: 1993). Solbach, *Evidentia und Erzähltheorie* 75 ff. describes the views of a number of early modern theoretical treatises in German, such as the ones of Harsdörffer, Opitz, and Birken. For the Middle Ages, cf. especially Wandhoff H., *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin – New York: 2003).

12 Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric* 177–182, in the part on "Iberian Rhetoric" (176–185); for the editions see Backer-Sommervogel, vol. VII, 1331–1338. For the *De Arte Rhetorica* cf. Flynn L.J. (S.J.), "The *De Arte Rhetorica* of Cyprian Soarez, SJ", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 42, 4 (1956) 367–374; idem, "Sources and Influence of Soarez' De Arte Rhetorica", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 43 (1957) 257–265; Fernandes Pereira B., *Retórica e eloquencia em Portugal na época do Rinascimento* (Coimbra: 2005) 550–584; Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 138–240; an English translation of the Latin text was made by Flynn L.J. in the framework of his Ph.D. thesis, *The* De arte rhetorica *(1568) of Cyprian Soarez* [...] (University of Florida: 1955).

13 Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 138: 'Soarez' Lehrbuch blieb zwei Jahrhunderte lang die Grundlage des jesuitischen Rhetorikunterrichts [...]. Andere jesuitische Rhetoriken [...] hatten demgegenüber nur eine regional und zeitlich beschränkte Wirkung'; Garrod R., "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum (1599 Edition) [...]", in Ford Ph. – Bloemendal J. – Fantazzi Ch. (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Micropedia* (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 1009–1011. 1010: 'The humanities class [...] also includes an introduction to rhetorical theory instantiated by Cypriano Soarez's *De arte rhetorica libri tres*'.

in 1562,[14] at a time when Erasmus's *De copia* was still of pivotal importance. Erasmus's *De copia* was also used at a number of Jesuit schools, for example, that in Messina. Hannibal du Coudret, S.J. (one of the eight brothers who accompanied Hieronymus Nadal to Sicily), and Joannes Polanco, S.J., secretary to Ignatius of Loyola,[15] proposed it in 1551 as a schoolbook for the third year, and in 1552 Hieronymus Nadal himself as a schoolbook for the fourth year.[16] In 1553 Martin de Olave, S.J., called for a special adaptation of Erasmus's *De copia* for Jesuit universities, a 'Copia verborum emendata'.[17] Around the same time, the Jesuit order appropriated—if not annexed *De copia*: the very early French Jesuit Andreas Frusius (André des Freux +1566), who was secretary to Ignatius of Loyola, translated his *Spiritual Exercises* into Latin (1548);[18] shortly after 1552, when he was appointed rector of the newly founded *Collegium Romanum* by Ignatius,[19] he reworked Erasmus's *De copia* into a didactic metrical manual with almost the same title: *De utraque copia verborum ac rerum praecepta.*[20] As is apparent from Frusius's preface, the work was designed at the *Collegium*

14 Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric* 177.

15 For Joannes Polanco cf. Engländer C., *Ignatius von Loyola und Johannes von Polanco. Der Ordensstifter und sein Sekretär* (Regensburg: 1956).

16 Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 139–140, note 61, and Lukács L. (S.J.) (ed.), *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu*, 4 vols. (Rome: 1963, 1974, 1981) (*Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu* 92, 107, 108, and 124), vol. 1, no. 8, p. 99, and no. 11, p. 139. In the later "Ratio Studiorum" (1599), the first three years of Jesuit education were dedicated to the "Grammar Class", the fourth year to humanities, the fifth to rhetoric, and the sixth to eighth years to philosophy; cf. Garrod, "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum"; Atteberry J. – Russell J. (eds.), *Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1540–1773* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: 1999); Duminuco V.J. (ed.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: 2000); Farrell A., *Four Hundred Years of Jesuit Education* (Washington, D.C.: 1940).

17 Ibidem, and Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu,* vol. 1, no. 12, p. 169.

18 First ed. Rome: 1548.

19 Ignatius founded the "School of Grammar, Humanity, and Christian Doctrine" on 23 February 1551; on his concepts cf. Ganss G., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee: 1956).

20 *De utraque copia verborum ac rerum praecepta, una cum exemplis, dilucido brevique carmine comprehensa, ut facilius et iucundius edisci ac memoriae quoque firmius inhaerere possint* (Rome, Antonius Bladius: 1556); a copy is owned by the Cambridge University Library. Frusius's work appeared a number of times in the sixteenth century, in, among other places, Cologne, where Maternus Cholinus printed it for the Jesuit College (1558, a copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; 1568), and furthermore in 1561, 1568 (Christopher Plantin), 1571, and 1574. On Frusius cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 128–129; Frusius is not mentioned in Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric.*

Romanum and was directly intended to function as a Jesuit schoolbook.[21] The composition of such a manual was in all probability in accordance with the wishes of Ignatius.[22] Its metrical form, however, may have been disputable, as one may deduce from Frusius's preface; but in this respect rector Frusius, who experienced the enormous growth of the school in its first few years, also made a well-thought-out decision. He decided that the metrical form was intended as a means to make it easier for the pupils to learn the rhetorical devices by heart.[23] Additionally Frusius referred to the authority of Horace, whose metrical letter *Ad Pisones*, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was known under the title *De arte poetica*, was regarded as a major theoretical manual. Frusius's work must have been completed shortly after he became rector of the *Collegium Romanum*: already in 1553 Joannes Polanco, S.J. proposed to replace Erasmus's *De copia* with Frusius's metrical manual as a schoolbook.[24]

Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* was written as a schoolbook too, and was—like Frusius's work—the product of the first period of Jesuit schoolteaching:[25] Soarez taught rhetoric in the Jesuit schools of Lisbon (1553–1555) and Coimbra (1555–1562). As its full title—*ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue deprompti*—demonstrates, his *De arte rhetorica* was a kind of handy compilation of Quintilian's, Cicero's, and Aristotle's rhetorical works. Erasmus's *De copia*, Frusius's metrical version, *De utraque copia*, and Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* fulfilled a similar function, and all of them were heavily influenced

21 Frusius, *De utraque copia* (1558), fol. 2v–3r: 'Hoc porro opusculum eorum adolescentium usui est praecipue destinatum, qui apud nos instituuntur [. . .] Vale. Romae'—'This booklet is meant especially for the use of those pupils who are educated at our school'. 'Our school' is the 'Gymnasium Romanum', as indicated in the address of the preface. On the rhetorical education of the *Collegium Romanum* cf. Moss J.D., "The Rhetoric Course at the Collegio Romano in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century", *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 4, 2 (1986) 137–151.

22 Cf. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*.

23 Cf. the second part of its title: [. . .] *ut facilius et iucundius edisci ac memoriae quoque firmius inhaerere possint*.

24 Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 140, note 61; Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu,* vol. 1, no. 42, p. 439.

25 On Jesuit school teaching cf., *inter alia*, Atteberry – Russell (eds.), *Ratio Studiorum*; Chapple Ch. (ed.), *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective* (Scranton, Pa.: 1993); Donnelly F.P., *Principles of Jesuit Education in Practice* (New York: 1934); Duminuco (ed.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*; Farrell, *Four Hundred Years of Jesuit Education*; *For That I Came: Virtues and Ideals of Jesuit Education* (Washington, D.C.: 1997); O'Malley J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1993); Scaglione A., *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam: 1986).

by Quintilian. From the 1570s on, Jesuit schools and universities replaced Erasmus's and Frusius's works with Soarez's manual.[26]

Although Quintilian is always quoted as the most important author on *evidentia*, even by modern manuals on rhetoric, such as Heinrich Lausberg's *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*,[27] or in major studies on *ekphrasis*, such as Ruth Webb's *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*,[28] the way in which he deals with the topic remains surprisingly vague and general; it is hard to imagine that pupils, after having read Quintilian, clearly understood what they should do when they were ordered to compose *evidentia* texts by themselves. Somewhat surprisingly, but obviously in reaction to some other rhetorical theoreticians, Quintilian openly refused to give a detailed, analytical account of the topic.[29] Instead, he says that it is 'very easy' ('facillima') to create *evidentia*, refers the reader vaguely to 'nature' and to his 'own experience', and leaves it totally up to him how to apply 'nature'[30] or 'experience';[31] instead of presenting clear devices illustrating how to compose an effective image, he quotes a couple of instances from Cicero's speeches, which he greatly admired.[32] He stresses the "method" for inventing a striking *Gesamtbild* as it was achieved by Cicero's genius, but he stays vague about the way in which to do it ('in a certain way', 'quodam modo')[33]; also the example he gives, taken from Virgil's *Aeneid* (v, 426), does not help much. Sometimes, however, Quintilian advises listing circumstantial details in order to create *evidentia*,[34] advice that is more helpful but is presented only via a *leçon par l'example*.[35] *Evidentia* is, according to Quintilian, especially relevant for the *narratio*, particularly in digressions ('egressus', 'egressiones'),[36] and for the *praise* (*laus*) of (1) persons and (2) cities/places/buildings.[37] In the passages on the praise of persons and cities/places/buildings, however, Quintilian

26 Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 140, note 61.

27 See Lausberg H., *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (2nd ed., Munich: 1973) §§ 810–819.

28 (Aldershot: 2009) 87–106.

29 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* VIII, 3, 63.

30 Ibidem, VIII, 3, 71: 'atque huius [...] virtutis facillima est via: naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur'.

31 Ibidem.

32 Ibidem, VIII, 3, 63–66.

33 Ibidem, VIII, 3, 63: 'est igitur unum genus, quo tota rerum imago quodam modo verbis depingitur'.

34 Ibidem, VIII, 3, 66–69; IX, 2, 40.

35 Ibidem, VIII, 3, 68–69.

36 Ibidem, IV, 3, 12.

37 Ibidem, III, 7, 10–18 (*laus hominum*) and 26–27 (*laus urbium, regionum, operum*).

again remains silent on *evidentia* and especially on advice about how to create and use it. Instead, he focuses on the application of *virtue* as a central concept of praise. His paragraph on the descriptions of towns (and similar objects) in particular remains obscure, because Quintilian takes a shortcut by maintaining that the praise of this category would work exactly in the same way as the praise of persons.

Is it adequate to speak of an "image theory" in Quintilian? To some extent, it makes sense, given the importance Quintilian attached to *evidentia*. He maintains that it is 'in his opinion' 'the greatest quality and achievement of an orator'.[38] Nevertheless, the scope and application of the device are very limited in Quintilian. He narrows them down to the rhetorical *narratio* and focuses on the requirements of forensic speeches; i.e., the goal of the *narratio* is in fact no more than to present an event of juridical relevance as clearly as possible to the judges (the audience).

For Erasmus's *evidentia* chapter in *De copia* (II, 5), Quintilian is the point of departure and the most important source of inspiration. This is already apparent from the first two pages, where he quotes Quintilian *in extenso*. Erasmus's treatment of *evidentia* is, however, much more systematic, clear, and complete than Quintilian's, and its scope is much wider. Erasmus created an impressive inventory of topics of *descriptiones*, the rhetorical situations, genres, and occasions in which one can apply them, and examples of them in Latin and Greek literature of classical antiquity. In Erasmus's treatment of *evidentia*, it is in fact *totus mundus*, the whole world, writers may describe in their works; it comprises everything visible in culture and nature, from the largest parts of creation, such as the sea and the sky, to the smallest particulars, such as birds and insects, and extends even into the realm of fiction, fantasy, and mythology:

> [...] there are descriptions of whirlwinds, storms, and shipwrecks, such as we find in a good many places in Homer, in Virgil in *Aeneid* 1 [I, 81 ff.], and in Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 11 [XI, 478–572]. There is a battle between two barbarian races in Juvenal [15, 33 ff.], and a plague in Virgil, *Georgics* 3 [III, 478 ff.], also in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7 [VII, 523–581] and in Seneca's *Oedipus* [37 ff. and 110–120], and another one in Thucydides [II, 47–54]. There is a splendid description of a famine in one of Quintilian's display speeches [*Declamationes maiores* 12]. Then there are descriptions of prodigies, eclipses of the sun, snowstorms, torrential rain, lightning flashes, thunder, earthquakes, fire and flood, such as Ovid's description of Deucalion's flood [*Metamorphoses* I, 262–312]; likewise seditions, armies, battles, slaughter, destruction, sackings, single combat,

38 Ibidem, VIII, 3, 71.

> naval battles (as in Lucan, book 3 [*Pharsalia* III, 521 ff.]); banquets, parties, weddings, funerals, triumphs, games, processions, like in Plutarch's description of Cleopatra's barge in his *Life of Mark Antony* [*Antony* 26]; sacred sites, ceremonies, incantations, witchcraft (as in Lucan, book 6 [VI, 430 ff.] and in Horace's *Satires*, where Priapus describes a scene at which he had been an onlooker [I, 8]); hunts [...] [Hadrianus Cardinalis, *Venatio*, ed. pr. Venice: 1505]; also descriptions of living creatures, like the electric ray and the porcupine in Claudian [*Carmina minora* IX (XLV)]; the phoenix both in Claudian [*Carmina minora* XLIX (XLVI)] and Lactantius [*De ave phoenice*]; the parrot in Ovid's *Amores* [II, 6] and in Statius [*Silvae* II, 4]; serpents in Lucan, book 9 [*Pharsalia* IX, 700 ff.]; all kinds of fish in Oppian [*Halieutica*] [...].[39]

As the above-quoted passage indicates, Erasmus successfully unlocked Greek and Roman poetry as a most important source of *evidentia*, and he collected a good number of examples from his own, vast reading of the classics, including, among others, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Aristophanes, Moschus, Claudian, Oppian, and Boethius, and the tragedies of Seneca, Sophocles, and Euripides. In doing so, Erasmus closely connected the huge realm of the whole *genus demonstrativum*, i.e. what we would consider "belles lettres", with rhetorical or poetical *evidentia*. Another major achievement of Erasmus's manual was that he made a number of important analytical remarks with respect to literary genres—for example, that historical works may start with a *descriptio loci*; that epic narration may be introduced by a 'painting' of an *imaginary* landscape, a so-called *topothesia*, such as in Virgil's *Aeneid*, book I; or that in tragedies a messenger's report is the appropriate place for a *descriptio*—and moreover, Erasmus listed some clear rhetorical devices the writer should use when composing *evidentia* speeches: comparisons, parallels, metaphors, 'images' (by which he probably means symbols or symbolic images), allegories,[40] *similia*, *dissimilia*, and *epitheta*, for which he especially

39 *De copia* II, 5, English transl. Knott, p. 580, line 12, and p. 581, line 5; *ASD* I, 6, p. 204, line 243, to p. 206, line 261.

40 Ibidem, 579, lines 12–14: 'Not a little is contributed to such descriptions by the adducing of parallels, the introduction of similes and contrasts, by comparison, metaphor, allegory, and by any other figures of speech that will light up a topic'—*ASD* I, 6, p. 204, lines 217–219: 'Non mediocriter tamen adiuvari collationibus, similibus, dissimilibus, imaginibus, metaphoris, allegoriis, et si quae preterea sunt figurae, quae rem illustrant'. Knott did not translate 'imaginibus': its close position to 'metaphoris' suggests that Erasmus means "symbolic images" or visual symbols.

admired Homer.[41] Erasmus draws on Quintilian but makes the connection more explicit when he states that it is crucial to unfold the 'circumstances' carefully and in detail, preferably by emphasizing visual details that *characterise* a person, event, or action.[42]

Given the important and extended role attributed to *evidentia* in *De copia*, it is certainly legitimate to ascribe to Erasmus an *image theory*, i.e. a *theory of creating rhetorical imagery in literary works* (including poetry). In his view, the *genus demonstrativum* (or *belles lettres* in a modern sense) is somehow dominated by the creation of *evidentia*, and as a genious writer in Latin prose, he was a master in this field. He was able to entertain using highly vivid and lucid *descriptiones*, for example in his *Laus Stultitiae*, in his *Convivia*, or in many of his letters. However, it seems that Erasmus regarded the *creation of rhetorical imagery in literary works* as a kind of *l'art pour l'art*, a goal in itself. The writer may indulge in it, even without having a clear persuasive aim in mind; Erasmus obviously does not restrict the use of *evidentia* to the goal of stirring up the reader's emotions and guiding him in a certain direction. Furthermore, Erasmus's *image theory* is not at all linked to the Christian religion; his theory is dominated by classical scholarship and antiquarianism. He does not talk about Christian meditations but explicitly lists pagan religious processions, funerals, Roman triumphs, Greek and Roman games; moreover, he includes pagan sacred sites and ceremonies—and even incantations—and witchcraft (all of which were considered devilish). Erasmus does not describe or even mention Christian churches or religious images, but focuses his attention on descriptions of Roman and Egyptian architecture, and Greek and Roman visual art, such as amphitheatres, pyramids,[43] and statues of *pagan Gods*, such as the Gallic Hercules (taken from Lucian's *Hercules Gallicus*, a work translated

41 English transl. 580, lines 8–12: 'Is there anything he (i.e. Homer) does not display vividly before our eyes by putting in the appropriate circumstantial detail, which, even if it sometimes seems insignificant, yet somehow or other presents the thing marvellously to our eyes? He also gets his effect by the use of epithets and similes'.

42 Ibidem, lines 9–11: 'I think I should remind that descriptions of this sort consist mainly in the exposition of circumstantial details, especially those which make the incident particularly vivid, and give the narrative distinctiveness'—*ASD* I, 6, p. 204, lines 215–217: 'Verum illud arbitror admonendum, hoc genus descriptiones praecipue quidem constare circunstantiarum explicatione, earum praesertim, quae rem oculis maxime subiiciunt ac moratam reddunt narrationem'. 'Morata' refers to 'characteristic' traits, i.e. visual details that have the potential to characterize visual things, persons, or actions.

43 English transl. 581, lines 16–17.

by Erasmus from Greek into Latin)[44] or the Colossus,[45] i.e. a giant statue of Sol. He even includes imaginary things: buildings of pagan mythology, such as the *Palace of the Sun* and the *House of Fame*[46]; paintings such as the ones described by Philostratus in the *Icones*[47] and by Plutarch in various treatises of the *Moralia*; and works of applied art, such as the shield of Achilles (taken from Homer, *Iliad* XVIII, 483 ff.)[48] or the shield of Aeneas (Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII, 626 ff.). Erasmus's imagery is largely restricted to classical antiquity. His image theory is focused on a lively and sparkling *revival of antiquity in the modern world*, and as such it counts among the main intellectual pleasures of Humanism as envisaged by Erasmus and his followers.

Cyprian Soarez in his description of *evidentia* worked very much along the lines of Quintilian, but, remarkably, completely ignored Erasmus, although he surely must have been familiar with *De copia*, and probably also Frusius's metrical version. In his category "praise of persons and cities" Soarez demonstrates how the central concept of *virtus* should be applied.[49] He says nothing in this respect about how one could create *evidentia*. This is especially disappointing when he talks about the description of cities. His chapter "De laude urbium" consists only of a few lines.[50] Similarly unrewarding are Soarez's chapters "De narratione" (II, 8–9), in which he closely follows Quintilian. Much as Quintilian had already put it, Soarez says that successful narration should be first and foremost short (*brevis*), clear (*aperta*), and plausible (*probabilis*) (II, 8). The principles of brevity, simplicity (in content and style), and plausibility seem to severely limit the range of *evidentia*. If one described events, persons, and places in detail and with pomp and circumstance, one would run the risk of losing sight of these goals. On the one hand, it seems that a fundamental objective of Soarez's art of narration is to omit details. Nevertheless, he obviously admits some 'ornatus', i.e. rhetorical ornament; the problem is only that he does not indicate what kind of ornament. On the other hand, he considers it important 'to give causes (*causae*) of *every event or fact* described' in order to increase the narration's plausibility. This seems to imply that one may add a number of reasons to a narration, even if these make it considerably longer.

44 Ibidem, lines 10–11.
45 Ibidem, line 16.
46 Ibidem 587, line 25.
47 Ibidem 581, line 16.
48 Ibidem, lines 14–15.
49 *De arte rhetorica* I, chapters 42–49, esp. 44 ff.
50 Ibidem, I, chapter 48.

A bit surprisingly, at the end of the chapter a different type of narration occurs, the so-called *narratio suavis* ('pleasant narration'). This type is more vivid, and seems to comprise more details: it builds up expectations; brings forth unexpected turns; provokes admiration and astonishment; dwells on the emotions, such as grief, anger, fear, and joy, of the described persons; and includes dialogue.[51] Soarez ascribes this type of narration, however, solely to Cicero: he does not say explicitly whether he approves of it or not; from the fact, however, that Soarez defines the 'pleasant narration' as a Ciceronian peculiarity, the reader may deduce that the Portuguese Jesuit does not subscribe to it, or at least was not particularly fond of it.

Soarez's authoritative rhetorical manual, after all, does not contain something like an image theory, let alone a specifically Jesuit image theory. Somewhat surprisingly, he remains more vague and general on *evidentia* than Quintilian, and stays far behind the important achievements of Erasmus's image theory in *De copia*. The reasons for Suarez's reluctant attitude are not entirely clear. One cannot exclude that it may have been connected with the fact that he completed his manual (1561/2) before the Council of Trent's final decrees on the cult of saints and the use of images, which were formulated in the session on 4 December 1563. He may have avoided—as did other Jesuits—becoming too explicit on disputable aspects; that the use of images belonged to these aspects, Wietse de Boer has shown in his contribution to this volume. But of course this does not explain why he did not use Erasmus's major source book *De copia* or Frusius's abbreviated metrical version from 1552/3 at all. Erasmus's *De copia* was otherwise well received in Jesuit schools. Of course, one must not forget that Soarez intended to compose a compendious text, with an inherent economy of selection: among other things, this economy would imply that more difficult and subtle issues were to be avoided. He possibly counted *De copia* topics, and thus also the literary production of visual images, among these issues. But one must not forget that Soarez generally did not aim to adapt classical rhetoric to the specific requirements of sixteenth-century religious practices and debates, and, as the great success of his manual demonstrates, this has not been a drawback: classical rhetoric—if not overloaded with antiquarian detail—made perfect sense in the Jesuit curriculum,[52] not in the last

51 Ibidem, II, chapter 8: 'Ciceroni vehementer placet, ut iucunda et suavis sit narratio, eamque suavem narrationem esse ait, quae habet admirationes, expectationes, exitus inopinatus, quae interpositos motus animorum, colloquia personarum, dolores, iracundias, metus, laetitias, cupiditates'.

52 Cf. *supra*.

place because it was much more concise than, e.g., Quintilian's voluminous work in 12 books.[53]

Because rector Frusius's *De utraque copia* was so closely connected with the educational programme of Ignatius's *Collegium Romanum*, it is rewarding to compare Erasmus's image theory with Frusius's reworking of this chapter of *De copia*. Like Erasmus, Frusius included in the second book of his rhetoric a "chapter" on *enargeia*, marked as such by a "chapter title" in the text of the poem itself (through two introductory verses) and via a marginal "index" note (to the left side of the text block).[54] In a marked difference from Erasmus, Frusius was much less interested in *evidentia* created by the description of visual objects and places, but focused entirely on persons, i.e. the rhetorical *figura* of *prosopopoeia*, which he called *prosopographia* or *descriptio personae*. On the *descriptio* of things and places Frusius remains extremely short and vague. What Erasmus had explained in pages, Frusius sums up in a few lines. Frusius's list of topics is much shorter; most notably, he deleted all antiquarian topics, and of course all topics connected with pagan cults or superstitious beliefs (such as witchcraft). In the description of places, Frusius focuses on elements of natural landscapes, but he also includes elements of artificial ones (cities, agriculture). He does not mention, however, single buildings or single works of art. Most importantly, he explicitly avoids the impression that the literary *enargeia* descriptions may be exercised as a *l'art pour l'art*: he emphasizes that the aim of description is to affect the audience emotionally: 'Denique res omnis [...],/ Si bene describes, magna gravisque *movet*'—'Any object (topic) will—if you describe it well—gain impact and importance, and thus emotionally affect the audience'.[55]

Image Theory in Neumayr's *Idea Rhetoricae*

The Jesuit priest, teacher, and preacher Franciscus Neumayr authored one of the most important rhetorical manuals of the eighteenth century, the *Idea*

53 In the preface Soarez criticized Quintilian for being too long and for being obscure. Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 147.

54 In the edition I used (Cologne, Maternus Cholinus: 1568), pp. 32–34 (in Cholinus's edition of 1558 on fols. 16r–17v). The marginal note 'Energeia' (*sic*) on p. 32 (fol. 16r); ibidem, the opening lines: 'Res quoque ceu pictas habitu si prodis aperto:/ Acris energiae formula quinta tibi est'. 'Formula quinta' is an equivalent of Erasmus's chapter title 'quinta ratio' (*ASD* I, 6, p. 202, line 159).

55 Ibidem, p. 32.

Rhetoricae, which first appeared in 1548 and saw in total six editions: an augmented one in 1753, and four others which are repetitions of the 1753 edition (1756, 1761, 1768, and 1775).[56] Unlike, for example, Masen in his famous *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae*, Neumayr certainly intended his rhetoric to be used in Jesuit school education, by teachers as well as students. As a Jesuit teacher of rhetoric, and a priest and preacher, Neumayr became aware that contemporary rhetoric required many things that were not described in classical rhetoric. As the full title of the *Idea Rhetoricae* shows, it was one of his foremost goals to adapt classical rhetoric to 'daily contemporary use' ('de [...] praxi et usu artis quotidiano'), which meant, in the end, religious use by the ministers of the Catholic Church ('usu [...] ecclesiastico'). Through his experience as a teacher of rhetoric Neumayr became convinced that the *usus* as described in classical rhetoric, and the examples presented in these manuals, were not adequate any longer. He criticised ancient rhetorical manuals for largely neglecting practical application, and early modern ones for collecting examples from antiquity in an antiquarian, scholarly style instead of focusing on the requirements of modern times. He does not mention Erasmus's *De copia* or Soarez's *De arte rhetorica*, but his polemical remarks were probably directed toward humanistic rhetorical works with an antiquarian flavour, such as Erasmus's, and against dry Jesuit compilations of ancient rhetoric (such as Soarez's) as well. 'Pupils understand modern things (*nova*) more easily than facts of the distant past (*vetera*)', was Neumayr's credo.[57] For this reason, he illustrated his rhetoric with new examples, always invented by himself.

These thoughts are the basis of a substantial part of Neumayr's *Idea Rhetoricae*, book III, on the "Devices and application of emotional rhetoric" ("Praecepta, Praxis, Usus Rhetoricae Moventis"). It is in this framework that

56 *Idea Rhetoricae sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis quotidiano, civili ac ecclesiastico, auctore Francisco Neumayr, S.J.* (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1748) 260 pp. (Sommervogel 25); *editio secunda auctior* (ibidem: 1753) 285 pp.; repetition of the second edition in *editio tertia auctior* (Munich – Ingolstadt: 1756); *editio quarta auctior* (ibidem: 1761); *quinta editio auctior* (ibidem: 1768); *sexta editio auctior* (ibidem: 1775) (all 285 pp.). In this contribution, the quoted texts are taken from the second, augmented edition (1753). For the importance of the work cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 123, note 123: 'Neumayrs *Idea Rhetoricae* und *Idea Poeseos* erlebten zusammen zehn Neuauflagen; er gehört damit zu den zehn erolgreichsten Jesuitenautoren auf dem Gebiet der Rhetorik- und Poetikschulbücher. [...] Die beiden Lehrbücher Neumayrs [...] wurden wahrscheinlich auch von den Schülern als Textbücher benutzt'.

57 Cf. his "Preface to the Reader", fol. 2v–3r: 'Tyrones vero facilius nova quam vetera intelligant [...]'.

Neumayr developed a specific kind of image theory, or theory of *evidentia*, as a means to evoke emotions—a theory he considered applicable and useful for Jesuit pupils, priests, and preachers.[58]

One of the most important features of the new rhetorical image theory was the status Neumayr gave to the visual arts. In Quintilian and other classical and early modern rhetorical writings it is frequently the case that the process of creating rhetorical *evidentia* is called 'depingere', 'to paint'. And this certainly also goes for Erasmus's image theory in *De copia*. 'To paint', however, is in these instances used only in a *metaphorical* sense, as a manner of speaking.[59] In a marked difference, Neumayr takes the close connection between rhetorical *evidentia* and the visual arts much more seriously, almost literally. In his rhetorical course, he focuses several times on the visual arts, and he includes them in the rhetorical process, for example by using paintings with religious topics, statues of saints, and other artefacts and objects as a valid means of persuasion, e.g. in sermons. Persuasion is in his manual mostly conceived in a religious sense, and *evidentia* as a method of evoking religious feelings. Another important issue is his understanding of church architecture as a means of religious persuasion by *evidentia*. And it is not at all meant metaphorically when he advises the orator and preacher (and the poet as well) to frequently and carefully study paintings of famous masters, in order to improve their capability of creating *evidentia*.[60] He considered especially useful paintings with battle scenes, sea battles, triumphs, and the torture of martyrs. In a marked difference, Erasmus in his chapter on evidence also referred to paintings, but never to preserved paintings he could actually observe; he exclusively meant paintings of antiquity in literary *ekphrases*; if these paintings ever existed, they were lost in Erasmus's time. But mostly, such as in the case of Philostratus' *Icones*, they never existed: these were solely literary inventions.

58 Cf. especially *Idea Rhetoricae* III, praeceptum II "De obiecto affectuum".

59 For example, Erasmus says in *De copia* that *evidentia* is defined as 'to express things as it were with colours' ('ceu coloribus expressam') 'so that we seem to have painted the scene rather than described it, and the reader seems to have seen rather than read [it]' ('ut nos depinxisse, non narrasse, lector spectasse non legisse videatur'). Cf. English transl. by Knott, 577, lines 12–13; Latin text *ASD* I, 6, p. 202, lines 162–165.

60 Neumayr, *Idea Rhetoricae* III, praeceptum II, § 2, p. 150: 'Unde iuvat plurimum, sicut Poetam, ita Oratorem non raro attente contemplari celebrium artificum tabulas, in quibus prelia, naufragia, triumphos, certamina Martyrum exhibent'.

'Spectacula'—the Demonstration of Visual Objects as Evidence in Sermons

If one compares Neumayr's theory of *evidentia* with classical ones, such as Quintilian's, or early modern ones, such as Erasmus's, or Jesuit ones, such as Soarez's, the use of visual art and visual objects as a means of persuasion marks an interesting and innovative difference. Neumayr devotes a whole chapter to what he calls 'spectacula', i.e. the *demonstration of visual objects*.[61] He adorns his orator or preacher with objects—such as skullcaps, burning torches, statues of saints, or a painting with damned souls burning in hell—as *instruments of persuasion*.[62] Furthermore, he includes theatrical performances of religious rites (such as confirmation/'second baptism') or *tableaux vivants* (such as the performance of a man on his deathbed) as means of persuasion that may be used in sermons.[63] Interestingly, Neumayr at the same time limits the categories of visual objects: they should not be 'far-fetched' or seem strangely artificial, such as *Deus ex machina* installations. For example, it could seem ridiculous when a preacher evokes the Holy Spirit, and at the same time a dove flies down from the church dome. The fact that Neumayr mentions such a performance, however, indicates not only that he actively thought about such effects, but that they obviously had been used in his time. Most importantly, Neumayr instructs the preacher to carefully *embed* visual objects such as the above-mentioned ones in his rhetorical argument. He emphasizes that visual objects should never be introduced to speak for themselves, but only to add *evidentia* to the spoken word. The words must be well chosen and exert their power *in combination* with the demonstrated visual object.

In this respect Neumayr works out the example of a painting with *damned souls* burning in hell. The preacher may use such a painting in order to elicit repentance and conversion. First the preacher should talk about sudden, untimely, and unexpected death, and about the punishments the unprepared soul will undergo in hell. Only then comes the moment when the preacher exhibits the painting, which is explicitly indicated in the text ('hic exhibitio fit'). The preacher should demonstrate the painting with emotional exclamations ('eheu', 'ah'), and combine it with highly emotional rhetorical devices (*figurae*), such as repetition of words and direct address:

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61 Ibidem III, II, § 1 "Exemplum objecti propositi per spectaculum", pp. 146–149.

62 Ibidem: 'per imagines, per calvarias, per facem ardentem [...] e.g. calvaria, imago animae damnatae'.

63 Ibidem: 'talia, per quae oculis subjicitur [...] ritus ecclesiae e.g. renovatio baptismi, dispositio moribundi [...]'.

> quis aspectus! Eheu! terrifica imago (hic exhibitio fit) et cuius, ah, cuius, [...] cuius, dicite, haec imago? Infestum est, quod dicam: dicam tamen, quia prodesse malo quam placere. *Tua* imago est, puella impudens, nisi a lasciva familiaritate te abstrahas! *Tua* imago est, libidinose iuvenis, nisi foedam consuetudinem damnas![64]
>
> What an image! Woe! A terrible image (now it [the painting] should be exhibited) and who, oh, who [...] who is depicted? It is awful what I am going to say now; but I will speak nevertheless, because I would rather be useful than pleasing. It is *you*, shameless girl, unless you refrain from your lascivious liaison! It is you, lecherous youth, unless you condemn your disgraceful habits!

Through typography (use of *italics*) Neumayr even indicates the intonation of the preacher during his performance. His voice will stress 'tua', and with his finger he will point to the individual person in the audience he is addressing. Needless to say, there will always be a young woman or a young man in an audience listening to a sermon. The combination of image and words is construed in order to stir up the emotion to a maximum. And in this case, the painting is able to add something that words could not easily achieve: the audience does not have an empirical visual impression of hell—it is exactly the *painting* that is meant to produce the required "realistic" visual image. The same would go, for example, for the crucifixion of Christ, the martyrdom of saints, the resurrection of Jesus, or the Last Judgement.

If religious paintings are used in this way, they provide a considerable part of the required *evidentia*. This is not to say, of course, that the words do not have a similar task. On the contrary: the evidence they are meant to produce should subtly interact with the *evidentia* of the painting. This means that the orator will engage in a kind of *ekphrasis* in the modern, narrower sense of the word (i.e. a description of a work of art).[65] In such cases it is preferable that he not simply describes the scene visible in the painting or just repeat what everybody can see, but will interpret the scene and adorn it with vivid details the audience *does not really see* but is supposed to *imagine*. In Neumayr's splendid example, the orator works out in detail the terrible metamorphosis the individual undergoes in hell: instead of expensive clothes he (i.e. the rich merchant) will wear flames; the precious necklace (i.e. of the shameless girl) will

64 Ibidem.

65 Cf. Webb R., "Ekphrasis Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre", *Word and Image* 15 (1999) 7–18.

turn into a burning chain; food will turn into snakes, wine into the poison of adders, a soft bed into glowing coals, and laughter into crying and the grinding of teeth.[66] Of course, in the painting neither the adder's poison nor the grinding of teeth could have been depicted. But the interplay of the painting and the *ekphrasis* of the preacher functions as a kind of imaginative machine, guiding and formatting the imagination of the audience.

In this way the audience will experience the sensations of the tortures of hell. The emotional reaction envisaged by the preacher is fear and despair, and he wants his audience to burst into tears. First he stirs up the feeling of despair, and then he provokes tears, almost on command: 'Nunc lacrymae prosunt!' ('Now it is time for tears!').[67] The emotions of despair and fear prepare the audience for the next step: the experience of God's goodness, and hence the emotion of loving God. The preacher now orders the audience 'to fall on their knees and to pray with a loud voice: "I love you, lovable God, lovable already because you make us fear you! Because if people did not fear you, who would love you? [...] O lovable God!"'.[68] The last part of the prayer, directed by the preacher, addresses conversion: 'This is the day on which I convert! I have said so, and I have started to convert! Turn to me, my Lord, turn to me, so that I convert completely!'.

The Production of Rhetorical *Evidentia* through Church Architecture

As one can see, the painting of damned souls burning in hell was used to achieve the maximum effect: conversion. One can imagine how Neumayr would have construed similar arguments by using skullcaps, burning torches, or a *tableau vivant* with a man on his deathbed. But of course Neumayr was well aware that visual objects were not strictly necessary in order to create *evidentia*; in principle, this could also be achieved through verbal description alone, either of

66 Neumayr, *Idea Rhetoricae* III, praeceptum II, § 1: 'Quae fiet in primo inferni introitu terrifica metamorphosis! Ecce! Pro vestibus pretiosis ignem induetis, pro monilibus stringet catena candens, pro cibis comeditis serpentes, pro vino bibetis venenum aspidum, pro lectu sternentur prunae, pro risu fletus erit et stridor dentium'.

67 Ibidem.

68 Ibidem: 'Procidamus! Clamemus corde et ore: "Amo te, amabilis Deus, et vel ideo amabilis, quia terribilis! Nam nisi terribilis esses, quis te amaret? [...] O amabilis Deus!"'.

places, objects, or persons.[69] In his systematic exposé, Neumayr again focuses on *evidentia* as the interplay of the visual arts and verbal rhetoric. When it comes to the description of places, he does not focus on regions, natural or artificial landscapes, or classical buildings (amphitheatres, triumphal arches, and temples), but on *Jesuit church architecture*: he describes the most important Jesuit church in Germany, St. Michael in Munich![70] In comparison, Quintilian had narrowed down the *descriptio loci* to regions and landscapes,[71] and in *De copia* Erasmus focused it on landscapes, ancient towns, pagan buildings, ancient rivers (Nile), and spectacular natural events, such as the eruption of volcanoes.[72] If one looks at Erasmus's rhetorical manual, *evidentia* via *descriptio loci* is characterised exactly by what Neumayr tried to avoid, namely classical, antiquarian scholarship. All examples Erasmus lists stem from classical literature: the description of the Libyan harbour is derived from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 81 ff.); the description of villas refers to Pliny the Younger's estate Laurentinum (as described in his *Letters* II, 17), Pollio's at Sorrento (as described in Statius, *Silvae* II, 2, 1.3), and Manilius's at Tivoli; the description of other buildings to Roman amphitheatres (such as the Colosseum), and triumphal arches (such as the arch of Titus), and of towns to ancient Carthage (stemming again from Virgil's *Aeneid*, book I); and the eruption of volcanoes is taken from Pliny the Younger's description of the eruption of Vesuvius in his *Letters* VI, 16 and 20. In a marked difference from both Quintilian and Erasmus, for Neumayr *locus* means above all a *religious place*, i.e. a *locus* where Christian rites, sermons, prayers, and other religious exercises were performed.

St. Michael had enormous symbolic value for the Jesuit order in Bavaria: built by Duke William V of Bavaria between 1583 and 1597 after the example of the Gesù in Rome, it is the largest Renaissance church north of the Alps (78 m long, 20 m wide, and 28 m high). Its dedication to the Archangel Michael, who expelled Lucifer and the fallen angels from heaven, is meant as a triumphal celebration of the victory of Counter-Reformation Catholicism over the Lutherans—under the guidance of the Jesuits, of course. In fact, Neumayr's *descriptio* of St. Michael is construed as part of a sermon: e.g. about conversion, true piety, or the cult of saints. The orator uses Duke William V, the Pious, who lived a century and a half earlier (1548–1626), and the church he built for the

69 Ibidem, III, II, § 2 ("Exemplum objecti propositi per descriptionem"); in the augmented edition of 1553 see pp. 149–169.

70 Ibidem, pp. 151–154.

71 Quintilian, Instit*utio oratoria* IV, 3, 12.

72 Erasmus, *De copia* II, 5; English transl. by B.I. Knott, *Copia: The Foundations of the Abundant Style*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. XXIV, 587.

Archangel as a historical *exemplum* of true piety and the ideal veneration of saints.[73] The *evidentia* brought forth through the *descriptio* of the church is a vital part of the argument: it is, so to speak, the visual proof and result of true Christian piety; and, interestingly enough, this proof is totally intertwined with Jesuit church architecture of the late sixteenth century in its most triumphal form. As Neumayr indicates, without the description of the church the argument would lose its persuasive force. To mention the sole fact that William V built this church would not suffice (as it would, for example, in the Suetonian type of biography). In order to drive his point home, it was crucial for the orator to evoke the church before the eyes of his readers, to demonstrate its exterior and interior in all their grandeur (*magnificentia*)[74] and beauty, and to evoke the overwhelming effect this type of church architecture was supposed to exert on the believers.

Neumayr construed his *evidentia* sermon, set up as a *Kunstbetrachtung* or *ekphrasis* in the more modern sense of the word, according to a clear topical structure[75]: 1) *descriptio partium* (sc. ecclesiae), i.e. a description of the various parts of the church and the pieces of art located in it; 2) *causa efficiens* (artifex/artist); 3) *causa materialis* ('immanes sumptus', 'enormous costs'); 4) *causae formales*, i.e. the building's exceptional height, width, and length; and 5) effectus (effect of the building). The 'effect' of religious art and architecture is, of course, located in the realm of religion: '*Bavaria was preserved for the Catholic faith*' ('*effectus*: Bavaria in fide conservata') and 'the piety of the inhabitants of Munich was increased' ('[*effectus*:] Monacensium pietas adiuta').[76] But in fact, all parts of the sermon are directed toward the same religious goal: to strengthen piety by arguing for the true veneration of a saint. That St. Michael gets a special place in this argument is not surprising: from a topical perspective he functions as the Counter-Reformation saint *par excellence*—the invincible destroyer of Lutheran heresy. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that St. Michael is the alpha and omega of Neumayr's *ekphrasis*. It starts with the façade of the church, in which the bronze statue of St. Michael takes a central position [Fig. 7.1]; and its final part is dominated by the painting of

73 Neumayr, *Idea Rhetoricae* III, II, 151: 'Si quis velit admirationem excitare de Guilielmi V. Bavariae Ducis eximia in S. Michaelem Archangelum veneratione […]'.

74 Ibidem, p. 151.

75 This topical structure is the result of the principal *inventio*, as indicated by Neumayr, ibidem. Neumayr, in fact, introduces the topical trias of *partes* (parts, details), *causae*, and *effectus* as the structural principle of all categories of *descriptiones*, i.e. of places, objects, and persons. Cf. ibidem, p. 150.

76 Ibidem.

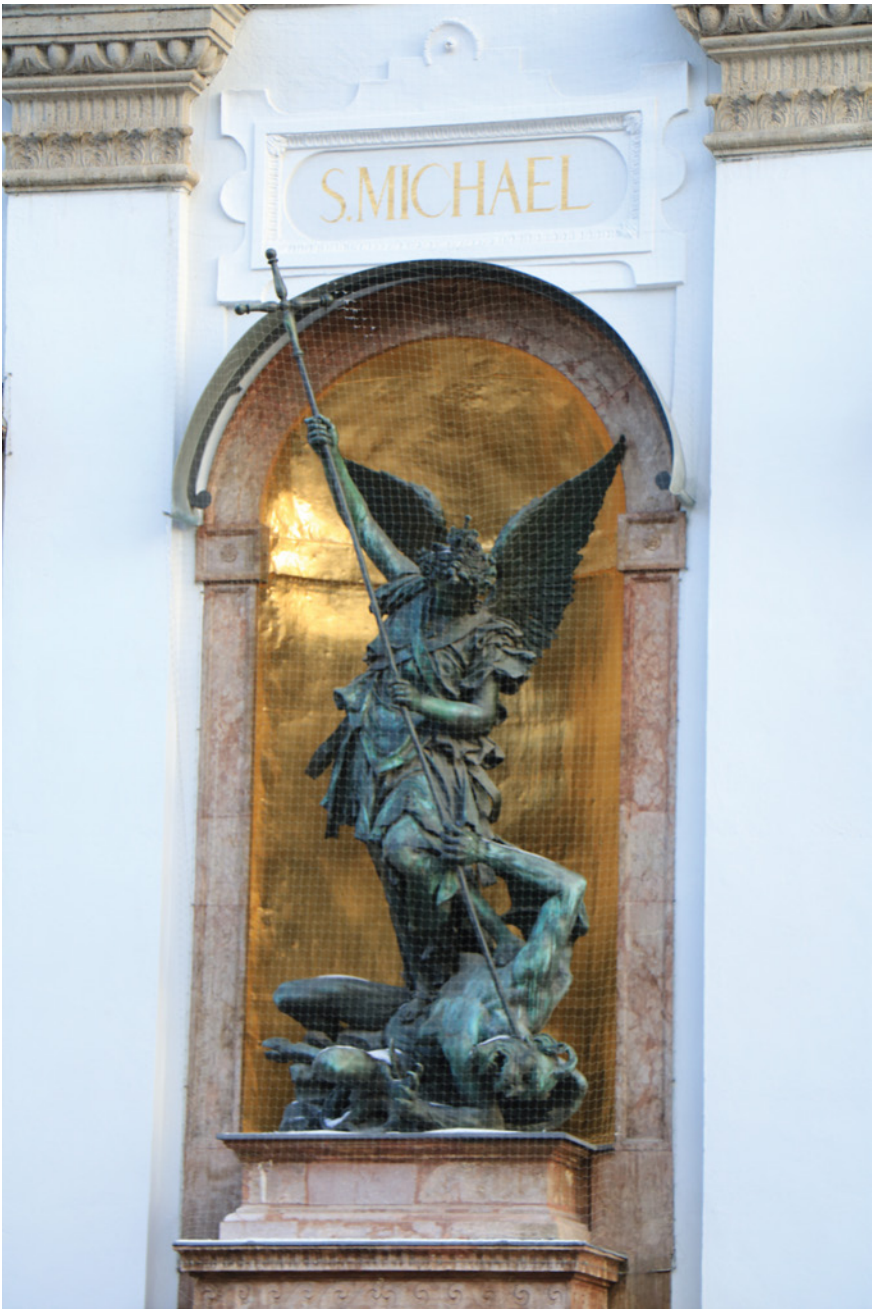

FIGURE 7.1 *Church of St. Michael (Munich), lower part of the façade, with bronze statue of St. Michael.*
COPYRIGHT CHRISTIAN PETERS.

St. Michael by Christoph Schwarz (1587), which leads to the envisaged emotional 'effect': anger with and contempt for the confessional enemy, and triumphant joy about *Bavaria fide conservata*.[77]

The structure of the *descriptio* sermon is heavily influenced by church architecture in combination with sculpture and religious painting. Neumayr takes the position of a visitor to the church, i.e., of course, a believer. The guiding principle of the architecture of the Jesuit church of St. Michael, and of Neumayr's *evidentia* speech as well, is *admiration*. The visual impression brought forth by both will cause the *admiration* of both the visitor to the church and the reader of Neumayr's speech. *Admiration* will lead to a deep religious *veneration* of St. Michael (and of God), which is the goal both of the religious art of St. Michael and of Neumayr's *ekphrasis*. Naturally, the first thing a visitor to a church sees is its façade; if it is adorned with statues or reliefs, he will have a look at them. Then he will pass the doorway and enter the interior. First, he will look at the interior as a whole; afterwards, he will contemplate its parts, and in doing so he will probably move from the back side entrance to the central altar.[78]

How did Neumayr produce admiration with respect to the façade [Fig. 7.2]? He did so through the application of rhetorical devices, such as *comparatio* and similes, and of *epitheta ornantia*, devices that Erasmus had already described in his *De copia*.[79] In order to provoke admiration Neumayr emphasised the façade's 'immense altitude', and in doing so he compared it with an Egyptian pyramid. In a sense, the roughly triangular form of the façade may legitimise this comparison [Fig. 7.2]. Remarkably, in his rhetorical application Neumayr regarded an Egyptian pyramid not as a grave monument, but as a *monument of victory*. The victor is Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World ('Salvator mundi'), whose statue could be seen at the top of the façade, viz. the pyramid. Neumayr's second simile, a Roman amphitheatre, may seem a bit far-fetched, but it is connected with the statues of the twelve Wittelsbacher 'heroes' ('Heroum effigies', all of them true defenders of the Church) that appear in the façade's second and third segments. Neumayr creates an image of sublime rhetorical grandeur by relating the Wittelbachers to the central statue of St. Michael: he compares St. Michael with a victorious Roman gladiator in the arena of an amphitheatre,

77 As Neumayr promises, ibidem, p. 152: 'effectus adjungitur in fine'. The various *causae*, however, are not treated as separate sections, but are intertwined in the descriptive passages. Cf. ibidem.

78 Cf. ibidem: 'Dispositio sit, qualem servavit ars [i.e. the visual arts: architecture in combination with sculpture and painting], ita ut incipiatur ab ingressu [i.e. the entrance at the façade], et deinceps progressus fiat ad alias partes'.

79 Cf. *supra*; *ASD* I, 6, p. 204, lines 217–222.

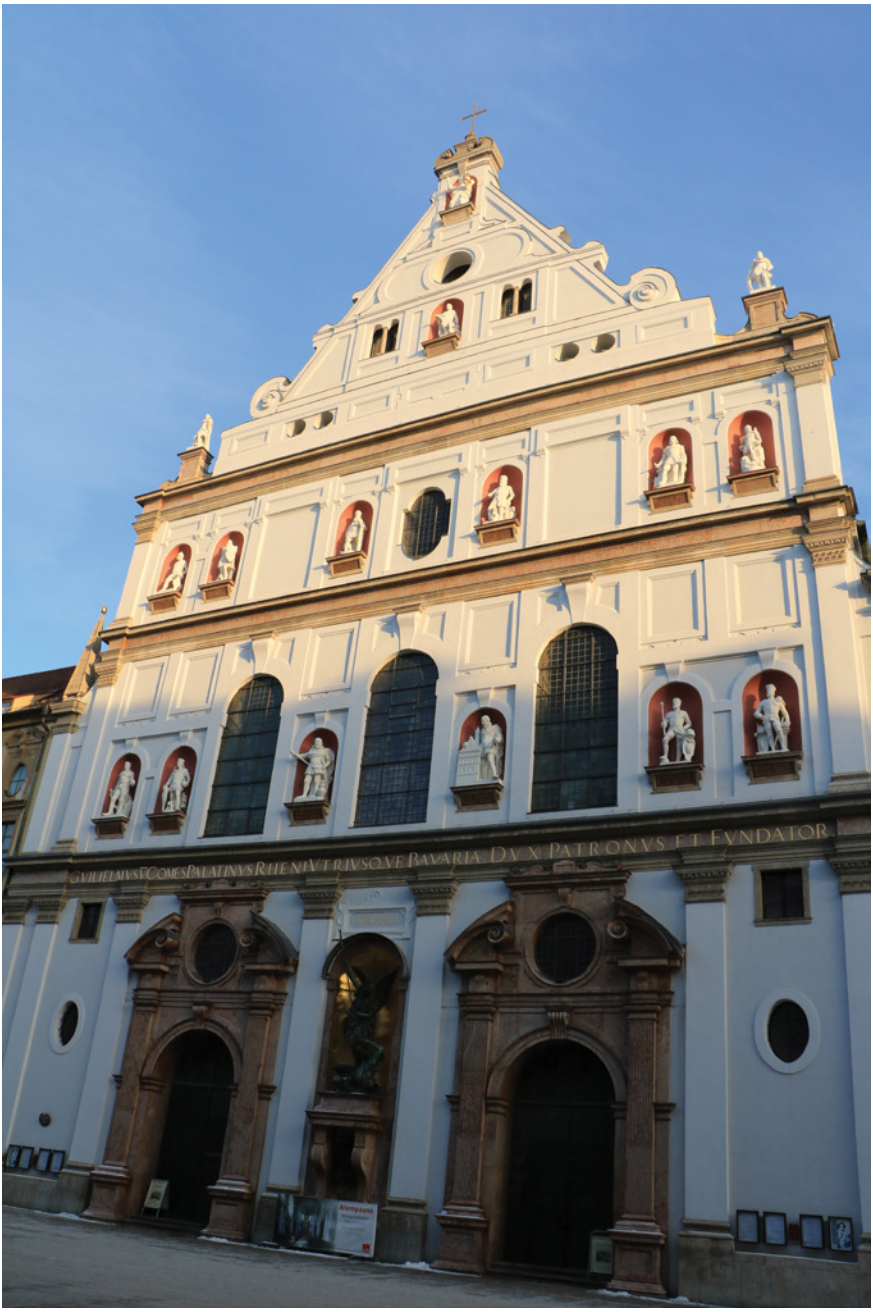

FIGURE 7.2 *Church of St. Michael (Munich), façade.*
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who after having killed his enemy receives the 'applause' of the audience, i.e. the Wittelsbacher heroes. As can be seen in the central group of sculptures, St. Michael conquers the devil by stabbing him with a long cross [Fig. 7.1]. The sculpture, of course, does not show that St. Michael actually killed the devil, but in his *evidentia* speech Neumayr interprets the image in this hyperbolic sense: he says that St. Michael 'pierces the throat' of the devil.[80] In reality, of course, the statues of the Wittelsbachers do not show gestures of applause. Neumayr, however, creates his highly artificial interpretation by pointing to their position—he says that the artist had placed them 'around' victorious St. Michael ('circum [...] posuit [sc. artifex]')—and by referring to the *ekphrasis* topos of the "living image". Neumayr says that the sculptor has managed to render them 'alive' ('animatas in saxo statuas posuit artifex'). If the Wittelsbacher are 'alive', it is not a great leap to ascribe to them all kinds of movements and gestures. Of course, the gestures are created in the imaginative fantasy of the author/orator Neumayr, and that of his readers/audience.

A striking use of an *epitheton ornans* is that Neumayr maintains that the two doorways of St. Michael were made from 'marble from Paros'.[81] Of course the marble did not come from the well-known Greek island; besides, St. Michael's marble is pinkish, whereas Parian marble was highly esteemed precisely for its splendid white colour. But already in Roman antiquity, the *epitheteon ornans* 'Parian' was used for various kinds of extraordinarily expensive and luxurious marble.

How did Neumayr inspire admiration with respect to the church interior? The devices he used were similar to those for the exterior. Again he emphasised its size and space, especially the 'immense' width of the vault (created in 1587/8), which was indeed unusual: 'The people who have entered the interior are seized by admiration of the immense vault'.[82] Using the rhetorical figure of the *hyperbole* Neumayr depicts the vault as an incomprehensible *miracle*: as an *adynaton*, i.e. the category of the impossible and unbelievable. 'A vault', he says, 'not sustained by any column, but by nothing except the genius of the architect'[83]; and he amplifies the unbelievable by telling the anecdote that not

80 Cf. ibidem: '[...] ingens imago visitur in aere Templi patronum referens, substrato pedibus draconi stygio insultantem et [...] *guttur hasta crucis configentem*' (emphasis mine).

81 Cf. ibidem: 'Ingressus patet per geminas marmore Pario nitentes portas [...]'.

82 Cf. ibidem, p. 153: 'Ingressos occupat major admiratio immensi fornicis [...]'.

83 Ibidem: '[...] fornicis, quem nullae columnae, sed solum sustinet ingenium architecti [...]'. Neumayr does not mention the architect by name (Friedrich Sustris), maybe in order to maximize astonishment and amazement.

even the architect himself could believe that what he had been building was possible.[84]

In order to increase the splendour of the church interior and his audience's admiration, Neumayr—by using the *epitheton ornans* 'lapide Porphyretico'—suggests that the floor was made of purple granite from the *Mons Porphyrites* in Egypt. The 'lapis Porphyreticus' in antiquity indeed came from Egypt, and hence was regarded as very luxurious: it was used only for works of art of special grandeur; and with respect to statues, it was reserved for those of Roman emperors. The *epitheton ornans* 'lapide Porphyretico' again develops its striking power in the fantasy of Neumayr's audience: Egypt is the region of miraculous *Weltwunder* architecture and architectonic grandeur (such as the above-mentioned pyramids). The *epitheton ornans* 'lapide Porphyretico' belongs to the arsenal of rhetorical *evidentia* Neumayr presents to his audience—of course St. Michael's stone floor did not come from the Egyptian *Mons Porphyrites*; red volcanic stone could be found in many places in Germany.

Finally, Neumayr guides the visitor's eye to the main altar, 'erected', as he puts it, 'in order to evoke the *amazement* of the viewer' ('ad oculorum *stuporem* fastigiata').[85] The central image of the high altar was Christoph Schwarz's painting of the *Victory of St. Michael* [Fig. 7.3]. Neumayr inspires admiration by applying yet another *epitheton ornans*, this time with respect to the artist. He calls Schwarz the 'German Apelles'. The *epitheton* Apelles refers to the miraculous power of this mythical Greek painter to imitate nature to such a degree that it is impossible to discern the difference between art and nature. As he did for Sustris's vault, Neumayr describes Schwarz's painting as a miracle indeed: it is construed in such a way (he says) that its central figure, St. Michael, is always *life-sized*, regardless of the vantage point from which one observes the painting, whether from up close or from the entrance far away.[86] This miraculous effect is stressed by a typographical device (italics): *nusquam se minor*. Printed like this, these words resemble an emblematic motto. They invite the reader to memorize them and meditate on them. What does it mean that St. Michael is always *life-sized*? It points to, among other things, his supernatural *omnipresence*. The *living image* of the saint is among us, regardless of our location in the church.

84 Ibidem.

85 Ibidem.

86 Ibidem, p. 140: '[…] quod mireris, nusquam se minor, sive proximus inspicias tabulam, sive ex postremo templi angulo arbitreris'.

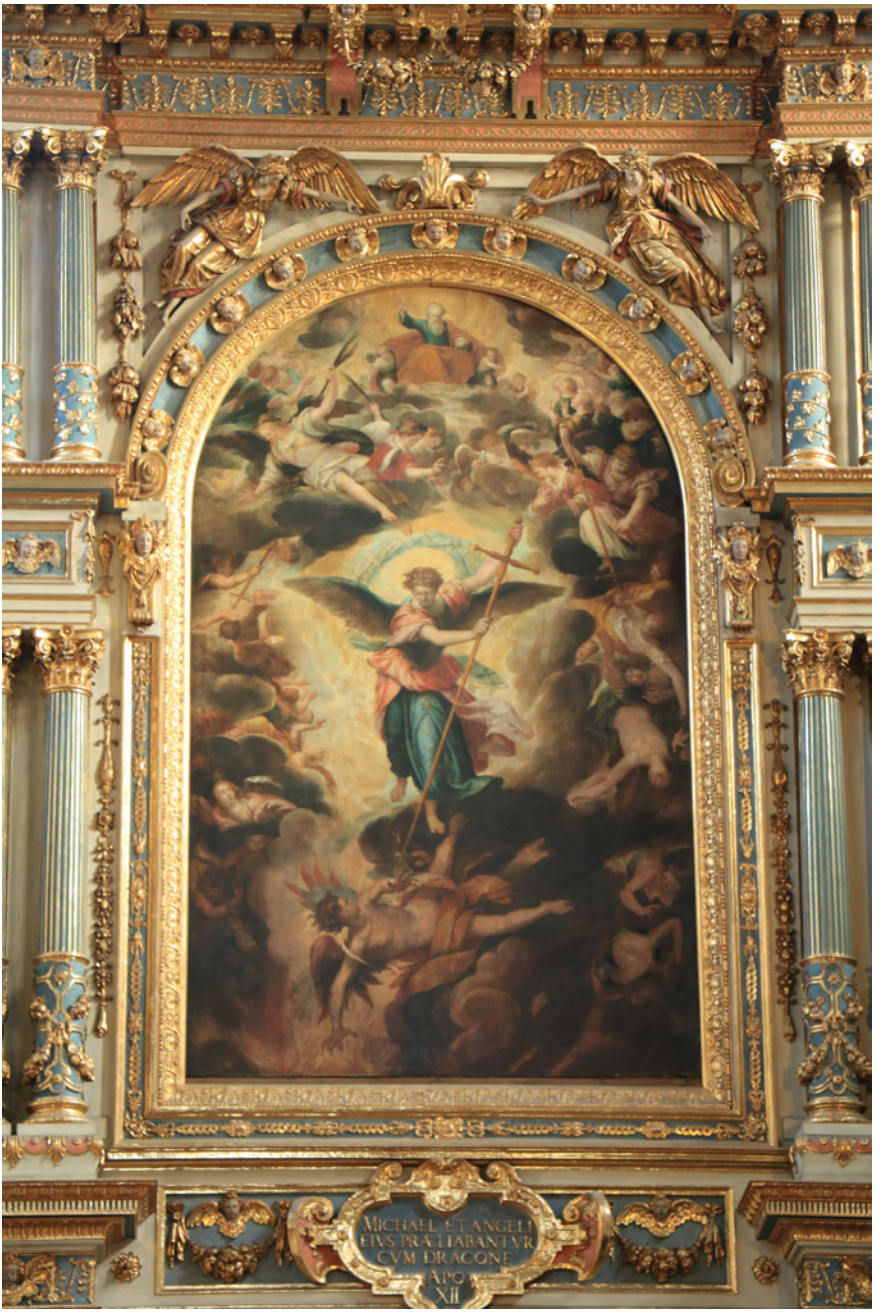

FIGURE 7.3 *St. Michael, altar painting with St. Michael by Christoph Schwarz (1587).* COPYRIGHT CHRISTIAN PETERS.

In his description of the painting too, Neumayr leaves physical reality far behind and takes off into the high realms of fantasy; in other words, he construes this part of *evidentia* in his own imagination and that of the reader. Again, a living image appears and proceeds to dramatic action; Michael comes alive: he shows emotions, such as anger and fury ('furor Angelicus'), and the colour of his eyes and face *changes* (the face darkens with fury, the eyes flash: 'nigricat frons, scintillant oculi'). Michael makes spectacular movements, such as lifting up the Holy Cross, and, overwhelmed by indignation and anger, he even shouts out, 'Who is similar to God?' ('Quis ut DEus?').[87] Of course, Neumayr was well aware that the painting did not shout, but he is suggesting the reader to engage in a spiritual exercise—the reader or audience shall imagine that the angel is shouting, 'certe clamantem (sc. Angelum) audire te putes'. At the same time, these words are meant as a dramatic *peripetia*. Immediately after saying them Michael throws LUcifer (one may also understand LUther) out of heaven and celebrates a triumphant victory. As Neumayr explains a few lines later, St. Michael's glorious victory is over the Heretics, i.e. the Lutherans.

Evidentia as a Pivotal Argument for the Superiority of Catholicism in Controversial Sermons

In the last part of his rhetorical manual Neumayr presents—as the climax of his teaching—a perfect sermon (*concio*) on true belief, in which he compares the Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran confessions.[88] In a long concluding passage he demonstrates the superiority of Roman Catholicism by visual evidence, i.e. its visual culture: painted images and sculptures, the pious veneration of saints, the imagery or pictorial programmes of churches dedicated to saints ('in templis [...] memoriae alicujus nostrorum Sanctorum dicatis'), triumphal representations, and religious performances in Catholic service, especially the *Eucharist*.[89] Catholicism is superior because of the *visibility* of the religious truth in triumphal paintings, i.e., above all, representations of Christ in Heaven, accompanied by Mary, the Apostles, saints, martyrs, confessors, Patriarchs, and Church Fathers.[90] Anyone entering a Catholic church can just *see* the truth of

87 Ibidem. In the typography of the *Idea Rhetoricae*, 'DEus' is always rendered in this way.

88 Ibidem, IV, pp. 264–285 ("Exemplum"). He repeated this perfect example of the 'idea bonae Concionis' in his manual for priests, *Vir Apostolicus* (first edition 1752, as quoted in note 1) 260–280.

89 *Idea Rhetoricae*, IV, pp. 274–280.

90 Ibidem, esp. pp. 274–275.

Catholic doctrine—on frescoes or large altar paintings one can actually look into heaven and see what is there. Jesus the King in heaven is sitting on his throne, and he is exclusively accompanied by Catholics, especially saints, but never by Calvinists or Lutherans.[91] The saints venerate Christ, and Christ honours them ('a Christo honor in Caelis'), because he allows them to stand next to him, to be his chorus in heaven ('Chorus Sanctorum'). In his chorus, one cannot discern a 'Saint Luther' or 'Saint Calvin'. The saints, the inhabitants of heaven, are exclusively Catholics.[92] Their triumph is evident: for example, the martyrs and confessors are decorated by 'laurel crowns' as signs of their victory over 'the enemies of the Roman Church', the 'Mundus', and over 'Sathan', whom they have 'chased away from a thousand Provinces' by 'erecting the Holy Cross on the altars of the Prince of Darkness'.[93] Furthermore, an important part of the triumphal *evidentia* is offered in the 'majestic work of Johan Bolland and his followers' ('grande Bollandi et sequacium opus'),[94] who in the *Acta Sanctorum* (the first five volumes of which had been published in Antwerp in 1643)[95] put the lives of the saints most vividly before the eyes of the readers. When Neumayr wrote his *Idea Rhetoricae* in 1748, the impressive number of 35 volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* had appeared.[96] In general, Neumayr considers it of pivotal importance that the Church be governed by a *visible* person, i.e. the pope, who is the legitimate successor of Christ, and that the Church venerate Christ through this *visible person* in a *visible* way.[97]

Only the visual culture of the Catholics offers Christ what he deserves: glory. And, of course, an important part of this glory is provided by the performance of religious rites, and these require priests (*sacerdote*s), sacraments—above all the Eucharist—devout veneration with appropriate gestures (kneeling down), i.e. the visible veneration of the King, 'cuius Regni non erit finis in fine mundi,

91 Ibidem 274: 'Agite enim, in quo choro Sanctorum inveniemus Calvini aut Lutheri sectarium?'

92 Ibidem 276.

93 Ibidem, 274–275: 'Nostri Confessores et Martyres, hi coronati laurea propter pugnas pugnatas cum inimicis Romanae Ecclesiae, illi vestiti gloria [. . .] propter mundum [. . .] devictum, propter Sathanam cum suis ex antiqua possessione mille Provinciarum ejectum per Crucem constitutam in Altaribus, in quibus Princeps tenebrarum adorabatur'.

94 Ibidem 275.

95 By Johan Bolland, Gottfried Henschen, and Daniel Papebroek.

96 Comprising the months January-3 September. Cf. Sawilla J.M., *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch* (Tübingen: 2009) (Frühe Neuzeit vol. 131).

97 *Idea Rhetoricae* IV, p. 278: 'Colimus (sc. Dominum) in Vicario, quem ipse sibi traditis clavibus substituit, ut visibilis Ecclesia in visibili Capite regeretur'.

sed de terrestri in caeleste translatio',[98] and, last but not least, the visual ambience in which the religious rites take place, i.e. 'a great number of magnificent churches'.[99]

The Fall of Icarus, or Dramatization as a Means of Creating Narrative *Enargeia*: Auditive *Figurae Sententiarum*, Dramatic Action, *Weltlandschaft*, and Other Devices

As is the case with respect to the painting discussed above (with the damned souls burning in hell), the *enargeia* description of the painting of *The Victory of St. Michael* displays highly theatrical features. In Neumayr's types of *evidentia* descriptions, *visual* images somehow turn into *living* images, and paintings or sculptures into *theatrical performances*. And the same goes for Neumayr's rhetorical *evidentia* produced in the framework of narratives—those of mythological stories, historical events, parables (*parabolae*), and fables (*apologi*).[100] In a marked difference from Soarez, Neumayr incorporates the *evidentia* presentation of circumstances and details ('circumstantiae'), and especially that of pleasant ('suavis') elements, as *indispensable* parts of a well-composed and efficient *narratio*.[101] Whereas Soarez had limited the 'pleasant narration' to Cicero, Neumayr hails it as a universal rhetorical principle: next to *brevitas*, *probabilitas*, and *claritas, suavitas* becomes the fourth necessary requirement.[102] *Suavitas* is achieved by rhetorical figures, either *figurae verborum* or *figurae sententiarum*. Neumayr considered the latter, however, to be of much higher and certainly of more specific importance. And among the *figurae sententiarum*, he stressed particularly *theatrical* ones: exclamations, direct addresses of persons (*apostrophae*), direct speech, personifications (*prosopopoejae*), and dialogues (*dialogismi seu colloquia*).[103] The aim of these devices is to make the persons or characters involved more vivid, to demonstrate their manners and character (*mores*), as well as their innermost thoughts or emotions (*affectus interni personarum*).

98 Ibidem 277.

99 Ibidem 278: 'Nos autem honoramus illum (sc. Dominum) de nostra substantia: aedificamus templa et numero plurima et ornatu magnifica'.

100 Ibidem, III, chapter II, § III "Exemplum objecti propositi per narrationem" (pp. 160–170).

101 Ibidem, 160–161.

102 Ibidem.

103 Ibidem, 161.

As an example of how one should apply these devices, Neumayr gives his version of the mythological story of the *Fall of Icarus*, and he arranges it into an explosive display of rhetorical evidence.[104] In a sense, it is revealing that he chooses this specific story: it contains most spectacular elements, such as those of man flying in the air, by then still one of the unfulfilled dreams of mankind; of flying so high as to approach the sun; of hybris; and of the untimely death of a youth, who falls down many kilometres into the Mediterranean Sea. In his prose version Neumayr thus made extensive use of theatrical verbal devices, such as the characterization of involved persons, direct speech, dialogue (also as indirect speech/*oratio obliqua*), and exclamations, and combined these devices with dramatic action.

Before taking off for their flight into freedom, the 'anxious' father Daedalus admonishes his son Icarus to always stay close to him, and Icarus promises to do so ('Icarus promittere omnia'). Neumayr contributes to *evidentia* by characterizing the mental attitude of his characters: the father is 'anxious because he was well aware how short-sighted young people are',[105] and the son is short-sighted and careless (thus, the opposite of anxious). An additional, but most effective device is to render the experience of the characters by describing things from their point of view: 'far below' ('late infra') they discern the waves of the sea, and in doing so experience feelings of success and ultimate security, an important psychological motive with respect to the following . Thus Neumayr carefully describes Icarus's feelings, 'ut se liberum, ut in usu alarum felicem vidit puer, nihil ultra metuendum ratus'. Neumayr construes this passage as a dramatic *peripetia*. In order to achieve this effect, he uses a direct speech by Daedalus to mark the moment when Icarus flies out of his father's reach. Daedalus 'shouts [...]: "Icarus, why are you climbing? You are flying towards your death! Believe your father, to stay in the middle is more secure! Glide back to your father!"'[106] Blind and emotional as young men are ('juvenili correptus furore')—another characterization of a person involved—Icarus does not listen to his father, does not even consider his warning important enough to give an answer. The action gets more and more dramatic.[107] And once more Neumayr describes the event in such a manner that he seems to

104 Ibidem 161–162.

105 Ibidem: 'sciebat enim [sc. pater] quam minime provida jucentus sit'.

106 Ibidem 162: 'Clamat pater: 'Icare, quo te evehis? In ruinam ascendis! Via media est secura, patri crede! Ad patrem relabere!'

107 Neumayr, ibidem, vividly exaggerates Icarus's disastrous lack of responsibility by rhetorical questions that depart from "normal" expectations: 'Quid ille? Num paruit? Num respondit? Num commotus est saltem?—Imo ne audiit quidem [...]'.

include the perspective of Icarus, who is about to cross the clouds ('iam nubibus imminens') and—'shamelessly' ('impudenter')—looks into the sun. But his eyes are not able to stand the sun's radiance: they are blinded, he loses orientation and control, and, as he is overwhelmed by this chaos, his wings start to melt: 'Ergo effusa caligine et diffluentibus alis [...]'. And now the 'poor boy' ('miser') falls down. While tumbling through the air he repeatedly thinks (according to Neumayr): 'Oh, if only I had obeyed!'[108] Not coincidentally, Icarus's last thought takes the form of an exclamation. The crucial importance of this verbal *evidentia* is typographically emphasized by italics: *Utinam obedissem!* In these two words the story's moral lesson is summed up as if it were in an emblematic motto, and Neumayr probably expected the reader to memorize it and meditate on it.

In his rhetorical exemplum of dramatized mythological narrative, Neumayr was much inspired by Ovid's metrical version in *Metamorphoses* VIII, 183–235. In fact, Ovid had already applied the majority of the devices in a masterly way, although he had focused more on the speeches, thoughts, and actions of Daedalus; for example, he described in much detail the construction of the artist's ingenious invention—the artificial wings, including a first tryout (188–202). In Ovid's account, however, the narrative loses dramatic tension when the story comes to its climax, the fall of Icarus—there is no *peripetia*, and no final warning from father Daedalus. Nevertheless, Ovid is full of spectacular visual elements, one may say to a maximum degree. For example, the poet-narrator takes the perspective of the two "bird-men" and looks down from the air onto earth: on their left the island of Samos passes by and they leave Delos and Paros behind, and on their right lie Lebinthos and Kalymnos.[109] This is less a report of the actual flight route than it is a means for the production of illusionary *enargeia*. If coming from Crete they fly north to the island Ikaros (the spot of the tragic fall) and they pass Paros and Delos, they cannot also pass Samos (on the Turkish coast), Lebinthos, and Kalymnos (south of Samos); if they fly northeast, they will pass first Lebinthos, then Kalymnos and Samos, but definitely not Paros and Delos. But the real device is about the poetic illusion of a kind of *Weltlandschaft* which is suggested by the perspective of the bird's eye looking down at various Greek islands. The other striking visual detail is about the amazement of the fishermen, shepherds, and peasants at work who see the bird-men flying through the air: they are so astonished and struck by the image that they believe they are seeing gods (VIII, 217–220).

108 Ibidem: '[...] cum volvebatur per aera, illud volvisse animo [...]: *Utinam obedissem*!'

109 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII, 220–222.

Although in this case Neumayr was clearly inspired by Ovid's visual narrative, this does not exclude the possibility that he may also have had images of *The Fall of Icarus* in mind. Visual artists of the early modern period had frequently illustrated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; there were a number of complete sets of *Metamorphoses* decorated with woodcuts, engravings and etchings, and there was an enormous number of separate illustrations (in graphic art and paintings as well), including, of course, *The Fall of Icarus*. For pictorial inventions, the Icarus myth was extremely rewarding because of its spectacular visual potential. One could depict the scene from the perspective of the shepherds in the framework of a whole *Weltlandschaft*, as Pieter Breughel the Elder, Hans Bol, and Carlo Saraceni (1606) had done; or one could narrate it from a very elevated vantage point (similar to a bird's-eye view), as in the engraving attributed to Simon Avellanus and published by Joris Hoefnagel (ca. 1595), or in Joannes Moretus's illustrated Ovid (Antwerp: 1591, p. 195). One could set the sea and islands within a broad, panoramic landscape, as many painters and designers did, or one could depict the "bird-men" from up close, flying through the air, as Rubens, Goltzius, and many artists after them did.

Evidentia in Neumayr's Jesuit Tragedies

Neumayr was thus obviously fascinated by the great pictorial, theatrical, dramatic, and symbolic potential of the myth to which he attributed a high didactic value. It is interesting to see that he was inspired by similar thoughts as a writer of Jesuit school dramas, especially the six tragedies he performed and directed as *choragus* at the Jesuit school in Munich: *Titus imperator, amor ac deliciae generis humani* (1731); *Eutropius infelix politicus* (1732); *Papinianus Juris-consultus* (1733); *Anastasius Dicorus* (1734); *Jeboam* (1735); and *Constantia orthodoxa ab imperatore Constantio Chloro sapienter honorata* (1736).[110] In his opening scenes (prologues, prolusions, or first appearances of the chorus),[111]

110 For Neumayr's tragedies and his theoretical views on drama cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 81–125.

111 For prologues and chorus cf. ibidem 95 ff. On the importance of these elements, cf. ibidem 95: 'Der Prolog und die Chöre […] boten dem *choragus* die Chance, alle bühnentechnischen Mittel für seine Phantasie auszunutzen. Mitunter bildeten sie die schönsten Partien der Theaterstücke und mitsamt der Musik, Pantomime und dem Tanz nahmen sie einen erheblichen Teil der gesamten Spielzeit in Anspruch. Die Vor- und Einschübe characterisieren den Versuch der Patres, mit der italienischen Oper, die ja seit dem ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert die Bühnen in den Höfen in Wien und München erobert hatte, zu konkurrieren'.

Neumayr always tried to offer his audience visual fireworks, i.e. a spectacular visual performance that 'should fascinate the eyes'—'spectaculum, quod oculos raperet', as he formulates it in his theoretical work *Idea Poeseos* with respect to the prologue of his *Titus*.[112] As director or *choragus* Neumayr paid much attention to the backdrops and to beautifully painted and creatively constructed stage sets, and he enjoyed staging impressive scenes—scenes that were sometimes crowded by a big number of supernumeraries: in the *Titus*, 94 actors, singers, and dancers appeared; in *Papinianus*, some 80.[113] Neumayr was convinced that this kind of *evidentia* created in the opening *spectaculum* of the *prolusio* or *prologus* contributed enormously to the impact and power of the argument, and thus to the effect of a tragedy.

In his introductory *spectacula*, Neumayr indeed opens up heaven and hell; he indulges in *Bühnenbilder* with large landscapes, spectacular buildings, or the sky above the clouds; and, in a marked difference from his sermons, he applies *Deus ex machina* constructions. For example, his tragedy *Constantia Orthodoxa*, which was performed at the Munich Jesuit college on 4 and 6 September 1736, opens with an extended prologue play (*prolusio*) featuring allegorical figures or personifications, such as *Britannia*, the *Genius* of the Roman Empire, the Soldier (*Miles*), the Politician (*Politicus*), and the *Oeconomicus*.[114] After the *prolusio*, in which the complaints about the deplorable state of the Empire turn into a *non liquet*, the personification of *Britannia* asks for a 'sign from heaven'.[115] And Neumayr indeed opens heaven up; with the help of stage sets and artefacts he presents a most spectacular *vision*: above the (painted) clouds a destroyed pagan temple appears, and in the midst of the clouds is a cross with the inscription IN HOC SIGNO ('in this sign/symbol') and, probably on

112 *Idea Poeseos sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis,ad ingeniorum culturam, animorum oblectationem,ac morum doctrinam accommodata* […] (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1751; ibidem: 1755, 1559; ibidem, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz: 1768), book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") p. 181.

113 Cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 97.

114 Perioche *Constantia Orthodoxa Ab Imperatore Constantio Chloro Sapienter Honorata: Das ist: Die sowohl denen Vernunffts- als Staats-Reglen gemäß weislich beehrte Glaubens-Beständigkeit, Auf Offentlicher Schau-Bühne Vorgestellt Von dem Churfürstlichen Lyceo Soc. Jesu in München Den 4. und 6. Herbstmonaths, Anno 1736* (Munich, Johann Jacob Vötter: 1736), 8 pp. without pagination; an exemplar, which also has the Latin play, is preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 850866 4 Bavar. 2197, II, 1. The Latin play was also published in Neumayr Franciscus, *Theatrum Politicum sive Tragoediae* […] (Augsburg – Ingolstadt, Franz Xaver Cräz – Thomas Summer: 1760) 287 ff.; the prologue on pp. 288–295.

115 Ibidem 293: 'In tanti momenti negotio Coelum consulamus,/ Signum petamus […]'.

the right side of the cross, a splendid palace of glory destined for Constantine. The exact moment of this vision is explained in an annotation marked by an asterisk: '*Exhibetur eversum delubrum, et crux in nubibus cum Epigraphe: In hoc signo. Item palatium gloriae Constantino destinatum'.[116] This means that in the *spectaculum* prologue of his tragedy Neumayr performed the famous vision Constantine is said to have experienced before the battle at the Pons Milvius, which was also widely known in the visual arts, e.g. via etchings of Raphael's ingenious invention, painted in the Vatican Sala di Costantino.

As spectators of the miraculous vision, *Britannia* and the *Genius* of the Roman Empire give an emotional reaction; in amazement and fear they shout, 'Superi! Quale spectaculum! Quae ruina? Quis cometa? Quam terribilis crux!' But even more was to come: from the clouds a *Deus ex machina* personification of Providence (*Providentia*) glides down to earth, thus producing the reverse effect of Icarus, who flew in the other direction in the *Idea Rhetoricae*.[117] One can imagine the big impression this epiphany made on the audience. The epiphany reveals the meaning of the vision: 'Amabilis, aurea crux . . . Curarum desinite! Meus est Constantinus. Ego MAGNUM faciam'—'It is a lovely, golden cross . . . Stop worrying! It is my Constantine. I will make him a great man'. And in an aria, *Providentia*—played by Franz Xaver Wincklmayr—reveals in an *enargeia* description the meaning of the vision of the splendid palace in the sky: 'I am the architect/ that builds from this ruin [i.e. the destroyed pagan temple]/ for Constantine/ a splendid palace./ Please collect stones/ for a foundation,/ not fragile bricks from clay,/ not soft [. . .], but hard stones,/ stones on which you detect/ the symbol of the cross [. . .]'.[118] 'Built from these stones/ my work will stand,/ and will not be afraid/ of the storms of clouds,/ or the raging rains [. . .]'.[119] In his *Idea Poeseos* Neumayr puts it this way: that 'Providentia reveals the (house of) glory of Constantine under the protection of the victorious Cross, built on the ruins of pagan idols'.[120] In the play, the *Genius* of the Roman Empire again renders the hoped-for effect of the vision: 'I am totally swept away by this pleasant vision. I obey. The election of the Roman Emperor shall take place IN SIGNO CRUCIS'.[121] It is clear that the *evidentia* of the prologue vision has an enormous impact on the reception of the rest of the play. The image of the cross with the inscription IN SIGNO CRUCIS will

116 Ibidem.

117 *Idea Poeseos*, book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") (1551), p. 181.

118 *Constantia Orthodoxa*, in Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum* 293.

119 Ibidem 294.

120 *Idea Poeseos*, book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") (1551), p. 182.

121 *Constantia Orthodoxa*, in Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum* 294.

stay constantly before the eyes of the audience. It functions as an emblematic motto, and it bears an emblematic meaning too: it symbolizes Constantine's and Christianity's victory over pagan superstition, and in terms of a mirror of princes it requires a good emperor to be a true Catholic Christian. It does not seem far-fetched to compare its function with the *evidentia* descriptions of St. Michael in the *Idea Rhetoricae*, the statue as well as the painting. There, in analogous fashion, the cross is the weapon and the symbol of the victory of Catholicism over the heretics, i.e. the Lutherans.

The prologue *spectaculum* of the tragedy *Eutropius infelix politicus*, which was performed at the Munich College on 2 and 4 September 1732, also displays a spectacular *Bühnenbild* with a symbolic meaning.[122] It shows a large garden, and in the background is an impressive palace which is just being finished. Actually, it will be completed this very day. A group of workers is still busy under the guidance of an architect, played by the same actor as Eutropius (i.e. the evil courtier). A friend has arrived, attracted by the impressive building, and he is totally swept away by admiration,[123] obviously because of its size and proportions. However, an important backdrop of the building becomes visible: although the building lacks only a few tiles, it is built on sand. The architect bursts with pride and is convinced of his skill, symbolized by the ruler in his hand which bears the inscription ARTES POLITICAE: 'Cum haec domui ponendae/ applicatur regula,/ Nunquam illi subruendae/ Ulla valet machina'[124]—'Since I have built this house/ With my ruler,/ No machine will be powerful enough/ to tear it down'. The good friend—Saint John Chrysostom, in fact—warns the architect and sings an aria on 'the house built on sand'.[125] The architect, however, replies that he understands the 'unique art of building on air', 'without foundation', just with his genius, viz. with the help of his incomparable ruler. Of course, for laypeople this art is too difficult.[126] And without hesitation the self-confident architect climbs on the roof in order to place a green tree as a sign of the building's completion. Saint John Chrysostom warns the architect again not to climb to his death, because the building starts to tremble: 'Ah siste gradum infelix!/ In tuum ascendis exitium!/ Non sentis ut tremiscat totum aedificium?'. And a most spectacular visual event takes place—the

122 For the Latin text of the play cf. ibidem 69 ff.; the prologueplay (prolusio) on pp. 72–76.

123 Ibidem 72: Architectus: 'Quid stupis?' Amicus: 'Me mihi eripuit aspectus huius fabricae'.

124 Ibidem.

125 Ibidem 73.

126 Ibidem: 'Mitte curas inanes./ Hoc ipsum est singulare artificium/ Paucissimis cognitum,/ Aedificare in aere/ Nec fundamentum ponere./ Imperitis hoc videtur difficile,/ Sed nos nostrae non fallunt regulae'.

building collapses with a lot of noise, and the garden turns into a desert.[127] Saint John Chrysostom reads the inscription on a gravestone in front of him: 'HERE LAYS EUTROPIUS/ THE UNFORTUNATE RULER/ BECAUSE HE WAS A BAD CHRISTIAN'—'HIC IACET EUTROPIUS/ INFELIX POLITICUS/ QUIA MALE CHRISTIANUS'.[128]

Here again, the visual evidence is meant to function as a kind of *imago figurata*: it performs symbolically the content of the tragedy's main action.[129] The metaphorical architect symbolizes the immoral politician who builds his power "on sand"; the collapse of the building, the politician's downfall and punishment; the architect's ruler, as the inscription makes clear, the immoral 'political arts', i.e. intrigue, deceit, and lies; the columns of the building, as the inscriptions again demonstrate, their weakness and vanity, 'REGIS FAVOR' and 'PLEBIS PAVOR'; and the grave inscription, the moral lesson the audience shall draw. The prologue *spectaculum* of the *Eutropius* calls to mind, in a sense, the *evidentia* speech in the *Idea Rhetoricae* describing St. Michael. Here too, amazement and admiration are produced by the immense size of the vault, which is said to have been built solely from the genius of the architect, and which was not supported by any columns. Moreover, the spectacular fall of the architect very much resembles the Fall of Icarus in the *Idea Rhetoricae*.[130] It is a telling detail that Neumayr concluded the prologue of the *Eutropius* with an aria, sung by St. John Chrysostom, in which he refers to the fall of Icarus: 'Quot per contemptum legum/ Invito Rege Regum/ Attollunt se ad superos,/ Tot orbis habet Icaros:/ Quo volant altius,/ Hoc ruent certius'.[131]

Especially revealing is the prologue *spectaculum* of *Titus*, which was performed at the Munich College on 4 and 6 September 1731. The *Bühnenbild* of *Titus* is construed as a kind of *Weltlandschaft*, with the sea and another Greek island, Rhodes. In the centre of the island Neumayr presented a most spectacular piece of art, one of the seven 'Welt-Wunder' (as announced in the perioche):[132] the Colossus of Rhodes, originally a giant statue of the god

127 Ibidem 74, the directors remark: now 'the building collapses: and the garden turns into a desert'—'ruit domus: ex horto sit desertum'.

128 Cf. ibidem.

129 Cf. *Idea Poeseos*, book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") (Munich – Ingolstadt: 1551), p. 183: 'Saepe idem argumentum, quod in prosa tractatur, in prologo quoque et choris exhibetur, vel tanquam *figura* ex veteri testamento, vel tanquam *imago* ex Mythologia'.

130 Cf. above.

131 Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum* 75.

132 *Perioche Titus Imperator amor ac deliciae generis humani. Das ist Kayser Titus Zubenahmst Ein Lieb und Freud Des Menschlichen Geschlecht. Vorgestellt von dem Churfürstlichen Lyceo S.J. in München* [...] (Munich, Johann Lucas Straub: 1731), 40, 8 pp. (not paginated); text

of the sun Helios, which was approximately 30 metres high and made from iron and bronze, and was erected in 280 BC as a monument of victory over Antigonus I Monophthalmus, who had besieged Rhodes in 305 BC. In the perioche Neumayr says that the giant 'Bild-Saeul' was erected by the people of Rhodes in gratitude for Phoebus's generosity ('Guetthaetigkeit'),[133] by which he means the prosperity and fertility brought forth by a peaceful and benign lord. The stage set shows the inhabitants of Rhodes, in various chorus groups, and Nymphs, Muses, shepherds, and hunters. The chorus of Nymphs describes in an *evidentia* song the stage set showing the island of Rhodes: (N. 1): 'Ubertas *haec* agrorum' (N. 2): '*Haec* gaudia hortorum' (N. 3): '*Hae* vineae, *haec* praedia' (N. 4): 'Tranquilla semper maria' [...] (omnes:) 'Sunt tua, Phoebe, munera,/ sunt tua gratia'—(N. 1): '*These* rich fields' (N. 2): '*These* pleasant gardens' (N. 3): '*These* vineyards, *these* estates' (N. 4): '*This* sea which stays always tranquil' (all): 'Are your gifts, Phoebus, your presents'.[134] This *evidentia* was performed in the form of music, and the demonstrative pronouns were certainly accompanied by gestures: each nymph—in fact a *Knabenchor* featuring the Jesuit pupils Estermann, Pschor, Wörgartner, and Einhauser[135]—was pointing to a certain part of the painted island visible on the *Kulisse*. The spectacular stage set again functions as an emblematic *imago figurata* of the play's action. The giant statue of benign Phoebus is an emblematic representation of the good lord Titus, the play's main character, who was hailed by Suetonius as *amor ac deliciae generis humani* (as indicated on the title page of the tragedy);[136] the island of Rhodes, an *imago figurata* of the prosperity brought forth by the good lord (Emperor Titus in the play); and the chorus groups of Rhodians, the grateful Roman subjects.

In the manner of the spectacular prologue plays of *Titus*, with its island *Weltlandschaft*, or of *Constantia Orthodoxa*, with a goddess descending from heaven, Neumayr could have performed on stage the story of Daedalus and Icarus as well, with *Weltlandschaft-Kulissen* and spectacular *Deus ex machina* constructions representing the "bird-men" flying through the air. This is not to suggest that he actually planned to do so, but to indicate that his rhetorical image theory is connected with his background as a director and writer of

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also in Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama*, vol. III, 2, 875–882. The Latin play was published in Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum*, pp. 7–68; the prologue on pp. 9–15.

133 Ibidem.

134 Ibidem 10 (in the perioche erroneously 01).

135 Cf. *Perioche Titus Imperator*, last page.

136 Cf. ibidem, title page.

tragedies, and a theorist of poetry. In all of these fields Neumayr had a strong preference for eye-catching images and spectacular performances, which are always construed in order to impress, amaze, and move the audience, and thus to persuade and educate it. For example, his highly visual and dramatic version of the fall of Icarus is construed in order to teach the Jesuit pupils a moral lesson, namely that it is of crucial importance for them to obey the orders of their fathers, i.e. their Jesuit teachers and superiors. When the pupils repeat in their minds the emblematic motto *Utinam obedissem!* they are supposed to visualize the myth in a way similar to that of Neumayr in the passage discussed above, and to internalize it by meditating on the visual and dramatic details and their meaning; and when Jesuit teachers use Greco-Roman myths in their lessons, they should first visualize and dramatize them in a similar way, "putting them before the eyes" of their pupils.

In conclusion, the fact that Neumayr includes the production of *enargeia* in his rhetorical manual is in itself neither new nor original. But the way in which he deals with *enargeia*, the importance and impact he ascribes to it, and the didactic examples he develops are remarkable. His image theory is perhaps not exclusively Jesuit, but it certainly has specific Jesuit features with respect to its religious and controversialist orientation, its connection with Jesuit church architecture and imagery, its contextualization in a centre of Jesuit education and piety (the Munich school), and its desired use in Jesuit preaching, writing, teaching, and theatre performances.

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