

Emblems from the Heart: The Reception of the *Cor Iesu Amanti Sacrum* Engravings Series in Polish and Netherlandish 17th-Century Manuscripts

RADOSŁAW GRZEŚKOWIAK

PAUL HULSENBOOM

University of Gdańsk

Stedelijk Gymnasium Nijmegen

Instytut Filologii Polskiej
Uniwersytet Gdański
80-395 Gdańsk, Poland

Sophiaweg 398 2
6523 NJ Nijmegen,
Netherlands

radoslaw.grzeskowiak@univ.gda.pl

paul.hulsenboom@outlook.com

Abstract: The *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*, a series of engravings made by Anton II Wierix around the year 1600, became one of the most important series of religious emblems from the 17th and 18th centuries. The engravings' printed reception is well known: there are numerous graphical copies, as well as books written on the basis of the emblems, starting with the work by the French Jesuit Étienne Luzvic, entitled *Le coeur devot throsne royal de Iesus pacifique Salomon*, from 1626. The article discusses the handwritten reception of the series, which until now has remained virtually uninvestigated. The authors analyze five works of literature, preserved in Polish and Netherlandish 17th-century manuscripts and inspired by the engravings from the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*: *Het herte Jesu* by an anonymous Netherlandish protestant (a manuscript from Tilburg), *Opofferingh van het herte aan den Bruijdegom Iesus Christus* by the Netherlandish scientist and doctor Jan Swammerdam (a manuscript from Ghent), and three untitled Polish versions: a poetical collection by the Jesuit Mikołaj Mieleszko, dedicated to the Duchess Katarzyna Radziwiłł in 1657 (a manuscript from Saint-Petersburg) and two different works preserved in monastic libraries (manuscripts from Imbramowice and Stary Sącz).

Keywords: *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*; religious emblems; Polish and Netherlandish 17th-century manuscripts; Anton II Wierix; Jan Swammerdam; Mikołaj Mieleszko

The Southern Netherlands, around the turn of the 17th century: In order to pay off their gambling debts and to afford their overall bawdy lifestyle, the three Wierix brothers produced high quality engravings, often ordered by the Jesuits. They belonged to a group of engravers whose works captured the public's imagination as never before, as they were reproduced and distributed not only in the Old World, but also, by Jesuit missionaries, in Southern America, ¹ India and China (Menegon 2007), propagating a new and attractive iconography. Paintings imitating their engravings were made in the churches of big cities as well as in the remote countryside.

The Wierix brothers influenced more than just painters and local craftsmen, however. ² Paving the way for a Counter-Reformation offensive, the engravings also sparked works of literature. In Poland, one of the engravings by Anton II Wierix (ca. 1555-1604) inspired the young poet Kasper Twardowski, who described it meticulously in an allegorical poem concerning his conversion and atonement for the sins of his youth (Twardowski 1998). Another engraving for over thirty years occupied Waclaw Potocki, who dedicated two poems to it and referred to it in a number of other compositions (Potocki 2012). The artistic representations made by the Wierix brothers greatly influenced the rise of a new religious discourse, applied in graphic arts and painting, as well as literature.

As is typical of the time, the Wierix brothers' engravings combined graphical images with literary texts. The oldest of the three, Hieronymus, dedicated a small series of engravings, entitled *Iesu Christi Dei, Domini, Salvatoris nostri infantia* [The Childhood of Jesus Christ, God, our Lord, the Savior], to Christ's childhood. Apart from the title page, each image received a rhymed Latin inscription, composed in the intricate six verse stanza structure popularized by the *Stabat Mater* (8aa7b8cc7b): a syllabic count of 887887 to complement the aabccb rhyme pattern. The series of scenes from the Holy Family's life is captivating, showing a joyful tranquility and satisfaction derived from the shared performance of household chores (*Wierix Family* 2003: 81-89: No. 484-496).

Hieronymus was also the author of several compositions combining the Infant Jesus with a heart symbol, for example in an engraving displaying the Savior knocking on the door of a believer's heart, which is accompanied by an inscription written in a similar six verse stanza (*Wierix Family* 2003: 56: No. 464). ³

¹ A good example of the study of this subject regarding Southern America can be found on <www.colonialart.org>, the website of the Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (University of California).

² See, for information about the influence of western graphic art in Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries, e.g., the most recent publications: Moisan-Jabłońska and Ponińska 2010; Moisan-Jabłońska 2011, 2013.

³ Cf. the separate series of engravings by Hieronymus centering around the Infant Christ (*Wierix*

Importantly, however, none of these pieces became as successful as the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* [The Heart Devoted to the Loving Jesus], a set of 18 engravings modeled after Hieronymus' works. Made by his younger brother Anton II, the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* became one of the most popular series of religious emblems of the 17th century.

The series is not dated. In the old catalog of the Wierix brothers' works, 1585-1586 is proposed as a possible period of its composition (Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1978: 68). The authors of a more recent study, however, date the engravings to around the year 1600 (*Wierix Family* 2003: 44). The reception of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* indicates that this second suggestion is rather more likely: the oldest testimony hereof comes from the first decade of the 17th century, while during the second decade the interest in the engravings rose exponentially.⁴

On the title page, which opens the series, a flaming heart is held up by a Jesuit and a Franciscan friar, yet in the background these are aided by townspeople of both sexes and different ages, indicating that the intended readers of the collection were not only clergymen, but also both adult and adolescent laymen. Except for the title page, each of the remaining 17 engravings has a commentary in the form of six rhymed Latin verses written in the already mentioned meter. For example, the image showing the Child Jesus illuminating the darkness of the sinful heart is accompanied by the following inscription (*Wierix Family* 2003: 51: No. 449/I):

Dum scrutaris in lucernis
Et vestigas cum laternis
Cor peccatis obsitum,
O, quot monstra deprehendis!
Iesu, scopas ni prehendis,
Manet culpis perditum.

While you search between the lights
And with lanterns search through
The heart, which is besieged by sins,
O, what monsters do you find!
Jesus, if you do not take a broom,
(The heart) will remain lost in faults.⁵

The author has not indicated the correct order of the engravings, yet the outline of their succession is clear: the human heart, once it is released from the nets of its three metaphysical enemies (the World, the Flesh and the Devil), and once it has been cleansed of its sins and consecrated with the Savior's blood, becomes

Family 2003: 98-104; No. 512-520). There is as yet no monograph discussing the genesis and reception of this series. Cf. Sauvy 1989: 55-64; Dekoninck 2005: 361-366; Mieleszko 2010: 16-21, 33-36 (containing the latest state of research). Also see Dubois 1987; Oczko 2013: 272-275; Grześkowiak 2013; Kowzan 2015.

⁴ The *terminus ante quem* of the series signed "Anton Wierx [!] fecit et excud[it]" must be Anton II's year of death, 1604. The oldest mention of the first copies of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* comes from a letter from Francis de Sales written to Jeanne de Chantal from the year 1605 (Dekoninck 2005: 362-363; also see Guiderdoni-Bruslé 2002: 47-48).

⁵ All translations are our own.

Christ's abode, leading to the triumphant crowning of the heart, which can thus reach redemption and total unification with God.⁶

Making the Christian heart the Infant Jesus' place of activity also made possible the rendering of the nuances of inner religious experience. Influenced by the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*, St. Francis de Sales thus described, in his 1608 meditational manual *Introduction à la vie devote* [Introduction to the Devout Life], one of the preliminary ways of preparing for the reflection on God:

[...] il [Dieu] est tres-particulierement en vôtre coeur, et au fond de vôtre esprit, lequel il vivisie et anime de la divine presence, étant-là, comme le coeur devôte coeur, et l'esprit de vôtre esprit; car comme l'ame étant répanduë par tout le corps. se trouve presente en toutes les parties d'icelui, et reside neanmoins au coeur d'une speciale residence: de même, Dieu étant tres-present à toutes choses, assiste toutefois d'une speciale façon à nôtre esprit. (De Sales 1608: II, 2)

[He is especially present in your heart and in the depths of your spirit, which He kindles and inspires with His Holy Presence, abiding there as Heart of your heart, Spirit of your spirit. Just as the soul animates the whole body, and every member thereof, but abides especially in the heart, so God, while present everywhere, makes His special abode within our spirit.]

The heart of the believer thus became a symbol of a piety based on the individual experience of religious truths and an openness towards God. It was in the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series that the human heart was for the first time to such an extent considered to be the scene of spiritual experience, as the images *de facto* represented a kind of meditational synopsis, crowned by a complete mystical

⁶ This is the series' order as described in the most recent catalog (*Wierix Family*: 44-54; following each engraving's description, we add the inscription's Latin incipit, abbreviated as inc.): 1) the title page *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* (No. 445); 2) Jesus frees the heart from the nets of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil (inc. "Fallax mundus ornat vultus," No. 446); 3) Jesus ignites the heart with the flaming arrows of God's love (inc. "Sat est, Iesu, vulnerasti," No. 447); 4) Jesus knocks on the heart's door (inc. "Ultro cordis portam pulsat," No. 448); 5) Jesus illuminates the heart, which is full of sin-embodiment reptiles and amphibians (inc. "Dum scrutaris in lucernis," No. 449); 6) Jesus sweeps away the sins from the heart (inc. "O beatam cordis aedem!", No. 450); 7) Jesus sprinkles the heart with His blood (inc. "Eia, Iesu, Tibi notum," No. 451); 8) Jesus blazes with love inside the heart (inc. "En armatas flammis tendit," No. 452); 9) Jesus scatters flower petals through the heart, which is surrounded with roses (inc. "Euge, puer, rosis pinget," No. 453); 10) Jesus sleeps inside the heart, which is harassed by storms (inc. "Frustra Boreas minatur," No. 454); 11) Jesus carries the *arma Christi* into the heart (inc. "Bone Iesu, conde crucem," No. 455); 12) Jesus stands in the heart as the *fons vitae* (inc. "Bone Iesu, fontes fluent," No. 456); 13) Jesus as the heart's teacher (inc. "Sunt auscultent qui Platoni," No. 457); 14) Jesus sings inside the heart, accompanied by a choir of angels (inc. "Cor exulta, quid moraris," No. 458); 15) Jesus plays the harp to a choir of angels inside the heart (inc. "Pulsa chordas, sonet chelys," No. 459); 16) Jesus paints of picture in the heart of the Four Last Things (inc. "Sume, Iesu, penicilla," No. 460); 17) Jesus sits enthroned in the heart (inc. "Quis hic vultum non serenet," No. 461); 18) Jesus crowns the redeemed heart (inc. "O beata sors amoris," No. 462).

unification. It is not surprising, therefore, that this devotional story, spread out over 18 images, gained such popularity both in Europe and beyond.

The series of engravings by Anton II quickly became imitated. As early as the 1620's, it was copied by numerous Netherlandish etchers, for instance one G. de Hollander, Michael Snijders (ca.1588-ca.1630), Karel de Mallery (1571-ca.1635), Jean Boel (1592-1640), Cornelis Galle the Elder (1576-1650), Nicolaas Lauwers (ca. 1600-1652), Jan van den Sande (1600-1664/1665), Cornelis van Tienen (died ca. 1678), and Abraham Geloude (died 1731), and German graphic artists such as Paul Fürst (1608-1666), Johann Salver (ca.1670-1738), and Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1686-1750; cf. *Wierix Family*: 45-46; the enumeration of printed imitations from the 17th century presented here is incomplete).

This is merely a selection of the makers of the most popular copies, for one must keep in mind that a significant number of them is unsigned. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that copies were also produced bearing inscriptions translated into vernacular languages. To these belong an early anonymous version with Flemish verses, and an adaptation from the middle of the 17th century, which contains both the Latin poems and their Polish translations. This set was designed for the typographer Łukasz Kupisz by the internationally well-known engraver David Tscherning, who was active in Cracow in the years 1645-1654 (Więcek 1956: 482-502; 1972: 233-284; Treiderowa 1968: 16-18).

Moreover, the success of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series caused it to be applied in emblem books. The first to do this were French Jesuits. In 1626, the Jesuit Étienne Luzvic published *Le coeur devot throsne royal de Iesus pacifique Salomon* [The Devout Heart, Royal Throne of Jesus, Pacific Salomon], using an anonymous copy of the Wierix series, and discussing 18 spiritual exercises following the rules of the Ignatian school. In the same year, the accomplished theologian and widely read Jesuit author Étienne Binet produced his own version of meditation through these engravings, entitled *Les saintes faveurs du petit Jesus au coeur qu'il ayme et qui l'ayme* [The Holy Favors of the Little Jesus in the Heart Which He Loves and Which Loves Him]. A year later, the Jesuit Carol Musart translated a compilation of Luzvic's and Binet's works, illustrated with 20 emblems, into Latin, making it the standard book on meditation. The *Cor Deo devotum Iesu pacifici Salomonis thronus regius* vastly increased the series' popularity, and became the basis for several vernacular translations and adaptations: by the Hungarian Jesuit Mátyás Hajnal (1629; cf. Hajnal 1992), the German Benedictine Carl Stengel (1630), the Italian Pauline Biagio Palma (1632) and the English Jesuit Henry Hawkins (1634/1638; cf. Hawkins 1975).

In line with the then predominant practice of Jesuit emblematics, Luzvic-Binet's tome had an outstanding meditational character, treating Wierix' engravings, in accordance with the rules set out in Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercitia spiritualia*

[Spiritual Exercises] from 1548, as the *compositio loci*: after the scene's description, the authors each time added a preamble, followed by the meditation itself, which was made up of an introductory prayer, several so-called *actus iaculatoriae* prayers, further points of meditation and a concluding recommendation to say the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*. This meditational character was also kept in the vernacular translations, adaptations and imitations of the *Cor Deo devotum Iesu...* and it is typical of the printed works inspired by the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*.

For our present purposes, it is important to note that no Polish translation or adaptation was printed during the 17th century. In the Netherlands, however, the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series was enthusiastically received. Already in 1626-1627, Luzvic's version was popularized by a translation composed by the Jesuit Gerhard Zoes, entitled *Het godtruchtich herte* [The Devout Heart; cf. Hendrickx 1994]. Beneath the engravings and their original Latin inscriptions, the author added his own Netherlandish versions, which form the point of departure for the following texts on meditation. In the second part of the 17th century, a number of new adaptations was printed: the immensely popular *Het heyligh herte* [The Holy Heart] by the Jesuit Adriaan Poirters (1659) and Fulgentius Bottens' *Het goddelick herte ofte de woonste Godts in het herte* [The Divine Heart or Homestead of God in the Heart, 1685].

For the purposes of this article, the most important version is that by the German Christian Hoburg, whose work was printed in both German and Netherlandish in Amsterdam, in 1661. The original *Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie* [Lively Heart-Theology] was issued by Henrikus Betkuis in cooperation with the French typographer Christoph le Blon, while the Netherlandish translation, *Levendige Herts-Theologie*, was printed by Christoffel Luyken.⁷ A second translation was issued by Johannes Boekholt in 1686. In his book, Hoburg had used the engravings from the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* and added texts of his own, entitled *Seelen-Gespräch* [Soul-Dialog], focusing rather on individual than on institutional devotion (Heijting 2014: 200).

Apart from the many printed versions, the 17th century also saw handwritten works of literature composed on the basis of the Wierix series. Our investigations focus on five such manuscripts, which we will discuss briefly in this article. In each case, we will present (parts of) texts written to accompany the series' already mentioned fifth engraving, in which the Infant Jesus illuminates the human heart and finds the sins of man embodied there by reptiles and amphibians (inc. "Dum scrutaris in lucernis"). Two of the manuscripts are from

⁷ Until recently no copies of either issue were known to exist. The Dutch edition of 1661 was not at all known, while the latest bibliographies described the German version from the same year on the basis of a reference, which did not mention any existing copy. (Van der Wall 1987: 147; cf. Landwehr 1988: No. 313; Daly and Dimler 2006: 24, No. 921). This state of research was recently altered (Veres 2012: 621-634; Heijting 2014: 192-207; Dietz 2014: 237-256).

the Netherlands, while three are Polish. These are currently the only known examples of this special type of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* engravings' reception, generally intended for private use or application within the small community of a monastery, and created specifically to stimulate an intimate religious experience. While the existence of one manuscript which we will discuss has remained unknown to scholars, three others have been known to exist since only a few years. With regard to the printed reception of the Wierix series, too, we must rely on our own investigations, since there is no comprehensive treatment of the subject. We therefore intend this article to be an introductory survey of the topic.

Its aim is to examine whether the handwritten works made use of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series in the same way as the printed books, or whether the formal difference between these two types of testimonies is also reflected in their contents.

1. *Het herte Jesu* (by an anonymous Protestant): A personal *Levendige Herts-Theologie*

This is a document which has until now escaped scholarly notice. The manuscript lies in the Tilburg University Library,⁸ and is bound in the original vellum covers together with (and following) Petrus Serrarius' *Goddelycke aandachten* [Divine Thoughts] from 1653, giving us a *terminus post quem* for the handwritten text (cf. Stronks 2011: 180-183). Serrarius' book was the first to apply the Catholic emblems of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* [Pious Desires] from 1624 in a Protestant work on religious meditation. As is indicated by the library stamp on the first flyleaf, the volume was once part of the archive of the Dutch Order of Capuchin Friars, which was for a long time located in 's Hertogenbosch, but was moved to the Tilburg University Library in 2006. Where the book came from before, however, and who its previous owners were, is unknown, nor is it indicated by signatures or personal comments.

The manuscript comprises 37 folio's, 18 of which are the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* engravings with their Latin inscriptions. The images are not the originals by Wierix, but copies made by Karel de Mallery, and printed by Johannes Galle in Antwerp. The engravings are not glued onto the pages, but have been interleaved with blank pages and subsequently bound together with Serrarius' book. It is possible that series of engravings such as the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* were sold including interleaved blank pages, meaning the creation of personal spiritual literature would be actively encouraged by 17th-century Low Country

⁸ Sign. TFK HS 17 (Vierda 2006: 78-79).

booksellers (cf. Dietz 2012: 123; De Baar 2005: 312, 329). However, as becomes clear from the paragraph below, not all series for personal use were interleaved, and, what's more, the order of the engravings was highly variable. It would thus seem that the arrangement of the pages, interleaved or no, was determined not by the booksellers or bookbinders, but by the owners themselves.

The blank interleaved pages are covered with Dutch religious verses accompanying the *picturae*. Each of the 18 engravings (which are on the *recto* side) is preceded and followed by a rhymed poem, written in a stylized hand. The first of the poems (on the page facing the image) is always eight lines long, while the second (on the page following the image) ranges from eight to twelve lines.⁹ The entire collection is entitled *Het herte Jesu* [The Heart of Jesus], while each of the illustrations bears a title (written above the first poem that accompanies it) that corresponds with its subject matter.¹⁰

The poems in the Tilburg manuscript are in many instances transcriptions of texts from a Netherlandish version of Christian Hoburg's *Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie*. The anonymous owner of our volume has carefully selected poems, for example those entitled *Suchtinge der Ziele* [Yearnings of the Soul]. The texts are simple, and with one exception relate directly to the engraving they belong to, describing what Christ does to the heart and how man should respond.¹¹ Sampling a text found on p. 43 of the 1686 Netherlandish translation of Hoburg's work, the poem preceding the engraving showing Jesus illuminating the heart goes as follows (p. [14], see fig. 1):

Siet Christus door zijn glansch
Een ijder mensch verlight,
En openbaert des poel
Sijns harten vol van sonden

See, Christ enlightens every man
With his radiance,
And opens the pool
Of his heart, full of sin

En is t dat hij niet self
Het leven daer in stight,
So wort den mensch door angst
Des doots geheel verslonden.

And if he himself
Does not plant life in there,
Man will be devoured by the fear
Of death entirely.

In several cases, the texts differ slightly from the translations of Hoburg's poems. Additionally, some of the Dutch verses do not correspond with any of

⁹ Following the engravings' numbers as listed above (vide supra n. 6), the author arranged them thus: 1-2, 4-6, 12, 7, 17, 13, 16, 11, 9, 14, 15, 10, 3, 8, 18.

¹⁰ Two engravings (inc. "Euge puer, rosis pinge," p. [46], and inc. "Pulsa chordas, sonet chelys," p. [54]) lack a title and a preceding poem.

¹¹ The author appears to have mixed up two engravings (inc. "Sunt auscultent qui Platoni," p. [34], and inc. "Cor exulta, quid moraris," p. [50]), both of which are accompanied by a joyful poem in which Jesus "gives the tone" and the people "jump": a theme which is more suited to the second engraving.



Fig. 1. *Het herte Jesu*. Manuscript from the Theology Collection, Tilburg University Library, TFK HS 17.

the printed translations, which may indicate the use of other sources, or perhaps that the owner himself composed them. Why some poems differ, and where the unknown texts come from, is unclear,¹² but it does suggest that the owner of the manuscript was picky, and was not easily pleased with the verses he collected and transcribed.¹³ The poem which follows our exemplary engraving is thus similar to, though not entirely the same as, a text found on p. 40 of the 1686 Netherlandish translation of Hoburg's *Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie*. The handwritten verses there read (p. [17]):

¹² The answer may lie in the fact that there are two Netherlandish translations of Hoburg's work, one from 1661 and one from 1686. According to Dietz (2014: 253-254) the translations do not differ. Additionally, Heijting (2014: 201) argues that the Netherlandish edition of 1686 contains rather more material than Hoburg's 1661 German original. We have not been able to verify this, however, as copies of both the German and Netherlandish issues of 1661 have only recently come to light. Interestingly, the 1686 translation was issued by Johannes Boekholt, who in 1691 would print the *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* [Divine Love-flames], based on the work of Petrus Serrarius and the German Lutheran reception of the *Pia desideria* (cf. Dietz 2012: 202-221).

¹³ It is interesting to note that a second, 18th-century hand occurs on the verso side of the title engraving. It is a transcript of the second poem, which it faces. The transcript seems to be intended to clarify the 17th-century text, as an explanation of one of the words is added between brackets. It is uncertain whether the 18th-century writer was aware that he was reading transcriptions of a Netherlandish translation of Hoburg's work: where the 17th-century hand wrote "vee of beest" ("cattle or beast"), following the translation, the later hand altered it to "os of bok" ("ox or goat").

O Heer, wanneer het eerste light,	O Lord, when the first light
Door u genaed' het hert verlight,	By your grace illuminates the heart,
Wat olijck tuijgh, wat vuijl gespuijs	What ugly rabble, what dirty scum
Vint ijder een tot sijnent t'huijs,	Will every man find in his home,
Hij hoopt wel hijl: maar in die plaets	He hopes for salvation: but instead
Van hijl, is niet dan alles quaets,	Of salvation, there is nothing but evil,
Wat schaemte komt hem aen, wat noot,	What shame befalls him, what distress,
Als hem soo wort zijn gront ontbloom	When his inner soul is thus revealed to him
Die ghij u hulpe niet en biet,	Whom you do not help,
Die moet vergaen in dit verdriet.	Must perish in this grief.

Transcribing samples of one of the Netherlandish translations of Hoburg's Protestant emblematic book based on the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* engravings, and adding the whole to Serrarius' Protestant adaptation of the Jesuit *Pia desideria* by Herman Hugo, it appears that the owner of the Tilburg manuscript was himself a Protestant from the Northern Netherlands, successfully using Catholic imagery to further his spiritual development. Mingling text and image, the engraving is in this case no longer at the centre of the reader's experience. Inspired by Serrarius' and Hoburg's works, the volume's owner made his own *Levendige Herts-Theologie*. However, as the work was preserved in the library of the 's Hertogenbosch Capuchin Friars, the inter-confessional use of the Wierix series turns out to have worked both ways: not only could a Protestant apply the Catholic engravings, a Capuchin Friar could also make use of the Protestant's work (cf. Dietz 2012 passim; Stronks 2011 passim).

2. *Opofferingh van het herte aan den Bruijdegom Iesus Christus* by Jan Swammerdam: From a study of ephemeral creatures to an expression of personal faith

The second manuscript can be found in the Ghent University Library (cf. De Baar 2005).¹⁴ It is bound, in vellum, together with another work, written by the Dutch physicist and biologist Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680). This book, concerning a type of ephemeral fly, is entitled *Ephemeris vita of afbeeldingh van 's menschen leven, vertoont in de wonderbaarelijcke en nooyt gehoorde historie van het vliegent ende een-dagh-levent haft of oever-aas* [The Life of an Ephemeral Fly or Representation of Human Life, Shown Through the Marvelous and Never Before Heard Story of the Flying and One-day-living Mayfly or Bank-bate], and it was printed by Abraham Wolfgang in Amsterdam in 1675. Following this biological treatise are

¹⁴ Sign. H.N. 570-570¹.

the 18 *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* engravings, copied by Karel de Mallery. The images have been printed and bound in with Swammerdam's printed work. The collection bears the handwritten title *Opofferingh van het herte aan den Bruijdegom Iesus Christus* [Sacrifice of the Heart to the Bridegroom Jesus Christ]. Beneath each of the 18 engravings are Netherlandish rhymed verses, ranging from 6 to 14 lines in length, written in the same hand as the title.¹⁵ Both the first and the final page is signed by Jan Swammerdam himself. It is only reasonable to assume, therefore, that the poems were written (and perhaps also composed) by the famous scientist.¹⁶

Swammerdam was for a long time believed to be a Reformed Calvinist. As was argued by De Baar, however, there is no evidence to support this, aside from the fact that his name features in a baptismal register from the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, saying Swammerdam was baptized there on the 15th of February, 1637 (De Baar 2005: 314-316). It is certain that he maintained contacts with non-Calvinists, most notably the French-Flemish mystic Antoinette Bourignon (1616-1680), who was introduced to the Northern Netherlands by the above mentioned Petrus Serrarius (De Baar 2005: 316-318).¹⁷ Swammerdam's correspondence from around the year 1670 reveals that he was struggling with his faith, and uncertain as to what course he should follow: that of the curious and inquisitive scientist, or that of the pious and devout Christian. Bourignon advised him to dedicate himself to God entirely, and thus forsake his worldly endeavors, but although Swammerdam came to find that the imitation of Christ is indeed a believer's true purpose, he decided to do otherwise: after spending more than a year in Bourignon's company, he returned to Amsterdam to finish his biological work on the ephemeral fly (De Baar 2005: 319-322).

Bourignon nevertheless left a considerable imprint on Swammerdam, as becomes visible in the Ghent volume. Not only does the introduction of his book end with a letter by Bourignon to Swammerdam, and are more than half of the pages of his treatise covered with prayers and religious poems and contemplations, he also added to this book his very own spiritual guide, in the form of the 18 *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* engravings, embellished with pious poems. The verses are mostly expanded translations of the Latin inscriptions beneath the *picturae*, revealing the personal devotional process of a deeply religious scientist, who seeks to come closer to God. Beneath the engraving which Swammerdam

¹⁵ Following the engravings' numbers as listed above (vide supra n. 6), Swammerdam arranged them thus: 1-2, 4-7, 16, 8, 11-15, 3, 10, 9, 18, 17.

¹⁶ The first page twice says "I.S.", the final poem is signed "J. Swammerdam." Perhaps the initials on the first page simply indicate Swammerdam as the collection's owner, while the longer signature at the end could hint at his authorship of the Dutch verses. It is also possible, of course, that Swammerdam was using and copying other texts of which we have no knowledge.

¹⁷ See, for further information about Bourignon, De Baar 2012: 202-208.

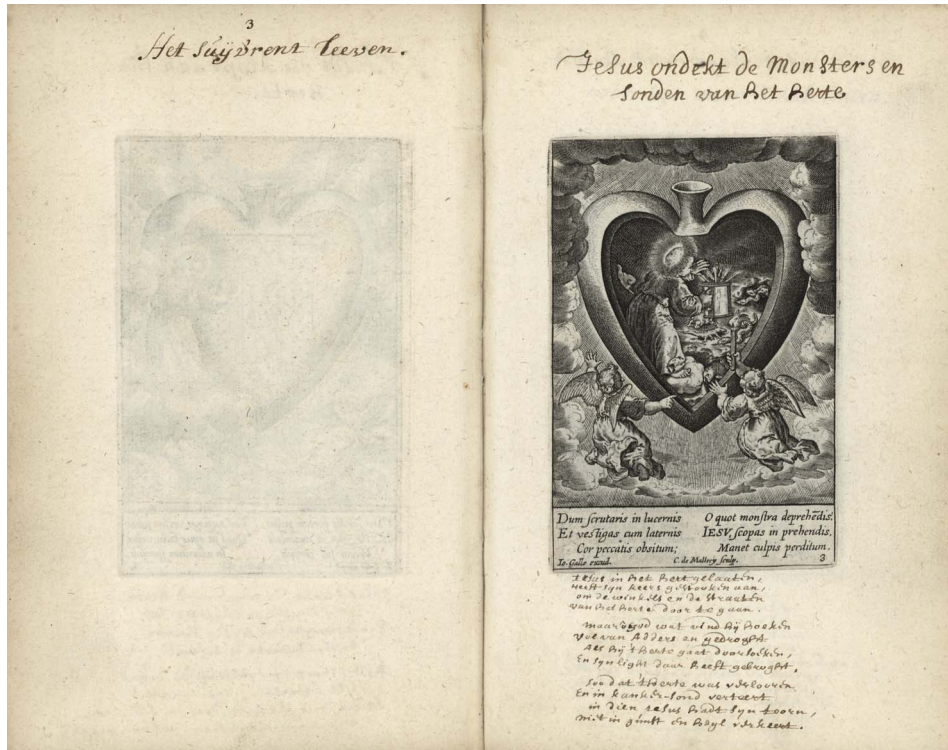


Fig. 2. Jan Swammerdam, *Opofferingh van het herte aan den Bruijdegom Iesus Christus*. Manuscript from the Ghent University Library, H.N. 570-570¹.

entitled *Jesus ontdekt de monsters en sonden van het herte* [Jesus Discovers the Monsters and Sins of the Heart] he wrote the following poem (p. [7], see fig. 2):

Jesus in het hert gelaaten,
Heeft zijn kaars gestookten aan
Om de winkels en de straiten
Van het herte door te gaan.

Maar o God wat vind hij hoeken
Vol van Adders en gedroeft
Als hij 't herte gaat doorsoecken,
En sijn light daar heeft gebroeft.

Soo dat 't herte was verlooren
En in kanker-sond verteert,

Jesus, admitted into the heart,
Has lit up his candle
To go through the shops and streets
Of the heart.

But o God what corners does he find
Full of Vipers and monsters
When he searches through the heart,
And has brought his light there.

The heart would have been lost
And devoured in terrible sin,

In dien Jesus hadt zijn toorn,
Niet in gunst en heijl verkeert.

If Jesus had not turned his wrath
Into favor and salvation.

Swammerdam's manuscript ties in with the Catholic use of religious emblems as a tool for personal devotion, and simultaneously illustrates the pluralist religious character of the Netherlands at the time: Swammerdam, an Amsterdam scientist from a Reformed milieu, became well acquainted with members of other confessions, and subsequently combined his biological treatise on an ephemeral fly with pious engravings and poems. For Swammerdam, the spiritual process was set in motion by the engravings, followed by the Latin inscriptions and, finally, the verses he himself had written down, thus following an essentially Catholic pietistic order.¹⁸

3. An anonymous Pole: A lyrical series for nuns

One of the Polish versions can be found in a manuscript from the second half of the 17th century, lying in the library of the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Imbramowice.¹⁹ It is a typical *silva rerum*. On pages 16-54, between a variety of other pious texts, a collection of 17 poems, copied from an earlier original, has been written down, without a separate title, but clearly corresponding with the images from the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series. Three of the compositions have furthermore been illustrated with engravings, glued onto the pages: the title page (No. [1], p. [16]), the one showing Jesus illuminating the heart (No. [6] inc. "Eia, Iesu, tibi notum," p. [28]), and the one where He crowns the heart (No. [17] inc. "O beata sors amoris," p. [52]). These come from a series etched after the Wierix images by Paul Fürst (1608-1666), whose works were printed in Nuremberg in the years 1626-1675. The copyist apparently had only these three engravings at his disposal, since no more pages were left open for other illustrations.²⁰

Fürst's series was made up of 18 engravings. It was distributed in two sheets *in plano*, meant to be cut up into separate images.²¹ A single illustration could easily

¹⁸ Even though the engravings left him little room to write down the Netherlandish verses, Swammerdam chose not to use the verso sides of the previous engravings (except for the indication of the categories, *vide infra*). This could suggest that he valued the order of image, inscription, and Netherlandish verse.

¹⁹ The codex, bound in vellum and closed with clasps, is small in size (128 × 80 mm), but is relatively thick (436 pages). The manuscript is missing its opening section, meaning there is no title page. It has no signature.

²⁰ This lyrical series was edited critically in Mielezsko (2010: 333-354).

²¹ One such sheet, with the first nine engravings, was preserved uncut in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (sign. Graph. A1:764).

get lost. It is possible, therefore, that the original's author's collection of engravings counted only 17 of Fürst's engravings, missing no. 4, where Jesus knocks on the heart's door. That would explain why there are a mere 17 compositions in the Imbramowice manuscript: the original likewise had only 17.²²

The unknown author wrote a poem in six strophes about each of the 17 engravings, using as the titles for his own verses the *incipit's* of the Latin inscriptions, which often determine the subject of the first few lines. The poem which is meant to accompany our exemplary engraving ends as follows (Mieleszko 2010: 238: v. 13-24):

Tam jest żmija nieużyta,
Zaraźliwa, jadowita,
To jest grzechy barzo wielkie
I me nieprawości wszelkie.

In there is a dangerous,
Infectious, venomous viper,
These are my great sins
And all my faults.

Lecz Ty, Jezu, miotły wzięwszy
I w Sercu się zakrzętnąwszy,
Wszystkie grzechy wymiatujesz,
A czyste Serce sprawujesz.

But You, Jesus, having taken up the broom
And having started to work inside the Heart,
Sweep out all sins,
And make the Heart clean.

Weźmi miotłę, Jezu drogi,
Wymieć ze mnie ten jad srogi,
Wymieć grzechy, a racz, Panie,
We mnie swe mieć pomieszkanie.

Take the broom, dear Jesus,
Sweep the cruel venom from me,
Sweep away the sins and be willing, Lord,
To live within me.

All 17 poems, describing a thorough transformation of the sinful heart, were composed using passionate exclamations, artistic parallelisms, and repetitions, all of a beseeching character. The whole was written lyrically, and aimed to shape the spiritual formation of its monastic female readership.

4. Mikołaj Mieleszko: An emblem book for a Duchess

This anonymous version was used by the Jesuit Mikołaj Mieleszko (1607-1667), court preacher and confessor of the widow Duchess Katarzyna Zasławska *de domo* Sobieska, sister of the Polish king Jan III. He added a separate set of literary emblems bearing no title, but based on the *Cor Jesu amanti sacrum* illustrations, to a handwritten series of poetical subscriptions from 1657 to the engravings and

²² Following the engravings' numbers as listed above (vide supra n. 6), the author arranged them thus: 1-2, 5-6, 12, 7, 17, 13, 15, 9, 16, 11, 10, 3, 14, 8, 18.

motto's of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*, and dedicated to the Duchess.²³ In the dedication addressed to his patroness, who wished for Jesus to live in her heart indefinitely, he wrote that he had found engravings devoted to the subject and subsequently composed fitting poems, in order to present them to the Duchess (Mieleszko 2010: 170).

The fair copy of Mieleszko's volume contains no illustrations. In their stead, we find short, one-sentence descriptions of the engravings. The Polish Jesuit used 20, not 18 images, as he had at his disposal the enlarged set of engravings applied in the reprint of the Latin version of Luzvic's and Binet's work from 1628. Other than in the original by Wierix and most of its copies, the title engraving in this adaptation received an inscription (inc. "Ama, Iesu, Te cor amat"), the translation of which Mieleszko added to his version.²⁴

Based on these engravings, Mieleszko created a collection of poetical emblems: each one is made up of a description of the illustration, a Polish translation of the Latin inscription, which keeps to the original's meter, (entitled "Podpis łaciński na polski wiersz przetłumaczony" [The Latin Inscription Translated to Polish Verse]), and a poem counting six strophes (entitled "Obrazu dłuższe opisanie" [A Longer Description of the Picture]). Wierix' inscriptions were translated by Mieleszko himself. The Latin verses accompanying the engraving showing the Infant Jesus illuminating the heart, which the Jesuit Pole thus described: "Zatrącone w sercu brzydkich grzechów gadziny światłością swoją Jezus odkrywa" ["Jesus with his light discovers the disgusting reptiles of sin hidden within the heart"], he translated as follows (Mieleszko 2010: 178):

Gdy świec wzięwszy i pochodni,	When you, Jesus, having taken up candles
W sercu szperasz pełnym zbrodni,	And torches, search through the heart,
Gratów, Jezu, takowych,	Cluttered up with such crimes,
O, co-ć maszkar w nim obaczysz!	O, how many monsters will you see there!
Jeśli miotły wziąć nie raczysz,	If you will not take the broom,
Zginie w śmieciach grzechowych.	(The heart) will perish in the sin-dump.

The six strophe poem by Mieleszko, however, depends heavily on the anonymous version discussed above, from which the court preacher used entire verses,

²³ The fair copies of both of Mieleszko's emblematic series are preserved in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint-Petersburg (sign. O No 217). The first draft of his work inspired by the *Pia desideria* can be found in the Diocese Library in Sandomierz (sign. A 99). The Polish Jesuit's composition based on the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* is known only from Saint-Petersburg. It was edited critically in Mieleszko (2010: 169-211).

²⁴ Following the engravings' numbers as listed above (vide supra n. 6), Mieleszko arranged them thus: 1-2, 4-6, 12, 7, 17, 13, 16, 11, 9, 14-15, 10, 3, 8, two extra emblems: Jesus invites the Lamb for a feast (inc. "Iesus, qui te subarravit") and the heart as the mirror of the Holy Trinity (inc. "Post fel crudum crucis dirae"), 18.

and on which he based his own, but partly original text. In the poetical commentary to this emblem, three strophes were copied from his predecessor without significant changes, yet three were composed by Mieleszko himself. It is therefore that the end of this poem may seem familiar to us (Mieleszko 2010: 179: v. 17-24):

Trzeba wielkiej Twej pomocy,
By ta gadzina, ci smocy,
Z serca precz ustąpić chciały,
Wzrostu większego nie brały.

Weźmi-ż miotłę, Jezu drogi,
Wymieć z serca jad tak srogi,
A racz je poświęcić, Panie,
Na wieczne sobie mieszkanie.

Your help is very much required,
So that these reptiles, these dragons,
Would quickly leave our heart,
(And) would not grow in it anymore.

Take the broom, dear Jesus,
Sweep the dangerous venom from the heart,
And be willing, Lord, to consecrate it
And live in it forever.

In Mieleszko's version of the poems, the beseeching exclamations have been ordered into a distinct ensemble. Based on the 20 engravings, the Polish Jesuit with great discipline and consistency composed his own series of *emblemata nuda*, each of which consisted, according to the rules of the genre, of three elements: a description of the engraving, a faithful Polish translation of the Latin inscription, and a lyrical poem, encouraging its readership to transfer the subject of the image and texts to a religious experience. Although the series reveals a certain poetical talent of the author, it above all bears witness to an outstanding mastery of the craft. It is not by chance that between 1633 and 1642 Mieleszko taught poetics and grammar in Jesuit colleges and schools in Sandomierz, Lublin, Ostróg, Nowogród Siewierski and Winnica in Podolia.

It is no coincidence, furthermore, that both of Mieleszko's emblematic collections from 1657 were addressed to the widow Zasławska. The king's sister was known not only for her piety, but also for her love of emblems. As she did not know Latin or any other foreign languages, she had Polish versions of several collections made by men of letters, of whom there was no shortage among her husband's clientele. In this way Katarzyna Zasławska, called Duchess Radziwiłłowa after her second marriage in 1658, became the foremost patroness of Polish adaptations of western religious emblem books in the 17th century.

For her, Mieleszko created Polish versions of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* and the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*, Zbigniew Morsztyn adapted a compilation of engravings entitled *Les emblemes d'amour divin et humain ensemble* [The Divine and Human Love Emblems Together], a Polish version was made of both the *Amoris Divini et Humani effectus varii* [The Various Effects of Divine and Human Love],

and, in 1694, of a collection of emblems inspired by the litanies of Loreto. In Jesuit documents, Mieszko appears as chaplain of the Radziwiłł couple from 1658 onwards (Grzebień 1993: 122). It thus seems likely that the Jesuit's Polish adaptations of the two most important collections of religious emblems, the *Pia desideria* and *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*, which shaped the spiritual formation of the Duchess, earned him the recognition and trust needed to become court preacher and personal confessor of his patroness.

5. Another anonymous Pole: Monastic exercises

Lastly, two versions of a different adaptation of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series can be found in two Polish monastic libraries. Both manuscripts were written in the same hand, and everything seems to indicate that these are autographs.²⁵ In both cases, copies of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* engravings, made by Michael Snijders, were glued onto the pages.

The work consists of 16 chapters.²⁶ Each chapter has a title, the engraving, a Polish translation of the Latin inscription, a biblical citation, and a longer poetical text usually entitled "Opisanie obrazka" [Description of the Image] or "Wykład i opisanie obrazka" [Explanation and Description of the Image]. Then comes a prayerful contemplation in prose, concerning the subject of the inscription, which in the second version often takes on the form of an extensive treatise (Grześkowiak 2013). The fourth chapter, for example, entitled "Serce od Boga oświecone" [The Heart Illuminated by God] opens with Snijder's engraving and a Polish translation of its inscription (p. [33], see fig. 3):

Jezu, gdy z Twoją jasnością
W serce zaglądasz z pilnością
Obsypane grzechami,
Jakie tam dziwy znajdujesz!
Jeżeli go nie ratujesz,
Zginie swymi złościami.

Jesus, when with your light
You diligently look into the heart
Full of sin,
What strange things do you find there!
If you do not save it,
(The heart) will perish because of its sins.

²⁵ The manuscripts were written in the second half of the 17th century. The original draft was preserved in the monastery of Poor Clares in Stary Sącz (sign. 18), comprising 67 folio's. Its text was published in Królikowski 2012. Unfortunately, the codex' folio's got mixed up during a re-binding, and the publisher was but partly able to reconstruct their original order. The second, significantly larger edition can be found in the library of the Norbertine Sisters in Imbramowice (without signature). The slight trimming of some of the edges suggests that the codex' binding is not original. All 148 unnumbered folio's of the manuscript make up the anonymous treatise.

²⁶ Following the engravings' numbers as listed above (vide supra n. 6), the author arranged them thus: 1-2, 4-6, 12, 16, 13, 11, 17, 14-15, 10, 9, 3, 18.



Fig. 3 Manuscript from the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Imbramowice, no pressmark.

The author subsequently enforces the brief poem's message with biblical authority, adding no less than three verses asking for the illumination of the heart's darkness (Sirach 2:10b; Isaiah 58:10b; Psalms 17(18):29a). The biblical citations are followed by the poetical text, the 48 lines of which describe the horrible vices dwelling in the sinner's heart. The lyrical explanation of the engraving ends with a request (p. [36]: v. 45-48):

Wznidź mi, wznidź, Słońce moje, a z serca te cienie
Niech z tą straszną gadziną Twa światłość wyżenie.
O Boże, nie daj duszy mieszkać w takim cieniu,
W mym do Ciebie, Światło me, niech umrę pragnieniu!

Rise for me, my Sun, and may Your light
Chase this darkness with these horrible reptiles from the heart.
O God, do not let the soul live in such darkness,
May I die longing for You, my Light!

Only then do we come to the prosaic section, which, instead of orderly meditation, offers rather a contemplation of the topic, filled with exalted apostrophes

to God. The anonymous and untitled book based on the Wierix engravings forms an extraordinarily well composed manuscript, addressed to the nuns in order to shape and guide their piety. Its author summarized his work with an explication of its purpose:

To wszystko w krótkim odmalowaniu i prostym opisaniu tu się przekłada, aby człowiek, serce swoje od wszystkiego świata i miłości rzeczy stworzonych wyłączywszy, całe je samemu zawsze oddawał Bogu, aby też wzajemnie samego Boga tu na ziemi częstką i wydziałem naszczęśliwszym, a w niebie sercu swojemu wieczną otrzymać zasłużył koroną. (Grzeško-wiak 2013: 222)

[All this has been presented in a brief characterization of the engraving and a simple description, so that man could detach his heart from the whole world and his love for temporal things, and could forever dedicate himself to God entirely, so that while on earth his heart would be the happiest part of God himself, and while in heaven it would receive the eternal crown of redemption.]

6. Towards a characterization of the manuscripts

A learned entomologist seeking God, a Jesuit chaplain of the king's sister, an anonymous Dutch protestant, and Polish nuns or monks – five completely different (types of) authors, whose attention was drawn to copies of the Wierix engravings and inscriptions, coming from two disparate parts of Europe, turn out to have a lot in common. Seen against the background of four obviously Catholic works, the Tilburg manuscript in particular stands out, as it appears to break through any confessional boundaries. The samples from a Netherlandish translation of the Protestant *Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie* by Hoburg, added to Serrarius' *Goddelycke aandachten*, which in turn was a Protestant adaptation of the Jesuit *Pia desideria*, suggest that the owner of the volume was a Protestant from the Northern Netherlands. The fact that the codex was preserved in the library of Capuchin Friars in 's Hertogenbosch furthermore indicates that Wierix' work successfully appealed to its readership's individual piety, and was able to act over and beyond confessional divisions. A similar inter- or supra-confessional use of the series is known only from its printed reception in the highly popular prayer book from 1648 by Johann Rittmeyer, a Lutheran pastor from Helmstedt, entitled *Himmlisches Freuden-Mahl der Kinder Gottes auf Erden* [The Heavenly Feast of Joy of the Children of God on Earth], which was reprinted several times.

The five works from Poland and the Netherlands discussed in this article are currently the only known handwritten compositions based on the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*. Our knowledge of the manuscript reception of the Wierix engravings is, however, *in statu nascendi*, and is sure to be incomplete: the manuscript we found in Tilburg has until now not been brought to light, and just five years ago none of the Polish texts here presented was known to exist. It is highly likely, therefore, that more as yet unknown 17th-century works inspired by the Wierix series, written in languages other than Polish and Netherlandish as well, could still be found in monastic libraries. However, the five works discussed in this article alone already display a variety in the reception of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*.

The order of the engravings was not fixed: the images were not numbered, meaning their succession was variable, and the author of each literary adaptation discussed here was able to compose his or her own arrangement, thereby giving us valuable information about him- or herself. Swammerdam, for example, did not conclude his version with the engraving showing the heart's redemption, but after this added the illustration of Jesus enthroned inside the human heart, entitling it *Het Alder-opperste van het vereenigent leeven* [The Summit of the unifying life; p. [34]].²⁷ In so doing he indicated the importance of complete subordination and dedication, even during our fleeting lives, to our Savior. Likewise, the number of images used by the authors was flexible: Mieszko made use of the enlarged set of 20 engravings, originally designed to illustrate the reprint of Luzvic's and Binet's meditational work, both Netherlandish authors had the complete series of 18 engravings at their disposal, while the two remaining Polish writers had only 17 or 16 engravings.

Even so, the general order of the images was perfectly clear to their recipients. Not only did they understand the placement of the illustrations framing the series, the opening and end, in which the Christian's heart is united with God, but also the not explicitly disclosed threefold division of the whole: the cleansing (*via purgativa*), the enlightenment (*via illuminativa*) and the unification (*via unitiva*). This was codified in the early Medieval treatise by St. Bonaventura, entitled *De triplici via* [Concerning the Threefold Way], and further popularized by Loyola's *Exercitia spiritualia* in 1548. By the beginning of the 18th century, these ideas had become commonly known. Herman Hugo used the three part way towards God in his *Pia desideria* from 1624, in which each of the three stages comprises 15 compositions. Anton II Wierix was more discrete, yet the structure of his work was clear as day. For example, when a professor of several French Jesuit colleges, Claude-François Ménéstrier, in his treatise *L'art des emblemes* [The Art of

²⁷Sign. H.N. 570-570¹, p. [34].

Emblems] discussed the Wierix engravings as being an extraordinarily attractive artistic representation of mystical life, he ordered the illustrations according to the same three partite arrangement (Ménéstrier 1981: 75-76).

The notion of a spiritual development in three stages was so well generally known, that it did not take an expert on emblems such as Ménéstrier to figure out the structure of Wierix' series. In his manuscript, Swammerdam arranged the engravings in the same three categories,²⁸ namely: 1) *Het suijsrent leeven of Waar in de ziel de sonde wederstaat, en haar van de selve suijsvert* [The Purifying Life or Where the Soul Precludes the Sin, and Cleanses Herself from It; p. [2]]; 2) *Het verlightent leeven of Waar in de ziel de zonde verlaten hebbende, nu van Jesus in de deugd geleert en verligt wort* [The Enlightening Life or Where the Soul, After Having Left the Sin, Is Being Taught and Enlightened by Jesus in Virtue; p. [14]], 3) *Het vereenigent leeven of Waar in de ziel nu met Godt vereenight word; naa dat zij door Jesus haar sonden gekent en verlaaten heeft, en door hem is onder weesen ende in de deught, dat is, in de goddelijke liefde, is verlight en verandert geworden* [The Unifying Life or Where the Soul Is Now United with God; After She Has Learned and Left Her Sins Through Jesus, and Has Been Taught by Him, and Has Been Enlightened in Virtue, That Is, in Divine Love, and Has Changed; p. [22]].²⁹ Swammerdam numbered the illustrations themselves continuously (1-17, all but the title page), but also numbered the emblems according to their place within their category, starting each new category from 1, which indicates just how important the three way division was to Swammerdam's understanding of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum* series.

The same arrangement was exposed in Mikołaj Mieleszko's preface to his version, in which he also pointed out that this structure is identical to that used in Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* (Mieleszko 2010: 170):

Materyja i rzecz w tej wtórej książeczce też prawie jest, co i w pierwszej, lubo sposób materyjej zda się być różniejszy. Pierwszych abowiem obrazów sześć poczynającego albo pokutującego i serce od różnych grzechów uwalniającego, drugich sześć postępującego i serce rozlicznemi cnotami zdobiącego, ostatnie aż do końca doskonałego abo z Bogiem mile złączonego i zjednoczonego człowieka wyrażają.

[The subject and contents of this second collection are exactly the same as in the first, although the subject appears to be different. For the first six engravings depict a beginner, or penitent man, who frees the heart

²⁸ The full titles of the three categories are given only once, at the beginning of each category. The category to which each engraving belongs, is indicated at the top of the page facing the image (and, thus, on the verso side of the previous *pictura*). Following the numbers listed above (vide supra n. 6) engravings 2, 4-7, and 16 belong to category 1, engravings, 8, 11-13 belong to category 2, and engravings 14-15, 3, 10, 9, 18, 17 belong to category 3. This arrangement has received no attention until now.

²⁹ Sign. H.N. 570-570¹, p. [2], [14], [22].

of various sins, the following six show a man in progress, adorning his heart with numerous virtues, while the final engravings portray the perfect man, or man joined and united with God.]

Importantly, of the five manuscripts we have discussed, the series' structure is made explicit only in the two versions intended for laymen: that of the scientist Swammerdam and that of the Lithuanian Duchess, composed by her confessor Mielezsko. Apparently, then, the three stages of mystical unification were obvious to clergymen, whatever their confession or the monastery to which they belonged, and did not require explanation. Either way, the *implicite* or *explicite* appearance of the three way spiritual development again goes to show that each case of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*'s manuscript reception was used as a singular and personal guide for the sinful Christian towards his (or her) Savior.

We thus come to the most important difference between the printed and handwritten reception of the Wierix engravings. The poetical texts added manually to the engravings were meant not so much to inspire esthetical delight, but rather to enhance the spiritual development of the reader. Beginning with Étienne Luvzic's 1626 *Le coeur devot*, the series' presentation was generally strictly subordinated to a rigorously followed meditational plan. In the French Jesuit's tome, each engraving became the subject of Ignatian spiritual exercise.³⁰ A similar structure can be found in most printed works composed on the basis of the *Cor Iesu amanti sacrum*.

The manuscript versions, meanwhile, are more about the lyricism of prayer, abstracted from meditational practice. Even the extensive Polish variant, which supplemented each poetical subscription with an explication in prose, dedicated it entirely to exalted exclamations, bringing the adaptation closer to contemplation of the topic. This has nothing to do with spiritual exercises. The handwritten texts presented in this article naturally possess a much more intimate character than the time and again reproduced printed versions. Written down and copied for personal use, they were clearly composed to incite the faith of their pious readers, not their intellectual capacities.

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³⁰ Vide supra.

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