

# Iconomystica

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## Use Values

A sign — in the problematic and deliberately ambiguous sense in which we take the word (for the purpose of evaluating the limits of the validity of the concept in the field of pictorial analysis) — a sign has a use value which defines it. A rapid overview of the occurrences of the cloud in the work of Correggio and in the works of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors leads us to distinguish, by way of comparison, between the most conventional valences of the sign and its exceptional, and even perhaps transgressive, combinations. We may take, for example, the ones at the bases of the “celestial” domes of Parma, where the motif itself is used as a subject of its constructive element, and serves to designate a space.

The figures on the ceiling of Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel did not need the support of clouds in order to transport themselves through the air; and, excluding the “heaven” of the *Last Judgment*, where the angelic bearers of the cross and column of the Passion disport themselves, clouds do not intervene in the main composition of the subject as a constructive element. The ordering of the scenery conceived by Michelangelo does not include the negation of a material building: quite the contrary, it introduces into a space deprived of all apparent structure, a feigned pattern of cornice, pilasters and arches in *grisaille*, wherein one finds the scenes inscribed like so many easel paintings.<sup>1</sup> As for the figures of the Prophets, of the Sibyls and their suite of slaves, all arranged on the spring of the vault, they are placed on the architectonic elements in *trompe l’oeil*, and not, following Burckhardt’s remark, on a nebulous heap as the Evangelists will be in Correggio’s pendants of the domes of Parma. Inversely, the use Correggio makes of clouds in these panels — abstraction made of the phantasmatic connotation which can be attributed to them — responds to a conventional practice that permits one to distinguish, or better, to associate in a same composition, two registers apparently exclusive of one another, an “earthly” register and a “celestial” register. Borrowing an example from the “divine” Raphael, one has only to cite in this regard *The Madonna of Foligno*, which has the value of a prototype (albeit one for which there certainly exists precedents). We may take, as exemplary instances, the appearance of Yahweh to Isaac, Jacob or Moses displayed in the *Stanze* of the Vatican, and especially the famous *Disputa* where the superimposition of registers adorns a monumental space (while on the ceiling of the same *Stanza della Segnatura* appears, in the oculi arranged in a scenery in *trompe l’oeil*, allegorical figures settled on clouds); or, once again, the enigmatic *Sistine Madonna* in the museum at Dresden, which seems to come toward the spectator on a

carpet of clouds; the scenery of the Sala di Psiche, at the museum of Farnesina, can be mentioned in relation to Correggio's paintings in the Camera di San Paolo as well as the *Amori di Giove*, with its mythological figures arranged amidst arches covered in foliage and situated in small corners where several clouds accumulate and where, on the ceiling, the procession of the Gods in an Olympus of clouds can be seen; and, finally, we may cite the panel of the *Vision of Ezekiel* (Florence, Pitti Palace), in which the landscape — where one can discern the miniscule figure of the Prophet — reduces itself to a narrow strip of land and sea, relegated to the lower part of the composition and without a common scale with the silver clouds wherein there appears in the full brightness of a golden Glory, a Creator of Jupiterian allure, surrounded by angels and symbols of the writers of the Gospels.

### Zurbarán

Being, as it was, devoted to conciliation, to compromise, to *composition* (the latter a capacity in which the painter excelled, the Academy thought), Raphael's work, although very "readable," poses interpretive problems too complex to be addressed in the present context; the work's novelty borrows too subtly from outside of convention to provide a proper term of comparison. Here, the viewer may better appreciate a later body of work (but contemporary to the triumph, in Rome, of large ceiling scenery), one that, being unknown to the aristocratic circle of Humanist culture, bears witness to a number of the most common motivations for iconic communication as it was understood by the classical age. Linked by the political order of the day to the activity of the Spanish monastic orders, and situated, as it was, on the threshold separating Old World from New, the great religious cycles painted by Zurbarán in Seville between 1629 and 1640, return, in their iconography and whatever their prestige and pictorial splendour, to the traditional horizon of pious imagery. If Raphael had had the privilege to have an international audience in relation to the spread of his works through the means of reproductive engravings, Zurbarán, on the other hand, following the example of many of his contemporaries, did not hesitate to borrow the models for his compositions from engravings, most often Germanic or Flemish, and not without improving, once in a while, on their most traditional aspects.<sup>2</sup> Without a doubt, there is — from a semiological point of view — no more equivocal notion than that of archaism. As Jakobson observed: "when the temporal factor enters into play without a system of symbolic values... , time itself becomes a symbol and can be used in a stylistic way."<sup>3</sup> But, deliberately or not, archaism offers an additional guarantee of having to deal with a repertoire suited to confirmed norms; art criticism is willing to consider this as one of the dominant traits of Zurbarán's art. It remains to be seen what use is made of clouds in a similar context, towards ends and following paths that are not, by all evidence, solely those of "painting" in the sense in which the "museum" conceives it.

## Images

### *Ecstasies and Raptures*

Originally destined to adorn the altar of the sacristy of the Jesuit church in Seville, *The Vision of the Blessed Alonso Rodriguez* by Zurbarán presents, in its lower register, Father Rodriguez — doorkeeper of the Jesuit College at Mallorca and author of well-known mystical writings — knelt in prayer in a darkened corridor opening onto an architectural *veduta*, this after having dropped to the ground a copy of Thomas à Kempis' *Contentus Mundi*, the latter framed according to a strictly traced perspective. Standing by his side is an angel acting as his intercessor. Both of them direct their glances towards the upper part of the composition where, in a frame of clouds filled with the heads of cherubs, Christ and the Virgin are seated. Between their fingers, each holds a container shaped in the form of a heart, from which there emanate rays that the blessed receives in his bosom. To the right, and slightly below Jesus and the Virgin, a group of angels on a cloud play musical instruments. If the intention of realism — in the sense that the word can have in this context — is to argue against the expression of a somewhat equivocal mysticism, the significant process seems essentially to articulate itself as the opposition between the play of shadow and of light in the constructed space and the diffuse brightness of the clouds. But the division of the painting into two registers, one terrestrial and ordered according to the rules of linear perspective, the other celestial and of an indefinite depth, this division is by no means exceptional in the works of Zurbarán. To recall only a few particularly revealing images in this regard, the *The Miracle of the Portiuncula* of the museum of Cádiz — without a doubt contemporary with the preceding painting (1630) — shows Saint Francis in ecstasy on the tiled floor of his monastic cell. To him there appears, in a glowing cloud, Christ and the Virgin as mediator surrounded by angels; in the *Pentecost* (also at Cádiz), the divine cloud spreads itself around the Virgin and the Apostles who form a circle around her; in a later work, *The Mass of Father Cabanuelas*, which appears again in the hieronymite monastery of Guadalupe (1638-1639), the main composition of the painting is still within the frame of a cloud; this painting, of more modest dimensions, represents the kneeling priest in front of the altar looking at the apparition of the symbol of the Eucharist. As for *Saint Jerome*, a painting in the museum in Seville and from the same cycle, the division is accomplished by a cloud mixed with *putti* which rises towards the heavens where Joseph, crowned by Christ, has already ascended.

The understanding of these images does not seem to present any particular difficulty. The figurative schemas adopted by Zurbarán are perfectly conventional when they are not directly borrowed from pious engravings — as is the case in *Saint Bonaventure Praying* in the museum of Dresden, painted for the Franciscans of the College of Saint Bonaventure, and whose composition, very similar to the one of the *Mass of Father Cabanuelas*, is imitated from an Antwerp engraving of 1605.<sup>3</sup> The introduction, through

the detour of a cloud, of one or more divine symbols in perspective is one of the most commonly used procedures of composition in religious painting of the 16th and 17th centuries. The interest in such similar compositions, deriving principally from the apparitions that a single image shows the spectator within the twinned spaces of a “real” scene and a miraculous vision, resides less in the spatial dichotomy thereby imposed than in the modalities of communication that are established between the earthly and celestial levels, and, within the same register, between the figures that people them. This is the case regardless of whether the elected — though linked to the earth (satisfied that he is of this world?) — appears to welcome the vision by which he is honoured and to present it to the spectator or whether the saintly person is borne up to the heavens or temporarily removed from common space; finally, (and this is the dramaturgy in which Zurbarán excels), this communication between earthly and celestial levels can be discerned in the instance of a blessed vision which is reserved for only one individual, those surrounding him being excluded from this privilege. In this last instance, the spectator, by the grace of the image, shares with the blessed personage simultaneous access to the two modes of perception. The companions of Saint Bonaventure observe him with respect while he absorbs himself in meditation, but belie no suspicion of a vision whose eventuation rends the fabric of sensible certitude.

### The Mystical Cloud

One is tempted to establish a certain number of comparisons between these images and some characteristic themes of Spanish mysticism. The writings of Saint Theresa, which are filled with descriptions of ascensions to the heavens in “exalted prayer,” brilliant with glory, and sometimes accompanied — as the emblem of her being chosen — by angels and by Christ himself, include “raptures,” “ascensions,” “flights of the spirit,” and even “ecstasies.” The saint, in her *Libro de su vida*, describes her experience in these terms: “the Lord takes the soul and elevates it completely from the ground, as the clouds or the sun attract vapours, thus I heard it said. The divine cloud ascends to the heavens, carrying the soul along with it and begins to disclose to the soul the splendours of the kingdom which he has prepared.”<sup>5</sup> One will notice the simultaneously guiding and initiatory virtues attributed by Saint Theresa to the divine cloud, the power of attraction that it is reputed to exercise on the soul that it carries with it (the exteriority of these two registers are thus well marked). And if the saintly characters of Zurbarán never leave the ground (in conformity with the mechanism of a *union* thanks to which, as distinct from a rapture, “we dwell on the earth”<sup>6</sup>), this did not apply to Saint Theresa. Her body, following the example of San Diego in *The Angels’ Repast* by Murillo, would sometimes lose its material weight: “my soul was taken away and, ordinarily, even my head would uncontrollably follow the rapture. Sometimes, even my whole body was transported as well and it no longer touched the ground.”<sup>7</sup> The

phenomenon generally occurs out of view of her followers; but if it occurs in public, they have to hold on to her: “But that has happened only rarely.”<sup>8</sup>

In the writings of Saint Theresa, clouds and mists thus play a role comparable to what seems to have been attributed to them in the paintings of Zurbarán, but also in the paintings of Correggio — with the difference that he gave the most extension possible, in the domes of Parma, to an event that not only counters the norms of common experience but that interrupts the arrangement of the paintings’ constructive order. Spread out on the drum of the cupola, the Apostles reside “inside” the cathedral, inside the balustrade, emulating the Saint [John] kneeling in a recess of the cornice of [the dome] at Saint John the Evangelist: it is a simple affair of proportion between the part in the composition dedicated to the manifestation of the divine and that reserved for the empirical world. Without the opposition of the two registers, the painting could be reduced fully, it seems, to the exclusive benefit of the other world.<sup>9</sup> Not only does the *cloud* negate that which supports the laws of gravity, but it shows the opening of a profane space onto another space which gives it its truth: flights of the spirit, raptures, miraculous visions from *Saint Francis* by Giotto or by Zurbarán to *Madame Bovary*,<sup>10</sup> and including Saint Theresa of Bernini, the cloud is the necessary accompaniment — if not the driving force — of ecstasy and of different forms of ascension or of rapture. More generally, it is regularly associated with the irruption of the *other*, of the *sacred*. Sometimes the cloud opens itself up to allow the elected to perceive the object of their adoration — the grace refused to the companions of Saint Bonaventure and also to those of Father Cabanuelas in the painting by Zurbarán. Divine realities cannot show themselves except through the tear of the screen that hides them from common consciousness; at times they appear as the immediate manifestation of the sacred, under the guise of a divine cloud that shares in the exile of man, as was done, formerly, by the column of clouds which served as the guide to the people of Israel in their exodus from Egypt.<sup>11</sup>

## The Hierophantic Code

### *Signs/Symbols*

If the theme of the ascent to the heavens and the different forms of ascensions or of “flying” are, perhaps, a necessary component of all visions and ecstasies, and if clouds or mists appear to participate directly in celestial transcendence, is it not prior to all religious meaning that the heavens appear, from a phenomenological point of view, as the site of transcendence, simultaneously as the origin of all things and of the law, the fundament of force and of sovereignty?<sup>12</sup> Can it be said that by studying the work of a Spanish provincial artist of the 17th century, one attains an order of the given that, by its essential dimension, would elude history, if not an *a priori* form of religious consciousness? To borrow from the vocabulary of the history of religions, clouds

would have a hierophantic value, that is to say, they would have the value of an object which manifests the sacred, or serves its manifestation. But the point of an isolated hierophantic element is not, by itself, of any interest; it remains without theoretical meaning until one can satisfy oneself with recognizing an archetypal symbol arising out of a putatively eternal symbolism and that would underlie different religious forms without ever being used up by this participation.<sup>13</sup> The distinction of the sacred and the profane assumes an always renewed relationship between objects and beings, and that applies to signs of the sacred as to every other sign: it arises from specific ensembles, from historically constituted systems where the lateral relationship of sign to sign bears directly on the relationship, and vertically, between the signifier and the signified, which will define the symbol.

### *Sequences*

Even the most superficial analysis of Zurbarán's work leads one to think that it would provide a privileged subject for comparative research. A large part of the elements, of the "figurative objects,"<sup>14</sup> which occur in this corpus — elements of a limited number and whose frequency of appearance is remarkable — can, in effect, be qualified as "hierophantic." Significantly, it is often a question of elements which the phenomenologist perceives as stemming from a symbolism strictly linked to celestial symbolism. By all evidence, the association of the cloud with a massive column, generally arranged within the axis of the composition, derives from a "symbolism of the centre" studied by Mircea Eliade.<sup>15</sup> But, on its own, this reference has no working value. The same column around which the terrestrial scene is organized and which loses itself within the clouds, insuring therefore the communication between the earth and the heavens, can be regularly found in the work of Zurbarán, from the *Annunciation* and from both *Adorations* of the museum in Grenoble, to *The Mass of Father Cabanuelas*, and moving through the *Apotheosis of Saint Thomas Aquinas* in the museum in Seville. In the *Interview of Pope Urban II with Saint Bruno*,<sup>16</sup> destined for the nunnery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas, a massive column occupies the centre of the image, the two main characters being displayed symmetrically from one end to the other of this axis. This time the higher part of the the column is no longer hidden by a cloud, but wholly by a canopy that extends over the papal throne and by a curtain raised above the saint. Another observable sequence is found in the portrait of *Gonzalo d'Illescas, Bishop of Cordoba*, from the cycle of Guadalupe: the column is at the centre of the painting's composition, while an inflated curtain "in the shape of a cloud" seems to signify that the prelate is writing under God's dictation (these two elements once again having the function of introducing a *distance* between the bishop, working in his chamber, and outdoor scenery, arranged in the second part of the painting, where one sees monks praying on the doorstep of the monastery). But the fact, already noted in relation to the

*Virgins* of Correggio, that an object can thus substitute itself with another within the economy of a hierophantic text, is revealing: the cloud has no meaning that can be assigned to it on its own; there is no other value than the one that comes to it via relations of sequence, of opposition, and of substitution that it maintains with the other elements of the system.

## Functions of Representation

### *Experience and its Figures*

What becomes of the status of the image, of the figurative representation, from the moment that the painter appears to borrow the elements from an order of expression outside the painting? Could one then assume that his role ultimately reduces itself to being a simple illustrator trying to represent, through the means of his art work, and to the ends of edification, the memory of experiences of which mystical writers have left us with innumerable descriptions?<sup>17</sup> The relationships between the reality of mystical experience and its literary or plastic translation are, in fact, highly ambiguous. After having described the rapture she had experienced, Saint Theresa adds this remark — a remark important for what she has left us in terms of the functions of the metaphor (of the “image”) in the economy of mystical phenomenon: “I do not know if the comparison is exact. In any case things really do happen this way.”<sup>18</sup> But if the representation, even ill founded, of a physical process — as in the case of evaporation — is capable of imposing a style on the form of experience, it could no longer qualify as original and therefore one cannot strictly distinguish between the “reality” of ecstasy and its “expression.” *Como se vede en la pintura*: at its extremes, the experience can be related — as one can see in a striking fashion with Jean de la Croix<sup>19</sup> — to its poetic translation; but if one is to assume that the painting borrows its form from an image, the painter’s role is not limited to emphasizing or clarifying a vision he did not directly experience: on his level and by his own means, he works on establishing a relationship between men and God and towards a definition of the ways and figures of this communication.<sup>20</sup>

In fact, if there is a point in mystical experience where the “powers” and even the imagination abolish themselves, there remains the fact that neither Jean de la Croix nor Theresa of Avila condemned the use of either painted or sculpted images. On the contrary, they pitied the heretics who, through their own fault, had deprived themselves of such a source of consolation and — even more — of the recourse by which the soul might find comfort even when the Lord is absent or leaves it in a state of “deprivation.”<sup>21</sup> If Saint Theresa judged that the contemplation of an image of the Saviour could facilitate a dialogue with him,<sup>22</sup> Jean de la Croix tirelessly castigated those who treat the images with little respect, as well as the workers “who sculpt them so badly that instead of favouring devotion they erase it;” they should not be allowed the exercise of an art that

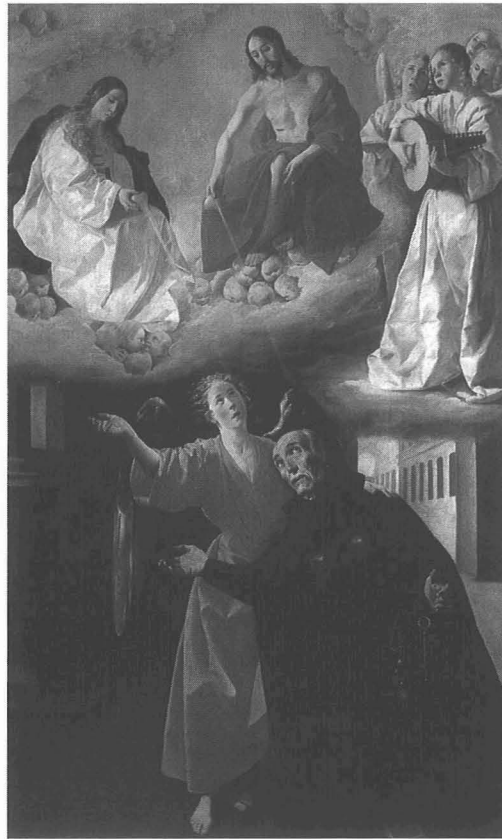
they practice only crudely and without skill.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the image must not be sought for its own sake, nor for the attraction that the senses find in it: but it is important to emphasize that the painting has more than decorative functions and that the contemplation of works of art can aid and sustain prayer.

### *On the Proper Use of Images*

For that is a point of view conforming perfectly to the position held by the Council of Trent on the *legitimate use of images*,<sup>24</sup> and also to the teaching of Saint Ignatius, in whose pedagogy great and small means contributed to establishing a “conversation,” a dialogue where prayer becomes possible: after the recollection of the past or of the motif which is the subject of the meditation, each of the “spiritual exercises” requires a *composition* that is re-examined by the “eye of the imagination,” the material site where a Biblical scene is situated, but also, figuratively, the doctrinal point, the article of faith that someone in a spiritual retreat can “contemplate” (the grotto of the Nativity, the house of Anne or of Caïphe, the “valley” where human substance, soul and body, is exiled among the animals without the faculty of reason<sup>25</sup>); the colloquy is achieved by a total representation (the “application of the senses”), destined to gather the fruits of a day’s labour.<sup>26</sup> The Jesuits during the 17th century would come to interpret the function of images, in the same way as poetry and theatre, as one of the most efficient weapons of a propaganda wholly founded on *representation*; in this way they will be perfectly faithful to the teachings of Saint Ignatius and to the spirit of the Council of Trent. But whereas the mystical writers looked to open the means of meditation of someone in a retreat, in the solitude of his monastic oratory, the priests had to pursue altogether other goals, goals which forced images to simultaneously serve the formation of Church dogma and the edification of the multitude. The *Iconomystica*,<sup>27</sup> the science of images which teaches the mysteries of faith “advantageously, enduringly, and delightfully,”<sup>28</sup> can occasionally revert to the allures of an esoteric technique: this technique has no other sense but to arrange the effects which, far from being contradictory, are in fact complementary and that suppose in all cases the existence of a common language, a language that one can understand, each at his own level and according to a proper perspective, both for the common people and for the ones who claim themselves to be “spiritual leaders.”

“There is nothing more delightful and that makes a thing shine more agreeably in the soul than painting, nor that more profoundly imprints itself on memory, nor that more efficaciously incites the will to give it impulse and affects it with energy:”<sup>29</sup> the number of functions granted to painting in the *cursus studiorum* suffices to demonstrate that, unlike those of Raphael, these images are not made with the intention of educating a closed caste. The same means will be put into practice which aim at encouraging the experience of a few solitary individuals or to indoctrinate the multitude without there





*Vision de S. Alonso Rodriguez, Zurbarán*

being any contradiction. The same epoch that produced the great mystics will have simultaneously seen the Church assert itself with brilliance during the same century: and it is due to the explicit presence of this debate in his painting that Zurbarán, prior to being constrained to align himself with the norms of religiosity — where Murillo, for example, will have such success — would be considered as one of the very rare artists who derived their best inspiration from the teaching of the church. *The Interview of Urban II with Saint Bruno*, where one sees the Pope trying to convince his confessor to renounce his spiritual retreat in order to participate more actively in the concerns of the papacy, shows the resiliency of a propaganda that only produces all its effects by offering to the multitude the images of saints whose activity in the world has much more

benefit than if they were to completely withdraw themselves from its enticements. In fact, the Church had long recognized in the teaching of Loyola, for instance, one of the most appropriate ways to assure the quota of saints that it needed every generation,<sup>30</sup> the mystical tide and the worldly tide appearing as the two complementary sides of a single politic which aimed to influence the greatest number by the intermediary of some figures — or *images*? — of exception. To serve the edification of the multitude, mystical experience had to revert to a form such that it could be made the object of a representation simultaneously readable and effective. The paradox of Zurbarán's art is that from a painting inspired by monastic life, in the end the demands of *representation*, of symbolic effectiveness, superseded all other considerations. Hence the ambiguous status assigned, in the pictorial order, to the elements of an iconography altogether mental and figurative and that functioned on several registers simultaneously.

Translated by Giosué Ghisalberti and Corinne Chénier

#### Notes

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1 "Is it not a miracle to see, within a close set, such a variety of figures and movements? Without an architectural system, this result would never have been possible." Heinrich Wölfflin, *L'Art classique*, Paris, 1911, 71 (my emphasis).

2 Martin S. Soria, *The Paintings of Zurbarán*, London, 1953, 6.

3 Roman Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale*, trad. française, Paris, 1963, 37.

4 Soria, *op. cit.*, 139 (cat. no. 24, pl. 9, and fig. 16).

5 Sainte Thérèse de Jésus, *Oeuvres complètes*, trad. française, Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1949, 194–196.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 The inverse reduction being, on the contrary, perfectly licit: in the *Premonition of Peter of Salamanca* from the cycle of Guadalupe (Soria, cat. no. 151, fig. 104), the composition is confined to the terrestrial register and only the other side of the marvellous vision is shown amidst a kind of heralding cloud.

10 "The curtains of her bedroom inflated themselves softly around her in the shape of clouds."

11 Thérèse de Jésus, *op. cit.*, 193. "We could very well believe that the cloud of infinite Majesty is found among us in this exile."

12 On the symbolism of the sky and of the "higher world," see Mircea Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, trad. française, Paris, 1953, chapter II, and Gerardus Van der Leeuw, *La Religion dans son essence and dans ses manifestations*, trad. française, Paris, 1948, 54–65.

13 Mircea Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, 103–104.

14 On the notion of the "figurative object," see

Pierre Francastel, *La Figure et le lieu*, Paris, 1967, chap. II, and *La Réalité figurative*, Paris, 1965, part 3.

15 See Mircea Eliade, *Images et Symboles*, Paris, 1952, 33–72.

16 Museum of Seville, Soria, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 70, pl. 76.

17 Among the most famous ecstasies of Saint Theresa, the one she had experienced at the same time as Jean de la Croix, and which appeared to her at the Convent of Incarnation, is painted in order to keep one's attention on the reappearance of the vision within the painting's images. Immediately commissioned, a painting was destined to commemorate the scene and it was placed in the parlour of the convent at the same time as an inscription which reminded one of the event: "*Siendo priora deste convento de la Encarnacion nuestra Santa Madre, y vicario de dicho convento San Juan de la Cruz, estando en este locutorio hablando en el ministerio de la Santissima Trinidad, se arrobaron entrambos, y el santo subio elevando tras si la silla, como se vede en la pintura.*" (Cited by Olivier Leroy, *La Lévitiation, contribution historique et critique à l'étude du merveilleux*, Paris, 1928, 100, n. 3, my emphasis).

18 Thérèse de Jésus, *op. cit.*, 194.

19 Within the works of Jean de la Croix, the motif of the night as a plastic expression is necessary for the inclusion of apparent being in real being: "By a marvel of the mystical imagination, the night is simultaneously the most intimate translation of the mystical experience and of experience itself." (Jean Baruzzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique*, Paris, 1924, 330).

20 For other examples of the influence of pictorial representation on mystical vision, see Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, vol. I, n. 277/3, 469–470.

21 Thérèse de Jésus, *op. cit.*, 764.

22 *Ibid.* 715.

23 Saint Jean de la Croix, *Oeuvres spirituelles*, trad. française, Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1964, 443.

24 See *Le Décret sur l'intercession des saints, l'invocation, la vénération des reliques et l'emploi légitime des images*, published by the council of Trent in its last session in 1563 and which aimed less, as Pierre Francastel showed, at maintaining Christian art within the limits of decency or orthodoxy, than to answer to the accusation of idolatry launched by the Protestants (see Pierre Francastel, "La Contre-Réforme et les arts en Italie à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *La Réalité figurative*, Paris, 1965, 339–389).

25 Saint Ignace de Loyola, *Exercices spirituels*, trad. française, Paris, 1960, 44.

26 *Ibid.*, 76, n. 1. "Since it is a question of hell, the gaze of the imagination shall see immense fires, the ears shall hear howlings, screams, and blasphemy, there will be the smell of smoke, sulphur, of cesspools and of decomposition, there will be the taste of bitterness, tears, and sadness, and the body shall touch the fire which consumes the soul..." *Ibid.* 53–54.

27 It was thus named by the German Jesuit Jacob Masen in his *Ars nova argutiarum*, Cologne, 1649, and in the *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae, exhiben symbola, emblemata, hieroglyphica, oenigmata*, etc., Cologne, 1650, quoted in Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, 2nd. ed., Rome, 1964, 173–174.

28 Epitaphs and citations borrowed from Father Louis Richêome, *Tableaux sacrés des figures mystiques du très auguste sacrement de l'Eucharistie*, Paris, 1601, quoted by Praz, *op. cit.*, 21.

29 *Ibid.*

30 See Francois Courel, Introduction to Saint Ignace de Loyola, *op. cit.*, 8.