Artifice, Memory, and
Reformatio in Hieronymus
Natalis's *Adnotationes et
meditationes in Evangelia*

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Summary: *Composed by Hieronymus Natalis at the behest of Ignatius of Loyola, the *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* is a key Jesuit propaedeutic that instructs novices in the rhetoric of prayer, teaching them how to convert Gospel liturgy into the matter of contemplative devotion. Using a system of annotations and meditations based on the rhetorical principle of *definitio per descriptionem*, Natalis expounds a series of 153 engravings that depict Christ's life, death, and resurrection. These prints set Gospel places and events within landscape panoramas that map a series of *peregrinationes*, sacred journeys, whose meaning and scope the votary is invited to consider and retrace. By negotiating between panoramic prints and richly embellished texts, the novice learns to trope his own journey, which becomes a figure of the kinds and degrees of prayer he has traversed. This paper examines how the annotations and meditations on the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Adoration of the Magi* and *Christ and the Canaanite Woman*, encourage the Jesuit to embrace *reformatio*, spiritual conversion, using prayer to find the meaning of his vocation and the strength to engage in it fully.*

Focusing on the prints that illustrate Hieronymus Natalis's (Jerónimo Nadal's) *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (*Annotations and Meditations upon the Gospels*) of 1595 (fig. 1), I propose to examine how pictorial artifice becomes an instrument of Jesuit *reformatio* (spiritual conversion).¹ Composed between 1568 and 1577 at the instigation of Ignatius of Loyola, ratified by the theological faculty of the Collegium Romanum,

and published posthumously at tremendous expense after years of arduous negotiation between the order and various Flemish engravers, Natalis's propaedeutic offered Jesuit novices a guide to the rhetoric of prayer.² His text expounds a series of 153 superb engravings, known as the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (*Images of Gospel History*) (fig. 2–6), which portray key events from the history of human salvation set forth in the liturgical Gospels of the Church year.³ These prints, arranged in both chronological and liturgical order, contain (upper right corner) arabic numerals, which chart the historical sequence, and Roman numerals, which refer to the sequence of *adnotationes* and *meditationes*, based on the liturgical calendar. The *Imagines* map the *peregrinationes* of Christ, the Virgin, and their followers, whose itineraries the votary is invited to memorize, consider, and retrace.⁴

Whereas the *adnotationes*, expanding upon the composition of place central to Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, describe the sacred places through which holy persons passed at specified times, the *meditationes*, applying rhetorical devices such as *apostrophe*, *hypotyposis*, and *prosopopoeia*, transform places and events into objects of contemplation that also function as vivid tropes for the kinds and degrees of contemplative prayer.⁵ The worshipper, learning to journey through the Holy Land, negotiates between panoramic prints and richly figured texts: having situated the Gospel scenes with precision, he then positions himself within the sites, finally traversing them in order to complete his passage into private, interiorized *oratio*.

To clarify Natalis's method of prayer, I want first to examine the pictorial and rhetorical structure of plates 7 and 61, the *Adoratio Magorum* (*Adoration of the Magi*) (fig. 3) and *De Cananaea* (*Christ and the Canaanite Woman*) (fig. 4), and their attendant *adnotationes* and *meditationes*, chapters 9 and 31 of Natalis's text, which organize meditation as a mnemonic itinerary. Natalis discovers in the voyages of Christ and the Magi a rationale for the Jesuit vocation that he transmits through a mnemotechnics figuring the very meditative scheme it aims to instill. Second, to demonstrate the importance of the *Imagines* within the *Adnotationes*, I shall explain how image and text articulate in plates 1 and 2, the *Annunciatio* (*Annunciation*) and *In die visitationis* (*On the Day of Visitation*) (figs. 5 & 6), and their annotations and meditations, chapters 107 and 149 respectively. These justify the devotional use of pictorial imagery by dwelling upon the miracle of incarnation. Following Charles Dempsey's acute analysis of the post-Tridentine critique of religious imagery and David Freedberg's recent assertion that Natalis uses "aesthetic differentiation in engaging an empathy that,

seemingly spontaneous and autogenous, may be directed and controlled,” my larger aim is to illuminate Natalis’s adherence to the principle *ut pictura rhetorica*.⁶ Committed firmly to exploiting the full resources of verbal and visual artifice, Natalis reaffirms the fruitful relation between conspicuous artistry and religious orthodoxy, a relation made difficult in the wake of polemical texts such as Giovanni Gilio’s *Dialogo degli errori de’ pittori* of 1564.⁷

Jacobus Ximenez, author of the preliminaries to the book, underscores the importance of pictures to Natalis’s meditative scheme. It uses them to chronicle the whole life of Christ the Redeemer, translating the Sunday Gospels into Gospel history that, “described in elegant images, has been exhibited to the eyes in its true succession of times and deeds.”⁸ The production of this book required that the resources of pictorial artifice be placed in service to religious truth:

Nor yet should such a multitude of images yield satiety to anyone, whence in its certain aim of [furnishing] spiritual fruit to souls, the work would be frustrated were it cut in copper by an insufficiently elegant hand; but rather [it should be cut] so that the elegance and beauty of workmanship together with the greatest sanctity and excellence of theme, conjoined as well with [the greatest] piety of subject, should urge all to study and reflection by means of assiduous meditation; it was altogether necessary that several most excellent artificers apply themselves to so exceptional a task in order that the image of those very Gospels be new and seem to draw breath.⁹

The fore word that follows admonishes the viewer to draw spiritual fruit from the images, not simply by “perusing them curiously” (*curiose pervolvere*) or “admiring their art and beauty” (*illarum artem & pulchritudinem admirari*), but by “dwelling for a day or more upon each of them.”¹⁰ These remarks base the move from Gospel liturgy to meditation upon Gospel truths on the sustained viewing of prints, whose skill nourishes the votary’s eyes, ensuring that he savors the visual fare from which he will draw spiritual fruit by meditating upon holy sights.

I

Engraved by Hieronymus Wiericx after designs by Marten de Vos, the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* engage texts that convert the journeys of the Magi to Bethlehem and of Christ to Phoenicia into tropes for the nature and scope of the Jesuit ministry of journey (figs. 3 & 4).¹¹ The former portrays the acknowledgment of Christ’s sovereignty by the gentiles, whereas the latter inverts this assent, showing Christ’s acknowledgment of his mission to the gentiles. The *Adoration of the Magi*

depicts the walled city of Bethlehem, nestled within a mountainous panorama of Judea, over which the star of Bethlehem shines. Famed for his refined burin, Wiericx has attenuated his hatches to mark the transition from the densely populated foreground, rich with chiaroscuro effects, to the deep landscape background, whose detailed topography is bathed in morning light. The letter "A," inscribed on two of the city's gates, refers to the first of a series of *capita* (captions) below the image; other letters identify key sites such as the grotto and manger ("C," "D," "E," "L," & "M") and mark stages in the journey of the Magi and their retinue ("C," "F," "G," "H," "I," & "K") toward the newborn Christ ("D"), shown as the object of their worship. The alphabetical sequence that marks the captions, a device that recalls cartographic *tabulae*, maps our viewing of the print, guiding us along the Magi's transit, which, engraved with consummate skill, unfolds as our eyes pass from the distant horizon to the print's threshold.¹²

The royal procession from the remote city of Jerusalem, winds through Judea before reaching the eastern gate of Bethlehem ("A"); guided by the star ("B"), it enters Bethlehem ("C"), then exits through the city's northwestern gate, crosses a bridge, and circumambulates a hillock en route to the grotto where the Virgin and child await ("D"), watched over by the ox and ass ("E"). Having reached the stable, the Magi and their attendants enter into worship ("F," "G," & "H"), while their retinues, initially astonished at the behavior of their sovereigns, prepare to follow suit ("I"). The Magi then depart by an alternative route that circumvents King Herod ("K").¹³ This sequence of places and events establishes the order through which the novice will track as he embarks upon a close reading of Natalis's annotations and meditations, while continuing to view the print. Having cycled through the caption sequence, he then revisits the adoration itinerary in the descriptive annotations, and finally travels this route again in the interpretative meditations. Natalis's mnemotechnics consists of the iteration and reiteration of this journey, first delineated in the relation of print and captions, and then imprinted in increasingly complex form, as we shall see, when the novice reads through the parts of Natalis's highly structured text.

The letters correlating image and captions bind them, also, to the fuller text of the *Adnotationes et meditationes*: they attach both to the *Evangelii Missae lectiones* (Gospel pericopes read in the liturgy of the Epiphany) that preface the *Adnotatio* subsection and to the *adnotationes* proper. The captions, Ximenez tells us, distill the parts of meditation, the *puncta ad meditantium commoditatem*;¹⁴ comprised of "summaries of brief compass" (*brevi com-*

pendio summaria), they serve both to elucidate the “matter of meditation comprehensible to few” (*Meditationis materiam paucis comprehensam*) and “to memorialize” (*memoriae inservirent*) this matter.¹⁵ The captions, then, unite the consecutive series of pericopes, annotations, and meditations, and provide the mnemonic armature upon which these amplifications are based. This armature, defined from the start by the relation of lettered image to lettered text, is both seen and read: caption “A,” for instance — “Bethlehem where the Magi were journeying” — consists jointly of a city view and a place-name qualified in both word and image as a point of destination.

The pictorial Bethlehem, which describes what the caption extracts from the already compressed account in Matthew 2, not only illustrates but also enriches the pithy text. The city is seen to consist of ramparts that encircle a densely packed urban fabric populated by inhabitants and the Magi’s followers. The print thus accommodates the captions that distill the Gospel *lectiones*, as well as the *adnotationes* that follow and expand upon them. The annotations, subdivided into lettered subsections in alphabetical order based upon the captions, develop our attention to memorable places. Since the places we see are to be understood as historical, they operate in time; as Ximenez puts it, *locus* and *tempus* are bound, for the one works in and through the other: “[the *adnotatio*] denotes the place and time whence the mysteries of our salvation were accomplished; that [annotation being] yet most concise, but nevertheless containing excellent description of the Holy Land, several of the more difficult Gospel places having occasionally also been expounded.”¹⁶ The foreword adds that “wherever in a Bible Concordance ‘In illo tempore’ is said according to Church usage, and a letter designating the place where the event occurred is set [in the image], that has been done with care; so that the place may be declared from the indication of time (*nota temporis*).”¹⁷ The annotations, by describing topographical and architectural landmarks in chronological order as signposts to the journey of the Magi, convert places into temporal markers that measure their progress toward Christ.

As place assimilates the notion of transit, so transit assumes progress through a sequence of places. Annotation “A,” for example, having identified Bethlehem as the place toward which the Magi strove, concludes with the admission that the adoration, though it took place within the city walls, had to be represented outside them.¹⁸ If the Magi are shown exiting the city, the disclaimer implies, this is because the clear depiction of their passage takes precedence even over topographical accuracy.

The accommodation of place to transit exemplifies the second precept for memory given by Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologiae*, endorsed by Ignatius himself as part of the Jesuit *ratio studiorum*. As Frances Yates has argued, Aquinas conflates the places of artificial memory codified in the *Ad Herennium* with Aristotle's assertion in *De memoria* that order and association undergird the process of recollection.¹⁹ The prerequisite to memory, Aquinas declares, is "a considered order" allowing progress from one remembered point to the next. Aquinas certifies this precept by Aristotle, who says that "some men can be seen to remember from places. The cause of which is that they pass rapidly from one [step] to the next."²⁰ Natalis's *adnotationes*, in stressing the notion of transit, expand upon the itinerary mapped by the image and captions, assimilating the description of place to a "considered order," progress through which rehearses a scholastic mnemonics. Indeed, the very term *adnotatio*, as Marc Fumaroli has observed, incorporates *nota*, designating an image used to remember a word or thing.²¹

The *meditatio* now converts the Magi's transit into a figure of *reformatio*.²² Natalis compels the reader-viewer to transport himself into the adoration itinerary, which is gradually transformed into a trope for *reformatio*, figured as the passage from public *collatio* (collation, i.e., discourse upon Scripture) to private *oratio*. This passage consolidates the move from liturgical to contemplative *oratio*, negotiated by the transition from Gospel *lectiones* to Gospel *meditatio*. It is not simply the Magi's journey that Natalis aims to enshrine in memory, but more importantly, the *quidditas* ("essential nature," to use Augustine's term) of transit.²³ The transition from *collatio* to the modes of *oratio* involves, too, a change in rhetorical usage: as we travel through Natalis's text, the austerity of Scriptural language, heightened in the captions, grows into the richly embellished diction of meditative prayer. The principle of *definitio* — fundamental to Jesuit dialectic and rhetoric, as Fumaroli has shown — undergirds this change in diction.²⁴ *Definitio*, codified in two Jesuit textbooks that became standard within the *ratio studiorum*, Cyprien Soares's *De arte rhetorica* of 1560 and Pedro Fonseca's *Institutionum dialecticarum* of 1564, embraced both *definitio logica* that defines concisely and rigorously (*pressa et angusta*) by means of logical categories such as causes and effects, and *definitio per descriptionem* that defines more fully and richly (*explanatius, tum etiam uberius*) by recourse to such figures and tropes as *acclamatio*, *interrogatio*, and metaphor.²⁵ Definition thus offered Jesuit rhetors great scope in their aim of teaching orthodox truths precisely, yet in ways that would delight.

In another Jesuit propaedeutic, Melchior de la Cerda's *Usus et exercitatio demonstrationis* of 1598, *definitio per descriptionem* becomes the essential principle of sacred oratory, "depicting the subject in its colors, so that it stands before the eyes, as if those who hear were not spoken to, but rather seemed to perceive the subject with their eyes."²⁶ *Definitio per descriptionem* makes incontrovertible doctrine persuasive by converting simple narration *sine schematibus* (without figures) into vivid description, making full use of figures and lively pictorial effects. By guiding the reader systematically through Gospel truths that appear first as captions, then pericopes, then descriptive annotations, and finally richly figured meditations, Natalis implements the full spectrum of definition. He supplies a rhetoric in which the pericopes comprise the subjects (*inventio*) disposed in the annotations and meditations (*dispositio*), while the whole, based upon the mnemonic armature of the captions, provides the considered order that memorializes (*memoria*) the essential argument defined and redefined, the journey toward *Christi recens nati contemplationem*.²⁷ The *Adoration of the Magi* print, upon which the reader is to "dwell for a day or more," accompanies him throughout this process, illustrating the captions and pericopes, amplifying the annotations, and picturing the subjects that admit of figured elaboration in the meditations. In De la Cerda's terms, the print, engaging the engraver's full resources of artifice, "depicts the subject in its colors," making it visible to the eyes; the pictorial image exemplifies the conditions of visual precision, vivacity, and richness after which Natalis's rhetoric strives.²⁸

Natalis initiates his characterization of the adoration itinerary as our own spiritual journey toward Christ in the "*Loci descriptio*," one of the preliminaries that inaugurate the meditation. He begins by rehearsing the entire voyage outlined in letters "A" to "I" of the image and captions.²⁹ We are to imagine these places infused by divine virtue, as repositories of the mystery brought forth upon them, as habitation to the persons who dwelt within them. This imaginative exercise climaxes in an act of substitution situating us within the places we have just enumerated: "What must you seek in this meditation? That the star should likewise appear to me, and that the angel's light should guide me to contemplation of the newly born Christ."³⁰ As the Magi offered three gifts, so should the Jesuit novice offer his vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, or alternatively, poverty of spirit, mortification of the flesh, chaste devotion, and finally, fervent prayer.³¹ If the meditation upon which he has embarked is the way to Christ, it is also the gift of prayer to be conferred upon reaching him.

The bulk of the *meditatio* considers those things said and done in the places through which the Magi journeyed. Natalis opens with a reflexive image of the Magi in their respective realms, where they meditate upon the imminence of Christ, the aim of their future voyage, and thereby figure our own meditation upon them.³² What the Magi consider is the coming miracle of incarnation, the *verbum Iesu recens nati*, that will allow the Word to become both divinely present and humanly apparent, and will allow them both to contemplate Christ in spirit, and to worship him in the flesh.³³ Their journey, Natalis implies, originates in their desire to experience the incarnate Christ himself in worship and contemplation. If contemplation of Christ is their goal, what they exercise at this stage is public discourse combined with contemplation of signs such as the star, the figure of Christ's nativity: "They conferred among themselves their visions, revelations, and motions of mind. ... So too did they contemplate how the star had arisen in Judea, and, sublime and splendid, hastened toward them. At once they pursue their journey with new spirit, with new joy and alacrity of soul, namely from the spiritual collation of things. ..."34

In meditating upon the Magi meditating, we are enjoined to reflect how their voyage, and the motives that spurred them to embark, figure our own passage into meditation. Natalis punctuates his text with digressions that ask us to discern in the Magi's experiences abroad the nature of meditation practice. He inquires whether the signs followed by the Magi, the star especially, were visible to others as well. Although this is confirmed neither by Scripture, tradition, nor the Church Fathers, devotion and the freedom of meditation suggest as much (*ex libera meditatione ... ea quae devotio suggerit*).³⁵ We may assume, however, that "few of those who attended were moved except by curiosity (*curiositate*)."³⁶ As we have seen, the term *curiositas* appears in the foreword, where the viewer is admonished to draw spiritual fruit from the images without dwelling exclusively upon their curious art and beauty. Natalis's use of the term here, besides reminding us that his text refers to a pictorial image that serves as a spur to meditation, insists that both star and image are mere *signa*, signs that point beyond themselves to spiritual truths which are the true objects of the Magi's and, ultimately, our meditation.³⁷

When the Magi, having mistakenly sojourned in Jerusalem where they first expect to find the Messiah, finally reach Bethlehem, they have become able to distinguish clearly between an interior and exterior sense of Christ's proximity. Whereas the temporary disappearance of the star above Jerusalem

had deceived them, they now rely not on the *stellam externam* but on the *stellam spiritualem*, their interior sense (*sensum interiorem*) of Christ's presence.³⁸ This sense is the goal of their journey and the meditation practice figured by it. As they approach the stable, Christ himself supersedes the signs that have anticipated him, infusing them with joy so intense that it can be neither described nor represented. Natalis makes brilliant use of both *ethopoeia* and *pathopoeia*:

How great was the Magi's joy at the sight of the infant Christ, if the star that signified his proximity affected them with very great joy? To be sure that joy was greater than exceedingly great joy. For this [first joy] could be conveyed, albeit mystically; that joy and light which the present Christ poured into their hearts could not be conveyed, not even mystically; for it was far greater than exceedingly great joy.³⁹

This joy is entirely private, for it cannot be communicated, having been conferred by grace and having arisen in the personal, individuated encounter of each Magus with the newborn Christ.⁴⁰

The lineaments of the experience Natalis describes, the highest register of contemplative prayer, are portrayed at the very threshold of Wiericx's print ("F," "G," & "H"), where the Magi exemplify three increasingly absorptive states of prayer. The youngest gazes at the Virgin while beginning to genuflect; his older companion genuflects while looking into himself; the eldest kneels in a face-to-face encounter with Christ, who blesses him. As we earlier meditated upon the Magi meditating, so we now view them viewing Christ. Yet, if the image illustrates what the meditation text expounds, its limitations must be acknowledged, as Natalis's reference to the angels and star as mere signs, supplanted by the revelation of Christ, makes clear. Indeed, in what I take for a deliberate omission that dramatizes the difference between meditation and its mere aids, the print fails to depict the final transformative event recounted by Natalis. Having been filled by grace, the Magi react like those whose pious minds are visited by true revelations: "But that [joy] did what true revelations are wont to do in pious minds, so that they were converted by divine light and grace to the perfection of works."⁴¹ The nature of these good works becomes apparent in an apostrophe addressed to the Magi: "You the star and angels illuminated, you the Scriptures illustrated; you preached Christ Jesus to the Jews, to King Herod, to the Romans, to Jerusalem, to Bethlehem. You became apostles to the Jews and gentiles."⁴² Whereas, Natalis avows, the chosen people of God were blind, the Magi have been converted (*convertantur*) to a sighted apostolic ministry. Having contemplated the *verbum Dei*, they are empow-

ered to become orators of the divine Word. The print marks the juncture at which the experience of conversion, attained through meditation, becomes fully internalized, visible not pictorially, but solely in its purely rhetorical effect — the ministry of the Word preached in journey to all nations.

The print of *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* and its accompanying annotations and meditations rehearse the movement of the *Adoration of the Magi* from *collatio* to contemplative *oratio*, and finally to apostolic *oratio* (fig. 4). Here, however, Christ himself makes this spiritual transit. Expanding upon caption “A,” annotation “A” describes the region portrayed in the print as Tyre and Sidon in Phoenicia, where Christ had retired from lower Galilee and the city of Capernaum.⁴³ The large building in the middle-ground, annotation “B” explains, is the house into which Christ withdrew, hoping to conceal himself, but where the Canaanite woman, driven by faith, persisted in following him.⁴⁴ The Canaanites, annotation “D” adds, often retreated into the region of Syrophoenicia, when the Hebrews made war upon them.⁴⁵ These geographical specifics emphasize that Christ has traveled into the land of the gentiles, to whom the Israelites were often inimical.

The meditation especially develops annotation “E,” which describes how Christ, having exited the house in which he had taken refuge, conducts a “most beautiful colloquy” (*pulcherrimum colloquium*) with the Canaanite woman, deciding after some initial reluctance that his ministry must embrace not only her but all gentiles.⁴⁶ This is the scene enacted at the front of the print, where Christ, posed in a *figura serpentinata*, turns both away from and toward the woman.⁴⁷ Natalis avers that Jesus is the author of this scene, which “teaches us how we should pray with great faith of spirit and humility on the model of the Canaanite woman.”⁴⁸ By her, Natalis affirms again, in the voice of a Jesuit novice addressing Christ, “you have taught me ... that I should pray, and you have instructed me how.”⁴⁹ Through this apostrophe, a prayer about prayer spoken directly to Christ, the Jesuit declares his willingness to become the Canaanite woman.⁵⁰ As she prayed to Christ, comparing herself to a dog at the table of Christ her master, so the Jesuit encounters Christ as a contemplative suppliant. Yet if the woman is a model suppliant, it is Christ who proves the ultimate teacher, for he shows the Jesuit how he must minister to the world, even after having retired from it, just as the Magi, having met Christ, were converted to an apostolic vocation.

The message of ministry, embodied in *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* by the serpentine pose with which Christ, who has been walking away from his suppliant, now turns to address her, was so important to the order that

they commissioned a second version of the scene — the plate engraved by Wiericx after the modello drawn expressly for him by De Vos (figs. 4 & 7).⁵¹ The first version, engraved by Jan Collaert after the modello by Bernardino Passeri (figs. 8 & 9), depicts Christ at greater remove from the viewer. His body is turned more emphatically away from the woman; the apostle John mediates more conspicuously between master and suppliant, while greater emphasis falls upon the Jewish onlookers in the left foreground (placed in antithesis to the gentile woman) than upon Christ. De Vos enhanced the figure of Christ, stressing his importance by placing him on axis with the tower behind him; and he shifted the gentile woman, whose subject-position Natalis invites us to share, to the very threshold of the image. The dog prancing before her and glancing toward Christ alludes to her comparison of herself with a dog at its master's table. These adjustments, purchased by the Jesuits at considerable trouble and expense late in the process of publication, enforce the theme of vocation, enunciated in Natalis's meditations upon the image.

The truth enshrined in the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Christ and the Canaanite Woman*, the truth achieved *per descriptionem* through amplification upon the Gospel truth of the Magi's journey, concerns the Jesuit vocation. It was Natalis, to whom Ignatius entrusted the promulgation of the Jesuit *Constitutiones*, who most decisively defined this vocation of universal ministry. In Natalis's teaching, John O'Malley has argued, the Jesuit's fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, unique to the order, becomes a promise to travel wherever the Church should require.⁵² The fourth of the Jesuit *habitationum genera* (genera of house), the house of *peregrinatio* (journey, pilgrimage, mission), forms the correlate to the fourth vow.⁵³ The novice, by discovering in the Epiphany that the move from liturgical to contemplative *oratio* leads finally to the *oratio* of sacred oratory, obtains through prayer confirmation of the Jesuit vocation itself. Passage through the various *orationes*, enacted in the journey through prints, captions, pericopes, annotations, and meditations, memorializes Natalis's conviction, promulgated in his second dialogue of 1563–65, that Christ "spent all his years of preaching in journey":

That is altogether the most ample place and reaches as far as the globe itself. For wherever they can be sent in ministry to bring aid to souls, that is the most glorious and longed-for 'house' for these theologians. For they know the goal set before them: to procure the salvation and perfection of all men. They understand that they are to that end bound by that fourth vow to the supreme pontiff: that they might go on these universal missions for the good of souls by his command, which by divine decree extends throughout the whole Church.⁵⁴

II

Having outlined Natalis's method of prayer, I turn now to the opening plates of the *Images*, the *Annunciation* and *Visitation*, engraved by Hieronymus Wiericx after designs by Bernardino Passeri (figs. 5 & 6).⁵⁵ The annotations and meditations upon these prints respond subtly to pictorial devices and compositions, and also explicitly embrace pictorial artifice as an instrument of meditation. In the *Annunciation*, a tour de force of the engraver's art, Wiericx distinguishes kinds and degrees of divine and terrestrial light: the radiant light that suffuses the evanescent figures of God the Father and the heavenly host ("A"), the aureole that encircles the embodied angel Gabriel, irradiating shadowy clouds from within ("B"), the brilliant heavenly rays that pierce the Virgin's dusky chamber, dispersing shadows from her face, bust, and womb ("C"), and the natural light that coruscates upon Gabriel's rippling drapery, casting diaphanous shadows ("E"). Diffuse light pervades the room behind the Virgin, which recedes into crepuscular darkness, while the oblique shadows cast by the ceiling joists become transparent in the wake of divine refulgence. As divine illumination, plunging earthward, penetrates terrestrial obscurity, the play of light and shade intensifies.

These ephemeral effects, difficult to imagine without the picture's aid, provide the template around which the annotations and meditations delineate the mystery of incarnation. The shadowy clouds from which light bursts forth, annotation "C" avers, adapting Luke 1, signify the agency of divine virtue, that overshadows the Virgin, while the Holy Spirit lights upon her womb. "And so," the annotation continues, describing the transformation of divine light into mundane chiaroscuro, "divine action is adapted to human action, the infinite to the finite ... as if that overshadowing were a remission and accommodation of immense virtue, which allowed the Virgin to exercise [her] maternal faculty and apply [herself] to the divine progeny."⁵⁶

The meditation upon Gabriel's salutation to the Virgin develops the luminous image into a figure for divinely inspired discernment; in *prosopopoeia*, the Virgin calls upon Gabriel to reveal the meaning of his words, whereupon she is miraculously illumined, her faith having grasped the mystery the angel portends.⁵⁷ The Virgin now rehearses Gabriel's words, dwelling upon the moment of illumination (*illustrata*) and comprehension (*complexa*), which she recognizes as the very moment of incarnation. In *oratio obliqua* she recalls what has just transpired, telling Gabriel that her verbal consent issued from her sense that she was occupied by the great love of the Holy Spirit, overshadowed and restored by divine virtue. She explains

to Gabriel how she turned his words into a prayer of election and praise. More important, what she had previously known through natural signs and prophecies, she now *sees* in and through the Annunciation miracle:

I had recognized God's wonders in created things, I had known God's divine promises in the law, both before the law and in prophecies; but I now see (*video*) the work placed beyond all admiration; creation is renewed by the divine commerce of the Son of God, God's promises and contract are fulfilled. ... He is born who disperses the shadows of the law and fills mystical significations with his grace and truth, with the mysteries of his human composition (*oeconomiae*).⁵⁸

What the Virgin sees, that upon which she meditates, is the Annunciation itself. She envisions it as a burst of illumination that substitutes the light of divine grace and truth for the mere promises and signs of the Old Law. In making the Annunciation an object of meditative prayer, the Virgin invites us to see the *Annunciation* print as an image of prayer; the luminous events portrayed in the print are recast by the Virgin as the image of that which she visualizes as her object of meditation.⁵⁹ The print, then, does not simply portray the events it records, but rather represents the very substance of prayer into which those events have been transformed by the Virgin's memory of the Annunciation.

The high pictorial artifice with which Wiericx has depicted what annotation "E" calls "the most excellent of the works of [divine] power and compassion," exemplifies in turn the power of good works to secure the gift of grace restored to humankind through the incarnation miracle.⁶⁰ Prayer, the peroration advises, must first be sought in order to be obtained; if it issues from the operation of Christ's good works within us, we must yet discover and conceive it that we may be restored to everlasting life. Prayer, in other words, is itself a species of good works:

[grace] comes not from you but from God's goodness and mercy, and yet you must seek it, in order that you discover it, conceive the spirit of God in your heart, and be restored by the water springing into eternal life. May you discern further that grace is offered to you, so that, the virtue of grace having been conceived in your heart, you go forth in divine acts, and effect works worthy of celestial glory, as if [giving birth to] Christ himself in your actions.⁶¹

The novice is enjoined to imitate the Virgin, bearing good works as she bore Christ, conceiving virtue in his heart as she conceived Christ in her womb; among the good works he should imitate, the Virgin's exemplary prayer, conveyed by the print, offers a sure means to the grace of Christ. As the Virgin has recast the Annunciation in visual terms, converting it into an

image that constitutes a prayer upon the incarnation mystery, so the novice must now pray as does she, visualizing her prayer as the subject of his. He meditates upon the mystery of God-made-flesh by imitating the Annunciation-made-representation that the print makes manifest through pictorial imitation.⁶²

The references to Christ's crucifixion and death, further good works with which God has blessed humankind, resonate with the pictorial structure of the *Annunciation* print. Clustered above and below the flow of light from God to the Virgin are scenes of the creation of man and the crucifixion, identified in the captions and annotations ("F" & "G") as events that took place on 25 March, the date of the Annunciation.⁶³ Unlike the bulk of the *Images* plates, which map subsidiary scenes onto deep landscape panoramas through which the viewer tracks along a temporal continuum, the *Annunciation* situates the scenes of creation, crucifixion, and God in heaven at an indeterminate depth. The disclaimer that opens the *Adnotatio* subsection explains the print's peculiar composition by alluding to its unique temporality, which is simultaneous rather than consecutive. We are to consider this image in this place — i.e., between chapters 106 and 108 of the *Adnotationes et meditationes*, on the entombment and resurrection — because it depicts a miracle that took place on the day when God, made man in Christ, was crucified in the flesh.⁶⁴ Annotation "D" develops the theme of simultaneity, adding that the Virgin's *cubiculum*, based upon the holy house of Loreto, was portrayed without its entrance wall so that all its contents could be made present to the eyes.⁶⁵ Simultaneity, annotation "A" avers, is the essential condition of divinity, in which the Trinity, made manifest at the incarnation, originates:

but all things, which to us are made in time, are made by God in eternity, and his eternity is thoroughly present at all times; nor can it be understood that something now comes to be, which did not come to be as it were more efficaciously in the now/then of eternity (*aeternitatis nunc*).⁶⁶

Playing upon the multivocal *nunc* (now, then), which signifies past, present, and future time, this passage insists upon the dual character of God the Father's decision to send God the Son earthward: the incarnation is a moment of human history that is also timeless because it partakes of divine intention. The composition of the *Annunciation* print functions as the counterpart to this duality; within the regime of representation that correlates *locus* and *tempus* throughout the *Images*, the image's planarity connotes the temporal paradox upon which the annotations elaborate.

Whereas the *Annunciation* engages the paradox of simultaneity, the *Visitation*, subdivided into nine consecutive scenes, charts the temporal circuit of Joseph and the Virgin's journey toward Zacharias and Elizabeth (fig. 6). The pictorial subdivisions move along a circular path that starts with the Annunciation scene in the roundel above ("A"), winds through the mountainous terrain of Judea ("B"), enters Zachary's house through the open doorway at the right ("C"), passes through the foreground group of Mary and Elizabeth ("D" & "E"), continues through the archway to the scene of John's birth ("H"), and concludes with the departure of Mary and Joseph seen through the center window ("I"). Poised at the axis and threshold of the image, Mary and Elizabeth dominate the scene as their exchange of greetings — the Virgin's to Elizabeth, followed by Elizabeth's praise of Mary, and finally the *Magnificat* — constitutes the heart of the meditation text.

The annotations prompt us to consider how pictorial means have made divine mysteries visible: the Annunciation at Nazareth, the moment of incarnation and the place from which Mary began her journey to Elizabeth, is represented (*repraesentatur*) in the roundel⁶⁷: the Annunciation scene, portrayed as an enframed image within the image, paraphrases plate 1, the *Annunciation*, and memorializes "what cannot be expressed in words" (*dici non potest*) — "the very great joy of heart and spirit, the very great sweetness of exaltation" felt by the Virgin when she conceived Christ⁶⁸; in turn the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth is cast as an image of the Annunciation image, for Elizabeth, having responded with an *acclamatio* (speech of praise), "has imitated the angel Gabriel" (*Angelum Gabrielem imitata*).⁶⁹ The use of various framing devices, such as the window embrasure, the open doorway, the two pilasters, and the archway, further emphasizes the pictorial status of the subsidiary scenes.

The meditations counterpoint the annotations, urging us to attend to the nature of pictorial imitation. This is the force of the opening excursus upon the difference between angelic and human sense. When the angels celebrate the Visitation journey, Natalis asserts, they speak solely in metaphors, being unable to discern the humanity with which the Virgin enfolds Christ incarnate: "Lo, the angels celebrate the journey: Who is this who goes forth like the rising dawn, beautiful as the moon, excellent as the sun, as terrible as an army arrayed for battle? Nor yet do they attain to your glory, for what they acknowledge, they declare metaphorically. ..." ⁷⁰ Christ alone reconciles, indeed unites, metaphors to the things they figure, and therefore offers the Virgin sufficient praise⁷¹; and yet, Natalis implies, if we cannot extend

suitable praise, being human, we can at least distinguish metaphor from the thing itself.

Having deprecated angelic eulogy, he addresses the Virgin as if he were seeing her en route to Elizabeth, indeed seeing her as she appears in the *Visitation* print ("B"), hastening through the mountains of Judea: "Hasten [most excellent Virgin] to the height of Judea, [the height] of divine confession and praise."⁷² If the mountains of Judea are figures for the height of divine confession and praise, they are also mere mountains, topographical features that may be seen and imitated. The notion that prayer entails visualizing things as such underlies the whole series of *Imagines* prints, which imitate the full range of natural effects, using verisimilar means to depict Gospel truths, and applying artifice to the persuasive depiction of verifiable events.⁷³ Natalis insists on this point in his meditation upon the meaning of the Virgin's salutation to Elizabeth. This greeting is the "likeness (*instar*) of a great sacrament," for it imitates the conversation conducted by Christ and John *in utero*.⁷⁴ Natalis uses the term *instar* (image, likeness) instead of *translatio* (metaphor) to emphasize that the Virgin and Elizabeth, rather than figuring the exchange between Christ and John, imitate it.

With uncommon persistence Natalis presses his point that visual imagery arises from imitation and representation and encompasses modes of experience beyond the scope of words. He does this to make pictorial artifice itself figure the transit from private, silent, interior prayer to public, spoken, exterior prayer, from *meditatio/contemplatio* to *acclamatio*, which reverses the transit from liturgy to meditation upon which Natalis's scheme is initially predicated. This movement between the two *orationes* is embodied in the greeting exchanged by Mary and Elizabeth, which makes visible the invisible greeting exchanged by Christ and John. Annotation "F" expounds the transit from *meditatio* to *acclamatio*, from which emerges Elizabeth's prayer of praise to the Virgin: "whence that truly great but seemly and proper *acclamatio* ... that arose from a great sense of the spirit, as those who pray silently in great fervor and spirit are yet wont to proclaim [their] prayers to God."⁷⁵ Moving through two stages of prayer, Elizabeth imitates both the angel Gabriel and the Virgin, who "speaks externally" (*loquebatur exterius*) but whose "words Christ has informed internally with spiritual power" (*vim vero addebat spiritualem verbis Christus interius*).⁷⁶ This motion from *interius* to *exterius* introduces the notion, developed fully in the meditation, that, just as Mary and Elizabeth communicate externally, so Christ and John communicate internally.⁷⁷

The hidden exchange between Christ and John is made possible by the miracle of incarnation which, in Natalis's terms, is a process of divine image-making; the Virgin elucidates this process in her account of the origins of the *Magnificat*:

And truly I responded to the praises of Elizabeth ... transferring [them] to God and my Son, by a certain excellent divine virtue using [my] corporeal senses and voice, my spirit having yet been raised as high as heaven; all the higher and lower powers of my soul consenting in praise of God, I said in the spirit of my Son, "My soul doth magnify the Lord." ... I will explain with a grateful soul those divine praises that I carry continuously in [my] heart. In my womb I received the image of God himself, the form of his substance, the selfsame Word of God. The spirit of my Son expressed this image [made in] the highest likeness [of God] and [with the full] splendor of [his] gifts; he fashioned an [image] nearly as great with respect to the likeness and sublimity of the [first] image; and now in the second place my spirit fashioned a divine image great in its similitude and gifts. For when I considered in myself the gifts of God, I saw manifest in myself the magnitude of his divinity and goodness, greatest [in the gift of] my Son: nor did I fear or shrink from praising these things, for in my sublimity of spirit I neither regarded nor felt myself, but rather my Lord Jesus in me.⁷⁸

This extraordinary passage, derived from Origen's eighth homily on the *Magnificat* and Ambrose's commentary on the opening line of the *Magnificat*, characterizes the incarnate Word as an image made in God's image, the likeness of which, recast by Christ, is communicated to the Virgin, who then refashions it as prayer, expressing the magnitude of the Lord in and through the *Magnificat*.⁷⁹ Ambrose and Origen dwell upon the *imago Dei* to clarify how the Virgin magnifies not God himself, who is omnipotent, but rather the image of God. Natalis, responding to the argument of Jesuit rhetorics, which encouraged the rhetor to embrace the full resources of the orator's art, expands upon his patristic sources, converting incarnation doctrine into a justification for pictorial and verbal artifice.

The many allusions to image-making that proliferate in the annotations and meditations upon the *Visitation* print complement, indeed figure, the movement, staged in Natalis's account of the *Magnificat*, through two registers of divine artifice to the artifice of the Virgin that issues finally in a prayer of exaltation, an *acclamatio* addressed to God. The dynamic of incarnation certifies the passage from the Word made flesh, the *imago Dei*, to the *imago imaginis* fashioned by the Son, and the *imago secundo loco* of the Virgin. The transit between Natalis's text and Wiericx's print figures this movement toward the artifice of image-making, which completes the circuit binding the two modes of *oratio* — *meditatio* and *acclamatio*, silent meditation and sacred oratory. That Natalis embraces artifice to set forth the full

scope of Christian prayer, arises from his conviction, expressed in a letter of the 1570s, that the Gospel, having been founded in apostolic times not by rhetorical artifice (*per artis rethoricae artificium*) but by divine virtue (*divina virtute*), “should now be ornamented, honored, and extolled diligently and industriously with every good art, with learning, and with eloquence” (*omnibus bonis artibus, studiis, linguis, diligentia, industria ornandum, suspiciendum est, atque extollendum*).⁸⁰ In the *Adnotationes et meditationes* this conviction, exemplified by the complementarity of pictorial and rhetorical artifice, confirms Natalis’s faith in the doctrine *ut pictura rhetorica*.

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Notes

* Translations are by the author unless otherwise noted. I am grateful to the editors of the *Sixteenth Century Journal* for their helpful suggestions.

1. Hieronymus Natalis, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur: cum eorundem Evangeliorum concordantia*. Auctore Hieronymo Natali Societatis Iesu theologo. Editio ultima: in qua sacer textus ad emendationem Bibliorum Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. restitutus (Antwerp, 1595). On Jesuit use of the term *reformatio*, along with the cognates *christianitas* and *pietas*: J. W. O’Malley, “Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early Modern Catholicism,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 77 (1991), 177–93, esp. 182–83. In what follows, I have observed the Ignatian distinction between meditative prayer that focuses upon material not directly given in the Gospels, and contemplative prayer that cleaves more scrupulously to Gospel narratives; on this distinction: P. Endean, “The Ignatian Prayer of Senses,” *The Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990), 391–417, esp. 401.
2. M. Nicolau, *Jerónimo Nadal: Obras y doctrinas espirituales* (Madrid, 1949), 115–16, 121–32, 194; M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, “Les Wierix, illustrateurs de la Bible dite de Natalis,” *Quaerendo* 6 (1976), 28–63, esp. 28–34; M.-B. Wadell, *Evangelicae historiae imagines: Entstehungsgeschichte und Vorlagen* (Gothenburg Studies in Art and Architecture 3) (Gothenburg, 1985), 9–17, 40–41, 46–48; and P. Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder für den inneren Weg: Das Betrachtungsbuch des Ignatius-Gefährten Hieronymus Nadal (1507–1580)* (Engelsbach, Frankfurt, and St. Peter Port, 1995), 35–106. Natalis composed his text with reference to a series of pen and wash drawings by Livio Agresti, executed ca. 1555–62 and perhaps once owned by Francisco de Borja, General of the order: Wadell, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 31–42; and Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder*, 48–53. The Agresti drawings provided a template for the Roman master Bernardino Passeri, on whose modelli of ca. 1587 the engravings by Hieronymus, Johan, and Antoon Wiericx, Adrian and Jan Collaert, and Karel van Mallery were finally based: N. de Roever, “Een drietal brieven van Hendrick Goltzius,” *Oud Holland* 6 (1988), 149–53, esp. 152–53; Wadell, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 15–16; and Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder*, 81–100, 134–38.

3. Rooses, "Plaatsnijders," 277–88; Nicolau, *Jerónimo Nadal*, 63, 114–20, 129, 166–70, 205, 455, 464; A. Rodríguez de Ceballos, "Las 'Imágenes de la historia Evangélica' del P. Jerónimo Nadal en el marco del jesuitismo y la contrarreforma," *Traza y baza* 5 (1974), 77–95; T. Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 424–33; Mauquoy-Hendrickx, "Les Wierix illustreurs," 28–63; D. Freedberg, "A Source for Rubens's Modello of the *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*: A Case Study in the Response to Images," *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978), 432–41, esp. 433–36; U. König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin, 1982), 109, 115, 127; Wadell, *Entstehungsgeschichte*; J. F. Moffitt, "Francisco Pacheco and Jerome Nadal: New Light on the Flemish Sources of the Spanish 'Picture-Within-the-Picture'," *The Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), 631–38; and Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder*, 141–56.
4. On the term *peregrinatio*: O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 16 (1984), no. 2, 1–20, esp. 6–7.
5. On Ignatian meditation and contemplation, within which the composition of place constitutes the first prelude: J. F. Conwell, *Contemplation in Action: A Study of Ignatian Prayer* (Spokane, 1957); L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London, 1962), 13–20, 25–39; A. T. de Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining: Ignatius of Loyola* (Albany, 1986); O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 37–50; and Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder*, 158–63. In the "First Exercise: On the Triple Sin," *Exercitia spiritualia* (Rome, 1548), fol. 24v, Ignatius links the composition of place to the mystery of the Incarnation: the exercitant first imagines the corporeal place where Christ's body is found; he then interprets this situated body as a synecdoche for the terrestrial body within which the divine soul is imprisoned.
6. C. Dempsey, "Mythic Inventions in Counter-Reformation Painting," in P. A. Ramsey, ed., *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 55–75, esp. 64–67; and D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989), 183.
7. Dempsey, "Mythic Inventions," 64–67. Gilio accuses Michelangelo of having subordinated religious truth to the display of pictorial conceits.
8. Natalis, *Adnotationes* [1607 ed.], fol. *2^v: "... iuxta veram rerum gestarum ac temporum seriem, elegantibus descripta imaginibus ob oculos haberetur."
9. *Ibid.*, fol. *2^v: "Ne autem ipsarum imaginum multitudo satietatem cuiuspiam pareret, unde suo fine, spirituali scilicet animarum fructu, opus ipsum frustraretur, si in aes incideretur parum eleganti manu; sed potius ut opificij elegantia ac pulchritudo, simul cum maxima ipsius argumenti sanctitate atque excellentia, operisque pietate coniuncta, omnes ad illud evoluendum, assiduaque meditatione versandum invitaret; necessarium omnino fuit, ut excellentissimi quique artifices operi tam eximio, quod ipsius Evangelij nova ac pene spirans imago est, adhiberentur."
10. *Ibid.*, fol. *4^r: "sed in singulis esse tibi singulos, vel etiam plures dies insistendum. ..."
11. M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1978–83), 3.1: 402, no. 1997 and 411, no. 2041.

12. The combination of panoramic vista and italic captions recalls the design of civic maps, such as Sebastiano da Re's 1561 map of Rome: D. Woodward, "The Manuscript, Engraved, and Typographic Traditions of Map Lettering," in *idem*, ed., *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays* (Chicago & London, 1987), 174–212, esp. 200, fig. 6. On the codification of the italic hand for cartographic lettering and *tabulae*: A. S. Osley, *Mercator: A Monograph on the Lettering of Maps* (London, 1969), 49–56, 77–113.
13. The caption sequence ends with two further events, the Baptism of Christ at Bethabaram and the nuptials at Cana in Galilee ("L" & "M"), that inaugurate Christ's ministry to the Jews. Invoked in the Epiphany liturgy, these events, placed at the horizon of the image, function as corollaries to the adoration of the Magi, who stand for the gentile nations to whom Christ chose to reveal his divinity even as an infant.
14. Natalis, *Adnotationes* [1607 ed.], fol. *2^r.
15. *Ibid.*, fol. *4^{r-v}.
16. *Ibid.*, fol. *2^r: "Ad unamquamque praeterea Evangelicam lectionem sua adscripta est Adnotatio, quae locum & tempus designat, quo mysteria salutis nostrae peracta fuere, brevissima quidem illa, cum excellenti tamen Terrae Sanctae descriptione, locis item nonnullis Evangelij difficilioribus interdum explicatis."
17. *Ibid.*, fol. *4^r: "Ubi vero in Concordia dicitur, *In illo tempore*, iuxta usum Ecclesiae, apponiturque littera locum ubi res gesta est designans, data opera id factum est; ut ex nota temporis locus indicetur, quo alias fieri non poterat."
18. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 35. Fabre, *Lieu de l'image*, 163–210, examines the relation of imaginative contemplation of place to the imagined subject seen to inhabit place in Natalis's *Images*. For Natalis, Fabre argues, place itself becomes the paradoxical object of contemplation: since it is the site through which holy figures have already passed, from which they are voided, place functions as the trace of their passage that figures our own passage through purgative emptying of the heart toward illuminative and unitive contemplation.
19. F. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, reprint ed. (Chicago, 1974), 74–76; M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 63–67; and Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder*, 178–81.
20. Quoted in *ibid.*, 75.
21. M. Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva, 1980), 259, n. 67.
22. Jesuit *reformatio* articulates with historical assumptions implicit in the term "Counter-Reformation": J. W. O'Malley, "The Jesuits, St. Ignatius, and the Counter Reformation: Some Recent Studies and their Implications for Today," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 14 (1982), no. 1, 1–28.
23. On the term *quidditas*, its source in Augustine, and its place in meditation practice: B. Ridderbos, "Die 'Geburt Christi' des Hugo van der Goes: Form, Inhalt, Funktion," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990), 137–52, esp. 140.
24. M. Fumaroli, "Définition et description: Scolastique et rhétorique chez les Jésuites des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 18 (1980), 37–48.

25. On Soares and Fonseca, their textbooks, and their analysis of the modes of *definitio*: *ibid.*, 40–41.
26. Quoted in *ibid.*, 42. On de la Cerda: *ibid.*, 41–43.
27. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 36–37. On the rhetorical structure of Natalis's text: Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 258–60.
28. The *Adnotationes et meditationes* is a propaedeutic in a double sense, for it instructs the novice in rhetoric, in order that he might learn to pray, finding in prayer the meaning of his vocation and the strength to engage in its fullness. The character of Natalis's rhetoric supports my contention that his volume functions something like a textbook: although he uses beautifully pondered periods that deploy the full range of available figures, he eschews prosody and the kind of originary invention from which issue poetic effects.
29. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 36.
30. *Ibid.*, 36–37: "Quid hac meditatione tibi petendum est? Ut mihi mea similiter appareat stella, & lux Angeli qui me ducat ad Christi recens nati contemplationem."
31. *Ibid.*, 37.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 38: "Conferunt inter se suas visiones, suas revelationes, suos mentium motus. ... Contemplare etiam quomodo orta sit stella in Iudaea, & ad eos sublimis ac splendida accurrerit. Prosequuntur simul iter novo spiritu, nova animorum iucunditate atque alacritate, ex spirituali videlicet rerum collatione. ..."
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*: "Etenim ex ijs qui adverterunt pauci commoti sunt, nisi curiositate."
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, 41. On the relation of sight to the interior sense: Rheinbay, *Biblische Bilder*, 183–88.
39. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 41: "Quanta fuit Magorum exultatio ex conspectu pueri Iesu, si quando stella proximum illum significavit, eos gaudio magno valde affectit? Illud scilicet fuit maius gaudium gaudio magno valde. Hoc enim explicari potuit, etiamsi mystice; quod vero gaudium Christus praesens, quo lumen aeternum cordibus eorum infudit, explicari ne mystice quidem potuit; fuit enim maius longe, quam gaudium magnum valde."
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*: "sed illud fecit quod solent verae revelationes in pias mentes, ut ex divina luce & gratia ad perfectionem operum convertantur."
42. *Ibid.*: "Vos stella, vos Angeli illuminant, vos illustrant scripturae; vos Iudaeis, vos Herodi Regi, vos Romanis, vos Hierosolymis, vos Bethlehem Christum Iesum praedicatis, Vos estis & Iudaeorum & gentium Apostoli." In effect, Natalis rehearses the Magi's itinerary, which he now recasts as an exemplum of the apostolic ministry of journey in which he exhorts the novice to engage.
43. *Ibid.*, 106.
44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. On the *figura serpentinata*, codified at the turn of the sixteenth century as a canon of beautiful motion: D. Summers, "Maniera and Movement: The *figura serpentinata*," *Art Quarterly* 35 (1972), 269–301.
48. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 106: "Docet nos bonus & sanctus Iesus, quemadmodum magna fide spiritus & humilitate oremus & efficacia, exemplo Chananaeae mulieris."
49. *Ibid.*: "qui docuisti me per Chananaeam ut orarem, & quo pacto orarem erudisti."
50. *Ibid.* Natalis affirms that Christ has taught the Jesuit to recognize that he is the woman herself, infirm and inconstant in nature.
51. On this substitution of plates: Wadell, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 19, 47; and Mauquoy-Hendrickx, "Les Wierix illustreurs," 30.
52. J. W. O'Malley, "The Fourth Vow in its Ignatian Context: A Historical Study," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 15 (1983), no. 1, 1–59; and *idem*, "To Travel to Any Part of the World." On Jesuit ministry to pagans, which imitates Christ's ministry to gentiles: J. W. O'Malley, "Attitudes of the Early Jesuits towards Misbelievers," *The Way*, Supplement 68 (1990), 62–73. On the exercise of discernment that must inform the Jesuit election of ministry: M. O'Rourke Boyle, "Angels Black and White: Loyola's Spiritual Discernment in Historical Perspective," *Theological Studies* 44 (1983), 241–57; J. W. O'Malley, "Priesthood, Ministry, and Religious Life: Some Historical and Historiographical Considerations," *Theological Studies* 49 (1988), 223–57; and Endean, "Ignatian Prayer of the Senses," 403–405.
53. On the *habitationum genera*: H. Natalis, *Commentarii de Instituto Societatis Iesu*, in F. Cervós and M. Nicolau, eds., *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu: Epistolae et monumenta P. Hieronymi Nadal*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1898–1905; Rome, 1962–64), 5:54. On the notion of pilgrimage that underlies the house of journey: J. C. Olin, "The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola," *Church History* 48 (1979), 387–97; and N. P. Tanner, "Medieval Crusade Decrees and Ignatius's Meditation on the Kingdom," *The Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990), 505–515.
54. Quoted in O'Malley, "To Travel Any Part of the World," 8. The Jesuits attempted to reconcile evangelical ministry with the vocation of collegiate teaching. Whereas *collegia* required stable faculties, Ignatius and his successor generals insisted on transferring the teaching fathers every few years, often in the face of strong protest from local students and parents. Cf. the founding histories of the Belgian colleges of Louvain, Dinant, Saint-Omer, Cambrai, Douai, Liège, Antwerp, Bruges, and Maestricht, chronicled in A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1926), 1: 150–257.
55. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix*, 3.1: 401, nos. 1991 and 1992.
56. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 406: "Itaque divina operatio humanae, infinita finitae est attemperata ... quasi illa remissio sit atque accommodatio virtutis immensae, quae faciebat Virginem posse quam habebat facultatem ut mater esset, eam exercere, atque ad divinam prolem applicare."

57. *Ibid.*, 409–410.
58. *Ibid.*, 410: “Cognoveram Dei mirabilia in creaturis, promissiones Dei divinas noveram in lege, & ante legem, & in Prophetiis; sed opus nunc video supra omnem admirationem positum; instauratur creatura divino filij Dei commercio, adimplentur Dei promissiones & iusiurandum. ... Natus est qui legis umbras discutiat, & mysticas significationes impleat per gratiam suam & veritatem, & suae humanae oeconomiae mysteria.” The Virgin’s account of her vision, which springs from the “boundless love of the Holy Spirit” (*immenso Spiritus sancti amore*), expands upon the preludes and points of Ignatius’s “Contemplation for Obtaining Divine Love,” *Exercitia spiritualia*, fols. 70^v–72^r, initiated during the fourth week of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Just as the Virgin’s act of consent proceeds from her awareness of God’s superabundant gifts (*mirabilia in creaturis*), so the exercitant offers himself freely to the Lord, having acknowledged that God, who dwells in all creation, has given humankind the gift of all created things.
59. The Virgin’s imaging of herself recalls Ignatius’s “Additions” to the fifth exercise of the first week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, *ibid.*, fols. 32^v–33^r: having lain down to sleep, the exercitant must first imagine himself having awakened and making the requisite exercise. The exercitant thus closes his day by visualizing himself at prayer. Arising at midnight to perform the first exercise, he must imagine himself as if he were a knight who had betrayed his just Lord; afterward, before returning to sleep, he must first imagine himself having awakened to perform the second exercise. Arising in the morning to perform the second exercise, he imagines himself as a prisoner bound in chains before a judge, in order that he might feel the grievousness of his sins. What he contemplates at his respective bedtimes, then, is an image of himself as a figured image of knighthood, of imprisonment, and of punishment.
60. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 406.
61. *Ibid.*, 410: “eam [*i.e.*, rationem suae gratiae & vim] ex te non esse, sed a Dei bonitate & misericordia, tibi tamen quaerendam esse, ut eam invenias, ut in corde tuo concipias Dei Spiritum, & ut aqua reficiaris in vitam aeternam saliente. Intelliges gratiam praeterea tibi offerri, ut concepta illa eiusque virtute in corde tuo, ex illa in actiones divinas exeas, & parias opera coelesti gloria digna, quasi Christum ipsum in tuis operationibus.” On prayer endorsed as a form of good works in post-Tridentine painting: Dempsey, “Mythic Inventions,” 70.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, 407.
64. *Ibid.*, 406.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*: “sed a Deo omnia ex aeternitate fiunt quae nobis in tempore, estque eius aeternitas omnibus temporibus praesens maxime; neque intelligi potest aliquid nunc fieri, qui in aeternitatis nunc, ut ita dicam, praesentius non fiat.”
67. *Ibid.*, 578.
68. *Ibid.*: “quantum fuerit cordis eius & spiritus gaudium, quanta suavitas, quanta exultatio.”
69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*, 579: "En Angeli iter tuum celebrant; Quae est ista quae progreditur quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna; electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata? Nec tamen tuam gloriam assequuntur, quod agnoscunt ipsi; metaphorice enim dicunt. ..."
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*: "perge ad Iudaeae altitudinem, confessionis & laudis divinae."
73. The use of verisimilar means to serve religious ends was fundamental to the reform of painting instituted by the Carracci in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, as Charles Dempsey has shown: Dempsey, "Mythic Inventions," 64–66, and *idem*, "The Carracci Reform of Painting," in M. Aspinwall, J. P. O'Neill, F. P. Smyth, and M. Yakush, eds., *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [exh. cat., National Gallery, Washington, D.C.; Metropolitan Museum, New York; Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna] (Washington, D.C., 1986), 237–54, esp. 240–47.
74. Natalis, *Adnotationes*, 580.
75. *Ibid.*, 578: "unde illa acclamatio magna quidem, decens tamen & honesta ... ut e magno spiritus sensu profecta, ut solent clamare orationes ad Deum, eorum qui magno affectu ac spiritu etiam tacentes orant."
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*, 580–81: "Respondi vero ad laudes Elisabeth ... sed laudem in Deum & filium meum conferens, excellenti quadam divinitatis virtute corporeis sensibus & voce utens, in caelum tamen usque spiritu levata, consentientibus omnibus animae meae viribus superioribus & inferioribus in laudem Dei, dixi in filij mei spiritu: Magnificat anima mea Dominum ... idcirco quas laudes Dei in corde gero continenter, grato animo explicabo. In uterum meum accepi ego ipsam Dei imaginem, & figuram substantiae eius, Verbum ipsum Dei. Hanc imaginem summa similitudine & donorum splendore exprimit filij mei anima, & quasi maximam facit sua similitudine & imaginis sublimitate, mea autem anima secundo loco excellenti sua similitudine & donis magnam facit Dei imaginem. Quum enim Dei in me dona animadverto, video ostendi in me divinitatis eius & bonitatis magnitudinem post filij mei maximam: neque hoc vereor vel refugio praedicare; non enim in ea animae meae sublimitate me considero, vel me sentio, sed Dominum meum Iesum in me."
79. K. Schenkl, ed., *Sancti Ambrosii opera, pars quarta, expositio Evangelii secundum Lucan* (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XXXII*) (Vienna, 1902), 55–56; and H. Crouzel, F. Fournier, and P. Périchon, eds., *Origène, Homélie sur S. Luc* (*Sources Chrétiennes* 87) (Paris, 1962), 164–69. On the nexus between incarnation doctrine and image-use: H. Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990), 174–84.
80. H. Natalis, "Apologia pro Exercitiis S. P. Ignatii," in Cervós and Nicolau, eds., *Epistolae et monumenta*, 832–33.

Figure 1: Hieronymus Natalis, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (Antwerp, 1595); *Title Page*, engraving by Hieronymus Wiericx (?), 315 x 216 mm. (By permission of the Trustees of the British Library).

EVANGELICAE HISTORIAE IMAGINES

*Ex ordine Euangeliorum, quæ toto anno in Missæ sacrificio recitantur,
In ordinem temporis vitæ Christi digestæ.*

Auctore Hieronymo Natali Societatis IESV Theologo
Antuerpiæ Anno Dñi M.D.XCVI.

SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

Figure 2: Hieronymus Natalis, *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1593); *Title Page*, engraving by Hieronymus Wiericx, 234 x 146 mm. (By permission of the John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University).

Figure 3: Hieronymus Wiericx after Marten de Vos, *Adoration of the Magi*, engraving, 232 x 145 mm., pl. 7 of *Hieronymus Natalis, Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1595) (By permission of the John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University).

Figure 4: Hieronymus Wiericx after Marten de Vos, *Christ and the Canaanite Woman*, engraving, 232 x 146 mm., pl. 61 of Hieronymus Natalis, *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1595) (By permission of the John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University).

Figure 5: Hieronimus Wiericx after Bernardino Passeri, *Annunciation*, engraving, 233 x 146 mm., pl. 1 of Hieronymus Natalis, *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1595) (By permission of the John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University).

Figure 6: Hieronymus Wiericx after Bernardino Passeri, *Visitation*, engraving, 231 x 145 mm., pl. 2 of Hieronymus Natalis, *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1595) (By permission of the John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University).