

**Carme López Calderón**

***Emblematizing Mary***  
**Displayed Emblems to Elaborate on the Virgin's Mediation in the Early Modern  
Period on the Iberian Peninsula**

UDC: 7.045(46)"15/18"

Carme López Calderón  
University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain  
carme.lopez@usc.es

This paper discusses eight 18<sup>th</sup>-century emblems displayed in various Iberian architectures, namely in churches located in North-West Spain and North and Central Portugal, in which the combination of an image (*pictura*) plus a motto (*inscriptio*) is used to convey the mediation of the Virgin Mary. The correct interpretation of this set of applied emblems allows one to (1) delve into the various duties attached to the notion of mediation, i.e. Mary's co-redemption, distribution of graces, help, intercession and exemplary role; (2) confirm the usage of emblems with a didactic purpose that becomes perfectly clear once their meanings are unveiled; (3) demonstrate the influence that printed sources issued elsewhere in Europe – mostly in current Belgium, Germany, and Italy – exerted in the Iberian Peninsula; and, as a consequence of the previous points, (4) substantiate the existing consensus among the Early Modern Catholic territories on the active role played by Mary in the faithful's present and eternal life.

**Keywords:** Virgin Mary, mediation, displayed emblems, printed emblems, Iberian Peninsula, Early Modern period, Catholicism, Counter-Reformation

**Emblems, religious emblems, displayed emblems**

In 1531 the first emblem book - Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* - was issued in Augsburg. The emblems published here already featured the tripartite layout that, from that moment on, the emblematics would most frequently adopt: a short motto or lemma (*inscriptio*), a picture (*pictura*) and an epigram (*subscriptio*). In addition, this combination of image plus text met the essence of the emblematic rhetoric, for the concealed significance of the former was unveiled, clarified and at the same time restricted by the latter, and the message thus transmitted by the whole corresponded, loosely speaking, to an abstract idea, chiefly a concept usually lacking a concrete or physical counterpart or a more elaborated principle connected with these kinds of concepts.<sup>1</sup> For example, the emblem *Auxilium nunquam deficiens*, which is counted among those included in Alciato's first edition, expresses the idea of the "Help never failing" by making use of the story of Myrtilus: a Greek leader who survived several times thanks to his shield.<sup>2</sup>

Considering the emblem's capability to convey intangible and intelligible notions through natural or artificial bodies,<sup>3</sup> it may come as no surprise that religious emblem books appeared at an early date, conceived to teach, simultaneously or not, moralizing lessons and dogmatic truths. In this sense, while some emblems were the result of particular beliefs defended by the distinct confessions born with the Reformation, others were intended to instruct people in the practice of virtue and active rejection of vice, a commonplace for the different Christian traditions and the philosophical movement later known as Neostoicism.<sup>4</sup>

Georgette de Montenay wrote: "*Alciat fait des Emblèmes exquis,/ Lesquels voyant de plusieurs requis,/ Desir me prit de commencer les miens,/ Lesquels ie croy estre premier chrestien*" dedicating her *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* to Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre.<sup>5</sup> In effect, this work published in Lyon in 1567 is the first Christian, con-

cretely Protestant, religious emblem book ever printed.<sup>6</sup> As for the Catholic tradition, this honour goes to Benito Arias Montano's *Humanae Salutis Monumenta*, issued in Antwerp in 1571.<sup>7</sup>

From that moment on, the members of the Catholic Church became really important producers and consumers of emblems, with the Jesuits in the lead.<sup>8</sup> In fact, emblems became so popular in the Early Modern Period that they were not only limited to books and prints, but they were transferred to other media, both ephemeral<sup>9</sup> and permanent.<sup>10</sup> These applied or displayed emblems could be conceived expressly for a given place or, as it happens more often, they were taken from different printed sources and more or less adapted to fit in the new context.<sup>11</sup> In addition, one of the changes that most of the applied emblems used to undergo concerned their appearance: they were normally pared down to the motto and the picture, thus losing the epigram.

### **Marian Catholic emblems**

Many dogmatic and moralizing religious topics were encoded through emblems, a significant part of which was devoted by the Catholic Church to the Virgin Mary. In this regard, the Marian emblems were employed to recall different episodes of her life and her unique prerogatives and virtues, which normally are so closely connected that the former imply the latter. For example, the episode of the Annunciation involves the prerogative of the virginal maternity, as the explanation of the emblem *Afflatu fecunda* (Pregnant by the breeze; fig. 1) provided by F. Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus* attests to: "The female partridge, turned towards the male, bears with Lucarini the inscription: AUDITA VOCE FOECUNDA, or the words chosen by Pliny and Aristotle: AURA, VEL ODORE GIGNIT. Or, better, as somebody else writes: AFFLATU FOECUNDA. This image may refer to the Virgin Mary who, greeted by the angel, without male intervention, just by perceiving the celestial message, became prodigiously pregnant. 'Oh, union made without filth, where the husband is the word and the wife is the ear', Saint Fulgentius exclaims. And Saint Eleutherius, bishop of Tournai: 'Oh Blessed Virgin, oh Virgin chosen by the Creator of the world, you conceive from the Eternal Father the one who was begotten without a mother before all ages, you were made mother without any man's intervention. You were mother through the ear, the Angelic word proved to be the husband'".<sup>12</sup>

In a similar vein, the Visitation is seen as a reflection of her humility and charity. Therefore, when dealing with the emblem *Onustior Humilior* (The more laden, the humbler; fig. 2), the very same 17<sup>th</sup> century encyclopaedia reads: "Archangelus Conter copied in the place of the symbol this very same tree, which, laden with the weight of its fruits, forced its branches down towards the ground, with the lemma: ONUSTIOR, HUMILIOR. [...] This image also applies to the Virgin Mary, since she, pregnant and full of God, visited Elisabeth's house and humbly engaged with her cares. 'The Virgin entered into the house of Zacharias in order that the young virgin sedulous carried out the work for the elderly woman', Antonius Beda states. Splendid for our purpose, Saint Antoninus: 'The Virgin remained with Elisabeth for three months so as to help her during the then future labour. Has someone ever heard such a thing, that the pregnant Queen proceeded towards her servant in order to serve her?'"<sup>13</sup>

However, the prerogative that appears to have been more frequently emphasized is that of her mediation, that is, the help that she may provide to people to walk through this world and achieve eternal life. And this is not without cause, considering that the movements of the Reformation had rejected the intercession of saints<sup>14</sup> and thus had limited the role of the Virgin Mary basically to a model to emulate.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore Marian Catholic emblems were particularly interested in representing Mary as a powerful ally that could assist the faithful in different ways. This paper will explore the distinct duties assigned to the Virgin's mediation by turning to emblems displayed on four Iberian churches, two in Spain and two in Portugal.

### **Mary as the *Auxilium indeficiens***

In the chapel of the patron saint of the Cathedral of Lugo (Spain), the so called Chapel of Our Lady of the Big Eyes, there is an arresting 18<sup>th</sup> century cycle of fifty-eight applied emblems that were drawn from different

European sources (fig. 3).<sup>16</sup> Some of these paintings are not very well preserved, but there exists a handwritten description made by a canon of the cathedral at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that proves helpful in reading some of their mottoes and/or pictures. In particular, for the medallion reproduced as figure 4, he wrote: “[This medallion] depicts something similar to an oblong trunk partially bent upwards. The inscription reads: *Auxiliū indeficiens*.”<sup>17</sup> This inscription certainly recalls the above-mentioned Alciato’s emblem *Auxilium nunquam deficiens* and even the *pictura* could somehow resemble the one used to illustrate some of the subsequent editions of this book, such as the Paris 1536 edition.<sup>18</sup>

However, the most interesting thing is that Carolus van Hoorn tells the story of Myrtilus in his *Tractatus marialis* - a treatise devoted to the prerogatives of the Virgin Mary -, explaining that this hero’s shield, which bore the inscription *Auxilium indeficiens*, helped him to beat his enemies in every battle and to reach the shore once his ship was sunk because of a storm. And immediately he adds: “It is undeniable that Mary can be assimilated to the shield of Myrtilus: she is *auxilium indeficiens* [unfailing help] for those who resort to her, and she confers unflinching strength to men subdued by necessity and anguish. She is very powerful [...] because she continually softens and moves towards mercy the irate Son of God and she destroys his anger powerfully. Besides thanks to her we achieve the victory against our enemies, both the internal ones - i.e., our foolish concupiscence and disordered appetites of the soul - and external ones - i.e., the infernal spirits. [...] We must attribute to the Virgin Mary all of the victories that we may achieve in the dangerous warfare of this life; we are capable of nothing without Mary.”<sup>19</sup>

Hence this text, and by extension this emblem, points out two aspects of the Virgin’s mediation: her intercession before God and her support against every enemy that may threaten men.

### **Mary as the *Proxima primae***

Mary’s role as Intercessor or Advocate before God is based on her close and unique relationship with the three persons of the Holy Trinity. Precisely, in the *Litaniae Lauretanae* written by F.X. Dornn and illustrated with emblematic compositions due to the Klauber Brothers,<sup>20</sup> the invocations devoted to the Father (*Pater de coelis Deus*), the Son (*Fili Redemptor Mundi Deus*) and the Holy Spirit (*Spiritus Sancte Deus*) represent Mary carrying out such intercession thanks be to the daughter of the Father, the mother of the Son and the spouse of the Holy Spirit. These three *intaglios* were mirrored in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the side vaults of the Church of the Monastery of Saint Mary in Pombeiro (Portugal), where the image corresponding to the *Sanctas Trinitas Unus Deus* was also depicted.<sup>21</sup>

In this last case, both in the painting (fig. 5) and the print (fig. 6),<sup>22</sup> there appears a letter “A” that becomes the focus of the composition, because, as F.X. Dornn explains, it is a symbol of the Trinity: “Despite being triangular, it [the A] is just one letter; equally the Holy Trinity consists of three Holy Persons that are, however, just one God.”<sup>23</sup>

At the same time, the letter A is to be considered a symbol of God, for he declared *Ego sum Alpha*. Therefore, if God is the A, the B may with good reason be assigned to Mary: she - the B<sup>ma</sup> (i.e. *Benditissima*, Blessed one), as written in the printed and painted images - is the *Proxima Primae*, the closest to the first one, the closest to God. This is the reason why she is so efficient when interceding in front of God.

### **Mary as the *Castrorum Acies***

In addition, and as previously stated, Mary’s mediation also recognises her as the faithful’s *auxiliatrix* when fighting their enemies, a role that is founded on her power and strength. Actually, the emblems that stress the Virgin’s power and strength usually foster two interpretations: first, Mary was strong from the beginning and thus she beat the devil, this is: she never succumbed to sin and therefore she remained virtuous for her entire life; second, Mary is invincible and hence she aids men in defeating their enemies, which, as seen before, can be internal - the vices that may condemn people to eternal damnation -, or external - i.e., the infernal spirits, but also the enemies of flesh and blood.<sup>24</sup> These two readings can be found in another emblem displayed in the chapel of Lugo: *Castrorum Acies* (Army with banners; fig. 7).



1 Miguel Antonio García de Bouzas (attribution), *Afflatu fecunda*, c. 1735, Chapel of Our Lady of the Big Eyes, Cathedral of Lugo, Spain



2 Unknown painter (José Pascoal Parente?), *Onustior Humilior*, second third of 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Hope, Abrunhosa, Portugal



3 Medallions with applied emblematics placed on the central and side pilasters, c. 1735, Chapel of Our Lady of the Big Eyes, Cathedral of Lugo, Spain



4 Miguel Antonio García de Bouzas (attribution), *Auxiliū indeficiens*, c. 1735, Chapel of Our Lady of the Big Eyes, Cathedral of Lugo, Spain



5 Unknown painter (Frei José de Santo António Vilaça?), *Sanctas Trinitas Unus Deus*, 1764-1767, Church of the Monastery of Saint Mary, Pombeiro, Portugal



6 Joseph Sebastian and Johann Baptist Klauber, *Sanctas Trinitas Unus Deus*, plate no. 10, F.X. Dornn, *Litaniae Lauretanae*, 1771 (© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Asc. 1489, n.p., urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10261928-0)



8 Theodore Galle, *Castrorum Acies Ordinata*, plate no. 28, J. David, *Pancarpium Marianum*, 1607, Museum Plantin-Moretus (Print Room collection), Antwerp – UNESCO, World Heritage, no. R.119



7 Miguel Antonio García de Bouzas (attribution), *Castrorū Acies*, c. 1735, Chapel of Our Lady of the Big Eyes, Cathedral of Lugo, Spain

This time the immediate source of the medallion is J. David's *Pancarpium Marianum* (fig. 8), which is composed of fifty biblical titles assigned to the Virgin and illustrated by Theodore Galle.<sup>25</sup> Twenty-six of them were echoed in Lugo limiting the original compositions to the scriptural epithet and one or two scenes of the picture; as usual, both the *subscriptio* and the author's commentary were left out. Precisely, it is in this long prose where Jan David justifies the title *Castrorum Acies* by declaring, among other things: "Blessed Mary, in the same way that you are for us a gentle defender, you, like an army with banners, prove terrible for the adversaries of this cause. [...] First, because you bruised the head of the devil; second, because you on your own finished with all of the heresies of this world; and finally, because you defeat all of your rivals, starting with the Proud and those who disregard your humility".<sup>26</sup>

### Mary as the *Memor ab alto* one

Together with Intercessor and Auxiliatrix, Mary is said by Catholics to be Distributor of all Graces. In this sense, the metaphor of the aqueduct is very illustrative when employed by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in a sermon preached on the occasion of her Nativity: Mary is the aqueduct in charge of distributing among people all the graces and gifts coming from God.<sup>27</sup>

In the chapel of Lugo, this feature is summarized in the emblem *Memor ab alto* ([The one] who remembers from heights), whose picture probably depicted once a hen placed on top of a mulberry tree throwing fruits to its chicks (fig. 9). It is found like this in J. Boschius' *Symbolographia*<sup>28</sup> and C. Leuthner's *Coelum Christianum*<sup>29</sup> (detail of fig. 10), where it is applied to Jesus: he did not forget men after ascending to Heaven. Such a Christological reading is made clear in the latter print given the scene that it complements: the Ascension (fig. 10); as for Boschius, the description of the emblem is included in the section "Christus", together with the explanation: "Ascending to Heaven, he gave gifts to men".

In the case of Lugo, however, a Mariological interpretation may be more appropriate considering that the Virgin is the addressee of the cycle and, in fact, other sources also support this second option: C.F. Menestrier's *Philosophia imaginum* adds "this proves also marvellously suitable for the Assumption of the Holy Virgin"<sup>30</sup> and F. Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus* reads: "The hen, on top of a mulberry tree, throws the ripe fruit to its chicks, that are beneath the tree. The motto: ET MEMOR AB ALTO. The providence and charity of God rewards the clients, his devotees, with the abundant fruits of Paradise. Christ, who compares himself with the hen, really was *memor ab alto* when, as the Apostle states, 'ascended on high and gave gifts to men'. The Blessed Virgin, always recalling her clients, just like a loving hen, from the sublime heaven showered them with precious gifts."<sup>31</sup>

### **Mary, to whom *Concussio firmat***

Furthermore, the mediation of Mary also embraces the title of Co-Redeemer, because for Catholics the Virgin plays an active role in the Redemption of humankind and thus can rightly be declared the New Eve. In the texts of the period authors elaborate on two main reasons for her consideration as *Co-Redemptrix*: first, she willingly accepted becoming the Mother of the Redeemer - viz., the vehicle that allowed the coming of the Saviour-; second, from that moment on she bore sorrows and sufferings to favour the Redemption.<sup>32</sup> Of course, the peak of her sufferings occurred during the Passion of Christ, when, after offering him in sacrifice, she endured in her soul all of the pains that her son experienced in his body; it's the idea of compassion.

Many emblems were created to express this idea of compassion and, in general, the attitude of Mary at the foot of the Cross. Several examples are found in the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows in the former Church of the Jesuits in Oviedo (fig. 11); not without reason, the entrance arch was decorated in the 18th century with twenty-four emblems<sup>33</sup> taken from a book devoted to the Virgin of Sorrows: A. Ginther's *Mater Amoris et Doloris*.<sup>34</sup>

For instance, the emblem illustrating the 45<sup>th</sup> *consideratio* (figs. 12-13) depicts a cypress with the inscription *Concussio firmat* [Disturbance strengthens]. The author clarifies its content by saying: "Look, the cypress is a beautifully supplied tree, that at no time in the year loses its vigour and never gives in to damages of the winds or storms, but it always keeps intact the very same vigour. [...] Hence an illustrious symbol of the sorrowful Virgin, always persistent beneath the cross, with all the anguishes"<sup>35</sup>

In particular, and as the brief statement that heads this meditation summarizes, A. Ginther uses this emblem to highlight a specific moment: the one that immediately follows the death of Christ, because it leads him to reflect on how the "Blessed Virgin and Mother of Sorrows firmly perseveres beneath the cross even after the bloody death of her Son"<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, in the course of the meditation he also recalls the very first moment, when she offered her son in sacrifice to benefit men. It's clearly the notion of Co-Redemption: "Holy Mother, Mother of Sorrows, who could explain your undefeated persistence beneath the cross not only when you, standing firmer than a rock, took in your arms with fervent affection your beloved Son, deposed from the Cross by Joseph and Nicodemus, but also when you, like another Spartan woman, offered him for a holocaust to God the Father in the altar of your heart in return for the salvation of humankind"<sup>37</sup>

### **Mary, *Aurora ab lacrymis***

Actually A. Ginther goes even further and employs the emblem thought to meditate on the nativity of Mary to underline the future presence of the Virgin on Mount Calvary and thus her role as Co-Redeemer (figs. 14-15). This time the picture shows the dawn, the motto reads *Aurora ab lacrymis* (Dawn after tears), and the header of the *consideratio* announces: "The Virgin of Sorrows comes into the world at dawn and next to the Sheep Gate Pool (foreshadowing of the future Passion)".<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, and on the one hand, Mary's birth resembles the dawn because it heralds the arrival of Christ, the Sun of Justice; on the other, the proximity to the Sheep Gate Pool "foreshadowed the fact that someday, when this real pool of graces were opened for the salvation of the world, she should stand next to the Cross as a loyal advocate for our salvation and contributor to the redemption, not dying with our Redeemer, but providing him with the humanity, as instrument of the divinity, with which he carried out the redemption".<sup>39</sup>

### **Mary, who *Usque ad occasum sequitur***

The perseverance of Mary at the foot of the Cross is also signified in the emblem of the sunflower with the inscription *Usque ad occasum sequor* (I follow until the sunset), which is for example displayed in the chapel of Our Lady of Hope in Abrunhosa (Portugal; fig. 16). The wooden coffered ceiling of the presbytery (fig. 17) was painted in the 18th century<sup>40</sup> with two series of applied emblematics: one corresponds to the Mysticism and is based on H. Hugo's *Pia Desideria*<sup>41</sup>; the other one is devoted to the Virgin and draws its inspiration once again from F. Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus*. This time, for the aforementioned emblem the encyclopaedia notes on the margin "The Virgin Mary beneath the Cross" and in the commentary it states: "Consider as perfect idea of genuine love the Virgin Mary, who inseparable followed, like a beautiful sunflower, the Divine Sun, Christ, until the sunset of his cruel death".<sup>42</sup>

### **Mary shines *Aliis, non sibi***

Although it is quite common that authors of Marian emblems make use of their prose commentaries to advise the faithful to imitate the virtue or attitude there symbolized so as to eventually receive salvation, there also exist some examples expressly conceived to present the Virgin as the model to emulate. In my opinion, such an exemplary role may be somehow considered as a form of mediation given the fact that it helps people to gain eternal life; in other words: because of how Mary behaved throughout her entire life, she is the guide that shows the correct path to Heaven.

This is the message that lies beneath the emblem of the lamp with the inscription *Aliis, non sibi* (For others, not for herself), which can be found in Abrunhosa as well (fig. 18): "The Father Masenius reads this image in relation to the Virgin Mary in this epigram, 'Not for herself, but for the others, the benign lamp living and fiery spreads the oil from the burning bonfires. In a similar fashion the calm mother, brighter than any lamp, shines with her example for us, she burns in love'. It is thus not without reason that the beneficent mother be called by Ecbertus: 'Shining lamp, with whose splendour the lost drachma is found'".<sup>43</sup>

### **Conclusion**

On the basis of the examples discussed throughout this essay, it can be stated that the Early Modern Iberian Peninsula was not unaware of applied emblematics, but this region was an active participant in this cultural phenomenon. Both in Spain and Portugal emblems were displayed with a didactic purpose, which, in the case of the Virgin Mary, concerned the teaching of her prerogatives. Namely, the prerogative of the mediation comprised several duties: intercession, help against enemies, distribution of graces, co-redemption, and exemplary role; all



9 Miguel Antonio García de Bouzas (attribution), *Memor ab alto*, c. 1735, Chapel of Our Lady of the Big Eyes, Cathedral of Lugo, Spain



10 Gottfried Bernhard Göz and Joseph Sebastian Klauber, *Ascendit ad caelos*, plate no. 99, C. Leuthner, *Coelum Christianum*, 1749 (© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/Asc. 2862 t, n.p., urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00077763-7)



11 Entrance arch with applied emblematics, 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, former church of the Society of Jesus in Oviedo, present parish of San Isidoro el Real, Spain



12 Unknown painter, *Concussio firmat*, 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, former church of the Society of Jesus in Oviedo, present parish of San Isidoro el Real, Spain





13 First page of the *Consideratio* no. 45, A. Ginther, *Mater amoris et doloris*, 1711 (© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Th Pr 351, p. 361, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11229248-1)



14 Unknown painter, *Aurora ab lacrimis*, 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, former church of the Society of Jesus in Oviedo, present parish of San Isidoro el Real, Spain



15 First page of the *Consideratio* no. 4, A. Ginther, *Mater amoris et doloris*, 1711 (© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4 Th Pr 351, p. 33, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11229248-1)



16 Unknown painter (José Pascoal Parente?), *Usque ad occasum sequor*, second third of 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Hope, Abrunhosa, Portugal



17 Wooden coffered ceiling with applied emblematics, second third of 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Hope, Abrunhosa, Portugal



18 Unknown painter (José Pascoal Parente?), *Aliis, non sibi*, second third of 18<sup>th</sup> c., Chapel of Our Lady of Hope, Abrunhosa, Portugal

\* Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18 are photos by C. López Calderón

of them were conveyed through emblems. In addition, these ideas regarding the mediation of the Virgin –and, in general, every Marian prerogative– were shared by all the Catholic territories, a fact that the Iberian applied emblematics clearly attest to since the majority of them were based on emblem books issued elsewhere in Europe, mostly in present Germany, Belgium and Italy.

- 
- 1 A rich sample of the sundry proposals made by emblem scholars to define what emblems are – proof of the impossibility to offer a satisfactory comprehensive definition – was presented by Professor David Graham in the opening lecture of the Tenth International Conference of the Society for Emblem Studies (Kiel, July 2014), entitled “Turning the accomplishment of many years into an hour-glass’: Lessons from the History of Emblem Studies”. The same author, when suggesting in a previous essay a typological classification that favours function over form, given the heterogeneous nature of the emblematic structure, stated that “as a bimedral assemblage combining a woodcut or engraving with an ensemble of textual fragments whose number, length and origin are subject to variation, and each of which may appear in a variety of locations on the printed page, the emblem inevitably combines medium, structure and function in its various parts in ways very difficult to disentangle. [...] The canonical tripartite structure thus provides a convenient but not necessary container for the functions necessary to the distillation of a single meaning from the iterative cross-referential reading of a woodcut or engraving operating in semiotically open space and one or more short texts that collectively work together to circumscribe and constrain that space”. Cfr. D. GRAHAM, “*Emblema Multiplex: towards a Typology of Emblematic Forms, Structures and Functions*”, in: *Emblem Scholarship: Directions and Developments. A Tribute to Gabriel Hornstein*, P. DALY (ed.), Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, pp. 133-134, 153. As for the above suggested main contents, or single meanings, of the emblems – viz. abstract ideas –, see endnote 3 for a more detailed explanation.
  - 2 Given its pioneering role, it is not without reason the wide scholarly attention given to Alciato’s *Emblematum liber* and subsequent editions. Twenty two of them, including the *editio princeps*, were digitized within the project *Alciato at Glasgow*; see: <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/> (accessed 25 October 2016). In particular, the facsimile and the transcribed page corresponding to the emblem *Auxilium Nunquam Deficiens* can be found at [http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/dual.php?type1=1&id1=A31a044&type2=2&id2=sm18\\_C2v](http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/dual.php?type1=1&id1=A31a044&type2=2&id2=sm18_C2v).
  - 3 These natural or artificial bodies do not necessarily match a particular object or being (for example, a specific table or dog), but they can also be its abstraction (the idea of table or dog). However, these kinds of abstract ideas usually only take part in the construction of the emblem and are not the result of its interpretation; as previously pointed out, most emblems mean either concepts typically lacking a concrete or physical counterpart (as would be the case, for instance, of the idea of wisdom or greed) - although their features or essence are found in other material bodies (a wise or greedy man) whose abstraction (the idea of the wise or the greedy man) proves suitable for an emblematic codification (e.g. Alciato’s *In Avaros*) and thus provides an exception to the aforementioned norm -, or more elaborated principles connected with this kind of concepts (e.g. Alciato’s *Amicitia etiam post mortem durans*). In addition, it’s widely accepted that emblems furnish a lesson of general applicability, unlike the individual, personal nature of the *imprese* or devices; see for example P. DALY, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, Toronto Buffalo London, University of Toronto Press, 1998, pp. 29-30.
  - 4 About the general features of the Neoestocism and its adoption as a Christian moral philosophy in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, see D. DOMÍNGUEZ MANZANO, “El estoicismo como moral en Vives, el Brocense y Quevedo”, in: *INGENIUM. Revista de historia del pensamiento moderno*, no. 5, 2011, pp. 105-131.
  - 5 G. DE MONTENAY, *Emblemes, ou Devises chestiennes*, Lyon, Par Jean Marcorelle, 1571, n. p. (“*A tres illustre et vertuesse princesse Madame leanne d’Albret, Reine de Navarre, Georgette de Montenay humble salut*”).
  - 6 For a long time, this book was considered to be issued in 1571; see for instance: M. PRAZ, *Studies in the Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Second edition considerably increased*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964, p. 44. However, thanks to a volume kept in the Royal Library of Denmark, it has been demonstrated that the first edition actually dates back to 1567; see: A. ADAMS, “Les emblemes ou devises chrestiennes de Georgette de Montenay: edition de 1567”, in: *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 62, no. 3, 2000, pp. 637-639.

- 7 As has been proven, three different *octavo* editions of Montano's text were produced by Christopher Plantin in 1571, 1575 and 1581, whose illustrations were not printed together with the corresponding text or even at least all of them simultaneously, but added later and at discrete moments of time in Mynken Lieftrinck's print workshop. Thus, for example, the sheets of text printed between May and August 1571 received their images in a period that was extended for almost one year, since some of the resulting illustrated copies appeared between August and October 1571 and others between July and August 1572; see: K. BOWEN, "Illustrating Books with Engravings: Plantin's Working Practices Revealed", in: *Print Quarterly*, vol. 20, nº 1, 2003, p. 8.
- 8 Suffice it to take a look at the five bulky volumes gathering Jesuit emblem books, issued under the title *Corpus Librorum Emblematum. The Jesuit Series*, P. DALY- R. DIMLER (eds.), Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997 (volume 1); Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 2000-2007. On the other hand, the importance of emblematics within the Jesuit order has been highlighted by many publications; see for example K. PORTEMAN, *Emblematic Exhibitions (affixiones) at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630-1685)*, Brussels, Belgian Royal Library, 1996, or *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: selected papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August 1996*, J. MANNING- M. VAN VAECK (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols, 1999.
- 9 The decorations based on symbolical representations (emblems, devices, hieroglyphs, and the like) that were conceived as a key part of distinct celebrations especially in the Baroque Era (royal entries, weddings, canonization of saints, and so on) have been the issue of many scholarly publications; the three books produced over the last five years by the Spanish research group *Iconografía e História del Arte* (University Jaume I) accounting for the Baroque Fiesta in the Reign of Valencia, the Spanish American viceroyalties, and the Reigns of Naples and Sicilia are a case in point. In a similar vein, it is currently under development a Federal Belgian research project entitled *Cultures du spectacle baroque*, which focuses on religious celebrations (<http://spectaclebaroque.eu>). On the other hand, although most of these studies must rely on handwritten or printed records of the festivals since the emblematical and related compositions were not preserved, there are some exceptions that have reached today and thus provide an idea of what they might have looked like once; it is the case for instance of the hieroglyphs composed in 1789 to celebrate the funeral rites of the King Charles III in the Cathedral of Pamplona, partly reused thirty years later for the Queen María Isabel of Portugal, and kept in this city's Municipal Archive; cfr. J.J. AZANZA LÓPEZ- J.L. MOLINS MUGUETA: *Las exequias reales del regimiento pamplonés en la Edad Moderna: ceremonial funerario, arte efímero y emblemática*, Pamplona, Ayuntamiento de Pamplona, 2005.
- 10 This field of the emblematics is progressively catching the attention of more scholars and there exists a joint initiative to map all of these cycles through a project entitled *Mundus Emblematicus*. See: P.G. LEAL, "An Introduction to *Mundus Emblematicus*: Challenges and Opportunities", presentation given at the Sixteenth Century Society Conference in Bruges, 20 August 2016. Several publications have demonstrated the need and viability of such an interactive map; among others, D. BITTERLI, *Der Bilderhimmel von Hergiswald: der barocke Emblemzyklus der Wallfahrtskirche Unserer Lieben Frau in Hergiswald bei Luzern, seine Quellen, sein mariologisches Programm und seine Bedeutung*, Basel, Wiese, 1999; *The emblem and architecture: studies in applied emblematics from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries*, H. BÖKER-P. DALY (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols, 1999; S. MÖDERSHEIM, "The Emblem in Architecture", in: *Emblem Scholarship, op. cit.*, 2005, pp. 159-185.
- 11 Although it is common to find displayed emblems based on printed emblems with the very same addressee (for example, a cycle of applied emblematics devoted to the Virgin Mary that draws on emblems published elsewhere and already dedicated to her), there exist some interesting examples of emblem reworking; for instance, in the Church of Nossa Senhora do Terço in Barcelos (Portugal), several emblems conveying the life of saint Benedict in João dos Prazeres' *O Príncipe dos Patriarcas S. Bento* were adapted to illustrate some precepts of the *Regula Benedicti* (J.J. GARCÍA ARRANZ, "Azulejos and Emblematics in Eighteenth Century Portugal: the Hieroglyphic Programmes of Masters António and Policarpo de Oliveira Bernardes", in: *Mosaics of Meaning. Studies in Portuguese Emblematics*, L. GOMES [ed.], Glasgow, University of Glasgow, 2009, pp. 125-151), and in the church of Saint Judoc at Blatten (Switzerland), the life of the patron saint was emblematized on the basis of the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu*, the book issued to commemorate the first centenary of the Jesuit order (D. BITTERLI, "Imago Sancti Judoci: An Unknown Cycle of Applied Emblems in Central Switzerland", in: *Visual Words and Verbal Pictures. Essays in Honour of Michael Bath*, A. SAUNDERS-P. DAVIDSON [eds.], Glasgow, University of Glasgow, 2005, pp. 13-36).

- 12 F. PICINELLI-A. D'ERATH, *Mundus symbolicus in emblematum universitate formatus, explicatus, et tam sacris, quam eruditionibus ac sententiis illustratus: subministrans oratoribus, praedicatoribus, academicis, poetis, &c. innumera conceptuum argumenta*, Coloniae Agrippinae, sumptibus Hermanni Demen, 1687, p. 320. Here and throughout this essay, all translations from non-English texts are my own.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 547.
- 14 On the contrary, the Council of Trent reasserts in the Session XXV the Catholic belief in saintly intercession: "The saints, who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, [and] help for obtaining benefits from God, through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour; but that they think impiously, who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invocated; or who assert either that they do not pray for men; or, that the invocation of them to pray for each of us even in particular, is idolatry; or, that it is repugnant to the word of God; and is opposed to the honour of the one mediator of God and men, Christ Jesus; or, that it is foolish to supplicate, vocally, or mentally, those who reign in heaven"; cfr. *The Council of Trent. The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent. Ed. and trans. J. Waterworth*, London, Dolman, 1848, available from internet <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent.html> (accessed 27 October 2016).
- 15 "While Lutheran preachers strive to remain orthodox, especially accepting the statements of the early church councils, they transform the traditional image of Mary: she no longer serves as the powerful Queen of Heaven, but is only held up and praised as a meek, pious, chaste and obedient girl. Because of the theological changes inaugurated by Luther and the social conservatism of the Lutheran clergy, Mary could no longer be portrayed as an active figure, but rather must serve as a passive representative of the faithful Christian"; cfr. B. KREITZER, *Reforming Mary. Changing images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 25.
- 16 The chapel was built and decorated in the decade of 1726-1736; since in 1735 the painter Miguel Antonio García de Bouzas was commissioned to paint and gild the Niche of the Virgin, the mural emblematic cycle has been also attributed to him. See: J.M. MONTERROSO MONTERO, *La pintura barroca en Galicia (1620-1750)*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade, Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico, 1996, pp. 103, 591. On the other hand, the three main sources of these paintings –viz. F. Picinelli's *Mundus Symbolicus*, J. David's *Pancarpium Marianum* and B. van Haeften's *Schola Cordis* – are discussed, respectively, in C. LÓPEZ CALDERÓN, "La exaltación de la *Deipara Virgo* a través de la emblemática: la capilla de la Virgen de los Ojos Grandes de la Catedral de Lugo", in: *Emblemática Trascendente. Hermenéutica de la imagen, iconología del texto*, R.ZAFRA-J.J. AZANZA (eds.), Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 2011, pp. 407-415; *Eadem*, "El *Pancarpium Marianum* de Jan David: grabados y conceptos para la Capilla de Nuestra Señora de los Ojos Grandes (Lugo)", in: *Imago. Revista de emblemática y cultura visual*, no. 4, 2012, doi: 10.7203/imago.4.1441, pp. 41-54; *Eadem*, "A Play on Emblems: Reworking the Schola Cordis into a Marian Catholic Programme of Applied Emblems", in press.
- 17 I. PORTABALES NOGUEIRA, "Descripción de la Capilla de la Virgen que bajo la advocación de nuestra Señora de los Ojos Grandes se venera en la catedral lucense. Ligera nota histórico-descriptiva. Pinturas de la cúpula. Inscripción del aro de la cúpula. Pinturas de los arcos torales. Incripciones de las bóvedas de cascarón. Pinturas de las pechinas, pilastras y ventanas", in: *Abecedario de la catedral de Lugo*, vol. 3, MS., fol. 1004r., the Cathedral Archive, Lugo.
- 18 The image can be found in *Alciato at Glasgow*; [http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/facsimile.php?id=sm23b\\_f8v](http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/facsimile.php?id=sm23b_f8v) (accessed 28 October 2016).
- 19 C. VAN HOORN, *Tractatus morialis de laudibus et praerogativis divae Virginis Mariae*, Gandavi, Typis Maximiliani Graet ad signum Angeli, 1660, p. 372.
- 20 F.X. DORNN, *Litaniae Lauretanae ad Beatae Virginis, caelique Reginae Mariae, honorem, et gloriam prima vice in Domo Lauretana a sanctis angelis decantatae, postea ab Ecclesia Catholica. Approbatae & Confirmatae, Symbolicis ac Biblicis Figuris in quinquaginta septem iconismis aeneis expressae, & secundum ordinem titulorum exhibitae, Pia meditatione*, Augustae Vindelicorum, sumptibus Joannis Baptistae Burckhart, 1750. The various editions and translations of this influential and widespread work can be found in R. AMARAL, "Bibliography of the Litany of Loreto illustrated with emblematic plates by the Brothers Klauber, of Augsburg, or after them", in: *Society for Emblem Studies Newsletter*, no. 48, January, 2011, pp. 10-16, <http://www.emblemstudies.org/files/2014/02/Newsletter-48-January-2011.pdf> (accessed 28 October 2016). The list has been slightly corrected by the same author in two subsequent *Newsletters*, namely in nos. 54 (January, 2014, p. 18) and 55 (July, 2014, pp. 17-18).

- 21 According to the records of the Monastery, these paintings were executed in the triennium 1764-1767 (see the transcription in P.C. TEIXEIRA ROQUE DE ALMEIDA, *O azulejo do século XVIII na arquitectura das Ordens de S. Bento e de S. Francisco no Entre Douro e Minho*, Master Thesis, University of Porto, 2004, p. 303); however, such accounts only refer to the *quadratura*, the illusionistic architectural frameworks, and no mention of the central figures is made at all.
- 22 The image accompanying this essay is taken from the 1771 *Litaniae Lauretanae* edition and it was thus published after the execution of the Pombeiro's paintings. However, this print does not feature any meaningful change regarding the *intaglio* of the first edition, which can be found in the following link [http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~emblem/loadframe.html?toc\\_name=dornx\\_lilaur.html&img\\_id=img\\_dornx\\_lilaur00033](http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~emblem/loadframe.html?toc_name=dornx_lilaur.html&img_id=img_dornx_lilaur00033) (accessed 29 October 2016).
- 23 F.X. DORNN, *op. cit.*, 1750, p. 9r.
- 24 It is necessary to keep in mind that Catholics used to attribute their victories to the Virgin Mary, both in the European and the overseas wars. The Battle of Lepanto, in which the Virgin was invoked through the prayer of the Rosary, is a good case in point due to its consequences: the institution of the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary and the addition of the title *Auxilium christianorum* to the Litany of Loreto.
- 25 J. DAVID, *Pancarpium marianum septemplici titulorum serie distinctum, ut in B. Virginis odorem curramus et Christum formetur in nobis*, Antuerpiae, Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1607. For a description of this volume, which actually is the second part of the book *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae*, and the archival records kept in the Museum Plantin Moretus concerning the number of copies printed, cost and payments made to Theodore Galle for the illustrations, see D. IMHOF, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press: a Bibliography of the works published and printed by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589-1610)*, vol. 1, Leiden, Brill, 2014, pp. 227-229.
- 26 J. DAVID, *op. cit.*, 1607, p. 119.
- 27 A Latin-Spanish version of this sermon can be found in BERNARDO DE CLARAVAL, "El acueducto", in: *Obras completas de san Bernardo, Sermones litúrgicos* (2º), vol. IV, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2006, pp. 418-427.
- 28 J. BOSCHIUS, *Symbolographia sive de Arte Symbolica sermones septem*, Augustae Vindelicorum & Dilingae, apud Joannem Casparum Bencard, 1701, p. 8. The emblem is displayed with the no. 74 in the plate no. 4.
- 29 C. LEUTHNER, *Coelum Christianum: in quo vita, doctrina, passio D. N. Jesu Christi, nonnulla Deiparae Virginis festa, SS. Apostolorum & Evangelistarum gesta &c. symbolicis figuris expressa, epigrammate sacro elucidata, pia meditatione expensa proponuntur*, Augustae & Herbipoli, sumptibus Martini Veith, 1749, n.p. (plate no. 99).
- 30 C.-F. MENESTRIER, *Philosophia imaginum id est sylloge symbolorum amplissima*, Amsteladami & Gedani, apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1695, pp. 717-718.
- 31 F. PICINELLI-A. D'ERATH, *op. cit.*, 1687, p. 296.
- 32 For example, "it cannot be doubted that the Holy Virgin Mary was perfectly instructed on the mystery of our redemption since she became the Mother of the Saviour and that she knew all of its circumstances. The Eternal Father, having chosen her as the Mother of his Son, had provided her over this son with every right that a mother may have over her son. It was thus necessary that she consented to his death and sacrifice for the salvation of men; this is the sacrifice that she made of this beloved Son, when she went for herself to offer him to the temple, where the prophet Simeon predicted that the passion of the Son would be at the same time the passion of the mother"; in: J. CROISSET, *Año cristiano, o ejercicios devotos para todos los domingos, días de cuaresma y fiestas movibles. Tomo II*, J.M. DÍAZ JIMÉNEZ (trans.), Barcelona, Imprenta de D. Pablo Riera, 1855, pp. 261-262.
- 33 According to the *Annuae litterae Castellanae Provinciae*, in the triennium of 1737-1740 "works in the magnificent structure of the temple keep going on and they have progressed a lot in these three years, with images and other very splendid objects being placed; an altar of Our Lady of Sorrows has recently been erected" (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Cast. 32 II, fol. 604v). Therefore, although the painter, intellectual author and specific chronology of this emblematic cycle remain unknown, this record provides a *terminus post quem* for the execution of these paintings, which on the other hand most likely occurred before the expulsion of the Society in 1767. For an overview of all the emblems of this chapel, see: C. LÓPEZ CALDERÓN, "Imágenes para la exaltación de la *Mater amoris et doloris*: las pinturas de la Capilla de la Dolorosa en la iglesia de San Isidoro el Real (Oviedo) a través de los emblemas marianos de Antonio Ginther", in: *Liño, Revista Anual de Historia del Arte. Universidad de Oviedo*, no. 17, 2011, pp. 65-79.
- 34 A. GINTHER, *Mater amoris et doloris, quam Christus in cruce moriens omnibus ac singulis suis fidelibus in matrem legavit, Ecce Mater Tua, nunc explicata per Sacra Emblemata, Figuras Scripturae quàm plurimas, Conceptus varios Praedicabiles*,

- SS. Patrum Sententias, raras Historias & vix ad Jesum patientem, ac sactissimam matrem eius compatientem affectus, Augusta Vindellicorum, sumptibus Martini Veith, 1711.*
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 361.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 367.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- 40 The paintings covering the vault of the nave are dated in 1763 and signed by the Italian painter José Pascoal Parente; it is unclear if he was also responsible for the decoration of the presbytery. However, it is undeniable that the whole inner ornamentation, which comprises paintings, altarpieces and glazed tiles, responds to a consistent programme conceived to praise and extol the Virgin Mary. For an overview of the chapel and its history, see M.F. EUSEBIO, *A Capela de Nossa Senhora da Esperança. A Obra de arte Total num Depoimento de Fé*, Viseu, Sacre-Fundação Mariana Seixas, 2006.
- 41 Although the first edition of this work was published in 1624 in Antwerp by Henricus Aertssenius, the series that was followed in Abrunhosa seems to correspond to the one used to illustrate the 1670 Paris edition, later copied in the 1679 Lyon edition. Both editions are described in P.DALY-R.DIMLER, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 2002, pp. 136, 140.
- 42 F. PICINELLI-A. D'ERATH, *op. cit.*, 1687, p. 649.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

---

### Carme López Calderón

#### Amblematizacija Marije

#### Prikazi amblema koji tumače Djevičino posredovanje na Iberijskom poluotoku u ranom novom vijeku

Među raznim osobinama koje katolička Crkva pridaje Mariji, jedna se posebno istaknula neposredno nakon Trident-skog sabora – Marijina uloga Posrednice. Suprotno pasivnoj ulozi koju joj dodjeljuje Reformacija, katolička je Crkva istaknula njezino aktivno sudjelovanje u jamčenju vječne duhovne milosti vjernicima, potvrdivši ju kao su-otkupiteljicu, djeli-teljicu milosti, pomoćnicu, posrednicu, zaštitnicu te kao uzor. Uz rasprave, propovjedi i pobožne knjige, koje su pravdale i tumačile ovu kontroverznu osobinu Djevice, sakralna je umjetnost postala ključna u promicanju ideje o postojanju takvog nepogrešivog saveznika, koji vjernicima može pomoći u svladavanju neizbježnih zamki života, pronalasku pravoga puta do Raja i izbjegavanju vječnog prokletstva. Udaljivši se od tradicionalnih ikonografskih prikaza, neka se od ovih djela okre-ću novom žanru – amblematici - kombinirajući tekst (*inscriptio/subscriptio*), prikaz (*pictura*) i raznolike metafore. Ovaj tekst prikazuje i interpretira osam amblema povezanih s posredovanjem Djevice, iz četiri različite iberijske crkve, smještene na sjeverozapadu Španjolske i u sjevernom i središnjem Portugala, iz 18. stoljeća. Analizirani primjeri će omogućiti (1) raspravu različitih aspekata ideje posredništva; (2) potkrjepu ideje korištenja amblema kao didaktičkog pomagala; (3) prikaz utjecaja tiskanih predložaka, izdanih u različitim djelovima Europe (najviše u današnjoj Belgiji, Njemačkoj i Italiji) na umjetničku produkciju Iberijskog poluotoka te, kao posljedica navedenih točaka, (4) potvrdu o Marijinoj aktivnoj ulozi na katoličkim teritorijima u ranom novom vijeku.

*Prijevod s engleskoga: Stella Baki*

Primljeno/Received: 30.10.2016.  
Pregledni rad