

FROM PARTS TO WHOLES
AND BACK AGAIN:
EMBLEMS IN FRENCH JESUIT FESTIVALS
(1622-1623)¹

ROSA DE MARCO

It has long been known that the Jesuit colleges of the *Ancien Régime* produced emblems for pedagogical purposes, and that Jesuit festivals presented frequent opportunities for mass production of emblems and all similar composite word/image genres. The Jesuit contribution to emblematics for ephemeral events, civic or sacred celebrations, and academic festivals, is recognized by scholars who have nonetheless tended to focus their studies on the late Modern Age rather than the early days of the Society.² If Claude-François Menestrier notifies his readers in 1658 that emblems are an essential element of any festival, the study of the early Jesuits festivals proves that emblems were not only a constitutive element of religious feasts, but the reason why Jesuits approved of certain kinds of entertainment.³ According to Jean-Marie Valentin, who finds in the *affixiones* system the transition from *declamatio* (played out by students in public ceremonies) to theatre, emblems can be similarly considered to be at the origin of the Jesuit festival tradition first of all because of their performing and decorative role in ephemeral events.⁴ Compositions like anagrams, inscriptions, paintings, devices, emblems, theses, enigmas, and poems were all exhibited during the festivals on classroom walls, in the church, on the exterior walls of the college, in theatrical scenery, or in the college courtyard, where a temporary gallery was built to protect the decorations against heat and rain. Thus em-

¹ I would like to thank Wil Heuts for correcting the English text and Grégory Ems for his suggestions.

² See among others, Loach 1995; Saunders 2009; but also Grove 1999; and Saunders 2000, particularly pp. 109-160.

³ Claude-François Menestrier, *L'idée de l'estude d'un honeste homme*. Lyons, c.1658 (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, ms 1514, fo 52r.) see Loach 1995, p. 134.

⁴ Valentin 1978, p. 224.

blems were nailed on to the tapestries inside the galleries or on the external walls which were made to look like façades in perspective by means of illusionistic painting techniques, as we find in the 1623 celebrations in Pont-à-Mousson (Fig. 1).⁵ In fact, because of the development of mathematical studies in the colleges, Jesuits were from the outset sensitive to optical and perspectival illusions and contemporary Italian art experiments in *quadratura* and in illusionistic painting, as the frescoes in the Il Gesù church in Rome prove.⁶ The painting showing *Samson and the Honey from the Dead Lion*, at St Vitale evokes academic festival decorations and Jesuit emblem exhibitions (Fig. 2).⁷ Sometimes, as in older representations of coats-of-arms hanging from the “Tree of Honour” in tournaments, emblems were placed in the trees of the courtyard, as is shown in a celebrated frontispiece from Jacques Callot’s *Grande Thèse* (Fig. 3).⁸ Emblematic compositions were also carried in processions, and were sometimes engraved, collected and offered as gifts to important patrons of the Society of Jesus.⁹

⁵ Wapy 1623.

⁶ For the 1622 Pont-à-Mousson solemnities, see Choné 1991. For emblematic theory on perspective and vision, see Choné 1993.

⁷ The iconographic programme and the disposition of architectural ornament of this most important Jesuit church in Rome were invented by General Claudio Aquaviva and the painter Giambattista Fiammeri, temporal coadjutor of the Society of Jesus. See the letter of Claudio Aquaviva in ARSI (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu): Rom. 14^{II}, 478r. The frescoes (c.1599-1603) are not yet attributed with certainty; see Carloni 2003, pp. 86-88; and Bailey 2003, p. 175. The decoration of the church is described in Richeome 1611, pp. 704-706. Also relevant in this regard is Loach 2012; and Loach 2013.

⁸ This kind of decoration is mentioned in Bordeaux 1622, p. 43.

⁹ These printed or manuscript collections regularly recorded in the festival accounts are rare in France. The oldest extant document is a manuscript from the College at Verdun; concerning this, see Choné 1999; and Buttay 2004. Sometimes one can find in the libraries emblem collections in either print or manuscript where the *picturae* are replaced by textual descriptions. Due to the importance given in the seventeenth century to the *ekphrasis* and to the power of imagination, in spite of the absence of the image these compositions can be strictly considered to be emblem collections. An example of this is *MS 363* (Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale) realized on the occasion of Charles IV’s marriage by pupils of the College of Pont-à-Mousson and which is currently being studied (see Montagu 1968, p. 307; and Martin 1891, p. 297); or the *Porticus lodoicea* for the obsequies of Louis XIII at La Flèche: see Petau and Caussin 1614; and Fumaroli 1996, p. 123, n. 72). For general coverage of such manuscripts, one should refer to Porteman 1996; for particular analysis of emblem collections in the Flandro-Belgian Province, see Ems [forthcoming].

Following the generic use of the term “emblem” in festival accounts, in this paper “emblem” will refer to every word/image amalgam and symbolic image described by the authors. In these booklets, indeed, “emblem” can designate the *pictura* in the various text/image amalgams and the whole composition; for instance, in the solemnities of Bordeaux, the “emblem” is the *figura* of an *emblema triplex*, so the three parts of the text/image amalgam are presented like “Le Titre”, “L’emblème” and “La Devise”.¹⁰ “Emblem” can also designate the word/image association more commonly called a “device”; for instance, in the Agen festival account, one can read, “The first emblem which we see on the Saint Ignatius Pyramid was of two hands, one placing a dagger on the holy altar, and the other one holding a robe, with this device *Cedant Arma Togæ*” [May arms yield to the Toga].¹¹

Moreover, the nature of single elements of emblematic amalgams is extremely varied, so the text may consist of verses, anagrams, or quotations, while images can be a picture, a sculpture, architecture, an ephemeral effect like fireworks, or an object. One can underline how three-dimensional instruments were incorporated into the image/text amalgam thanks to the decoration of one of the Pyramids erected in the college courtyard of Poitiers where the Class of Humanities had placed two mirrors. Owing to an optical effect, one of these mirrors reflected Christ’s face and the other the face of St Ignatius. They were accompanied by inscriptions which are not transcribed in the book: “the *subscriptions* that accompanied this artifact were more likely to arouse admiration than to reveal the mystery.”¹² The explanation of this emblematic composition was offered by a student during the day dedicated to explanations: “He who spoke about Mirrors after he

¹⁰ Furthermore, the author adds the “Signification”, the interpretation. See *Solemnité de la Canonization de Saint Ignace de Loyola ...*, *Ibid.*, 43-44. Concerning recent emblem theories and questions, see Daly 2014, pp. 13-30, particularly p. 23.

¹¹ “Le premier Embleme qu’on rencontroit en la Pyramide de S. Ignace, estoit deux mains, l’une desquelles posoit un poignard sur un Autel, et l’autre tenoit une robe avec ceste devise *Cedant Arma Togæ*”. See *Récit de ce qui s’est passé à Agen en la solennité de la Canonization des Saints Ignace de Loyola, & Fr. Xavier*, Toulouse: Raymond Colomiez, 1622, p. 27.

¹² “[...] les subscriptions que accompagnaient cet artifice estoient plus propres à augmenter l’admiration qu’à découvrir le mystere” (*Solemnités de la canonization de saint Ignace de Loyola Fondateur de la Compagnie de Jésus, et de saint François Xavier de la mesme Compagnie, faicte à Poitiers*, Poitiers: Anthoine Mesnier, 1622, p. 17).

reported the wonders you notice there, made a nice reflection of his whole discourse on these Mirrors of Holiness”, that is to say on St Ignatius and St Francis-Xavier.”¹³ The variety in production and organization of exhibitions recorded in the 1622 festival booklets suggests that we should reconsider the relationship between emblematic settings in the religious feast and in the printed emblem series. Likewise, the sumptuous emblem collections for “open day” *affixiones* at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630-1685) do not fully represent the complex system of emblems used in the Jesuit festival, but its printed mode and a fine adaptation of compositions set out as an emblem book.¹⁴ In spite of deficiencies in the descriptions of the organization and order of emblem sets in the apparatus—which prevent us from establishing a typology of emblems in the festival—the festival books offer a renewed approach to the study of the Jesuit contribution to emblematics.

Whereas a large production and distribution of Jesuit emblem books took place in German and Belgian provinces in the early years of the Society, the only Jesuit emblem book published in France by the time of the 1622 festivities was Nicolas Caussin’s *Electorum symbolorum*, a treatise for orators.¹⁵ However, the mass of emblematic compositions that inspired the sense of these festivals show perfectly well the symbolic mentality of Jesuit thought, especially represented in France by the prolific creator of emblems, Claude-François Menestrier (1631-1705). This paper aims to highlight the use and practice of emblems in the first half of the seventeenth century, more precisely in the context of the solemnities for the canonization of St Ignatius of Loyola and St Francis-Xavier (1622-1623) that were held for eight days in every Jesuit institution of the assistancy of Gaul.¹⁶ The survey

¹³ “Celuy qui discourut des Miroirs après qu’il eut rapporté les merveilles qu’on y remarque, fit une belle reflexion de tout son discours sur ces Miroirs de Sainteté.” (Ibid., p. 23).

¹⁴ For adaptation of emblems from celebrations to printed books, see Dimler 2007, pp. 272-294; and Roggen 2010.

¹⁵ Nicolas Caussin, *Electorum symbolorum et paraboliarum historicarum syntagmata ex Horo, Clemente Epiphania et aliis, cum notis et observationibus. Polyhistor symbolicus, electorum symbolorum, et paraboliarum historicarum stromata, XII libris complectens*, Paris: Roman de Beauvais, 1618. See Vuilleumier Laurens 2007; Dimler 1978, pp. 240-250; and Daly and Dimler (1997-2007).

¹⁶ The celebrations in Pont-à-Mousson and in Rennes took place in 1623 for military reasons. Scholars have overlooked these celebrations in France: see Choné 1991; Arellano 2009; and Cassan 2009.

is based on fourteen festival booklets (from the cities of Paris, La Flèche, Bourges, Pont-à-Mousson, Avignon, Bordeaux, Rennes, Tulle, Poitiers, Agen, Périgueux, Limoges, Besançon, and Rouen) and discusses the invention, the type of text/image association, and the disposition, or distribution, of emblematic compositions in the festival.

The Emblem Invention for the 1622 French Festivals

The practice of emblematic composition in Jesuit colleges is at the heart of a pedagogical approach promoting imagination and memorization, challenging the mind through playful experience.¹⁷ Moulding inert literary and iconic matter to create new means trains the faculty of *inventio*, the first canon of classical rhetoric which consists of collecting literary material and arguments to build a persuasive speech. A good “invention” ensues from a conscious reading of the Classics, primarily, that the student has to imitate in order to form his style. Literary material collected and reserved for emblem composition was quite varied: quotations and devices were taken from classical authors (particularly Cicero, Virgil, or Horace) or from Holy Scripture (the Old and New Testaments, but also from hagiography), and created as original compositions or word plays like anagrams.

As for the figurative aspect, the book of the world was the vast field which the student was encouraged to explore. It should be noted that this exercise, consisting in choosing and separating images by their original context the way one extracts quotations from a book, stimulated students to discern the dimensions of the meaning of things. In other words, this study of images was not disconnected from Jesuit spiritual exercises, contributing to a conversion of vision into a poetic recreation of nature, God’s creation. As treatises of rhetoric offered orators the *exempla* for discourse, emblem books represented a good synthesis of concepts to dissect and reuse. In the 1622 festivals, students seem to have been inspired by writers of emblems or Renaissance dictionaries of symbols, in the sense that they copied the unchanged *pictura* or invented the picture in the manner of the authors. A

¹⁷ On the relationship between pedagogy and Jesuit emblem tradition, notably on Jesuit *affixiones*, recent studies are very fecund. Among the works not yet mentioned, see notably Dekoninck 2012; and Saunders 1999.

sword of fire,¹⁸ a palm tree,¹⁹ ancient crowns, scepters, or arms issuing from clouds, evoke *inter alia* the figurative vocabulary of Claude Paradin's *Devises heroïques*. So in La Flèche, on the pedestal of *Mars Gaulois's* statue, an arm emerging from clouds and cutting a Gordian Knot on the mountain, with the motto "Virtute Resolvo" [I resolve all doubts only by virtue]²⁰ is entirely extracted from Paradin.²¹ The only difference between the two images is the representation of a mountain that is absent from Paradin's device. As the student's works were not engravings, but oil paintings, and were not usually made by professional painters, it is possible to suggest that the painter probably confused something representing the strings in Paradin's picture with mountain slopes (Fig. 4). The heraldic and publisher's marks are featured, too. It is possible to identify one of the marks of Claude Michel, a publisher for the University of Tournon, in an emblem painted on a blue flag carried in a procession at Bourges (Fig. 5).²² More precisely, it concerns an emblem *in abîme*; in fact, the flag showed St Ignatius holding in one hand a sunflower and in the other a shield with the device "Perpetuum ad solem vultum conversus et ora" [Pray always with the face turned to the sun]. The shield was in turn adorned with an emblem composed of the figure of a tower "with the word 'Jesus' in the middle, a sheep²³ at the top supporting a little ensign, and this inscription around the shield: 'Nomen Domini turris fortissima'" [The name of the Lord is the most strong tower].²⁴ Sometimes the figure built in a new text/image structure kept its

¹⁸ With the motto *Igne et ferro* (*Solemnité de la Canonization de Saint Ignace de Loyola ...*, *ibid.*, p. 15) and Paradin's device *Ventura Desuper Urbi*.

¹⁹ With the motto *Labor in Praemium* (*Récit de ce qui s'est passé à Agen...*, *ibid.*, p. 27) and Paradin's device *Cessit Victoria Victis*.

²⁰ *Le triomphe des saints Ignace de Loyola, Fondateur de la Compagnie de Jésus, et François Xavier apostre des Indes. Au collège royal de la mesme compagnie à la Flèche....* La Flèche: Louys Hebert, 1622, p. 32.

²¹ Paradin 1557.

²² *Déclaration de ce qui s'est fait à Bourges touchant la Solemnité de la Canonization de Saint Ignace de Loyola...*, Bourges: Maurice Levez, 1622, p. 10. Claude Michel published a French translation of Vincenzo Cartari, *Les images des dieux des anciens ...*, Tournon: Claude Michel et T. Soubron, 1606-1607. See Sylvestre 1867, p. 1067.

²³ On the mark we see an eagle.

²⁴ "[...] Saint Ignace environné de rayons, tenant d'une main un bouclier, dans lequel estoit représenté une tour avec un Nom de Jesus au milieu, et au sommet un mouton portant une petite enseigne avec ceste inscription tout autour du bouclier,

symbolic heritage: the holy chalice, for instance, normally an attribute of the allegory of Chastity, was painted on the white standard of the Rhetoric class in the procession at Bordeaux representing Chastity with the device “Vinum Germinans Virgines” [Wine germinating the virgins].²⁵ Likewise, the Virgilian verse “Causne deusne?” [Chance or God?] (*Aeneid* 12, 322), was connected with the figure distilled by St Francis’ life: a crab referred to a miracle associated with the saint, executed in a grisaille painting on St Francis-Xavier’s ephemeral portal in La Flèche.²⁶

Furthermore, words or letters like christograms, or acrostics²⁷ such as the chrismon “Chi Rho” on a *labarum* turned into a new form which contains “I” for Ignatius and “X” for Xavier, appeared as images in emblems at Bordeaux and Poitiers.²⁸ A survey of figurative *inventio* in these emblem compositions allows the seventeenth-century philosophy of image to emerge and the symbolic repertory to be defined. The rhetorical canon and practice of *inventio* in the busy life of the college is symbolically designated by the emblem *Scholae Humaniorum Litterarum* of the *Imago Primi Saeculi* celebrating Jesuit humanists where the engraving shows bees buzzing in a garden in front of beehives.²⁹ In this playful research, students also have at their disposal books by mythographers such as Pierio Valeriano, Vincen-

Nomen Domini turris fortissima » (*Déclaration de ce qui s’est fait à Bourges...*, *Ibid.*, p. 10). The devise is a quotation from Proverbs, 18, 10.

²⁵ “Grain will make the young men flourish, and new wine the virgins” (Zachariah 9, 17); *Solemnité de la Canonization de Saint Ignace de Loyola fondateur de la Compagnie...*, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁶ *Le triomphe des saints Ignace de Loyola, Fondateur*, *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

²⁷ An acrostic of the name of Jesus in an image of the sun: *Les dévotions et allégresses spirituelles faictes à Tulle, dans le collège de la Compagnie de Jesus. En la Celebrité de la Canonisation des bien heureux Pères, Saint Ignace, et François Xavier ; recueillies et envoyées à Monsieur des Plas. Par P. Cavalier Precepteur de Monsieur le Baron son fils*, Tulle : F. Alvitre, 1622, p. 19.

²⁸ In Bordeaux, with *scriptio*: *Ambos Fecit Sors Una Beatos* (*Solemnité de la Canonization de Saint Ignace de Loyola fondateur de la Compagnie...*, *Ibid.*, p. 41); and in procession of Poitiers : *Solemnités de la canonization de saint Ignace de Loyola Fondateur...*, *Ibid.*, p. 7)

²⁹ *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu a Prouincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem Societatis repraesentata*, Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1640, p. 471.

zo Cartari, or Giovan Battista Giraldi³⁰ who provided the images for the fable. Works exploiting both text and image also included the portraits or the episodes of the saints' lives painted or embroidered on banners for the processions.

With the inspiration being diverse, it is impossible to dwell on the sources, and the structuring between text and figure or the arrangement of two sources from different repertoires is equally varied and unpredictable.³¹ This pedagogical practice of composition, which is also promoted in Joseph Jouvençy's *De ratione discendi et docendi* published in 1692, did not change with time, always retaining the students' interest, as the scribbles on an eighteenth-century notebook of a negligent but talented philosopher from the College of Bordeaux proves (Fig. 6).³² The drawing seems to be an attempt at emblem composition which is a demonstration of the keen interest in Alciato's *Emblemata* from which the student copied the *picturæ* (Fig. 7a-c).³³ Furthermore, the couple of verses supposed to accompany the figure is chosen in a context entirely different from Alciato; indeed, the second verse is an extract from the Flemish Jesuit Jacob van de Walle's *Poematum Libri novem* (1657),³⁴ "Hic est aurora puri color aeris illic," and the first is an anastrophe of the preceding verse where the order of words is syntactically changed: "Hic color est aurora illic puri aeres." What is more, the attention to phonological structure of the verses owing to the markers of

³⁰ See Seznec 1993, pp. 322-324; and Dainville 1978, p. 173.

³¹ The arrangement of the matter collected by *inventio* in a proper and suitable language is called *Elocutio*, the central canon of ancient rhetoric. Spica asserts that in consulting the Jesuit scholar treatises of the seventeenth century, the "emblem is associated with *inventio* and *elocutio*": see Spica 2007. The connection between emblem and rhetoric in the Jesuit pedagogy and in the structure of Jesuit emblems is recognized by scholars particularly after Marc Fumaroli's works on rhetoric. See in particular Loach 1999; Dekoninck 2005; and Szónyi 1993.

³² A date of 26th May 1727 is entered into the notebook, between the end of *Physica Generalia* and the start of *Physica Particularis*: Archives Départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux): H 2383, liasse 71.

³³ More precisely, the three *picturæ* seem to have been taken from the 1584 Paris edition of Alciato published by Jean Richer.

³⁴ Iacobi Wallii e Societate Jesu *Poematum libri novem*, Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana Balthazaris Moreti, 1656, "Elegia IV Ad Illustrissimum et Reverendissimum Ferdinandum A Furstenberg", p. 178. On the knowledge of Neo-Latin and emblematic literature of students in the Jesuit colleges, see Ems 2014a.

vowel quantity evokes the practice of reading and speaking Latin, as well as the verbal performance of emblems.³⁵ Literary and figurative genres and periods did not restrict students' inventiveness. Moreover, festival books provided a rich repertory so that it is possible to demonstrate the use and re-use of emblems and mottoes from one festival to another, despite the time that separates them.³⁶

The practice of association between different repertories and different genres of figures and texts stimulated ingenious correspondences, the sympathy of things and thoughts, and finally the *agudeza* theorized by Baltazar Gracian, in seventeenth-century emblem theory.³⁷ Among the complex systems of decoration, the connections of texts and figures might probably have been the subject of an academic performance, especially when the text and the figure were not arranged together in a plastic frame, and the possibilities of connections increased. According to Judi Loach, the emblem is a genre "primarily enacted, or at least designed to complement a performance".³⁸ This statement is crucial in comprehending the function, and the functioning of emblems in public celebrations like the solemnities. During the time of festivities, or only for a few days, many emblems, symbolic images, and painted enigmas were usually left on display to attract people and invite anyone who so wished to offer an interpretation of the compositions. Indeed, the last days of celebrations were assigned for the explanation of emblematic compositions in front of the audience. Therefore, we can imagine an interactive performance where the best students, sometimes with their teachers, challenged the intellectual and rhetorical prowess of the audience and allowed the *gens d'esprit*, the most cultured participants, to give their interpretations.³⁹

With the paintings, other more dynamic emblems took part in the iconographic programme of the festival, like "living emblems"⁴⁰ personifying some biblical and allegorical figures already used in the royal entries of

³⁵ On the reading of Latin aloud in Jesuit colleges, see Loach 2013; and Loach 1995. See also Isebaert and Smeesters 2013.

³⁶ See Grove 1996; and Ems 2014b.

³⁷ Dimler 1995, pp. 219-221.

³⁸ Loach 1995, p. 170.

³⁹ This oral and interactive performance is often evoked in many festival accounts, but the rules of the exercise are not explained in detail.

⁴⁰ Saunders 2000, *interim*.

the sixteenth century.⁴¹ Contrary to these, the living emblems in the processions of the 1622 solemnities did not orally recite the verses which were actually inscribed on the pennants and the flags following the figures and conceptually related to them. Finally, what was a common exercise for college pupils, the cognitive process which aims to associate text and figure, reveals the dramatization of pedagogy in the Jesuit festival and enriches the understanding of the feast. Furthermore, because teachers asked students not only to connect image and text properly, but also—which was a more difficult exercise—to connect appropriately emblematic compositions with the festival theme, any emblem providing the symbolic sense of the feast was opened to public perception.

The Emblematic *Gestalt* of the Jesuit Festival

How can disorder produce meaning? "...[From] each arch hung an emblem, and from each pilaster an enigma below which there were various kinds of compositions, acrostics, Crosses, trees, altars, pyramids, scales, columns, circles, eagles, banners, temples, the names of JESUS, that contained all kinds of verses, written partly in gold, partly in vermilion".⁴² If any emblem epitomizes the expression and content of a Jesuit festival, then the disposition of emblems in the sets, and then in the festival pattern, reveals the functioning of the whole and suggests that the festival was not to be comprehended in a fragmentary manner. The sum of emblematic sets displayed in the space of the feast built the discourse and shaped the festival's *imago*, while the relationship between these parts produced a dynamic and interactive spectacle for the actors and the public.

⁴¹ It was used also by Jesuits in the 1600 Avignon entry, see Saunders 2000, p. 269.

⁴² "[...] à chaque arcade était pendu un emblesme, & à chaque Pilastre un Enigme au dessous desquelles estoient diverses sortes de Compositions, Epigrammes, Acrostiches, Croix, Arbres, Autels, Pyramides, Eschelles, Colomnes, Cercles, Aigles, Estendards, Temples, Noms de IESUS, qui contenoit toutes sortes de vers, escrits partie en or, partie en vermillon" (*Déclaration de ce qui s'est fait à Bourges ...*, p. 26)

⁴³ See *Solemnité de la canonization de S. Ignace de Loyola Fondateur de la Compagnie de Iesus et de S. F. Xavier Apostre des Indes, Faicte à Limoges au Collège de la Compagnie de Jesus depuis le 7 D'Aout iusques au 15 du meme*. Limoges: Antoine Barbou, 1622, p. 40.

Each space of ephemeral architecture erected in the college courtyard, like the gallery, pyramids or triumphal arches, was assigned to the classes and displayed a set of emblems characterized by different compositions related to the *curriculum* of those classes “in the manner of Philostratus”.⁴³ The example of the emblematic series invented by the Grammar classes at the Bourges festival is among the best documented in illustrating the arrangement of the sets (Fig. ?)⁴⁴. The theme assigned to the Grammarians was “to research all that is the most beautiful and precious in nature [and] to represent emblematically the principal virtues” of the saints.⁴⁵ The disposition of emblem pictures displayed in the gallery was systematic and hierarchical, so there were five ranks of emblems representing the “gemstones of the earth and the sea”, “spring and Summer Flowers”, “the most renowned trees”, “wild animals” and “the birds of the sky”. All of these emblems were composed of a painted figure and an “epigram”, and each rank had a title and included a series of emblems. Besides, this emblematic machine bore a general title referring to all that was on display under the gallery.⁴⁶ Moreover, in the processions the same order of the elements allowed people to recognize the sets of emblems. As in the courtyard, classes were arranged in groups developing a theme expressed by emblems, inscriptions, and pictures paraded in procession, with living emblems of students disguised as angels, saints, virtues, martyrs, sibyls or prophets, and accompanied by music of instrumental bands or by litanies. These “cinematic sermons”, as Paulette Choné has suggested calling them, shed light on how figurative expression was used for pastoral purposes and on the role of emblem expression such as the *Biblia pauperum* in Jesuit thought. If the word/image compositions were already used in the ancient practice of preaching by itinerant friars, or in the decoration of churches, this tradition acquired great importance in the Catholic Reformation. Furthermore, it continued and completed the success of the Catholic missions promoted, above all, by the Jesuits. So emblems provided support for preachers’ sermons delivered during the celebrations. The authors of books describe inscriptions, anagrams, and em-

⁴⁴ *Déclaration de ce qui s’est fait à Bourges ...*, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22. The second set of emblems in particular (*Vertus de saint Ignace*), reminds us of the theme of a book by Pierre Dinet, *Cinq livres des Hiéroglyphiques, où sont contenus les plus rares secrets de la nature, & propriétés de toutes choses*, Paris : J. de Heuqueville, 1614, a hieroglyphic explanation that gives a global inventory of the world.

blems as “silent preachers to whom the priest lent his voice,” recalling that they were used for the sermons of Jesuit priests, and also for the sermons of preachers of other religious orders that had come to pay tribute to the new Jesuit saints.⁴⁷ In this case, the word/image amalgam disconnected from the emblem decoration system to which it belongs, was allowed to illustrate another system, like the sermon of a preacher. The decoration of the ephemeral gallery in Bourges and the emblems in the procession show the infinite possibilities of correspondences and in addition confirm that, with this variety, the context guaranteed the harmony and balance of meaning. Besides, the context was based upon the redundancy of emblem compositions, and the iteration of motifs and the themes in the space and in the time of ceremonies.⁴⁸

The incomplete descriptions limit our ability to explore in detail the iterations of emblems in the festivals. Nonetheless, one can observe the visual and conceptual link achieved by emblems in the rhythm of the festivity, between different moments and spaces as in processions, during the mass, and in the decoration of the courtyard. Indeed, as for sermons, some major paintings brought in procession were then exposed in the courtyard and explained by students during the days devoted to literary exercises.

Conclusions

In a recent essay in which he studies the account of the festive entry of Henri II into Lyon in September 1548, Daniel S. Russell demonstrates the similarity between the emblem books and solemn entries of the sixteenth century, exploring the *mens emblematica* which governed the organization and invention of sixteenth-century solemn entries. Furthermore, he notices that like entries, contemporary emblem books do not constitute a unified and systematic assemblage, unlike the thematic collections of emblems we

⁴⁷ See the festivities in Rennes: “[...] belles inscriptions, anagrammes, et emblemes qui estient autant de predicateurs muets, qui preschoient dans la court ausquels ce tres docte et tres pieux personage voulut prester la voix » (*Célébrité de la Canonisation de Saint Ignace de Loyola Fondateur de la Compagnie de Jesus, & de Saint François-Xavier de la mesme Compagnie, faicte à Rennes*, Rennes : Pierre l’Oyselet, 1623, pp. 62-63).

⁴⁸ On the concept of redundancy, see Graham 1996, 47-57.

begin to see in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Following this approach, the conceptual unity despite the variety of word/image amalgams found in seventeenth-century Jesuit festivals, seems to confirm Russell's thesis. Indeed the celebrations for the canonization of 1622, like the entries of the seventeenth century, not only unveil a *mens emblematica*, but offer several examples of *emblematic sets*. Every emblem is an interactive element of an emblematic set connected with other sets. For instance, an emblematic set could be a triumphal arch, a pyramid, an ephemeral "machine" or a space in the courtyard of a college, defined by its material boundaries; but it could also be a procession or a part of it, where limits of "architecture" identify its components and processes of making sense. All the emblematic sets are interconnected and reflect the main concepts of the feast or the *imago* of the feast, as in a fractal pattern. In this way, pyramids or triumphal arches are not only the material support for emblematic sets, but they are the enacted symbolic elements in a larger whole. Likewise colours, music, costumes, odours, inscriptions, and pictures in the feast are a gathering of distinct common elements and objects of our perception—what German philosophers call *Anschauung*—and of our intellectual thought, which seems to be filled with emblematic energy. If the "energy", in the rhetoric sense of *ἐνέργεια*, is attempted to "place before the eyes" the discourse to capture the audience (any kind of public), the emblematic energy renders present what is absent, or at first glance invisible. In this act of persuasion, emblems commit users and viewers—in one word, the souls—to an experience that aims to trigger an emotional and intellectual reaction.

This survey does not try to conduct a rigorous classification of the types and genres of emblematic compositions, but aims to emphasize, through a number of examples, the variety of "emblematic manifestations" in multi-media events. This study encourages us to continue the search from this perspective by viewing the emblem through the prism of the Jesuit feast and mentality as a genre that is anything but rigid. Furthermore, the analysis would appear to confirm that the importance of emblems in Jesuit thought has to be considered not only through the printed tradition, but through emblems from ephemeral events, which in spite of their transitory nature, have remained in people's memory.

⁴⁹ Russell 2009, pp. 297-306.

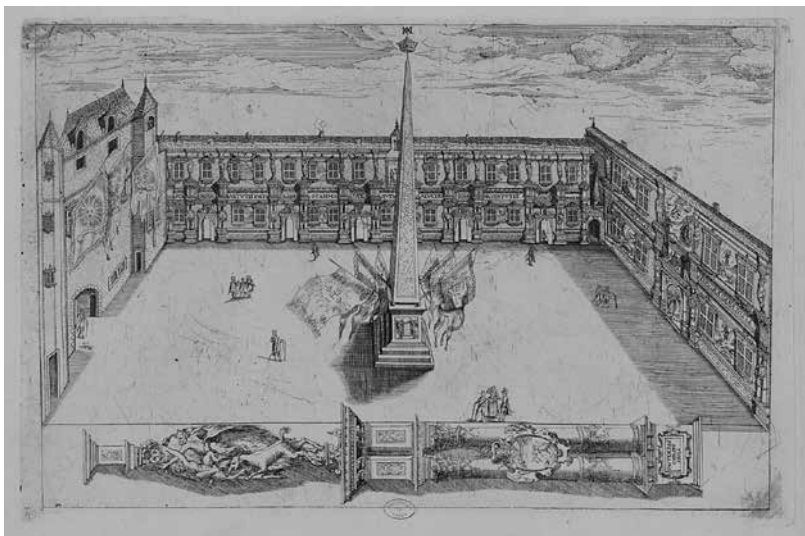


Fig. 1 Jean Appier Hanzelet: *La cour d'honneur*, in L. Wapy: *Les Honneurs et les applaudissements* [...], Pont-à-Mousson: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1623). Engraving burin and etching, 26,0 x 40,0 cm (reduced). Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, P_FG_ES_00666



Fig. 2 Tarquinio Ligustri (?): *Samson and the Honey in the Dead Lion*, c.1603, fresco, San Vitale, Rome. Photo by the author

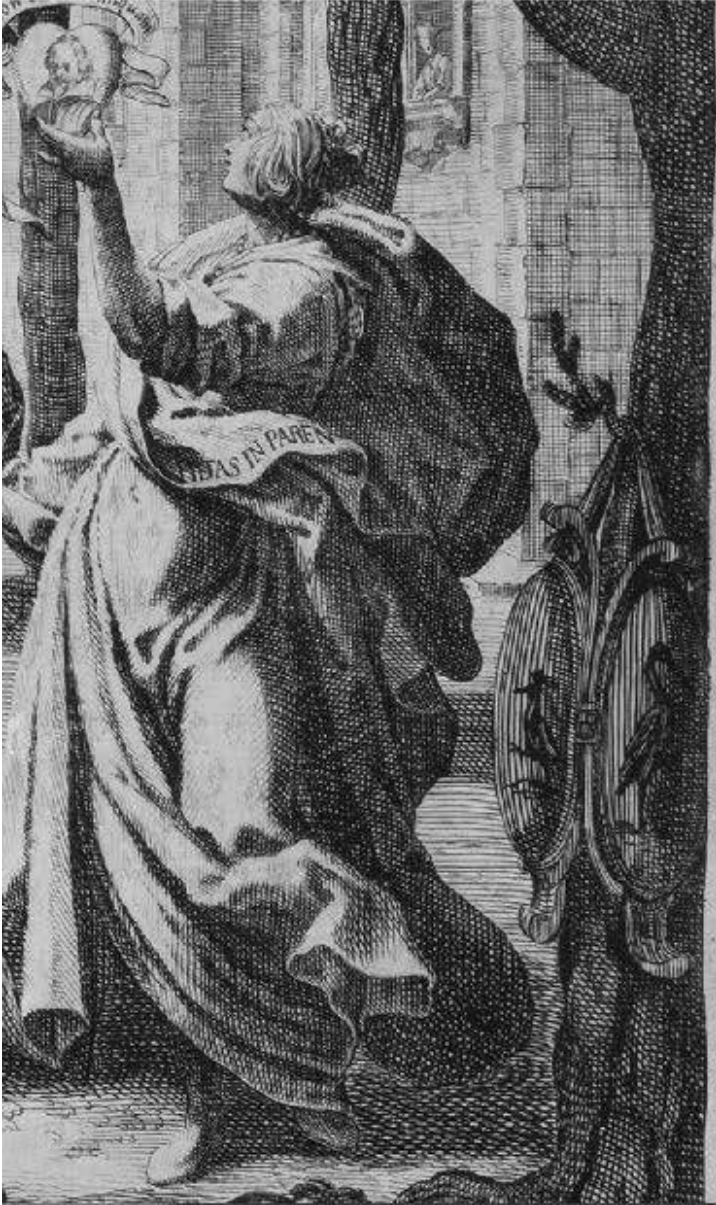


Fig. 3 Jacques Callot: *La Grande Thèse* (detail), 1625, engraving. Photo by the author



Fig. 4 “Nodos virtute resolve.” Claude Paradin: *Deuises heroïques*, Lyon: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1557. By kind permission of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library



Fig. 5 Claude Michel's printer's device. Photo by the author

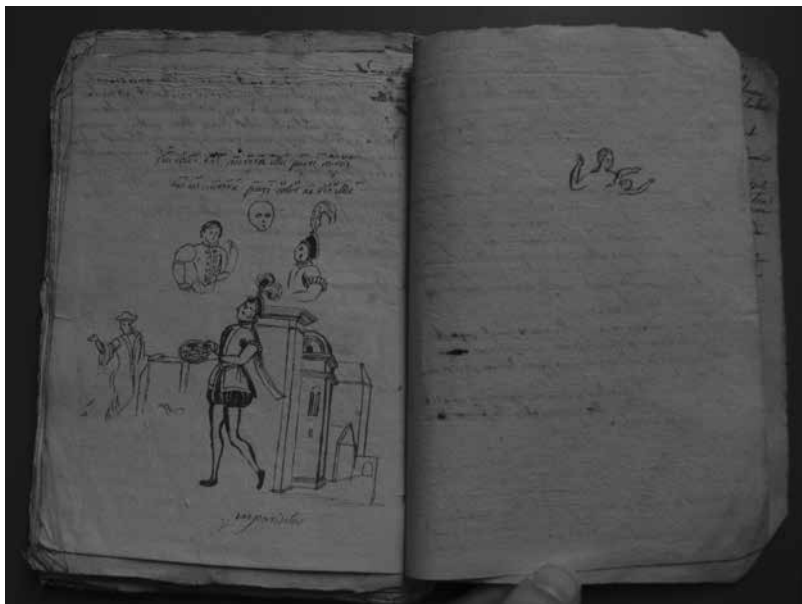


Fig. 6 Student's drawings from a notebook of Philosophy, Bordeaux, c.1726. Archives Départementales de la Gironde, Série H 2383, 71



Fig. 7 a-c Three emblem *picturae* from the 1584 edition of Alciato's *Emblemata*, Paris: Jean Richer, 1584:

Fig. 7a Emblema XCII, "In Parasitos"



Fig. 7b Emblema XCVI, "Doctorum agnomina"



Fig. 7c Emblema LIIII, “Ei qui semel sua prodegerit, aliena credi non oportere”. By kind permission of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library