

THE JESUITS II

Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts

1540-1773


Edited by

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- MULLER -
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spective techniques derived from Jesuit court art became the vogue during the annual New Year's festival. Entirely devoid of any Christian meaning, the visual techniques of Castiglione and his colleagues enjoyed an unexpected afterlife as the backdrop to a quintessentially Chinese event.

7 / Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders

JEFFREY MULLER

After Rome, Antwerp was the second great centre of the Jesuits during the early modern period. Gauvin Alexander Bailey was right to make that point in his essay on the historiography of the term 'Jesuit style' and what has been called Jesuit corporate culture in relation to the visual arts.¹ Yet his essay shows as well how little is known about the use of art by the Jesuits, not only in Antwerp but in the whole province of Flanders. Outside Belgium, recent work has concentrated almost exclusively either on the two illustrated books published by the Jesuits in Antwerp that exerted worldwide and decades-long influence, Jérónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia* of 1593 and the *Imago primi saeculi* of 1640, or on Rubens's paintings and drawings for the Jesuits, especially for the new church of the Professed House in Antwerp, the first church ever dedicated to St Ignatius of Loyola.² But the Jesuits' uses of visual images and signs were richly varied, dynamically innovative, widespread, and integral to a much larger historical process: the revolution in media, forms, functions, and content that was instrumental to the conversion of Southern Netherlands society starting in 1585, and paradigmatic as well for Jesuit practice throughout the world.

Given the extraordinary significance of this development, it seems necessary first to ask why it has been so neglected in comparison with what happened in other European countries and now, remarkably, in Latin America, India, and East Asia. Art history in Belgium is the product of a tangled historiography and politics that have rigorously excluded truly interdisciplinary methods and innovative questions.³ American, British, and German art historians approach the material from geographical and intellectual distances that result in encounters with secondary literature, where the answers and even the questions contained in the abundance of primary sources can never be found. Artificially complicated interpretations of well-known art works substitute for real discovery. There are, of course, exceptions. But it is highly symptomatic that the most stimulating

recent contributions are by historians, a literary historian, and a team of graduate students of architectural history. It also is characteristic of many art historians that they do not read precisely the writings that could give impetus to their work in promising new directions. I would like to open a dialogue between art history and other disciplines that would make fruitful the vast and rich field that has been so neglected.

First, an integrated and global approach has to be crafted if the goal is to link together with all their apostolic missions and means of persuasion the diverse uses of art made by the Jesuits. It so happens that for their Flemish province the Jesuits themselves provided the perfect framework ready at hand for this purpose of incorporating the Jesuit uses of art into their larger project of individual conversion and, more profoundly, the transformation of society. The sixth book of the *Imago primi saeculi* is, after all, an epic of their Herculean labours in killing the monsters who had laid Flanders to waste, making it a hell on earth where salvation was impossible to find.⁴ The trick, of course, is to take this narrative in good faith, accept the presence of God in it, and, at the same time, treat it critically, without imposing the assumptions about power and politics divorced from religion that make reductive even the best analysis of Jesuit language and strategies.⁵

The sixth book of the *Imago primi saeculi* recounts the troubled years of war and heresy that began in 1566 with the iconoclastic fury and the outbreak of Protestant-driven revolution against Philip II and ended in 1585, when the Spanish army under the command of Duke Alessandro Farnese reimposed Roman Catholic and Habsburg control over most of what is now Belgium. In these times of troubles, true religion in the province of Flanders had been destroyed by heresy, war, and ignorance. When they returned at the invitation of Farnese in 1585, the Jesuits entered a spiritual wilderness that, by 1640, they claimed to have transformed into a paradise.⁶ Without false modesty they cast this effort as the twelve labours of Hercules, a well-known story of antiquity that they told as the twelve daily labours of the Society.⁷ These are ordered in a sequence of precedence, indicating a structure built on the foundation of catechism, reaching its greatest glory in the administration of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, and crowned by the ornament of the twelfth labour, which is writing books.

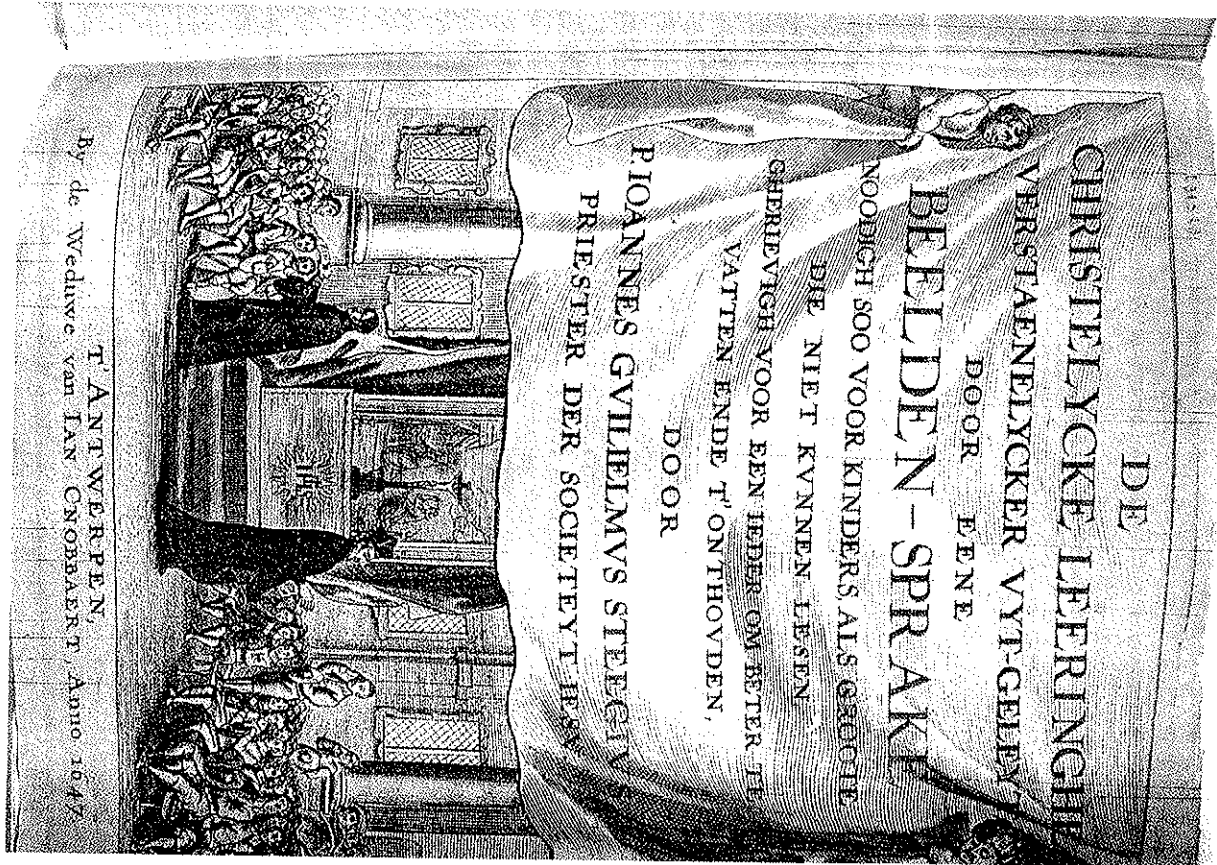
How was visual material integral to the accomplishment of these twelve labours? I want to answer the question without extracting the pictures and other sacred objects from the contexts of word, ritual, and social exchange in which they were embedded, and also without exaggerating their importance.

Take catechism, the first labour. If Martin Luther had published the first catechism in 1529, the Council of Trent responded in kind with a call to

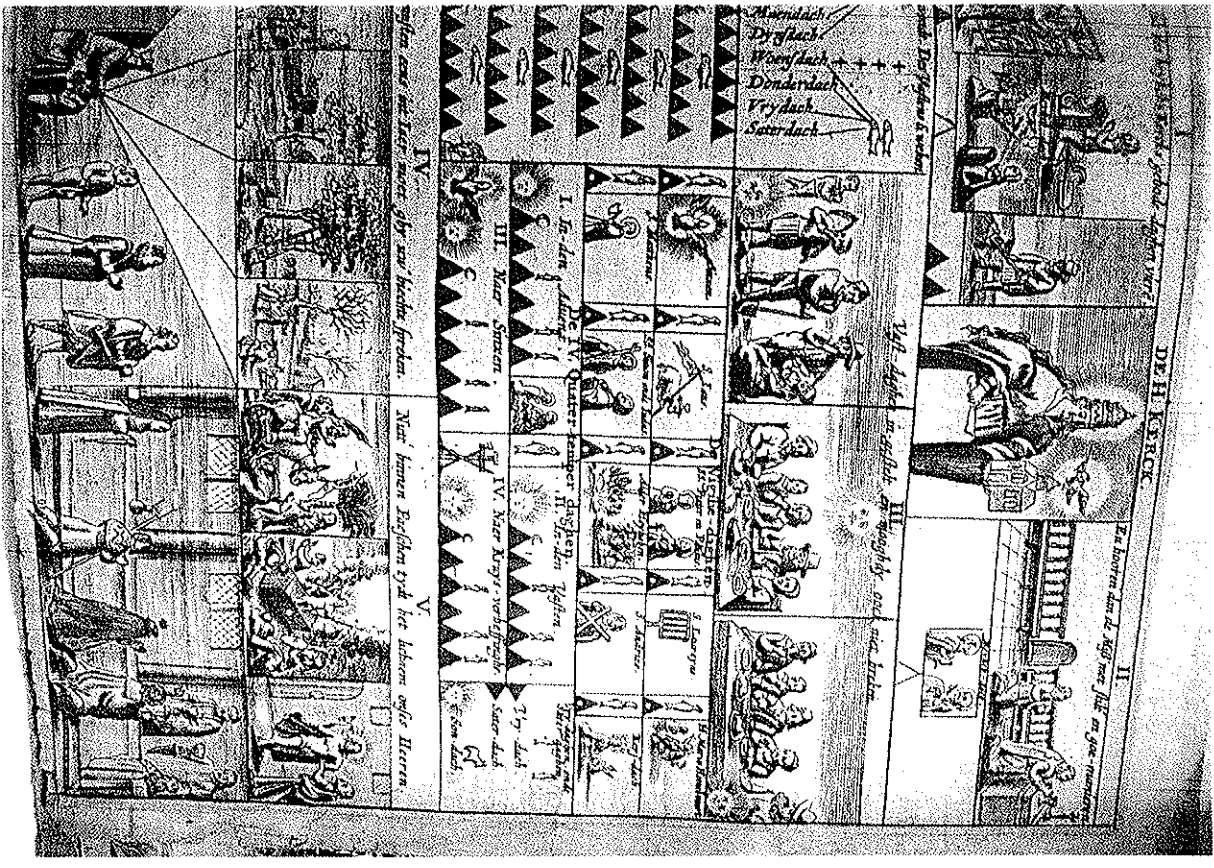
systematic instruction in the faith.⁸ The *Imago primi saeculi* tells us that in Flanders, because of what the Jesuits have impressed upon the minds (*ingenia*) of children, which are *tabulae rasae* retaining whatever is engraved on them, 'religion today stands uncorrupted in Belgium, peace stands with religion, felicity with peace.'⁹ Through the remarkable, exuberant union of different rhetorical genres, in which Marc Fumaroli has recognized one distinctive character of the *Imago primi saeculi*, the Society was able to support the narrative of heroic effort with gargantuan numbers that introduce the matter-of-fact historical truth – *res gestae*. In the space of one year the catechism has been taught 10,045 times to 32,508 catechumens.¹⁰

It is the Flemish historian Alfons Thijs, interested in gaining access to the experiences of workers, women, and children as well as to what the elite knew, who has most paid attention to what pictures can tell us in this regard, in the tradition of leftist historians such as Richard Trexler and Robert Scribner, for whom visual sources have been so vital. Thijs observes that in 1618, when the Jesuits in Antwerp organized their Congregation for Christian Instruction for the purpose of teaching poor children at Sunday school, they received a gift from one lay member, Johannes Bruegels, who paid for 3,000 prints of the congregation's patron saint, Carlo Borromeo – one image for each of the 3,000 some students who attended – confirmation of a remarkably high number in a city with a population of around 45,000 at that time.¹¹ These prints may have enticed and rewarded the children, but there is no evidence that pictures were used at that time to teach Christian Doctrine.

It was precisely for the illiterate, the slow of understanding, and the persecuted who lived where they could not receive the normal instruction of the Roman Catholic church that Father Guilielmus Steegius invented in 1647 his *Christian Doctrine More Accessibly Explained through a Picture-Language, Necessary for Children as well as Adults Who Cannot Read* (Figs 7.1, 7.2), which was published in Antwerp and dedicated to the bishop of Bruges, and was written in Dutch and thus exclusively for the Flemish province.¹² Divine signs sanctified this new method to win souls. As if God wanted to spur him on, sitting at table four or five days after he began the work, Steegius heard read aloud a story from Father Jacobus Damianus's Latin history of the first hundred years of the Society. Studying divinity in Lima, Diego Martínez asked Christ what he most wanted: When the Saviour through his image on a crucifix answered aloud, 'Save souls,' Martínez burned all his writings and entered the wild forest, where the people were impervious to explanation through words but could grasp the main points of Christian doctrine painted on panels: the horrors of hellfire depicted in vermilion were firmly impressed on the mind; and the joys of heaven by illustrations of meats, dainties, cakes, and wine.¹³ In all these exchanges,



71. Guilielmus Steegjus, *De Christelijcke Leefringhe* (Antwerp, 1640), title-page. Copy in Antwerp. Stadsbibliotheek. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.



72. Steegjus, *De Christelijcke Leefringhe*, p. 24. The Five Commendations of the Holy Church. Copy in Antwerp. Stadsbibliotheek. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

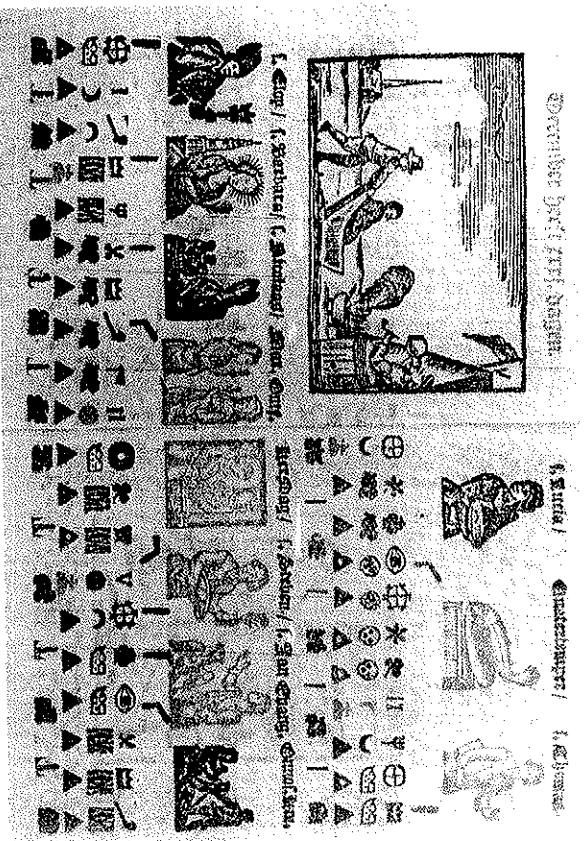
images and voices are more important than reading silently, and the chain of divine messages linked by Jesuit texts from Paraguay to Antwerp suggests, of course, an equivalence between the indigenous people of Paraguay and Flemish peasants. But the actual strategy of accommodation to teach illiterates through pictures has much more in common with the reproduction in China of compositions taken from Nadal's *Adnotationes*, but supplied instead with texts in Chinese and rendered in the style and technique of Chinese woodcuts – images, that is, that adapted the visual conventions of the intended audience.¹⁴

In his foreword Steegius says that to teach illiterates he has devised 'a special Farmers' and Shepherds' Almanac; from which they, even though not able to read, could nevertheless understand through picture-signs that which others learn from reading in the letter-almanac.'¹⁵ His intended audience was, of course, those who could read and would teach his catechism. Through his desire to win souls, Steegius became the first real ethnographer of Flemish folk culture.¹⁶ If he wanted to invent an effective picture-language to teach Christian Doctrine, then he had to master the semiotic conventions, symbols, and drawing style through which his intended audience was conditioned to understand their world as set out in almanacs. Steegius broke down the components of this language into three parts: narrative or figural representations (*verbeeldingen*), likenesses in the metaphorical sense of parables, and symbol signs.¹⁷

How he derived and manipulated them is evident in a comparison between the page from his catechism that teaches the Five Commandments of the Holy Church and the presentation of December in the Farmers' or Shepherds' Almanac for 1791, published in Amsterdam (figs 7.1, 7.2, 7.3).¹⁸ Steegius in the text on the facing page prompts the instructor to ask: What is ordered by the third commandment? / A. To fast on designated days. / Q. What is fasting? / A. To go without certain kinds of food; and to eat a full meal only once a day. / Q. What are these foods? / A. Meat, and (*altemeis*) eggs, and dairy are excluded by the fast unless permitted. / Q. Which are the days on which it is commanded to fast? / A. Those indicated in the picture, taken from the Shepherds' Almanac.¹⁹

After the forty days of Lent, the student adds the four times of year called Quartertemper, when one fasts on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the week, recognizable by the inclusion of symbols. These are, of course, fishes, used to mark the quartertemper days in both the almanac and the catechism.²⁰

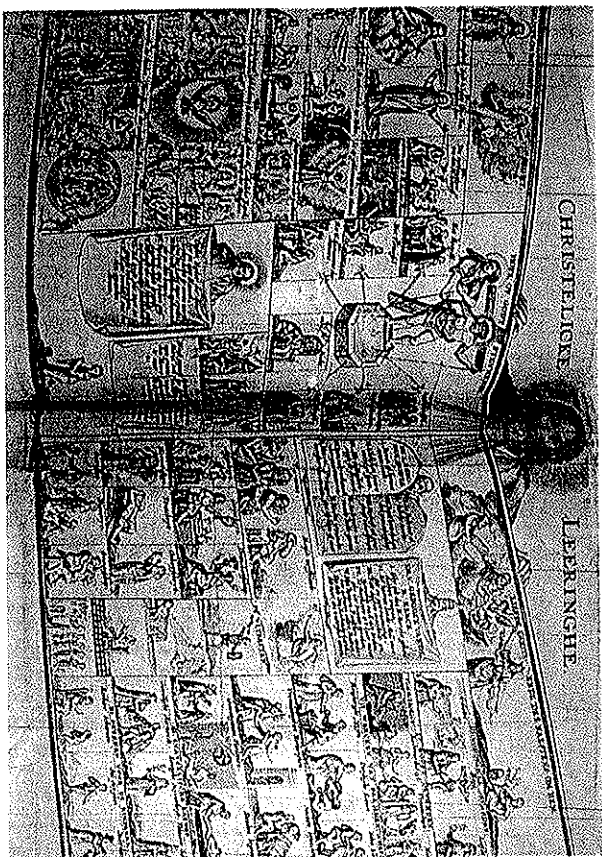
Other kinds of picture-signs also are taken from the almanac. Conventional scenes of the seasons, which measure the cycle of agricultural work in the almanacs, now mark a kind of one-point perspective in which time is transformed into space by positioning the vanishing-point below on the penitent who obeys the church's fourth commandment, to confess at least once a year – although the implication of the picture is made explicit in the text, where the



7.3. December, from *Den Boeren of Schapens Almanach voor 't Jaar ons Heeren Jesu Christi, 1791* (Amsterdam). Museum 't Oude Stot, Veldhoven.

catechumen acknowledges that it is better to confess frequently.²¹ By placing the young penitent on his knees in front of the Jesuit confessor, who lays his hand on the child's head in a sign of absolution, Steegius likely was reproducing the conditions of rural churches, where the separation required in 1607 by the Provincial Council of Mechelen and imposed in the cities by the new confessionals had not yet penetrated, and might even have unsettled tradition-bound parishioners.²² Easily recognizable figure representations – of the Resurrection, for example – separate out Easter as the most important time, when all Roman Catholics must participate fully in the sacrament of the Eucharist.²³

On a larger scale, Steegius emulated the organization and density of different kinds of information presented in the typical layout of an almanac page. His picture-language setting out the commandments of the church is to be scanned left to right, top to bottom, like reading, with symbol signs integrated into countable rows of days and weeks; rectangular picture-panels of varied size are separated in clear sequences, few words serve as prompts, and many pictures are crammed together; the graphic style-medium is simple and cool in contrast to the density of the page.²⁴



7.4. Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe*, summary table of Christian Doctrine. Copy in Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

Steegius understood the need to adapt not only the picture-language of the almanacs but also the way they were used in social exchanges that combined looking at images, reading words, and listening to oral explanations. Illiterates, children, and the slow-of-mind would grasp the picture-language if assisted 'now and then by someone who can read, or who already has mastered the material, as happens in reading aloud the Farmers' almanacs.'²⁵ I have already given an example of the kind of question-and-answer dialogues based on the pictures that Steegius provided for his teachers of Christian Doctrine. Reinforcement of memory comes in a summary table of pictures at the end, repeating all major points in the numerical sequences that made them easier to remember in the first place (fig. 7.4).

Steegius's attempt to use picture-language for catechism in the Flemish province was unique. Learning and adapting a new language and also, I think, rural and peasant practices, for the purpose of conversion, represented a distinctly Jesuit accommodation. But the mass production that would have indicated real success never came, and a second edition appeared only in 1839, published in Groningen.²⁶ Steegius's effort was aimed at the stray sheep who

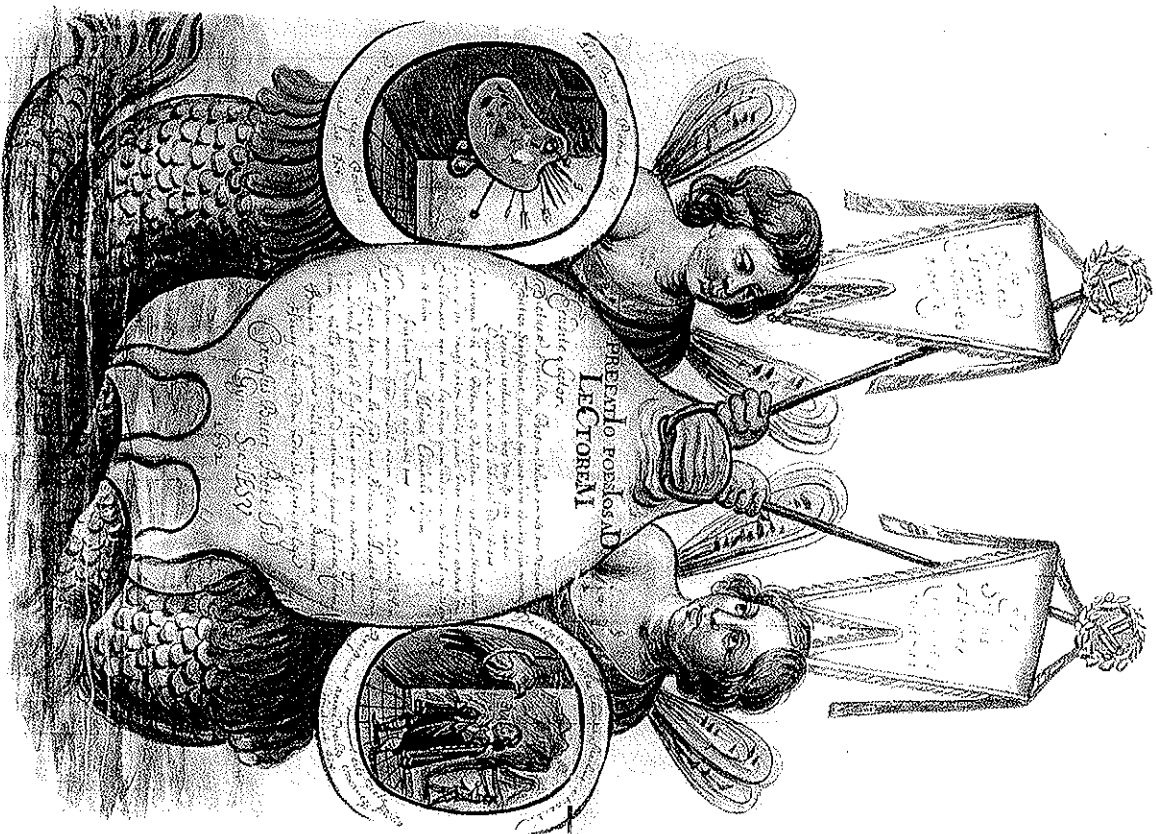
could not be brought into the fold by the usual method of teaching with texts -- proof that images were of secondary importance in the Society of Jesus. John W. O'Malley's argument that the Society was an order of the word does not apply only to the first Jesuits.²⁷

This holds even more for the second labour, that of schools, accomplished by the Flemish province. Alfred Poncelet, S.J., in what remains by far the best history of the Jesuits in Belgium (1926), counts thirty-seven colleges in the whole Belgian province, before it was split into Dutch- and French-speaking halves in 1612.²⁸ In 1640 the *Imago prini saeculi* boasted that 'where few had been educated before, letters now flourish, and the Republic glitters with a greater number of learned men than the sky is filled with stars.'²⁹ And with the free education offered to the poor, the authors ask proudly, 'how many thousands of Belgians do you think have been instructed by us in good arts?'³⁰

It was only in the most sophisticated display of wit, in their emblems exhibited at some colleges once or twice a year as one of the means, along with plays, of demonstrating the fruits of Jesuit education to the public, that students actively combined images with words in their literary exercises. These emblems recently have been analysed thoroughly and perceptively by the literary historian Karel Porteman, who places them in the mainstream of Jesuit pedagogy.³¹

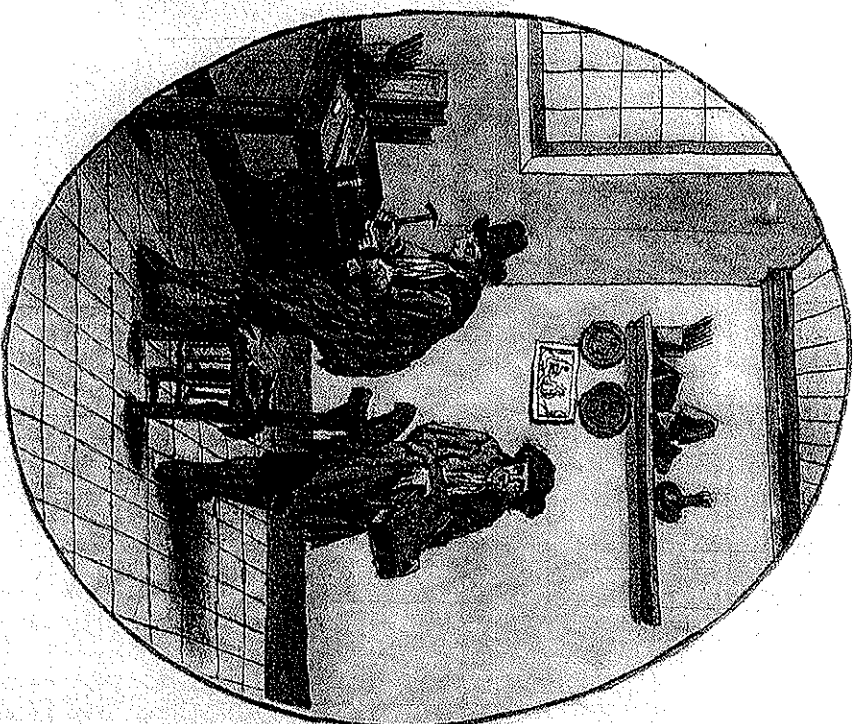
Porteman centres his study on the unique collection of manuscripts commemorating the emblematic exhibitions held by the Jesuit college in Brussels between 1630 and 1685, now in the Royal Library at Brussels. Each year professional painters and calligraphers reproduced on a reduced scale a selection of the best emblems conceived by the rhetoric and poetry classes on one or two related themes. Two themes especially offered the opportunity for direct, self-reflective commentary on the more general question of Jesuit uses of art (figs 7.5, 7.6). In 1652 Carolus Baert, a member of the senior poetry class in the Brussels college, invented the title-page for emblems that would visualize quotations from Horace, and in particular the dictum 'ut pictura poesis' from the *Art of Poetry*.³² And in 1683 one sees a bookbinder tacking silver clasps to a cover, an image suggesting that external splendour will make learning attractive -- a central principle of Jesuit teaching, rhetoric, and art.³³

The contexts of Spanish court, emblematic traditions, poetic style, topical references, competition among classes within the college, and address to public audiences all are convincingly set up by Porteman. He also relates the emblems to the annual religious feast on which they were exhibited, that of the Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament -- a major celebration in Brussels, commemorating the consecrated hosts that bled miraculously when Jews stabbed them in 1370. Luc Dequeker has reconstructed a history of the broader and chronic anti-Semitism associated with this miracle and its subsequent cult.³⁴



7.5. *Ars poetica Horatii Emblematis expressa*, 1652, title-page, recording *offitio* of the Jesuit college in Brussels. Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 20.310 fol. 1r.

DOCTRINÆ
 Vt magis placeat, Splendor quidam
 externus addendus.



Splendor, vt alluciat

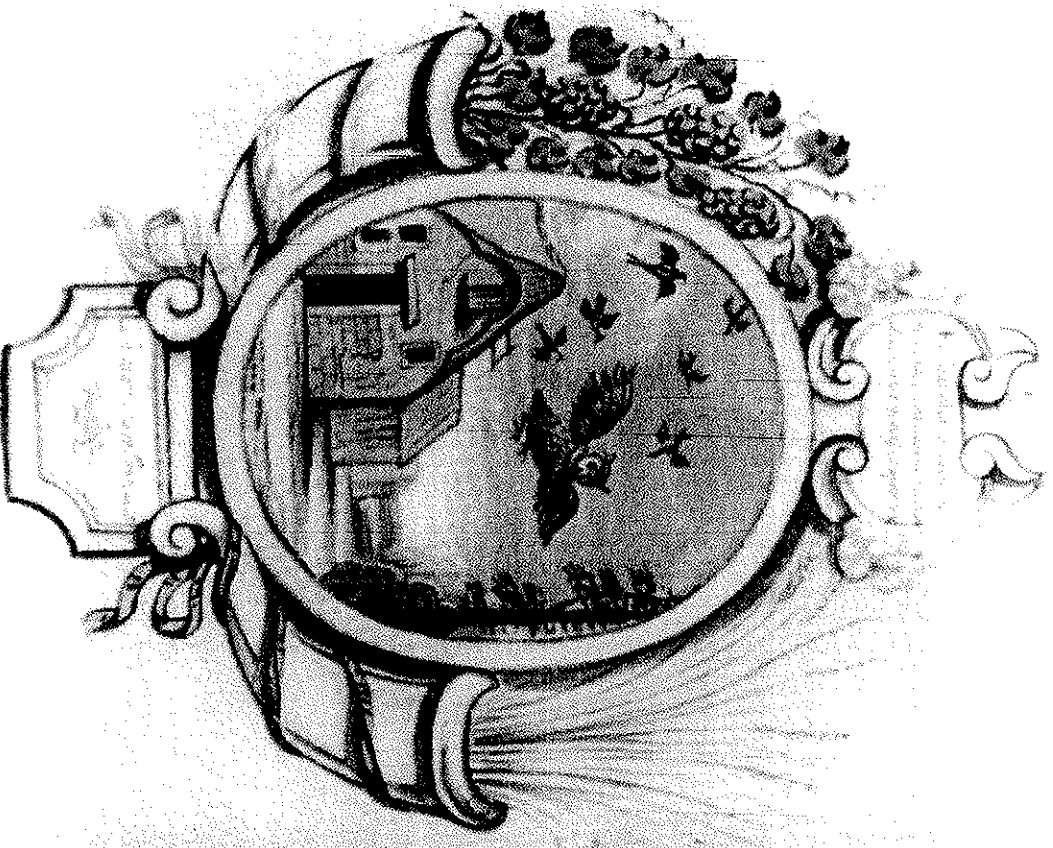
7.6. *Ineffabili divinæ sapientiæ Sacramento hæc de doctrina ... emblemata*, 1683. Emblem invented by Judocus van Obberghen, watercolour and calligraphy by Joannes Carolus van Deijnum, recording *offitio* of the Jesuit college in Brussels. Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 20.327 fol. 84v.

In a strange contradiction within his own work, Porteman says in his introduction that 'in the affixiones anti-Semitism was kept at bay.' But in his catalogue entry for the commemorative manuscript of 1658, when the theme was the miraculous Blessed Sacrament itself, he points out two sharply anti-Semitic emblems. In the first, the sacrament brings glory to the handsome Christian and shame to the ugly Jew who look into the mirror of their souls. In the second, a Jewish owl, evil bird of the night, is chased by all the others (fig. 7.7): the emblem thus praises the banishment of the Jews, thought to have occurred in 1370, and refers as well to Philip IV's recent *veio* against the establishment of a separate quarter for Jews in Antwerp where they could practice their religion openly.³⁵

Poncellet in 1926 dismissed the *affixiones* of emblems at Brussels as frivolous because in them sumptuous painting – useless ornament – threatened to overwhelm literary content.³⁶ He was taking sides, echoing a refrain voiced more and more frequently by Jesuit visitors to the Belgian province in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and by the fathers general, who took seriously these warnings. Concern over an encroaching luxury that violated the Society's spirit of poverty was raised not only by the lavish decoration of emblems, but, much more gravely, by the practice of music and, as we shall see, by the building of churches.³⁷ I think this dialectic between actual practice and stated ideal in the use of art is key to understanding the Jesuit accommodation in Flanders.

It was the triumph of ornate splendour that the *Imago prini saeculi* trumpeted in its account of sodalities, the third labour of the Flemish Jesuits. 'Our Province has ninety sodalities with 13,727 members. Antwerp alone boasts ten sodalities with easily 3,000 members. And here you will see (as no where else on earth) an ample and splendid edifice built completely of magnificent stone by and for the collective membership' (fig. 7.8).³⁸ If fixation on paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck explains why art historians neglect catechisms and emblems, it gives all the more reason to wonder why no integrated history exists of the architecture and decoration of the Antwerp Jesuit Sodality House. Perhaps this is because the one attempt is a thesis that has been published only in part.³⁹ After all, even though no more than the shell of the original building survives, this shell in itself represents a remarkable innovation in the history of architecture. Everyone knows that Rubens's *Annunciation* for the altar of the downstairs Latin sodality, and Van Dyck's two paintings for the upstairs sodality, of unmarried young men – his *Virgin and Child Crowning St Rosalia*, with *Sis Peter and Paul*, as altarpiece, and his *Virgin Appearing to the Celibate Blessed Brother Joseph Hernan*, which hung to the right of the altar – still survive in Vienna, where they were taken by the Austrians after the suppression of the Society in 1773.⁴⁰

But most art historians are not aware that the whole archive of these sodalities still exists to reconstruct membership, religious practice, income, and expenses.



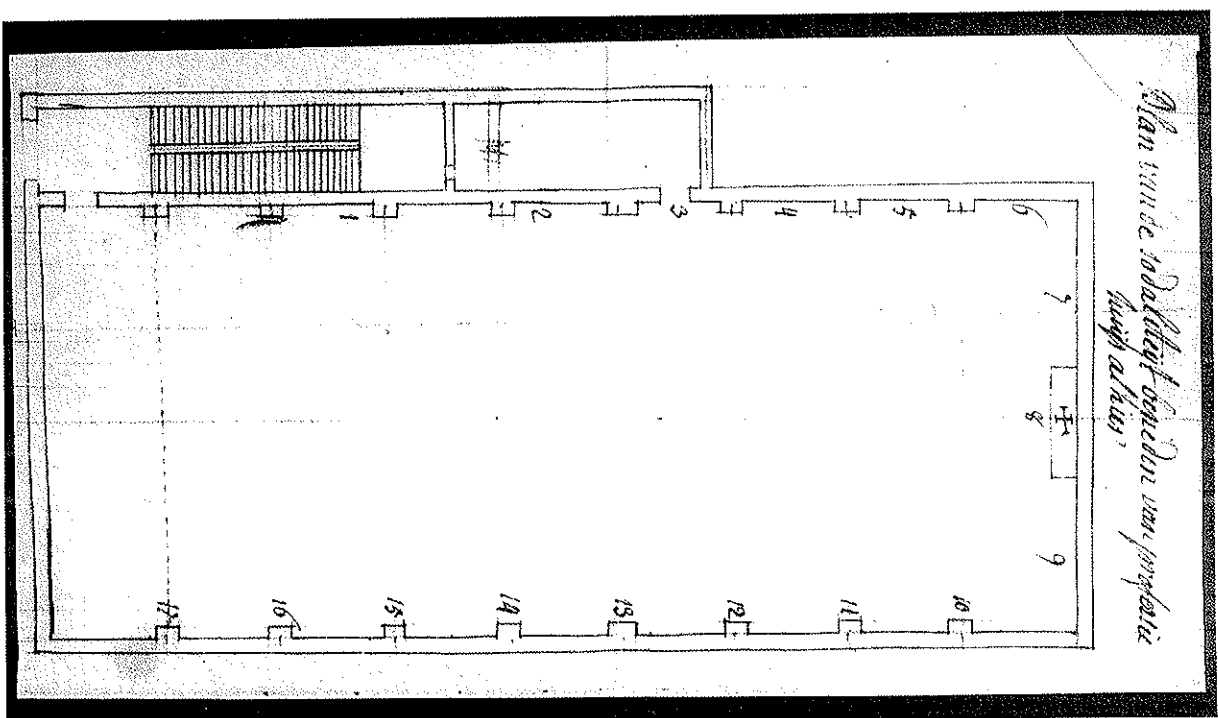
7.7. A *cunctis expellitur* emblem, 1658, recording *affixio* of the Jesuit college in Brussels. Brussels, Royal Library, ms 20.316 fol. 46v.



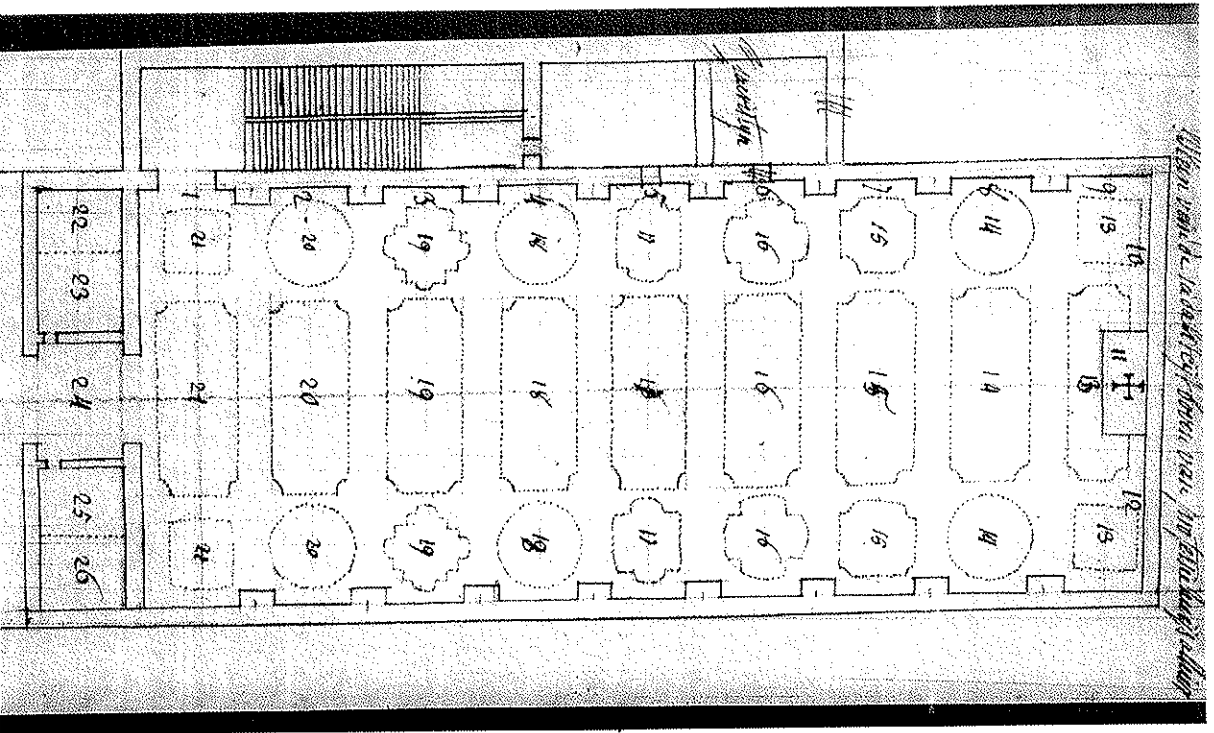
7.8. Former Sodality Building of the Professed House at Antwerp, now part of the Stadsbibliotheek. Constructed 1622. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

and that abundant visual and textual evidence makes possible a precise reconstruction of the interior spaces.⁴¹ For example, two eighteenth-century plans of the two storeys, each keyed to a descriptive table of paintings and sculptures, survive in the Antwerp City Archive, making possible a close reconstruction of the interiors. Nevertheless, only the plan of the upstairs sodality has been published (figs 7.9, 7.10).⁴² At the same time, Zírka Zarembo Filipeczak's fine study of the picture-narrative of the life of St Rosalia, invented along with the inception of the cult of this plague saint and centred around her relic and Van Dyck's picture in the upstairs sodality, gives an inkling of the rich iconographical material that can be related to the decoration as a whole – for example, meditation books published for use by sodality members.⁴³

A deeper failure of training and method prevents even those art historians who might use the archives and consult primary iconographical sources from taking seriously the Jesuit project stated so clearly in the *Imago primi saeculi*, to win souls and transform society through religion. Given the foundation in social history provided by Louis Châtellier's Weberian *The Europe of the Devout*, in which he is exclusively interested in weighing the effect of the Jesuit sodalities on society, it seems to me that art history easily could undertake a study of how visual environments were integral to the process throughout the Flemish prov-



7.9. Plan of the downstairs sodality house in Antwerp. Pen and ink. Antwerp. Stadsarchief, Kerken en Kloosters 589.

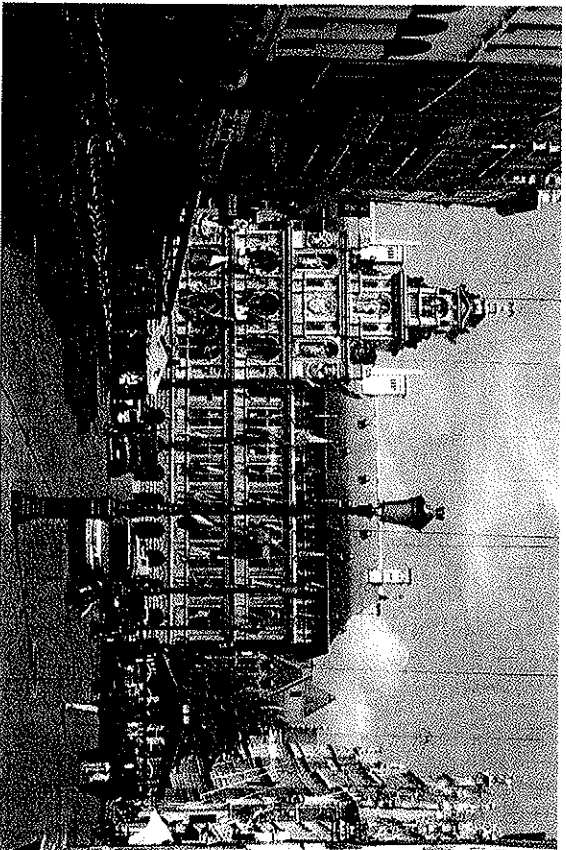


7.10 Plan of the upstairs sodality house in Antwerp. Pen and ink. Antwerp. Stadsarchief, Kerken en Kloosters 589

ince, not only in Antwerp but in other major cities as well.⁴⁴ Take Mechelen, for example, the seat of the archbishop, where the Jesuit sodality chapel of Our Lady was dedicated in 1633 to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, as the *Imago primi saeculi* tells us.⁴⁵ I would add here that the iconography and politics of the Immaculate Conception as played out during the seventeenth century in the Spanish Netherlands is in itself an issue of major importance that has been ignored.⁴⁶

Because the sodalities all were dedicated to various aspects of the Virgin, the *Imago primi saeculi* included in this labour the Jesuits' larger support for the cult of the Virgin, referring to the central pilgrimage shrines of miraculous images at Scherpenheuvel and Halle, which the Jesuits were instrumental in founding and managing.⁴⁷ Just as important, they claim credit for the proliferation of an infinite number of statues of Our Lady expressing 'popular' (the Jesuits' word) devotion in every city of Flanders, 'with their candles, votive tablets, and miracles.' Further praise is given to those images 'in the churches of our colleges, and also others erected by the Society in public squares and streets; of which easily the principal is that which watches over the city hall of Antwerp.'⁴⁸ This is an extremely important claim, because it involves sacralization of the whole urban environment. By the end of the eighteenth century, more than five hundred images of the Virgin and other saints watched over Antwerp's streets and squares, most of them placed on corners above the ground storey, thereby inserting a constant divine presence hovering between heaven and earth, covering the city just as powerfully as did the waves of sympathetic vibrations from all the church bells pealing together.

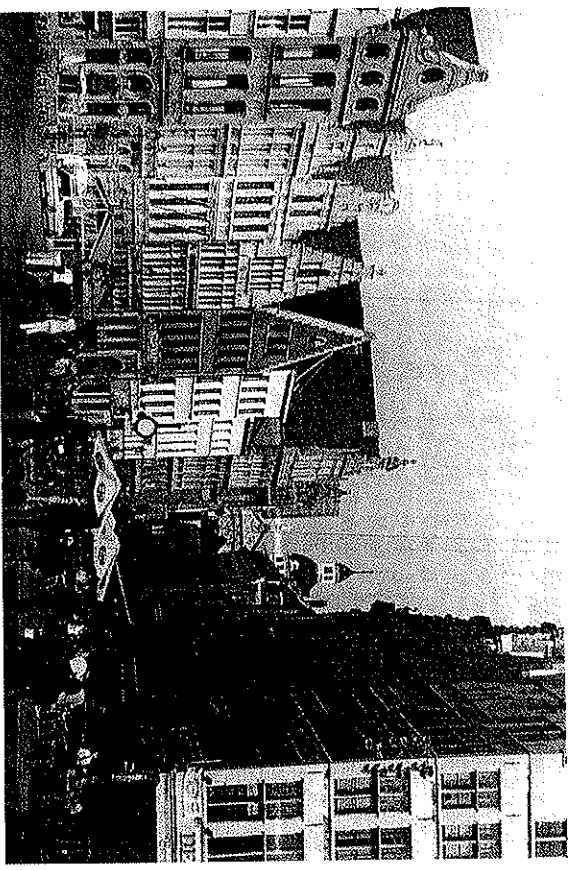
Certainly, the example given, the image of the Virgin as protectress of the city, placed with public celebration in 1587 on the Antwerp City Hall by the Jesuit sodality under the leadership of Franciscus Costerus, was a forceful statement of Roman Catholic religious and political restitution after the years of Protestant control, during which the pagan image of the hero Brabo had taken the Virgin's place (fig. 7.11).⁴⁹ More daring and innovative, the Jesuits opened a corridor of charged sacred space between their new church and the City Hall when, in 1621, they dedicated the church to the Virgin as well as to St Ignatius and placed a relief of Mary in the pediment of the facade looking directly at her counterpart on the City Hall (fig. 7.12). A year later, in 1622, the Jesuit Father Grisius observed joyfully how 'Our Lady, over the roofs and into the distance, surveys the City Hall, so that she might protect it without cease,' thereby providing evidence that the connection was planned from the beginning.⁵⁰ Whether the Jesuits set the decisive example for this kind of devotion, as they claimed, remains an open question, which Nancy Kay currently is attempting to answer in a dissertation about the outdoor sacred images of early modern Antwerp.



7.11. View of the Antwerp City Hall, with image by Philippus de Vos, *Our Lady Patroness of Antwerp*, 1587, seen from the direction of the Antwerp Jesuit church.

Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

Preaching, the fourth labour, brings us inside the Jesuit churches of the Flemish province, which, since Joseph Braun's *Die belgischen Jesuitenkirchen* of 1907, have served as the first proof that there was no such thing as a Jesuit style.⁵¹ This of course is true, if one conceives of style in the Hegelian sense as the monolithic expression of the dialectic of Zeigeist.⁵² However, the most authoritative voice of the time on artistic matters, Rubens, associated Jesuit churches with a revolution in style – a historical phenomenon that cannot be ignored, but instead requires historical explanation. In his book reproducing the ground-plans of exemplary palaces of Genoa, printed first at Antwerp in 1622, Rubens told his intended audience, the gentlemen of the Spanish Netherlands, 'We see in this region the gradual obsolescence and rejection of the manner of architecture called Barbaric or Gothic, and that several of the finest minds introduce the true symmetry of that style, conforming to the rules of the ancients, Greek and Roman, with the greatest splendour and ornament for the country'; as is evident in the famous temples recently constructed by the venerable Society of Jesus, in the cities of Brussels and Antwerp.⁵³



7.12. View of the triangular pediment on the facade of the former Jesuit church, Antwerp, taken from the Grote Markt in front of the City Hall.

Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

The two churches were built simultaneously. In Brussels the college church was constructed in 1617–21 after the design of the Italian-trained court architect Jacques Francart, recruited by Archdukes Albert and Isabella, who financially supported this church and in general aggressively promoted the adoption of Italian style in ecclesiastical architecture, not only that of the Jesuits, but that of other orders as well.⁵⁴ In this case, as Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has observed for the Italianate Jesuit churches of Poland, patronage was decisive in persuading the Jesuits to introduce radical innovation that broke with local tradition.⁵⁵ Francart's design for the facade may follow Giacomo della Porta's example at the mother church, Il Gesù, but it introduces the original and distinctly vertical and Flemish element of a third storey.⁵⁶

In the church of St Ignatius at Antwerp, however, the impetus came from within, developed by two Jesuit architects, François de Aguilon, superior of the Professed House, the centre of Jesuit activity in the province of Flanders, and then Pieter Huyssens, the greatest Flemish Jesuit architect (fig. 7.13).⁵⁷ The ornate splendour and exorbitant costs of their project were fought tooth and nail

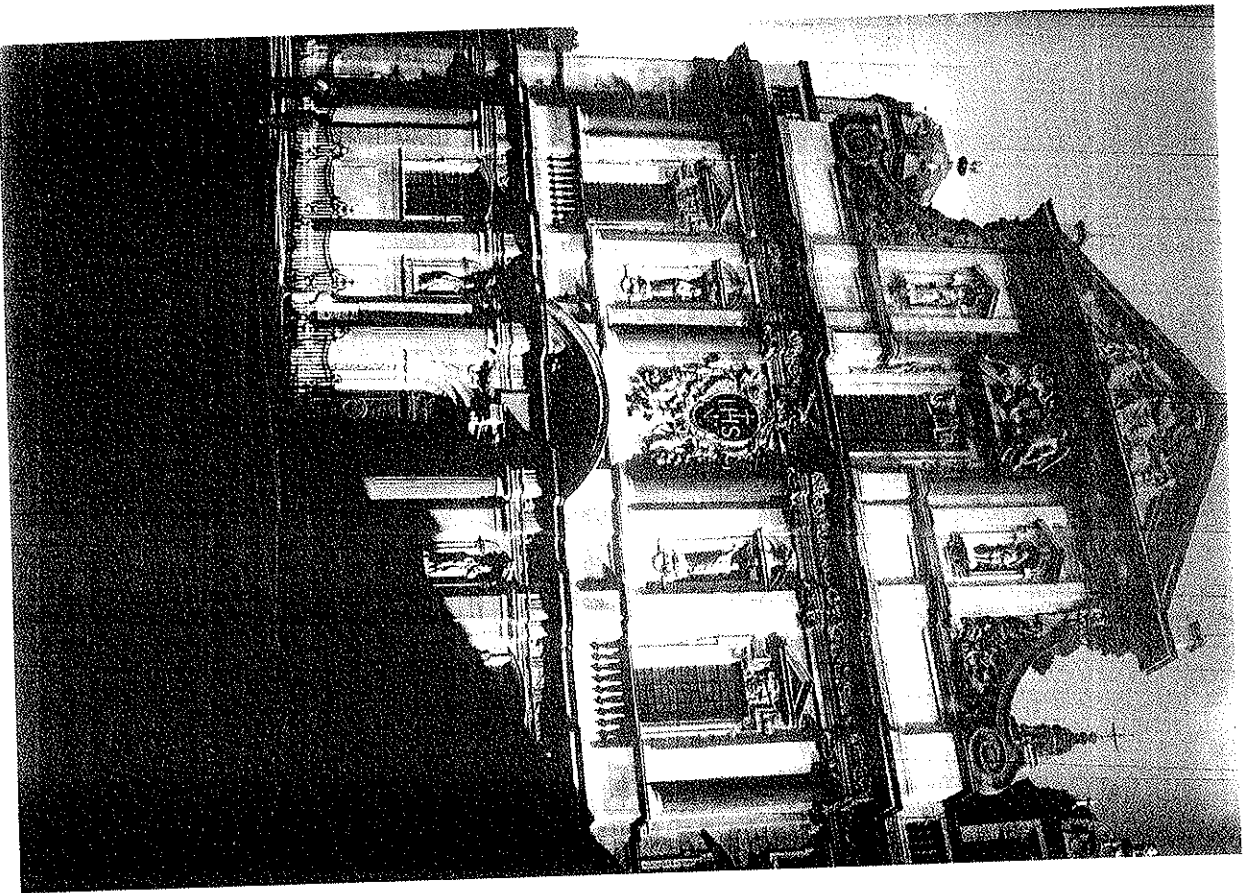
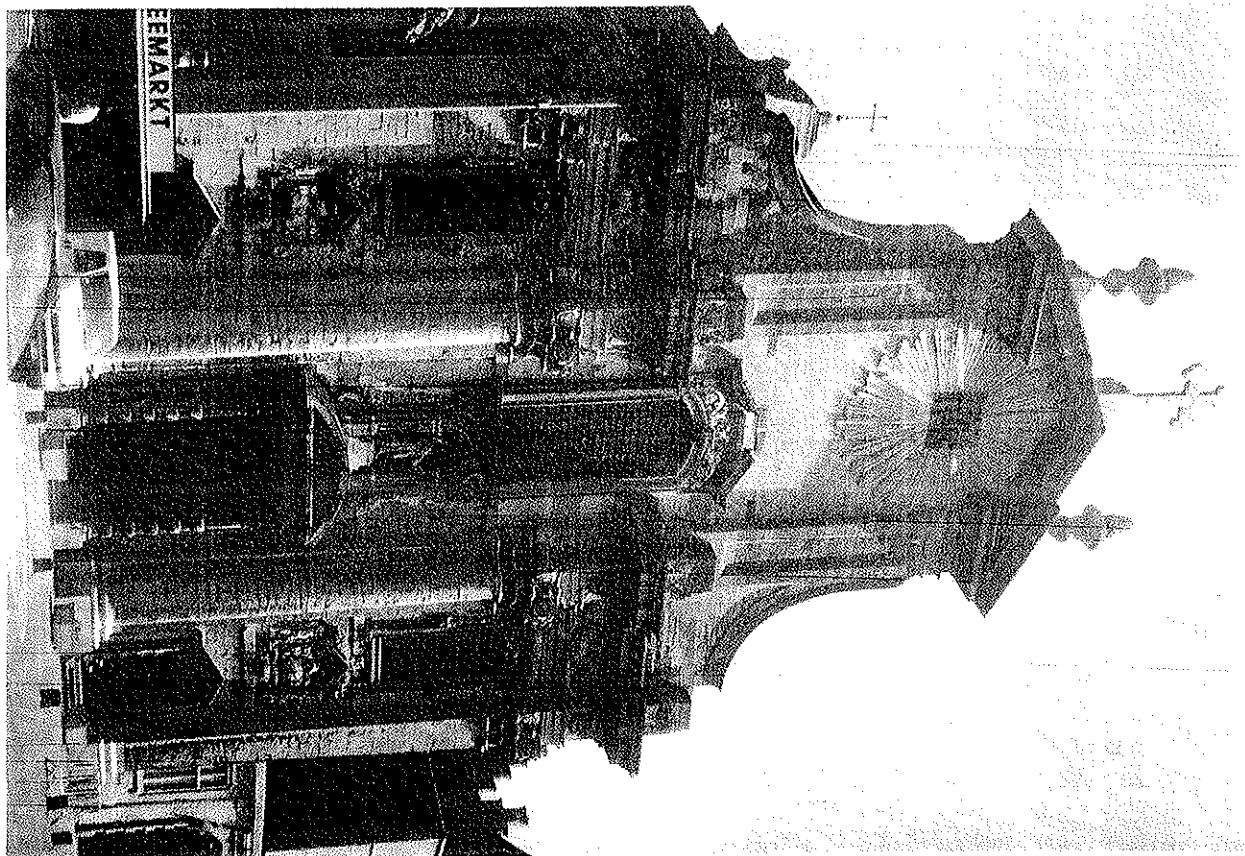


Fig. 13. Facade of the former Jesuit church, Antwerp. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

by the father general and landed the Antwerp Jesuits in serious debt, which, snowballing, threatened the existence of the settlement.⁵⁸ So the choice was deliberate and tenaciously followed, suggesting in this case not so much an accommodation to the taste for luxury of Spanish Brabander merchants as a self-conscious attempt to form their taste in new directions, in the way that Rubens presented the church as an example to emulate in domestic architecture as well. Deficit spending in this case also fits into what Olwen Hufton has shown to be the normal Jesuit practice of investing in magnificence to attract new wealth.⁵⁹ Once again, there is abundant written and visual documentation in the Jesuit archives that would allow for a deep analysis of this decisive conflict within the Society of Jesus, as significant as that fought between Fathers Roberto De Nobili and Gongalo Fernandez over strategies of conversion in early seventeenth-century India.

Koen Ottenheim recently has shown that Rubens, who was deeply involved with the decoration of the church, also provided contemporary terms for the distinctive manner in which its facade exemplified the rules of the ancient Greeks and Romans.⁶⁰ In 1639, when Constantijn Huygens, virtuoso and secretary to the Prince of Orange, sent etchings of his new house in The Hague to Rubens, the painter responded with detailed criticisms based on the common ground of Vitruvius's theory of architecture. Among other faults, Rubens thought the house facade too simple, and that the addition of half-round pilasters and a deeper cornice on the middle bay would have given 'greater dignity and relief to the whole facade,' a view recalling precisely the elements that give depth and strength to the facade of the Jesuit church, and the ideal of dignity in architecture that Rubens associated with the church.⁶¹

Later Jesuit churches in the Flemish province are immediately recognizable by the profiles and muscular sculptural articulation of their facades, which stand like corporate signs in the cities. Indeed, the St Francis Xavier church built at Mechelen starting in 1670 is an inbred hybrid (fig. 7.14). Designed by the amateur architect Father Antoon Losson, whose family paid for it, and intended first as the second Jesuit church of Antwerp, it is above all a copy of the now destroyed Jesuit college church in Yper, which Losson's family also supported. The outline plan of that church depended in turn on the Jesuit churches of Bruges and Namur, both designed by Pieter Huyssens, architect of the completed Antwerp church. Most original in Mechelen is the facade, which resembles the Brussels side of the family, mediated through a later generation of Jesuit churches, above all the church at Leuven, designed by Father Willem Hesius, who may have lent a more professional hand to completion of the church at Mechelen.⁶² A team of graduate students of architectural history under the direction of Krista de Jonge at the Catholic University, Leuven, has taken another approach



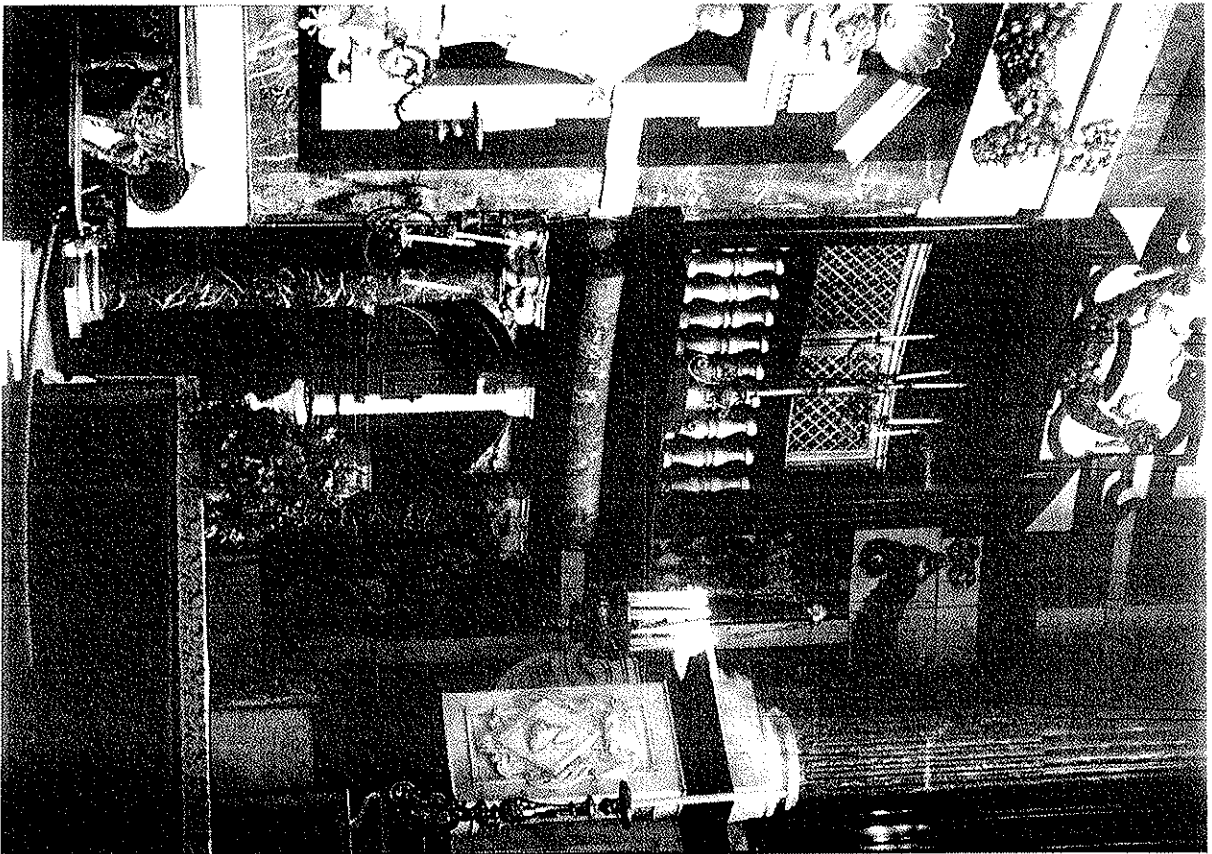
7.14. Facade of the former Jesuit church, Mechelen. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

to discovering what might be unique or distinctive in Jesuit church architecture by isolating different elements and tracing their genealogies.⁶³ One group, for example, focuses on oratoria, balcony-like openings facing onto the high altars that allowed Jesuits and privileged laypersons the opportunity of private prayer (fig. 7.15). These are traced from Italian Jesuit architecture and then found in Belgium exclusively and consistently in Jesuit churches.⁶⁴ Likewise distinct to the Jesuits was the shift of the bell tower from the west front, where it was incorporated in Brabant Gothic churches, to the east either the southeast corner or directly behind the church. At Antwerp the bell tower, now ascribed to Rubens, vertically marks the end of the main west-east axis, and served as a distribution point, connecting the residence of the Jesuits to the church, allowing access to the oratoria, and also housing the hidden machinery used to change the four altarpieces painted by Rubens and two other artists for the high altar.⁶⁵

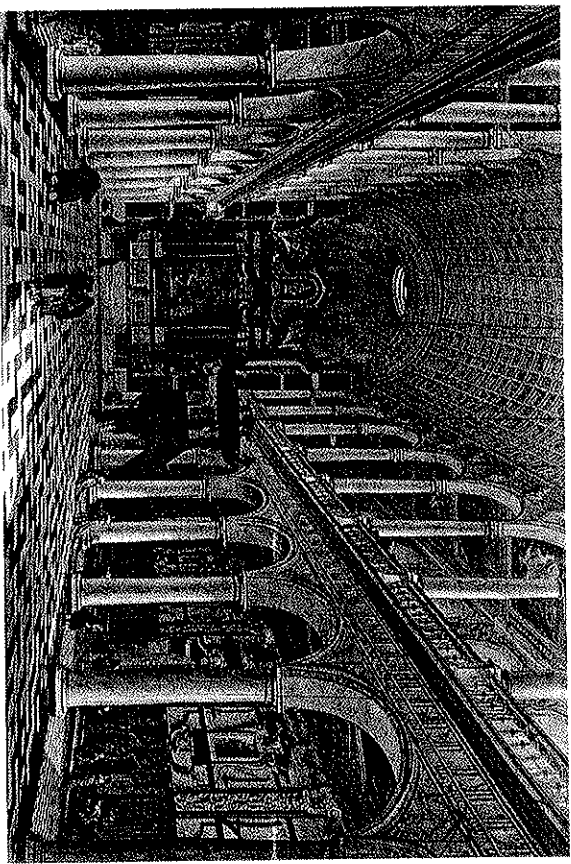
What led us into the churches was the fourth Jesuit labour, preaching. Again, the *Imago primi saeculi* tells us, they have been so stupendously successful that the ample spaces of their churches are too narrow to contain the crowds they attract. The voice of the Society issuing from sacred pulpits is a sound most welcome to Belgian Roman Catholics, formidable to heretics, and fruitful for both. In their Flemish province the Jesuits have preached to the people 15,206 times in the space of a single year.⁶⁶

It is hard for us, conditioned by rows of chairs lined up facing the east, where mass and sermon are spoken together through a microphone, to imagine how emphatically separate a place was dedicated to the word in early modern Roman Catholic churches. At least in urban Flemish churches of the seventeenth century, the sermon was scheduled as an event independent of the mass, and the pulpit most often was set facing into the centre of the nave against a column of the south aisle, so that listeners formed a circle centred exclusively on the preacher, crossing the main west-east axis, distant from the altar.⁶⁷

It is distinctive of Flemish early modern church decoration, especially that of Antwerp, that the most important elements of Roman Catholic worship were incorporated into progressively more elaborate ritual and symbolic forms. The pulpit built in the nave of the Antwerp Jesuit church was lost in the fire that destroyed most of the nave decoration in 1718, but is visible in several seventeenth-century paintings (fig. 7.16). From what we can see, it was very similar in design to the pulpit carved for the St Gummarskerk in Lier by Artus Quellinus the Elder and Peter Verbruggen the Elder between 1640 and 1642.⁶⁸ This Jesuit pulpit is relatively simple in profile, figural ornament, and iconography when compared to the animated, organic allegory of the Roman Catholic Faith spread across the four continents, replacing any semblance of architectural structure in the pulpit of the former St Francis Xavier church at Mechelen,



7.15. Chantry in the east end of the former Jesuit Church in Antwerp.
Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

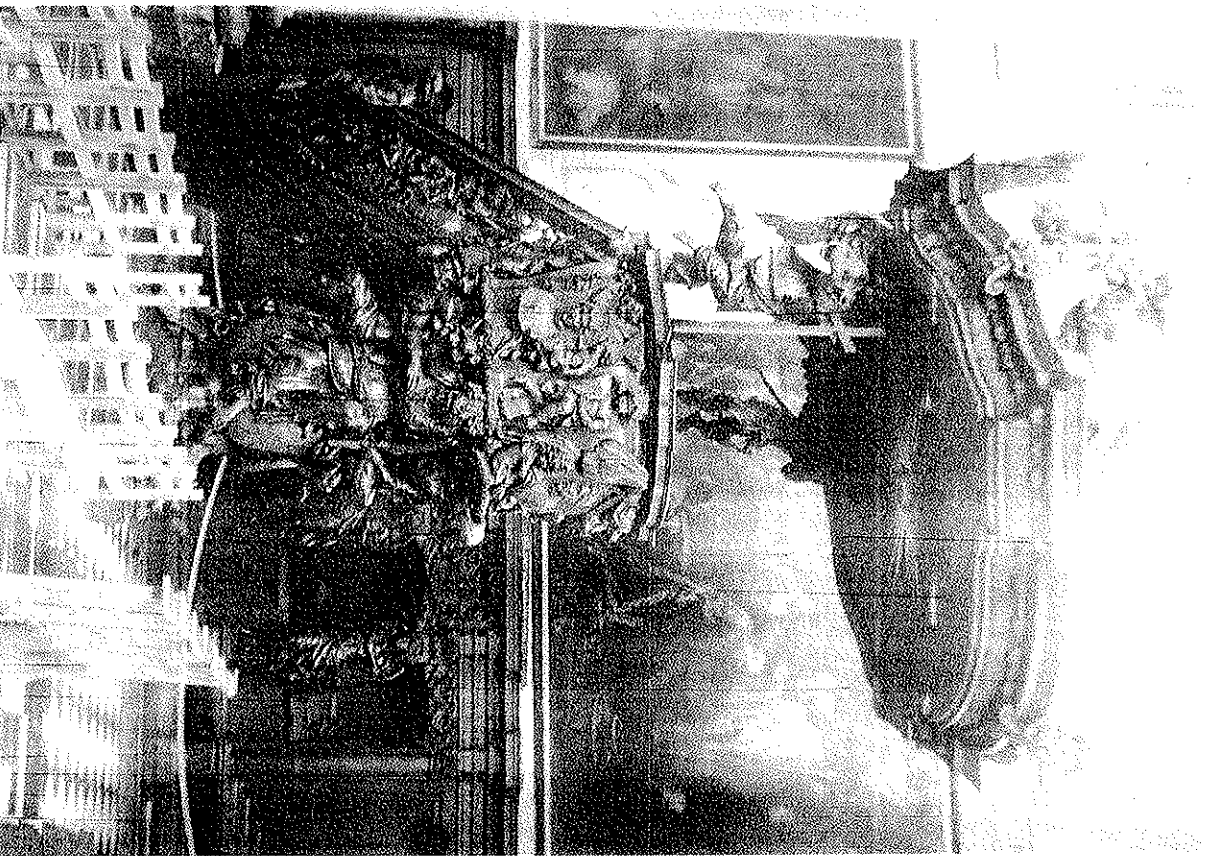


7.16. Wilhelm von Ehrenberg, *Interior of the Jesuit Church*, Antwerp, 1667.
Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Inv. 3603.
Photo courtesy of A.C.L. Brussels.

designed in 1700 by the Antwerp sculptor Hendrik Frans Verbruggen (fig. 7.17).⁶⁹

While the role played in this development by the Jesuits still is unclear, I can demonstrate that their fervent effort to accomplish the sixth labour, of administering the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, stimulated the introduction of paradigmatic new elements, imitated and rivalled for a century. The *Imago primi saeculi* proclaims that the Society, from its inception, has worked for the restitution of confession, than which there is no greater bridle to restrain liberty of life (*libertas vitae*), mother of all vices. And this effort has met with such great success, the authors continue, that an infinite number confess to us in Antwerp, to the degree that in the church of our Professed House twenty-six priests lend their ears to penitents; and other auxiliaries do so in the college.⁷⁰

By 1635 the Jesuits in Antwerp had incorporated at least eleven confessionals into the decoration of their church to serve as distinct ritual frames for the thousands of penitents who flocked there. Unlike the simple, isolated boxes perfected by St Carlo Borromeo in Milan, these were built into the wainscoting that lined either side of the church.⁷¹ Although destroyed by the fire of 1718,



7.17. Hendrik Frans Verbruggen, pulpit, former Jesuit church, Mechelen, 1700.
Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

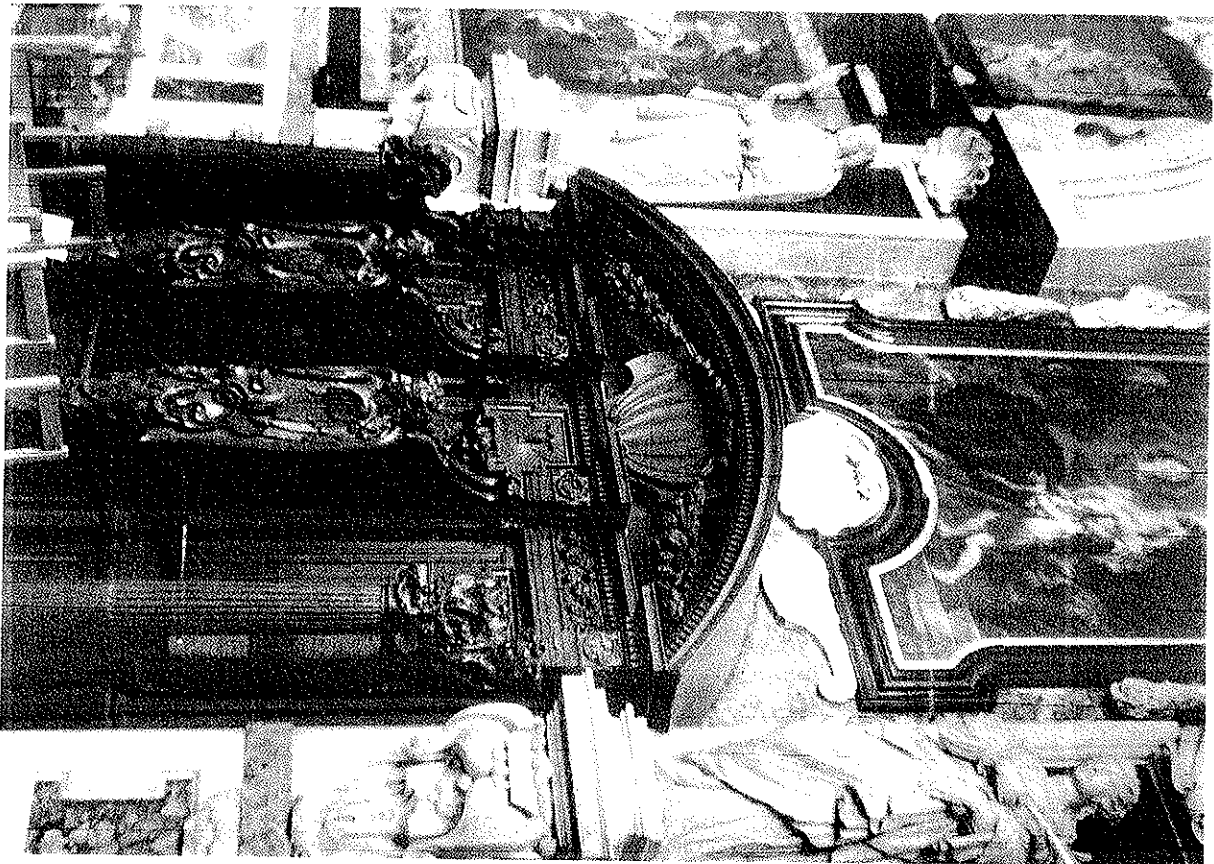
Willem von Ehrenburg's picture of 1667 records their appearance and number (see fig. 7.16). Similar confessionals carved around 1640 that survive in the Chapel of Our Lady off the south aisle demonstrate the beauty of the newly introduced figural ornaments (fig. 7.18). Seraphic angels flank the confessor's chair, and engaged Ionic columns grace the penitent's stool on either side.⁷²

This innovation was made in competitive response to rival orders, especially the Antwerp Dominicans, who had built similar walls of confessionals and then, in 1658–60, increased the stakes with replacements more densely ornamented and boasting full-figure images of penitent saints.⁷³ The Jesuits themselves kept pace, as one can see in the row of confessionals at Mechelen, carved under the supervision of Nikolaas van der Veken in 1683–4 (fig. 7.19).⁷⁴

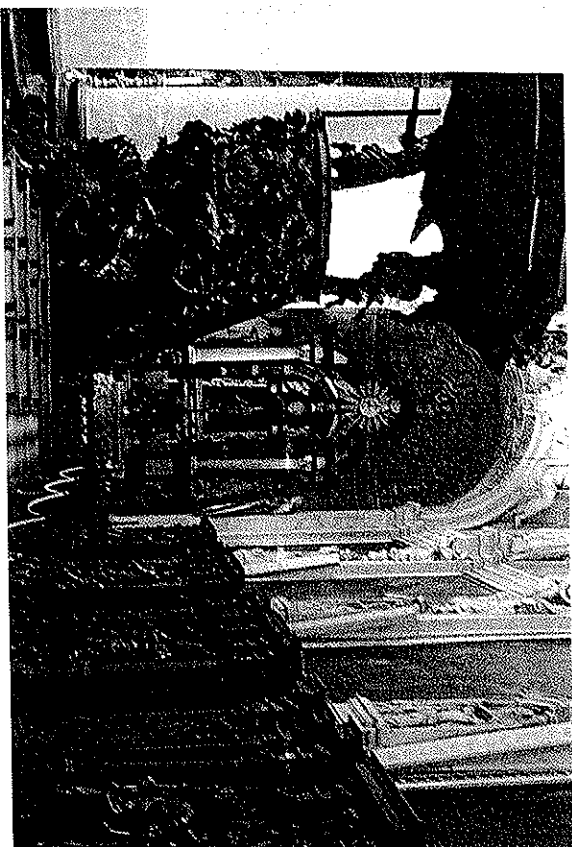
I think the claim to suppress liberty of life through confession raises the issue currently most important in the historiography of the Counter Reformation in the Spanish Netherlands, that of the actual control on individual behaviour exercised by the Roman Catholic church and the consequences of that control on society.⁷⁵ Wietse de Boer already has integrated an excellent 'archaeology' of the confessional into a well-balanced investigation of penance and social discipline in the Milan of Carlo and Federico Borromeo.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, he also comes up against the insurmountable obstacle that most evidence depends on the official account of the church. A truly effective study of the Jesuits and their uses of art would take de Boer's approach and maybe add to it statistics on levels and kinds of crime.

Framing reception of the Eucharist in the Antwerp Jesuit church also stimulated artistic innovation. In one year before 1640, the sacrament was administered 240,000 times, and in 1649, 300,000 times, in a city of around 65,000 people.⁷⁷ The Jesuits were, of course, not monks. Unlike the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the other regular orders, they did not chant the liturgical hours, so there was no need for the rood screen that separates laity from the high altar.⁷⁸ What they substituted was the ornate communion rail, drawing a barrier between the space of the laity and the altar, low enough to see over, and decorated at the eye level of the kneeling recipients (see fig. 7.16). The splendour of the original communion rail for the high altar of St Ignatius can be guessed from the one still intact in the adjacent Chapel of Our Lady, with its symbolic garlands of wheat, grapes, and corn (fig. 7.20). In 1695, when the parish church of St Jacob commissioned a communion rail for its Eucharist Chapel, the contract cited the Jesuit example as the standard for measurements and quality.⁷⁹ In turn, the communion rail for the Eucharist Chapel in Antwerp Cathedral was patterned on that at St Jacob's. Successive generations thus descended directly from the Jesuit church.⁸⁰

The fifth labour was missions, not only in the Protestant United Provinces of the Netherlands, but also in the rural parts of Flanders.⁸¹ Most striking in the



7.18. Confessional in the Chapel of Our Lady, former Jesuit church, Antwerp.
Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

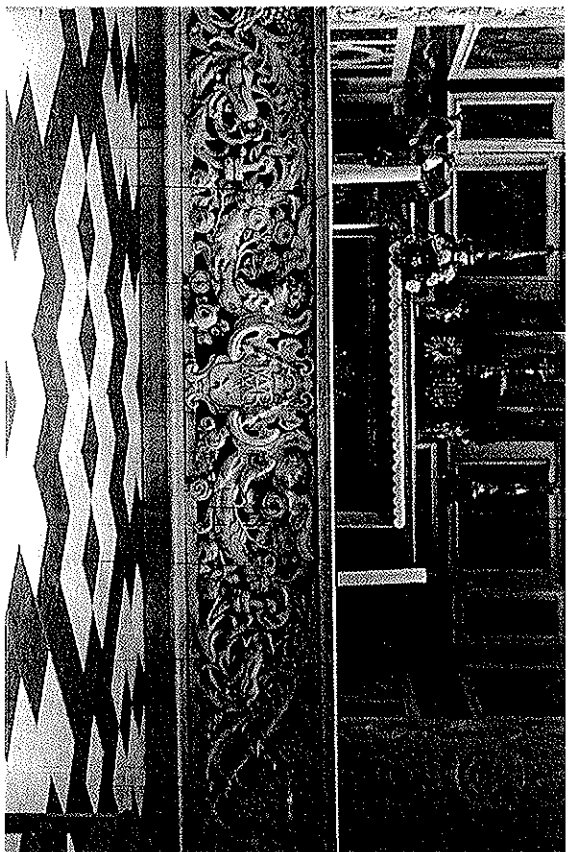


7.19. Nikolaas van der Veken, confessionals in the former Jesuit church,
Mechelen, 1683–4. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

United Provinces were the Jesuit 'hidden churches' (*schuilkerken*), some grandly decorated on a large scale, and hidden only in the sense that they did not proclaim their existence publicly. What emerges from recent articles by Xander van Eck on these churches, none of which survives intact, is the overwhelming dependence on Flemish Jesuit models of architecture and decoration, displayed, for example, in the 1788 drawing by A. de Lelie of the interior of the Krijtberg church at Amsterdam.⁸² In general, I suggest that the resemblance of the hidden Jesuit churches in the Netherlands to Flemish churches was a positive choice, not merely passive acknowledgment of a dearth of local talent, and that the reasons for the choice should be investigated further.

As far as I know, the Flemish Jesuits did not employ visual communication in their seventh labour, of ministering to prisoners, or their eighth, of promoting peace and conciliation, especially among merchants in cities.⁸³

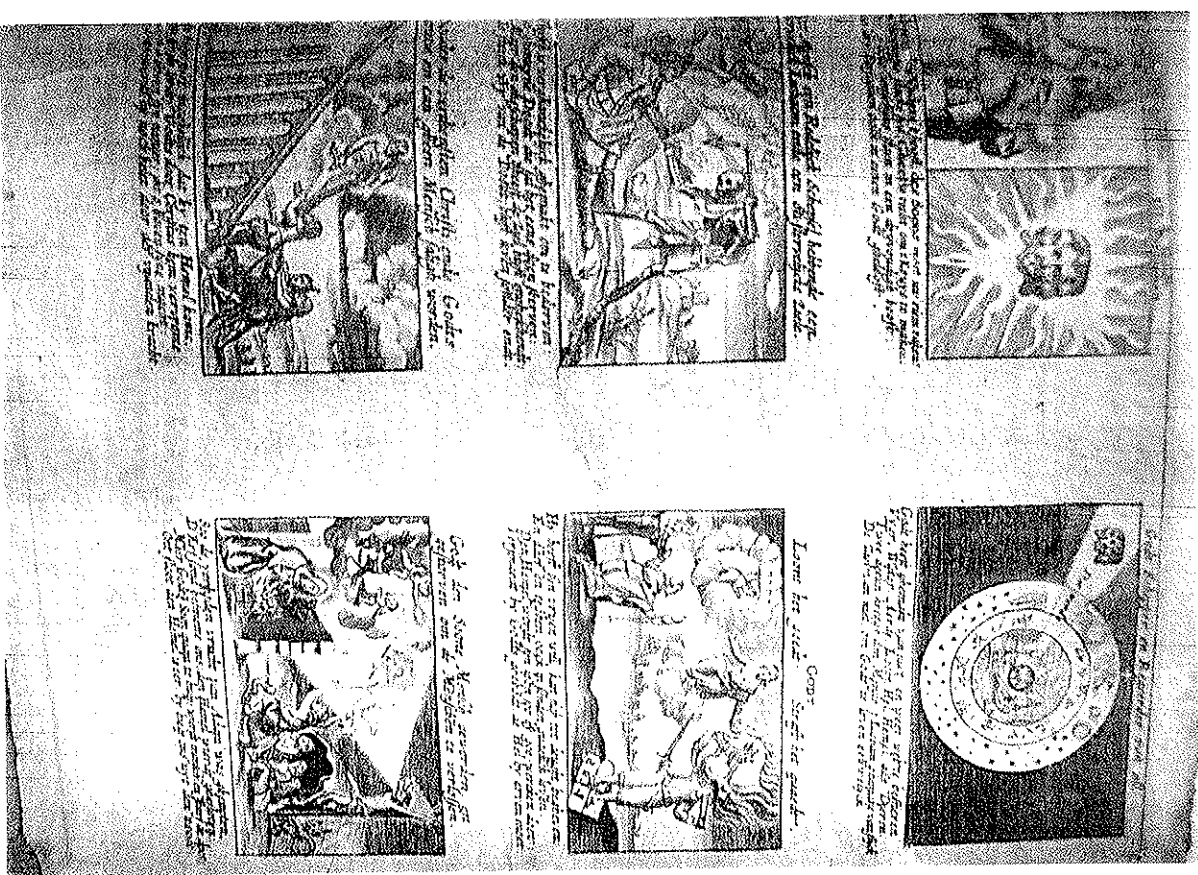
Images were, however, central to the ninth labour, of leading people in the practice of spiritual exercises, above all in guided sequences of meditation.⁸⁴ Steegius justified his picture catechism with the precedent of meditations, during which the passion of Christ was displayed, vividly painted.⁸⁵ Jesuit Lenten meditations in the Flemish province, introduced at Leuven in 1626, displayed



7.20. Communion rail in the Chapel of Our Lady, former Jesuit church, Antwerp.
Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

images in order to heighten the desired responses.⁸⁶ Above all, the illustrations in Jesuit meditation books have received the most recent attention from art historians. Peter van Dael, Manuel Insolera, Walter Melion, and now Christine Göttler have developed the argument that the Jesuit use of illustrations for meditation was a direct outgrowth of St Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, and therefore particular to Jesuit spirituality.⁸⁷ It would be fruitful to investigate further the different ways in which Jesuit techniques of meditation learned through spiritual exercises, sermons, books, group prayer, and varied kinds of images were coordinated to reinforce the impact of the experience.

To accomplish their tenth labour, of fostering pious institutions such as the Stations of the Cross, the cult of the Virgin, and devotion to saints, the Flemish Jesuits put in play a range of visual objects. Medallions, crucifixes, and rosaries all stimulated Christian piety.⁸⁸ This has fully documented and analysed Antwerp's position as the publishing centre of what the *Imago primi saeculi* calls 'pious images representing the mysteries of the faith, features and acts of saints, engraved in copper, disseminated through all Belgium and the world.'⁸⁹ Cheap devotional prints, like those inserted at the back of Steegius's picture catechism, were printed and distributed in editions of thousands, a true mass medium (fig. 7.21). Over



7.21. Steegius, *De Christelijke Leertinghe*, devotional prints bound at the back of the book. Copy in Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek. Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Muller.

three years during the 1660s, the Jesuits at Mechelen handed out 36,000 prints of Francis Xavier, whom they were promoting as a plague saint.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Thijs warns against exaggerating the importance of the Jesuits in the production of devotional prints before the late seventeenth century. He also shows how the Bollandists, starting in 1692, obtained exclusive privileges, set up their own retail shop in 1717, and finally ran their own printing press in 1735, thus controlling all stages in the production and sale of the prints. From that date they were the only regular order to operate a full-fledged publishing enterprise.⁹¹

While the eleventh labour of winning souls through private conversation, did not require visual communication, the twelfth, of writing books, certainly did.⁹² This topic is enormous, and expands outwards into the whole world of Jesuit knowledge, as, for example, François de Aguilion's *Opilicorum libri sex* of 1614, with its illustrations by Rubens.⁹³

I have presented the extraordinarily innovative and diverse uses of the visual arts by which Jesuits accomplished their labours in Flanders. Once again, the most important and stimulating recent work has been done by historians, literary historians, and architectural historians, the latter elaborating the strong tradition of Braun and Plantenga.⁹⁴ Art historians have not yet learned to ask the questions and use the sources that could break new ground in this rich and important field.

NOTES

I gratefully acknowledge the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, where I wrote this essay during my tenure as fellow-in-residence. Joost van der Auwera kindly sent me the photo of figure 16, and Brooke Hammerle developed my own photos.

1 Bail, 'Style,' p. 69.

2 See, for example, Walter S. Melion, 'Artifice, Memory, and *Reformatio* in Hieronymus Nanais's *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia*,' *Renaissance and Reformation* 22 (1998): 5–34; Marc Fumaroli, 'Baroque et classicisme: *L'Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* (1640) et ses adversaires,' in *L'école du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1994, 1998), pp. 343–65; and Christine Göttler, "'Actio" in Peter Paul Rubens' Hochaltarbildern für die Jesuitenkirche in Antwerpen,' in *Barocke Inszenierung*, ed. Joseph Imorde, Fritz Neumeyer, and Tristan Weddigen (Berlin, 1999), pp. 10–31.

3 I have addressed this historiography in a lecture entitled 'The Catholic Negative in the History of Flemish Art,' delivered at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Chicago, 29–31 March 2001. I intend to undertake the additional research necessary to do justice to so complex a topic.

4 *Imago primi saeculi societatis Jesu a provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem societatis*

repraesentata (Antwerp, 1640), p. 769: 'Libet sexius, Societas Flandro-Belgica, caput Tertium. De functionibus ac laboribus Societatis per Flandro-Belgium.' For brevity's sake I will, like the poet with Hercules, reduce many labours to twelve.

5 Here I heed the call by John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000, 2002), pp. 138–42, to recognize and consider the yearning for the transcendent and the human comfort at the heart of religion; and the criticism directed by Jean-Claude Galey in his 'Politiques de conversion et conversion au politique. L'Inde des jésuites et de l'histoire,' review of Ines G. Zupanov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (Oxford and New Delhi, 1999), against the reduction of religion to a politics of power.

6 *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 769.

7 See n4 above.

8 See Alfons K.L. Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek Bolwerk: Maatschappelijke berekenen van de Kerk in contrareformatoorsch Antwerpen* (Turnhout, 1990), p. 140.

9 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 769, as explanation of the first labour, of catechism: 'Tabulae rase sunt ingenia paulorum; quidquid insculptur, tenent ...' Because of Jesuit catechism, 'staret hodieque Belgis incornpno Religio (sic omnes sentium) staret cum Religione pax, cum pace felicitas ...'

10 See *ibid.*, p. 771: 'Explicatur Catechismus vnus anni spatio, decies milies, septingentes, quines & quadragiesies: numerantur catechumeni duo & triginta millia quingenti & octo.'

11 See Alfons K.L. Thijs, *Antwerpen Internationaal Uitgeverscentrum van Devotieprenten 17de–18de Eeuw* (Leuven, 1993), p. 13. At the same time, Thijs, p. 83, in reaction to Adolf Spamer, *Das kleine Andachtsbild vom XIV. bis zum XX. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1930), p. 62, warns against overestimating the active role played by the Jesuits in the production of devotional prints in Antwerp during the seventeenth century. Thijs does, however, credit the Jesuits with providing strong encouragement in the use of these prints. On this issue, see further below. See Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980); and R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 2 (Cambridge, 1981). See Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, 'De Antwerpse wereldmarkt tijdens de 16de en 17de eeuw,' in *Antwerpen verhaal van een metropool 16de–17de eeuw*, ed. Jan van der Stock (Antwerp, 1993), p. 21, for Antwerp population figures.

12 P. Ioannes Guilielmus Steegius, Priester der Socijetyet Iesv, *De Christelycke Leerlinge verstanteluycker vyf-geluyt door eene Beelden-Sprake noodigh soo voor kinders als groote die niet kunnen lesen, gheretuygh voor een ieder om beter te vanden ende t'onthouden* (Antwerp, 1647).

13 Steegius, *De Christelycke Leerlinge* (n12 above). Voor-Reden tot den Leser, fol. 3v:

- * *Ende siet: soo ick nauwelijcks hadde begonst myne haendt aen dit werck te slien den 4. ofte 5. dagh, als ofte Godt by daer toe had willen aendryven, my wordt op syn onverwachts tot voordere beweghinge over tafel ghelesen uyt het kort begryp der geschiedenissen onser Societeyt gedurende haere eerste 100. jaeren beschreven, in 't Latijn door P. Jacobus Damianus dii navolghende in 'laestie van den 5. boeck:*
- Godt makte de Patres in Paraguarien bequaem tot het ziele-ghewin der wilde menschen, ende namentlijk Jacobum Martinez, Christus selver van een Crucifix hem toe-sprekende. Desen studeerde in de Godtheyt te Lima, een man wel gheknocht ende ghesondt: hy vraecht van Christus wat hy 't meeste op hem versoche, ende soo den Saligmaker antwoorde stemmelijk: de saligheyt der menschen, wort hy op staende voet alle sijne schriften in 't vier, ende aldus gelijck ontlast zijnde gaet naer de wilde bosche. Sy waren plomp ende hardt om iet vatten: aen hem ende d' andere is ingestort meenigher vernufheyt om zielen te winnen, hunne inghebornere bot-sinnigheyt bleef haer aeen: nochte ghedooognde dat sy haer watsoude vertoonen, ofte door het ghehoir vatten de uygheteede leeringhen. Men heeft se hen moeten aen dienen door hunne ooghen: want den wegh hier door tot inwaerts korter ende sekender is: ende het ghenoecht hem lichtelijcker laet beweghen door de verbeeldinghen der saken. Hierom schilderden sy de hoof-stucken van de Christelijcke wet op tafereelen. Daer wiert vaster inghedruckt het vier der Hellen door sijne vertoonde schrickelijckheyt met men-verwe: ende de ghenoechten des Hemels door de verbeeldinghe van vleesch, spijzen, koecken, ende wijn.'
- 14 Hui-Hung Chen, 'Encounters in People, Religions, and Science: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth-Century China,' dissertation, Brown University, Providence, 2004.
- 15 Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe*, Voor-Reden tot den Leser, fol. 3r: '*enen bysonderen Boeren-almanch: uyt den welken sy, alhoe wel niet kunnende lesen, souden niet te min vermoghen te verstaen door Beelde-teeckens, 'tghene andere weten niet te lesen in den Letter-almanch.*'
- 16 See Tom Dekker, 'Ideologie en volkscultuur: Een geschiedenis van de Nederlandse volkskunde,' in *Volkscultuur: Een inleiding in de Nederlandse etnologie*, ed. Tom Dekker, Herman Roodenburg, and Gerard Rooijakkers (Nijmegen, 2000), pp. 13–65, where no mention is made of Steegius.
- 17 See Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe*, Voor-Reden tot den Leser, fol. 3r, where he says that he has, for the purpose of teaching the illiterate, '*geen versieren oock eene Beelden-sprake, vertoonende door verbeeldinghen, ghelijckenlijken, ende teekenen de gheheele Christelijcke leerinthe.*' ...
- 18 See Gerard Rooijakkers, 'Opereren op het snijpunt van culturen: Middelaars en media in Zuid-Nederland,' in *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland 1500–1800: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burke, and Willem Frijhoff (Heerlen, 1992), pp. 273–80, on almanacs as mediators between cultural circuits in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Netherlands.

- 19 See Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe*, p. 21, 'Van de V. Gheboden der H. Kercke': 'Vr. Wat wortter bevolen in het III. Ghebodt? Te vasten op de ghesetelde daghen / Vr. Wat is Vasten? Ant. Derven sekere soorten van spijzen; ende maer eens volkomenlijk op den dagh eten / Vr. Welcke zijn die spijzen? Ant. Vleesch; ende allemens eyeren/ ende suyvel/ te weten in den Vasten/ ten zy daer het toe-ghelaeten wort/ Vr. Welcke zijn nu die daghen, op de welke het gheboden is te Vasten? Antw. Die daer ghestelt staen in het beeld/ zijnde ghetrocken uyt den Schaepherders-Almanch.'
- 20 See *ibid.*: 'Ten 3. de 4. tijden in het Jaer/ die-men Quarter-temper heet/ dat is/ de Woensdaghen/ Vrydaghen/ Saterdaghen van die sekere 4. weken/ die welke kenbaer ghemaect zijn in het beeldt door het by-voeghen van sommige teekenen.'
- 21 See *ibid.*: 'Vr. Wat ghebidt ons de H. kerck door het IV. Ghebodt? Ant. Te minsten eens in het Jaer te Biechten/ ghelijck dat wort uytghedruckt het laerste beelden op een naer de 4. tijden des Jaers/ die 't samen in een linie worpen op de Biechte, alhoe-wel het seer gheraedsaem is: jae gheheel in 't ghebruyck/ dickwils te biechten door het Jaer.'
- 22 *Synodicum belgicum, sive acta omnium ecclesiarum Belgii a celebrato concilio Tridentino usque ad concordatum anni 1801*, ed. P.F.X. de Ram, 4 vols (Leuven and Mechelen, 1828–58), I, p. 372, decrees and statutes of the Provincial Council, Mechelen, 1607, sacrament of penance, chap. 3: 'Ubi erecta necdum sunt confessionalia, quae Confessarium à asserculo cancellato, ac poenitentem à sequentibus alio asserculo disjungant, intra tres menses à publicatione decretorum huius Concilii sumptibus fabricarum erigantur ab eo tempore nemo sine licentia ordinarii extra ejusmodi confessionalia foeminarum confessiones audire praesumat, nisi in casu necessitatis.' The introduction of confessionals was resisted in the suburban parish of Berchem, outside Antwerp, where penitents objected to confessing through grates, which were subsequently removed; see Kristin de Raeymaecker, *Her Godstienstig Leven in de Landdekenij Antwerpen (1610–1650)*, Belgisch Centrum voor Landelijke Geschiedenis Publikatie 52 (Leuven, 1977), p. 59 n138.
- 23 See Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe*, p. 21, 'Van de V. Gheboden der H. Kercke': 'Vr. Wat wortter gheboden in het laeste V. / Ant. Eens oock t'ontfanghen het hoogh-werdigh Sacrament, des Auaers/ ende dat omtrent den Paeschen/ weken tijdt daer staet te kennen ghegeven op het laeste beelden door den Palmen-Sondagh, Paesch-dagh, ende Belöke-Paeschen.'
- 24 See Marshall McLuhan, 'Media Hot and Cold,' in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York, 1965), pp. 22–3: 'A cool medium like hieroglyphic or ideogrammic written characters has very different effects from the hot and explosive medium of the phonetic alphabet.'
- 25 See Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe*, Voor-Reden tot den Leser, fol. 3r–v: through the picture-language, the illiterate will be able to grasp everything contained

- in text catechisms, 'al soo dat sy hier ende daer wat gheholpen zynde met eenne lichte uyt-legghinghe door iemandt, die lesen kan, oft de ghemelde werenschap nu vast heeft, gelyck dat geschiedt in het voort-leeren des Boeren-almanachs, sal seer ghemackelyck kunnen ghevat worden van kinders, minverstandighe menschen, ende alle die niet en kunnen lesen, jae van alder-naelghe volcken.' Early modern practices combining public reading, oral explanation, and visual illustration for the illiterate and semi-illiterate are documented and analysed in Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk* (n1 above), pp. 211–16; and in Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 227.
- 26 See Peter van Dael, 'Geïllustreerde boeken van jezuiteten uit de 15de en 17de eeuw: De verhouding tussen woord en beeld,' in *Jezuïeten in Nederland*, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent (Utrecht, 1991), pp. 30–40, where the Groningen edition is illustrated.
- 27 John W. O'Malley, in O'M. *First*, p. 358, observing that Jesuits ignored the controversy around Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* and most other art, concludes that 'for all the Jesuits' cultivating of the imagination, their culture was most directly a culture of the book and the word.'
- 28 Ponc. *Hist.*, I, pp. 352–412, on the foundation of colleges in both Belgian provinces.
- 29 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 771, under 'Secundus labor, Scholae', while previously few had been educated, 'nunc autem florere doctrinam, viris magno numero litteratis, tanquam pleno sideribus caelo, splendente Republica.'
- 30 See *ibid.*, p. 772: 'Quot millia Belgarum putas per nos bonis instituta?'
- 31 See Karel Porteman, *Emblematic Exhibitions (affixiones) at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630–1685): A Study of the Commemorative Manuscripts (Royal Library, Brussels)* (Brussels, 1996), p. 11. The *affixiones* were, he says, an outgrowth of exercises – *exercitationes* – central to the *humaniora* studies of rhetoric and poetry, leading to perfect command of *eloquentia* 'in its widest sense, namely: literary and moral command of words in the service of Church, Ruler, and Country.'
- 32 See Porteman, *Emblematic Exhibitions*, p. 59, colour illustration, and pp. 121–2, English translations of texts: Emblem of Affixiones, 1652, Brussels, KB, Horace Art of Poetry: title-page with chimerical creatures invented by painters and poets. All who have written on the art of poetry assert that poetry resembles painting: following their advice, 'yet considering that / more slowly moves the heart what / seeps in through the ear than what is set / before the trusty eye (Ars, vv. 180–1). I offer you Horace, the poet and trainer of poets, that is, the instructor of instructors, and at the same time I put his art (nourished by long observation) before you in emblems, not so much to read as to view them.'
- 33 See *ibid.*, p. 59, colour illustration, and pp. 164–7, commentary and texts, 1683, on the theme of piety combined with wisdom and learning, watercolours and calligraphy by Carolus van Deijnnum: 'splendet ut alliciat.'
- 34 See Luc Dequeker, *Her Sacrament van Mirakel: Jodenhaar in de Middeleeuwen* (Leuven, 2000).
- 35 See Porteman, *Emblematic Exhibitions*, pp. 29–32, on the link between the Brussels *affixiones* and the Miracle of the Sacrament: p. 31, on the issue of anti-Semitism; and p. 135, on the explicit anti-Semitic emblems I have mentioned.
- 36 Ponc. *Hist.*, II, p. 70.
- 37 See *ibid.*, pp. 81–9, on internal debate over Jesuit theatre and festivities, and pp. 358–61, on the gradual increase of luxury in Jesuit music.
- 38 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 774: 'Habet nostra Provincia Sodalitates nonaginta: numerus Sodalium 13727. Annuerpia sola decem Sodalitatibus gaudet; in iis tria facile millia Sodales. Aequè hinc videas (quod terrarum nusquam) congregandis Sodalibus amplum splendendumque aedificium augusto lapide ab ipsis ductum fundamentis.'
- 39 See Rudi Mannaerts, 'De artistieke expressie van de mariale devotie der Jezuiteten te Antwerpen (1562–1773): Een iconografisch onderzoek,' 3 vols, licentiaat thesis, Catholic University, Leuven, 1983, copy in the library of the Runsbroecgenootschap, University of Antwerp.
- 40 See, for Rubens's *Annunciation*, Peter Paul Rubens, 1577–1640: *Ausstellung zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages 15. April bis 19. Juni 1977*, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna, 1977), pp. 56–8, no. 7; and for Van Dyck's two pictures, Hans Vlieghe in Van Dyck, 1599–1641, ed. Christopher Brown and Hans Vlieghe (Antwerp and London, 1999), p. 218, no. 56.
- 41 As noted in Ponc. *Hist.*, II, chaps 7–9; and Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 55–9.
- 42 Rudi Mannaerts, 'Het Sodaliteitsgebouw en zijn decoratie (1623–1773). Een reconstructie van twee barokke Mariëkapellen,' in *De Nottetboomzaal boek en meenat*, Publikaties van de Stadsbibliotheek en het Archief en Museum voor het Vlaamse Cultuurleven 34–6 (Antwerp, 1993), pp. 63–81, consults the drawings but does not publish them. For the drawings, see Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Kerken en Kloosters 589: Jesuites: two folios glued together and folded closed: 18th century, c. 1760?, pen and ink.
- fol. 1r: on cover: Plan van de boven sodaliteyt der Paters Jesuwieten
fol. 1v: Plan van de sadaliteyt [sic] boven van professieluys alhier
with exact plan in pencil, reinforced in pen and ink, below:
fol. 2r: *Beschryvinge van de sodaliteyt boven van de Paters Jesuwieten alhier*
dese is gebouwt in jaer 1622 uyt reden van den voorgevel der kerke dat dese naer de konst was gebout ende niet tegenstaende volgens de breede van den voorgevel der hooghte niet en hadt die hy moest hebbe zoo heeft Rubens dese genoemde sodaliteyt doen op rechten om het gesicht te beletten van den mislacht die aen den

- selve gedaen was dese is verciert in kostelycke witten marber steen van onder tot boven
- N 1 boven den inganck van de sodaliteyt staet het Portret van Pater arckenroede geschildert door
- N 2 stuck representeert maria inde hemelsche glorie geschildert door franciscus Boeyermans geteekent FB
- N 3 stuck representeert de marcellie van den h: laurentius geschildert door Garibaldi
- N 4 stuck representeert den h: ignatius by den paus approberende den Regel van het order der societydt [*sic*] geschildert door arregaus
- N 5 stuck representeert h: xaverius en h: ignatius geschildert door arregaus
- N 6 boven de Deur van sacristyn staet de religui van h: rosalia
- N 7 stuck representeert een battalije geschildert door van heck
- N 8 stuck representeert een iantschap geschildert door gasper de wit de figuren door goubau
- N 9 stuck representeert maria toevlucht der seeckenen en krancke geschildert door
- N 10 stuck representeert h: alowisius gonsager met den leelickack van suyverheyt tot maria geschildert door gerardus segers
- N 11 den autaeer is van composita ordre ter ordiantie van het stuck representeert met het kindeken op haeren schoet ende daer neffens staende petrus en paulus voor h: kindken is kuelend de h: maeghet rosalia het h: kindeken stellende een kroone op haer hoofd geschildert door A van dyck
- N 12 het stuck representeert maria met den h: hermannus joseph uyt het order der premonstreit syn hant uytstekende voor maria en ontfancke van
- fol. 1r: on cover: Plan van de beneden sodaliteyt der Paters jesuwieten
- fol. 1v: Plan van de sodaliteyt beneden van professie huys alhier with exact plan in pencil, reinforced in pen and ink, below:
- fol. 2r: *Beschryvinghe van de schilderyen van de benede sodaliteyt der Paters jesuiten tot antwerpen*
- N 1 stuck representeert de offerhande van de 3 konighen geschildert door deodate delmont
- N 2 stuck representeert daer maria gekront woort door de h: dryvuldigheyt geschildert door
- N 3 stuck representeert Christus aen het Cruys geschildert door
- N 4 stuck representeert Christus sittende met syn riet in d'hand en synen purpuren mantel om ringelt met engelen die teekens der passie hebben geschildert door
- N 5 stuck representeert Christus syn Cruys draegende geschildert door deodate del

- mont was discipiel van Rubbens waer meede hy gerys heeft naer italien en andere plaetsen
- N 6 stuck representeert de trouw van maria met st joseph geschildert door
- N 7 stuck representeert maria haer veropenbaerende aen den h: ignatius geschildert door gerard segers
- N 8 autaeer is van composita ordre ten ordiantie
- het stuck representeert de bootschap door den engel aen maria geschildert door Rubens gaet in print uyt gesneden door
- N 9 stuck representeert daer franciscus xaverius de duyvelen wegh jaeght geschildert door gerard segers
- N 11 stuck representeert
- 43 See Zírka Zaremba Filipczak, 'Van Dyck's "Life of St Rosalie,"' *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989): 693–8; M. Insolera, 'Les caractéristiques spécifiques du livre illustré dans la spiritualité jésuite flamande,' in Manuel Insolera and Lydia Salvini Insolera, *La spiritualité en images aux Pays-Bas Méridionaux dans les livres imprimés des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque Winockiana*. Miscellanea Neerlandica 13 (Leuven, 1996), pp. 13–18; and, in particular, pp. 150–2, cat. no. 50, entry on Thomas Salinius, *Thesaurus precum et exercitiorum spiritualium, in usum praeleserim Sodalitatis Partheniae. Additae breves apologiae, eidem subservientes* (Antwerp, 1609); and pp. 177–80, cat. no. 63, entry on Andreas Brunner, *Fasii Mariani cum divorum elogis in singulos anni dies distributis* (Antwerp, 1660).
- 44 Châtelier, *The Europe of the Devout* (n41 above).
- 45 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 779. On this chapel, see L. Brouwers, *De Jezuiten te Mechelen in de 17e en 18e eeuw en hun Xaveriuskerk, de huidige Parochiekerk S.S. Petrus en Paulus* (Mechelen, 1977), p. 35; this chapel of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception was built out of necessity, to accommodate the growing crowds that pressed into the church. Drawings are reproduced on p. 34; the exterior on p. 36; the interior, by J.B. De Noter, is now Stadsarchief van Mechelen. Akwarallen verzameling Schoeffer B6701 no. 186. Pp. 35–7 n3 indicates that these drawings were made after the interior was completely stripped in 1773, so reconstructions are based on the still standing structure and some remnants of the interior decoration. The dedication is on p. 40: 'Mariae absque labe originali conceptae,' used by the seven Marian sodalities of the city.
- 46 This issue involves the Jesuits in conflict with Jansenists and Dominicans. The most important published source is *La fin de la première période du Jansénisme: Sources des années, 1654–1660*, ed. Lucien Ceyssens, 2 vols. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome 12–13 (Brussels and Rome, 1963–5).
- 47 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 775. The Jesuit role at Scherpenheuvel is documented in Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingsens, *Scherpenheuvel, Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven, 2002), which I have not yet been able to consult.

- 48 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 778: 'Infinitus sim, si status singularum vrbum populari pietate, luminibus, votibus tabellis, miraculis illustres recensere studeam'; 'Praeter has in Collegiorum templis, alias quoque in plateis locisque publicis pontificum Societas; quarum facile princeps quae Anuerpiensem Curiam servat.' The best account of these images remains Aug. Thijssen, *Onderpastoor in St. Antonius, Antwerpen vernwaard door den Eerredienst van Maria: Geschiedkundige Aankeningen over de 500 Mariabeelden in de straten der stad*, 2nd ed. (Antwerp, 1922). Currently Nancy Kay is writing a dissertation on the topic.
- 49 Documentation on the festive installation of the image is given in Thijssen, *Antwerpen vernwaard* (n48 above), pp. 147–53. See Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek Bolwerk* (n8 above), p. 107, who stresses the symbolic importance of this means of displaying Roman Catholic triumph.
- 50 See Thijssen, *Antwerpen vernwaard*, p. 273: 'Over de daken heen, aanschouwt O.L. Vrouw het stadhuis, opdat Zij het zonder ophouden bescherm.' 'Joseph Braun, *Die belgischen Jesuitenkirchen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kampfes zwischen Gotik und Renaissance* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), p. 3, who challenged the concept of a Jesuit style by proving that the first churches in the Southern Netherlands were built in Gothic style, and that their later churches participated in the larger turn of Belgian ecclesiastical architecture towards Italian models.
- 52 For an eloquent challenge to this restrictive concept of style, see E.H. Gombrich, *In Search of Cultural History* (Oxford, 1967).
- 53 Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi antichi di Genova, Palazzi moderni di Genova*, intro. Alan A. Tait (1622; repr. New York and London, 1968), 'Al Benigno Lettore': 'Vediamo che in queste parti, si v'è poco à poco innecchiando & abolendo la maniera d'Architettura, che si chiama Barbara, ò Gothica: & che alcuni bellissimi ingegni introducono la vera simmetria di quella, conforme le regole de gli antichi, Gracici e Romani, con grandissimo splendore & ornamento della Patria: come appare nelli Tempii famosi fatti di fresco dalla venerabili Società di Iesv. nelle città Brussellesse & Anversa. Li quali se per fa dignità del Vfficio diuino meritamente doveano essere i primi à cangiarse in meglio.'
- 54 On the Jesuit church in Brussels, see J.H. Plantinga, *L'architecture religieuse dans l'ancien duché de Brabant depuis le règne des archiducs jusqu'au gouvernement autrichien (1598–1713)* (The Hague, 1926), pp. 57–65. See Krista de Jonge et al., 'Building Policy and Urbanisation during the Reign of the Archdukes: The Court and Its Architects', in *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Brussels, 1998), pp. 191–220, on the archdukes' patronage of architecture.
- 55 See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Jesuit Art: Central Europe and the Americas,' in *O'M. Jes. Cult.*, pp. 284–7.
- 56 Plantinga, *L'architecture*, pp. 63–4.

- 57 The best account to date is *ibid.*, pp. 83–115. It will be very interesting to find out what kind of use will be made of archives and visual material by Marie Juliette Marinus in *Antwerpen en de Jezuiten, 1562–2002*, ed. Herman van Goethem (Antwerp), announced to appear after completion of this paper.
- 58 See the account of building the church in Ponc. *Hist.*, I, pp. 457–83. Ponceter, on p. 458, echoes the disapproval of luxury provoked by the church during its construction.
- 59 See Olwen Hufton, "'Every Tub on Its Own Bottom': Funding a Jesuit College in Early Modern Europe," in this volume. Hufton observes that the Jesuits operated in a debt culture in which spectacular building attracted donations; that deficit funding was vulnerable in times of crisis; and that subsequent maintenance of what had become less glamorous always presented a problem.
- 60 Koen Orentheym, 'De correspondentie tussen Rubens en Huygens over architectuur (1635–'40),' *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 96 (1997): 1–11.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 62 See Plantinga, *L'architecture*, pp. 192–5; and Brouwers, *De Jezuiten te Mechelen*, pp. 52–4.
- 63 See *Bellissimi ingegni, grandissimo splendore. Studies over de religieuze architectuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de 17de eeuw*, ed. Krista de Jonge et al., Symbolae, Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis, ser. B, 15 (Leuven, 2000).
- 64 See Philip De Mesmaeker, Liesbet Haghenbeek, and Griet van Opstal, 'Oratoria in de jezuitenkerken van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Een renoemen eigen aan de Contrareformatie,' in *Bellissimi ingegni*, ed. de Jonge et al., pp. 79–90.
- 65 Bert Daelemans, Jantina Koninck, and Sofie van Loo, 'De verplaatsing van de klokkenstorens in de 17de-eeuwse kerkarchitectuur,' in *Bellissimi ingegni*, ed. de Jonge et al., pp. 67–78.
- 66 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 781: 'Illud constat, Societatis vocem è sacris adhuc pulpitis gratissimam sonare Belgis Catholicis, haereticis formidandum, vrisque interim fructuosam. Dicitur in Prouinciâ ad populum à nostris, intra anni spatium, qundecies millies ducentis & sexies.'
- 67 Hans Storme, *Preekboeken en Prediking in de Mechelse Kerkprovincie in de 17e en de 18e Eeuw* (Brussels, 1991), pp. 161–2, demonstrates this with a passage from a sermon delivered by Rumoldus Backx at Antwerp Cathedral in 1685, and published in 1711: 'Ten tweede soo can het Gebodt van op Sondagen en Heylighdagen Sermoon te hooren, oock wel begrepen worden in het Gebodt van Misse te hooren: want in vorige tyden pleegh men altyt het Sermoon te doen onder de Misse, gelyck den H. Paus Clemens getuyght in sijn 8. boeck van d' Apostolike instellingen aen het 4. Capittel. En gelyck men noch op vele plaatsen in 'r gebruyck siet. principaelijck in de buyen Parochien te platte Lande.' St Carlo Borromeo actually gives instructions

opposed to Flemish practice. If there is one pulpit in the church, he says, it should be on the north or Gospel side and not far from the high altar, so that it can be reached conveniently by the priest when he delivers the sermon during solemn mass (Carlo Borromeo, *Institutiones fabricae ecclesiasticae*, in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, ed. Paola Barocchi, 3 vols [Bari, 1962], III, p. 62: 'Si unus tantum ambo in ecclesia constituendus sit, is a latere evangelii statuatur', and p. 63: pulpits should be situated 'in gremio ecclesiae, loco conspicuo, unde vel concionator vel lector ab omnibus et conspici et audiri possit, apte collocati, ab altari maiori, ut pro ecclesiae ratione fieri decore potest, non longe admodum sint: quo sacerdoti, ut decretum est, intra Missarum solemniam, concionanti, commodiori usui esse queant').

68 See *De Sint-Gummaruskerk te Lier, Inventaris van Het Kunstsparrimonium van de Provincie Antwerpen*, ed. Hertha Leemans, vol. 1 (Antwerp and Utrecht, 1972), pp. 177–8, inv. no. 90.

69 See the recent summary in Lieve Letany, *Sint-Pieter en Sint-Pauluskerk, Torrens aan de Dijle* (Mechelen, n.d.), pp. 26–9.

70 See *Imago primi saeculi*, pp. 783–4: 'Ante Societatis adventum rarus Belgis & ferè exosis Confessionis usus: qui primus ad haereses gradus fuit. Confessione, nullo magis freno compescitur vitae libertas, mater omnium vitiorum.'

71 See Wiense de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 84–105, for the best account of Borromeo's innovative confessionals.

72 S. Zajadacz-Hasenrath, *Das Beichtgestühl der Antwerpener St. Pauluskirche und der Barockbeichtstuhl in den südlichen Niederlanden*, Monographien des Nationalen Centrum voor de Plasticsche Kunsten van de XVIIIe en XVIIe Eeuw 3 (Brussels, 1970), p. 172, no. 7, on the confessionals in the Chapel of Our Lady and the nave of the Antwerp Jesuit church.

73 See *ibid.*, pp. 176–7, nos 14–15. See Marie Juliette Marinus, *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585–1676)*, *Kerkelijk Leven in een Grootstad* (Brussels, 1995), pp. 194–202, for the larger context of inter-order rivalry.

74 See Brouwers, *De Jezuiten te Mechelen*, (n45 above), p. 70; and Zajadacz-Hasenrath, *Das Beichtgestühl*, pp. 199–200, no. 89.

75 See Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek Bolwerk* (n8 above), who argues that the Roman Catholic church, Spanish government, and Antwerp patrician-merchant elite conspired to keep the growing poor and proletariat docile and exploitable, and thus were imposing a conspiracy to repress the masses. Châtelier, *The Europe of the Devout*, pp. 25–39, using a variety of primary sources, establishes the importance of Jesuit sodalities in changing the normative behaviour of members. He documents the imposition of what he calls an oppressive, strict, and prudish morality, and control of the imagination. On the other hand, on pp. 121–9, Châtelier also suggests

that the organization of sodalities into separate units for each segment of urban society resulted in the formation of new, cohesive group identity. This was especially important for journeymen, who met apart from their masters, and may have produced revolutionary uprisings in both Naples and Antwerp. Throughout his work, however, Châtelier consistently sees the Jesuit sodalities, especially in the Southern Netherlands, as a particularly effective means 'to wield — under the cloak of religion — general influence over all classes of people.' By contrast, Marinus, in *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen* (n73 above), takes what she claims is a more neutral, objective, archive-based position, and which, in the end, is uncritical of the Roman Catholic church and the Jesuits. These are, of course, only a representative sample among recent contributions.

76 See n71 above.

77 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 785: 'Antwerpiae Professa Domus intra anni spatium supra ducenta & quadraginta communicantium milia numeravit.' See Marinus, *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen*, p. 280, table 19, for annual statistics of select years between 1636 and 1675.

78 See Jan Steppe, *Het Koordkasaal in de Nederlanden* (Brussels, 1952), pp. 44–5, on Jesuit opposition to rood screens.

79 Archive, St. Jacob's church, Antwerp, Oud no. 560, Theodore van Lennus, 'Beschrijving der parochiale en voorheen vermaarde Collegiale Kerk van St. Jacobo te Antwerpen, begonnen in Oct 1846': 'bylage 46: Extract uyt zekere Boeck berustende in Venerabel Capel der Parochiale Kerk van St. Jacobs. De Conditien van de Communi Banck van witten marber voor de Cappel van het Alderheyligste in de Collegiale kerc van St. Jacop. 1695' (with many thanks to Dr J. van den Nieuwenhuizen for making this document accessible to me).

80 See Frans Baudouin, 'Het Kunstsparrimonium: De 17de en de 18de eeuw,' in *De Onze-Lieve Vrouwekathedraal van Antwerpen*, ed. W. Aerts (Antwerp, 1993), pp. 252, and 400 n168.

81 *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 782. See, on the mission to the United Provinces, Paul Begheyn, 'Geschiedenis van de jezuiten in Nederland,' in *Jezuiten in Nederland* (n26 above), pp. 6–9.

82 See Xander van Eck, 'Haar uitstekend huis, en hoge kerke': Enkele gegevens over de bouw, inrichting en aankleding van schuilkerken der jezuiten in Gouda en andere Noordnederlandse steden,' in *Jezuiten in Nederland*, p. 48, who draws this conclusion in regard to the churches in Amsterdam and Utrecht. See also van Eck, 'De jezuiten en het wervende wisselstaarstuk,' *De zeventiende eeuw* 14 (1998): 81–94, in which the practice of changeable altarpieces used in Dutch hidden churches is derived from the mechanism in the Antwerp Jesuit church.

83 See *Imago primi saeculi*, pp. 785–8.

84 See *ibid.*, pp. 789–91.

- 85 See Steegius, *De Christelycke Leeringhe* (n12 above), Voor-Reden tot den Leser, fol. 3v.
- 86 See Ponc. *Hist.*, II, p. 380.
- 87 See van Dael, 'Geïllustreerde boeken' (n26 above); Peter van Dael, "'De christelijke leerlinge met vermaeck gevat': De functie van illustraties in boeken van jezuitien in de Nederlanden tijdens de zeventiende eeuw,' *De zeventiende eeuw* 14 (1998): 119–34; Insolera, 'Les caractéristiques spécifiques' (n43 above); Mellon, 'Artifice, Memory' (n2 above); and Christine Göttler, 'Artifices of the Afterlife: Eschatological Imagery in Jesuit Meditation,' abstract of paper read at the conference 'The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773,' Boston College, 5–9 June 2002, pp. 27–8.
- 88 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 791.
- 89 See Thijs, *Amwerpen Internationaal Uitgeverscentrum* (n11 above).
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 91 *Ibid.*, pp. 83–6.
- 92 See *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 795.
- 93 See *The Illustration of Books Published by the Morenses*, ed. D. Imhof, Publications of the Plannin-Moretus Museum and the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet (Municipal Printroom), Antwerp 36 (Antwerp, 1996), pp. 137–8, no. 41.
- 94 See n51 above for Braun; n54 above for Plantinga.

8 / Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric in Peter Paul Rubens's Program for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp

ANNA C. KNAAP

Pieter Neeffs's small panel painting of the interior of the Jesuit church in Antwerp (fig. 8.1) offers us a glimpse of the original splendour of one of the most important Counter-Reformation monuments built north of the Alps in the early seventeenth century. What made this church of particular interest was its lavish interior, boasting polychrome Italian marble and a spectacular decorative program by Peter Paul Rubens, which consisted of two high altarpieces dedicated to the famous Jesuits Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, as well as a series of thirty-nine ceiling paintings installed in the vaults of the aisles and galleries. Unfortunately, Rubens's program can no longer be appreciated *in situ*. In 1718 a fire destroyed the nave of the church, including all the ceiling paintings, leaving intact only the church's facade, choir, and side chapels. In addition, Rubens's high altarpieces, which had survived the fire, were transferred to Vienna towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In consequence of these losses, scholars have had to rely on the artist's preparatory oil sketches and later copies by others to reconstruct the initial appearance and layout of Rubens's ensemble.¹ Beyond such reconstructive efforts and various attempts to place the Jesuit paintings within Rubens's artistic development, little attention has been given to the program's original function. Indeed, there has been scant effort to analyse how Rubens's paintings actually worked within their original architectural context and how they articulated, both visually and spatially, the concerns of the Jesuits.² It is my premise that Rubens's altarpieces and ceiling paintings were conceived as a unified program that guided the viewer through sacred space. Drawing on the artist's preparatory sketches, later copies, the surviving architecture, and the evidence of Neeffs's interior view, I will demonstrate that Rubens devised an intricate network of visual, rhetorical, and thematic relationships that interacted across the actual space of the church. This sophisticated program, I will argue, created an entirely