

JESUIT IMAGE RHETORIC IN LATIN AND THE VERNACULAR:



The Latin and Dutch emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi**

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The genre of the emblem was very suitable for the Jesuits in the Early-Modern period. In the Imago Primi Saeculi and its Dutch adaptation the Afbeeldinghe, emblems are used for the celebration of the first centenary of the Society. Analysis of the intentions of the authors shows how emblems fit in the purposes of the publication of these books. A case-study of one particular emblem shows that both the Latin and the vernacular version of this book use emblems as rhetorical instruments for a persuasive Jesuit propaganda, each in a different way.

Introduction

The Jesuits are well-known for their exuberant artistic achievements in the Renaissance and Baroque periods.¹ One type of imagery which flowered in the Jesuit art commissions in the seventeenth century was emblematics. The genre of the emblem was very well suited for to the aims of the Jesuits. Emblem books of Jesuits such as Jeremias Drexel and Henricus Engelgrave made the genre highly popular in the early years of the century, and their most influential expression was the *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640), in celebration of the first centenary of the Jesuit order.² In the last few decades, scholars have done invaluable work on the construction of typologies and inventories of Jesuit emblems. Peter Daly and Richard Dimler published a bibliography of all extant emblem books by members of the Society of Jesus.³ Studiolum, a digital publisher, is undertaking the major programme of pub-

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¹ Levy 2004, 15.

² Bailey 2003, 269.

³ Dimler 1997–2007.

lishing the most important Jesuit emblem books in electronic form.⁴ The main aim of this article is to explore in what way the emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* suited the Jesuits, and how this is expressed in the emblems in the *Imago* and its Dutch adaptation. This involves an analysis of the differences between the use of Latin and the vernacular by the authors.

In 1640 the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu* was published, on the occasion of the first centenary of the Jesuit order. The publishing-house of Balthasar Moretus printed the work in Antwerp. It had a run of at least 1050 copies, with the cost of the edition amounting to 18,900 florins.⁵ A variety of people worked on it, which is reflected by the stylistic differences in the different parts of the book.⁶ The project was probably coordinated by Johannes Bollandus (1596–1665) and Jan Tollenaer (or Jan de Tollenaere, 1582–1643);⁷ Jacobus Libens probably worked on the redaction of the last book; the Jesuit poets Sidronius Hosschius (1596–1653) and Jacobus Wallius (1599–1690) wrote the poetry for it; and the emblems and title page were engraved by Cornelius Galle. The work was composed in Latin with additions in Hebrew and Greek, and amounts to a 952-page account of the history of the Jesuit order, and, more specifically, its history in the Low Countries. It consists of six chapters, each of the first five chapters being connected with a stage of the history of the order, parallel to one of the five stages of the life of Jesus, and the sixth chapter especially focused on the state and history of the order in the Low Countries. After each chapter follows a set of rhetorical or poetical exercises, and a number of emblems. When the Latin version became a success, a Dutch version of the book appeared, the *Afbeeldinghe van d'eerste Eeuw der Societeit Jesu*. This adaptation in the vernacular appeared in a cheaper, smaller version. At least 1525 copies were printed, and the total cost of the edition amounted to 13,725 florins.⁸ It is much shorter than its Latin equivalent, and lacks the rhetorical and poetical exercises. It has also a different title page. New passages have been added, such as a new advice to the reader, with an explanation of the new title page, a poetic composition and a useful table of contents.⁹ Every

⁴ <http://www.studiolum.com/en/cd05.htm>. A cd-rom with the monographic edition of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* is forthcoming.

⁵ Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 92.

⁶ The book itself says the following about the authorship on page 24: “Dissimilem scriptionis characterem Auctorum varietas fecit: neque displicebit opinor. Solet enim plerumque iucunda esse mutatio et ingeniorum placere diversitas” (A variety of authors has made the character of the writing different: and, as I believe, it will not displease. Because change is usually mostly pleasant and diversity of talents agreeable).

⁷ Dimler 1997, I 56–59; Dimler 2007, 128–129.

⁸ Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 103.

⁹ Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 103.

chapter of the *Afbeeldinghe* contains a number of emblems, translated and adapted from the original by Adriaen Poirters and Laurent Uwens. However, twenty two emblems from the original do not have an equivalent in the Dutch version. Both the Latin and Dutch version are said to have been coordinated by Johannes Bollandus.

The first part of this article will analyse in what way emblems are suitable for the intentions of the Jesuits. The second part will be a study of the emblems of the *Imago* and its Dutch adaptation the *Afbeeldinghe*. In the *Imago* and the *Afbeeldinghe*, emblems give us a good impression of how the Jesuit order wanted to represent itself and what message it tried to convey in the celebration of its centenary. Thirdly, a case study will compare the Dutch and Latin version of one emblem which is particularly relevant to the idea of self-representation, and analyse how each version used the emblem and its rhetorical techniques to achieve a persuasive rhetoric of images.

I. The role of emblems and imagery in the Jesuit order

Emblems and imagery were strongly present in Jesuit spirituality. The first part of this paper will examine some important aspects of the emblem which made it so attractive to the intentions of the Jesuits. The interest of the Jesuits in emblem literature is only one aspect of the phenomenon of Jesuit image culture. To a great extent we can explain the interest of the Jesuits in emblems and visual information through the ideas of a key figure of the Jesuit order: its founder Ignatius of Loyola. In his *Exercitia spiritualia*, Ignatius of Loyola advocates mental prayer and intense self-examination as a method of meditation. This consists among other things in taking full possession of the praying person's imagination. All the five senses are used in this. On the use of the sense of sight he writes: "By the sight of my imagination I will see the persons by meditating and contemplating in detail all the circumstances around them, and by drawing some profit from the sight."¹⁰ Imagination is essential in prayer, and through the 'internal senses' of the imagination the meditator becomes an interested eyewitness. It was said in the Order that even such a highly gifted contemplative as Ignatius prepared for prayer by looking at the prints he collected to that end and exhibited in his room.¹¹

Through the deeper meaning hidden within it, the emblem constantly puts the thoughts and actions of the believer into the right perspective. This makes the emblem especially suitable for the promotion of the praise and honour of God in the world, one of the most important principles of the Jes-

¹⁰ Ignatius of Loyola 1991, 122.

¹¹ Porteman 1996, 20.

uit order. Ignatius of Loyola said the following about this principle in his *Spiritual Exercises*: “The human person is created to praise, reverence and serve God Our Lord, and by doing so save his or her soul.”¹² The principle is also expressed by the Jesuit motto, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (To the higher glory of God), which lies at the centre of Jesuit spirituality. The *Imago* devotes an emblem to the *Societatis Iesu symbolum* (the motto of the Society of Jesus) after the *Prolegomena*.¹³

The use of emblems supports the didactic purpose, which is connected to another principle of the Jesuit order: mission. The emblem offers an attractive combination of word and image. Pictures themselves are easily remembered.¹⁴ The combination of an image and a clarifying text makes the emblem even more authoritative: “You look, you recognise and are thereupon led and persuaded by the text to new insights”.¹⁵ By means of both nature (especially fauna and flora) and tradition (mythology, the Bible, history, literature) as well as of human experience, emblems offer norms and arguments for correct behaviour. The Jesuit Henricus Engelgrave also pointed to this specific didactic and mnemonic function of emblems in his emblem sermon books.¹⁶

Jesuits saw the emblem as part of the rhetorical doctrine of tropes. In rhetoric tropes are words that are used in a meaning they do not truly possess, but onto which that meaning is transferred whenever they take the place of words which do have that meaning.¹⁷ In the emblem it is the ‘images’ or ‘*picturae*’, which receive these figurative meanings. Rhetoric was an important discipline in Jesuit education.¹⁸ The emblem was therefore strongly present in the college curriculum, as part of the instruction in rhetoric. The earliest traces of Jesuit interest in emblematics in relation to their curriculum can be found in the *Ratio Studiorum*, where the interpretation and composition of emblems is advocated for students of rhetoric and humanities.¹⁹

An important aspect of classical rhetoric is the harmony of *dulce* and *utile*. Horace saw the mixture of *dulce* and *utile* in a poem as an ideal harmony, when he said: “He has won every vote, who has blended profit and

¹² Ignatius of Loyola 1996, 289.

¹³ Bollandus 1640a, 44.

¹⁴ Salviucci-Insolera 2004, 24.

¹⁵ Porteman 1996, 14.

¹⁶ Van Vaeck 2007a, 541.

¹⁷ Porteman 1996, 22.

¹⁸ For a thorough analysis of the influence of humanism on the Jesuit educational system, and its stress on the discipline of classical rhetoric, see Dimler 2007, 56.

¹⁹ Daly 2008, 102. See also Dimler 2007, 61.

pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader.”²⁰ Poetry should be wholesome as well as pleasant. This combination is also present in emblems. Dimler sees the distinctive combination of art, beauty and morality in the *Imago* as a unique and innovative feature of the work in comparison to other emblem books.²¹ The emblem is not only a favourite weapon of propaganda for the Society of Jesus because of its effective didactic properties, but especially because of the combination of usefulness and art and beauty, in other words, the *dulce*. The Jesuits strove to adapt their propaganda to the customs of the countries they worked in. Through it they insinuated their message. The taste of Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was for display, display in sumptuous ceremonies, theatrical performances, opera, ballet, witty devices and elegant emblems.

John Manning has shown that festivities characterize the genre of emblems as a whole, and can hardly be described as late, decadent developments in the history of the genre.

To underestimate the strength of this tradition of public celebration, and to fail to appreciate the importance of the festive, the ceremonial, the comic, the playful, the jocose and the satiric is to misunderstand the aims and purposes of particular emblem books, and, indeed, the genre as a whole.²²

Further in his interesting book, he shows how the Jesuits in particular were indeed “the masters of lavish emblematic celebration.” He sees the *Imago Primi Saeculi* as an exhibition of the Jesuits themselves and a flamboyant celebration. The festivity and self-celebration of the *Imago* attracted the criticism of the Jansenists because of its visual and verbal opulence, which seemed incongruous when applied to an institution founded on a vow of poverty.²³ As Manning sees it, “the *Imago* lets all stops out in a triumphant organ-blast of self-praise, invoking an unashamed, post-Tridentine rhetoric.”²⁴ Although the *Imago* was severely criticised for its self-praise and pretentiousness, it had a high stature as an emblem book. This is illustrated by the fact that Jakob Masen, a pre-eminent emblem theorist of the seventeenth century, refers to the *Imago* emblems extensively in his influential theory of the four sub-types of the figurative image or *imago figurata*.²⁵

²⁰ Horace, *Ars Poetica* 343–344. In Latin: “Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci, lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.” Translation: Fairclough 1955.

²¹ Dimler 2007, 130–131.

²² Manning 2002, 187.

²³ Fumaroli 1994, 364–365.

²⁴ Manning 2002, 196.

²⁵ Dimler 2007, 126–143.

II. The emblems of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* and the *Afbeeldinghe van d'Eerste Eeuw der Societeyt Jesu*

Before we will turn to the emblems themselves, we will analyse the purposes of the publication of the *Imago Primi Saeculi*. The structure of the work is clearly laid out and discussed in the *Synopsis* and *Dissertationes prolegomenae*. The content is spread out over six books. In the seventh paragraph of the introduction, the order and content of the books and the variation of styles in them is explained and justified. The order of the books is clearly not random. One of the most important purposes of the Society was to promote the glory of God, and this also determined the arrangement of the chapters of this book. The first five books of the work are devoted to the history of the Society as a whole, and to the honour of God. They have been arranged in such a way, “that the Society (since it was born and raised for the glory of the saviour Jesus) just as in other matters, so also in this work, would be an image of the time he spent among people.”²⁶ Therefore the first five books correspond to a period of Jesus’ life. As mentioned earlier the first book concerns the beginnings, or childhood, of the Society,²⁷ the second deals with its growth, the third with the activities and achievements of the Society,²⁸ the fourth with its sufferings²⁹ and the fifth with its glory.³⁰ The sixth book concerns the history of the Society within the *Provincia Belgica*. Thus the arrangement of the books is justified. Marc Fumaroli has convincingly suggested a second element that can be considered in this arrangement.³¹ He sees the description of the arrangement of the work, divided into six books, as an allegorical description of a church with a façade (the frontispiece), peristylum (the dedication and introduction) and six chapels (the six books).

In order to adorn the book appropriately for the occasion, and to make the reading of the book as agreeable as possible for the reader, many different forms of art and rhetoric have been used in this work, each of which is discussed in the introduction: a history of the Society (*narratio*), poetry

²⁶ Bollandus 1640a, 21: “Earum [*sc. partium*] inter se ordo nec fortuito, nec casu ita digestus, sed *vt* Societas (quoniam ad Servatoris Iesu gloriam nata est atque adoleuit) quemadmodum ceteris in rebus, ita et in hoc Opere aetatis ab eo inter mortales exactae sit imago.”

²⁷ In Latin the word *incunabula* is used (Bollandus 1640a, 21). Lewis and Short give the following description of this word: *incunabula*, -orum, n: a cradle; childhood; *figuratively* the elements, beginnings.

²⁸ This book is called *Societas Agens*. Examples of this are the teaching of the Society and actions against heretics.

²⁹ The book is called *Societas Patiens*.

³⁰ This book is called *Societas Honorata*.

³¹ Fumaroli 1994, 347–348.

(*carmina*), speeches (*orationes*), and emblems. The following is said as an explanation for the great variety of genres in the *Imago*:

Truly now, as we sing a happy and favourable *paean* in this anniversary year, a sterile and bare story is not suitable; because the delightfulness of the public games with the Romans was not displayed without *missilia* either. What then? If authors of histories used to recount the exhortations of emperors, deliberations of senates, and applause of the soldiers, they did not do so because those matters had occurred in precisely that way, but to please the reader. If Thucydides could mix in short poems occasionally, surely we are allowed to mix in a practice common among those who keep in view the character of the public, which is wearied of all things soon, as Isocrates said, and to add in that which is the more favourably seen, emblems, songs, speeches, just like some kind of *missilia*, and to interweave them in it, as if it were a wreath of roses, bound together with violets, narcissuses, hyacinths or smaller flowers?³²

The variety of genres is first compared to *missilia*. The handing out of *missilia*, literally ‘things which are thrown’, was a usage from imperial Rome. *Missilia* were presents thrown by the emperors among the people during festivities, like the *ludi* (public games).³³ Secondly, the structure of the work is modelled on the example of historical authors, such as Thucydides, who did not just write down the facts, but added amusing anecdotes, poems and speeches to please the reader. Thirdly, a reference to the rhetorician Isocrates supports the use of so many different genres. Isocrates had mentioned how easily the general audience is wearied. By adding poems and emblems, the authors of the *Imago* try to prevent the reader from becoming bored and ceasing to read. Lastly, after another comparison to *missilia*, the work is compared to a rose wreath with other flowers interwoven. The rose stands for the core of the work, the history of the first hundred years of the Society, and the other flowers stand for the poetical exercises and emblems. The explicit discussion of these four reasons shows that the authors were

³² Bollandus 1640a, 23: “Iam vero, vt Saeculari anno laetum canamus faustumque Paeana, neque sterilis placuit neque nuda narratio; quando nec ludorum apud Romanos amoenitas absque missilibus fuit exhibita. Quid enim? Qui historiae scribendae incumbunt, si Imperatorum hortationes, Senatuum consulta, militum plausus referre consueuerunt, non quod res eae sic gestae sint, verum vt sua sit Lectori voluptas; si Thucydidi licuit interdum breuia carmina admiscere; nobis in gratulationibus vsitatum morem, in hominibus vulgi ingenium spectantibus, cui omnium mox rerum satietas sit, vt inquit Isocrates, quanto aequius visum, emblemata, carmina, orationes, velut missilia quaedam interserere, et quasi de rosis sertum, violis, narcissis, hyacinthisque, ceu minoribus floribus, intexere?”

³³ Cp. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VIII 1339.33–49. See also Hopkins 1983, 9; Leader-Newby 2004, 45.

well aware of possible criticism of the extravagant and ambitious set-up of the *Imago*.

The great variety of genres illustrates the Jesuits' love of display and celebration. As representatives of the age of the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits saw it as their main task to convert and educate as many people as possible, and they frequently used theatre and many other forms of art to achieve this goal.³⁴ The use of emblems is discussed separately. Emblems are compared to ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs.³⁵ It is a topos of emblematisers to place their work in the tradition of interpreting the wisdom of the Egyptians.³⁶ Furthermore it is said that emblems appeal to many, although a few might not like the mix of history and fiction. Just like the great variety of genres, the use of emblems in particular serves the distinct populist approach of the Jesuits.³⁷ According to the papal bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, which established the Society of Jesus in 1540 as a religious order, the Society was

principally instituted to work for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine, and for the propagation of the faith by public preaching and the ministry of God's Word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, more particularly by grounding in Christianity boys and unlettered persons, and by hearing the confessions.³⁸

As Jeffrey Muller says in his chapter on Jesuit uses of art in Flanders, the apostolic mission and means of persuasion of the Jesuits can be linked together with the diverse uses of art made by the Jesuits.³⁹ This explains the intention of the authors of the *Imago* to reach a wide audience and not a small elite.

Lastly, the purpose of the book is once more underlined. Although the *Imago* was written to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Society of Jesus, the figure representing the Society on the title-page says that the work was primarily undertaken for the glory of God, and not for the glory of the

³⁴ On the popular impact of the Jesuits and the Counter-Reformation in general, a clear and concise overview is given by Mullett 1984, 26–30.

³⁵ Bollandus 1640a, 23: "Accedunt emblemata, ceu rerum quaedam similitudines, siue, rursus veterum exemplo, maiorum res gestas incidentium aeri; siue Aegyptiorum potius, qui hieroglyphicis vsi arcana quaeque posteritati tradidere."

³⁶ To mention one other example, one of the founders of the genre, Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), also saw his emblems as part of the tradition of the interpretation of hieroglyphs (Porteman 1977, 17).

³⁷ Bollandus 1640a, 23: "Scimus enim et haec placuisse non paucis. Multitudini Scriptor, non pauculis hominibus, seruire contendat."

³⁸ Translation quoted from Bireley 1999, 32.

³⁹ Muller, in O'Malley 2005, 114.

Society itself.⁴⁰ As discussed before, the Jesuit motto was an important principle in all the activities of the Jesuits. The authors of the *Imago* believed that the Society of Jesus represented God on earth, and therefore a celebration of the centenary of the Jesuit order could be organized *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. As though the Jesuits already expected that the extravagant style of the book would evoke criticism, later in this paragraph it is stressed once more that the whole project is undertaken to honour God, Jesus, and Mary.⁴¹ Finally the prominent figures in the Society (the saints Cosmas and Damianus,⁴² Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier) are praised.

III. Case study: the comparison of one emblem in the *Imago* and the *Afbeeldinghe*

Having established the explicit intentions of the authors of the *Imago*, we will now compare the Latin and Dutch version of the emblem on page 43 of the *Imago*, entitled *Societas Iesu*, and its Dutch equivalent in the *Afbeeldinghe*, entitled *De Societeyt Iesu* in order to analyse how these intentions are developed in practice. Both versions of the emblem use the same *pictura*, and the title is the same in both languages: the Society of Jesus. We will first take a look at the *pictura*. In a rich, luxuriant scroll with exotic shells and fish or whales, we see a sun which shines on the world. It is a very simple symbolic image. Since early Christendom, the symbol of the Sun has been used to represent the divine, God or Jesus. Emblem no. 38 in Zingref 1619 and the *Imago* emblem on page 43 are closely related, as Richard Dimler persuasively argued in his paper on Jesuit emblems.⁴³ Both Zingref and the *Imago* use the metaphor of the sun. In Zingref's emblem book, the prince is presented as the sun of the kingdom. This was easily adapted to the

⁴⁰ The central female figure on the titlepage of the *Imago* is saying the following: “non nobis, Domine, non nobis: sed Nomini tuo” (not for us, Lord, not for us, but for your name).

⁴¹ Bollandus 1640a, 24: “Nunc te, Deus Opt. Max. cuius vnus honori omnis hic noster deuotus est labor; nec te minus, Optime Iesu (quo enim potius te nomine appellet minime nostra Societas, Optimum experta Parentem iam nascens, adulta Ductorem, impugnata Propugnatores Seruatoresque; quam tuo nomine insignire tibi placuit, vt libertos esse nos tuos, sociosque in aerumnis, memores simus?) te, inquam, Optime Iesu, tuamque appello suauissimam Matrem; si Marianae gloriae domi tot defensores, tot apud exteris gentes propugnatores, tot vbique terrarum aluit studiosos; serua cohortem tuam aeterno tibi adstrictam sacramento; pugnasque inter et victorias, prospera inter et aduersa, tuo in obsequio *annare* fac et *perennare*.”

⁴² These saints were important in the Jesuit order. In the *Imago* they are praised extensively, and on page 46 an emblem is devoted to them as the *Confirmatae Societatis Praestites*. The feastday of these Saints was on the same day as the beginning of the celebrations.

⁴³ Dimler 1976, 436–437.

Society of Jesus as the sun whose rays illuminate the earth. The title of Zinegref's emblem, "Radiis tamen omnia lustrat" (It brightens everything with its rays), is very close to the meaning of the Jesuit epigram under the *pictura* in the *Imago*, "Non est qui se abscondit a calore ejus" (Nothing exists hidden from its warmth). Both underline the omnipresence of the sun. As in many emblems of the *Imago* (and therefore also the *Afbeeldinghe*), the Jesuits were influenced in their choice of emblem picture by a secular emblem book. They incorporated the picture of a secular emblem, and infused a new moral aspect into the emblem by changing the motto or title, and, above all, the epigram. As we will see, the epigram conveys a distinctly Jesuit message and explains the deeper meaning of the sun.

Next we will focus on the Latin version of the epigram. Under the image follows a quotation of psalm 18.7: "Non est qui se abscondat a calore eius" (Nothing exists which can hide from its warmth). In the original context, *eius* refers to God, who helped David when he called for help. However, as will become clear from the context, here we should read *eius* as referring to the Society of Jesus. Then the poem follows:

- Cimmeriae tenebrae, Phoebóque incognita regna,
Et quas perpetuò nox premit atra plagas,
Fabula quam veteres olim finxere Poëtae,
Credita ab antiquâ simplicitate fuit.
- 5 Este procul nugae: nullae sine sole latebrae,
Terra nec aethereas effugit vlla faces.
Tu licet extremas Scythiae glacialis ad oras
Hinc procul à patriis finibus exsul eas,
Et modò quod plaustris, ratibus modò curritur aequor,
- 10 Quaeque eadem semper sidera terra videt;
Sive sub aduerso depressas cardine terras,
Visaque adhuc nulli barbara Regna petas;
Quid fugis, ah demens? incassùm niteris: omni
Sol aderit, fugias tu licet vsque, loco.
- 15 Seriùs aut citiùs his cuncta caloribus ardent:
Nullus ab his toto tutus in orbe locus.
Quod radii Solis, Coetus facit istud Iesu:
Omnis ab hoc latè, quà patet, ardet humus.

(Cimmerian darkness, dominions unknown to Phoebus, and regions which the dark night suppresses constantly, these are a story which the old Poets once composed, which was believed by ancient simplicity. Be gone with such trifles! There are no hiding-places from the sun, nor does any land escape the heavenly torches. Though you may go, like an exile, to the extreme boundaries of icy Scythia, where you are

far from your own country's borders, and to wide expanses crossed by carts or boats, or to the land which always sees the same stars, even if you seek lands pressed under the opposite pole and the barbarian realms not yet seen by anyone: Why do you flee, oh fool? You strive in vain: the sun is present everywhere, wherever you may flee. Sooner or later all things blaze with that warmth: No place on the whole earth is safe from it. What the rays of the Sun do, the Society of Jesus does: the whole earth blazes with it widely, as far as it extends).

The explicit explanation of the metaphor of the psalm is postponed until the last two verses (17–18): “What the rays of the Sun do, does the Society of Jesus:/ The whole earth blazes with it widely, as far as it extends.”⁴⁴ In the beginning of the poem, there is an elaborate, very poetic and highly rhetorical statement telling us, the reader, that wherever we go, there is no place where the rays of the sun do not shine, no Cimmerian darkness, or places unknown to Phoebus. The poet adapts these classical concepts to the Jesuit message in a very clever way, rejecting them as trifles. *Cimmeriae tenebrae* is a proverbial classical expression for an obscure, unknown area, discussed by Erasmus in his *Adagia*⁴⁵. The reference to areas unknown to Phoebus refers to the classical metaphor of the god for the sun. The whole verse seems to be a variation of a verse of Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 3.397: “Cimmerium domus et superis incognita tellus.” The poem is written in fluent elegiac couplets. In the second verse, the alliteration “perpetuo ... premittit ... plagas” adds to the poetical style. Further in the poem there are many more instances of alliteration, such as in v. 5 (“nugae nullae, sine sole”), v. 10 (“semper sidera”), v. 11 (“sive sub”), v. 15 (“cuncta caloribus”), and v. 16 (“toto tutus”). After the reference to the ancient poets, the existence of these obscure lands, where the sun would not be present, is strongly denied in v. 5, by the apostrophe “este procul nugae”. The word-order in the whole poem is poetic, for example in v. 5 the placement of “sine sole” between *nullae* and *latebrae*. In the next verse we see a chiasmic wordorder: “terra aethereas ulla faces”. In v. 7 the reader is addressed by the emphatically placed *tu*.⁴⁶ This is an element characteristic of emblem literature, by which the reader is addressed and involved in the emblem. The whole verse contains a clear reminiscence of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.788–791: “est locus

⁴⁴ Bollandus 1640a, 43, vv. 17–18: “Quod radii Solis, Coetus facit istud Iesu:/ Omnis ab hoc late, qua patet, ardet humus.”

⁴⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia* 1534 =2.6.34: “Multam obscuritatem, aut animi caliginem *Cimmerias tenebras* appellant.” I have consulted the work in the 1703 Leiden edition, as published by Studiolum.

⁴⁶ “Tu licet extremas Scythiae glacialis ad oras.”

extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris". This verse comes from a passage with a description of the icy and isolated land of Scythia:

There is a place on the farthest border of icy Scythia, a gloomy and barren soil, a land without corn, without trees. Sluggish Cold dwells there and Pallor, Fear, and gaunt Famine.⁴⁷

In vv. 13–14 the reader is once more addressed ("Quid fugis, ah demens? Incassum niteris: omni/ Sol aderit, fugias tu licet usque, loco."). These verses are reminiscent of a passage of Propertius, which stresses the omnipresence of Amor, *Elegiae* 2.30.1–2: "quo fugis, ah demens? Nulla est fuga: tu licet usque/ ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor" (Whither fliest thou, mad heart? There is no escape. Fly as far as the Tanais; Love will hunt thee down).⁴⁸ The word order has been changed slightly, *quo* is replaced by *quid* and the river Tanais from the original, a Scythian river, is replaced by "omni loco" (every place). Part of the pentameter of v. 16 reminds us of a halfline of a pentameter from Ovid, *Fasti* 4.573: "... nullus in orbe locus." In the penultimate verse of the poem finally the real message of the emblem is revealed, with a very emphatic final position of Iesu in the verse. The last two feet of the last pentameter seem to echo Ovid, *Fasti* 4.492: "cuius anhelatis ignibus ardet humus."

From this short analysis we can conclude that the Latin version of the epigram explains the *pictura* in a very poetic, festive way. As is typical in humanist activity, impressive rhetorical devices, reminiscences and quotations of classical literature and mythology, the existing secular emblem literature, and the Bible are used in conveying the message in order to achieve the ideal harmony of *utile* and *dulce*. The reader who would pick up most of these elements, had to have had a thorough education in classical and Christian culture. The message of the emblem – the Society of Jesus is like the sun, its rays are everywhere – clearly shows a very confident self-representation, and after looking at this emblem the frequent critique by many contemporaries is not surprising.

Comparing the Dutch version of the emblem, the first thing we notice is that the Dutch epigram is much longer: the whole entry is two pages long, compared to one of the Latin. In fact, it is not really a translation, but an adaptation. Since there already is a unity between the two emblems because of the same image, the 'translator' or rather 'adaptator' was much freer in his work. He could create a new poem, which added to the festivity of the

⁴⁷ "Est locus extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris, triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus; Frigus iners illic habitant Pallorque Tremorque, et iciuna Fames." Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.788–791. Translation: Miller 1956.

⁴⁸ Translation: Goold 1990.

whole project. What follows is the poem, first the original Dutch text, and after this my translation into English:

- Geen land en is soo verr' van hier, of ick onsteke't door mijn vier.*
O Noyt vermoeyde Son, die met u gulden waghē
Aen heel de werelt deylt de nachten, en de daghen,
Die door u soeten schijn, en met u purper-root,
5 Verlicht al watter is, en treckt als uyt de doot:
Die 't al verquicken doet 't zij menschen, ofte dieren,
Als oock de voghels snel die aen den hemel swieren,
En heeten welle-com den soeten daegheraet,
De dochter van de Son, die voor haer vader gaet:
10 Dees werelts klaere oogh, die met u heete straelen
Door-snijdt de vaste aerd', en weet daer in te daelen,
En werckt daer wonder in, iae van een klompken slijck
Brengh voort dat edel gout, en maeckt de werelt rijck.
Door u sietm' op een rots de diamanten groeyen,
15 Door u in een valley de schoone bloemkens bloeyen.
O licht! O wonder licht! O siel van de natuur!
Hoe menigh duisent mijl dooreyst ghy op een uur!
En dat met sulck een kracht, 'tzy met een soeten morgen,
Oft met v middaeghs vier; voor u is niet verborghen:
20 Daer is geen landt soo verr', daer ghy niet komt omtrent,
Geen landt soo naer den Noordt, of 'tis u wel bekend.
Den bonten Moscouit die doet ghy oock sijn pelsen
Wel worpen van het lijf, en lichter kleet omhelsen:
Aen Groen-landt, Iis-landt me, dat knipper-tandt van kouw,
25 Daer seyndt ghy van u vier, op dat het branden souw.
Iae nova Zembla selfs al is't dats' v dert terghen
Met noyt-gesmolten ijs, met wit-besneewde bergen;
Ghy speeld in haeren sneeuw, het ijs hardt als metaal
Dat schroomt u soet gesicht, en vloeyt oock door een strael.
30 O IESV Compagnie! O vier van onse tijden!
O hemels soeten schijn! spijt al die u benijden,
Ghy die daer opwaerts rijst, en over al u licht
En straelen mede deylt, oock uyt des sons gesicht.
De werelt was nu koudt, daer was noch vier, noch leven,
35 Godts liefde was vergaen, wie sal die weder geuen?
Wie sal dien flauwen geeft verwermen? O wie sal?
Belijdt wie dat ghy zijt, sy doet het ouer al.
Wel aen loopt als de Son, en wilt voortaan soo schijnen,
Op dat de werelt sie door u haer ijs verdwijnen,

40 Loopt voort van eeuw tot eeuw, en wilt noyt blijven staen,
Soo sal u glans en schijn noch altijd voorder gaen.

(Bollandus 1640b, 32–33)

(No land is so far from here, that I do not light it with my fire. O never tired Sun, who, with your golden chariot, share with the whole world the nights and the days, who by your sweet shine, and by your purple-red, enlighten all there is, and pull [all] as it were out of the death, [you,] who boost all, both humans and animals, as well as the swift birds which sway in the sky, and welcome sweet aurora, the daughter of the Sun, who goes before her father. The clear eye of this world, which cuts through the firm earth with your hot rays, and which is able to enter into it, and which works miracles in it, even creates that noble gold from a lump of mud, and makes the world rich. Because of you diamonds are seen growing on a rock, because of you [one sees] the beautiful flowers flourish in a valley. O light! O wonderful light! O soul of nature! How many thousand miles do you travel in an hour! And that with such power, either with a sweet morning, or with your afternoon's fire; nothing is hidden for you, no country is so far, that you do not come there, no country so far north, that it is not known to you. You also make the furred Muscovite throw off his pelts from his body, and dress lighter: to Greenland, also Iceland, which shivers because of the cold, there you send your fire in order that it burns. Yes, even Nova Zembla, although it dares to provoke you with never-melting snow, with white-snowed mountains, you play in her snow, the ice as hard as metal, which fears your sweet face, and flows also through a ray. O Society of Jesus! O fire of our times! O heavenly sweet shine! Sorrow to all who envy you, who rise upwards there, and who share your light and rays everywhere, also from the face of the sun. The world was cold now, there was neither fire nor life. God's love was perished, who will give it back? Who will warm that weak spirit? O who will? Confess who you are, she does it everywhere. Then, walk like the Sun, and want to shine thus from now, in order that the world shall see all her ice disappear because of you, continue to walk from century to century, and never want to stand still, that way your glance and shine will always advance).

The *subscriptio* starts with the same Latin verse from Psalm 18.7. It is accompanied by a Dutch verse: “Geen landt en is soo verr’ van hier, of ick onsteke’t door mijn vier” (No land is so far from here, that I do not light it with my fire). The sense is generally the same as that of the Latin (the Society of Jesus reaches the whole world with its rays), but the perspective has changed to the first person. The following poem explains the metaphor. The poem is written in iambic couplets, the last foot of each set of verses rhyming. It starts with an address of the Sun. In this apostrophe the sun is praised

elaborately, in a long sentence, with the comparison of the boosting effect of the sun and being pulled out of death. The mention of the swift birds adds to the poetic tone. Aurora is personified, and occurs in a reference to the classical myth of Aurora, daughter of the Greek sun god Hyperion. Next the praise of the sun is continued by discussing some of the fruits of the earth that are given to us by the sun: gold, diamonds, flourishing flowers. In this passage also an alliteration occurs (“*bloemkes bloeyen*”). The power of the light is admired. Next mention is made of far, unknown and isolated areas which the sun reaches, similar to the Latin poem. However, the described countries are not the same.⁴⁹ All are northern, cold countries. Their descriptions are quite elaborate and illustrative: with each country some characteristics are brought up. Firstly a Muscovite is said to change his dress because of the sun, secondly Greenland, Iceland and Nova Zembla are said to be ruled by the fire of the sun. The mention of these northern countries is connected to contemporary developments. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century many expeditions were undertaken from Europe to find a North-East Passage to Asia. The Netherlands participated in this to a great extent. This resulted in a flourishing commerce in whale products from the area and other products. The expeditions were a great economic incentive in many respects, and also caused huge intellectual excitement among contemporaries. In 1596, during one of his expeditions, Jan Barentsz stayed a whole winter on Nova Zembla – he wrote a famous book about it, the *Overwintering op Nova Zembla*, which is still a classic in the Netherlands. It is likely that Poirter is appealing to this fascination for new, undiscovered, exotic lands and a passage to the East at the time to stimulate the interest of the reader in the poem. The Jesuits themselves were interested in these new discoveries because of their missionary purposes. They wanted to convert the populations of the newly discovered lands. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), one of Ignatius’ first companions, accompanied Portuguese merchants to India, the Moluccas, and Japan. After him many other Jesuits undertook missionary journeys. Only in v. 30 the Society of Jesus appears in the poem, in an exclamatory address: “O Society of Jesus! Oh fire of our times! Oh heavenly sweet shine!” The poem concludes with more praise of the Society, in which it is presented as the saviour of the world, and the wish that it will keep progressing forever.

The differences between the Latin and Dutch version could be explained by the input of the author who composed the poem. Poirter’s style differs from that of the Latin version. The difference in audience is also a likely

⁴⁹ Cp. Waterschoot 2002, 167, who states that Poirter in the *Afbeeldinghe* makes more mention of countries and peoples outside of Europe.

factor. Although the audience of the *Afbeeldinghe* was mostly confined to the Low Countries, the *Imago* was probably read all over Europe, and particularly by the Jesuits in Rome. The use of contemporary issues, like the mention of Nova Zembla, where the Dutch in particular were involved in expeditions, appealed to the national audience of the vernacular version.⁵⁰ The Latin version makes more use of the typical humanist sources, making it suitable for an audience learned in classical literature and culture.⁵¹ This contributes to a persuasive Jesuit propaganda in a different way, and makes both versions complement each other as a separate rhetorical invention.

A comparison of another emblem, namely that on poverty (*Paupertas quaestuosa*) in both versions shows a similar difference.⁵² The Dutch version of this emblem appeals to a specifically Dutch audience by mentioning the stereotype of the thrifty inhabitant of the province of Zeeland,⁵³ while the Greek poem in the *Imago* uses classical imagery.

Concluding remarks

We have seen that the harmony of *utile* and *dulce*, combining a wide range of elements, such as morality, rhetoric, art, Jesuit spirituality, and festivity, made the genre of the emblem particularly suitable for the Jesuits in their publication of the *Imago* and the *Afbeeldinghe*. From the case study of one emblem we have noticed that both versions of the emblem aim at propaganda for the Jesuit order. The metaphor of the Sun standing for the Society of Jesus is elaborated in a very self-confident, ambitious way, using a poetical and rhetorical style in both the Latin and Dutch emblem. However, the Dutch poem is different from the Latin one. Although many elements are present in both poems, and the general message seems to be rather similar, the elaboration of the idea is very different. The Dutch poem is much longer and contains fewer classical references. However, it does contain more ref-

⁵⁰ Another interesting difference, mentioned by Marc Van Vaeck, is the inclusion of further resonances to profane love discourse in the Dutch texts. Cf. Van Vaeck 2007b, 54; 64–65.

⁵¹ As Karl Enekel states in his chapter about the Neo-Latin Emblem, the functioning in a literary discourse connected with the study of classical antiquity is a common feature of Neo-Latin emblem books. (Daly 2008, 130.) Van Vaeck also mentions the different character and audience in his comparison of the *Imago* and *Afbeeldinghe*, concluding that: “Both Poirter’s highly versatile reading of the emblematic tradition on the one hand and his inclusion of the emblematic tradition on the other hand are highly successful in creating less learned texts (mythology e.g. is less prominent than in the Latin texts).” (Van Vaeck 2007b, 69.)

⁵² Cf. Bollandus 1640a, 177 and Bollandus 1640b, 94–95.

⁵³ “Den vischer die hier aen den kant sit met sijn visch-roey inde handt, Al is ‘t een rond en Zeeuwschen knecht, Hy is nochtans niet al te slecht, Hy weet hoe dat met wat broodt den visch vergardert in de sloot.” Bollandus 1640b, 94.

erences to contemporary topics. It is argued that some of these differences can be explained by the different styles of the poets. The difference in audience of both versions should also be taken in consideration as an important factor. While the audience for the vernacular version was confined to readers in the Low Countries, the Latin version aimed for learned readers all over Europe.

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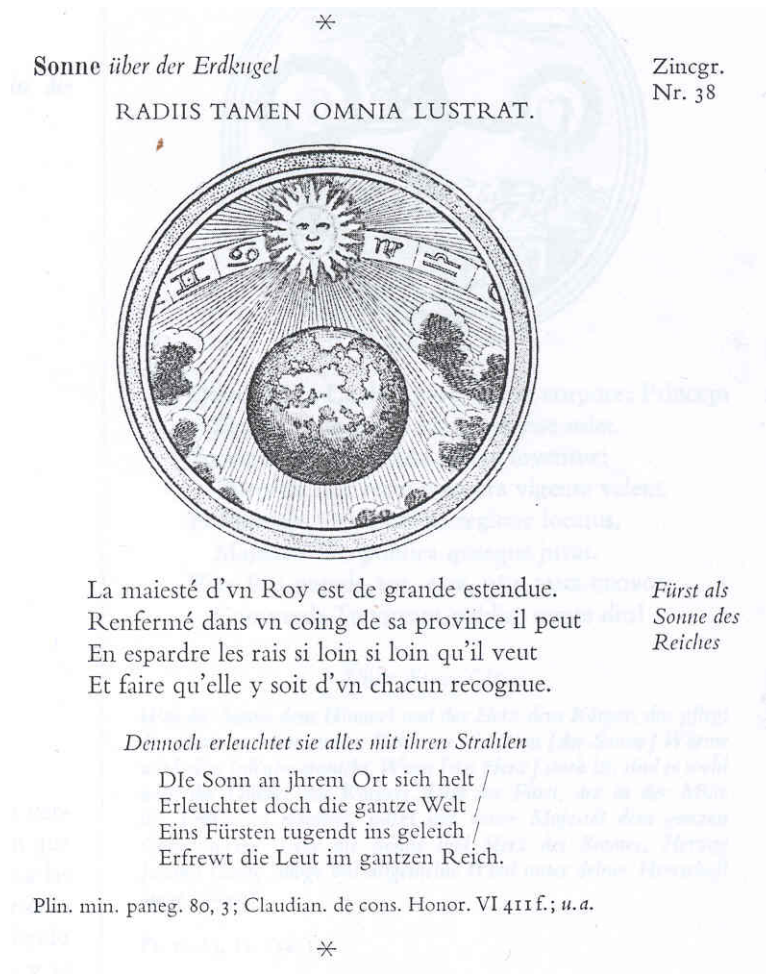
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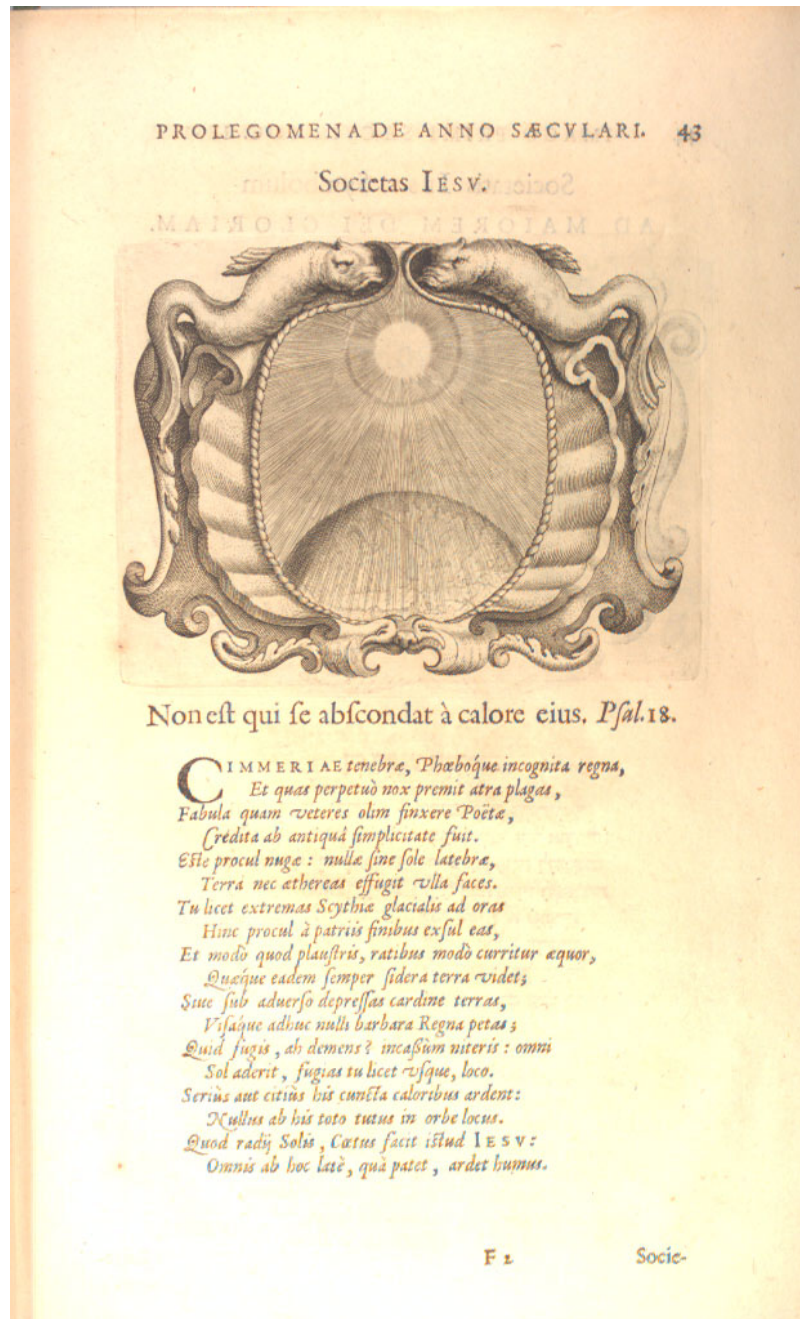
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